Telling stories of race: A study of racialised subjectivity in the post-apartheid academy

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Declaration of Originality

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this is my own original work and that all fieldwork was undertaken by me. Any part of this study that does not reflect my own ideas has been fully acknowledged in the form of citations. No part of this thesis has been submitted in the past, or is being submitted, or is to be submitted for a degree at any other university.

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Dedication

Lukhanyo, Benjamin and Shiloh, with love.

There is fiction in the space between the lines of the page of memories. Write it down but it doesn’t mean you’re not just telling stories.

Tracy Chapman (2000), *Telling Stories.*

Abstract

This study draws on in-depth interviews conducted with twenty black students from different socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds studying at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. It attempts to explore and understand some of the complexities of racial subjectivities in a post-apartheid and racially diverse institutional context through Bourdieu's constructs of *habitus* and *field.* Furthermore the psychosocial and phenomenological approach to theorizing black subjectivity evident in the theories of Fanon and Du Bois are further used to explore the complexities of racialised habitus. Bourdieu argues that encounter with an unfamiliar field will result in transformed habitus (socialized subjectivity). The subject's movement and participation in different and unfamiliar fields will result in habitus that is conflicted and fraught with tension. Through a critical heremeneutic approach the analyses suggests much more complex, ambiguous and contradictory articulations of racialised subjectivity that manifest in relation with dimensions of cultural capital. These in turn produce complex processes of racialization for these students. The narrative analysis of content explores thematic content of the data and demonstrates dominant themes related to constructs of racialised subjectivity, with particular focus on 'blackness' as a distinct and contradictory construct. Through positive and negative constructs of blackness, both interpersonal and generalized interaction patterns of these students on campus is shown to reflect intricate ways that racialised boundaries are both created *and* sustained. The discursive layer of analysis further demonstrates the at times essentializing and contradictory deployment of race used by the students in their navigation of the academic field. The analysis of form further highlights similar and diverse academic trajectories of the students that are interwoven with accounts of racialised and classed histories. These accounts highlight the perceived importance of race in the accruement of cultural capital attributes both prior to *and* during their immersion within the academic context at tertiary level. The study argues for a more concerted effort at documenting the lived experiences of racialization including the subjective negotiation of multiple and contradicting interpellation processes within higher education more generally.

Key Words: race, subjectivity, habitus, field, students, tertiary institution, Bourdieu, Fanon, Du Bois

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Chapter One

Background, rationale and scope of study

Cultural meanings are not only "in the head". They organize and regulate social practices, influence our conduct, and consequently have real, practical effects.

(Hall, 2003, p. 3)

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the self-representations, negotiations and re/productions of race amongst under-graduate and post-graduate black students at a historically white university in post-apartheid South Africa. In focusing on the racial subjectivity of black students the study seeks to explore the inter-subjective experiences and self-representations of students in relation to broader discursive, symbolic and material realities of race that have characterized *and,* I would argue, continue to characterize the lives of this particular group of students in many tertiary institutions in South Africa (Landau, 2012; Seekings, 2008; Whitehead, 2011). Race remains a complex category of/for (self) representation and intergroup contact for many South Africans. It is a category that continues to embody – in intricate, contradictory and often deeply entrenched ways – social and cultural patterns of informal segregation, interaction, and self-identification (Dixon & Durrheim, 2001; Durrheim, 2005; Durrheim & Mtose, 2006; Erasmus, 2006; Francis, 2006; Hook, 2006c; Motsemme, 2003; Schrieff, Tredoux, Dixon & Finchilescu, 2005).

The complexities of racial contact and renegotiations have been at the forefront of social, economic, political and cultural transformation agendas that have characterized post-apartheid South Africa. These varied projects of transformation have equally been characterized by multiple challenges and contestations related to processes of transformation itself – both as project and concept. Institutions of higher learning have not escaped the complexities and contestations either. In an audit of education scholarship in South Africa between 1995 and 2006, Deacon, Osman and Buchler (2009) report that sociopolitical implications of transformation in higher education is a dominant theme, including issues of equity and access of marginalized groups. In a different study, le Grange (2009) presents an audit of scholarship in the second decade of South Africa's democracy highlighting similar thematic issues of equity and diversity and redress of historical inequalities in higher education through access and participation. Other studies include foci on institutional

attempts at redressing inequalities with regard to access to study in historically white institutions (see Akoojee & Nkomo; Cassim, 2005 and Cross, 2009 amongst others), debates on the role and importance of institutional culture as hindrance to effective transformation (see Alence, O'Donovan & Ron, 2006; Cassim, 2005; Cross, 2009; Portnoi, 2009; van Zyl, Steyn & Orr, 2002;and Weber & Vandeyar, 2004; amongst others), explorations of academic and social factors affecting student performance from marginalized groups, and also issues of the curriculum as a site of transformation (Esakov, 2009). All of these debates reflect broader national agendas of transformation within the education sector and have been an active interest and focus for researchers, key policy decision-makers and educators, amongst others. This current social focus on practices of racial signification and identification within these different institutions may further be understood and explored as part of the broader project and context of social and cultural transformation in post-apartheid South Africa. These contexts, as they pertain to the central arguments of the current study, are discussed below.

1.2 Context: Education, race and subjectivity: critical issues for a post-apartheid South Africa

As Portnoi (2009) notes, higher education institutions in post-apartheid South Africa are currently in the throes of transformation at different levels and in response to national and social priorities. These priorities relate to shifts in institutional subjectivity as well as significant changes in the staff and student demographic profile. For instance, in March 2006 the Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER) at the University of the Witwatersrand launched a lecture series exploring the critical spaces and politics of university transformation. This series was launched under the title, *Facing up to Race: Equity, Diversity and the Idea of the University*. The lectures explored the intricate and often complex ways that race – simultaneously as *discourse*, *subjectivity* and *practice* – continue to shape and influence our "experience, our language, and our institutions" (Hyslop, 2007, p. 17). The lecture series initiative was in a sense a formal recognition by the institution of nuances of instituional transformation processes within higher education. Similarly Cross (2009) notes that the objective of redress and transformation evidenced through the increased enrollment of students from socioeconomically disadvantaged groups and who, as a result of structural and social constraints, are deemed to be less prepared for academia and "traditional university culture" (p. 6), is becoming an increasingly universal phenomena.

Current debates on transformation and integration within universities have largely been framed in technicist ways, whereby issues of redress and integration are conceptualized in a quantitative and often linear manner (through emphasis on increasing student and staff numbers from historically disadvantaged social groups, and/or increasing the throughput rate of students from such groups). It remains equally important however that we take cognizance of the range of discourses around race and culture that accompany these quantifiable practices and processes. This requires a shift in how we conceptualize and speak about race and subjectivity. What are the cultural processes that exist within particular spaces that tend to remain under-explored when we speak of transformation and race, for example? Nuttall (2004) makes a similar argument when she questions dominant explorations of transformation in contemporary South Africa that utilize paradigmatic lenses that represent social and cultural change as 'static' . She presses for new forms of analyses that take cognizance of continuing inequalities but also capture the intricate cultural and social transformations also taking place. It is this shift of paradigmatic focus that underpins the present study: are there imaginings of race amongst black students at a historically white institution which embody other intricate and perhaps subtle signifiers of subjectivity? And are these imaginings in turn significant to how race (as discourse, practice *and* subjectivity) may be and is resisted, recentred and re/produced today? Put differently, when race is no longer constructed through fixed terms of reference, what alternate constructs and representations may exist? Exploring these constructs within tertiary educational contexts requires a conceptualization of the university as not merely constituted through structural properties but also – and perhaps more significantly –embodying discursive spaces and meanings (Cross, 2009).

Given the current transformations taking place in South Africa, we can assume that new constructs and embodiments of racial subjectivity amongst a younger generation occur within complex and contradictory contexts that reflect these transformations. This is because processes of subject formation are contingent on multiple and dynamic processes of social and cultural change. We must engage therefore with more than just the discursive terrain of subject formation. This is only part of the process. A concerted analysis of *how* young people are making sense of the discursive terrain is also necessary. Nuttall (2004) has argued that traditional forms of analyses of social transformation tend to ignore the complex nature of culture as a dynamic process. Dolby (2000) makes a similar critique when she asserts that the category of race may often be used or deployed rather simplistically by social and cultural

theorists to explain or understand subject formations in contemporary South Africa. She argues that exploring processes of 'how' – i.e. the ways in which such a category becomes meaningful (in different ways) for many young people may be more useful to engaging both the social and historical contingencies of race itself. So, how then do we read old and new formations of racial subjectivity amongst the youth in a post-apartheid context? What new and dynamic configurations of subjectivity are being created that point to the limited practice of the difference debate?

1.3 Context: Reconceptualizing (racial) subjectivity

Postcolonial approaches to subjectivity have emphasized the postcolonial context as uniquely complex and dynamic in the intersecting dimensions of continued relations of power. These approaches emphasize issues of subjectivity and representation of non-western subjects within the global context as well as how complex psycho-social aspects of transformation, contestation and recalcitrance of subjectivity are part of this process of identification and representation. Theorists such as Amina Mama (1995; 2005) for example, have grappled with the multiple dimensions of black female subjectivity by attempting to situate these within postcolonial relations of power that re/produce gendered and racialised subjects in specific ways. Similarly, Hook (2003) highlights the significance of such a *post-colonial* approach to subjectivity by emphasizing the contingency of racial subjectivity within uniquely sociohistorical contexts of colonial relations of power. These contexts include material, political, economic and ideological relations that further influence how racialised subjectivities are articulated, lived and represented. Bulhan (1979) has argued that social or group subjectivity only comes to have meaning within a specific framework that includes types of knowledge and discourses, narratives, ideals, practices etc. that are *shared* across different contexts within a culture. It is this latter aspect of subjectivity that draws our attention to multiple and symbolic *forms of capital* (Bourdieu, 1977) that may influence how subjectivities come to assume particular social meaning for different groups and individuals at a given point in time. Given the relations of power within any society, access to some subjectivity resources is not always equal. In this sense, subjectivity may be seen as embodying forms of capital that is both a *reflection of* the relations of power within the society as well as *reinforcing* those relations of power. In the same vein, practices of resistance and agency take place within these networks of relations of power. Some cultural practices and articulations of subjectivity are therefore never neutral but rather reflections of

broader sociohistorical factors that are related to cultural dominance. Resistances to these networks of power reflect these sociohistorical and cultural dynamics of power. This is nowhere more evident and pertinent than in the sphere of newly integrated educational institutions where opportunity and space for active disruption and challenging of many of these sociohistorical categories are arguably easily available to the youth.

These issues bring to the fore the importance of racial subjectivity and its influence in contexts of teaching and learning. It should be noted however that racial subjectivity in such contexts is far from monolithic in form and practice. Indeed, it is possible that there will be intergroup differences in how racial subjectivity is deemed to be significant to one's self-concept. Furthermore, differences within groups may also exist in relation to the social setting and other statuses and identities that are equally significant in promoting positive social subjectivity. Jaret and Reitzes (1999) for example demonstrate that racial subjectivity is more paramount for black students than their white counterparts, arguing that the situational aspects of racial subjectivity highlight how subject formation and negotiation is an active and fluid process. Relatedly, racial subjectivity is shown to continually interact with other subject formations such as class in such a way that the category of race may itself be superceded by these other social categories in individual social comparisons to others.

Weber (2001) notes however that racial experiences, while important, also transcend individual subjectivity in the sense that race as a concept also exists at group, institutional and cultural levels. In this sense then race exists as a social system and not just individual subjectivity. Cross, Shalem, Backhouse and Adam (2009) have argued that practices, norms and values within an academic institution may serve to constrain or enable successful participation of undergraduate students within such a context. In a study conducted amongst students at the University of the Witwatersrand, the authors argue that four dominant constructs are at play in relation to the kinds of resources that students at the institution may draw upon. These constructs include: "internal regulation, which refers to the ways in which students experience the difference in relation to authority when compared to their school experiences"; secondly, "individual responsibility, which is related to the distribution of responsibilities between 'the student' and 'the institution' in relation to the process of learning and teaching"; thirdly "explicit and implicit rules, connected to the ways in which students get to understand how the [institutional]learning environment works" and lastly " re-visiting the familiar, which points to students' experiences of failure and alienation and how these

experiences elicit past experiences of racial oppression" (p 21). Through an exploration of personal narratives and individual stories, Mabokela and Magubane (2004) investigate the explicit and often implicit nuances of institutional culture on raced and gendered subjectivities amongst black female South African academics. They argue that for a concerted look at structural explanations for black women's experiences within academia as well as the utility of alternative approaches of womanism and black feminist thought to understanding and interpreting black female academic narratives of institutional culture.

Mirza (2006) has further argued that complex processes of exclusion related to race and gender are crucial to understanding black women's navigation of the academic field. In a similar vein Potgieter and Moleko (2004) argue that widely held beliefs and stereotypes related to black women in the academy may often work at a symbolic and implicit level that are not always readily available to some forms of analysis and understanding. Ndimande (2007) further argues that most black students continue to experience racial and cultural difficulties in transitioning into formerly white institutions of learning in post-apartheid South Africa. These studies highlight differently how explorations of racial subjectivity within institutional context is a complex endeavor that requires multiple and diverse approaches to analysis. Adopting a psycho-social approach to such explorations will contribute significantly to analysis that is contextual and relational. Such a move is necessary in challenging individualist conceptualizations of the subject in society. Challenging the immutable facets of resistance to the transformation agenda must therefore incorporate analyses that engage with the social lived experiences of the individual without reducing these experiences to individual and objective frameworks. Part of the exploration of the intricate resistances to transformation within institutional contexts or field concerns the hidden cultural practices of racialization and subjectivity that appear insignificant but are intricately intertwined with how subjects mediate and navigate their social fields as well as make sense of socio-political, economic and cultural transformations.

1.4 Context: youth subjectivity and race in post-apartheid South Africa

As noted, a significant area of interest related to interpersonal and intergroup relations in a post-apartheid context concerns the re/negotiation of previously entrenched racial categories amongst many South Africans, but perhaps even more so amongst the youth. While racial demarcations continue to feature strongly within certain domains such as the economic

sphere – what Alexander (1992) and Stevens and Lockhat (2003) refer to as 'racialised capitalism' – it is almost impossible to identify race as a primary marker of identification and differentiation in other significant fields and spheres. Stevens and Lockhat (pp. 142-3) sum up these new points of categorization amongst many black adolescents succinctly when they argue that "…the common 'enemy' that provided the reference point for many Black adolescents against which to collectively define themselves is no longer particularly visible or obvious in post-apartheid South Africa." Clearly, identities are being contested and formed within a changing sociopolitical and economic climate that requires us to not only explore these new subjectivity formations – how they interact with previous subject categories, what the points of difference and similarity are as well as the material and symbolic effects of these formations — but also how these are situated within global contexts of interaction and identification.

Transformative change in South Africa has equally been characterized by increasing globalization of commodity and population flow both within and outside of the country that has in turn witnessed a globalizing of identities in the sense that subjectivity formation processes now takes place within contexts of both local and global exchange (Bekker & Prinsloo, 1999). South African youth are increasingly engaging in new and different kinds of commodity exchange that includes a rejection of traditional categories of identification and the embracing of hybridized forms of identities. While the significant markers of subjectivity in this context are influenced by a consumer culture, there seems to be a persistence of traditional subject categories that are being redefined and redeployed in different ways and to some degree to the same end as was practiced in apartheid contexts (Dolby, 1999; 2000; Nuttall, 2004; Soudien, 1998b).

In an ethnographic study of racial identifications amongst students at a multiracial school, Dolby (2000) illustrates how South African youth are increasingly forming and negotiating their identities within the context of a consumer global culture. Through constructs of 'taste' and other popular cultural artifacts and icons, youth at school are actively part of a process of re/creating previously entrenched racial signifiers. Youth identities in this context shifts from previous political and racial categorizations and instead are based, not on coalitions around racial politics, but rather consumer and popular cultures. Group formations in turn are formed and solidified on this basis. Soudien (2001) equally demonstrates the new post-1994 contestations of racialised subjectivity emerging amongst the youth within the school

environment. These students are engaged in strategic, contradictory, and ambiguous practices of resistance *and* recentring of racialised subjectivities that attest to the broader discursive complex terrain.

Similarly, Duncan (2003) demonstrates a tendency amongst black students to project previously entrenched representations of black subjectivity onto white subjects. This process of inversion, he argues, is deployed as a defense strategy by black students to counteract dominant practices of racialization. In other avenues, the practice of consumer identities through music and fashion tastes has increasingly influenced new avenues for subjectivity and group categorizations that are dictated by consumerism and global practices and which allow a kind of freedom or space to explore alternate identities beyond race (Dolby, 2002). In spite of this the ability to actively participate in this new consumer culture is invariably restricted to those individuals with the capacity to do so. This capacity is enhanced through embodiments of cultural, social and financial *capital* that facilitate the acquisition, exchange and emulation of material and social rewards necessary.

Soudien (2001) reiterates the significance of the school environment as an important site for such symbolic struggles over racialization processes in a post-apartheid context. He argues that the institution of the school is made up of multiple and contradictory discursive and lived experiences of students. Bourdieu (1986) makes the argument that practices of exclusion still exist even within so-called democratic and liberal educational systems. These practices reinforce and reproduce social structural inequalities across generations of students. Given the historical socio-structural demarcation of privilege and inequality in apartheid South Africa through systematic racialization processes, it is not surprising that these inequalities continue to be reflected along racial lines in post-apartheid South Africa (Terre Blanche, 2006). Vandeyar (2008) similarly argues that dominant institutional cultures within formerly white institutions continue to remain impervious to change and transformation imperatives in post-apartheid South Africa. Many black students entering these institutions negotiate racial subjectivity in relation to the different immutable resistances to transformation within which they are often positioned in rigid ways. Thus, even within such institutional contexts that espouse equality and recognition of diversity previously entrenched racial categorizations and exclusionary processes may be simultaneously rejected and sustained. Moreover, as Leibowitz, Rohleder, Bozalek, Carolissen and Swartz (2007) demonstrate strategies of avoidance when dealing with difference continue to characterize student navigation of the

field. This is in keeping with Nelson, Dickson and Hargie's (2003) study which found that students from historically different and antagonistic backgrounds tend to not engage with each other on a deep level but rather superficially. These students will often engage in avoidance strategies in their interactions with each other as coping strategies for dealing with and confronting difference. In a different study, Dixon, Tredoux and Clack (2005) argue that segregation can often exist as micro-ecological practice, whereby informal boundaries are maintained in 'everyday life spaces' such as sitting in dining room halls (Schrieff et al, 2005). The democratic ideal of the university space, therefore, cannot be taken for granted.

In a different study illustrating the increasing influence of globalizing youth culture on subjectivity formations amongst new generations of South Africans today, Yarwood (2006) focuses on the role and influence of hip-hop culture in shaping new categories and identifications of 'blackness' amongst 'colored' youth in Cape Town. Referring to this shift in racial identification as a process of '*deterritorialization*', Yarwood demonstrates how 'colored' youth in Cape Town utilize globalised constructs of blackness that are based on oppression to articulate and define themselves as 'black'. This process of deterritorialization allows such youth (i.e., previously excluded from occupying privileged discursive and cultural spaces by former sociocultural and political structures) to occupy new and empowering spaces. These new articulation of and participation in discursive spaces allow for rearticulation of the identity 'black' (both as a category and subjectivity resource). Black popular culture from western contexts is thus drawn upon to construct a more open and broad category of race and racial politics that do not rigidly depend on categories of 'black' or 'colored'. In a similar vein, Haupt (2008) demonstrates the significance of counter-cultures (such as hip-hop) and digital technology in sustaining different forms of agency. Focusing on the work of South African hip-hop artists, Haupt argues that hip-hop as cultural space and culture has created and sustained a forum or discursive space within which historically marginalized youth may challenge entrenched social realities and produce alternative and even subversive forms of culture.

In a different context, Archer, Hollingworth and Halsall (2007) discuss how urban working-class young people's performances of embodied capital – enacted through practices of 'taste' and 'style' – exist within the educational field. They argue that these performances exist differently and structurally to middle-class pupils who are able to exercise agency in moving across fields. For example, Skeggs (2004) makes a similar argument when she discusses how

aspects of black working class culture (through music and fashion) may be appropriated by a white audience and only comes to accrue value when it is thus appropriated. In his seminal work *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* Bourdieu (1984) argues that taste is central to class formations through re/productions of distinction and differentiation. Class positions are re/produced through processes of making judgments and distinctions that are in turn located within differential access to knowledge. Skeggs (2004, p. 142) takes this even further when she argues that "…tastes become institutionalized, protected by symbolic boundaries and forms of exclusion…" Extending Bourdieu's construct of class, taste and distinction even further, Layton (2004) argues for the role of emotion in securing the taste that differentiates classes from one another. Through an exploration of the emotive journey of individuals moving from one class domain to another, Layton argues for a psychoanalytic dimension to Bourdieu's thesis on taste and distinction. Anxiety is explored as part of this process of class mobility, and is demonstrated to function in exclusionary ways through limiting the practices of interaction and integration amongst lower, working individuals who migrate to middle and upper class statuses (also see Lawler, 1999). For Layton (2004), Bourdieu's constructs of habitus and distinction engages less explicitly with these unconscious aspects of social subjectivity. This is in particular reference to the emotive components of subjectivity that attest to the psychic investments individuals attach to subject positions, and which fail to occupy an active critique in Bourdieu's work.

Both Yarwood (2006) and Dolby's (2000) studies illustrate the importance of *differential access* to prescribed and idealized subjectivity categories. For instance, globalized redefinitions of race have become increasingly popular amongst new generations of young people (expressed through a variety of practices and lifestyles such as music, dress, social practices, etc.). However, other forms and articulations of *capital* are equally necessary and intrinsic to these subjectivity configurations. These may include financial and social capital as well as (and perhaps less explicitly) symbolic and cultural capital that enable successful integration within the social group. Stanton-Salazar (1997) discusses the idea of school-based social capital to refer to the network of relations within the school community. These relations facilitate a shared network of norms and resources between network members in the advancement of specific goals within the field. They may also include networks formed *within the school community* around race, class and even gender. Configurations of race and subjectivity therefore do not occur within spaces void of varying relations of power and cultural dominance. This construct of school-based capital is based on Bourdieu's (1986) and

Coleman's (1988) conception of social capital theory that emphasize the importance of specific types of social relations that may facilitate social navigation of particular contexts. Stanton-Salazar's (1997) study uses the construct of school-based social capital to explore how students of color attempt to navigate the school environment as part of mainstream society. The assumption here is that easy navigation of school-based social capital has the potential to become *actual* social capital.

