

Masters Thesis

A Discourse Analysis of Narratives of Identities and Integration at the University of the Western Cape

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Full Thesis

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KEYWORDS

Apartheid

Discourse Analysis

Ethnicity

Identity

Integration

Language

Multilingualism

Poststructuralist Theory

Social Networks

University of the Western Cape



ABSTRACT

In the thesis, I endeavour to create a platform on which to construct an understanding of 'integration' in a multilingual and multicultural setting, post-apartheid. I have selected UWC as the research site as it is an institution of higher education and an inherently South African one which houses a large number of diverse ethnicities, cultures and languages.

I appeal to the poststructuralist approach as it is one that explores the possible sociopolitical, economic and historical influences on which I argue and which forms the backdrop to understanding integration amongst the various groups. I am especially drawn to the topic of integration as there is to date no well-defined definition of what that means in the 'new' South Africa.

Different identities are explored in relation to how students identify themselves within their social networks, across various cultures and through language choices. In particular, I look at the three dominant 'South African' groups, namely: Indians, Blacks and Coloureds and also two international student groups, the Batswanas and Chinese.

I use a qualitative approach and undertake focus groups and one-to-one interviews as well as participant observations and analyzing documentation. Data analysis is achieved through Discourse Analysis of transcribed interviews.

One of the conclusions is that integration will not occur overnight. However, the broadening and exercising of linguistic options could be seen as a step in right direction to integration across the various ethnic groups.

The study ends with recommendations and gives an overall view of integration at UWC. One of the recommendations is that UWC needs to give students more opportunities to practice their multilinguality and thereby broaden their linguistic repertoire which could in turn facilitate integration.



DECLARATION

I declare that *A Discourse Analysis of Narratives of Identities and Integration at the University of the Western Cape* is my own work and that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other institution and also that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Amiena Peck

November 2007

Signed



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

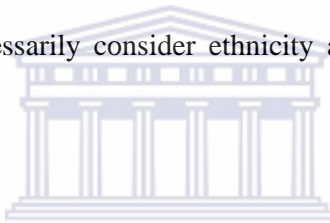
The dissertation looks at ways of defining and describing ‘integration’ within a multilingual educational context. The thesis therefore begs the questions – Is UWC an ‘integrated’ campus? How do we measure integration? What affects and effects are there concerning integration? However, researching integration cannot be viewed in isolation of the historical oppressive legacy of Apartheid. The poststructuralist approach is adopted within the thesis in order to explore issues such as: identity, positioning, hegemony and language crossing in order to posit a working definition for integration amongst different ethnic groups.

The poststructuralist approach is especially useful as it “views language attitudes and practices in multilingual contexts as being embedded in larger social, political, economic and historical contexts” (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004).

The saliency of including the past political history in order to understand present integration patterns are highlighted by Heller (2007: 2) as she views language as: “... a set of resources which circulate in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces, and whose meaning and value are socially constructed within the constraints of social organizational processes, under specific historical conditions”. She goes on to argue that “hierarchies are not inherently linguistic but rather social and political”.

Historically, the deliberate division of citizens by ethnic groups was a result of the Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950. This Act forced physical separation between races by creating different residential areas for different races, most often speaking different languages. The South African society had been divided rigidly along ethnic lines, with language and ethnicity being the main pillars of the apartheid divide and rule ideology (Kamwangamalu 2001).

The act of dividing citizens by ethnic group aimed to create the impression of superiority and enforced an ideology of White supremacy with an ethnic hierarchy, which positioned Black people at the lowest rung. Therefore, any study of integration in South Africa has to necessarily consider ethnicity as well as language amongst others.



Consequently, when reflecting on the past ideology of White supremacy in this country it is salient that the University of the Western Cape (henceforth UWC), as the research site, needs also to be explained and related to the larger framework and historical background of Apartheid.

1.1 History of UWC

It may come as a surprise to some that issues of racism and discrimination, especially with regards to higher education, did *not* start with the establishment of Apartheid. It is no secret that Universities in South Africa have always been racially segregated. In fact, segregation in institutions of higher learning can be traced to long before 1948 when the National Party came to power and laid down the legislative framework of

Apartheid (A University in Action 2001: 2). Moreover, it has to be remembered that apart from three universities, the rest were set up to cater for whites. (A University in Action 2001:3)

Soon after the implementation of Apartheid in 1948, the ruling government passed the Extension of Universities Education Act No 45, requiring each university to admit students belonging to a specific ethnic group. The University of the Western Cape, formally known as the University College of the Western Cape, was set aside by the National Party specifically to house those from the Coloured community which were either 'Cape Coloured, Malay, Griqua or other 'Coloured' group persons. (A University in Action 2001: 4)

UWC as we rarely know it, started out with humble beginnings in a primary school located in Bellville South, Cape Town. This poor location for an institution of Higher Education was a clear indication of the almost cynical indifference with which the perpetrators of Apartheid treated their own citizens. Looking back at the origins of the ideological framework of the Verwoerdian Apartheid, we see that it almost *guaranteed* UWC's failure as an acceptable place of higher learning. (Changing South Africa 1973: 4)

Even now UWC is still called 'bush college' and its origins are quite evident as it was built in the 'bush' of the Cape Flats. In accordance with the 1960 settlement for Coloured people, the architecture of the new campus reflected a lot of the drabness of the Cape Flats dwellings. In this regard there were no redeeming feature to offset the origins and the unattractive physical setting of UWC (Changing South Africa 1973:

14). Ultimately, at that time, UWC became known as a second-rate university in comparison with its neighbouring English and Afrikaans medium counterparts, with students seemingly attending 'Bush' under protest (A University in Action 2001: 6).

It is salient to note that UWC was entirely under White control, with Coloured people given only an advisory role. What they were offered was limited training for lower to middle level positions in schools, the civil service and other institutions designed to serve a separated Coloured community. The first group of 166 students enrolled in 1960. In 1970, the institution gained University status (later renamed the University of the Western Cape) and was then able to award its own degrees.



1.1.1 UWC and Ideology

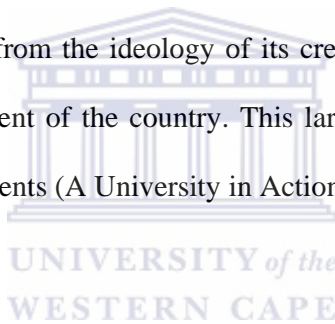
In its beginning years, the University of the Western Cape did not have a 'real' relationship with the ideological context of the Apartheid era. The university was created by and for the purpose of an ideology which was fundamentally antagonistic to the very community it was to serve. In time UWC managed to extract itself from the ethos of its creator beliefs and principles. (A University in Action 2001:21)

In 1987, the newly appointed vice-rector at UWC, Professor Jakes Gerwel in his inaugural speech, said of ideology: " Every South African university has a dominant ideological orientation which describes the context of its operations...the one ideological formation under-represented in a similar way within the South African university community is that of the more radical Left. With the South African Left one is collectively referring to those people and institutions seeking and working for a more fundamental transformation of the old settler-colonial dominated order which is

the present South Africa. The major thrust is towards a non-racial and majoritarian democracy, reflecting itself not in the mere form of multi-racial political arrangements but more fundamentally in the social re-organization of power and privilege...” (A University in Action 2001: 21)

We find that during Apartheid, UWC played an active role against the oppression and racial division of the White minority government and became known as the radical Left.

Ultimately UWC is best known for its unconventional and fanatical determination to pioneer democracy in South Africa and we see that UWC had been able to successfully extricate itself from the ideology of its creators and align itself broadly with the democratic movement of the country. This largely came about through the battles of generations of students (A University in Action 2001: 9).



Today UWC is well-known and touted as a ‘transformative’ anti-apartheid fighting university. Therefore, issues of equality and integration are still at the top priority at this institution, and still dominate UWC official discourse.

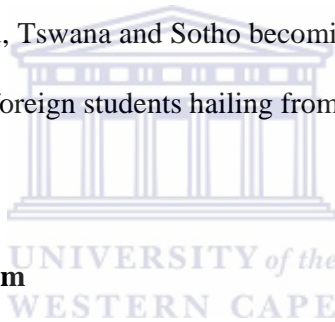
The lingua franca at the UWC is English, with this major language acting also as the predominant medium of instruction (MOI) for lectures and tutorials. However, the different ethnic groups are often (but certainly not always) easily recognizable by the language that they choose to identify themselves by, outside of the classroom.

Coloureds characteristically speak Afrikaans as their first language (L1), though of late the younger generation is opting for English (cf. Mesthrie 2002). Afrikaans is

unique in that it was derived from many various other languages. Initially, it evolved from Dutch and Khoi Khoi and was also contributed to by slaves from Malaysia, Indonesia, Madagascar and West Africa many years ago.

<http://www.places.co.za/html/afrikaans.html>

The Indians on the UWC campus, have English as L1, but also have two other languages at their disposal (Mesthrie 2002). These are Gujarati and Tamil. Whether these languages are in use by the Indian community on campus is unclear, and will be explored in the thesis. Black students mostly originate from the Eastern Cape and most often speak Xhosa as their first language. Increasingly, there are speakers of other languages such as Zulu, Tswana and Sotho becoming UWC students. The UWC also has a big contingent of foreign students hailing from other countries in Africa.



1.2 Statement of the Problem

The thesis explores students' perceptions on interactions and integration between Coloureds, Blacks, and Indians as well as international students from elsewhere in Africa. However, the first stumbling block arises with defining what is meant by integration. There are numerous definitions for integration readily available all over the world. However, it must be noted that the multilingual contexts in which these definitions are defined are primarily influenced by immigration patterns. Contrasting to this, the multilingual context in South Africa is unique in that the varying cultural groups are indigenous to this country and are not a product of immigration but rather segregation.

1.2.1 Problematizing ‘integration’

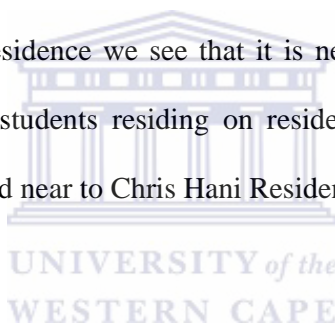
Integration, by most European countries is sometimes referred to as ‘assimilation’ and this is because of the situation of there being one majority ethnicity and one or more minority languages or ethnicities entering into that country. Here, the focus lies more with immigration which is not the case with South Africa.

The legacy of Apartheid has left its mark, with South Africans (on the most part) identifying themselves by the racial classifications they were slotted into and now still believe to be part of. South Africans were indoctrinated to assign a hierarchy with regards to ethnicity, colour and language. Therefore, when we talk about integration, we need to be cognizant of the fact that for approximately three generations, the belief in segregation and isolation was vehemently propagandised.

At UWC, as is true of South Africa, many different cultures and languages can be identified. Undoubtedly, there is a sense of diversity, and now one wonders how the notion of integration factors into this campus.

Through interaction analysis of social networks, I investigate the extent to which UWC’s diverse groups are *integrated* into the university social ethos. A problem asserts itself when insufficient knowledge is known about whether these ethnic groups are in fact ‘integrated’ with one another as it is very possible that the legacy of Apartheid has in fact affected the students on campus negatively. This in turn could affect the manner or frequency of interactions between students hailing from different ethnic groups.

A quick glance at the UWC campus social scene already shows three definitive and exclusive 'territorial' demarcations¹. Firstly, there is the Indian group, usually situated just outside the library. 'Little Bombay', as students call it, appears exclusively for those of Indian descent, but now and then Black students are sometimes seen hanging out at this spot. It has even been said that there has been an altercation in the past between a few of the Indians and Black students due to the very fact that they were in the Indian 'territory'. It would be interesting to find out the relationship between the two groups. Next we have the main cafeteria in the student centre, which though more heterogeneous in student make up, is still primarily made up of Coloured students. Thirdly, looking at UWC residence we see that it is nearly exclusively made up of Black students. The Black students residing on residence most often frequent the residence-dining hall, situated near to Chris Hani Residence.



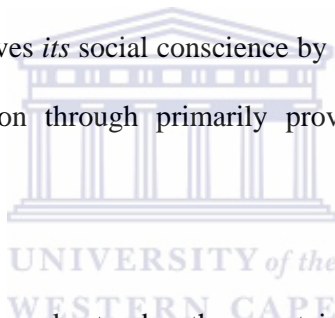
The link between Coloured and Black student hangouts on campus is often made through one very popular eatery and pub, namely the Barn. Here, we see an amalgamation of students, with Coloureds dominating during the day and Blacks at night. Indians, however, do not seem to frequent the Barn. This could be for religious reasons, as most of this group also happens to be Muslim. Nevertheless, the food served at the Barn is Halaal and the bar opens only after five.

¹ For the relationship between space, territoriality, language and identity, see Vigouroux, CB (2005) 'There are no Whites in Africa': Territoriality, language, and identity among Francophone Africans in Cape Town. *Language & Communication*, 237-255.

1.3 Purpose of Study

Nearly twenty years ago, the current Chancellor of UWC, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said that a university must have a social conscience (A University in Action 2004: 24). Undoubtedly, the archbishop was referring to the duty that an academic institution has to the society it finds itself in. Back then the struggle against discrimination and oppression was unmistakable and the necessity to mobilize against one oppressor was undertaken with courage and unity.

Today, the discrimination, segregation and racism of the past are no longer what it was. However, the study serves *its* social conscience by looking at the current state of affairs concerning integration through primarily providing insight into students' experiences at UWC.



The *raison d'être* then can be understood as the ascertaining of how students integrate with others whilst looking at possible causes with specific reference to 'intercultural experiences', 'positioning' and 'identification' in a multilingual 'transformative' university such as UWC.

Haglund (2005:17) puts forth that when focusing on experiences and positioning of adolescents, one should not be distracted from the wider social context wherein it is found. Rampton corroborates this notion when he says "Research should set out to document the ways in which the changing cultural traditions over roles and identities are both supporting and restraining young people in exercising more freedom and creativity over how their sense of selves are mapped out" (Rampton 1995:311).

Therefore, not only are the way students interact at UWC important on a micro-level, but these interactions should also be viewed in the broader framework of a South African context which could therefore make sense of processes of marginalization and experiences of social exclusion (Rampton 1995:311)

Also when looking at social groupings, Southerland & Katamba (1998) notes that socio-economic status (SES) is one of the factors that can be put forth as a distinguishing factor. Of the four most popular eating locations available at the campus, namely the Barn, the Cafeteria, the Rectors Hall and the Residence cafeteria, the SES of these places differ markedly. Holmes (1992) and Wardhaugh (1998) look at speech forms as defining different social groupings. By social groupings is meant social networks, which are defined as “informal relationships people are involved in on a regular basis” (Holmes 1992: 202). To these I would like to add that considering South Africa’s Apartheid legacy ethnicity is a fundamental factor that needs to be considered in the formation of social groupings.

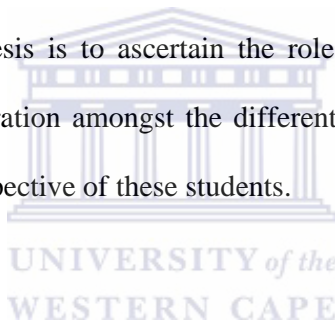
Therefore, the purpose of this study is to analyze the relationship between language or speech forms and ethnicity on the one hand, and the kinds of integration amongst students at UWC on the other. By integration is meant the quality of interaction amongst students from different linguist and cultural backgrounds. That is the *density* of the social grouping, meaning whether the grouping is ‘close-knit’ or ‘loose-knit’ (Holmes 1992: 202). A close-knit grouping is where members in the group are in touch with each other independently of other members of the group. Loose-knit groupings are found where members only interact in one area. For instance, in cases

where students meet only for studying purposes. In this regard, the following questions are pertinent:

1. What social networks can we identify at UWC?
2. Do these networks cross language and ethnic backgrounds of students?
3. What role does language and ethnicities play in the formation of these networks?
4. What is the quality of interaction within and across the social groupings?

1.4 General Aim

The primary aim of the thesis is to ascertain the role that identity plays in either fostering or impeding integration amongst the different ethnic and social groups on UWC campus from the perspective of these students.