The issue of capital (in its varied forms) introduces another crucial dimension to exploring the complexities of racial positioning amongst the youth in contemporary South Africa. This dimension concerns issues of class and language. While the current study does not seek to reduce the idea of class to symbolic systems, it is interested in the intricate ways that such a concept is realized or given meaning through cultural mechanisms that include practices of "inclusion and exclusion, normalization and pathologization" (Lawler, 1999, pp. 4-5) through differential access and dispositions that may hinder or facilitate integration of the academic habitus. Furthermore, Thompson (1984) in his introduction to Bourdieu's analysis of symbolic artifacts of class notes that any worthwhile analysis of ideology entails some reflection on language. Through his construct of linguistic *habitus* Bourdieu highlights how some cultural artifacts, such as language, may have differential levels of social *competence* and therefore embody different relations of power.

To summarize the arguments made in this introductory chapter, the following five central points must be noted: *1)* racialization processes in a transforming South Africa are increasingly played out within continuously changing social, cultural and economic landscapes. These landscapes in turn embody multiple and ambiguous discourses of racial subjectivity and representation; *2)* it is largely within these multiple, ambiguous and often complex spaces that sites of resistance, challenge and re/negotiation of dominant constructs and representations of race tend to exist; *3)* because race is never static in construct and representation, these processes of negotiation and re/constructions simultaneously occur with other discursive constructs that mediate how race is both experienced and constructed; *4)* social and historical contingencies influence practices of racialization *5)* different forms of cultural capital – embodied, objectified and institutional – influences processes of racialization of black subjects within the academic field. Given these characteristics and conditions of racialization not only do we need to problematize current and dominant constructs of race and subjectivity but also explore how these facets of racialization are

articulated and practiced within the academic field. This would enable an understanding of how discourses, practices and lived experiences (and the meanings we make of these) implicitly work to challenge and/or reinforce structural and lived inequalities in South Africa today.

1.5 Rationale and Locating this Research

So, why study black student formulations of race, culture and subjectivity within tertiary contexts? Firstly, what would be at stake for us to think about subjectivity markers *as social relations* and not just attributes? Recent studies have argued that constructs and articulations of blackness and so-called colored identities in South Africa are fraught with differing contestations and definitions (Durrheim & Mtose, 2006; Stevens & Lockhat, 2003; Erasmus, 2006; Prinsloo & de la Rey, 1999) as well as multiple points of conflict (Durrheim & Mtose, 2006). The latter study in particular demonstrates the contradictory ways that stereotypical constructs of blackness are often re/produced by both white *and* black students. A central argument of the present study is that there is an active re/positioning of individuals as racial subjects that continues in post-apartheid South Africa and which needs to be acknowledged by education researchers in their practice and work more explicitly. As Durrheim and Mtose (2006) show, being black in the new South Africa is still rife with disturbing and often contradictory racialised undertones. Garrod, (cited in Stoughton & Sivertson, 2005) further argues that black students at historically white institutions of higher learning habitually learn to negotiate three realms of experience: mainstream culture, their minority status[1] and 'black' culture. One should note however, that this process is implicitly fraught with inconsistencies of identification and disidentification in varying contexts.

Moreover, given the multiple and dynamic nature of social reality and how this interacts with individual psyches, it is not surprising that individuals will experience and negotiate these realities similarly yet also differently. This is in keeping with a conceptualization of racial subjectivity formation as far from static or uniform even. In a study on British Muslims' experiences of self-represention, Hopkins, Greenwood and Birchall (2007, p. 679) argue that such a process of self-representation is often fraught with ambivalent feelings that are

[1] South Africa presents a very different landscape with regards to minority status (as the term is used in European-American contexts) in the sense that the black population constitutes the majority and not a minority. However, the term also connotes another common meaning that refers to the socio-political and economic status of the group with regards to privilege. It is this latter usage that the term is used in the present study.

informed partly by personal frustrations in being positioned as an exemplar of one's group, that is, "on terms that are not their own but those of the majority". Elsewhere, Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux (2005) have made the point that social researchers need to re-orient themselves to participants' own subjective understandings of their everyday moments of contact with other groups. This is necessary if a meaningful understanding and conception of inter-group contact (i.e. one that acknowledges and engages the real 'messiness' of group contact and not just the utopian optimal conditions of the contact hypotheses) is to be realised.

The shifting and contested nature of racial subjectivity is perhaps nowhere more played out than amongst the youth. The experiences of subjectivity of a post-apartheid generation are arguably widely different from the lived social, cultural, political and economic realities of previous generations growing up within the systematic and institutionally sanctioned oppressive State of apartheid South Africa. This is not surprising given that our identities are relational to different social realities that influence us differently at different historical points in time. Both macro and micro changes have and continue to characterize contemporary South African society. These changes occur at different sociopolitical, economic and interpersonal levels and have each had varying degrees of real transformative change in the country and on intergroup relations in particular. And yet, race continues to be an important marker of signification and identification for many South Africans, or as Foster (2005, p. 502) puts it, "…people continue to 'do' racialised subjectivities". Erasmus (2006) demonstrates the role and influence of race in how students and staff at a historically white institution continue to work with institutional culture and their perceptions of institutional climate. Similarly, Robus and Macleod (2006), show that the terrain of higher education in post-apartheid South Africa continues to be racialised through an "interweaving of macro-level processes and discourses that recur in everyday talk and practices" (p 463). Participants in the Robus and Macleod (2006) study continually assigned racialised identities to particular institutions (categorized as 'white' and/or 'black') to inscribe broader identities of white excellence and black failure.

It is a central tenet in this study that processes of racialization will be influenced by other embodied dimensions of cultural capital. Given this the subject is understood to not only experience the social and academic field differently in relation to their embodied cultural capital but also make sense of different social interactions related to this. The current study is

therefore primarily interested in the influences of cultural capital and racial subjectivity constructs and negotiations amongst black students within the socio-cultural field of tertiary education. University students, by virtue of their transitional status as classed subjects; their straddling of familial, community and secondary schooling values and the liberal nature of the university; their location in newly integrated settings that have high levels of currency; etc. are a perfect site/cohort for this kind of study as it allows for the illumination of their subjectivities in transition, and in relation to various symbolic forms of capital that stand outside of the materiality of class that they only really get into independently when they enter the world of work.

To guide this exploration, Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital is used as a framing conceptual tool in analyzing the thematic data that emerge. I make the argument that cultural capital theory is a suitable lens to analyze and engage racial subjectivity constructs amongst black students in a post-apartheid context. In so doing, the significance of cultural (and other forms of symbolic capital) capital to theorizing racial subjectivity in the new South Africa cannot be understated: while race may influence how individuals activate cultural capital, it is equally the case that possession of cultural capital will significantly influence how the individual experiences being a raced subject. Understanding the emerging contexts of racial subjectivity constructs – and the implicit practices of inclusions and exclusions – amongst the youth in contemporary South Africa requires a lens of analysis that engages with the intersections of race with other subjectivity markers such as cultural capital. More than this, engaging the different forms of cultural capital and their differential value within particular contexts; as well as how those individuals who possess or do not possess a particular form of capital are advantaged or disadvantaged, is necessary to understanding new practices of subjectivity formation and negotiation amongst the youth in post-apartheid South Africa.

It also means addressing the *hierarchical* contexts of subjectivity formation and negotiation, that is, the ways that black students coming into historically white institutions of learning possess varying degrees of agency and social power – shared racial categorization notwithstanding. Thus a subjectivity marker of blackness for example will not always be experienced in the same way by those individuals so categorized. In this regard, knowing (as a matter of empirical fact) the racial category of a student was not useful in itself to analyzing how they experienced being at a historically white tertiary institution. I therefore conceptualized the present study as an exploration of how the category of blackness was

being constructed and negotiated by black students within different contexts but at the same institution. From this initial conceptualization I begun to conceive of how other subjectivity categories and status may be implicit in how the category of blackness is not only internalized and experienced *but also* resisted and challenged. I focused on the role of cultural capital as one such influence to these constructs and negotiations of racial subjectivity amongst students coming into a historically white institution and interacting with a diverse racial and ethnic staff and student population.

The following aims and objectives comprise the central thrust of the study's explorations:

1.6 Study Objectives

1. To explore black students' constructions of racial subjectivity in relation to their academic and social field.
2. To explore the trajectories of black students' racialised and academic habitus in the context of education.

1.7 Research Questions

1. How do black students imagine they have been constructed within the academic field and what are their own constructs of racial subjectivity within this context?
2. What are black student's experiences and constructs of race within a tertiary institution context?
3. What are the narratives constructs of the students' current negotiations, constructs and experiences of race relative to their academic histories?
4. What constructs of *embodied*, *objectified* and *institutional* cultural capital emerge in these narratives of racialization?
5. What are the functional effects of the discursive constructs of race and the academy in students' talk? Related to this, what are the reproductive and/or resistant functions of the discursive elements related to race in the academy within the participants' narratives?

1.8 Chapter Outline

Chapter Two presents a critical overview of research on racialization practices within the education field both globally and locally, focusing especially on contributions of cultural

capital research. The chapter also discusses some of the more pertinent work that has been conducted in interweaving racial subjectivity with cultural capital attributes within the education field. The chapter argues that such work, while significant, remains an under-researched domain of inquiry within this field of investigation.

Chapter Three introduces and engages with the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of social constructionist epistemology and Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction through cultural capital theory. The chapter makes the argument that both these frameworks provide a critical analytic lens through which racialization processes may be explored and critiqued.

Chapter Four explores theoretical contributions to race and racialization processes within psychological inquiry. Through a focus on the core epistemological traditions of inquiry in this area, the chapter argues for a psycho-social and discursive approach that engages with the lived realities and experiences of race amongst black students as well as to critically interrogate the discursive dimensions of race-making.

Chapter Five formally introduces the methodological framework adopted in the study and explores three analytic approaches: thematic, narrative and discursive methods. The study adopts a qualitative research design that aims to explore the subjective accounts of race and the academy amongst students through interviews. The processes of data collection, analysis, and the strengths and limitations of the analytic approaches are also discussed.

Chapter Six presents a first analytic report and discussion of the data through thematic analysis. This chapter critically presents and discusses the identified emerging themes within the data set and highlights the core themes related to race and racialization practices in relation to being black students at different institutions of learning in post-apartheid South Africa. This chapter also highlights the function and effects of these discursive constructs, showing their significance for racialised subjectivity and race-making.

Chapter Seven provides the second analytic report and discussion of the data through narrative analysis. This chapter presents the analysis of the data set in terms of the temporal and relational patterns within the narrative accounts. Focusing on the narrative form and typologies of *stability, progression* and *regression,* the chapter highlights the influence of

social networks in forming, sustaining and resisting particular racialised subjectivities as well as the continuously shifting and contradictory facets of racialization more generally.

Chapter Eight provides a conclusion to, and reflexive discussion of, the study by presenting a summary of the research findings, reflexivity concerns and study limitations. The chapter engages with the implications of the overall epistemology of the study as well as the possibilities of further critical engagement with the everyday lived encounters of race. Recommendations for future analytic engagement are also explored and proposed.

Chapter Two

Researching educational contexts of learning

By doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the educational system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give. This consists mainly of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture.

(Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 494)

2.1 Introduction

Sociologists in education have for a long time been interested in the processes by which social reproduction may be reinforced in schools[2]. Bourdieu (1977) and his associates have been especially influential in this line of inquiry and have conducted significant research into the role of schools – through class reproductions especially – in the replication of social inequality more generally. Several pressing questions continue to emerge from these investigations and provide very insightful accounts of the social dynamics of power and social reproduction. Lareau and Horvat (1999) however note that a key dilemma that continues to characterize research into the reproduction of inequality in schools concerns understanding the exact process by which inequality is perpetuated. In other words, while we may be able to grasp how class and other inequalities may influence educational success, we do not fully understand the exact processes when social and class dis/advantages are actually translated or converted into dis/advantage. More directly put, we know class and social advantage may benefit some individuals over others in school but exactly *how* and *when* does this occur? Since Lareau and Horvat's (1999) observation, attempts have been made by researchers interested in determining the dynamic processes of social reproduction in education. This chapter presents an overview of some of the important issues arising from the literature and as they pertain to issues of subjectivity, race and cultural capital with the education field.

[2] I use the terms 'school' and university' interchangeably in the current chapter given both these contexts' function of fostering specific communities of learning practices that include performances of social subjectivities.

2.2. Schooling, race and subjectivity: theoretical and methodological considerations

Literature on the importance of identity within the school context has been vibrant and attests to the necessity of theorizing the discursive spaces of the education field as part of institutional culture concerns (Dolby, 2001; Stables, 2003; Yon, 1999; 2000). South African research in this area, not surprisingly, has tended to emphasize subjectivity within the school as it pertains to race and desegregation (see Alexander, 2007; Carrim, 1992; 1998; Carim & Soudien, 1999; Duncan, 2003; Finchilescu; Tredoux; Mynhardt; Pillay & Muianga, 2007; McKinney, 2007; Naidoo, 1996; Soudien, 1998a; 2006; Vally & Dalamba, 1999; Zafar, 1998). These studies highlight the strengths, knowledges and challenges that are prevalent within the education field and the intricate interweaving of multiple aspects of subjectivity in how students mediate their experiences within the field. Soudien (1998b) however cautions against the exclusive focus on race to the detriment of other identity categories that do in fact influence how students are navigating the educational and social fields at school. Given this concern, it is crucial that South African research on the transformation imperatives taking place within the education sector continue to problematize and explore old and new understandings and manifestations of social inequalities that impact on scholars' educational experiences.

Nonetheless, race continues to inform how many young scholars in post-apartheid South Africa and elsewhere experience schooling and the academic enterprise more generally (Dawes & Finchilescu, 2002; Duncan, 2005; Raditlahalo, 2007; Durrheim & Mtose, 2006; McKinney, 2007; Sennett, Finchilescu, Gibson, & Strauss (2003; Soudien, 1994; 2010; Soudien, Carrim, & Sayed, 2004; Williamson, 1999). Erasmus (2006) demonstrates the continued reliance on race typologies in how both students and staff at an institution of higher learning in South Africa interact with each other and attribute meaning to racialised events and practices. Fordham (1993) explores the intersection of both gender and race in how black women both construct femininity as well as the implications for their academic pursuits. Lareau and Horvat (1999) similarly engage this complexity of intersections with specific focus on race and class in the social capital networks of black students. Other authors have attempted an exploration of the three intersecting categories of gender, race and class (see Cousins, 1999; Horvat & Antonio, 1999) to understand the multiple and diverse challenges facing subjects. These studies are significant in their emphasis on the subjective complexities

facing students within the field. In so doing, they further challenge dominant educational narratives that emphasize processes of assimilation as a path to academic success (see Tinto, 1988 for example). I would argue that not only is such a focus on the intersecting subjective processes useful and necessary, but also that a more concerted effort to explore and analyze both the subjective meanings of subjectivity and exploring the counter-stories of students themselves within the field be addressed. Lindermann-Nelson (2001) uses the term 'counter-stories' to refer to marginalized students' voices in retelling of their own experiences of marginalization within the field. Solòrzano and Yosso (2001) extend the construct to describe a methodological approach that challenges and explores dominant education discourse about marginalized students. While the value of listening to the counter-stories in student narrative cannot be understated, it should be noted that not all stories and accounts of marginalization reflect resistance either to the hegemony or subjective positioning. Nonetheless, the issue of inclusion and exclusion in the context of education remains a critical concern. Yusuf, Soudien and Carrim (2003) urge for a focused engagement with issues of social inclusion within the education field that encompasses a multidimensional awareness and consideration of schooling in all of its multiple aspects: macro, micro, personal and interpersonal levels.

Elsewhere, the academic experiences of black students in higher education are also presented as an issue to take seriously in understanding processes of institutional transformation and marginalization (Dei, 2008; Langhout & Mitchell, 2008). The majority of these studies have however been framed in terms of achievement gaps in performance between black and white students more generally (Shermnan, Giles & Williams-Green, 1994; Steele, 1997; Steele and Aronson, 1995), alienation at predominantly white institutions (Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996; Loo & Rolison, 1986) and adjustment to campus environment (Fischer, 2007; Thompson & Fretz, 1991). In an investigation of college students' experiences of campus environment by race, Rankin and Reason (2007) found that black students' experiences of college campuses are significantly different from their white counterparts. This is a similar finding to Chang (2003) and Strange and Banning (2001).

2.3 Higher education and racialised spaces of learning in post-apartheid South Africa

Following South Africa's transition to a democratic form of governance in 1994, there have been significant attempts to transform diverse social and political structures including the higher education system. Such a process includes, but is not limited to, the inclusion of previously disadvantaged groups into the academy, both as students and as staff. The Education White Paper 3 in 1997 identified issues of access as central to continued inequality in higher education: "…gross discrepancies in participation from students from different population groups, indefensible imbalances in ratios of black and female staff compared to whites and males and equally untenable disparities between historically black and white institutions in terms of facilities and capacities" (p. 4). According to Soudien[3], South Africa's higher education system may be conceived as spanning three broad key moments of concerted reflection on issues of transformation. The first moment occurred in 1995 during the transition into new democratic governance and in the form of a National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE); the second moment occurred in 2000 and encompassed the challenge of restructuring of the higher education system and the appointment of a CHE task team precisely for this purpose. The third moment occurred in 2008 with the racial crisis that occurred at the University of the Free State involving racist encounters at that institution. Furthermore, other endeavors have complemented these three moments, most notably through the Department of Education (see Soudien, 2010; Cloete and Bunting, 2000 and Cloete, Muller, Makgoba and Ekong, 1997 for overviews). These initiatives have prioritized issues of institutional dynamics amongst others as central to the process of transformation. Jawitz (2010) has further argued that in spite of this increased urgency to attend to issues of racialization in higher education in post-apartheid South Africa, there has been little concerted effort aimed at investigating these dilemmas. There have been notable exceptions such as Erasmus (2006), Soudien (2008) and Raditlhalo (2007). For Soudien (2008) this state of affairs may be attributable to the changing social landscape that has "brought race into a more dependent relationship with other factors, among which class is central" (p. 352).

Debates on transformation within the higher education system continue to unfold but perhaps the most pertinent of these have centred on two key focal areas: structural and ideological

[3] Soudien also served as chairperson of the Ministerial Committee on transformation and social cohesion and the elimination of discrimination in public higher education institutions in 2008..

issues of transformation (Soudien, 2010). Jawitz (2012) notes that a feature of the current racialised climate characterizing higher education in post-apartheid South Africa concerns the institutional attempts to redress past inequalities related to race and education. In addition to the demographic attempts at achieving racial equality many institutions are currently engaging with multiple aspects of institutional culture as an aspect of transformation in higher education. In August 2005, Wits University initiated a Forum to debate issues of transformation imperatives at the institution. These issues were considered priorities for the Forum although they were a background to later discussions on the Employment Equity Progress Report. A number of core issues emerged, namely: transformation of institutional cultures that impede transformation and access as crucial to how students and staff experience practices of exclusion and inclusion (Alence, O'Donovan & Ron, 2006). The findings of the survey pinpoint *micro* relations within the institution to be at the forefront of how many staff experience sense of belonging and fairness within the institution. In 2007 the Wits Institute for Economic and Social Research (WISER) organized a series of public lectures on the issue of transformation at the institution titled "*Facing up to RACE: Equity, Diversity and the Idea of the University*". The lectures were part of the broader institutional debates on higher education transformation in post-apartheid South Africa and highlighted the macro and micro aspects of racialised engagements within the field. Cross, Shalem, Backhouse and Adam (2009) have illustrated the changing racial landscape at Wits University, arguing that the changing racial demographics reflecting increased entry of black African students to the institution as well as an increase in number of students with working class backgrounds. For the authors, the latter characteristic has meant an increase in the number of students "who do not possess the necessary social and cultural capital to meet the challenges of the academic culture at Wits" (p. 23).

Writing in a South African context, Ndimande (2009) notes that black students continue experience problems of adjustment related to racial and cultural issues in many desegregated schools. This problem is especially pertinent in light of the predominantly racialised material inequalities that continue to characterize the student composition in post-apartheid South Africa. Citing Desai (2002), Ndimande further notes that increased poverty levels in the country bear witness to the neo-liberal and racial constitution of post-1994 transformation. Soudien (2010; 2010b) equally notes a new social landscape in post-apartheid South Africa that has witnessed the emergence of a select black elite and whose generation of children enjoy schooling privileges as dominant white counterparts. The asymmetry related to access

to social and cultural resources is no longer exclusively played along different racial divides but also now encompasses division amongst the black population group. Transformation post-1994 within the education field has been characterized by contradictions and complexities that include challenges of differential resources in township schools in comparison with formerly white schools (Jansen & Amsterdam, 2006; Vally & Dalamba, 1999). Black students who enroll in formerly white institutions of learning as a means of securing better education opportunities experience different and challenging issues of adjustment and integration within the field for a variety of reasons. The educational experiences of black students at institutions of higher learning have thus become an increasing area of investigation, not just for education researchers but also race scholars more broadly. More than this, these studies have highlighted the significance of race in the education experience and outcome. Indeed, dominant remedial education discourse in post-apartheid South Africa has predominantly been couched through constructs of 'through put', 'at risk student', 'historically disadvantaged students' etc. What is invoked in these and other discourses, but rarely under-theorized, is the concept of race (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Pollock, 2004b). Erasmus (2006) and Walker (2005) amongst others have argued that race and racialised identities continue to mark the social landscape of many schools in South Africa, highlighting how old apartheid categories of race continue to organize social spaces within the field. It becomes a matter of necessity, therefore, to begin to interrogate what we invoke in the speaking and silencing of this concept.