1.4.1 Specific Objectives

The following are the specific objectives, which I wish to achieve:

1. To understand what is meant by integration in a multilingual educational context.
2. To explore the role language and speech forms within and across different social groupings play in the integration process of students.
3. To explore how students negotiate and position themselves in a multilingual educational context.
4. To identify social groupings and quality of integration amongst the different ethnic groups.

5. To recommend strategies to UWC that could be put into place in order to facilitate efficacious integration.

1.5 Research Hypotheses

Across first years and third years

- I. Indian students in particular will be the *least inclined* to integrate and will believe it to be unnecessary. This surmise is based on the fact that “Bombay” exists and has existed for many years with little change.
- II. Students who perceive themselves as highly articulate in English will be more inclined to integrate with other students, as there is less of a power difference between them and English first-language speakers.
- III. Coloured students will harbour the most resistance towards integrating with black students and will use Afrikaans as a method to exclude them. (This surmise is based largely on the history of UWC and the more superior role designated to Coloureds during Apartheid.)
- IV. Students with family backgrounds indicating much involvement in the fight against Apartheid will have a more positive attitude to integration than others whose family did not participate actively against Apartheid. This assumption is based on the general opinion that young adults are influenced by their parents and in turn this may make them more conscious of the need to close the gaps that Apartheid had made.



Foreign students having studied at the UWC for a short period of time will believe that the campus is completely integrated. This impression will be contrasting to those students that have been on the UWC campus longer

1.6 Rationale/ Justification

The thesis is important in its capacity to create a modern-day platform on which to understand integration between the various ethnic groups on UWC campus.

It will serve the purpose of providing the various ethnic groups with an opportunity to voice their views and experiences of integration at UWC. The study is also important in its capacity to identify *who* would be more likely to integrate and the reason for *why* this would be so. Conversely, the thesis undertakes to gain insight into 'convergent' and 'divergent' behaviours. Leading from this, the thesis will endeavour to ascertain how languages are used as a deterrent or aide to integration amongst students. In addition to this, the thesis takes into account that time on the UWC campus may have a differential effect. The thesis is also focal to the UWC from a practical viewpoint, meaning that UWC as an academic institution will be able to ascertain the efficacy of current policies and practices on integration.

1.7 Delimitations of Study

The interviews will be conducted in English which could limit expressiveness of students who do not have English as their first language. This was true especially of the Chinese students interviewed, where I found the most conferring between participants occurred. On occasion there were instances whereby students were unable

to express their thoughts fully in English. To counter this, the participants were made aware that they may express themselves in a language that they feel comfortable with during the interviews, with the data being translated and transcribed for analysis further on.

In addition to this, it is pertinent to note that the focus group participants (though characterized as part of a specific ethnic group for the thesis) should not be construed as *undeniable* or *unquestionable* representatives of the corresponding ethnic group's integration inclinations. This means that though the thesis hopes to uncover some understanding of a specific ethnic group's point of view, the researcher will take into consideration that the data obtained can only be used as a generalisation and not an absolute truth. Leading on from this, another aspect to consider is students' possible resistance to being classified into any specific ethnic grouping to begin with. Hence the choice of students' 'self-identification' of ethnicity and purposive and snowball sampling procedures discussed in detail below.

Variables such as age, gender and faculty will not be taken into consideration for this research, unless it becomes apparent they are significant to some aspect of the study.

Understandably, a topic such as this one, encompassing issues such as ethnicity and identity, is clearly a very delicate one. Therefore much consideration was undertaken in order to ensure that students concerns were addressed at the start and that their human rights were not violated.

1.8 Organization of Thesis

The first chapter, as seen above, consists of the introduction, statement of the problem, general aims, objectives, hypotheses, rationale and delimitations of the study. It foregrounds the necessity and subsequent complexity of understanding integration a multilingual educational context. The rest of the project is structured as follows:

In the second chapter I posit a literature review which explores work previously undertaken concerning social networks, ethnicity and Critical Discourse Analysis which are all used as a platform for understanding integration.

The third chapter consists of a detailed outline and description of the sampling method, participants engaged in the study, tools for analysis and data collection methods.

The fourth chapter concentrates on the analysis of data obtained from translated and transcribed interviews as well as through participant observations and document analysis.

The fifth and concluding chapter summarizes the findings of the study with regards to the statement of the problem, objectives and hypotheses comparisons. Subsequently, based on these findings, the current implications and future recommendations for UWC are put forth.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW, CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Background

The foundation of the thesis focuses on the poststructuralist approach as it takes into consideration the bigger socio-political framework on which to understand integration. Student interactions are also analysed within the Social Network framework with narratives generated from interviews conducted. On a more micro level, the discourse analyzed – with specific reference to code-switching in bilingual conversation - will be done through discourse/ text analysis.

The first step lies in clarifying *what* narratives are and to elucidate *why* they are significant to the thesis. To do so I will be looking chiefly at work done by, Michelle Crossley, Dell Hymes and Catherine Kohler Riessman.

2.1 Narratives of Identity

Literature on narrative analysis gives no indication as to any exacting or well-developed guide for conducting narrative data analysis. Crossley (2000: 67) posits that through narrative we define who we are, who we were and who we may become in the future. She elaborates further by explaining “the basic principle of narrative psychology is that individuals understand themselves through the medium of language, through talking and writing, and it is through these processes that individuals are constantly engaged in the process of creating themselves” (Crossley

2000: 10). McAdams corroborates this theory when he states that "...we do not 'discover' ourselves in narrative; rather, we make or create ourselves through narrative" (McAdams 1993:13).

Therefore, the thesis hopes to identify the identities of the different social groupings from participants' construction of their narratives. Reissman (1993) argues that narratives can be read for the patterns and the types of selves that participants assert for themselves and for others. Studying narratives are additionally useful for what they reveal about social life- culture that 'speaks itself' through an individual's story.

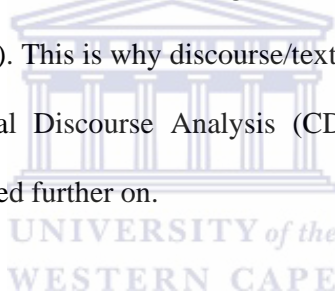
Riessman further explains that through the analysis of narratives it is possible to examine gender inequalities, racial oppression, and other practices of power that may be taken for granted by individual speakers (Riessman 1993: 5). This point is salient for the thesis as its primary aim is to understand how participants perceive integration as well as gaining insight into how students' construct their perception of self and others at UWC, through narratives.

Identity narratives offer a unique means of resolving this tension, (re)constructing the links between past, present, and future, and imposing coherence where there was none (Czarniawska 2000; Hall 1990; Pavlenko & Blackledge 1998; Pavlenko & Blackledge 2001) ..."(Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004: 18)

This perspective privileges a dynamic view of identities, with individuals continuously involved in production of selves, positioning of others, revision of

identity narratives, and creation of new ones which valorise new modes of being and belonging. ...” (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004: 19)

When analyzing the narrative data obtained, it is vital that background and context of the narrative be explored. Thus, it is fundamental that a narrative should be explored beyond the content, also focusing on the structure of the narrative – how a narrative is organized and plotted (Crossely 2000; Riessman 1993; Eggins & Slade 1997; Fairclough 1995; Wodak & Meyer 2001). The chief objective of the narrative data analysis is to ascertain how participants make sense and give meaning to their experiences and to events in their lives through selection of language and speech forms (Eggins & Slade 1997). This is why discourse/text analysis, discussed under the umbrella concept of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), is an extremely useful analytical tool and is discussed further on.



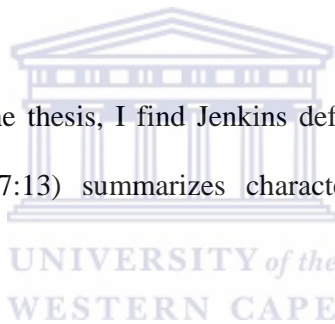
2.2 Understanding Integration and Ethnicity

Considering South Africa’s past of forcibly separating people into racial and ethnic groups, intrinsically linked to integration, is the issue of what constitutes ethnicity. Newman (1978: 105) posits that the central tendency of ethnicity is how people define themselves vis-à-vis others, how distinctions are made between ‘we’ and ‘they’. For Sinclair, the theory of ethnicity is concerned with understanding the nature of the social bonds that exist within the myriad communities of which individuals are part (Sinclair 2000: 19).

Weber supplements this by defining ethnic groups as “those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists” (Weber 1968:389) in Malesevic (2004:25).

Both of these definitions understand ethnicity in relation to an individual’s connection with the community from which s/he belongs. Weber, however, includes that an individual can be part of a group due to other external matters, such as migration and colonization.

However, at this stage of the thesis, I find Jenkins definition of ethnicity to be the most fitting. Jenkins (1997:13) summarizes characteristics of ethnicity as the following:



- a) It is about cultural differentiation
- b) It is centrally concerned with culture –shared meaning- but it is also rooted in, and to a considerable extent the outcome of, social interaction.
- c) It is no more fixed or unchanging than the culture of which it is a component or the situations in which it is produced and reproduced; and
- d) Ethnicity as a social identity is collective and individual, externalized in social interaction and internalized in personal self-identification.

At UWC it is cogent that there are many students from different backgrounds. However, the way one signals ethnicity may vary from one group to the next. Milroy

posits that there are many ethnic groups that use a distinctive language associated with their particular ethnic identity (Milroy 1987:190). This is a simple yet efficient form of signalling ethnicity. Nevertheless, speaking a distinctive language to signal one's ethnicity is not necessarily required. Milroy further states that "Even when a complete conversation in an ethnic language is not possible, people may use short phrases, verbal fillers or linguistic tags, which signal ethnicity" (Milroy 1987: 191). This has been to occur quite often amongst all ethnic groups.

However, as with the case of an ethnic group which does not have (or use) any distinctive language to set themselves apart from others, there are *still* ways in which one can signal ethnicity. Indians like some Coloureds at UWC, for instance, have English as their mother tongue. However, as Milroy corroborates these types of ethnic groups signal their ethnicity in other ways. For instance, ethnic minority groups with no distinguishing physical features may use other characteristics such as religion, dress and distinctive speech styles to distinguish themselves from the majority group (Milroy 1987: 192).

At this point, one must now be cognizant of the fact that relationships between speakers cannot only be dependent on ethnicity and language. For this purpose social network analysis is to be used. This is pertinent as social networks moves the focus to the relationship between people as appose to social features of the speaker alone, such as status, sex age and ethnicity (Milroy 1987:201).

In order to uncover South African perspectives on ethnicities and social identities, a 1996 research report entitled Race and Ethnic Relation Barometer was undertaken by

the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). According to this report, there are four main socio-racial groupings in South Africa, namely: Whites, Blacks, Coloureds and Asians/ Indians.

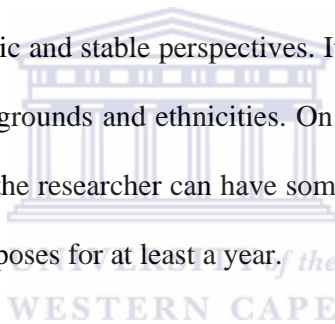
Of the above –mention socio-racial groupings named, the thesis will be concentrating on Blacks situated in South Africa, Coloureds, Indian and Asian students, as well as Black students from elsewhere in Africa. The number of White students is small in comparison with the other ethnic groups on campus and I will therefore not be including them in the sample for the thesis.

The issue of integration is also by no means an easy one to define. The word ‘integration’ is derived from the Latin word *integrationem* – meaning ‘renewal, restoration to wholeness’. The Oxford dictionary defines integration as: “The making up of a composition of a whole by adding together or combining the separate parts or elements; combination into an integral whole: a making whole or entire.” This entails bringing together of students from different ethnic, linguistic or national backgrounds. The problem with this definition is that it does not say for what purpose and in what contexts this is supposed to happen.

Another and yet somewhat complex definition of integration is posited by Malesevic (2004: 47), who states that it “involves regulation, adjustment and co-ordination of a variety of actors and units within a system with the view of keeping the system operational”. No doubt Malesevic defines integration from systems, institutional or organizational rather than a social perspective.

Smith (1998) perhaps has a more inclusive definition of integration as a social condition, which goes beyond simple racial mixing in the area and that contact is maintained and common effort is exerted to keep the community intact. He goes on to explain that integration has both a stable and a dynamic component. Integration is explained to be dynamic in that there must be some specific proportion of differing racial, ethnic, or other cultural constituencies in the area under consideration. Also it is stable when the proportion (of ethnic groups) remains constant for some time.

These definitions of integration will be useful in my study. For instance, considering Smith (1998) definition, I can argue that UWC is an ideal ground in which to study integration from both dynamic and stable perspectives. It is dynamic in that UWC has students from different backgrounds and ethnicities. On the other hand, these diverse ethnicities are stable in that the researcher can have some surety that the students will be available for research purposes for at least a year.



Related to social condition of integration is what I shall term ‘situational condition’ of integration. In this idiom, integration will be defined as more than mere institution-driven coming together of people, or simple ‘mixing’ of people from different ethnic, linguistic, etc backgrounds. Integration will be defined as a move towards meaningful interactions in which people’s experiences and modes of communication are shared and with these interactions not being defined or confined to any one domain (i.e. academic, social, work) (see Hymes 1972, 1996, for domain analysis and ethnography of interaction/communication).

Following the situational condition of integration, I want here, to posit the further categorization of integration, which I shall henceforth term 'situational integration'. This type or category of integration is modeled on earlier work done by Okamaru (1981:452) who explores the similar concept of 'situational ethnicity' elucidated here by Paden (1970:268) as:

The observation that particular contexts may determine which of a person's communal identifies or loyalties are appropriate at a point in time

Similarly, situational integration will be premised on the notion that an individual's willingness to integrate is context-driven, meaning that an individual may choose to vary the level of involvement with others at any given time depending on the amount of importance s/he attaches to the situation. This means that it is possible to make a distinction between 'academic' and 'social' situational integration. Most importantly for this study, social networks at UWC do not necessarily have to be formed on the basis of socio-racial background of students. All the same, the usefulness of this concept can only plausibly be measured after analyzing the narratives on integration.

Therefore, the focus will be on situational integration in relation to issues such as; students' perception of ethnicity and identity, their views of others from different ethnic groups, and/or social networks, motives for and against integration and how language functions as a supporter or deterrent for integration in the domain of 'Higher Education in a multilingual speech community which constitutes UWC.

2.3 Domains and Speech Communities

UWC is made up of many different students hailing from a diverse and colourful mix of ethnicities, ages and backgrounds. In order to understand these groups better, one can categorize these groups further into what is termed as ‘domains’.

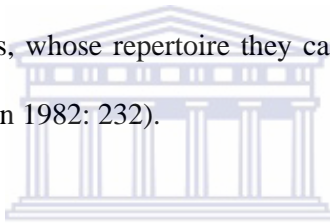
Holmes description of domains places much emphasis on social factors, i.e., who you are talking to, the social context of the talk and the function and topic of discussion. These factors turn out to be important in accounting for language choices in many of the different kinds of speech communities (Holmes 1992: 23).

The most apparent domain for which to explore at UWC falls under that of ‘Education’. Therefore, the setting will be UWC, the topic would most likely be that of academic work, assignments, exams etc and the participants would be the students and lecturers. Here, one needs to be cognizant of the fact that these participants can be divided further into what is known as ‘speech communities’. Holmes elaborates further stating that domains prove useful when describing code choice in large speech communities.

When endeavouring to define speech communities, it is necessary to understand the umbrella term under which it is derived, specifically that of ‘community’. Holmes posits that a community might be considered as “a social unit whose language patterns are amenable to study” (Holmes 1992:17). Bearing this in mind, one notes that analyzing a community will be helpful to the researcher in order to understand the

language patterns of pre-existing groups within a defined territorial area (Holmes 1997:17).