2.4 Theoretical trends in race and education research

Research in education continues to reflect the growing interest in the relevance of race to contexts of learning, with a variety of methodological points of entry into this arena of work. As Gilroy (1993) has observed, the classroom has become one of the key sites in the ideological struggles over racial and ethnic subjectivities. Diverse areas of research focus and interest characterize the body of work on race and education: a focus on underachievement, experiences of minority ethnic groups within the field, intersections of race, ethnicity and gender amongst others (Byrne, 2009). Five common theoretical approaches have been utilized by education researchers interested in the intersections of race and schooling. John Ogbu's (1978; 1991) cultural ecological theory constitutes one of the early theoretical attempts to understand the schooling experience as mediated by race. This theory distinguishes between voluntary (who willingly migrate to a host country and thus readily

embrace its institutional fields of practice) and involuntary minorities (those who are minorities by virtue of their conquest by the host country and therefore likely to adopt an oppositional stance toward the host country's institutional fields of practice). Ogbu (1978; 1991) argues that the experiences, coping strategies and interpretations of voluntary minorities will invariably be different from their involuntary counterparts. Thus Asian immigrants tend to fare much better at school precisely because their migration to the United States is perceived to be both voluntary and temporary, while African-Americans who have long histories of forced enslavement and discrimination tend to perform less because they not only face systemic racism but also resist the mainstream academic culture and field as a kind of assimilation (Ogbu, 1991). This latter response is described by Ogbu (1978) as dysfunctional precisely because it effectively functions to further marginalize and isolate involuntary minorities from the academic field. It is not surprising that the cultural ecological theory has come under severe criticism by scholars who have argued that the theory fails to engage with the dynamic and fluid nature of racialization processes, including class dynamics (Foley, 1991; 2004). Ogbu's (1978; 1991) theory has further been accused of determinism in its conceptualization of racial identity formation (Erickson, 1987). The construct of failure to successfully assimilate as well as engaging in dysfunctional responses is somewhat problematic in its sidelining of social reproduction practices within the field. Ogbu's (1978; 1991) approach to understanding the dynamics of race and scholarship in the education field fails to fully engage some institutional culture practices that function to both alienate particular groups of students as well as reproduce already existing inequalities in cultural capital traits. Nonetheless, some scholars have found certain aspects of the theory useful in its emphasis on historical racial experiences and the intricate processes of immersion within the academic field (see Fordham, 1996; Foster, 2003; Gibson, 1988 for examples).

The second framework that has contributed significantly to exploration of race and schooling is Michael Omi and Howard Winant's (1986) racial formation theory. This framework rejects the cultural ecological emphasis on race as a fixed, inherited essence that is a product of material conditions. The racial formation approach also rejects constructs of race as an exclusively ideological construct. Instead, Omi and Winant (1986) propose an analysis of race subjectivity through different processes of racialization that encompasses aspects of the discursive, cultural, economic and political. Such an understanding will thus require that we engage with race as an intersecting identity category along with other categories of gender, class, nation etc. (Bartlett & Brayboy, 2006). This framework for exploring dimensions of

race and schooling has been taken up by a number of scholars interested in documenting the discursive and social practices of racialization in classroom interactions, curriculum review etc (see Lewis, 2003; McCarthy, 1990; 1997 for examples). Crenshaw (1992) has argued that such emphasis on interesctionality is critical in its theorizing of the "simultaneity of race,[…] gender" and other social categories "as social processes" (p. 2). And yet Nash (2008) argues that the unproblematic deployment of intersectional methodology needs to be interrogated and challenged in order to address some of the approach's inherent theoretical paradoxes that are rooted in conceptualization of subjectivities and experience. I would also argue that identification of problematic conceptualizations of subjectivity – such as the failure to theorize how categories of race, class, gender etc – constitutes only part of the theoretical agenda. In this regard, proponents of the intersectionality approach must seek to move beyond identifying omissions and gaps in subjectivity and relations of power, but also begin to theorize the critical points of intervention. For Nash (2008) the approach further needs to engage with *both* aspects of marginalization and privilege, that is, how subjects are entwined in relations of both oppression and privilege. This latter emphasis I would argue is pertinent in its view that subjectification is not always an immutable and unidimensional relation between victim and oppressor. In this regard, racialization processes within the education field in particular must take cognizance of the nuanced ways that marginalized students experience their subjectification as well as participate and enjoy moments of privilege and/or resistance.

The third influential theoretical framework comes from the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986) whose construct of culture as capital[4] introduced the idea of schooling as an important site for the reproduction of social inequalities. Bourdieu's emphasis was on the reproduction of class inequalities through the privileging of middle class culture in the academic field. Since Bourdieu's influential explorations into the dynamics of power and schooling, other scholars have adapted his idea of cultural and symbolic capital to engage with issues of disadvantage and schooling for ethnic minorities (see Ladson-Billings, 1994; Stanton-Salazar, 1997 for example). Some scholars have further extended Bourdieu's idea of social reproduction to argue that schooling outcomes are far from determined as is implied in Bourdieu's description, but in fact must be negotiated through aspects of cultural production (Levinson & Holland, 1996). These theorists have proposed what is referred to as cultural

[4] Bourdieu's conceptualization of cultural capital and reproduction are discussed more fully in chapter four.

production theory as an attempt to engage not only with the social dynamics of class, but also other intersecting identities that contribute to forms of dominance in everyday practice (Levinson, 2001).

The fourth approach that has garnered significant attention is the Critical Race Theory (CRT) approach to race and schooling. Framed by legal, structural and historical analyses of race and racism (Vaught, 2011) critical race theory engages an interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary and sometimes antidisciplinary approach to race studies (Crenshaw; Gotanda; Peller and Thomas, 1995; Matsuda; Lawrence; Delgado and Crenshaw, 1993; Vaught, 2011;). A central tenet of the CRT approach is that race and racism have become so endemic to society and in education that both these phenomena operate in invisible ways (Bartlett & Brayboy, 2006). Given this, critical race theorists are skeptical of constructs of colour-blind understandings of race (Ladson-Billings, 1999; Yosso, Parker, Solorzano & Lynn, 2004). Furthermore, the CRT approach to race and racism favors an understanding that incorporates the intersectionality and multiplicity of race with other social categories such as gender and class, as well as accounts of race that emphasize the *lived* realities of individuals such as narrative approaches (see Solarzano, 1998; Solarzano & Yosso, 2001). Also pertinent to CRT approaches is an activist-oriented agenda that is focused on transforming racial, gender and class oppression. This latter principle of CRT has been especially advocated by scholars working with this framework in the education field and with an agenda to change the structures and racialization processes embedded within the education institution and reflected in the lived realities and experiences of students and faculty (see Lynn & Adams, 2002; Parker, 1998 for examples). Critical race theory contributions to understanding processes of racialization provide rich and critical analytic tools for interrogating the nuances and persistence of racializing practice and subjectivities. Also, given its interdisciplinary focus and engagement with racialization processes at different levels the approach remains significant in its exploration of the education field and institutional and social processes of social reproduction.

The last theoretical influence in the area of race and schooling is what has been referred to as race talk forms of inquiry (Bartlett & Brayboy, 2006) or more generally as discursive-oriented approaches. Scholars in this field have engaged processes of racialization by challenging the essentialist and unitary constructions of race. Race and racism is not the property of individuals but rather cultural products that create categories of inclusion and

exclusion through language (Goldberg, 1993). Through language and discourse we are positioned in a myriad of ways that produce us as raced beings and in so doing establish the grounds for particular social actions. This line of investigation focuses on the ways that race is talked about in addition to *not* being talked about. Researchers adopting such an approach have argued that the conversations and settings of conversations about race are crucial to furthering our understanding of the racial formation processes (Duncan, 2003; Edley & Wetherell, 1995; Parker, 1992; 1998; van Dijk, 1987; 1992; Wetherell & Potter, 1992 amongst others). This approach is informed by the construct that while we may refrain from publicly engaging in race talk, our actions and relations with others is often informed by meanings and perceptions of race nonetheless. We thus make assumptions about race on a regular basis including the relation between race and academic practice (Pollock, 2004; Schultz, 2003). In addition to these important trends, other authors have noted that the black experience is also mediated by issues of social class (Hochschild, 1995; Horvat and Lewis, 2003; Massey and Eggers, 1990). These studies have highlighted how the experience of blackness is mediated by the differential of "haves" and "have nots" (Massey and Eggers, 1990, p. 1166), demonstrating that the interpretations and experiences of race and racism will vary considerably in relation to these differences. Furthermore, other authors have argued that even within the same social class category, there are still significant differences in interpretation and experience of race (see Horvat and Lewis, 2003; O'Connor, 1997).

While much of the education research has explored black students' dispositions and transitions into tertiary education, there has been less concerted effort to explore the intricate and structural ways that education institutions themselves may produce race and be complicit in the *race-ing* of black students (Dolby, 2001; Langhout & Mitchell, 2008). In order to fully address such a shortcoming attempts must be made to engage more fully both the *material* contexts of exchange as well as the *discursive* spaces within these institutions. For example Howarth (2004) notes the institutionalization of stigmatizing representations in relation to black students at predominantly white institutions of higher learning. These representations are functional in maintaining categories of racial subjectivities that are hierarchical in construct and form and that are instrumental in practices of school exclusion. Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction emphasizing the interconnected relation between habitus and social field provides a useful starting point to begin to engage these practices and processes of racialization and black students' successful and unsuccessful immersion within the academic field. This type of analysis would promote more focused explorations of students'

subjective experience and navigation of their environment as well as the broader structural constraints within the field that mediate how they are able to resist, challenge and navigate these contexts. Engaging the discursive spaces of the academic field further demands engagement with myriad levels of reproduction of power in the construction and institutionalization of not only racialised, but also classed subjectivities.

2.5 Discursive spaces of interaction

Cross and Johnson (2008) demonstrate that students often engage and attach meanings to particular institutional changes and experiences that influence how they experience these spaces as inclusive or exclusive. The meanings that subjects bring to the social field are thus crucial to understanding and critically engaging issues of transformation within the institution. The meaning of schooling encompasses more than an analysis of the formal structures of the field but also an understanding of the actions, conversations, desires, anxieties, indifferences etc. that are reflected amongst the different members of the school community. Such an analysis is what Yon (1999, p 28; 2000) refers to as "discursive space of schooling". This construct of school as a discursive space is especially useful in allowing for explorations of phenomenological accounts of identities that are contested, produced, strategically deployed, resisted etc. within the academic context (Stables, 2003; Yon, 2000). Theorizing the discursive spaces of schooling therefore implies an alternative analysis of the individual in space: firstly, the individual does not only exist as part of a social collective but also exists apart of this collective.

Secondly, this dual positioning implies that the individual is not a passive recipient of discursive practices but rather, an active part of the process of reflection and making sense of these discourses. In this sense then individuals may take up positions within discourse and resist particular discursive positioning etc. Thirdly, the discursive positioning that we may find ourselves in is not limited but constitutes a range of possible positions that we may take up. This therefore implies that our positioning is not all-pervading or universal. A growing body of research in the social sciences attests to the increased importance of the relation between race and space (e.g. Bullard, 2007; Delaney, 2002; Knowles, 2003; Neely & Samura, 2009) and has highlighted issues of temporality, geography and spatial processes to understanding other processes and practices of racialization. Massey (1994) further notes that the intersection of race and space illustrates both structural and intersubjective aspects of

racialization processes that address some of the gaps and shortcomings of binary approaches. Part of this analytics of spatial processes and racialization includes exploring the discursive constitution of social spaces in racialised ways.

The enactments of identities within the school context, as a particular social space, is fundamentally a dialectic one in which students and teachers enter the field with previously inculcated identities, but in turn, are also produced by the discursive spaces within the school. There has been significant interest in this function of education institutions in shaping identity (see Cross, Shalem, Backhouse & Adam, 2009; Cross & Johnson, 2008; Levinson & Holland, 1996; Luttrell, 1996; Parham, 1989) with some focus on the multiplicity of identities (Myers, Cox & Highlen, 1991; Wollcott, 1994). Other phenomenological studies have emphasized students' multiple social identities that are engaged in complex intersecting and dynamic processes of meaning-making within the academic field (Jones, 1997; Jones & McEwen, 2000). How social identities are articulated is a cyclical process that may include unique features of the social field. Put differently, how race is represented and articulated within the education field influences how students may experience their broader and personal positioning in the field. For example, scholars have shown interest in the role of black academic staff mentorship of black students and the latter's academic success more generally (Dedrick & Watson, 2002; Tillman, 2001). More specifically, the relationship between black students and black academic staff within previously white institutions of higher learning remains a key focus for investigation. Guiffrida (2005) shows that black undergraduate students have unique expectations of their black lecturers such as that black academic staff will seek a mentoring relationship with them. Hendrix (1998) however also notes that many black students also consider the credibility of black academic staff to be non-existent or not on par with their white counterparts.

Read, Archer and Leathwood (2003) have argued that academic culture is not universally accessible by all members of the academic community. This is in spite of the increased access into institutions of higher learning by members of marginalized social groups in society. Academic culture thus represents an aspect of the academic field that is characterized by inclusive and exclusionary discursive practices which include an obligation that members understand the "rules of the game" (p. 261). This is analogous to Bourdieu's view that all social fields are marked by a tacit knowledge of the rules of the game and how to play. Lillis (1997) and Tett (2000) have thus argued that students from 'non-traditional' backgrounds are

often disadvantaged by their discursive positioning as 'other' by the institution and excluded from appropriating and participating in the communities of practice that enable them to obtain the tacit knowledge of the academic culture. Howarth (2004) further argues that black students continually grapple with complex racializing practices that function to exclude them from full academic citizenship. The implicit racializing processes through institutional culture and interpersonal relationships within the field remain under-theorized often because these processes operate at taken-for-granted levels. Part of the agenda for a critical race research must therefore be the interrogation of institutional processes and cultures that includes both analyses of structural and micro contexts of interaction. Following Jones (2011), I also argue that part of any transformation agenda within the education field must include a concerted engagement with the classed [and raced] habitus of the students entering the field including the discursive practices related to these. Howarth (2004; 2006) observes that experiences of exclusion can remain unexplored precisely because these experiences are subtle and hidden. Part of this complexity, I would argue, relates to the under-theorization of the *lived* realities of students within the education field, to fully explore what Howarth describes as symbolic exclusion.

Vandeyar (2007) observes that in a post-apartheid context, many South African schools continue to reflect the hegemonic dominance of whiteness. Also, the influence of popular culture in the continued entrenchment of racial polarities has been significant. Dolby (2000) for example demonstrates that many white South African youth are engaged in dynamic processes of recentring their identities in relation to Eurocentric popular culture as an attempt to reclaim lost power and privilege. This reconstruction of a "global white" identity enabled a negation of both blackness and the nation-state (Dolby, 2000). Elsewhere, students' meaning-making of race is demonstrated to embody old categories of 'us' and 'them' (Vally & Dalamba, 1999). Dolby (2000; 2001; 2002) further demonstrates that within the new context of globalisation, youth identities in schools are increasingly being enacted and deployed in terms of a discourse of taste, fashion, and style that are deployed against other discursive constructs of race, ancestry and geography. Similarly, Archer, Hollingworth and Halsall (2007) explore the paradoxical double-bind function of working-class youth identity embodiment through taste and style. The recentring of old identities, formulations of new ones and how these impinge upon each other remains an area of exploration in the changing socio-political and economic context. Valdeyar (2008) has further noted that the processes of student identity framing, negotiation and resistance within dominant institutional cultures of

previously white schools in post-apartheid South Africa remains an under-explored area of investigation.

As part of an attempt to theorize the macro and micro aspects of identity productions within the institutional field, Robus and Macleod (2006) utilize a discursive mode of inquiry to demonstrate how racialised identities are assigned and invoked by students through constructs of white excellence and black failure amongst staff and students. Relying on Essed's (1991; 2002) construct of everyday racism, Robus and Macleod (2006) argue that institutions are themselves sites and embodiments of discursive identity negotiation, re/productions and resistances. In a different study Painter (2006) demonstrates that constructions of language and race at a South African school hide the racializing effects of negation and exclusion of particular groups. Elsewhere Durrheim and Mtose (2006) demonstrate the reproduction of racialised identities in the discourses of racial difference amongst a group of South African students, that highlights the heterogeneity and complex constructs of meanings of blackness amongst a new generation of South Africans. Leibowitz, Rohleder, Bozalek, Carolissen and Swartz (2007) found that students from racially diverse backgrounds tend to engage in what Nelson, Dickson and Hargie (2003) have described as avoidance strategies as a means of maintaining social and personal distance. Part of these strategies included a denial of difference and denial of the impact of the past amongst others. Discursive contributions to investigating practices of racialization have enabled engagements with this process that does not reproduce race in static ways and which highlight the legitimating practices of racism through of discursive reproductions of race discourse (Billig, 1991; Duncan, 2003; Durrheim & Mtose, 2006; Potter and Wetherell, 1992; van Dijk, 1992).

The narratives of students and the myriad ways that they engage in identity projects within the academic field attests to Ball (2003) and Woods and Jeffrey's (2004) constructs of schooling as bound up within performative cultures. Students participate in different performances of subjectivity as a means of fitting in and navigating their social environments. Representations of race, gender, class and other social categories are arguably part of such performances and reflect the broader socio-discursive fields that students are part of, both within and outside of the school environment. Furthermore, silencing practices within discursive constructs of identity tend to downplay not only the intersections of race, class, gender and other identity categories, but also how the pursuit of particular academic identities become possible through the negation of specific racialised and other identities (Rich and

Evans, 2009). In a study exploring discursive deployment of race to construct racial difference within schools, Duncan (2003) highlights the continued relevance of the race discourse for many South African pupils, such as the reliance on old apartheid-race labels to categorize social groups into rigid racial designations. Interestingly, the study also identifies as problematic the homogenous construct of blackness, indicating the continued understanding and construct of a black homogenous and essentialist subjectivity.

Other researchers such as Buttney and Williams (2000) have argued for the analytic importance of engaging 'race talk' as a means of understanding how subjects reproduce racialised dynamics and meanings in their everyday lives. Such an approach, while critically contributive in its emphasis on ideological reproductions and functions of discourse, may also fail to engage the "naturally recurring discussions about race" separate from the researcher (Buttney, 1999, p 265). McKinley (2007) further notes a similar reliance on previous racializing categories to engage present encounters of interaction amongst students in South Africa. Through essentialist deployments of a culture discourse, students engage in contradictory and at times ambiguous re/productions of racial labels that depend on the spatial context of interaction. Soudien (2001) observes that for many youth in post-apartheid South African schools, negotiations of subjectivity remain complex and ambiguous, and reflect the broader socio-discursive terrain. It is this complexity and ambiguity that must further be interrogated and explored in the current transformation agenda and in engaging the practices of resistance within the field.

Walker (2005b; 2010) similarly echoes the concern on racial formations taking place in post-apartheid higher education contexts. Her study demonstrates the dual processes of interpellation that occurs in relation to black students entering academic institutions and the subtleties of racialization that happen in these spaces. The complex reproduction of race and black subjectivity is further explicated in Soudien's (2010a) exploration of youth identities within higher education institutions in South Africa. Soudien imporatantly argues for a critical interrogation of racialization processes as uniform in experience and interpellating practice. This is especially pertinent given the class differentials that have come to characterize many previously marginalized groups post 1994. The spaces of privilege that are continually being redefined and produced in this context have facilitated the rearticulations of racial subjectivity and black subjectivity in particular (Soudien, 2010b). In an international context, Kimura (2014) illustrates the nuances of racial and classed subjectification within

higher education insitutions. Her study demonstrates the *structural* processes by which particular racialized bodies are made welcome within institutional spaces. This reesearch effectively argues against common perceptions of transformation as primarily structural in form and effect. And yet, processes of subversive resistance exist within these spaces that can be both empowering and disempowering given the psycho-social complexities of racialization. McKinney's (2010) study for example demonstrates this complexiy in how participants both experience repressive and liberatory effects in their different practices of resistance against racial interpellation.

Other reeearchers such as Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011) and Mtose and Bayaga (2011) have engaged the lived experiences and everyday realities of race and racism in post-apartheid South Africa, with particular focus on black subjectivity. Durrheim et al (2011) argue that rcaila formations in the new South Africa cannot be read separately from the class formations that have increasingly taken shape. Inequality within the black population lends further complexity to engaging black subjectivity in uniform ways. Indeed, the new spaces of privilege that have arisen in post '94 South Africa demand that racialization and the social psychology of black subjectivity be critically interrogated. Mtose and Bayaga (2011) highlight previously entrenched emphasis on self-hate in relation to blackness within the literature. Citing Clark and Clark's original 1939 study and later stage theory developments in social psychology, the authors argue that such studies have unwittingly promoted the idea of an inherently induced psychopathology amongst black subjects. For Mtose and Bayaga (2011) the individualizing paradigm within much social psychological literature reinforces such investigation and conceptualizations. Elsewhere Mtose (2011) argues for a more concerted focus on the everyday lived experiences of race and racism, highlighting the situaional contexts of racialization.

2.6 Engaging cultural capital in academia

Since Bourdieu's conception of cultural capital, researchers interested in the process of social reproduction in education have appropriated the concept in different ways, and some have argued often in ways very different from Bourdieu's original conception (see Lareau & Weininger, 2003). In some sense all of these studies alert us to the problematic of fully operationalizing the concept of cultural capital (Sullivan, 2001). Paul DiMaggio's (1982) work, considered one of the very early influential interpretations of Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital, presents one of the first appropriations of the concept in terms of "elite status cultures" (p. 189). Cultural capital is interpreted as constituting lifestyle practices and disposition of 'high-culture' that are deemed indiscriminate and yet influential in how teachers and school authorities interact with students perceived to be from such a social group. For DiMaggio (1982), students' grades and performance in school, that is their "status attainment" can be attributable to this influence of cultural capital (p. 189).

Since then DiMaggio has explored other dimensions of cultural capital to include effects of cultural capital on choice of educational institution, graduation etc., as well as processes of transmission of cultural capital that include intergenerational transmission (Mohr & DiMaggio, 1985; Mohr & DiMaggio, 1995). The latter aspect has also been explored by Bourdieu (1974) and other authors who define parental educational level as indicative of cultural capital (see Bryne, 2009; Jonsson, 1987; Robinson & Garnier, 1985; Teachman, 1987;). Parents' cultural participation is here considered to be affected by their children's schooling. De Graff (1986) makes a similar argument by demonstrating that parental cultural capital significantly influences the educational attainment of children. The majority of these studies have been insightful in their exploration and illustration of the far-reaching influences of cultural capital effects on schooling practices and processes. Nonetheless, a more concerted focus on the racialised practices of engaging cultural capital remains under-theorized. The deployment and legitimating of white habitus in how subjects navigate the different educational institutions is a critical aspect of such scholarship and I argue extends Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction to further engage with intersecting processes of reproduction in society.

For Lareau and Weininger (2003) this early engagement has become the dominant interpretation of the concept whereby cultural capital has primarily come to be associated

with highbrow cultural aesthetic pursuits and attitudes as well as separating of the concept from ability or skill (see Dumais, 2002; Kastillis and Rubinson, 1990). Although much of this domain of research has been disparate, this dominant reading of cultural capital has been evident. For example, De Graff (1986) conceptualizes cultural capital as embodying appropriate manners and having a sense of familiarity with art. Similarly, Robinson and Garnier (1985) consider participation in highbrow cultural forms to constitute a good indicator of cultural capital. Kastillis and Rubinson (1990) allude to having high status practice and lifestyle as indicators of cultural capital, as does Kalmijn and Kraaykaamp (1996) and Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell (1999). Dumais (2002) frames it more directly when she asserts that knowledge and competence evident in cultural capital indicators are related to the "culture that belongs to members of the upper classes" (p. 45).

Sullivan (2001) in her investigation proposes other alternate ways of assessing cultural capital. Utilizing a range of cultural capital attributes such as consumption of culture, cultural knowledge and language she attempts a qualitative measure of how and why some activities may be considered as embodying capital and not others. She concludes that the translation of certain activities, such as reading, that enables or facilitates intellectual and academic success at school, can be considered as elements of cultural capital. Similarly Bradbury and Kiguwa (2012) utilize specific measures ranging from cultural consumption, cultural knowledge, and academic literacy to assess students' level of cultural capital amongst a group of high-performing black students at a historically white institution of higher learning in South Africa. Other authors have conceptualized the concept in terms of "informal academic standards by which teachers reward more general skills, habits and styles" (Farkas, Brobe, Sheehan and Shaun, 1990, p129). This conceptualization favors non-cognitive deployment of cultural capital attributes in the attainment of cognitive abilities as well as positive responses from teachers.

There have been interpretations and demonstrations of cultural capital that do not fit in with the preceding dominant interpretations. McDonough (1997) for example identifies the concept in parental cultural capital to demonstrate that the first-hand knowledge parents have of the college admission process significantly influences their children's admission into and success at the college. Reay (1998) on the other hand, chooses to explore cultural capital through parental confidence to be actively involved in the schooling processes of their children such as "effectiveness in getting teachers to respond to…complaints, ability to

compensate for perceived deficits in children's schooling"(p. 64). Blackledge (2001) further demonstrates that possession of particular skills or knowledge and even active involvement in children's schooling may not always constitute embodiment of cultural capital. This is because skills and knowledge must be recognized as embodying social value. For example, Blackledge's study demonstrates how the active involvement of Bengali mothers in their children's general activities is negated by the teachers who consider these mothers' failure to sufficiently communicate in English with their children as evidence of non-involvement. For Blackledge then, ability to communicate in the dominant language, in this instance English, constitutes cultural capital. Similarly, Carter's (2003) assertion that certain aspects of 'non-dominant' cultural capital, although strategically deployed by some students, may not always be recognized as valuable. Lareau and Horvat (1999) have similarly argued that racial differences may influence how forms of cultural capital are recognized and deployed within schools. Their study demonstrates that race often influences how teachers not only relate to parents, but also how race mediates many black parents' disposition and relation toward school authorities.

These studies highlight two significant aspects to cultural capital investigations: firstly, educators rely on specific cultural standards in their evaluation and relations with students and parents, and secondly, cultural resources enable parents and students to mediate with these institutional standards (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). These two aspects therefore extend the previous conceptualizations of cultural capital in terms of specific cultural attributes such as taste and cultural participation to include other aspects encompassing skills, language, knowledge, dispositions etc. Furthermore, these studies suggest that the dominant culture or institutional standards is not always accepted as legitimate by groups on the margins. Rather, through a process of negotiation, mediation occurs in which possession of specific cultural resources significantly influences the extent to which individuals will either accept (therefore complying with) or resist these institutional standards and culture. Moreover, both formal *and* informal reward practices tend to exist within the institution.

In light of the above, Lareau and Weininger (2003) argue that measures of academic skills and performance must be further interrogated within cultural capital research. In order to achieve this they argue that an expansion of the concept is necessary as well as an emphasis on the core aspects of cultural capital that must be evident. One of these aspects is that cultural capital allows *culture to be deployed as a resource and provide access to specific*

rewards and privileges. Such a criterion is in line with Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) conceptualization of the concept as "the educational norms of those social classes capable of imposing the…criteria of evaluation which are the most favourable to their children" (p. 495). The implication of such a criterion is that cultural capital competencies are far from fixed and stable. In other words, what may count as cultural capital at any given socio-historical moment may change over time.

For Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), linguistic and literary practices comprise the most obvious connection between cultural capital and education practice. For performance to be validated, a display and demonstration of mastery of valued linguistic and academic literary skills is necessary. Olneck (2000) further asserts that a style of expression and response is also required in this mastery. Heath (1983) and Michaels (1981) demonstrate for example that teachers tend to down-grade working-class students who failed to display middle-class patterns of response and vocabulary. In this sense then, cultural capital not only functions for the production of distinctions amongst individuals, but also "reproduces its own value" (Olneck, 2000, p. 321).

Cultural capital theory has proven useful to understanding the difficulties and process of transition into university including forming a student identity. Research indicates that the process of transition for many students at first-year is characterized by feelings of lack of connectedness and involvement (Perry & Allard, 2003), general unhappiness and dissatisfaction (Yorke, 2000), feelings of loneliness (Pargetter, 2000) and alienation (Mann, 2001). Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) construct of cultural capital has been demonstrated to significantly influence processes of transition into university. Thomas (2002) for example utilizes this approach to understand the reasons for student resilience at university. Both the family and previous schooling background were identified as key factors in the transmission of cultural capital to students who were in turn able to deploy aspects of cultural capital within the new field. Other research has emphasized the importance of class in the deployment of cultural capital within the university. These studies highlight the workings of psycho-social factors in the educational aspirations and levels of participation amongst students (Lucey, Melody & Walkerdine, 2003), arguing that both social *and* psychological factors must be accounted for in any discussion of student retention. Through the construct of *habitus*, these scholars have been able to engage with aspects of body and mind, the social and the psychological, to explain the complexities of the transition to university.

Makoe (2006) further demonstrates the influence of social and cultural environment in how students engage learning. Relying on Bourdieu's habitus, student social formations within the education field were demonstrated to be fraught with complexities of classed and culturally learned dispositions and habitus. The latter also informed the different intra and inter-personal struggles that these students experienced within the field. Vaught (2011) explores these dynamics of race and class amongst students of color in a dominant white institutional context. The study demonstrates how practices of color-blindness may in fact have adverse effects by undermining the nuances of racialization, language, culture, history, etc. on how students navigate their social world. This also influences how they are positioned in problematic ways such as being categorized as 'students at risk' and that fail to engage the insidious effects of social and educational inequalities (Cross et al, 2009).

2.7 Cultural capital and processes of racialization in education

Bonilla-Silva (2003; 2006) extends Bourdieu's theory of habitus to reflect on the intersections of race in the embodiment of habitus. By so doing the racialised dimensions of habitus are given more analytic focus than currently present in Bourdieu's conceptualization. Drawing on Bourdieu's cultural capital ideas, Symeou (2007) provides evidence of the benefits of parental involvement in their children's education practices. The study also demonstrates that it is primarily those parents with cultural capital who inevitably are able to both participate and strategically collaborate with school agents. While parents without idealized dominant cultural capital attributes demonstrated interest in their children's educational activities, they were not fully able to participate in this culture and practice and were also more likely to maintain a passive position in relation to and/in their interaction with school authority figures. I would argue that these findings address other aspects of social, race and class dynamics that are especially pertinent within the South African context, a context that is particularly characterized by be a large working class, growing middle class and small super-elite.

Redistribution of previously racialised resources such as education has continued to reflect class and race dynamics following the country's transition to a democratic state (Mamdani, 1996; Terre Blanche & Stevens, 2009). The emergence of the black middle-class elite has witnessed a shift in some of these racial dynamics but not necessarily a significant one. This is because this new black elite remain a statistical minority in comparison to the majority working-class black population (Terre Blanche & Stevens, 2011). In this regard I adopt Byrne's (2009) suggestion that dynamics of both race and class be incorporated in the analysis of race and class subjectivities. More than this, a heterogeneous account and exploration of the complexities of race is crucial given the varied and multiple meanings, experiences and practices of race. Critical race theorists have similarly argued for the foregrounding of racialization processes in how education experiences are structured and experienced (Muñoz & Maldonado, 2010; Yosso, 2006). This approach emphasizes the intersectionality of social categories in the structuring of racialised experiences, and demonstrates the value of subjective accounts of these experiences.

Family background has been demonstrated to contribute significantly to students' achievement and performance (Alexander, Entwisle & Thompson, 1987; Lareau, 1989).

Family socioeconomic status and structure in particular are argued to be influential in how students are able to successfully navigate their academic fields (Downey 1995; Zill, 1996). In this regard, theorists such as Roscigno (1995) have argued that the racial discrepancy in family socioeconomic and structural make-up has implications for the acquisition, transmission and deployment of cultural capital. Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell (1999) further argue that the role of family background cannot be disputed given its influence on educational access both across and within the academic field. Other theorists have also expressed concerns that cultural capital processes be further explored in 'non-traditional' households as well as the influence of race on how cultural capital resources may be mediated (see DiMaggio & Ostrower, 1990; Farkas, 1996; Farkas, Grobe, Sheehan & Shuan, 1990; Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999).

In their analysis of trends of race and cultural capital research, Kalmijn and Kraaykamp (1996) argue that white families are more likely to engage in highbrow cultural activities than black families, even when parental education is taken into account. DiMaggio and Ostrower (1990) make a similar argument when they assert that there has not been a significant convergence between black and white families with regards to participation in highbrow cultural activities, arguing that cultural resistance may be at play in the rejection of such activities by many black families. While these claims remain disputable and require further investigation, what these studies highlight is the myriad of ways that cultural capital may operate beyond class. While Bourdieu emphasizes the reproduction of class inequalities through deployment and privileging of forms of cultural capital, the persistent influence of racial disparities in society that not only impact socioeconomic status of blacks but also heterogeneity in how race is deployed and experienced by blacks, may have an influence for how cultural capital is deployed and produced. An interesting critical response to Bourdieu's cultural capital theory of social reproduction has emerged from critical race theoretical engagements with the concept. For researchers such as Yosso (2005), traditional interpretations of the construct of cultural capital must be challenged particularly in the common reproduction of a deficit understanding of cultures not perceived to be dominant. Instead, the emphasis on those cultural competencies and value of marginalized cultures must be explored as critical sites for engaging resistance as well as resilience amongst marginalized groups.

In an attempt to theorize the educational experiences of black students at educational institutions, Carter (2003) argues that two different forms of cultural capital – "dominant" and "non-dominant" – are evident in how students strategically navigate their environment. For Carter (2003) dominant conceptions of cultural capital as located in middle and upper class highbrow white culture demonstrates ethnocentric bias that ignores the alternate forms of cultural resources of other groups that can be converted into capital (also see Erikson, 1996; Hall, 1992; Swartz, 1997). Citing early sociological studies that have distinguished between dominant and non-dominant forms of cultural capital, Carter (2003) argues that many minority students deploy both forms of capital in different settings and for strategic ends. Nora (2004) further illustrates the influence of cultural capital in the selection of tertiary institutions amongst students of color, demonstrating the importance of sense of comfort with the choices that students make. I would argue that part of this selection must also entail the embodied cultural capital to explore different possibilities and broader social networks in influencing satisfaction with tertiary institutions.

Research focusing on student retention in institutions of higher learning further emphasizes a variety of factors including psychosocial factors and habitus and cultural capital (see Lang, 2000; Nora & Cabrera, 1996; Tinto, 1993). Early research demonstrates that students are more likely to remain in institutions in which they experience congruence in their values and beliefs (Williamson, 1984). Horvat's (1997) longitudinal study exploring college choice amongst high schools further demonstrated the role of habitus and cultural capital in the choices made as well as in perception of congruence with the institutional values and beliefs. Furthermore, this congruence was more likely amongst non-minority students than their minority counterparts.

Overall, cultural capital literature has engaged, although in a limited manner, with the relationship between cultural capital and race. Racial differences in cultural capital have indeed been investigated (see Carter; 2003; 2005; Eitle & Eitle, 2002; Lareau, 2003; Orr, 2003; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999; Soudien, 2008 amongst others). Kaplan (2006) further explores the relation between the two concepts in demonstrating that lack of cultural capital amongst black architects influences their market profile. Other studies have argued for further exploration of racial disparities and cultural capital influences in medical treatment (see Malat, 2006) and the workplace (see Vallas, 2003). Lareau and Horvat (1999) argue for a more concentrated focus on the influence of race in the deployment of cultural capital within

the education field, demonstrating in their analysis the intricate ways that "being white becomes a type of cultural capital" (p, 42). Race is shown to be successfully and strategically present in how parents are able to interact with the education system and negotiate with agents within the field. While Bourdieu (1991a;1991b) allows for more than classed habitus as functional within the field, it can be argued that he favors this analytic lens of social reproduction at the expense of other forms of distinctions (Lovell, 2000). The importance of investigating the deployment of cultural capital relative to racial subjectivity remains evident. This is especially pertinent given the socio-historical and economic contexts that have informed the disparities in how different members of social groups may activate cultural capital *and* strategically achieve success in different domains of schooling and work because of/inspite of their embodied cultural capital.

2.8 Concluding Thoughts

This chapter has presented an overview of some of the pertinent debates and trends of analysis that has characterized research into cultural capital effects and influences on learning within the education field. The class dynamics of such a process remains to be more fully integrated with other underlying and equally pertinent configurations such as race. The racialised configurations of cultural capital constitute a key site for exploring new configurations of race subjectivity in a post-apartheid context. Understanding and exploring the discursive and lived experiences of students as they navigate these fields is crucial importance as a necessary step to transforming not only the structural but also the micro contexts of interaction within institutions of higher learning. The next chapter further explores some of the core issues and theorization of race processes in the discipline and attempts to tie together constructs of the subjective and discursive aspects of racialization.

Chapter Three

The psycho-social analysis of race

Only when we come to be very clear about how race is lived, in its multiple manifestations, only when we can come to appreciate its often hidden epistemic effects and its power over collective imaginations of public space, can we entertain even the remote possibility of its eventual transformation.

(Alcoff 1999, p. 267)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses some of the key theoretical approaches to the practices and processes of racialization. In so doing, it adopts Knowles' (2004) assertion that "race is neither an illusion nor a biological fact. It has a salience and a social reality in everyday lives" (p. 10). For researchers such as Knowles (2004) and Essed (2000), related to the macro structural operations of racialization, the everyday practices of lived experience illustrates the intricate ways that processes of racialization may function effectively. The chapter makes the argument for such a framework that explores the lived realities and meanings that subjects make of their everyday experiences and the events in their lives. Approaches such as Fanon and Du Bois' phenomenological and psycho-social analyses of racialised subjectivity are discussed as critical tools for engaging this lived dimension of racialization and subjectivity. The discursive approach is also presented as a useful tool for understanding the process by which the social is written on the body through language. I argue that a discursive approach allows for a critical interrogation of the social and relational dimensions of racialised subjectivity. The chapter also discusses the importance of intersectionality to exploring racialised subjectivity and processes of racialization. Racialization here refers to those processes by which the individual becomes racialised, that is, race is deployed as a marker of identification, distinction, differentiation and knowing. For Stevens (2014) such a process implies that relations of ideology and power are fundamental to the rendering of race as subjectivity and denotes the social constructed nature of race as a category. The chapter concludes with a framework positioning of the epistemological use of race and racialization in the current study.

3.2 Racial subjectivity and intersectionality

The construct that aspects of subjectivity such as race, class and gender as interwoven to produce lived experiences is at the core of what has been described as intersectionality approaches to engaging racialization processes (Crenshaw, 1991). Critical race scholarship have engaged with this idea of intersectionality to reflect on the ways that social categories both intersect with each other and may also be fluid in their functionality (Vincent, Ball, Rollock & Gillborn, 2013). Intersectionality literature has witnessed increasing engagement in feminist critique that posits the construct of interlocking and interdependent positions of subjectivity and oppression in the lives of women (Hill-Collins, 1990; 2000; hooks, 1984 amongst others). In its original use, the term intersectionality was deployed by Crenshaw (1989) as a tool for engaging both black women's oppression *and* resistances to oppression. Jordan-Zachery (2007) has also argued that Crenshaw's (1989) original use of the concept included two important aspects for theorizing aspects of subjectivity: the oppressive *and* liberating dimensions of personal and social action. Through the dual constructs of structural and political intersectionality, Crenshaw (1989; 1991) attempted to engage the intersecting ways that structural oppression takes material effect in the lives of black women as well as the political means by which subjects may begin to engage practices of resistance. The concept has since then been deployed in a variety of ways that according to Jordan-Zachery (2007) fail to fully engage this latter aspect of resistance, with the majority of the research focused on documenting oppressive experiences of subject's lives (see Brah, 2002; McCall, 2005; Yuval-Davis, 1997 amongst others for examples).

And yet, some critical race theorists have critiqued the potential of intersectionality research to lose any sense of coherence in its fragmentation of subjectivity into increasingly different divisions of experience (Delgado, 2011). Implicit in this critique is the challenge to not lose the effect of critical reflexivity in the over-attention to multiplicities of oppressive subjectivities. Other theorists such as Acker (2006) has argued that intersectionality as a framework of analysis fails to fully engage with the multiple entry points into subjectivity such that different subjectivities may operate as legitimate and critical entry points to a particular analytics of power. I would argue however that no one ideal entry point into subjectivity can be claimed in the analysis of power, and that therefore this critique, while insightful in its highlighting of intersectionality's potentially fragmentary function of subjectivities and oppression, in turn fails to engage the utility of such a multiple framework

to understanding networks of power relations. Also, theorists such as Preston and Bhopal (2012) have demonstrated that engaging the multiplicity of subjectivity can entail the foregrounding of a specific entry point such as race or class analysis that still critically intersects with other dimensions of subjectivity. The central thrust of intersectionality analysis seeks to engage the fluidity of subjectivity and therefore pays attention to the contexts of different entry points in the analysis of social power. In the current study Bourdieu's (1990) emphasis on a class habitus is counteracted with an intersecting analysis of class and raced habitus in the re/production of particular relations of interaction and power. By so doing, the study aligns itself with the construct of subjectivities as invariably interwoven in the lived experiences of subjects so that it becomes almost impossible to analyze practices and processes of lived social realities without reflexively considering how subjects may experience power and agency within different moments in time and place and in relation to the saliency of a particular subjectivity that may intersect in a different field and context.

Intersectionality's roots in black feminist critique have also given rise to epistemological concerns regarding the critical objective of the approach. Mehrotra (2010) for example notes the confusion around whether intersectional approaches are focused on understanding marginalized identities or have as a broader agenda the provision of an integrated theory of subjectivity itself. Feminist scholarship on this issue remains diverse and inconsistent (Davies, 2008; McCall, 2005; Nash, 2008). Poststructuralist feminist theorists such as Brown (1997) have also raised the issue of perceiving social categories in fixed terms and the approach's utility in positing a challenge to an analysis of social inequality as a result. This latter issue remains a critical issue not only to the framework of intersectionality, but I would argue, to any analysis of subjectivity more generally. The reproduction of subjectivities in the process of theorizing and analyzing lived realities remains a reflexive exercise in social scientific research. Furthermore, I concur with Jordan-Zachery's (2007) argument that intersectionality framework has provided critical interrogation of dynamics not just between but also within groups, thereby challenging homogenous constructs of subjectivity that attempt to lay claim to homogenous experiences of oppression. Such a stance has therefore been instrumental in providing much needed critique of essentializing subjectivity politics and other practices of oppression that construct categories of the subject in uniform ways.

Nonetheless, several challenges remain that must be addressed by researchers focused on engaging Crenshaw's (1989) original conceptualization of the concept. Firstly, difficulties of engaging dimensions of resistance in this conceptualization must be tackled in perhaps multidisciplinary ways that will allow for multiple entry points to exploring different aspects of subjectification in the lives of subjects. Such a process would thereby engage the different ontological dilemmas of subjectivity such as understanding the lived realities of subjects via a phenomenological and/or narrative approaches as well as engaging broader structural forms of inequality through a material analytic lens. For Jordan-Zachery (2007) poststructuralist approaches that engage the discursive dimensions of language in the constitution of social reality is equally useful in exploring different aspects of resistance for personal change. A second important challenge concerns the move from mere description of different subjective oppressions in the lives of subjects – a practice that simply 'adds' on one subjectivity category on top of the other (Jordan-Zachery, 2007) without any critical analysis of how they are interwoven to create particular conditions of existence of subjects. Such a challenge also has implications for the kinds of interventions that researchers engage with, if at all. This latter issue, while under-theorized and explored by intersectional researchers, is at the heart of Crenshaw's (1989) grappling and deployment of the concept. I would argue however that the beginning process of theorizing both the personal and the structural components of oppression may indeed be the first step toward a practice of resistance.

3.3 Phenomenological and psycho-social analyses of racialization

Researchers working within the tradition of phenomenological orientation have emphasized the role of meaning and lived experience as central to understanding subjects as raced. Through qualitative analytic approaches such as narrative, thematic content analysis, ethnography, amongst others, these studies highlight the subjective worldview of the research participants and their everyday mediation of the social world. Researchers working in this tradition also typically highlight the significance of subjective agency in not only making sense of the social world but also how individuals act upon their environment. Personal accounts are therefore considered to be authentic in the sense that individual stories of subjectivity are considered to be valuable in their presentation of social reality as it is *lived* (Neuman, 1994). Puwar (2001) observes that liberal constructs of equality tend to disavow processes of embodiment as part of the narrative of race. A reason for such disavowal may lie in the potential reassertion of the significance of raced bodies as part of the body politic. The

work of scholars rooted in the Marxist, feminist and critical race traditions indeed attest to the role of embodiment processes in racialization and signification of subjects. Bourdieu's work on classed habitus or embodiment (1984; 1990; 1992), feminist work on gendered embodiment (Nelson, 1996; Pateman, 1989) and critical race theorists' work on racial embodiment (Mills, 1997) have provided significant insight into the complexities of the social inscription of power relations. Studies that have adopted such an approach in the analysis of racialization and subjects as raced have thus privileged individual accounts of race as a useful starting ground to analyze and understand the significance and meaning of raced subjectivity. For example, in their landmark text *Prejudice: The Target's Perspective* Swim and Stangor (1998) argue for the necessity to understand prejudice from the point of view of the target and not just the perpetrator. This call for paying greater attention to the subjective experiences and perceptions of prejudice and racialization more generally has been echoed by other researchers seeking to make more relevant the field of social psychology (see Crocker, Major & Steele, 1998 for a thorough review)[5]. I argue that the emphasis on the lived realities reflected in the everyday encounters of race and how subjects make meaning of these experiences remains one of the significant contributions of phenomenological work in this field. At the same time, engaging the lived realities of subjects must equally consider not only the material and structural reproductions of social relations in particular ways but also how subjects engage the social through broader networks of discursive and other ideological frameworks. In this regard, the interpretations and meanings that they bring to their everyday encounters must be critically and reflexively explored in relation to the networks of reproduction.