The term speech community, first used by linguist-cum-anthropologist Ferguson in 1959 is developed by Gumperz (1968, 1982) who defines it as “any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage” (Gumperz 1968 : 219). Thus, a speech community can be a small group of people who come together in face-to-face interaction, a nation-state with a number regions, or specialized associations or street gangs (Gumperz 1982). A speech community can share two or more languages, whose repertoire they can use in different contexts of use (Gumperz 1982; Ferguson 1982: 232).



At UWC I have identified five clearly defined speech communities which will be used in the research, they are: Chinese, Xhosa, Setswana, Afrikaans and English. I will be looking at matters such as how these groups relate to one another and will use work done by Giles concerning ‘divergence’ and ‘convergence’.

2.3.1 Accommodation Theory

According to Giles, Coupland & Coupland (1991: 2) ‘Accommodation’ is seen as “a multiply organized and contextually complex set of alternatives, ubiquitously available to communicators in faces-to-face talk. It can function to index and achieve solidarity with or dissociation from a conversational partner reciprocally and dynamically.”

Solidarity between speakers is achieved when the interactants “converge”; this means that during a conversation, speakers that *facilitate* the verbal exchange with the other interactor(s) during a conversation are converging. Giles, Coupland & Coupland (1991: 2) defines convergence as “...a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other communicative behaviours in terms of a wide range of linguistic- prosodic- nonverbal features including speech rate, pausal phenomena and utterance length, phonological variants smiling...”. This is done by using the same language or register when conversing with the other speakers, thus enabling fluidity during the interaction,

Contrasting this is divergence, which refers to the way in which speakers accentuate speech and nonverbal differences between themselves and others. In other words, they can choose to diverge during a conversation by deliberately deviating or being disagreeable (Giles, Coupland & Coupland 1991: 2). Thus, this can also be done through speaking a language that is not understood or spoken by the other speaker(s).

The Accommodation theory will therefore be very useful when analyzing the movements between different ethnic groups in relation to paradigms of perceived convergence/ divergence, issues of ideology, intergroup variables, discursive practices and social consequences.

2.3.2 ‘Passing’ and ‘Refusal’

‘Passing’ and ‘refusal’ go hand in hand with Rampton’s ‘*crossing*’, which is defined as “... switching into languages that are not generally thought to belong to you. This kind of switching, in which there is a distinct sense of movement across social or ethnic boundaries, raises issues of social legitimacy that participants need to negotiate...” (Rampton 1995: 280). However, for the purpose of the study, I will be

looking at ‘passing’ and ‘refusal’ in relation to assigned identity students find themselves in.

What is interesting about an ‘assigned’ identity is whether students choose to ‘pass’ or ‘refuse’ the identity. ‘*Passing*’ is where, in order to avoid all the talk that draws attention to their use of an out-group code, people pretend that the out-group code is actually part of their own inheritance (Rampton 1995:288). Kamwangamalu remarks that “...during apartheid... *passing* was (common) and involved mainly language and skin colour. He gives the example of Blacks who could demonstrate fluency in Afrikaans could pass for “Coloureds” and thus have access to the privileges and advantages that were then reserved for Coloureds (Kamwangamalu 2001:76).

‘*Refusal*’ is described as being on the other extreme of ‘passing’ as a way of “avoiding the experience of anomaly that crossing entails” says (Kamwangamalu 2001:76) who goes on to explain that “in post-Apartheid South Africa the use of and resistance to crossing cannot be discussed in a vacuum, for they are closely linked to the social history of language and ethnicity in this country”.

2.4. Analytical Framework

2. 4.0 Discourse/Text Analysis and the Poststructuralist Approach

In line with the poststructuralist approach (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004) adopted in this study, the analytical frame will be informed by Discourse/Text Analysis in which conversation will be analyzed to ascertain how integration is expressed by the informants. It is important to note that particular emphasis will be placed on the

discourse analysis of texts with very little emphasis on the ‘critical’ ideology that informs it.

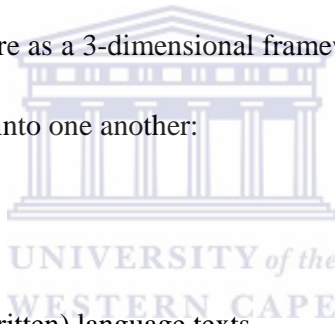
Overall CDA is not used in its capacity to “investigates social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted by language use (in discourse)” (Wodak and Meyer 2001: 2), but rather as analytical tool to analyse students’ narratives/text on identity and integration. In this regard CDA is particularly useful when understood within the larger framework of the poststructural approach which views language within its broader socio-political and economic backdrop (cf. Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). It is thus worthy of note as indicated above that the focus on CDA in this study lies more in the discourse/ text analysis rather than the ‘critical’ part which usually involves ideological formation and power relations. Therefore, the interest is in how texts generated by the students tell us something about integration or non-integration at UWC. Ultimately, my interest is the link between how texts associate with social networks and whether these link directly or indirectly with specific speech communities.

Therefore, when discussing the narratives supplied by the different ethnic groups the analysis of discourse/text makes an important reference to the broader speech communities to which they belong.

The important characteristics of a speech community are that its members share a particular language (or variety of a language) as well as the norms (or rules) for the appropriate use of their language in social context, and that these speakers be distinguished from other comparable groups by similar socio-linguistic criteria

(Katamba & Southerland 1998: 541). For instance, in this regard, Coloureds can be said to constitute a speech community, but within this community can also be found ‘sub-speech communities’, which may be region-based, religion-based or even gang-based.

CDA is also pertinent because as Fairclough (1995, 2001) described it, it treats language as social practice. This will enable me to not only explore, but also reflect on how far UWC has come with regard to integration and also to investigate how language use, as social practice among students, functions as a factor in segregative and integrative tendencies at UWC. Fairclough better explains CDA when he says that it is “... consolidated here as a 3-dimensional framework where the aim is to map 3 separate forms of analysis into one another:



- (1) Analysis of (spoken or written) language texts
- (2) Analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and
- (3) Analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice” (Fairclough 1995, 2)

In summary, though I use CDA to analyze the transcribed narratives (interview responses) I focus largely on the discourse analysis of the structure and language usage as tools for integration or segregation, which *may act* as distinguishing factors between different student social networks. One key issue here lies in the extent in

which students use particular languages or dialects in order to either contribute to integration or segregation. In addition to this, I will also examine the attitudes and narratives implicit in narrative texts concerning integration that will emerge from students during the interviews (cf. Fairclough 1995, 2001; Baynham 2000; Eggins & Slade 1997).

2.4.1 Code-Switching (CS)

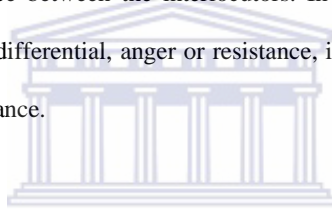
Code switching (CS) is considered an ‘in-group’ phenomena and “usually seen as a device used to affirm participants’ claims to membership and the solidarity of the group in contrast to outsiders’ (Woolard 1988: 69-70). Rampton elaborates on this point stating that “members may alternate between codes without being consciously aware of it” (Rampton 1995:282). As the interviews were conducted in English we find that CS occurred mainly through the insertion of Afrikaans, Xhosa, Chinese or Tswana.

In line with Pavlenko & Blackledge’s outline for examining code switching, I will “aim to examine instances of negotiation of identities that are not necessarily limited to CS and to explain what identity options are available to speech event participants, what shapes these options, and which identities are being signaled or challenged and why. In other words, rather than examining reasons for the choice of particular languages, we will consider how languages are appropriated in construction and negotiations of particular identities. To do so, we will appeal to poststructuralist theory which recognizes the sociohistorically shaped partiality, contestability, instability, and mutability of ways in which language ideologies and identities are

linked to relations of power and political arrangements in communities and societies” (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:10).

The next argument lies in the link between identity negotiation and integration. Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004) are very informative in this regard. Citing Myers-Scotton (2003), Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004: 8) argue thus:

Speakers opt for a language that would symbolize the rights and obligations they wish to enforce on the exchange in question and index the appropriate identities. If such choice is indexical of solidarity it can narrow the social distance between the interlocutors. In turn, if it is used to index the power differential, anger or resistance, it could serve to increase the social distance.



My argument is that where students use language or forms of language to show solidarity, then there is likelihood for integration, but where these are used to index power difference, status or resistance, chances of integration are reduced. The reason is that in the latter scenario, social (and economic) distance and resistance is likely to lead to a non-integrated student populace as a result of the tension arising out of (the socio-economic) hierarchies that are likely to ensue. This argument is further developed below.

2.5 Understanding Student Interactions: ‘Transactions’ Versus ‘Exchanges’

To measure social interaction at UWC, it has been stated time and time again that interactions may be considered *more or less socially meaningful* than others.

Certainly, from the initial interview data obtained, a difference in *purpose* of interaction has emerged. This difference can be understood when looking at Milroy's concepts of 'transaction' and 'exchange'.

Milroy speaks about transactions as messages that pass along network interactions governed by the principle that the value gained by an individual in a transaction is equal to, or greater than, the cost. These transactions may consist of goods and services of many kinds, including greetings, civilities, and jokes or, in this case, the *receiving and giving of information strictly for academic purposes* (Milroy 1987: 48).

Here one can reflect on interactions by students which presumably serve only one specific (i.e. pass exams etc). The investigation then focuses on the purpose and the 'cost'. Consequently, with the purpose being to (for instance) pass exams or complete an assignment, what then could one identify as the 'cost'. And could the cost ever be considered too high? Nearly a unanimous response from all participants in the study stated that when it comes to their studies – there was 'no person I wouldn't talk to for help', meaning there was no cost too high. Therefore, one may assume that when students interact under these circumstances, they are in fact merely obtaining some kind of service as oppose to 'socializing', which will be discussed under what can be understood as meaningful social 'exchanges'.

According to Milroy, an 'exchange' occurs "when goods and services flow in both directions between links" (Milroy 1987: 48). Now, when relating this definition of exchange (without cost!) students interactions as analyzed from the data obtained during interviews show a sharp disinclination to participate in such contact. Milroy

(1987: 49) goes on to say that: “the notion of obligation is contingent on that of exchange”. She goes on to say that seemingly more valued goods and services may be provided by one person than another, thus creating an obligation to return them and that these goods and services may be material or even stem from qualities of personality and leadership (Milroy 1987: 49). Elaborating further, she says that the important point is that because of the asymmetry, the network becomes a mechanism whereby pressures, resulting from obligations contracted within the network, are applied to influence an individual’s behaviour. This means that if the individual wishes to protect social relationships, these constant obligations must be honoured (Milroy 1987:49). This can be seen with Milroy’s example of Kapferer’s (1969) study of side-taking in a fight, as it shows that individuals will go to extraordinary lengths to reserve key network relationships. Similarly, when participants were asked about interactions with students (which did not have any evident purpose) students invariably replied that their reason (obligation) to their friend was simply to keep their friend happy.

It will be interesting to discover the type of student interactions and whether there is a pattern of engaging in interactions as transactions or exchanges amongst the different ethnic groups at UWC.

2.6 Negotiating Identities at UWC

“The term ‘identity’ comes from Latin, *idem*, meaning ‘the same’, and identities are constituted by socially counting as ‘the same’ as others or counting as ‘different’ from others...” (Bailey 2007:258). Identity in a multilingual context is quite complex and

can encompass other concepts, such as: ‘hybridity’, ‘assigned’ (institutional) identities and ‘multicultural’ identities.

In terms of identity, I will once again appeal to the poststructuralist theory as it treats identity as “...multidimensional, contingent and subject to negotiation (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2001; Bucholtz 1999; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1999; Hill 1999; Lo 1999 in Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004: 95).

Identities are viewed “as social, discursive, and narrative options offered by a particular society in a specific time and place to which individuals and groups of individuals appeal in an attempt to self-name, to self-characterize, and to claim social spaces and social prerogatives. We also want to underscore that, while we recognize the intrinsic link between languages and identities, identity is not always an interesting or relevant concept for investigation of language use in multilingual settings. As pointed out earlier, in some contexts, where relations are relatively stable, dominant interpretations and identity options may reign uncontested, at least temporarily. As a result, linguist practices in these contexts may be better understood in socio-political and economic terms rather than in terms of identity” (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004: 19).

In sum, the way students signal and negotiate their identities in different situations will allow me to gage the amount and quality of interactions and attempt and understanding of how students negotiate their identities in relation to integration.

2.6.1 Positioning of Identities

This phenomenon can be explained in terms of *positioning of identity* in what Davies & Harré (1990) terms the ‘positioning theory’ which is used to “...analyze how identities are shaped, produced, and negotiated...” (Davies and Harré 1990:48). The theory distinguishes between three types of identities: imposed identities (which are not negotiable in a particular time and place), assumed identities (which are accepted and not negotiated), and negotiable identities (which are contested by groups and individuals) (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:21).

In this regard, I will explore how “...certain aspects of identity may be negotiable in given contexts, others may be less so, since individuals may be positioned (Davies & Harré, 1990) by dominant groups in ways they did not choose, in these situations, individuals or groups may seek to challenge, resist, or transform accepted identity categories to allow for greater identity options” (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004: 95)

Therefore, what is discussed above are identities as “...multiple characteristics and allegiances ... the situational and selective highlighting of commonalities and differences that is characteristic of identity groupings” (Moerman 1965) (Bailey in Heller 2007:258).

2.6.2 Hybrid Identities

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 101) state that “[an] important aspect of identities in the present [poststructural] framework is their multiplicity.”

Hybrid identities between both students from the historically 'white' university and UWC are explored with particular focus on how they signal and exercise their linguistic repertoire and corresponding identity options in the different institutions.

The poststructural approach is especially useful as it "...highlights the fact that identities are constructed at the interstices of multiple axes, such as age, race class, ethnicity, gender, generation, sexual orientation, geopolitical locale, institutional affiliation and social status, whereby each aspect of identity redefines and modifies all others" and that "since individuals often shift and adjust ways in which they identify and position themselves in distinct contexts, identities are best understood when approached in their entirety, rather than through consideration of a single aspect or subject position ..." (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004: 16).

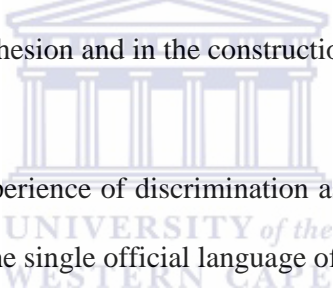
When we look at hybrid identities we see that UWC students, as with those students from the 'White' university, do indeed share a dual desire for both English as well as their African languages. However, the difference lies in the corresponding linguistic options this identity allows for or is opted for. As with the case of UWC, although English is still very much viewed as a conduit for upward social mobility, African languages do not simply play a 'symbolic' role, in fact, one could argue that indigenous languages play a big role in not only expressing identity but reinforcing knowledge gained through the dominant language of discourse - English.

Pavlenko & Blackledge posit that "At times, fragmentation and splintering give birth to new, hybrid, identities and linguistic repertoires new discourse of gender, sexuality,

class, or ethnicity may bring with them new identity options, just as other options may be fading into the background” (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:17).

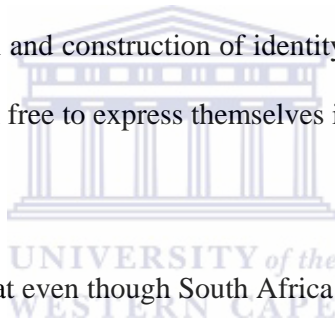
2.7 Identity Options in a Multilingual Context

Taking Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004) arguments further we can say that the value of multilingualism in South Africa can be said to be ascertained through the identity options that such a setting provides for. During a conference on Multilingualism in South Africa, van Rensburg and Prinsloo highlighted the following social and cultural benefits:

- 
- a) Sharing in the pleasure of being a speaker of a South African home language, results in a sense of social cohesion and in the construction of identity;
 - b) Avoiding the negative experience of discrimination as a result of poor proficiency in, or lack of knowledge of the single official language of a monolingual country;
 - c) Acquiring knowledge and skills efficiently through their first language, rather than experiencing the difficulty of having to acquire it by means of a second language (L2) as medium of instruction;
 - d) Avoiding the humiliation and hurt of experiencing their mother tongue to be stigmatized and non-legitimized; and
 - e) Avoiding being compelled to use, as a second or foreign language in all public domains, a language with which they are not sufficiently acquainted.