Other phenomenological studies have focused on the issue of materiality or radicalized embodiment as crucial to how the process by which racialised and classed subjectivity are understood (Alcoff, 1999; Charlesworth, 2003; Hook, 2008; Riggs & Augoustinos, 2005; Riggs, 2008). Arguing for the importance of materiality, these studies highlight the importance of reinstating an analysis of race in non-determinist and non-reductionist ways (Papadopoulos and Sharma, 2008). Racial difference is posited as a point of departure for contestation of constructionist approaches that tend to emphasize the discursive production of race. This difference is considered paramount to understanding the materiality of everyday life and struggles of racialization. In their analysis of masculinities within the profession of

[5] Also see Sigelman & Welch, 1991 for a view of why the target's perspective has generally been under-researched in the field.

teaching Morrell and Epstein (2008) emphasize the concrete historical context to show how race and class are materialized through subjectivity. The gendered narratives of the teachers are argued to reflect the historical and material conditions of the apartheid sociopolitical context. Through the narrative accounts of their life history and their everyday experience as raced and classed subjects, race is seen to be experienced within a material context that informs how subjectivity comes to be produced and contested.

Similar concern and analytic approach are evident in feminist analyses of women's gendered experiences in multiple contexts (see Bryant & Schofield, 2007; Harding, 1987; Lopman, 1988; Tolman, 2002; Ussher, 1997). Such an approach is in large part a response to dominant theorizing within Personality and Social Psychology that have emphasized attitudes, behavior and/or subjectivity as well as Critical Psychological approaches that have equally for the most part ignored the issue of the body, preferring an analysis of the discursive (Burr, 1995; Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn & Walkerdine, 1998 amongst others). More specifically, much black feminist critique has elaborated on black women's subjective experiences as simultaneously raced, classed and gendered subjects (see Rhode, 1990 for overview). These studies highlight the importance of multiple sources of oppression that are best documented through the narratives of black women's everyday encounter with a racial, patriarchal and class society. More recently however, a critical psychological trend has begun to engage with what has been referred to as the realm of the extra-discursive (Burr, 1999; Hook, 2012) which include aspects of embodiment. Such a move allows for analyses that incorporate aspects of materiality with discourse (Ussher, 2008). In such instances materiality of the body (i.e. embodiment) come to conceptualized through discursive and cultural mediation. In the words of Sims-Schouten, Riley and Willig (2007, p. 102): "material practices are given an ontological status that is independent of, but in relation with, discursive practices".

Within the phenomenological ontological framework, racialization is fundamentally an embodied state occurring over time and through space (McCallum, 2005). McCallum's ethnographic study of racialization processes within urban city for example argues for an embodied production of culture whereby subjects creatively re/produce difference. Racialization is actively and subjectively reenacted through individual movement through space. It is this capturing of the everyday lived realities of subjects that is at the heart of phenomenological accounts of racialization and race. Similarly, Puwar (2001) demonstrates the significance of analysis of the racial body within a specific moment in time and space.

Puwar's study re-inscribes Fanon's construct of *epidermalization* (1986) to understand the location of 'normatively located bodily habitus' and the reproduction of race within institutional contexts, such that "…when black bodies enter…white spaces, there is a collision of representations" (Puwar, 2001, p. 659). A growing body of research into racialization in space reflects this interest into the understanding subjective experiences of lived reality (see Ahmed, 2007; Delaney, 2002; Knowles, 2003; Lipsitz, 2007; Massey, 1994; Nelson, 2008). In their study of segregation practices Dixon, Tredoux and Clack (2005) emphasize how racial organization occurs in everyday and ordinary activities such as eating in cafeterias and relaxing on the beach. They argue for a micro-ecological analysis of race that engages with such processes of embodiment that are not typically considered in the psychological literature on intergroup contact. Elsewhere, Durrheim and Dixon (2005) critique Social Psychological attitude and discursive research that fail to properly account for "the lived experience of everyday life" (p. 449). The latter form of analysis, the authors argue, addresses significant gaps within this literature that points to the need for material-discursive ontology that acknowledges embodiment and spatio-temporal aspects of racialization. Alcoff (1999) similarly proposes a phenomenological approach to how racial subjectivity and oppression is understood, arguing that these aspects of racialization are in fact *lived in the body.* She critiques macro-level forms of analysis that tend to favor structural accounts of race and racialization and effectively making insignificant the micro-interactions that in fact reproduce and re-signify, at the level of experience, racial exclusions. For Alcoff (1999) it is at this level of the micro that both the formation and management of subjectivities initially occurs, and because they are part of the everyday exchanges, may occur at often unconscious and arbitrary levels that render them unproblematic and therefore uncontested. This is akin to Bourdieu's interest in the unconsciousness formation and management of habitus, where socialized subjectivity comprising of bodily and personal dispositions are formed that may reinforce social hierarchies but yet remain relatively uncontested by social agents (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Not surprisingly, phenomenological analyses of racialization and social critique more generally come under harsh criticism from researchers, not least discursive analytic theorists, reluctant to underplay the construct of race as ideology. Although not a proponent of discursive or poststructuralist analysis himself, Bourdieu (2000) has equally maintained a general skepticism in the uncritical deployment of phenomenological forms of social inquiry. Other critiques of this tradition have focused on the social forces that may influence the lived

experience of subjects as raced. Critical race theorists have especially chosen to reflect on the dimensions of the law, culture, economics etc. to explore the social meaning and impact of race (see Winant, 2004). Other theorists have attempted to engage with the materiality of race through a linguistic frame (see Butler, 1993).

For Butler, it is through signification that the embodied subject comes to exist to begin with. Through signification the interpellated subject becomes raced, gendered, etc. It is *language,* and not one's material embodied being, that thus becomes a crucial source for how [racialised] subjectivity comes to have any meaning: "The body posited as prior to the sign, is always *posited* or *signified* as *prior*. This signification produces as an *effect* of its own procedure the very body that it nevertheless and simultaneously claims to discover as that which *precedes* its own action" (Butler, 1993, p. 30). In response to this situating of the discursive as central to subjectivity, Saldanha (2006) observes that while the importance of signification cannot be disputed, what remains unspoken is that signification only comes to have any effect at all through the materiality of bodies, signs and spaces. While Butler does acknowledge the materiality of signs, this is not evident in her analyses of the body. And yet, Butler offers us a useful lens with which to theorize the process of signification imbued in acts of interpellation as well as the lived embodied impact of these acts. Drawing on Bourdieu's construct of *habitus*,[6] she suggests that certain symbolic acts, such as racial slurs, come to acquire lived embodiment such that "the words enter the limbs, craft the gesture, and bend the spine. One need only consider how racial or gendered slurs live and thrive in and as the flesh of the addressee" (Butler, 1997, p. 141).

Where Butler invokes Bourdieu to claim the power effect embedded in signification, she equally critiques Bourdieu's conservative deployment of the concept. For Butler (1997), the interpellated body is far from a passive entity but rather is capable of resistance and transgression through performance (Coole, 2005). And yet, despite this possibility for resistance and subjective agency, in *The Psychic Life of Power* Butler (1997) reminds us that practices of resistance and reflexive transformation remain tied to insidious and tacit operations of regulatory power: "The social categorizations that establish the vulnerability of the subject to language are themselves vulnerable to both psychic and historical change" (Butler, 1997, p 21). Nevertheless Butler's construct of performative agency highlights the

[6] This concept is discussed in more depth in the next chapter.

embodied lived experience of the individual interpellated as a raced subject. Both the interpellation and embodied experience of it is perhaps most famously captured in Fanon's 'train passage', an insightful glimpse into the phenomenology of racial embodiment (see Fanon, 1967; 1986). Fanon's description of racial embodiment however is preceded by Du Bois' (1903; 1997) phenomenology of racialised subjectivity. Both these analyses have informed a robust oeuvre of enquiry into the self-consciousness of the black subject interpellated within a racist society and remain key texts in the psychology of racialization.

3.3.1 Du Bois's construct of racialised subjectivity

The work of W.E.B. Du Bois has often been appropriated – and often misappropriated – by scholars interested in understanding the psycho-existential consequences of racism and oppression. In particular, his construct of a "double consciousness" has come to embody that state of being characterized by a sense of psychic tension between two modes of conflicting consciousness:

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, the sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his [sic] two-ness… Two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body…
>
> (Du Bois, 1997, p. 38).

Although Du Bois utilizes the concept to describe the racialised subjectivity of African Americans living in America, scholars have since extended the term in an attempt to understand other forms of subjectivity within a context of systemic social and psychological negation and discrimination. Feminist scholars have for example expanded on the construct of double consciousness to engage with the dynamic processes of gendered signification and subjectivity (see Agnew, 2005). It is Du Bois' theorizing of the *materiality* of race, more specifically of blackness, that concerns us in the present discussion. Three central premises can be deployed to confront the materiality of blackness: firstly, *(1)* for Du Bois black double consciousness arises from the fact of being constructed as a problem and not an agentic subject able to overcome problems in the world (Taylor, 2007). Through his construct of double consciousness Du Bois presents us with a central problematic: how to understand the lived experience of a subject that has been constructed *as a problem.* This problematic is at

the center of his idea of double consciousness. Secondly, *(2)* blackness is lived through a metaphoric "veil" that functions as primary medium through which the black subject moves through the world and thirdly, *(3)* this veil may function in both positive and negative ways in how the subject not only relates to him/herself but to others in general. Thus, this positive aspect of the veil functions in what Du Bois describes as "second sight", highlighting its potential to provide alternative of 'second' insight into the black subject's relationality to the world more generally. These three premises informing Du Bois' construct of double consciousness will now be elaborated on in more depth.

3.3.1.1 The Problem of Blackness

The fact of being viewed or constructed as a problem gives birth to a state of double consciousness. This existential crisis, informed by sociohistorical, political, economic, and socio-discursive contexts, becomes the source of the black subject's despair: *how to live as a problem*:

> Between me and the other there is ever an unasked question: unasked by some through feelings of delicacy; by others through the difficulty of rightly framing it. All nevertheless, flutter round it. They approach me in a half-hesitant [sic] sort of way, eye me curiously or compassionately, and then, instead of saying directly, How [sic] does it feel to be a problem?...To the real question, How does it feel to be a problem? I answer seldom a word. And yet, being a problem is a strange experience – peculiar even for one who has never been anything else…
>
> (Du Bois, 1997, p. 37)

Social psychologists working within the socio-cognitive tradition have attempted to explore similar constructs of anxiety related to one's racialised subjectivity and occupation of racialised spaces. The work of African American social psychologist Claude Steele has been influential in understanding the underperformance of individuals in specific testing contexts. Steele and Aronson (1995) introduced the construct of stereotype threat as an explanatory framework in analyzing the behavioral, cognitive and emotive responses of individuals who experience 'threat' or anxiety, that are related to stereotypes about their group and within contexts of performance. For Steele and Aronson (1995) particular dimensions of threat related to stereotype are fundamental to understanding the situational condition of anxiety: *1)*

there has to be an *awareness* of a negative stereotype about one's group membership or racialised subjectivity; *2)* the *context* of performance must evoke these feelings of anxiety and threat and *3)* a behavioral and emotive response occurs in the form of *anxiety and specifically* related to the stereotype. This problematic – which Du Bois presents as a phenomenological-existential one – is Du Bois' starting point for thinking about the situation of the black subject. More than this, it is not just the problematic of being viewed as a problem that is of concern to him, but also the *unarticulated* nature of this problematic. How does one begin to engage with a problem that persistently remains unspoken and unacknowledged, and yet continually informs the dialectic relation between self and other? Through this, black humanity is negated and reduced to a problem. A consciousness thus emerges that is characterized as a "veil" through which the black subject relates to the world.

3.3.1.2 The Veil

To understand this consciousness Du Bois relies on the metaphor of the veil[7] to describe this state of double consciousness of blacks. The meaning of being black involves having to live with certain experiences and myths and stereotypes that have their roots not in individual biology but rather the historically racist society that one is confronted with. Blackness is thus a historical construct that remains open to different interpretation by different groups within the society and also at different moments in time. The black subject is thus both a concrete and metaphorical entity. What this means for Du Bois is that the black subject comes to know him/herself and the rest of the world through the veil. This veil is marked by life both inside and outside of it. Important to note that for Du Bois the veil emerges not at birth but only later in life, that is at that moment that one discovers one's race. In this sense then, the veil is not to be considered as innate or intrinsic to black subjectivity. Rather it becomes a part of black consciousness through social relationality with a racialised world. For example Du Bois' moment of his own discovery of the veil, a moment in childhood:

> I was a little thing, away up in the hills of New England…. In a wee wooden schoolhouse, something put it into boys' and girls' heads to buy gorgeous visiting cards […] and exchange. The exchange was merry, till one girl, a tall newcomer, refused my card – refused it peremptorily, with a glance. Then it dawned on me with a

[7] "The veil" refers simply to the color line. However this metaphor is useful for understanding other forms of subjective fragmentation in society.

> certain suddenness that I was different from the others; or like a mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a "vast veil".
>
> (Du Bois, 1997, p. 38).

The veil, therefore, only comes into consciousness through active reflection and awareness; it is not an intrinsic part of the world but needs to be thought into existence. Just as the veil only comes to exist for Du Bois when his visiting card is rejected, the black subject only comes into awareness of the veil through an encounter with whiteness. This is akin to Fanon's assertion that the black child who for the first time confronts white society becomes abnormal in the sense that he/she begins to mediate that world through a kind of psycho-existential complex: **"**A normal black child who has grown up in the bosom of a normal family will be made abnormal by the slightest contact with the white world" (Fanon, 1986, p. 117). Similarly, writing of his son's death, Du Bois observes: "He knows no color-line, poor dear – and the Veil, though it shadowed him, had not yet darkened half his sun" (Naas, 2004, p. 42).

The veil (externalized through the practices of a racist system) may shadow the black child at birth but only comes to influence the psyche through double consciousness and a self-estrangement later in life (this is the veil internalized). The veil, therefore, is not only both external and internal but also comes to be all-encompassing and omnipresent (Taylor, 2007). This omnipresence of the veil further means that we can only live above the veil not lift it or eliminate it. This is where Du Bois begins to theorize multiple strategic means of living about the veil, which in essence is a struggle toward recognition. Contradictorily, gaining recognition means not demanding that one is recognized – or have one's visiting card accepted – but rather to play both behind and above the veil by "finding superiority from a position of putative "inferiority" (Taylor, 2007, p. 40). Critical scholars have elaborated on a similar framing of agency through the construct of "strategic essentialism" that enables the subject to engage in substantive and creative modes of resistance and re/production (McNay, 2004). Speaking of his own struggle toward recognition, Du Bois notes:

> I had thereafter no desire to tear down the veil, to creep through; I held all beyond it in common contempt, and lived above it in a region of blue sky and great wandering shadows. That sky was bluest when I could beat my mates at examination-time, or beat them at a foot-race, or even beat their stringy heads.

(Du Bois, 1997, p. 38).

As mentioned, the veil may be internalized (functioning as double consciousness) as well as external (as metaphor for the externalizing social practices and other varied forms of discrimination in society). In this way, Du Bois notes that the veil involves awareness of being viewed by external others as well as providing a medium by which his own perception of the world is obscured (Taylor, 2007). The surveillance of the external world comes to be internalized by the subject, constantly aware that not only is he/she under surveillance but that also there is a need for successful performance of the self in order to gain acceptance by the external other. It is this double surveillance and performance that Du Bois speaks of when he uses the idea of double consciousness, creating the "inevitable self-questioning, self-disparagement, and lowering of ideal which ever accompany repression and breed in an atmosphere of contempt and hate" (p.42). And yet for Du Bois, the veil is important not only for the struggle for recognition but also for black subjectivity. This latter function is key to his belief that there remains a positive function to the veil, to double consciousness. Two opposed selves exist – one seen and the other seen – and which constitute black double consciousness.

This dual mode of consciousness allows the black subject to engage with his/her immediate social world as both *knower and known* – a world in which one is able to consciously reflect on one's own positioning as well as the positioning of the other. This is a potentially agentic position to occupy. Thus, for Du Bois, the veil is necessary to black emancipation and self-recognition. In this regard, we must not strive to lift the veil completely but rather to learn how to transform it by playing both behind and above it (Du Bois, 1997). This transformation means amongst other things that the black subject does not seek to lose this self-conscious self, indeed none of the "selves" are "to be lost. He [sic] would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American…" (P. 39). It is this self-conscious self that Du Bois considers to be the value of double consciousness, what he refers to as a "gift" and a "curse", a kind of "second sight".

3.3.13 Second Sight

Seeing and relating to oneself through the eyes of the other, the white world is at the core of double consciousness. As discussed however, this dual state of consciousness allows the subject to be to reflect in advantageous ways on his and others' positioning within the social world. It is this advantage that Du Bois describes as a "gift", the subject gifted with the second-sight that allows him/her to understand the true forms of racialization practices in society. And yet, second-sight is also a "curse" given its reliance on the subject having to interact with the social world through a state of double consciousness. Wald (2006) notes the following: "Du Bois describes not only the pain of measuring oneself by a contemptuous and pitying world, but also the empowerment that comes with knowing one is doing so" (cited in Franklin, Pittman, Higgins and Gordon, 2006, p. 56). Second sight is this awareness of one's self as well as racializing social practices whereby the latter become transparent in their social and psychological functioning. This 'gift' is necessary to be able to resist and challenge these practices.

This advantage of double consciousness – the gift of second sight – must however be treated with caution. As Henry (2005) notes, double consciousness (and its implied second-sight function) is a "double-edged sword" (p. 8) that on the one hand may allow us greater insight into our subjectivity and position in society but on the other is implicitly marked by self-estrangement and feelings of inferiority. It goes without saying therefore that not every black subject may be 'gifted' with second-sight, that is may obtain insight into their racialization and relation with the other but may in fact be embroiled in states of self-deception and inferiority:

> Such a double life, with double thoughts, double duties, and double social classes, must give rise to double words and double ideals, and tempt the mind to pretence or to revolt, to hypocrisy or to radicalism.
>
> (Du Bois, 1997, pp. 155-156).

Both Du Bois and Fanon's phenomenology of racial embodiment are similar in several key objectives: firstly, they both seek to develop an understanding of the psyche of the black subject existing in a state of double consciousness. Secondly, they both put forward this understanding by challenging the traditional approach to the subject which addresses

individual subjectivity separately from the socio-historical context[8]. Thirdly, they both develop this understanding with the idea that subjectivity is only developed in *relation to others* and therefore the dialectics of social existence must be incorporated in analysis. Fourthly, their rejection of traditional approaches that take the individual out of his/her socio-historical context is replaced by a phenomenological approach that attempts to understand the *lived experiences* of the black subject. But this is where the similarities end. Where Du Bois laid the groundwork for understanding the phenomenology of the black subject, Fanon probes even further Du Bois' idea of double consciousness. Through his psycho-existential analysis Fanon incorporates both traditional phenomenological and psychoanalytic theory to grapple with the effects and meanings of double consciousness. Analysis of race as *lived experience* has been invaluable in bringing to the fore the subjective meanings and experiences of racialization. While such accounts have been embraced by scholars focused on giving voice to the subjects of sociopolitical discrimination, other scholars have been wary of losing the political dimension of critique that is argued to be lost in the majority of such accounts. This is particularly related to the tendency to undermine political and ideological critique in favor of subjective account of experience that is void of the ideological underpinnings of psychological interiority. Social constructionist and discursive scholars, in particular, have argued that the re/production of difference through representations and social constructs must be highlighted as part of the political project.

Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn and Walkerdine's (1984) classic text *Changing the Subject* spearheaded what has come to be adopted as a psycho-social analysis of subjectivity. This text engaged a critical exploration of subjectivity as continuously positioned in relation to discourses and practices that are ambiguous and complex in form. Frosh (2010) and Saville-Young (2011) categorize psycho-social studies as constitutive of both external social and internal psychic dimensions of subject formation. Engaging an inter-disciplinary focus, theorists such as Frosh (1989) have argued for such emphasis on the complexity of subjectivity highlighting the importance of embodiment subjectivities that investigate the intra-psychic dimensions of the 'social incorporated in the body' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

[8] The situatedness of double consciousness within the socio-historical context makes this especially significant.

Psycho-social approaches to theorizing subjectivity have attempted to capture the nuances of both the social and the psychic dimensions of subjectivity as two inseparable and intertwining aspects of embodiment. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) have observed that our unique biographies engage a psychological dimension of the self that is interwoven with intersubjective and socio-discursive processes that highlight both the unconscious and social dimensions of the self. Psycho-social theorists have investigated the formations, articulations and embodiments of racialised subjectivities by exploring the external and internal formation of the self (Frosh, 2010; Hook, 2012; Riggs & Augoustinos, 2005). Psycho-social approaches are especially significant in their explorations of *how* and *why* subjects may take up or resist particular discursive positions. In the next section I discuss Fanon's psycho-social and phenomenological analysis of racialised subjectivity as a significant contribution to this analytic interplay between the internal and external, objective structures and subjective processes of interpellation and embodiment. As Sullivan (2004) has argued, Fanon effectively theorizes social, bodily and psychical space.

3.4 Fanon's exploration of racialised subjectivity

Fanon's existential-phenomenological exploration begins with a familiar problematic: how to address subjectivity in a way that incorporates both objective and subjective levels of analysis[9]. Such a "sociogenic" approach (p. 110) allows for a theorizing of the subject that incorporates into the analysis properties of the social world such as language, culture, history etc. Furthermore, the lived experience of the black subject is understood within the context of structural issues through which the individual mediates his/her lived experiences. And even more significantly, part of this mediation involves the psychosomatic internalization of racism (Sullivan, 2004). The sociogeneic approach then entails engaging with what Fanon refers to as *facticity*[10], that is, those concrete everyday factors that define the situation of the individual, such as geographical space, race, body, language etc. (Hook, 2004). As part of his project of engaging with the *facticity* of the black subject, Fanon presents us with three important schemas: *bodily schema, historical racial schema* and *racial epidermal schema*.

[9] This is a problematic at the heart of Bourdieu's dismissal of the dominant binary thinking in social scientific critique, discussed in *Chapters four and five*.
[10] Originating with Heidegger, 'facticity' is a term Fanon borrows from and discusses in relation to Jean Paul Satre's explication.

3.4.1 Bodily Schema

It should be noted that both Sigmund Freud and Maurice Merleau-Ponty's[11] works significantly influence Fanon's writing on the unconscious and spatiality respectively. However, a key point of deviation from these two influences is Fanon's concern with theorizing race and racism in relation to the unconscious and spatiality of bodily existence (Taylor, 2007). Thus Fanon merges both psychoanalysis and existential phenomenology in his development of a theory of the *lived bodily* existence of blacks in a racializing society. And yet, he is also at pains to develop this theory in relation to the broader social world, that is, to understand the "dialectic between body and world" (Fanon, 1967, p. 111). For Fanon, lived bodily experience is influenced by subjects' awareness of themselves as 'black', which in turn *only* occurs when the subject is confronted by whiteness. In Fanon's exploration of bodily schema he presents a close connection between the body and the psyche that is evident in the moment that the psyche is 'disrupted' by states of double consciousness. This disruption comes to be exemplified through spatial positing of one's body in the world. This, he argues is not a positing that occurs from habit but rather tacit knowledge. The bodily schema here refers to "the lived body by and through which one takes up the world" (Sullivan, 2006, p. 101). This process of taking 'up the world' happens unconsciously, without conscious reflective thought but rather through a kind of taken-for-granted and implicit knowledge of one's space in the world[12]:

> In the white world the man [sic] of color encounters difficulties in the development of his bodily schema. Consciousness of the body is solely a negating activity. It is a third-person consciousness. The body is surrounded by an atmosphere of uncertainty. I know that if I want to smoke, I shall have to reach out my right arm and take the pack of cigarettes lying at the end of the table. The matches, however, are in the drawer to the left, and I shall have to lean back slightly. And all of these movements are made not out of habit but out of implicit knowledge. A slow composition of my sense of self as a body in the middle of a spatial and temporal world – such seems to be the schema. It does not impose itself on me; it is, rather, a definitive structuring of

[11] Both Freud and Merleau-Ponty are considered the 'fathers' of Psychoanalysis and Phenomenology respectively.
[12] Notice here the similarity to Bourdieu's construct of *habitus* and the latter's implication at the level of one's bodily dispositions.

> the self and the world – definitive because it creates a real dialectic between my body and the world.
>
> (Fanon, 1967, p. 111)

Notice that the process through which Fanon satisfies his desire to smoke happens through implicit knowledge and awareness of his environment. He does not consciously guide his retrieval of the matches and cigarettes – leaning back, reaching out, and opening the drawer etc. His body acts on implicit knowledge of the "socio-material world of objects", this is a body that is "socially situated" (Taylor, 2007, p. 73). But Fanon does not end there. Given the situating of the body in social space, what happens if one's material engagement with the world is not simply only with physical objects such as matches and cigarettes, but also with racial signifiers that are part of a racially divisive society? What if one's movement through social space is not only in relation to physical objects but also racialised spaces? How do we read the bodily schema then? To accomplish this, Fanon introduces another schema as a frame of reference, the historical schema. What is important to note here is that the bodily schema helps to account for the lived experience of the subject through space.

3.4.2 Historical Racial Schema

In order to understand the black subject's movement through space and the world, Fanon relies on a construct of bodily schema to account for the body's occupation of space. And yet, this is not enough to describe the double consciousness state that characterizes the disruption of psyche and evidenced in bodily schema. For this, Fanon relies on a construct of historical racial schema to describe the racially embodied subject. Here, he refers to the socio-historical constructs of race, more specifically, the black body:

> Below the corporeal schema I had sketched a historico-racial schema. The elements that I used had been provided for me not by 'residual sensations and perceptions primarily of a tactile, vestibular, kinesthetic, and visual character', but by the other, the white man, who had woven me out of a thousand details, anecdotes, stories (p. 112)…[such that] …it is not I who make a meaning for myself, but it is the meaning that was already there, pre-existing, waiting for me (p, 134).

Thus, the black subject already comes into a world of meaning, composed of stories and anecdotes created by white racist society. This historico-racial schema informs how different races construct their meaning and the ways that the bodily schema occupies space and moves through the world:

> I could no longer laugh because I already knew that there were legends, stories, history, and above *historicity*, which I had learned about from Jaspers…I was battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial defects, slave-ships, and above all else, above all: 'Sho' good eatin.
>
> (Fanon, 1967, p. 112)

For Fanon then, the historico-racial schema is the bodily effect of the races' collective unconsciousness (Taylor, 2007). More than this, this schema demands that the black subject incorporate whiteness into his/her bodily schema, how the body occupies space and even how one relates to one's self and body: "There are times when the black man [sic] is locked into his [sic] body" (Fanon, 1967, p. 225) and also "The Negro however sincere, is the slave of the past" (p. 225). For Fanon then, there is an intimate relationship between the corporeal body and the broader socio-discursive and historical representations (imbued in the stories, anecdotes, legends, myths etc.) of the black subject. Understanding the lived experiences of racial embodiment means advancing the *situatedness* of experience. In this way Fanon deviates significantly from Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology; by incorporating the role of history in addressing the lived situation of blacks Fanon advances a much more socio-historical meaning of embodiment. What is also implied in this analysis is that the black bodily schema develops very differently from the white bodily schema (Sullivan, 2004; Taylor, 2007).

Sullivan (2004) critiques Fanon's omission of a historical-racial schema that only confronts black or non-white peoples. Such a position neglects the historico-racial schema that constitutes white privilege to begin with. For Sullivan (2004) the historico-racial schema works differently for both white and black subjects, whereby it is explicit for the black subject and more implicit for the former. This is because the socio-historical context of race and racialization means that black subjects are called upon to confront their historico-racial schema by accounting for their presence, defending their presence etc. The black subject *must* have a race, is always racialised, while whiteness is privileged in its racelessness (Ahmed,

2007). This is not to say however that the white body is not influenced by a historico-racial schema in the constitution of this body (Sullivan, 2004). It is here that Fanon introduces the racial epidermal schema, which comes to replace the bodily schema in identification.

3.4.3 Racial Epidermal Schema

Where Du Bois engages with two different consciousnesses at odds with each other, Fanon introduces a third consciousness. This consciousness is related to what he refers to as the racial epidermal schema. The differential positioning of both black and white bodies by the historico-racial schema produces different effects of embodiment. For the black subject, the 'normal' bodily schema is replaced, dismantled and usurped by a racial epidermal schema that necessities hyper-awareness and vigilance of one's body in space. This awareness is also particular in its [self]objectifying function. The black subject relates to his/her body as an object (Hook, 2004; Sullivan, 2006). Fanon however aims to theorize beyond a cognitive awareness of the body. For him, cognitive awareness and objectification of one's body is compounded by another equally insidious process – the *state of non-existence* that characterizes the problem of blackness: "it [is] no longer a question of being aware of [one's] body in the third person [i.e., as an object] but in a triple person|" (Fanon, 1986, p 112).

This state of non-existence arises from a racializing process whereby the black subject is reduced to their skin color and therefore denied any active subjective relation to the world. This is a crisis Du Bois [1903]1997) has highlighted as intrinsic to double consciousness state and the resultant desire for recognition from the other, the white world. The black subject is not only engaged in an objectifying relationship with the self but also exists in a second place that seeks or desires validation or approval from the white world. Fanon recounts similar existential crisis and the desire for recognition thus: "I came into the world imbued with the will to find a meaning in things,…*and then I found that I was an object in the midst of other objects*. Sealed into that crushing objecthood, I turned beseechingly to others" (p. 110, emphasis in the original). Faced with a world that denies him subjectivity and recognition the black subject effectively finds him/herself in a world of "epistemic closure" (Gordon, 2005, p.2). Epistemic closure describes that moment of complete knowledge of any given subject or phenomenon and therefore a shutting down of any attempt at further knowledge of the subject or phenomenon (Taylor, 2007). Epistemic closure informs the anonymity that arises from denial of one's subjectivity, a process of homogenization that cancels out individual self.

Sullivan (2004, p 15) describes this as existing in "a place that is no place" precisely because the desired approval and validation are not forthcoming, are denied. Existential theorists have convincingly argued that part of the dilemmas of an existential exists in the moments of non-recognition, denial of self by the other. Fanon relies on this construct to argue that the problem of blackness is not so much focused on feelings of inferiority as a feeling of nonexistence. Taylor is worth quoting at length here:

> Namelessness characterizes the most general aspects of social reality and is usually predicated by the indefinite article "a". For example, one is walking down the street and sees "a student" or "a musician" or "a professor". In most of our encounters, we would admit that we possess a limited amount of knowledge in regard to individuals that we encounter. However when we assume complete knowledge of someone exemplifying an subjectivity, that is, when we presume that there is not an epistemic gap between our knowledge of a person and the person, the encounters become distorted.
>
> (Taylor, 2007, p. 79).

It is this epistemic closure that Fanon is concerned with in his idea of "over determination" and when he describes the black subject as "over determined from without" (Fanon, 1967, p. 116), that is, as fixed in essence as a result of his skin: But in my case everything takes on a new guise. I am given no chance. I am over determined from without. I am not the slave of the "idea" that others have of me *but of my appearance*. The epistemic closure evident in over determination further creates a sense of anonymity in the consciousness of blacks, that is, the sense of being invisible. Gordon (2005) refers to this as a kind of "perverse anonymity" (p. 3) whereby one black body comes to represent and speak for an entire race. Non-recognition of the black subject thus encompasses a myriad of processes that include objectification, epistemic closure in relation to examination of the black subject, a sense of being over determined from without, i.e. on the basis of skin color, anonymity and invisibility. It is here that we return to Fanon's triple consciousness. This objectification and denial of subjectivity means that the black subject is forced to occupy space at three different levels: through one's bodily schema, that is, the actual, concrete materiality of physical space; the historical-racial schema which takes over the bodily schema and lastly the racial epidermal schema that is an assignation to the realm of non-existence (Coleman, 2005; Salamon, 2006; Sullivan, 2004). Fanon's interpellation in the train evokes for him this triple

consciousness, this shift from bodily schema toward the 'other' that now incorporates historical-racial schema and, in the face of non-recognition and rebuff, another consciousness, a state of 'transparency' and disappearance, a state of non-existence:

> In the white world the man [sic] of color encounters difficulties in the development of his bodily schema. Consciousness of the body is solely a negating activity. It is a third-person consciousness…In the train it was no longer a question of being aware of my body…but in a triple person. In the train I was given not one but two, three places….I existed triply: I occupied space. I moved toward the other…and the evanescent other,…transparent, not there, disappeared.
>
> (Fanon, 1967, p. 201).

Invisibility and nonexistence then are crucial to Fanon's racial epidermal schema. Furthermore, this state of nonexistence is the core existential crisis of the black subject – and not inferiority complexes: "A feeling of inferiority? No, a feeling of nonexistence" (p, 139). Moreover, the racial epidermal schema is dependent on the presence of a white world. Fanon further engages the three spaces of psyche, body and the social as interweaving processes whereby each may be constituted by the other in a reciprocal relationship. While these relationships can also be separated and engaged separately, it is also worth noting that their boundaries remain porous (Sullivan, 2006). Psycho-social approaches to engaging racialised subjectivity interweaves in significant ways with other discursive-oriented approaches that emphasis both the psychic and social dimensions of racialization and embodiment. Emphasizing the processes by which race becomes not only salient but also is deployed to produce specific kinds of representation and practice, discursive approaches that incorporate elements of the psycho-social have been particularly significant in bridging the ideological and psychic formations of racialised subjectivity. More generally, other discursive approaches have focused largely on the ideological function of language in the re/production of racialised subjectivity, engaging less with the lived realities of racialization as embodied neither in phenomenological approaches nor with the psychic manifestations of subject formation that is emphasized in psychoanalytic accounts.

3.5 Social constructionist and Discursive approaches

Often used in connection to similar terms such as poststructuralism and postmodernism, social constructionism is characterized by four core essential features: a stance toward knowledge that is critical, emphasis on the historical and cultural specificity of knowledge, influence of social processes in the shaping of knowledge and interweaving of knowledge and social action (Gergen, 1985; Burr, 1995). Social constructionism as a perspective and/or orientation emphasizes both the social and interpersonal dimensions of human life and existence (Gergen, 1985). In this regard social constructionist principles share some similarity with post structuralist epistemology. However the latter approach places an exclusive emphasis on the importance of language and knowledge in deconstructing common-sense readings and understandings of texts (Agger, 1991). The four features identified by Gergen (1985) and Burr (1995) constitute a useful guiding orientation to exploring the social nature of lived experiences and events and subjects' navigation of these experiences and events. In this regard social constructionism situates psychological experiences and processes such as emotion and attitudes into the realm of the social and cultural. Perhaps even more significantly, the epistemology further grounds these processes within particular historical and temporal contexts (Gergen, 1985; Owen, 1995) thereby illustrating the contingency and non-static dimension of these processes. It is this aspect of the relational and temporality of subjectivity that narrative and discursive approaches further attempt to theorize and explore. Other researchers have explored social constructionist approaches of personality, emotional behavior and motivation (see Harre, 1985; 1991; 1993) as well as more focused attention on how language models specific events and processes (see Edwards and Potter, 1992).

Social constructionism's primary contribution to understanding subjectivity is thus bound up within analysis of the social nature of existence. As a result the approach has provided significant challenge and critique of traditional psychological emphasis on the immutable and individual nature of behavior and cognitive processes (Henriques et al, 1984; Parker, 1992; Owen, 1995). Hacking (1999) further notes that social constructionist epistemology is focused not only on understanding how *things* may be constructed but also and perhaps more importantly our *beliefs* about them, how our taken-for-granted beliefs are in fact shaped by broader social and ideological forces to create a view of a particular kind of subject and the function and effect of such creations. Simone de Beauvoir's classic illumination of how

women come to be created as particular subjects in *The Second Sex* (1953) and Appiah and Gutman's (1996) *Color Conscious: The Political Morality of Race* illustrates this central tenet of social constructionism. Race, for these theorists, is more than ideological. It is also a social construction that is continually contested. It is thus an open political construct that shifts in meaning, such that even racial categories such as black can be contested and changes over time (Gilroy, 1987; Hall, 1980). Durrheim and Mtose's (2006) investigation of the meaning of blackness in a post-apartheid context for example, demonstrates this fluid and shifting meanings of racial categories. Such a conceptualization allows for both multiplicity and heterogeneity in constructs of race.

The critical contribution of social constructionism notwithstanding several points of critiques must be acknowledged and grappled with. Early criticisms of the approach include the accusation of relativism and nihilistic stance toward science (see Maze, 2001 for in-depth overview). This criticism has been refuted by social constructionist researchers such as Gergen (1997) who argues that not only do researchers working within this tradition reject any claims to truth and nihilism but that it is also indisputably impossible to legitimately lay claim to such an objective. Furthermore, any such attempt to do so renders the researcher a "victim [of] their own modes of critique" (1997, p. 729). Edwards, Ashmore and Potter (1995) however challenge this accusation of relativism with the counterargument that relativism in itself is not undesirable but is in fact essential to critical academic thought and practice (Cromby, 1999). Edwards et al (1995) further note that relativism is a necessary reminder to continuously challenge claims to objectivity and absolute truth. Burman (1990) however reminds us that relativism's strength is implicitly also its weakness whereby both solutions and problems come to be dissolved. And yet still other theorists have argued that social constructionism's dominant emphasis on the role of language in constituting the social world and subjectivity have resulted in a tendency to not focus on other equally pertinent aspects of subjectivity – such as embodiment and materiality (Cromby, 1999). These latter critiques have highlighted the influence of the material world in not only shaping social constructions and discursive reproductions of this world but also argue that any attempts to reduce the materiality of social reality to discursive reproduction is misleading in its downplaying of other dimensions of subjectivity that attest to the latter's complexity. For example, Durrheim and Dixon (2001; 2003; 2005) demonstrate the importance of exploring the material aspects of racialization, while Hook (2006b) argues for psychoanalytic

orientations that address dimensions of psychic components of subjectification and racialization.

Social constructionism's denial of the material body is indeed problematic in any attempt to theorize the body-in-space, the phenomenological aspects of the body's movement through particular spaces. Indeed the body only comes to have meaning in social constructionist analysis in relation to discursive constructs of the body. While the discursive analysis of practices of embodiment have contributed significantly to an understanding of how social and cultural practices may be written *on* the body as well as *through* constructs of the body (Cromby, 1999), the lived material reality of the body occupying social and physical space remains a sparse area of focus in social constructionist work. These criticisms notwithstanding social constructionist work remain a critical avenue for exploring dynamics of subjectivity in the social sciences and provide a useful starting ground for analysis of the effects of power on the subject. I argue that social constructionist approach – particularly in the current study – may further be strengthened through aligning principles of constructionist analysis with other approaches that address some of these shortcomings such as understanding the lived realities of being a racialised subject. Such a focus engages with the discursive construct of the subject yet also attempts to understand the subjective meanings and experiences of subjects as they construct their everyday encounters with race and racialization practices.

3.5.1 The place of subjectivity in social constructionist and discursive research

The poststructuralist concept of subjectivity has been taken up by postmodern researchers to refer to a person's sense of self (Staunæs, 2010) and is used in contrast to its sister concept subjectivity (Blackman, Cromby, Hook, Papadopoulos & Walkerdine, 2008). The key distinction between the two terms is the emphasis on stability and change that the concept of subjectivity engages with. Poststructuralist approaches have argued that our identities are far from stable entities but rather are continually engaged in processes of both stability and change that attests to the complex and contradictory nature of the self (Weedon, 1987). More significantly poststructuralist thought adopts the Foucauldian view of subjectification as encompassing both a process of being a subject able to act upon contextual conditions, as well as the process of being a subject to those contextual conditions (Foucault, 1979; 1988).

Through the concept of subjectivity, both these dual processes of agency or the capacity to act independently and state of being reliant on contextual influences are explored.

Social constructionist epistemology takes a view of subjectivity as an ongoing process that is constituted through social interaction and mediation (du Gay, 1996). While different forms of communication may comprise social interaction, social constructionists are particularly interested in the role of language in constituting social reality (Burman & Parker, 1993). For Hook (2002) the discursive constitution of social reality therefore supersedes its material and physical aspects precisely because it is the discursive constitution that functions to both produce and sustain social action in relation to this reality. Similarly, Ainsworth (2001) argues that the social meaning of material existence is discursively produced and subjectivity is embodied and constructed in discourse.

The emphasis on this constructed nature of subjectivity relates to another central aspect of social constructionist approach which frames subjectivity as multiple and shifting. For du Gay (1996) social subjectivity may be considered as an interpretive frame by which social action is produced and meanings attributed to social action and events. Social subjectivity is the lens through which we 'read' our social world (van Dijk, 1997) and we participate in this world as subjects already positioned by others as well as the social categories that we embody. This process of subjectification is however never stable but complex and often contradictory (Foucualt, 1979; 1988) and highlights another significant construct of subjectivity as fragmented and always being re/produced through multiple and contradictory networks of discourse (Mama, 1995; McNay, 1999; Parker, 1992).

And yet, discourses are never just available and objective tools of subjectivity that are taken up by willing subjects. They can also be resisted, challenged and redefined. It is in these processes of taking up, challenging and undoing discourse that subjectivity is constituted (Parker, 1992). Given that the concept also explores both dimensions of agency and subjectification as part of this constitution, another central aspect of social constructionist engagement with the concept is the construct of constrained contexts of re/production. To put this differently, subjectivity is not only multiple and shifting, but also constrained. Not all discourses are available to all subjects – indeed, discourses hail us differently (Althusser, 1971) – but also discourses influence what can be thought, said and done. We thus enact our subjectivities within contexts of constrain (Staunæs, 2010). Hook (2004, p108) makes a

similar observation when he defines subjectivity as “delimited and conditioned by social (and material) relations of power, by ideology and by historical patterns of privilege”. It is in this regard that Parker (1992) has argued that we must be attentive to the differential speaking rights of subjects in discourse analytic practice.

In their elucidation of the concept of subjectivity and discursive research, Davies and Harré (1990) introduce the construct of subject positions to refer to the processes by which individuals take up particular positions of the self in different forms of social interaction and communication. These positions of self are taken up differently in relation to broader relations of hierarchies of power. Furthermore, both verbal and non-verbal forms of interaction may still produce or confer subject positions on individuals, reflecting the complexities of social networks and social actors. Wetherell (1998) however extends this construct of subject position to discuss what she describes as troubled subject positions. This construct of troubled is used to connote those myriad spaces in dialogue that allow for destabilization and troubling of subjectivities. Put differently, it is those positions of self that challenge normative social order and social hierarchies in our everyday lived experiences that Wetherell is attempting to highlight. We may trouble social hierarchies when we resist the subject positions that have been conferred on us, but in a different vein, subject positions may also be troublesome when they fail to fit in with the prescribed social normative order. African feminist scholars for instance have highlighted how different practices of gender non-conformity are especially troubling for hegemonic patriarchal social normative orders and have been met with misogynist and homophobic responses in certain contexts (Mkhize, Bennett, Reddy and Moletsane, 2010). The derogatory labelling of some black individuals as ‘coconut’ in the South African context is another example of how some subjectivities may transgress prescribed constructs of blackness in this instance and come to be positioned as ‘other’. Staunæs (2010) similarly notes that not all subject positions are equally troublesome but rather will reflect the distribution of power more broadly.

Social constructionist research also emphasizes the concept of social subjectivity as part of subjectivity and subject positions. This is because subjects often take up particular subject positions in relation to the different social identities by which they are categorized. And yet, a significant point of differentiation must be noted – for social constructionist researchers, social identities are used to describe something that we become and not what we are (Staunæs, 2010; Weedon, 1987). This epistemological difference highlights the discord

between so-called essentialist and constructionist approaches to theorizing subjectivity, with the latter favoring a view of self that is always becoming and produced within networks of social relations characterized by power differentials. In this regard therefore, social categories are understood to be produced or given meaning within particular contexts of social re/production. Hook (2002) pinpoints this problematic when he argues that the discursive realm must take precedence over the physical and material realms of understanding networks of social relations precisely because it is the meanings that we attach to biological social categories that effectively have real ideological, social and psychological effect.

Social constructionist research epistemology consequently posits a relational view of subjectivity. Social categories are not fixed entities but rather are produced, challenged and redefined in relation to other categories and practices of subjectivity (Butler, 1990; Davies & Harré, 1990; West & Zimmerman, 1987: Weedon, 1987). Our performances, reproduction and transgression of subjectivity occur within a relational network that is characterized by hierarchies of power. The meanings that come to be attached to particular social categories connote not only visible material signs, such as skin color for instance, but also symbolic markers of subjectivity such as clothes and taste that are deployed to connote classed identities. The connotations and meanings we attribute to visible materiality is imbued with cultural and social power differentials. Social categories may thus function to include and exclude subjects as well as create new hierarchies and sustain old ones. These categories therefore only become problematic when "values [are] attached to them, and the way those hierarchies foster and create social hierarchies" (Crenshaw, 1994, p. 22 in Staunæs, 2010, p. 104). Social constructionist researchers are thus interested in the assembling of power around particular social categories and not others. Other constructionists working within a Foucauldian frame have also engaged the significance of thinking of power beyond the oppressive, emphasizing how subjectivities may also be reconfigured and enabled in relations of power (Hook, 2007; Parker, 1992).