Of the benefits cited above the ones that is of extreme relevance to UWC is that of a, b and c and I explore them further below.

a) In his analysis of literacy practices among Black and Coloured students at UWC Banda (2004) notes that more often than not enjoy the use of speaking their home language freely and without discrimination on campus. Once again the role of English in this regard needs to be addressed. There is a sharp distinction between speaking English in class (where it is mandatory and it appears that students do fervently want it to remain that way anyway) and outside of class where students virtually always revert to their home language amongst friends (Banda 2007). Thus in this regard, and in relation to social cohesion and construction of identity it is apparent that UWC has achieved this as students feel free to express themselves in their mother tongue.



b) Mesthrie (2002) shows that even though South Africa has 11 official languages and is in no way a monolingual country, it is true that English is the dominant language for all official, educational interactions and therefore in a sense does play a similar role to that of one official language. The affect of poor proficiency of English at UWC has not yet been properly researched. Banda (2007) suggests that the level of English competency does indeed affect *access* into specific social groupings. This may seem as a discrimination of sorts and is discussed further in chapter four.

c) This is a very tricky point to examine without more research being undertaken. By the time students reach tertiary education they will have already been exposed to various degrees of English at primary and secondary school. However, on reaching

university, the MOI is English. The transition that students encounter has not yet been properly researched.

2.8 English language Competence and Access

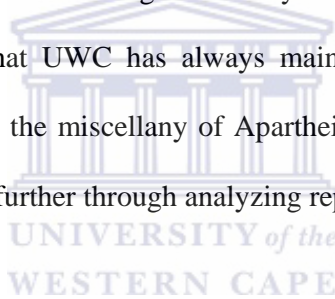
Following Banda (2007) I will argue that some groups' membership is (partly) constructed on the level of English language competence across different ethnic groups at UWC. This brings me back to the earlier point made of English forming an integral factor in the formation of identities at UWC. I will argue that one's level of English competency will possibly be an indicator of who one integrates. Access into groups where students have the same competency will be easier and also that low English competency is a shared 'burden' / 'phenomena' that can be identified and analyzed on a phonological level. In a similar vein, those with higher levels of proficiency will be more inclined to allow access to those of a lower proficiency – but that this interaction will most likely be integrative (on behalf of the higher proficiency speaker).

If this is found to be true, then Asians and Xhosas should feel very comfortable and supposedly be found amongst English second or third language speakers (regardless of race) and that their speech should mirror their company.

Research indicates that Indians and Coloureds tend to grouped into one ethnic group. However, this is not believed to be true from the perspective of the Indian community at UWC. Surprisingly, they do tend to use Afrikaans quite comfortably in conversation for amusement or emphasis purposes. Coloureds use Afrikaans to signal in-group membership. And amongst these two groups there is a (small) group of

Coloureds that are neither Afrikaans nor Indian and is what one informant termed an 'English Coloured'.

Considering that the entry level for any degree at UWC is said by many to be quite low and that 'anyone can get in'. This is most likely true, but cannot be confirmed until further research is undertaken. Of the informants that were interviewed, virtually all of them came to UWC because no-one else would accept them. At first, this may seem like a dire problem for UWC to address and it may be suggested that entry levels at UWC should be increased so as to ensure a higher quality of academic output. But it seems that this is done by a neighbouring 'white' university as the level there is quite high. However considering the history of South Africa combined with the anti-Apartheid stance that UWC has always maintained, one could posit that UWC is once again fighting the miscellany of Apartheid through its low entry level and what I term and discuss further through analyzing reported tutorial interaction.



Tutorials or 'tuts' at UWC allows students to choose their own group members. More often than not, what we see and what has been verified from informants' responses during interviews are that students of the same home language will instantly group together. This is a practice that is largely frowned upon by lecturers and tutors alike as it is seen as a form of self-segregation. However, the possible benefits of such an arrangement have not yet been researched.

In a bid to integrate students in tuts, lecturers in the Linguistics department often group students of different ethnicities together deliberately. It would be interesting to track whether students with an initial low proficiency in English have a tendency to group themselves in such a way and then to research whether these same language

groups decrease as the level of proficiency in English increases from first to third year. This discussion of tutorial interactions is discussed further in chapter four.

2.9 A Brief Look at Social Grouping and Networks

In order to supplement and make sense of any remaining data, I look briefly at the social networks that the informants are a part of and endeavour to explain why they belong to a particular social grouping.

Holmes defines social networks as “...the patterns of informal relationships people are involved in on a regular basis” (Holmes 1992: 202). The thesis then aims to investigate how different ethnic groups or speech communities are linked to each other when it comes to patterns of informal relationships or social networks. Social networks can be described either as density or plexity. Density here refers to whether members of a person’s (ethnic group) or network are in touch with each other. In other words, the thesis aims to investigate whether students within the same social network know each other independently of each other.

Plexity on the other hand is a measure of the range of different types of transactions people are involved in with different individuals. Holmes believes social networks to be important, as even though “social class background, sex, age, and ethnicity of the speakers are relevant they do not always have the capacity to make sense of the interactions of between certain speakers” (Holmes 1992: 202).

CHAPTER THREE

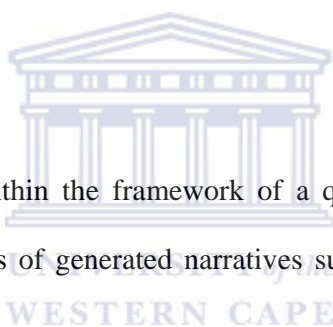
RESEARCH AND DESIGN

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological considerations undertaken in the study. Firstly a description of the research design is posited in order to give a clear outline as to the processes carried out in the chapter. Secondly, the sampling procedure is discussed further with a detailed discussion of the focus group and one-on-one interviews. Thereafter an explanation on data collection and document analysis is outlined.

3.1 Research Design

The study strictly works within the framework of a qualitative approach with the focus resting on the analysis of generated narratives supplied by informants during interviews.

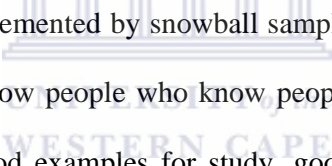


The interviewing process spanned a period of two semesters and lasted approximately one hour per group. Focus group interviews were undertaken first and thereafter one-on-one interviews were conducted in order to gain better understanding of topics raised by the focus groups.

3.2 Sampling Procedure

First, I relied on 'self identification' in which participants were asked to claim an identity using the HRSC scale discussed elsewhere. Thereafter I applied purposive

sampling to identify respondents who would provide the best information that would achieve the objectives set out in this study (cf. Kumar 1999). The power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information rich key informants, thus enabling me to target and engage only those respondents who are likely to have the required information and are willing to share it (Kumar 1999). This is important in this study because not everyone is comfortable and willing to provide information on ethnicity and identity. Therefore the identification of a “few ‘rich cases’... those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of evaluation thus the term “purposeful” sampling” (Patton 1987: 52). In this sampling technique the “researcher uses knowledge of the population to locate the best informants” (Kane 2004:133).



Purposive sampling is complemented by snowball sampling which identifies cases of interest from people who know people who know people who know what cases are information-rich, that is, good examples for study, good interview subjects (Patton 1990, 1987). The researcher hence identifies key informants and asks them to identify other informants who will be interviewed and asked to identify others and so on (Engel and Schutt 2005).

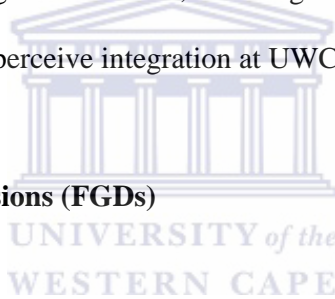
3.2.1 Key Informant Interviews (KIIS)

For the study I selected key informants among the five self-identified ethnic groups on campus, namely: ‘Indians’, ‘Coloureds’, ‘Asians’, ‘Blacks’ from South Africa and finally ‘Blacks’ from elsewhere in Africa. I started my search from the location where they can most typically be found, namely the Barn (for Black and Coloured), the

cafeteria (all groups), 'little Bombay' (Indian) and the UWC residence cafeteria (Asian, Black, Coloured and Black from elsewhere in Africa) and thereafter snowball sampling will lead me to other subjects. In total I conducted 17 interviews, interviewing a total of 25 informants collectively.

The interview is being treated both as a resource and topic. Firstly, it is used as a resource in order to gain access as to students' views and attitudes on integration. However, more chiefly, interviews can be used as a *topic* with the focus lying on what happens during the interview itself as well as an opportunity to conduct direct linguistic observation through CDA. Thus, allowing for a deeper understanding of how different ethnic groups perceive integration at UWC.

3.2.2 Focus Groups Discussions (FGDs)

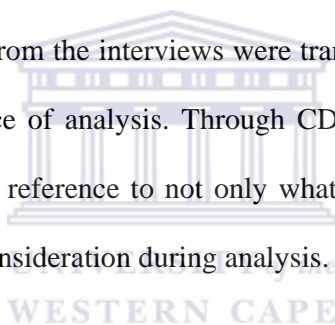


Key informant interviews were supplemented by focus groups. Focus groups are a rich base from which to discover opinions and viewpoints of respondents within and across ethnic groups. At the same time focus groups will be useful to iron out disparities and also to test some of the conflicting views arising out of KIIs. Focus groups discussions are also significant in providing first hand 'insider' accounts of how they (the participants) understand, value and construct ideologies around what is being done (Baynham 2000; Mohan 2003), in this case language and ethnicity on the one hand, integration and formation of social networks at UWC on the other. The idea was to collect and analyse narratives on integration from five (5) different groups. This means the questions used in interviews and FGDs were guides rather than an exacting or rigid structure that had to be followed (Crossley 2000).

Eleven (11) FGDs were undertaken with at least one FGD per self-identified ethnic group. The groups were homogenous with each consisting of either two or three participants. However, I am cognizant of the fact that some social groups are not necessarily formed along ethnic backgrounds. Therefore, one other 'mixed' social group was included for comparative purposes.

3.3 Data Collection and Document Analysis

All interview sessions were audio-recorded with signed permission of the participants. Data obtained from the interviews were translated and transcribed and is treated as the primary source of analysis. Through CDA, how students constructed their speech, with particular reference to not only what they said but also how they said it was also taken into consideration during analysis.



Observations on interviewees' non-verbal gestures were also noted down at the time in order to supplement any data analysis at a later stage. After reading through transcriptions and highlighting specific facts which relate to the topic of integration, I listened to the audio recording for emphasis and intonation and made further notes of this. In the next chapter, words and sentences that are said with emphasis (indicating anger or surprise) were written in capitals.

In order to simplify understanding of the transcription data, I have used the same transcription key as Eggins and Slade (1997), as seen below:

- (_) Researcher guess/ explanations
- = = Interruption / simultaneity
- ... Speech drifts off
- [] Inaudible/ irrelevant utterance
- False start/ restart

CAPS Emphasis

/italics/ Translations

More on the analysis of these transcriptions can be seen in the next chapter. Lastly, document analysis was done on UWC official Registration figures, Ilwimi and RAG material and SRC Documents.



3.4 Ethical Considerations

All participants used in the study did so voluntarily and anonymously. Participants (henceforth known as informants) were given some idea of the purpose of the study as they were told that it concerned their experiences at UWC and their interactions with students of other cultures.

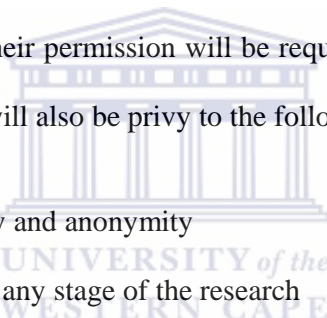
The informants had a big say in where, when and how long they wanted the interview to be. Participants were given a consent form (an example of which is supplied in Appendix A) and were asked to read and sign it before commencing with interviews. Thereafter the participants were shown the mp3 recorder and were told how it worked. Some students first wanted to ask a few question regarding the interview

beforehand, therefore only after all questions were answered satisfactorily did I commence with interviews.

At times, during interviews, informants would mention names and places unconsciously and unintentionally and for this purpose certain portions have been removed from the transcriptions.

3.4.1 Ethic Statement

All interviewees will be participating on a voluntary basis with no monetary remuneration of any kind. Their permission will be requested before recording of the interview takes place. They will also be privy to the following allowances:

- 
- I. Confidentiality and anonymity
 - II. Withdrawal at any stage of the research
 - III. Research protocol – they will be privy to the purpose of the research.

Focus group participants will be asked to keep any disclosure of sensitive information to themselves.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 Introduction

In the new multicultural multilingual South Africa, as seen with the case of UWC, lots of research on issues such as segregation along ethnic and language lines (mainly due to the Apartheid legacy) have been extensively researched. However, contrasting to this, this chapter focuses more on languages in relation to integration of students of different cultures and who speak different languages. What we see and what is endeavoured to be explained in this chapter is that of understanding integration in relation to 'identities' and 'linguistic options' in a multilingual setting.

The issue of integration and whether UWC is an integrated campus first came under the spotlight on hearing about 'Little Bombay' which appeared to be an exclusive spot for Indians at UWC. Little was known about Little Bombay, except for the obvious fact that it had been around for generations. However, although this was essentially the theses point of departure, since then, many other interesting and complex issues surrounding interactions and language practices have arisen, all of which are explored below.

Through the poststructuralist approach, how identities are challenged and affirmed in a multilingual educational context is explored. Concepts such as: positioning, code-switching, hegemony and identity options are employed in order to obtain an overall

impression and understanding of language choices and thereafter gain further insight into integration amongst the varying groups at UWC.

The potential one-to-one relationship between language and ethnicity is also investigated alongside its possible causes and probable impacts. In addition to this, it is salient to note that different identity options will not be assumed a priori but rather a feature of the thesis to emerge from the narratives. For this reason, I will not assume a one-to-one relationship between language and identity.

Furthermore, a comparative study with a neighbouring historically ‘white’ university is also undertaken in order to understand any correlating or contradictory findings.

4.1 Emerging New Identities at UWC

UWC enrolment documentation has assigned ethnic identities to students as African, Coloured, Indian, White, Asian, etc., and linguistic identities as Afrikaans, English, Xhosa, and Zulu (mostly according to the eleven official languages). The question is how these institutionally assigned identities are (re)produced, contested and challenged during student interaction, and the role they play to foster or impede integration.

For a start, the neat ‘package’ of race and language does not always come out as implied and suggested in official university documents as in most cases students curve themselves different identities and identity ‘mixes’. Below is an extract which highlights this point and looks at Xhosa dominance at UWC, which becomes a point

of departure by some Black students to signal alternative 'Black' identities that are not Xhosa-related:

Subject 1: There's no mix at all, there's just Xhosas and Coloureds

Subject 2: No, its just Blacks and Coloureds

Subject 1: Just Blacks and Coloureds, but there's MOSTLY XHOSAS!

Mostly Xhosas...

The informants under discussion felt a sense of separation from the Xhosa students and quickly asserted themselves as having a Black identity different from the Xhosa one. What is interesting is how the informants expressed their identity and positioned themselves in relation to the different interactions they have encountered with Xhosa students. Both informants had originally been studying at other universities and were from provinces outside of the Western Cape. The sentiment of Xhosa dominance at UWC is explained further by a short excerpt of one of the informants' experiences:

...They just start speaking Xhosa to you and I'm like 'I don't understand what you are saying'...and...they like 'Oh, what language do you speak?' and I'm like 'XiTsonga', and they like 'What?' XiTsonga? Where are you from?' Limpopo. 'Oh, where is that?' And I'm like 'What do you mean where is that and I was like actually surprised that they were asking me where Limpopo is, where Tsonga is...

What we see in the excerpt above is a recount of how an informant adapted a 'negotiable identity'. The young female is a native Tsonga speaker from Limpopo and

recounts (with some disdain) an experience about being addressed in Xhosa by Xhosa students without any thought that she may be from another part of South Africa. This occurrence is not at all an isolated one at UWC with many Black students being addressed in Xhosa and on replying in English, having the addressee simply walk away from them.

Below are corroborating comments that arose from the BaTswana FGD's concerning interactions that they had experienced with Xhosa-speakers at UWC.

Its really bad. Those [Xhosa] people are really bad. If they ask you something in Xhosa and you say I don't understand that language, they just turn and go. They don't even...try to ask in English they just turn and go and leave

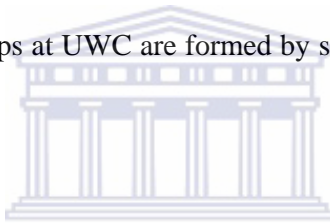
They walk away. It's like they know how to walk away, they like doing walking away from you

...they would like...come to you and then start speaking their language to you and then you respond in English. (muffled). They don't even look at you and then they walk away. Without even saying goodbye

What is clear by these above-mentioned comments is that there is no tolerance amongst Xhosa speakers towards Blacks that do not speak their language. The existing tension between Black students that speak Xhosa and those that do not at UWC is explored when looking at the perceived one-to-one relationship between ethnicity and language.

4.2 Challenging the Relationship between Language and Ethnicity at UWC

As the poststructuralist approach considers past historical influences, the attitude of Xhosas at UWC may be attributed to Apartheids influence on ideology of languages and specific cultures that they are supposed to belong to. A specified one Black identity is being contested by students at UWC and what is becoming cogent is that students do not always accept the identity to which they are assigned. There is evidence that some students challenge the assumption that there is always a relationship between language and ethnicity and by implication, this also challenges the belief that all social groups at UWC are formed by students from similar ethnic or other backgrounds.



Newman (1978: 105) posits that the central tendency of ethnicity is how people define themselves vis-à-vis others, how distinctions are made between ‘we’ and ‘they’. At first glance, a ‘we’ assumption is made with students of similar features and skin colour instantly being regarded as Xhosas. Consequently, this in- group membership is then attempted to be signalled further by a shared knowledge of language, in this case, Xhosa. However, on discovering that the language is not shared, a ‘they’ approach is adopted, with non-Xhosa speakers immediately being signalled as ‘outsiders’ or ‘other’.

The informant then spoke about an altercation she experienced with a Xhosa shop assistant at the dining hall (DH) on campus.

I've actually got some attitude from the other lady who works at the DH because I asked for bread in English. Normally they say it in Xhosa and I didn't know how to say it- so I said 'Excuse me, can I have a loaf of brown bread?' she responded in Xhosa

When asked if the student has now changed the way she speaks to the lady at the DH, her response was as follows:

...No, I still ask the same way...SORRY, she should get used to it. I know how to say it (in Xhosa now)...but I can't cheat myself out of who I am because I want to get accepted. I speak in English whether you understand it or not

Here the informant makes two vital points. Firstly, that she feels that speaking Xhosa will cheat her out of who she truly is. Secondly, that she will speak English whether it is understood or not. The first point shows how the informant deliberately chooses not to speak Xhosa and makes the connection between speaking Xhosa and being accepted by that ethnic group. Here, we see the informant's 'refusal' to exercise Xhosa identity options.

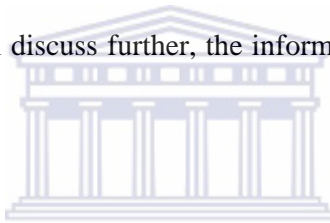
The second point is very interesting as the informant adapts a similar attitude as the Xhosa speakers that she's encountered at UWC. The informant is willing to speak a language that may potentially not be spoken readily by the next person.

This deliberate language choice can be understood in relation to Giles Accommodation theory, which speaks of convergent and divergent behaviours. As the student chooses to deliberately speak a different language we see two points: (a) she

does not undertake a divergent standpoint. Essentially, the student displays signs of deliberate disassociation which can be viewed as a move away from solidarity with the Xhosa identity.

In addition to this, another way of understanding how students position themselves in relation to others is explained further by what Rampton terms '*refusal*' and '*passing*'.

In the case of the informant, one could argue that it could have been very easy for the informant to pass for a Xhosa-speaker as she knows how to speak the language and displays the typical features that one would associate with a Xhosa student. However, as we see and will discuss further, the informant refused to signal a Xhosa identity.

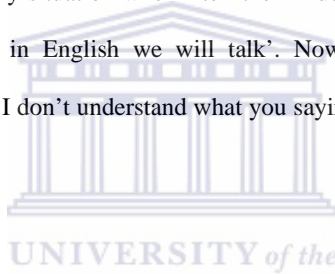


In fact, the informant not only refuses to change from her Tsonga identity into a Xhosa one but in addition also opts to use English in order to intentionally signal that she does not belong to that ethnic group. When asked if she has now changed her language when purchasing anything in the dining hall, her response was overwhelming negative.

What is interesting is that the language she chose to use is the lingua franca on campus so in a sense one wonders why this altercation occurred at all. Rampton states that: "Where there is a common lingua franca, this (refusal to cross) may present no difficulties..." (Rampton 1995:288). However as we see in this particular altercation, a lingua franca does not always offer a ready solution in situations where a specific language is expected by a particular group.

However, this assumed one-to-one relationship between ethnicity and language can also be seen with a Botswana informant that was both mistaken for being Coloured *as well as* Xhosa. This student is light of complexion with dreadlocks and his experiences are related below:

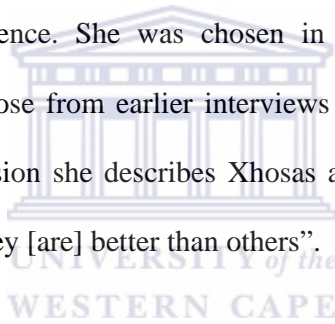
For me...I guess they get confused they don't know if I'm Coloured or...many a times. Most of people when they address me they speak Afrikaans and I tell them 'man I don't understand Afrikaans'. They look at me with confusion ... but at the end of the day, you know. They [Coloureds] understand my situation when I tell them I don't...I don't speak Afrikaans, 'speak in English we will talk'. Now the Xhosa people I always tell them I don't understand what you saying, 'speak in English we will talk'



What we see here is that the informant refuses to signal either a Coloured or Xhosa identity. He also opts for English when differentiating himself from those that have labelled him as one or the other. His attitude to both ethnic groups are exactly the same and what we may be able to deduce from this is that he views both Coloureds as well as Xhosas as having the same power or status. This could potentially be true since the informant is not South African and therefore does not share Apartheid's enforced indoctrination of ethnic hierarchy and separation (which puts Whites, Coloureds, Indians and Xhosas as mutually exclusive groups). This situation, as seen through the eyes of a foreigner to South Africa is described as a type of 'tension' and is discussed further by another Botswana informant:

The problem that I see that I think of South Africa tension...the separational tension, the tension and competition between the Coloureds and the Xhosas and...the competition amongst the Xhosas is very extreme...we (BaTswanas) don't know how to...how to...how to discriminate against people with regards to how they how they look. We've been trained in such a way that we take them as a person of humanity you understand so it's quite a different situation here

The 'competition' amongst Xhosas was explored further in the follow up interview (FUI) with an informant used in the earlier interview process. She is from the Western Cape and a Xhosa L1 speaker. She previously resided at home in Gugulethu but now stays on the campus residence. She was chosen in her capacity to answer the questions and issues that arose from earlier interviews – topics such as attitudes of Xhosas. By her own admission she describes Xhosas as “being full of themselves” and “always thinking that they [are] better than others”.



When asked about common misconceptions that people may have about Xhosas she responded “loud...proud...full of themselves” .This sentiment of being loud is one that has been frequently cited by other informants in the study as a characteristic of the Xhosas students at UWC.

4.3 Positioning Identities in Relation to Knowledge

The signaling of different identities also plays a crucial role in how students absorb and express information especially in tutorials at UWC. Of all the informants interviewed there was a general consensus on language choices in the classroom.

Although English is the MOI, most students opt to use their mother tongue when discussing work; this in turn means that these students tend to group themselves with those of the same ethnicity or cultural background as seen below:

You know with group work you tend to always tend to go with people you can like familiarize yourself with, PEOPLE THAT SPEAK THE SAME LANGUAGE...

This statement was made by a Xhosa speaker concerning her use of Xhosa in tutorials; and this sentiment has been expressed by every informant interviewed regardless of ethnicity.

Tutorials at UWC are often instances where students have the opportunity to place themselves in their own groups. What the informant above is discussing is a phenomenon which occurs quite frequently at UWC, whereby members of the same ethnicity and/ or language tend to gravitate towards one another and use another language besides English when discussing academic work (see Banda 2007). Of all the informants interviewed, we see that they situate themselves as favourably as possible in relation to understanding knowledge, either by grouping up with someone sharing the same language or a similar culture. This is an interesting platform on which to explore how students position themselves in relation to obtaining, cementing and expressing knowledge within tutorials.

However, tutorial interactions allow for more than just the mobilizing of ethnically bounded groups, as it also serves a dual purpose: a) as a place where stereotypical

perceptions of other ethnic groups can be broken down and b) where we see an uprising in the 'cultural' value (and status) of indigenous languages.

Of all the informants interviewed both the Coloured and Indian groups remarked about how their past stereotypical perceptions have been broken down since attending UWC, specifically with regards to African students as seen below:

... I don't know how Black people are like, but I see that a lot of blacks work their (pause) butts off at university and I've seen it that they [are] the ones you see in QSS which is very difficult for a lot of us to pass...Quantitative skills a foundation module...It's not maths and its not accounting and its not business, its all three put together... It's more business related formulas that you going to be using in the working life environment when you [have] finished...They work hard there, they [are] the ones that excel more, much better than the Coloureds and the Whites!...It is actually surprising...

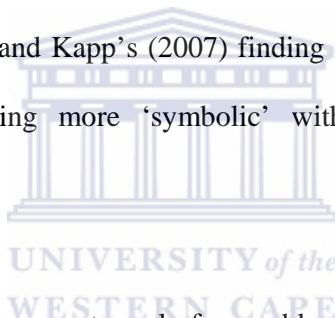
This sentiment was mirrored by one Indian first year informant:

You know, to be honest, I can't help to say this, but the African children always ask the questions and they always, whoa, their questions are mind-blowing...I cannot believe it and ...I don't know, but sometimes you feel intimidated...

A poststructural account of stereotyping in South African can in part be explained through a greater understanding of the Apartheid legacy and how it affected South Africans perceptions of one another. On the most part, Coloureds had a secondary

role to Whites, then Indians and lastly Blacks. Blacks were given the most menial chores and were not even allowed the privilege of studying at higher institutions. Therefore, in a sense, many Coloureds and Indians internalized this perception of Blacks being less intelligent than them and having the ability to work only in areas like manual labour. In turn, on entry to higher education they are very surprised that their previous perceptions of Blacks were in fact misconceptions fed to them during Apartheid.

Another important finding reported by informants is the spontaneous use of indigenous languages to absorb and negotiate understandings of work during tutorials. This is contrary to Bangeni and Kapp's (2007) finding of African language usage as she describes them as being more 'symbolic' with English having 'cultural' knowledge.



With English still maintaining an extremely favourable position amongst students one could easily believe that it holds more of what is termed as 'cultural capital' as apposed to African languages which serve a more 'symbolic' role and is said to have symbolic capital. This seems to be the case of a neighbouring 'white' university, where it has been established that English has a cultural capital due to its upward mobility and that Xhosa or any other African language has 'symbolic' capital which is seen in line with sideward mobility and has to do with identity and culture.

However, whilst the cultural capital of English at UWC is not in the least contested, the role of students' home languages at UWC is in no way symbolic. In tutorials, an African language is seen as having cultural capital as students (in first year) see

tutorials as a way to further understand, question and absorb information received in English medium lectures through the medium of their own language (cf. Banda 2007).

Therefore, what we find is a hybrid identity, with linguistic options continually being shifted to suit context and cause. Unlike Bangeni and Kapp's (2007), we shall argue that the use of English is not merely a hegemonic one, but rather simply an option like any other language in the linguistic repertoire of students. Perhaps the most palpable difference lies in the way students view English. At UWC English is perceived as a neutral language, this is contrary to the way the students in Bangeni and Kapp's study seems to perceive it – as the language with higher status and more power than their African languages.



However, the hegemonic move towards English in Bangeni and Kapp's study is particularly worrying as those students seem to no longer identify with Black people from the township. This sentiment is indicated with Bangeni and Kapp's findings stating that "The students from township schools, who were so determined to maintain their home languages and identities, experienced similar rejection from their communities when they returned home after their first semester of university." This sentiment is elucidated by one of the students in their research stating that "Back home they now say I am a coconut, they have changed their attitude towards me"

A question then begs of how these students at the historically 'white' university transmit knowledge back to the people of the township if they feel they can no longer identify with them.

Revisiting the positioning theory of Davies & Harré (1990), we can explore what they termed ‘Assumed’ identity. This identity is described as one where “... individuals are comfortable with and not interested in contesting (identity). Oftentimes, these identities are the ones most valued and legitimized by the dominant discourses of identity “(Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:21).

Therefore, a distinction needs to be made in terms of ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’ phenomena. “Code switching is an in-group phenomenon restricted to those who share the same expectations and rules of interpretation for the use of the two languages. Code-switching is thus usually seen as a device used to affirm participants’ claims to membership and the solidarity of the group to outsiders” (1988:69-70 Woolard in Rampton 1995: 280). What we can see in tutorial interactions is that code-switching is seen as a sign of solidarity.

In sum, tutorial interactions can be described as an intellectual breeding ground to absorb knowledge in the manner in which the students feel most comfortable. This usually involves students signalling different identities as contained in the different languages they use as academic knowledge resources.

4.4 Challenging the Norm at UWC

4.4.1 Focus on the SRC

From inception, the SRC at UWC has played a pivotal part in the construction and establishment of UWC as we know it today. “The first major organization attempting to organize oppressed students was the South African Student Organization (SASO),

formed in 1969...with it's members and target group [being] the first generation of students to grow up entirely under apartheid and thus, despite differences of class and background, they had a common experience of racial oppression" (A University in Action 2001: 9)

Over the years and due to major student boycotts during the late 1970's, UWC became known for its numerous classroom disruptions and frank rejection to living under Apartheid laws. During the struggle there were approximately "seventeen (17) UWC students and alumni on trial for membership of the African National Congress and its armed wing, Umkonto we Sizwe, and on charges varying from high treason and terrorism to sabotage" (A University in Action 2001: 13).

Today, the influence of the SRC and the role it plays has become a lot less political and has been described by some as having lost its backbone. This sentiment is echoed across the board of informants interviewed, where an almost overwhelming consensus being that the SRC only consists of Black students and also only services specific Black students, those on campus residence. Therefore, the prevailing sentiment is that the SRC is doing very little (if at all) to promote integration of all students. Supplied below is an extract of an interview undertaken with two South African informants, discussing the SRC, integration and related issues:

Interviewer: So tell me looking at the SRC, do you think the SRC is representative of the different groups on UWC?

Subject 1: No

Subject 2: No it's not

Subject 1: Blacks dominate it

Subject 2: Yes, and they only a few Coloureds

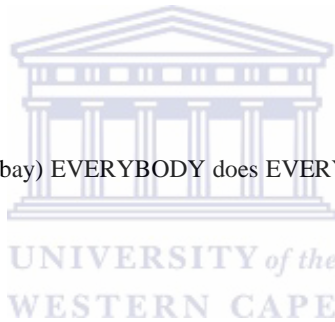
Interviewer: Why is it like that?