In contemporary social theory it is now generally acknowledged that there is no biological or physical basis for the concept of race. Indeed, with the turn to language across diverse disciplines including cultural, postcolonial, social anthropology and feminist studies, it is now generally assumed that race is a discursive construct in the sense that people rely on social representations of the meaning of race to mediate race relations. Within social psychology, the turn to language generated increased interest in the role of social meaning in

re/productions of social constructs and their implicit ideological functioning (Burr, 1995). Discursive approaches to the analyses of race emphasize social meanings of how race is lived, represented and resisted. Furthermore, analytic inquiry involves an exploration of how these social meanings come to be in relation to the specific social structures (Hook, 2006). Discursive approaches tend to emphasize the role of ideological in how social meanings are created and the power effect in terms of their functions. The process of racialization, therefore, is perceived to entail both ideological but also psychological dimensions. The production of subjects in discourse is thus parallel to the processes by which subjects in turn come to take up specific positions and resist others (Hook, 2006b).

Discursive approaches to race have been especially significant in their critique of individual-oriented forms of analysis that tend to locate race and racism as the specific domain of the individual. Such pathologising and individualizing of social phenomena has been rightfully criticized by discursive researchers as propagating the ideological and apolitical function of the discipline as a whole (Foster, 2006; Leach, 2002; Ratele, 2004). Instead, the social contexts of race re/production are considered an imperative to understanding racialization processes that include the social, structural and ideological environments within which race is constructed. The discursive approaches to race, therefore, remind us of the inherently social and political dimensions of race production. Duncan, van Niekerk, de la Rey and Seedat, (2001) for example define racist phenomena as "a set of ideas and discursive and material practices aimed at (re)producing and justifying systematic inequalities between 'races" (p. 2). These approaches consequently seek to deconstruct how constructs of race are intertwined with broader social, political and economic relations in the society, but also to demonstrate how race has come to be naturalized, taken-for-granted through everyday practices and processes of embodiment (see for example Billig, 2001; Durrheim & Dixon, 2000's works). The work of Wetherell and Potter (1992) has been especially significant in highlighting the re/production of race through conversations, narratives, accounts of the everyday. They however note that discursive analysis of talk does not merely entail an analysis of linguistic practice but must also focus on the "institutional practices…discriminatory actions and on social structures and social divisions" (p. 3) that converge with everyday reproductions of race. Similarly, van Dijk (2002) cautions against the temptation to reduce race and racism to elements of textual reproduction: "Theoretically my approach to the discursive reproduction of racism analyzes discourse as an interface between macro and micro levels of racism…between social actions and cognitions…again at the micro and macro levels…" (p.

98). The work of Miles (1982; 1993) has also been significant in the emphasis of race and racism as constituting elements of the discursive. His construct of racism as "process of signification" (p.3) contributes to an analysis of race that highlights race as discourse. Thus, racialization is read as constituting both representational and attribution dimensions (Hook, 2006b). Moreover, the process of racialization is necessarily a dialectical one that includes ideological reproductions of discourse.

The contributions of the discursive approach notwithstanding, some scholars have attempted to go beyond the focus on institutional and ideological lens of critique in the analysis of race, arguing that an exclusive focus on the representational dimensions of race and racism is not enough (Hook, 2006; 2006b; Parker, 1997; Seshadri-Crooks, 2000). Race and racism must be captured in its non-signifiable or representational aspects (Hook, 2006b, p. 209). Given the centrality of emotions of desire and anxiety in the processes of racial embodiment, the psychic dimension of subjectivity has been argued to constitute a critical and important component for exploring and analyzing subjectivity (Hook, 2006b). While studies adopting this framework have emphasized and focused on the psychical structuring of racial identifications and race relations, I am especially interested in the unconsciousness manifestations of subjectification, reflected through *habitus* – both raced and classed. Although Bourdieu failed to fully acknowledge and theorize the elements of the unconscious dimension of habitus[13], he does acknowledge that habitus excels in the very moment of its unconscious embodiment: "Sociology is rarely more akin to social psychoanalysis than when it confronts an object like taste, one of the most vital stakes in the struggles fought in the field of the dominant class and the field of cultural production" ((Bourdieu, 1984, p. 11). Where Bourdieu placed his concern with the unconscious embodiment of classed habitus – via what he described as the "insignificant techniques of the body" (p. 466) such as walking, talking, eating etc. – I am interested in the embodiment of a raced habitus that intersects with elements of class and cultural capital. More than this, the discursive networks implicated in the processes of racial signification are simultaneously produced by often unconscious emotions that structure raced habitus that function to reinforce social relations of power. Some poststructuralist writers have questioned the exclusive discursive position as only presenting part of the picture of subjectification. They urge that while this dimension of discursive re/productions of subjectivity are crucial to how the subject is theorized, we must

[13] Indeed, Bourdieu is harshly critical of the profession. See Chapter six in *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* (1984).

also remain sensitive to the myriad and complex processes that these subjects engage in when they take up, ignore, challenge or remain ambivalent about available discursive positions. As Wetherell and Maybin (1996, p 234) have noted subjects are far from "cultural dopes" who merely reproduce hegemonic sociocultural selves. These poststructuralist contributions have thus argued for more nuanced analyses that engage how subjectivities may be articulated and lived within constrained discursive contexts of re/production. While I do not engage with a psychic exploration of these emotions in the current study, it remains important to note that such understanding may further current discursive understandings and conceptualization of racialization.

3. 6 Framework of race adopted in the current Study

In drawing the different theoretical strands presented in this chapter together, I acknowledge Knowles (2003)'s three distinct feature characterizations of race. These features I would further argue constitute race's intractability and sociopolitical power: *race as all around us, race as mundane* and *race as shaping the global order*. It is the former two aspects that are of especial interest to the current framing of the concept of race and racialization in this study and the idea of race as lived relation. These ideas are expounded on more clearly below:

1) ***Our identifications and operations in the world are informed through our movement in space as interpellated subjects.*** Racialised subjectivity is thus constitutive of intersecting, multiple, contingent and indeterminate influences that require we take seriously the socio-discursive, historical, political and economic contexts that we find ourselves. Race, in this sense, is about the myriad of representations and discursive constructs that abound within a specific social milieu and historical moment in time.
2) Racialised subjectivities are bound up within intersections of social categories of class, gender, sexuality etc. ***Racialised subjectivity must therefore be approached through this recognition of intersectionality*** if the complexities of identification and signification are to be fully understood.
3) Race exits ***in the everyday mundane interactions and activities we participate in***. It is in the inconsequential boundaries between individuals – sitting together as raced subjects at a campus cafeteria or in occupation of student residential spaces or sitting on a beach (see Essed, 2000; Finchilescu, Tredoux, Mynhardt, Pillay & Muianga,

2007; Schrieff, Tredoux, Finchilescu & Dixon, 2010; Dixon & Durrheim, 2001), reading social situations through a racialised lens etc. – that race becomes visible. Exploring aspects of the everyday therefore is a useful place to *see* the social embodiment of racialised selves.

4) ***Race is about space***. Spaces are far from neutral or universal but rather comprise contested struggles by social actors involved in the use and definition of space. Everyday interactions and practices occur within discursive spatial arrangements that are characterized by fluidity and the relational. In a context characterized by difference and competition, the education field is a contested space within which race is continually negotiated and re-inscribed.

I have argued in this chapter the some core theoretical strands of engaging practices and processes of racialization. Following McNay (2004) I engage the above features of race as lived relation in which the subject engages a lived experiential reality of being raced in particular ways as well as engage broader socio-discursive moments of interpellation and subjectification. Such an approach would therefore necessitate an analytic focus that captures both the lived meanings and experiences of the subject as well as the discursive navigation and mediations of the social world. The next chapter further grounds this conceptual framework through Bourdieu's theory of social field and habitus, demonstrating the significance of thinking about subjectivity as both relational as well as lived.

Chapter Four

Subjectivity and the social phenomenology of Bourdieu

…the social relations objectified in things and also, of course in people are insensibly internalised. Taking their place in a lasting relation to the world and to others, which manifests itself…in thresholds of tolerance of the natural and social world,[…] and of which the mode of appropriation of cultural goods is one dimension.

(Bourdieu, 1984, p. 77)

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I argue that the theoretical tenets of Bourdieu's cultural capital theory provide an added dimension to the social constructionist emphasis in positing the relational aspect of subjectivity, as well as other approaches that emphasize the subjective lived experiences of subjects. Through the constructs of habitus and field Bourdieu presents an added layer for engaging [racialised] subjectivity that considers the subject's movement within a structural field that constrains how agency may be practiced and deployed. Perhaps the most useful introduction to Bourdieu's insightful yet rather complex exposition on the emergence of the social subject can be found in his approach to understanding social power. For Bourdieu, the idea of the relational nature of power is central to analyzing power as "process-oriented" (Everett, 2002, p. 57). In this sense, the multiple and varied relations that are to be found in different social fields present interesting possibilities from which to begin to explore the different and multiple processes by which power comes to function. Following McNay's (2004) analytic approach to gender, I argue in this chapter for an understanding of race as a *lived social relation*.

Such a conceptualization opposes on the one hand exclusive structuralist accounts that focus on the material and structural locations of race and on the other hand discursive accounts that emphasize the symbolic facets of racialization through language. Instead, an approach that prioritizes the *lived social relational* aspects of race would not only allow for incorporation of both the material and the discursive dimensions of racialization but also provide a critical space from which to theorize agency by focusing on processes by which the individual mediates the social. Subjective experience then, becomes a critical site from which to engage these different analytical points. It is this concern with examining the subjective experiences of the individual as *social subject* – that is, the individual mediating social structure – that Bourdieu's social phenomenology becomes especially useful. This is primarily because

Bourdieu provides an important deviation from traditional phenomenological approaches that tend toward exclusive focus on experience as authentic interpretation of social life. Indeed Bourdieu is harshly critical of those approaches that are removed from an analysis of the relational aspects of individual subjectivity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu provides several key conceptual tools for exploring these relational aspects of subjectivity. Of particular significance for this study are his constructs of *habitus, field, capital, doxa* and *symbolic violence*. The chapter further highlights some of the core contradictions and debates within this framework and argues that these contradictions notwithstanding, Bourdieu's social phenomenology provides a salient contribution to the critical analysis of race and racialization.

4.2 Socialized subjectivity: Bourdieu's habitus and relational contexts of lived experience

Bourdieu (1994) has insightfully demonstrated that the education system entails not only the function of conferring particular qualifications onto subjects but is also functional in the acquisition of particular tastes and dispositions that further confer marks of distinction on the subject. Habitus – an appropriation of the Latin to denote "a habitual or typical condition, state or appearance, particularly of the body" (Jenkins, 1992, p 74) is a concept that has been made popular through the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu uses the term to refer to those internalized structures, derived from pre-existing external structures, which determine how we behave and respond to our social and material environment. These external structures are the "material conditions of existence" within which we find ourselves. Habitus in Bourdieu's appropriation of the term therefore refers to that "acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p 95) – this conceptualization emphasizes the *class conditions* producing our material (and social) selves. Bourdieu's concept of habitus is his way of engaging the social dimensions of subjectivity that is a self that is socially produced. Dispositions constitute the habitus. Through our relations with broader external structures we come to develop particular sets or forms of responses comprised of our thoughts, feelings and behavioral practices, that is dispositions that are both durable and transposable: "…the structures constitutive of a particular type of environment [which]…produce the habitus, systems of durable *dispositions*)" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p.72, original emphasis). Habitus provides the individual with a practical know-how (Lawler, 1999) that reflects both the personal and social

histories of the subject. It is this emphasis on historical roots of habitus that Bourdieu highlights as central to understanding the durability of habitus. Subjectivity does not just happen in a social vacuum but is perceived to be the result of a unique individual and collective history that reflects the influence of the past. Through habitus, we carry such histories such that habitus is "embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history" (Bourdieu, 1990, p 56). Bourdieu highlights the durability and transposable nature of these dispositions in relation to their *embodied* form as well as *generative* characteristic within another field – a field separate from the original one that formed it to begin with:

> "The dispositions are inculcated in a *durable* way: the body is literally moulded into certain forms, so that the habitus is reflected in the whole way that one carries oneself in the world, the way that one walks, speaks, acts, eats. The dispositions are 'transposable' in the sense that they are capable of generating practices in fields other than that in which they were originally acquired"
>
> (Thompson, 1984, p.53)

And yet the historical rootedness of habitus does not imply habitus as mere reproduction or deterministic in its reproduction, but rather that habitus is also generative and reflects the dynamic character of the social world (McNay, 1999; 2004) and Butler (1997a; 1997b). Indeed, post-apartheid South Africa is illustrative of such creative and dynamic realities of social and material relations of power that disturbs often puerile and one-dimensional analyses of racialized subjectivities. Developing a critique and analytic lens that engages the different moments and contexts of contradiction, complexities, reproductions and reenactments of race are thus necessary. While it is through *habitus* that subjects mediate their lived social realities, it is also in the context of specific material and structural conditions of existence that habitus may be acquired. External structures within the social environment produce particular forms of internalized dispositions *that in turn also re-produce the social environment* through the reproduction of behavioural practices that reinforce external structures (Bourdieu, 1977). Accordingly habitus is more than just individual identity; *it is the social incorporated into the body* – in a very literal embodied way so that we come to 'wear' our habitus. It is reflected in our manner of speaking, walking, occupying social space, interaction, language, accent etc. Social relations come to be incorporated into subjectivity whereby the social is constituted in the self and vice versa.

Habitus therefore is constituted by the social but also constitutes the social (Jenkins, 1992). The body is not the only sphere of constitution – habitus is also evident in the subject's manner of thought processing and perception our social world; the different ways that we make meaning of events and experiences; dispositions and attitudes, and even taste for specific cultural artefacts (Bourdieu, 1984). In this sense, habitus incorporates both body and mind – thereby addressing Bourdieu's problematic regarding traditional dualist conceptualizations of the subject.

The construct of habitus also cuts across traditional conscious/unconscious divide in its emphasis on repeated unconscious relational experiences and practices. The thrust here is the myriad ways that taken-for-granted social practices – those ways of interacting, occupying social space, dispositions etc. – function below the level of immediate self-awareness, what Johnson (1993) describes as a kind of 'second nature' or 'practical sense'. For Bourdieu "the schemes of the habitus, the primary forms of classification, owe their specific efficacy to the fact that they function below the level of consciousness and language, beyond the reach of introspective scrutiny or control by the will" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 466). And elsewhere he asserts that "the process of acquisition [of habitus] … tend to take place below the level of consciousness, expression and the reflexive distance which these presuppose…." (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 73), thereby highlighting the inculcation and practice of habitus to be at its most effective precisely because the subject remains removed or distant from this process and practice. Bourdieu's interest in embodied habitus is in some respect similar to phenomenology of lived experience of both Du Bois and Fanon with the obvious point of difference being his focus on developing an analysis of a class habitus through ownership of capital. Nonetheless, it is useful to note that his approach to embodiment is concerned not just with the thought process of the individual but also the "bodily system of dispositions" that are evident within a field.

This focus on the 'bodily system' is akin to Fanon's bodily schema via which the subject relates to his/her body-in-space through self-awareness, self-surveillance and the othering implicit in racialization practices. Habitus is that "way of walking, a tilt of the head, facial expressions, ways of sitting and using implements, always associated with a tone of voice, a style of speech and …a certain subjective experience" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 85-7). The body's navigation through social space is demonstrated to be far from neutral but marked by hierarchies of social power and other divisions of race, class, gender etc. Like Fanon,

Bourdieu is at pains to demonstrate that this bodily 'system' of dispositions are far from individualized but also constitute part of what Fanon would describe as 'collective unconsciousness' of a particular group. In this way Bourdieu also forgoes individualizing analysis in favour of a socio-historical account of subjectivity. Habitus is embodied in individual bodies and psyche but also reflects shared cultural contexts that inscribe and reproduce particular subjectivities of class (Adams, 2006). Fanon's historical-racial schema in which the racialised collective past of a society inscribes how the black body moves through space and exists in relation to others reflects a similar concern with the sociohistorical. Bourdieu's equally favours the body as an important medium through which socio-historical relations come to be reproduced and experience (Jenkins, 1992). Bourdieu's construct of the classed embodiment of habitus is particularly useful for the current study's exploration of racialised habitus that intersects with classed subjectivities to produce unique enactments of racialised selves.

Embodiment is central to Bourdieu's theory of practice precisely because it mediates the binary of structural determinism and agency raised earlier. Through *habitus*, the body incorporates the social and symbolic. It is through the body that the subject's lived experiences are made visible and given meaning. Bourdieu argues that this dynamic relation between habitus and field is far from deterministic but rather in a constant state of mutual reinforcement. Subjectivity then is never final or stable, corporeal identity is neither ever complete nor simple. Through her concept of performativity Judith Butler (1990; 1993) demonstrates this complexity of subjectivity, arguing that while gender is deeply inscribed upon our bodies, the performative reiteration of gender means that this identity is never final or complete. Bourdieu's use of habitus retains key elements of the original Latin emphasis on the relationship between the body and the habitus: the dispositions and generative schemes can only exist in *real* bodies. Embodiment therefore for Bourdieu takes on three significant meanings: *firstly,* the habitus only exists within the psyches of individual bodies; *secondly*, the habitus only exists because of the practices and actions of real living subjects and their interaction with the environment more generally and *thirdly*, the generative schemes of the habitus – reflected through the "practical taxonomies" (Jenkins, 1992, p. 75) of social divisions and subjectivity such as gendered and/or class binaries etc. – have their roots of origin in the body. Our sensory experiences of these binaries, e.g. our sense of 'male'/'female' exist at both *sensory* and *experiential* levels.

Bourdieu uses the term 'bodily hexis' to denote a sense of 'deportment', 'manner', 'style' etc. in which social actors may turn themselves. Bodily hexis mediates the link between subjective and cultural worlds (Jenkins, 1992) whereby it "is …*em-bodied*, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable manner of standing,, speaking and thereby of *feeling* and *thinking*…The principles em-bodied in this way are placed beyond the grasp of consciousness, and hence cannot be touched by voluntary, deliberate transformation, cannot even be made explicit…" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 32). A critical distinction between learning and socialization in relation to Bourdieu's engagement with practices of embodiment is useful to note here. Given the unconsciousness nature of habitus, the latter is inculcated primarily through lived experience and not conscious learning and socialisation. Simply put, habitus is not acquired through conscious learning and/or socialization. This is not to argue that both these processes are not influential to subject formation but that dispositions and ways of being in the world come to take effect through unconsciousness modes of acquisition that are perhaps more powerful and effective in entrenching habitus than anything else.

Habitus is relational in two specific ways: firstly, it only assumes logic within specific fields or contexts where particular rules and capital will apply. Secondly, habitus exists in relation to other individuals within the field, whereby social markers of class, race, and gender etc. are significant in the construct of division between groups (McNay, 2004). These different markers are functional in promoting specific forms of cultural capital and habitus while devaluing others and so are in effect hierarchical and functional in reproducing relations of inequality. Lawler (1999), Walkerdine (2001) and Layton (2004) for example demonstrate the pathologising of working-class habitus within specific contexts not only by middle-class subjects but also by working-class subjects. These studies illustrate how "class is in everything about the person, from the location of the home, to the dress, their body, their accent" (Walkerdine, 2001, p. 39). Through self-surveillance and internalization of social norms these subjects actively discipline their bodies – via code-switching behavior related to language and accent, appropriation of particular cultural lifestyles that include style of dress and general deportment. These practices ironically serve to further entrench already existing hierarchies in their interaction with members of the desired culture and constructs of normalized and pathologized ways of being in the social world. It can be argued that students' unique insertion in cosmopolitan spaces that include class, race and gendered embodiments of self, provides a critical analytic avenue to engage some of these dynamics.

Habitus embodies is mediates between objective structures and practices, consciousness and unconsciousness:

> "Social reality exists, so to speak, twice, in things and in minds, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside agents. And when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it finds itself 'as a fish in water', it does not feel the weight of the water and takes the world about itself for granted."
>
> (Bourdieu in interview with Wacquant, 1989, 43).

To reiterate Bourdieu's concern with highlighting the dialectical relationship between subjective and objective structuring relations, the concept of habitus (the subjective) is understood to be defined within an objective *field* (objective structure) of practice. Both conscious and unconscious aspects of habitus are thus actualized within objectively defined fields (Grenfell and James, 1998). This unconscious dimension of habitus is crucial to note in its evocation of Fanon's (1986) bodily schema and the taken-for-granted process of reaching for one cigarette and matches. Bourdieu's habitus similarly operates at an unconscious and taken-for-granted level whereby habitus is enacted *without conscious thought:* "principles em-bodied in this way are placed beyond the grasp of consciousness, and hence cannot be touched by voluntary, deliberate transformation" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 94). Layton (2004) and Probyn (2004) however note Bourdieu's antipathy to engaging the psychoanalytic significance and function of emotions in structuring habitus. They point out that despite this silence on the role of the unconscious in structuring habitus, Bourdieu does provide some engagement with the psychic dimensions of socialized subjectivity that is rooted in an inaccessible form. The implications of this inaccessibility have implications for how we may engage subjectivity and practices of resistance. Indeed, there has been much critique levelled against Bourdieu's conceptualization of a habitus that remains below the surface, which cannot be accessed or touched by the subject (Lovell, 2000). I would argue that part of this criticism is unfair in its dismissal of the psychic dimensions of embodied subjectivity which are implicated in how the subject not only mediates his/her social world but also engages in reflexive self-transformation practices and change in habitus. In this way Bourdieu's (1977; 1990) engagement with habitus and field challenges the primacy of discourse in some discursive analytic approaches that similarly fail to engage the psychic and material dimensions of racialised subjectivity.

Bourdieu's construct of habitus has been critiqued by some scholars as overly deterministic (Alexander, 19954; Lamont, 1992) in its reliance on the indeterminacy of social structure. As Jenkins (1992) notes, locating conscious determination and agency in Bourdieu's theorization of social change is rather difficult. Thompson (1984) similarly observes Bourdieu's denial of agency to individual action within the field and argues that Bourdieu leaves no space for strategic individual responses to social structure within the field. Following critical responses such as McNay's (2004) I would argue that these critiques fail to engage fully with Bourdieu's construct of habitus as *generative*. While fields may be limiting for individual agency and action, habitus may in fact engender practices that enable different ways to 'play the game' and thereby generate new ways of being within the field that are both productive and strategic to the individual. McNay (1999) argues that Bourdieu's habitus is far from imposed and fixed and given this generative capacity, does indeed allow for dynamic and creative interactions and responses by the individual with specific social fields. And yet, it does seem almost impossible to conceive of a generative agency that remains bounded within the determining influence of social structure, habitus and the unconscious. Thus, while habitus may be creative and generative, this is always still "within the limits of its structures" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 19). Social constructionist epistemology similarly situates subjectivity and agency within contingent fields of practice that emphasize possibilities of resistance but always within structured conditions.