Subject 2: Because its about politics, more on res and I'm sorry but its just something that is ours (laughs)

Subject 1: And you know why the majority of the people that go to SRC are res people and res is dominated by black people so black people vote for the SRC...(muffled)

The Indian informants' outlook on the SRC exhibits quite a lot of skepticism with the explanation for which being two-fold. Firstly there is a belief that Indians at UWC are self-sufficient and therefore do not need anyone else. This can be seen when one informant says:

And in front (Little Bombay) EVERYBODY does EVERYTHING for EVERYBODY



This is unsurprising, as the Indians do form part of a close network and thus the belief that being part of the SRC is not necessary is quite logical. The second reason stems partly from the first as the informant talks about unfamiliarity and strangeness of not knowing someone running on the SRC and links this point to her unwillingness to vote, as seen below:

I mean WE DON'T KNOW this other people, WE DON'T KNOW what their capabilities are. WE DON'T KNOW what they going to do for us. Do you know what I'm saying? If I see any of my friends I would definitely vote

Coloureds at UWC have a very candid perspective of the SRC with there being a strong sense of not being counted in a sense and a strong assertion of SRC parties not being integrated. There reasoning and justifications are expressed below:

Now when we talk about the SRC, I think about the ANC...and I mentioned earlier that the ANC is really doing rhetoric of what the NP did. Exactly the opposite... they haven't institutionalised the majority...majority of things that were planned...they not representing the students you know...they not!

When quizzed as to whether the SRC can help with the process of integrating students at UWC, the response was tremendously negative:

No, because their party shows it. There are just black people on their party, if they really want us to integrate then integrate your party first! You gotta walk the talk. I don't think they could, the only time I ever saw the SRC doing something was one night, in last year. There was a huge party on Condom Square, and there was alcohol for the whole world. That's the only time I heard about the SRC, when they won the election and it was free alcohol for the whole Res, everybody

But how that represent everyone, anyway? Their victory celebration is a whole lot of wine and black people

Previously, the major parties at UWC and those under discussion consisted of Pasma, ANCYL and SASCO, with the most recent addition being that of DUMS. This new party is unique in that it is predominately made up of Coloured students and is also the first one of its kind at UWC. This shift towards a Coloured party could

signal an assertion amongst Coloureds to become more involved in UWC and to in turn become more vocal.

Amongst the two foreigner focus groups; namely the Asians and BaTswana there was indifference about the SRC and a general feeling of it not being any of their concern.

4.4.2 The 'English' Coloured

In the past, a very easy way to identify Coloureds relied in them having Afrikaans as a mother tongue. However, what we now see is that some Coloureds are moving away from that belief and moving towards a hybrid identity with the signaling of English to position and identify themselves in different situations. Below is an excerpt of an interview which resulted in the discovering of the 'English Coloured'.

Subject 2: This is gonna sound very rude but it certainly be South African, black South Africans. I do have lot of South African black friends...but...

Interviewer: But why not? Why?

Subject 2: ...em... (pause) Well, you see you English right? Where do you come from or where did you grow up?

Interviewer: I stay in Athlone

Subject 2: So you have a lot of English friends right? You don't have a lot of Afrikaans friends? WOULD YOU MIX WITH AFRIKAANS PEOPLE?

Interviewer: I would

Subject 2: Would you make them your common friends? DON'T LIE NOW! (laughs)

Interviewer: Yes (laughs) you don't believe me?

Subject 2: No, I don't

Interviewer: I think I would

Subject 2: You THINK YOU WOULD?

Interviewer: I think I would

Subject 2: NOW DON'T THINK! What would you do?

Interviewer: Probably

Subject 2: PROBABLY? Ok, so my point is, here you are, you Coloured and they Coloured. But you are English and they are Afrikaans..."

Postructuralist thinking, and in particular Bourdieu's model of symbolic domination, allow us "to analyze the real-life impact of discursive categories as embedded within local and global relations of power" (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:15).

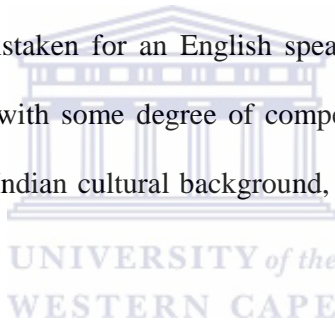
An important aspect of this discussion is the notion of 'imposed' or 'normative' identities. As mentioned earlier under the 'positioning theory' first posited by Davies & Harré (1990), three types of identities were then further developed by Pavlenko and Blackledge, namely: imposed, assumed and negotiable identities (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:21).

Imposed identities refer to "those which are not negotiable in a particular time and place" (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:21). During Apartheid this notion of 'imposed' identity was a plague that all oppressed South Africans had to endure. This 'imposed' identity was a deliberate move by the minority oppressors at the time to classify and separate citizens by race and language and to further impose what language a specific race should speak. Therefore, out of this dichotomization, assigned languages became synonymous with specific ethnic groups. An example can be seen with Coloureds

labelled as Afrikaans-speaking, Blacks as speakers of indigenous African languages and so forth.

This means that the significance of discovering the 'English Coloured' within a local and global perspective can broadly be discussed as the possible contestation of the previously 'imposed' identity of the Apartheid legacy. According to Pavlenko and Blackledge "identities are often imposed and contested even in societies where an apparently liberal ideology is dominant" (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004: 19).

Before examining this discovery, one needs to note at this point that an 'English Coloured' should not be mistaken for an English speaking Indian. Indians, though having mastered Afrikaans with some degree of competence, have English as their first language and a strong Indian cultural background, most often signaled by dress code and religion.

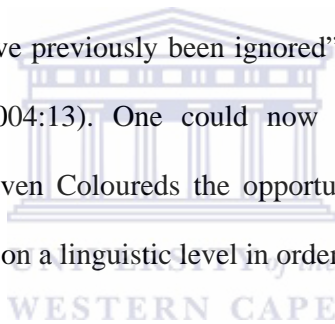


English, within a global perspective undoubtedly has 'cultural value', with it often being touted as the language of prestige and success. However, a poststructural look into this discursive move from Afrikaans to English amongst Coloureds *in a South African context* could be explored on a deeper more socio-political level.

Afrikaans, during Apartheid was the language of the oppressors, and after the first democratic elections in 1994, it is still having a hard time shedding its negative reputation. The Black informants interviewed did not see the need or a want to speak Afrikaans. Therefore, when Coloureds disregard their Afrikaans in favour of English it can be understood as them endeavouring to identify themselves, and perhaps

moreover, distinguishing themselves from those Coloureds that symbolize a racist and segregative past. What we see here, is English being used as a neutral language, an identity on which Coloureds can now make a fresh start when it comes to interacting with students from different backgrounds without carrying the baggage of Apartheids hatred and segregative attachments of Afrikaans.

In terms of crossing, we now see Coloureds moving into a newly created identity, one which could be ascribed to the 'new' South Africa in which they find themselves. Recent poststructuralist thought points to "splits and fissures in categories previously seen as bounded or dichotomous and brings into focus hybrid, transgendered, and multiracial identities that have previously been ignored" (Hall 1990; Bhabha 1990 in Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:13). One could now argue that twelve years of Apartheid-free living has given Coloureds the opportunity and power to challenge previous racist classification on a linguistic level in order to facilitate integration.



4.5 A Poststructural Account of Social Networks at UWC

Data analysis indicates that Indians at UWC usually form part of a close-knit network which is often initially seen with them residing in similar neighbourhoods. This is unsurprising as the Group Area Act of 1953 "...determined separate residential areas for the various racial groups" (Kamwangamalu 2001:79). Remnants of this forced segregation is still seen today with concentrations of Indians, Blacks and Coloureds in specific areas, with Indians still residing in areas such as Rylands, Cravenby, Gatesville etc. Indian students coming from these neighbourhoods virtually always travel to and from campus in a lift club which usually also includes a member of the

family like a cousin or brother. Indians signal in-group membership, not through language but rather through shared cultural knowledge and genetic features.

...and the thing is people go home and they TALK and their COUSINS
find out and their PARENTS find out and the WHOLE WORLD finds
out!

The excerpt above refers to 'Indian' reputations and how easily it can be tarnished in such a close-knit network as everybody knows everybody else. This type of network is described as being quite dense as members of this network are in touch with each other independently of one another. This type of close-knit network is also commonly observed with the Chinese students on campus, with both groups involved in lift clubs and essentially only socializing with their own ethnic group. However, these close-knit networks can be explained through different reasons altogether. The Chinese students have a 'language barrier' when it comes to expanding their network. They often feel that students at UWC do not give them enough time to express themselves and then ultimately give up. Indians, however do not have this language problem as English is their first language. The driving force behind this network is that of the shared Indian culture which has a well-defined sense of 'proper behaviour' especially concerning male-female interaction and the fragility of their reputations.

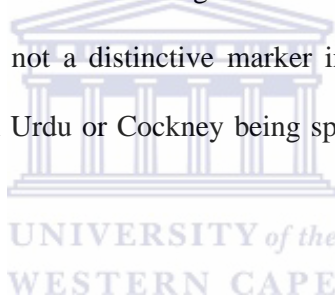
4.6 Peeking into 'Little Bombay' (LB)

The name is quite telling of this group. The students that hang out outside of the Administration Block at UWC are said to belong to Indians and is called by students as Little Bombay (LB). For the past six years that I have been at UWC, LB has been

around. However very little has been previously been understood of the group that patronize LB.

...if you don't know anybody, don't go sit there because they will look at you like you're from out of space

This comment was said of LB by an Indian first year at UWC. What we see is that LB is patronized by a close-knit network. This network is not open to all Indians (as commonly thought), but rather only a select group of them. Both the third year group (when recounting their experiences in first year) and the current first years agree that LB is 'exclusive' with those Indians that hangout there simply ignoring you if they do not know you. Language is not a distinctive marker in LB, as most of the Indian students speak English, with Urdu or Cockney being spoken by only a few and then only in jest.



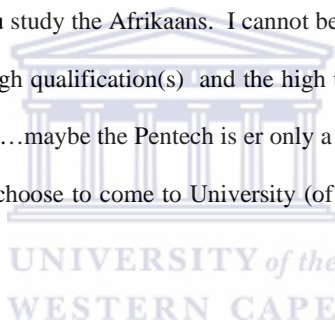
The third years, interestingly enough now find themselves hanging out in LB and are totally comfortable being there. This can be seen as a reproduction of assigned identities and stereotypes of Indian students.

4.7 Chinese at UWC

Across the board amongst the informants interviewed, there was virtually overwhelmingly positive attitude towards Chinese students at UWC. This is quite interesting as the informants had no real contact with the Chinese students but nevertheless still held an extremely positive outlook towards them.

What has become evident from interviewing the Chinese informants themselves was that there was a definite goal for studying at UWC. Each and every one of them came to increase their proficiency in English, and their place of study was extremely important and based on a number of factors. In a sense, for these Chinese students, UWC was the *only* place for them to attend. The reason is quite simple; a process of elimination is undertaken when it comes to tertiary institutions and is explained by one informant below:

Because you see in a Cape Town (you) just got the...Pentech and the maybe the Cape Tech...UCT Stellenbosch and UWC. Now Stellenbosch you use, you study the Afrikaans. I cannot bear...an UCT maybe they [need] ... high qualification(s) and the high tuition [fees] so I can't go to there and ...maybe the Pentech is er only a college but I need a University...so I choose to come to University (of the Western Cape)



However, even though the goal for these students is to increase their knowledge in English, they often find themselves isolated from other students on campus and in turn ultimately end up speaking to their Chinese friends in Chinese. This is because some of them lack the self confidence and belief in using English. A first year informant speaks of her experiences below:

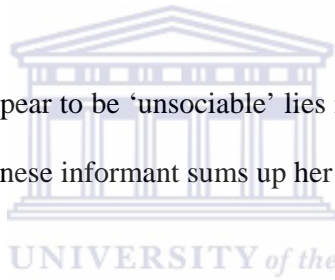
I'm very shy, I afraid my English is not good enough to talk another body and so I usually... but sometime after sometimes I realize I have to speak so I try to speak a little

No doubt this tends to be counterproductive to their aspirations to improve their English proficiency. The other factor to these students failure to increase their proficiency has to do with their extremely close social network. This close network is described below:

(Just) class, study and go back home

One informant describes Chinese students as being "...unsociable but friendly". This may seem a contradiction in terms but is at the same time very accurate in the way Chinese people are perceived.

The reason why they may appear to be 'unsociable' lies in the fact that they do have a close-knit network. One Chinese informant sums up her interactions as follows:



In a first year, I ...think er study together the every Chinese students I think its not good. I think there is a area but if can in the campus Chinese with the Chinese not with the local people

When asked whether they felt that a language barrier was the cause for them tending to group only with other Chinese people, the response was surprisingly more complex than that and was related by an informant as:

...no no no, I think sometimes we only focus on the language. So we believe it's a language problem but no ...sometimes it is the conflict between the ideology, so the ideology is the problem...and maybe the different culture got the different ideology...maybe the Coloured people sometimes they say the Coloured people have no culture... you

come from China - the Chinese culture is your culture, you come from Africa - the African culture...they [Coloureds] don't understand the Chinese culture and it 'cause the ideology can come in a different manner maybe ...culture different

Important points are raised here concerning culture, cultural differences as well as stereotypes of Coloureds having no culture. The informant also talks about his encounter with Coloureds at UWC and expresses a very deep-rooted negative attitude towards them which can be explored further when looking at cultural differences, stereotypes and taboos.

4.7.1 Taboos and Stereotyping

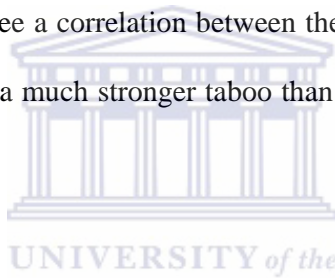
Stereotyping refers to overgeneralization in which people are given either positive or negative attributes, and this is why (cf Scollon & Scollon, 2001: 168) say stereotyping is ideological in nature. For example, this aspect was explored with regard to the mistaken assumption that Coloureds 'having no culture'. This sentiment was in fact echoed by many of the informants when asked what they thought would be taboo for Coloured students.

The incorrect belief that Coloureds have no culture stems from the fact that Coloureds are a mix of Black and White. However, Coloureds can also be a combination of other ethnicities. The issue with Coloureds is that as they do not come from one specific ethnicity, they are thought not follow any set culture or traditions. This is why they are said not to have any culture.

The problem however is that some Coloured have been indoctrinated and have also come to believe wrongly that they have no culture. For instance, a Coloured informant expressed the following about the Coloured culture:

I'm not sure if I EVEN HAVE a culture... (so) I don't think it plays a big role (in my life)

As explored earlier, culture plays a big role for virtually all of the other ethnic groups interviewed. We see that cultures differ widely in what is regarded as a proper topic for conversation as it is evident that Asians and Coloureds do not agree on taboo topics. Contrasting this we see a correlation between the Asian and Black cultures as both view sexual matters as a much stronger taboo than others (cf Scollon & Scollon 2001).



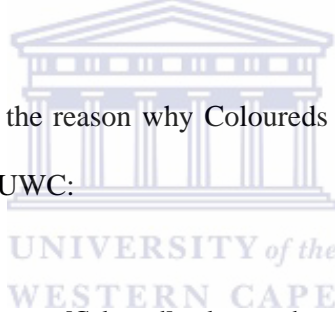
One of the taboo topics amongst Chinese (and Africans) and which is discussed below is the issue of sex, with is not readily spoken even amongst close relatives. Below we see an account of a cultural clash between the Chinese informant and what we later discover to be a few Coloureds at UWC:

I think you South African people on this campus is sometime very RUDE...they always talking about the woman...the Chinese sex, the Chinese woman...I say 'Hey, what are you talking about? say 'Why you always asking me this Question?' always ask me 'Help me, help me, help me to *organize* ...a Chinese girl'. I say 'Fuck!'...and they always talk about the ladies breasts...

The word 'organize' here is Coloured slang, usually used to mean the 'arranging' or 'fixing' of somebody for romantic or sexual purposes. As we can see the informant expressed quite a lot of disgust and anger towards this subject and the manner in which it is brought about. The ramifications of this type of cultural clashing are deeply rooted and described further below:

If in China somebody come from the overseas, somebody come from another country and ... you give a good manner...good...to them because your topic and your speech does not meant only yourself it means YOUR COUNTRY so when I go back to China somebody ask [about] South Africa, the Coloured people very SHIT

According to the informant, the reason why Coloureds may be so abrasive could be linked to their dominance at UWC:



I think maybe you think your [Coloured] culture and your attitude is the dominate culture in this campus and they think whatever you are... you are Black, you are Chinese...no matter, so my culture is the dominant culture

The Chinese informant seemed to have gained a much more favourable opinion of Black students at UWC. There is an irony in this as we see the Chinese solidarity with Blacks being expressed through the signaling of a Coloured identity. The reason for this could perhaps be explored in terms of similarities between the Chinese and African culture, specifically with regards to both cultures being 'high context cultures' and also looking at the issue of 'distance' and 'power' (cf Scollon & Scollon 2001).

4.8 Changing Dynamics at UWC

It is pertinent to look at the influence of the changing dynamics of ethnicities and cultures at UWC when attempting an understanding of integration. As discussed earlier, UWC was previously known as a Coloured university with the medium of instruction being Afrikaans. However today we find many students with varying ethnicities, languages and cultures. The important question now is: What happens when 'new' and foreign groups are introduced to UWC and how has it affected students with regards to integration?

When looking at the various ethnicities and focusing on integration we see that Malesevic (2004) views integration as a system involving regulation, adjustment and co-ordination of a variety of actors and units within a system with the view of keeping the system operational. Here we see Malesevic talking about the adjusting and co-ordinating of actors, which can also be understood as the shifting and positioning of identities.

Of the South African (i.e. Coloureds, Indians, Xhosas) informants interviewed their seemed to be quite a differing opinion and attitude towards foreigners, with an overwhelmingly positive attitude towards those from the Asian continent and a neutral to negative attitude to those hailing from the African counterpart.

Once again, it is important to look back into history and using a poststructural lens, I will endeavour to analyze the motivations for these differing viewpoints.

The Asians on campus are made up predominantly of those of Chinese descent as opposed to other Asian countries like Japan, Korea or Taiwan. During Apartheid the Chinese population in South Africa at the time fell under 'non-white', with Koreans being labeled as 'White'. One could posit that an explanation for the positive attitude towards the Chinese students on campus as arising through a shared feeling of having overcome the same oppression and racial discrimination. Consider the following sentiments:

The much smaller Chinese community is mostly descended from migrant workers who came to work in the gold mines around Johannesburg in the late 19th century, although many were repatriated. More recently, there have been immigrants from Taiwan, with which South Africa maintained diplomatic relations. This caused difficulties for the apartheid regime, as Chinese South Africans were classified as 'Asian' and hence 'non-white', whereas Taiwanese Chinese, along with Japanese, were considered 'honorary white', and thus granted the same privileges as whites

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asians_in_South_Africa

However, this seems not the only explanation as all the Chinese informants interviewed were new to the country and not first or second generation Chinese as the above theory would corroborate. So what other explanation is there for this positive attitude?

The attitude towards Blacks from outside of South Africa is neutral for most of the informants but negative from Black South Africans – specifically the Xhosa Black students. In the past, all Black people in South Africa were discriminated against and

oppressed. However, currently we see that Xhosas distance themselves from Blacks when they make a distinction of culture and language.

4.9 Analyzing Code-switching during Interviews

Of all the groups interviewed the one that displayed the most interesting and numerous amount of code-switching came with the Indian groups. Code-switching among Indians has not been a popular topic of research in South Africa. Instead studies have focused largely on Black and Coloured groups (see Mesthrie 2002; McCormick 2002). The main reason, I want to argue, is that South African Indians are often perceived as English and monolingual speakers. However, it was evident from this study that the Indian focus groups would code-switch into what at first seemed simply to be 'Coloured' Afrikaans. Some of them also claimed to code-switch into Urdu and Cockney. What needs to be noted, and what is discussed further, is the signaling of different identities through linguistic choices as depicted in the extract below. These identities are signaled either through the opting of a different language or a different variety of that language.

This is interesting as all the Indian informants interviewed were by their own description 'very Indian' and in no way identified with being Coloured. However, what we see when analyzing the code-switching data is that these informants signaled a 'Kaapse' (Cape) Coloured identity without even knowing it. When code-switching from English to Afrikaans, we saw a distinct purpose or function behind this occurrence, most often signaling an inherently 'Kaaps' identity, an example of which is seen below:

Interviewer: Why? Why do you think (your parents wont approve of interracial relationships)?

Subject 2: Because=

Subject 1: =Jou Pa sal jou vrek maak! (laughs)

Subject 2: My father just won't allow it, he just...

What we see above is an example of code-switching with subject 1 interjecting with a Kaapse Afrikaans phrase, arguably done for comedic and communicative effect.

'Jou Pa sal jou vrek maak!' literally translated into 'Your father will kill you!', could also have been said in 'proper' or 'White' Afrikaans which would have been *'Jou Pa sal jou dood maak!'*. Therefore, what we see here is that the informant not only opted for a different language (Afrikaans) but also the informal variety of that language (most often spoken by Coloureds). Both 'vrek' and 'dood' means 'kill' in English, however the difference can be understood in terms of register. Had the informant opted to use 'dood' instead of 'vrek' she may have signalled a more 'White' or formal identity.

The friend then softens what is said by changing 'will kill you' with 'just wont allow it'. Here we see that the Afrikaans statement held a lot more meaning and delivered more affect (and jesting menace) as it talks of 'killing' while the other participant statement talks about 'permission' and how her father wont 'allow it'.

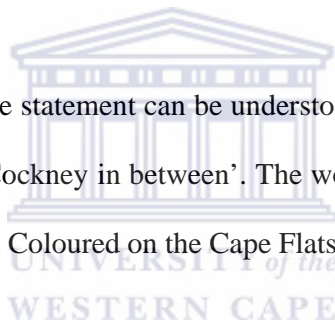
How do we explain this use of Afrikaans amongst these Indian students? Firstly, when revisiting the notion of 'passing' and 'refusal' we see that the Indian students

unconsciously *pass* into a kaapse identity on numerous occasions and for varying purposes. This is interesting as even though the Indian informants do not identify with being Afrikaans or Coloured, they still exercise their linguistic options in different context and therefore signal different identities without impinging on their initial 'very Indian' identity..

Coloured slang that is often used by the Coloureds at UWC was also quite prevalent during interviews with these Indian students, as shown below:

When I have *lis* to make *gaai* I speak a little bit of Cockney in between

Literally translated, the above statement can be understood as: 'When I *feel like being funny* I speak a little bit of Cockney in between'. The words 'lis' and 'gaai' are being used in the exact way a Cape Coloured on the Cape Flats would use it.



What is interesting about this statement is that the informant talks about speaking in Cockney for comedic affect whilst simultaneously opting for the use of Afrikaans which also signals comedic affect in the extract. This can also be seen below when the informant talks about her mother gossiping in Hindi:

'When my mommy *skinner* in Hindi then we know what she's saying because we understand (laughs)'. What we see here is that '*skinner*' is an Afrikaans informal word used by many Coloureds and means 'gossip'.

Coloured Afrikaans is also shown in the next example:

...and it's like I think our mindsets has changed because before we would never ever sit on the wall by the library. But now its like totally changed I mean, in the morning when I come to campus the place I go to is there and its not like 'oh you going to Bombay' or 'you *lamming* in Bombay'. It's just that everyone is sitting together

The word 'lamming' is relatively old Coloured speak and means 'hanging around' or 'chilling' in a specific spot. In this instance it was given a derogatory connotation, as if 'lamming' was a bad word.

An example of marked code-switching can be seen with the following statement made by a South African Black student: "I also [speak Afrikaans], *ek kan 'n bietjie praat* but...". This is an example of marked code-switching as the student does display some hesitation when speaking in Afrikaans and it is used in a way that signals that the speaker is very much aware of using a different language. How do we relate this to ideologies and negotiating identities? One could argue that this student when using Afrikaans signals three things: (a) she is probably not from the Western Cape as the variety of Afrikaans being used is quite formal (which is uncharacteristic of Kaaps Afrikaans) and (b) she is likely to be completely oblivious of the fact that she is not signaling a Kaaps (Coloured) identity and (c) she probably studied Afrikaans in a formal environment with limited outside exposure to the language and its speakers.

Other examples of signaling a Kaaps identity comes from the Chinese informants and is shown below:

...and they [Coloureds] always talk about the ladies breast and the also
and...teach me this word 'your ma se poes' and I say 'what this mean?'
they say 'Go back and ask some people' and they say this word- 'shit'
it's so dirty so dirty

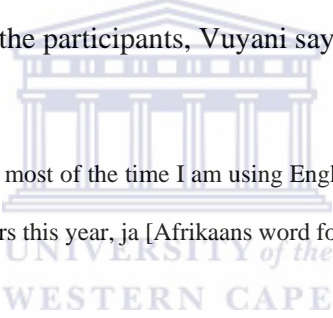
Why did this Chinese informant feel the need to repeat the speech that even he considered to be quite rude and inappropriate? One could argue that the vulgarity of this experience and the intense uncouthness associated with these words could only be divulged on expressing the actual words which embody it. Here we see that the informant deliberately chose to use marked Kaapse Afrikaans for effect.

4.10 A Poststructuralist Look at Comparative English Discursive Practices

As a way of further developing the above arguments, an attempt is made to make a brief comparison some of the arguments and findings above with a study done at a neighbouring university UCT on a similar topic (see Bangeni and Kapp 2007). In the process, there is an attempt to show that unlike the findings in the study at UCT, at UWC the value – both symbolic and cultural – of other languages (than English) also plays a fundamental role for the students' social and civic well being and integration generally. In other words, students use the languages at their disposal as resources to actualise themselves and others, and to exercise the multilingual identity options available to them. For this new data is drawn to support the arguments.

The language of official discourse at both UWC and the nearby ‘white’ university is English. However, the way this language is used amongst the African speakers is very different.

A longitudinal study done at a nearby historically ‘white’ university yielded quite opposite results to language use amongst Black speakers and it seems salient that the comparison be made as to why this is so. The study showed that the Black students participating in the study slowly started speaking English more and more amongst other Black students. “These changes were accompanied by a shift towards use of English in everyday practices amongst the students from township schools” (Bangeni and Kapp 2007:262). One of the participants, Vuyani says:



“I think its crazy this year most of the time I am using English . . . even
with fellow Xhosa-speakers this year, ja [Afrikaans word for ‘yes’]

What is interesting to note, is that these students seem to associate English with ‘Whiteness’. At UWC, however, finding Xhosa students speaking English *outside* of class is (literally!) unheard of (cf. Banda 2007). What causes the difference between the Xhosa speakers at a historically ‘white’ university and those at UWC, a historically ‘black’ one? Once again, it is useful to look at this issue in relation to the bigger socio-political and economic framework posited by the poststructuralist theory “and in particular Bourdieu’s model of symbolic domination, [which] allow us to analyze the real-life impact of discursive categories as embedded within local and global relations of power (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:15).

It can be argued that the historically 'white' university views discursive practices through a monolingual lens with the objective to solidify a belief in one language. Bourdieu's model of symbolic domination rest on the notion that a symbolically dominated group is complicit in the misrecognition (*méconnaissance*), or valorisation, of that language and variety as an inherently better form. In other words, the official language or standard variety becomes the language of hegemonic institutions because both the dominant and the subordinated group misrecognize it as a superior language (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:10).

Bangeni and Kapp's (2007:266) study summarizes their findings by "...show[ing] how, over time, home discourses make way for the more dominant discourses of the institution which are perceived as being socially advantageous. English signifies social mobility as opposed to their home languages, which play a more symbolic role. The dual desire, that is, to be fluent in English which is central to the attainment of academic literacy and the simultaneous allegiance to their home languages and identities reflects the ambivalent position students find themselves in as they attempt to shift between discourses"

In Bourdieu's terms, those who are not speakers of the official language or standard variety are subject to symbolic domination, if they believe in the legitimacy of that language or variety (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004:15). What this means is that African speakers at this 'white' university see a *need* for English and in fact prefers it over their African languages.

The term hegemony has come to mean the taken-for-granted, almost invisible, discourse practices of symbolic domination (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004: 71).

The grounds for this hegemonic move can be attributed to the prestigious status that English has held (and continues to hold) as the language of official discourse and education at this university. Of hegemony, Heller (1994) elucidates, “Society’s dominant groups define what counts as valued knowledge in terms of the knowledge which counts for them. This exercise of power, in order to be legitimate, must be hidden; it must be made to appear to rest on universal values. Thus the knowledge of the dominant group becomes the only way in which to understand the world: it becomes taken for granted, routine, normal, neutral” (Heller 1994:16).

A ‘universal truth’ believed amongst these students, is that knowledge is best learnt through English and as Bangeni and Kapp explains “... among African language speakers, there are those who may not necessarily perceive the use of African languages for learning as contributing to better academic conceptualisation. As the transition to democracy has ensured that ‘black’ people, albeit a minority, also have access to good quality education, English is not necessarily seen as a threat or a barrier to learning for this group...” (Bangeni & Kapp 2007:266).

However, this view of English as a tool for better learning and access to information is what Pavlenko & Blackledge view as ‘symbolic domination’. Essentially what this means is that when faced with hegemonic ideologies of homogenization, it is not surprising that those who are subject to the ‘symbolic violence’ of monoglot standardization appear to comply with their symbolic domination. A process of

normalization, occurs, in which it comes to appear natural that one language, or one variety, dominates others, is more legitimate, and provides greater access to symbolic resources, this process is made visible through close scrutiny of public discourse, and in particular through analysis of the creation and reproduction of language ideologies (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004: 72). Therefore, what we see is that the English is believed to have more power than minority language due to its role as the 'standard' or 'official' language.

At this stage of hegemony, we see that Bangeni and Kapp's findings are in a way defending and modifying this hegemonic move, which can be explored through a poststructural understanding of the bigger socio-economic picture. As Bangeni and Kapp concludes in their findings: "When one juxtaposes the students' symbolic acknowledgement of their home languages with the quest to be members of the discourses they encounter at university, it becomes evident that language policies that espouse multilingualism for learning need to take into consideration the nuanced nature of the linguistic identities of English second language speaking students in historically 'white' institutions."

In other words, African speakers at this historically 'white' university have a preference for English as apposed to their home languages. The reason for this could potentially be explained by the ideology attached to this language. Pavlenko & Blackledge explains that a "... corollary of such linguistic ideology is that speakers of official languages or standard varieties may be regarded as having greater moral and intellectual worth than speakers of unofficial languages or non-standard varieties" (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004: 15).

Dirks, Eley and Ortner (1994: 598) puts forth that that hegemony is continually renewed, recreated, defended, and modified and is in turn also continually resisted, limited, altered and challenged by pressures not at all its own Haglund elaborates further by saying that hegemony can be seen as being fostered rather than determined (2005:15).

The Xhosa speaking students at UWC share the belief that English is the language of ‘Success’ and no-one would argue that its relevance is deemed as vital at academic level. However, discursive practices *outside* of lecture halls tells a different story altogether. Amongst Xhosa speakers at UWC, one finds that English is seldom if ever used amongst Xhosa speakers and that culture plays a big role in their lives. One informant states vehemently “...I very much believe in my [Xhosa] culture, rituals and the ancestor thing and all that because we sorta... we practice that culture in my my family...”

The question now begs how we account for the differences in English usage between these two universities. It is arguable that Kapp’s findings are plagued by a one-to-one relationship between language and ethnicity. That is that English is strongly linked to Whiteness at this historically white university, and that in turn when students shift from an African language to English one they are assumed to have shifted identities as well.

At UWC, conversely, English is not believed to be owned by any one specific group, but is rather seen as a linguistic option on which to position them more favourably, specifically with the expression of knowledge.

Heller's ethnographic investigations of language choice in Canada from 1978 to 1990 showed that "...languages can no longer be seen solely as unproblematic markers of particular ethnic identities" as "...language choices came to signify a complex set of assumptions about the interlocutors' mother tongue, ethnicity, linguistic competence, political position...and even open-mindedness and politeness..."(Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004: 11) This is not only true of the Xhosa students but also Coloureds (that prefer to speak Afrikaans) and Sothos, Zulus etc.

One could argue that Bangeni and Kapp's findings conveniently explore language practices at this historically 'white' university in favour of the dominant language of the institution. Despite talk of hybrid identities, what we see being posited by the findings is a one-to-one relationship between language and ethnicity, which is clear in the description of African languages being "... relegated to the backseat mainly called upon to signal affiliation and loyalty to an ethnic group." (Bangeni & Kapp 2007: 266).

This occurs even though Bangeni & Kapp explore hybrid identities. What they fail to acknowledge (and subsequently investigate) is the perceived limited linguistic options available to these students due to the overwhelming presence and practice of English at the university.

An example of this can be seen by the ‘integrated’ group, which consisted of three informants. In this group were one Afrikaans L1 speaker and two Tswana L1 speakers, one of which is from Botswana and the other from Rustenberg (South Africa). This hybrid identity is signalled by the all of the informants, most notably with the Afrikaans speaker.

I will argue that Bangeni and Kapp’s findings do not indicate a hybrid identity, but rather a limiting of linguistic options from the speakers code repertoire in order to homogenise towards the dominant language of discourse. This can be seen when they conclude their findings by stating that “[Another] important observation is that among African language speakers, there are those who may not necessarily perceive the use of African languages for learning as contributing to better academic conceptualisation” (Bangeni & Kapp 2007: 266)

Contrary to this, UWC students differ in that they opt and exercise their linguistic repertoire in different situations. This is most often seen in tutorials, where students often gravitate towards those that speak the same African languages, thereafter knowledge is explored and absorbed in the African language, but then expressed (to the tutor) in English.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

English at UWC plays a somewhat paradoxical role in the forming and interacting of multilingual identities. Firstly, an identity of ‘being English’ or ‘becoming English’ is seen as an academic necessity by all students attending UWC (which is probably the case at any other English medium university). English plays the obvious role of being a prestigious language which is believed to impel any speaker of the language to upward mobility and subsequent success. Secondly, it plays the role of both medium of instruction as well as lingua franca at UWC. Therefore, in a sense one could posit that English forms an identity factor in all students at UWC in some way. However, as we have explored in the earlier chapter the value – both symbolic and cultural – of other languages at UWC also play a fundamental role.

The signalling of these linguistic options on the other hand is an entirely different and interesting occurrence altogether. When discussing interactions of these identities one needs to differentiate between whether these identities are being used either on an academic or social level.

This is an important distinction as English is used differently inside and outside the lecture halls. There is no uniform English identity, meaning that there are no specific rules or norms to using English at UWC as it is completely context dependent.

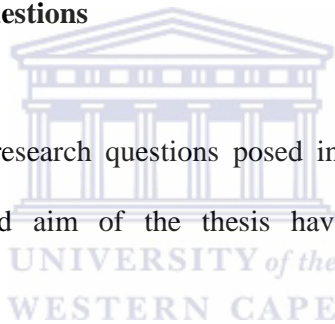
Unlike studies conducted at the historically ‘white’ university, English is not equated with ‘whiteness’ a priori and neither is it simply associated with ‘cultural’ value. I

argue that UWC has laid the foundation to understanding a multilingual identity *through* allowing students the freedom to opt for various linguistic codes.

English, as with any other language, could be viewed as a point on which students position themselves in relation to others. One needs to be cognizant of the fact that diversity does not always equal multilingualism, and interacting does not necessarily mean integrating. Therefore, multilingualism is to be understood as more than simply speaking two or three languages but it has to do with the constant shifting of positions to suit the individual and communicative circumstances at a specific time.

5.1 Answer to Research Questions

Below are answers to the research questions posed in Chapter one. They explore whether the objectives and aim of the thesis have indeed been investigated satisfactorily:



1. What social networks can we identify at UWC?

It has become clear that both close-knit and loose-knit social networks exist at UWC. However, the Chinese and Indian groups displayed the densest close-knit networks as they not only studied but also lived and socialized with those of their same ethnic groups.

Social networks amongst Black students on campus seem to be strained and divided by language and cultural background.

Coloureds by far had the most loose-knit network and tended to display the least amount of dependency on their own ethnic group. This feature of the coloured group arose mostly from their own feelings of not belonging to any specific cultural background, and for some, not having a culture.

2. Do these networks cross language and ethnic backgrounds of students?

There is no definite answer to this question, but safe to say that broadly speaking, every social group readily crossed language and ethnic divides for academic purposes. With the 'mixed' group in particular, it was clear that networks can cross language and cultural backgrounds. However by the informants own admission it was clear that their group was unique and not something one would frequently see at UWC. Therefore, on the whole, it would be accurate to say that most networks at UWC would not cross language and ethnic backgrounds for anything besides furthering their own studies. At the same time, the study also suggests that Black students from outside the Western Cape (i.e. non-Xhosas) are more readily accepted by the other groups except (perhaps) by the Xhosa groups.

3. What role does language and ethnicities play in the formation of these networks?

For the Chinese, Indian and Xhosa groups at UWC it has become apparent that language and shared ethnic background plays a big role in the formation of their social groupings. However, of those mentioned, the Xhosas displayed the most resistance to forming any relations with those speaking a different African language.

4. *What is the quality of interaction within and across the social groupings?*

Within the different social groupings, there seemed to be a deep understanding of how the specific groups worked which was mainly due to their shared cultural background and language. Interaction across social grouping was generally kept at a minimum with students only interacting with others from a different social grouping for academic purposes (as mentioned earlier).

5.2 Research Hypotheses Comparison

The following is an account as to the hypotheses stated at the beginning of this project. What we find is that none of them could be proven undeniably true. A recap of the hypotheses listed earlier is supplied from a-e below:

(a) Indian students in particular will be the least inclined to integrate and will believe it to be unnecessary. This surmise is based on the fact that “Bombay” exists and has existed for many years with little change. This could lead one to believe that this group is simply uninterested in integrating with others.

This hypothesis has lost its grounds as after analyzing reports on Little Bombay from the Indian informants at UWC, it has become quite clear that this group is not representative of the entire Indian population. In fact, some of the informants expressed a deep dislike and disinclination to being associated with ‘that crowd’. The

fact the Little Bombay has been around for generations in no way suggest or proves that Indians are the least inclined to integrate with others.

However, from the other ethnic groups interviewed there seems to be contradictory views as to whether Indians integrate at UWC. However, the first year Indian group showed signs of willingness to integrate with foreign students from outside of Africa and Asia.

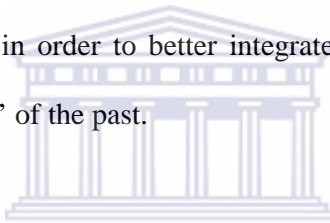
(b) African students who perceive themselves as highly articulate in English will be more inclined to integrate with other students, as there is less of a power difference between them and English first-language speakers.

This hypothesis has not been proven beyond reasonable doubt, although it is true that African students did not seem to have a problem integrating with most other groups at UWC. This means that the African informants interviewed do not view English competency as a differentiating factor, but rather brought up and discussed the dominance of the Xhosa language and culture how that affects power relations and integration.

Coloured students in particular preferred to speak to those Black students with a higher level of English competency. These tended to be those from outside the Province and country. The Chinese students however, felt that there was no real differentiating factor between the different kinds of English and said that they preferred speaking to the 'local' Blacks. This could partially be explained by the similarity in speech patterns between Chinese and Xhosa students.

(c) Coloured students will harbour the most resistance towards integrating with black students and will use Afrikaans as a method to exclude them. (This surmise is based largely on the history of UWC and the more superior role designated to Coloureds during Apartheid.)

This hypothesis brought about two important issues. Firstly, that there is a perceived 'tension' between Coloureds and Xhosas at UWC. Nearly all of the groups remarked on this – with the exception of the Coloureds themselves. Secondly, the functioning of Afrikaans appears to have changed somewhat over the years with some Coloureds preferring to speak English in order to better integrate themselves and move away from the 'Apartheid baggage' of the past.



(d) Students with family backgrounds indicating much involvement in the fight against Apartheid will be more positive to integration than others whose family did not participate actively against Apartheid.

This hypothesis appeared to have been inconclusive as informants did not really feel that their family backgrounds had influenced their view of integration with many of them unsure of their family's role during Apartheid.

(e) Foreign students having studied at the UWC for a short period of time will believe that the campus is completely integrated. This impression will be contrasting to those students that have been on the UWC campus longer.

I found this hypothesis to be true as foreign students had a high expectation of the university and its students on entry into the university and were expecting a ‘rainbow’ nation. However, as their studies continued both the Chinese and BaTswanas remarked on the ‘tension’ between Xhosas and Coloureds and felt these specific groups have great difficulty integrating.

In addition to this, the BaTswanas seemed to be more integrated than the Chinese students and this could be attributed to the fact that the BaTswanas could share some similarities in culture with other Black students. However, the Chinese students integrate the least as they don’t seem to have any group that shares many similarities to their culture.

5.3 Conclusions



In line with the primary aim of the thesis, I look at the role identity plays in relation to helping or hindering integration amongst the different ethnic and social groups on UWC campus. It has become apparent that identity is not a uniform feature and describable in singular terms as at UWC students have the ability to signal identities which could index either solidarity or dissent with other groups.

Considering the changing social and cultural multilingual setting that students at UWC find themselves in, we see that previously assigned identities – a mark of the Apartheid era- are being challenged through linguistic optioning which contests previously ‘imposed’ and later ‘assumed’ classifications of the past.

By and large, I feel that most of the objectives in the study have been met, however further research would be very interesting and helpful to further understand integration in the new South Africa.

5.4 Implications of the Study to UWC and Recommendations

5.4.0 The Educational Role of UWC in a (Post-Apartheid) Multilingual Setting

As language practices and ideologies surrounding it become more hegemonic in its move towards English, as seen at the historically 'white' university, perhaps now more than ever should education and language choices in this domain be explored beyond its current understanding. "As it stands, multilingual reality comes up against national ideologies of monolingualism and homogeneity and institutional ideas of inclusion." (Moyer & Rojo 2007:156). What this essentially means to UWC is that there is a battle underway between multilingualism freedom and monolingualistic pressure in this country which needs to be addressed as seriously as the Apartheid legacy. The role of UWC is then to find ways in which to promote and sustain a multilingual and multicultural setting on which students can ascend to even greater heights. That is where students can put multilingualism in practice and hence express their multilingual identity options.

Marilyn Martin-Jones (2007:165) speaks on this subject, stating that "...at the present time, universal education is recognized as one of the main cornerstones of democratic societies..." What we have uncovered alongside education is the indubitable role that language plays in affirming and excluding groups in different contexts. The question now begs – and starts today with UWC- What role does educational institutions play in countering the historical legacy of Apartheid in its current multilingual setting?

The saliency of educational institutions can not be denied and is described as “... a place where a constant evaluation of the social, cultural and linguistic resources of students shapes hierarchical or power-based relationship[s]” (Moyer & Rojo 2007:144).

Therefore, when we compare the present contrasting and what has become ‘routinized’ discursive practices at both the historically ‘white’ university and UWC, we can differentiate two specific parallels in educational in South Africa. One parallel is homogenization towards English and what can be understood as a move towards a ‘nation state’ with its function to “create and protect a national speech community as a social base and to ensure that the national language effectively constituted and occupied the public space” (Pujolar 2007:71)

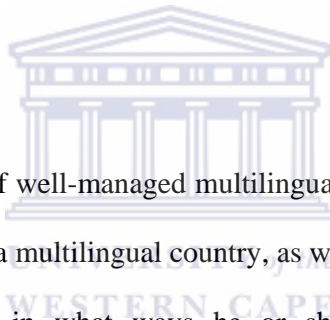
The other parallel can be described as a move towards a true multilingual educational future, with the upliftment of indigenous languages beyond ‘symbolic’ functions and rather as a language that “...gain[s] access to both symbolic and material resources...” (Moyer & Rojo 2007:156). Arguably, if Bangeni and Kapp’s study (2007) is anything to go by, UCT is leaning towards the former, while this study shows that UWC is leaning towards the latter.

5.4.1 Positing a Definition for Integration in a Multilingual Educational Context

Integration can be understood in terms of constant shifting of positions in different contexts and through different languages and varieties. Integration is not an achievement to which one can aspire as integrating involves continual shifting of identities to fit different contexts and audiences and individuals. When looking at integration, we need to realize that different students will always be at different levels

of comfort amongst the varying ethnicities and that though one may not be integrated in some regards, this may not be entirely true in other cases. Therefore, integration should be viewed as a continuously changing phase of personal growth and exposure to different languages and cultures. Also, it is salient to note, that being multilingual (speaking three or more languages) does not equal being integrated, but simply signals that there are more options available if the speaker chooses to use them. Therefore, integration should not be viewed through the lenses of multilingualism but rather through frequency of interactions and respect for one's own identities as well as others' diversity.

5.5 So is UWC integrated?



It is said that “at the heart of well-managed multilingualism lie the opportunities that it holds for every speaker in a multilingual country, as well as the choices that it offers the individual in deciding in what ways he or she wishes to embrace these opportunities” (Belgium Conference on Multilingualism 2001). These ‘opportunities’ spoken of can undoubtedly be related to that of integration as it *is* an opportunity for every student at UWC.

In order to answer this question one needs be cognizant of the fact that the issue of integration houses many other complex issues. Therefore the question as to whether UWC is integrated should rather be understood in relation to how much is known of differences alongside respect for diversity- *without losing one's identit(ies)*.

All in all, as integration cannot be measured as a specific moment in interaction, one could posit that UWC is integrated to varying degrees which are also context-dependant.

What this means is that students have a linguistic option repertoire at their disposal at any given time and in any situation. Furthermore, we find that students habitually signal different identities through their linguistic choices and even appear to do this on an unconscious level. Also we find that motivation plays a big role in linguistic choice as students converge in different situations when the goal is to progress academically. Thus, it can be argued that integration is a function of choice and motivation. In other words, given the choice and motivation students will integrate.

Overall, when considering the history of South Africa, it is understandable that integration will not occur overnight. However, the broadening and exercising of linguistic options should be seen as a step in right direction to integration across the various ethnic groups.

To conclude, the following specific recommendations need to be noted:

1. The university needs to give students more opportunities to practice their multilinguality. This means that students should have more opportunities to broaden their linguistic repertoire through participation in ‘Cultural Days’ at UWC.
2. UWC should recognize (and nourish) that for the majority of students interviewed, learning happens in a language other than the officially-

designated one. For example, this study shows that students discuss their tutorial work and exams within their social networks and mostly through a medium outside of the official language of the university.

3. UWC should explore the possibility of multilingual teaching, which means teaching in more than one language. For a start, UWC could request some assignments to be done in a language they feel most comfortable with.
4. The SRC needs to play a more pivotal role in facilitating integration amongst the various ethnic groups at UWC.



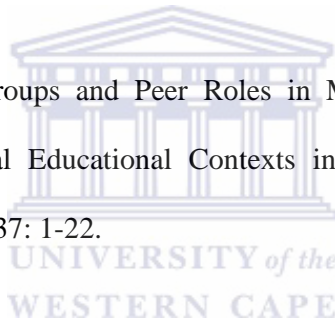
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APPENDIX A

A Discourse Analysis of Narratives of Identities and Integration at the University of the Western Cape

2007

Consent Form

I, Amiena Peck hereby request permission to record and utilize all material gained through interviews and discussions by the undersigned individual.

The thesis endeavours to serve the purpose of providing the various ethnic groups an opportunity to voice their views and experiences of integration at UWC.

All interviewees are participating on a voluntary basis with no monetary remuneration of any kind. They will also be privy to the following allowances:

- I. Confidentiality and anonymity
- II. Withdrawal at any stage of the research
- III. Research protocol – they will be privy to the purpose of the research

Focus group participants will be asked to keep any disclosure of sensitive information to themselves.

I, hereby affirm that I give permission to the above-mentioned researcher to use all data received under the conditions stated above.

Date:.....

Venue:.....

Signature.....