Furthermore, although Bourdieu does seem to allow for reflexivity, he locates this as intrinsic to habitus, in which sense then, reflexivity remains guided by the constitution of one's habitus. Jenkins (1992) has rightly argued that such a process does not constitute an autonomous process. Widick (2003, p. 36) puts it thus: "It is still the language of conditioned disposition and environmentally triggered response…of inculcation and inscription of socially constituted dispositions". The framing of 'socialized subjectivity' to be located within pre-reflective and embodied practice via fields (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) has thus been voiced by some scholars concerned about the erasure of the individual capacity for reflective agency (McNay, 1999). Once again invoking psychoanalytic constructs of the unconscious, Bourdieu's (1998) assertion that social practice is generated through "deeply buried corporeal dispositions, outside the channels of consciousness and calculation" (p. 54-55) raises the question of whether the agentic subject is possible. While Bourdieu (1998) fails to fully engage this problematic it can be argued that through his construct of unconscious habitus, he still makes provision for a critically reflective analysis of how subjects come into

being. Through habitus the social structure is implicated in the subjective and personal accounts of social action and subjectivity. And yet, other researchers such as Archer (2003), Farnell (2000) and Sayer (2004) have critiqued Bourdieu's construct of habitus as being overly grounded in the unconscious. In his reliance on a pre-reflexive habitus that influence social action, Bourdieu effectively dismisses the importance of the everyday in forming or shaping reflexive personal and social action.

4.3. Habitus and the social field

Habitus is formed in relation to social fields (McLeod, 2005) in which interactions become the medium whereby the rules of the game are tacitly acquired and learnt (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Fields are consequently structured contexts and/or systems comprised of both micro and macro levels, whereby different hierarchical divisions such as social groups, individuals, institutions etc. exist and relate to each other via their structural positioning. It is these differential structural levels [objective structures] that re/produce social action – through 'habitus'. Fields constitute the multiple social institutions, rules and policies, social marks of distinction and categorization within institutions that all interweave to create social hierarchies amongst agents within the field (Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002). Fields produce and legitimate particular discursive practices and social action through conferring as valuable particular forms of capital and not others. Bourdieu uses the concept of field to refer to those "networks of social relations, structured systems of social positions within which *struggles or manoeuvres take place over resources, stakes and access*" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.98, my emphasis). This conceptualization highlights three key features of field:

> *1)* "Fields can be thought of as a kind of market or game…because, in a field, we have stakes,…an investment,…and we also have trump cards;
>
> *2)* Fields are occupied by the dominant and the dominated, two sets of actors who attempt to usurp, exclude, and establish monopoly over the mechanisms of the field's reproduction and the type of power effective in it. Yet,
>
> *3)* Fields are also always relational, dynamic social microcosms. They are contingent and ever changing, implying that to think of a field one needs to think relationally or dialectically"
>
> (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 96-106)

Important to this analysis of the relational and dialectic aspects of a field is the focus on relations of power and domination that are imbued in the struggles over resources. In his analysis of class reproduction within the education field, Bourdieu demonstrates how linguistic habitus, originally acquired in relation to a specific social class market or field may be transposed in a different field such as the school to accrue altogether different profit (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). One might even further suggest that the university, like a field, is a space where the elements of "struggles and manoeuvres over resources, stakes and access" take place. In this sense, it is more than a 'system' characterized by commonality of purpose and self-regulation. Rather, it is a field of relations between different actors characterized by competition over resources and investment in specific rewards and outcomes. Furthermore, not all actors come in with the same or equal resources and *capital* and therefore do not all enjoy equal rewards and benefits. Significantly for Bourdieu, the relationship between habitus and field is one of mutual reinforcement, a relationship of "complicity" (Grenfell & James, 1998, p. 17) in which habitus both produces and is produced by field and vice versa. Through such a conceptualization Bourdieu effectively challenges the dualism of objective/subjective and structure/agency divide. The relation between field and habitus is not a simple cause-effect relation but reflects a dual and simultaneous interacting influence (McLeod, 2005). This relation is therefore dynamic, creative and never complete and will thus reflect the contradictions and ambiguity inherent in such a relation. Bourdieu is worth quoting at length here:

> …the relation between habitus and field operates in two ways: On the one side, it is a relation of conditioning: the field structures the habitus, which is the product of the embodiment of immanent necessity of a field (or of a hierarchically intersecting sets of fields). On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or cognitive construction: habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and with value, in which it is worth investing one's practice.
>
> (Wacquant in interview with Bourdieu, 1989, p. 44).

What is crucial to note concerning the tacit function of fields is that we are hailed as specific kinds of subjects within specific fields (Adams, 2006). Our movement through different fields requires that we become particular kinds of subjects if we are to effectively mediate and become successful within these fields. And it is here once again that the mutually reinforcing relationship between field and habitus emerges: the embodied dispositions that

we bring to a field significantly influence how well we will be able to 'play the game' to our own benefit. This inculcation of subjectivity is of equal interest to discourse analytic researchers interested in the dialectic relationship between discourse and elements of social practice while the relationship between field and habitus remains a challenging one for researchers focused on 'rescuing' Bourdieu from criticisms of structural determinism (see Arnot, 2002; Ball, Maguire, & Macrae, 2000; Lovell, 2000; McNay, 1999). Bourdieu (1999) on the other hand demonstrates how this superficial divide between objective/subjective and structure/agency may be explored through methodological investigation. In *The Weight of the World* (1999) he and his team of researchers explore through in-depth interviews with individuals on their everyday life, the effects of social and economic inequalities. Through the methodological tool of face-to-face talk he convincingly makes the argument that 'the personal is [indeed] political' – demonstrating the structural effects in the everyday personal meanings and experiences of subjects. *The weight of the world* (1999) is an excellent illustration of the relation between habitus and field. For Jenkins (1992), Lovell (2000) and Arnot (2002) this relation only serves to further signify the determinism inherent in Bourdieu's social reproduction theory. While this debate remains one of the core contentious issues of his theory, it can equally be argued that perhaps the contingency of subjectivity on structural and material conditions is at the heart of this epistemological divide. In this regard I concur with Harker's (1999) suggestion that the relation between habitus and field is not a determinate but rather mediating relationship whereby habitus mediates different structural contexts and field and is not fixed but both constitutive of social structure and functions relative to that structure, thereby highlighting the creative and dynamic characteristic of habitus.

Other writers such as Calhoun (1993) and Ostrow (2000) make a similar argument in their assertion that there is no rigidly defined linear path between habitus and field and that this is indicative of the multiple and often contradictory trajectories that habitus and field embodies. Bourdieu (1990) is at pains to emphasize this creativity in his conceptualization of dispositions and habitus as *generative*: "…the habitus, like every 'art of inventing', is what makes it possible to produce an infinite number of practices that are relatively unpredictable" although these practices may be "limited in their diversity" (Bourdieu, 1990, p 55). These practices are limited relative to the personal and social histories of subjective experience as well as the material structure in the field that reproduces power effects in the lives of

subjects. Bourdieu's habitus therefore allows for creativity and invention that attests to the subject's capacity for critical reflexivity and change.

Nonetheless Bourdieu's conceptualization does limit reflexivity in particular ways: firstly, given that habitus is not amenable to reflexive intervention (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977), an almost contradictory engagement with habitus as generative is present. The unconscious embodiment of habitus implies that self-reflexive change remains elusive for the subject and "cannot be touched by voluntary, deliberate transformation, cannot even be made explicit" (p, 94). How then is it possible to theorize and engage practices of resistance and critical self-reflexivity? For Reay (2004) this is possible because "the habitus goes hand in hand with vagueness and indeterminacy" (Bourdieu, 1990, p78). Habitus is not dictated by a regulatory and determining logic of practice but its very complexity lies in its indeterminacy. In this sense then, at the heart of the problematic on reflexivity, the issue is not whether a subject capable of action is impossible but rather the pre-reflexive nature of this action. This is Bourdieu's (1990) central contention. Secondly, Bourdieu's conceptualization fails to engage acquired dispositions and habitus as reversible processes, preferring to articulate these processes working within a closed system. The implication of this for Bourdieu then is that all actions – even so-called strategic social actions – are guided by habitus and reflects the constraints and limits that previously acquired inculcated habitus and dispositions embody.

4.4 Distinction through capital: analytics of power and cultural capital

Bourdieu extends the construct of struggles over resources and access to suggest that it is largely a struggle over capital (Eagleton, 1992). Given his interest and emphasis on reproductions of class relations Bourdieu pinpoints economic capital as a key site of struggle amongst the social groups. However, he is also keen to highlight and identify other forms of capital that do not assume material form but are still sites of class reproduction and struggle. One of these forms of capital that he identifies is cultural capital. Cultural capital may assume three distinct and yet interweaving forms. In its *embodied* form, capital exists at the level of the person, the body and therefore "presupposes embodiment" (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 48). It is embodied precisely because it is skill, style and disposition that cannot be considered separate from the person who has it. This is power *per excellence* precisely because it moves beyond constructs of who and what we possess to the basic matter of *who we are* (Lawler, 1999). This form of capital presupposes investment in time devoted to learning or acquiring the

valued skill or competence. It is therefore a *cultivated* form of capital. In *Distinction* (1984) Bourdieu illustrates the acquisition of cultural capital through the cultivation of taste in different class fractions whereby members of the upper classes cultivate specific forms of taste for cultural goods as marks of *distinction*. Embodied capital is thus "external wealth converted into an integral part of the person" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 244). Lawler (1999) similarly deploys the construct of a *classed habitus* to demonstrate how configurations of class feature in the social upward mobility of white working class women. through deployment of cultural artefacts such as paintings and book classics these women attempt to cultivate distinctions of middle-class that elevate them from their working-class backgrounds to social positions of privilege. Layton (2004) explores the role of emotions in securing the differentiation of class fractions from each other through taste. Her study elaborates on Bourdieu's construct that the cultivation of taste comes to take on embodied form and is largely unconscious. Important to this process of cultivation is the construct of *investment* in particular activities, lifestyle practices, putting in the effort and time investment necessary to acquire the desired habitus and personal embodiment that is aspired to. In this sense then "work of acquisition is work on oneself (self-improvement)" (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 48). This is akin to Foucault's (1979) conceptualization of subjectivity and subjection as bound up within small-scale and mundane self-governing practices. At the same time, Bourdieu emphasizes embodied cultural capital does not entail a deliberate process of inculcation but is acquired unconsciously.

The second form of cultural capital Bourdieu identifies is the kind of capital that exists at the level of cultural goods or objects – what he terms *objectified* capital. This form of capital presupposes the possession of embodied capital in the sense that the subject is only able to appropriate objects and cultural goods such as works of art, through embodied cultural lifestyle and taste. Thus in their anxiety to not be perceived as bourgeois impostors, Lawler's (1999) participants exemplify how objectified capital (*having* specific cultural goods) must be intertwined with embodied capital (*knowing* what cultural goods are worth having) in order to successful in their social and psychological mobility. Failure to demonstrate embodied cultural capital is characterized by inner conflict, ambiguity, contradiction and anxiety that are reflected in the omnipresent shame and fear of being 'found out'. Ironically, the experience of shame in one's habitus function to further alienate the subject from actively engaging with the social field, thus effectively maintaining and legitimating relations of power (Layton, 1999; Probyn, 2004; 2010). The third form of cultural capital that Bourdieu

identified is *institutionalized* or certified capital whereby a process of formal recognition is conveyed onto the person. Again, this form of capital interweaves with both embodied and objectified cultural capital through a legitimating process of by which particular competencies and skills (embodied capital) and appropriation of particular cultural goods (objectified capital) are justified and practiced along hierarchical divisive lines.

In *Reproduction in education, society and culture*, Bourdieu (1977) discusses other forms of capital that are also useful to consider in the analyses of relations of power and domination between groups. One of these is *linguistic capital*, which may also be considered a form of embodied capital. Linguistic capital is primarily acquired through the family and is visible through linguistic style, that is "…one's ability to demonstrate competence in the use of magisterial, scholarly, or bourgeois language, in one's ability to decipher and manipulate the complex structures of that language" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 72-73). For Everett (2002) Bourdieu's view of language as a medium of social power through which particular social effects are made possible, places him in the same theoretical orientation as critical discourse analysts, who also focus on the social efficacy of language and relations of power. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) emphasize language as *social practice* that is far from neutral but significant in how relations of power are reinforced. In a similar vein Painter (2008) argues that language and the social practice of speaking entail "…principles of visibility and invisibility; they propel subjects along different social and political trajectories; and they enable and restrict vertical and horizontal mobility across social and political terrain" (p. 175). Language facilitates the reproduction of the social subject – the raced subject, the classed subject, the immigrant as a distinct social subject etc.

Language differentially positions us within multiple networks of social power. In this regard Everett (2002) notes that the interrelation of linguistic market, linguistic habitus and discursive interaction underscore the idea that participation in language occurs within networks of social power and also that marginalized groups' participation in language – either through acquiring or seeking to acquire autonomy in the dominant linguistic market – takes place within parameters not of their own choosing. This materiality of language (Painter, 2008) is similarly reflected in Fanon's (1952) phenomenological reflections on a racialised subjectivity that only comes to have valued meaning through linguistic competence in the language of the coloniser. Another important form of capital that Bourdieu highlights is the kind that manifests in the social networks and relationships that a person is able to draw

upon as a means of advancing specific struggles within a field (see chapter 3 for examples). This *social capital* emphasizes the value inherent in particular group memberships. The utility of such membership is that they must be functional in the accrual of other capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

4.5 Doxa and misrecognition: entrenching symbolic power

Through d*ox*a Bourdieu (1977) further engage those ways of thinking about our social world and the relations between groups in naturalized and taken-for-granted ways. Doxa refers to the view that the reproduction of social relationships between groups in society is in fact the natural order of things, the way social life should be structured. The re/production of habitus through the interplay between internal and external structures is, in such a framework, considered to be a natural relationship – one void of hierarchical relations of power. This for Bourdieu (1977) is a kind of *misrecognition* of power. Misrecognition is at the core of symbolic manifestations of power and implicitly relies on the subject's successful cooption into normalization practices. Misrecognition therefore effectively works through the subject's complicity into perceiving as legitimate given networks of power. He further identifies two analytic features to investigating doxic conditions*:* firstly, *doxa* is only evident during moments of intergroup contact whereby competing discursive practices are evident. Secondly, different social groups will have different interests in either challenging or preserving 'doxic' conditions (Throop & Murphy, 2002). Thus it is in the best interests for the dominant social group in a field to preserve the construct that external structures of economic reproduction are both fair and equal.

On the other hand, such interest may conflict with and not serve the interests of the social group at the lower end of the hierarchy and will therefore have a vested interest in challenging the status quo. This group will thus have an interest in "pushing back the limits of doxa and exposing the arbitrariness of the taken for granted while the dominant classes will have an interest in defending the integrity of doxa" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 169). By its very nature therefore the social field is characterized by conflict – over resources and ideological struggles. Burawoy and Von Holdt (2012) for example discuss the current class struggles characterizing mass protest movements in post-apartheid South Africa as illustrative of the fundamental conflict inherent in a competitive social and economic field. Similar class

conflicts are part of increased student protests at several South African universities on proposed fee increments each year.

In the same vein the defense of the integrity of doxic conditions may be different for members of a marginalized group in the sense that not all members of the group experience their marginalization in the same way and may even contest any construct of being marginalized. Fanon (1967) has thus argued that through processes of *lactification* some black subjects may enjoy certain social and cultural rewards not fully available to other black subjects. Aside from the pathological desire to be white, Fanon (1967) observes that such a state of alienation allows some members of the group to pursue certain forms of capital not easily accessible to the group. Through the appropriation of the colonizer's language psychological and social mobility become possible. In such a context, those subjects who have been able to achieve upward mobility through their linguistic capital may very well defend the integrity of doxa and seek to dissociate themselves from the negation and stigma attached to their group in general. Blackness in this context becomes a contested marker of subjectivity characterized by contradictions, ambiguity, conflict and even disciplinary practices of self-surveillance. Caroline White's (1999) study exploring construct of gendered black identity within a South African context illustrate how construct of particular forms of blackness as undesirable by her black participants exemplifies a kind of misrecognition. For Bourdieu, these practices of habitus and surveillance exemplify processes of misrecognition precisely because they accept the dominant [linguistic] market as legitimate to the detriment of other [linguistic] capital. This intertwining of doxa and misrecognition is what Bourdieu emphasizes as a symbolic violence that is both gentle and invisible in form.

4.6 Symbolic violence: appropriating subject complicity

In misrecognition we find *symbolic violence*, Bourdieu's primary contribution to the analysis of social power and domination. Symbolic violence, for Bourdieu, is even more effective than other forms of socio-political violence. This is because symbolic violence is made possible through complicity with the dominated are co-opted into their own domination. This is a violence that Bourdieu therefore describes as both gentle and invincible (Thompson, 1984) because it is not even recognized as such, but more insidious is that the broader external structures re/producing this violence remain invisible. To illustrate this point, Bourdieu discusses the interconnectedness between relations of communication (via language) with

relations of power thus through self-surveillance and other disciplinary techniques (Foucault, 1979) members of a dominated group endeavour to appropriate the language of the dominant group because they believe it is in their best interests to do so. There is recognition of the dominant language as the idealized norm but *this is a recognition that is also a misrecognition* precisely because it is founded on an unquestioned and self-evident perception of social reality. Knowledge about the social world and relations of power within the social field has become so taken-for-granted, naturalized that they are no longer questioned. The dominated have in this instance been co-opted, encouraged into participating in their own subjectification. Thompson (1984) is worth quoting at length here:

> "Encouraged, if not compelled: this equivocation is not imprecise, because all forms of 'symbolic domination' presuppose a kind of complicity which is neither passive submission to external constraint nor a free adoption of dominant values. Recognition of the legitimacy of the official language is inscribed in *dispositions* – more precisely, in *habitus*, […] through a process of inculcation which is most often gradual, implicit, imperceptible. Through this process, dispositions are adjusted, independently of any explicit calculation by the speakers concerned, to a specific state of the linguistic market. Speakers who do not possess the competence to speak the official language, but who nevertheless recognize its legitimacy, are thereby condemned to recognition without knowledge…" (pp. 45- 6).

This relationship of recognition and misrecognition function to create a relation of violence; a violence that is at the centre of Fanon's psychosocial analysis of racial encounter, particularly the black man's [sic] encounter with whiteness. Practices of racial whitening, appropriation of different facets of the dominant white culture as a means of achieving social and psychological mobility, and even practices of skin lightening, instantiate this construct of symbolic violence through misrecognition. Whiteness is accepted as the legitimate dominant and valued mode of subjectivity. Toni Morrison's novel *The Bluest Eye* (1970) illustrates this realization of symbolic violence in the fetishization of possessing blue eyes. For Bourdieu, "symbolic domination really begins when the misrecognition (méconnaissance), implied by recognition (reconnaissance), leads those who are dominated to apply the dominant criteria of evaluation to their own practices" (Bourdieu & Boltanski, in Thompson, 1984, p. 46).

4.7 Theorizing the psychosocial subject: Bourdieu's social phenomenology

Most recent psychological research on subjectivity has come to acknowledge and theorize approaches to understanding the subject situated within the realm of the social by positing psycho-social approaches of enquiry (see Frosh, 2003 for overview of this research). As early in the eighties Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn and Walkerdine (1984) challenged the traditional construct of a rational and static subjectivity that fails to consider how as subjects we are "always positioned in relation to discourses and practices" (p 25). Frosh (1989) similarly takes up this critique of subjectivity in his argument for an analytical lens that takes cognizance of the multiplicity, dynamic and simultaneously unconscious facets of subjectivity.

More recent critical approaches in psychology have equally begun to propose myriad of ways that the domains of the psychological and of the social can be incorporated into analytic lens (Frosh, 2003; Hollway and Jefferson, 2000; Hook, Mkhize, Kiguwa and Collins, 2004, Hook 2012, Ratele, 2004). Psycho-social approaches within the discipline comprise one such alternative approach that seeks to capture facets of the intra-psychic and social in the exploration and analysis of experience and identity. This line of investigation has highlighted the importance of drawing out the political manifestations of intra-psychic encounters and vice versa, arguing that our contexts embody differential resources of identity. These in turn significantly influence social and individualized practices of identity categories such as race, class and gender (Kiguwa & Langa, 2012). In focusing on the individual lived realities and experiences within the realm of the social as well as the intricate ways that these realities are overridden with intra-psychic manifestations, psycho-social approaches seek to incorporate two traditionally distinct domains of analysis. Hollway and Jefferson (2002: 24, own emphasis in bold) outline three key features of such analysis:

- "we are ***psycho***-social because we are products of a unique biography of anxiety-and desire-provoking life events and the manner in which their meanings have been unconsciously transformed in internal reality;
- we are psycho-***social*** because such defensive activities affect and are affected by discourses and also because the unconscious defences that we describe are intersubjective processes (that is, they affect and are affected by others);

- we are **psycho-social** because the real events in the external, social world are desirously and defensively, as well as discursively, appropriated."

The emphasis on both the intra-psychic and social fields in the inculcation of subjectivity is an important element to Bourdieu's social phenomenology. Although Bourdieu fails to truly theorize emotions *per se* in his inculcation of habitus, he does implicitly highlight the significance of emotions in the practice of *distinguishing* habitus (Layton, 2004), such as anxiety, shame, disdain, resentment etc. In this sense Bourdieu demonstrates a concern for situating individual lived reality within the realm of the social. However it is this emphasis on experience characteristic of phenomenological approaches in psychology that he is equally at pains to de-essentialize: "…the visible that which is immediately given, hides the invisible which determines it. One thus forgets that the truth of any interaction is never entirely to be found within the interaction as it avails itself for observation" (Bourdieu, 1990, pp 126-7)

Bourdieu's skepticism regarding the traditional phenomenological analysis of the social subject stems from his broader critique of the tendency toward dualism within the social sciences. Perhaps his principal contribution to social scientific research and practice in general has to do with his epistemological break with this dualistic form of analyses. In *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (1992) he critiques dominant research agendas that adopt binary oppositions of structure vs agency, micro vs macro, quantitative vs qualitative, the collective or the individual etc., arguing instead for an analytic of *relations*: "Social science need not choose between these poles, for the stuff of social reality … lies in relations" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 15). Part of Bourdieu's critique concerns the reliance on subjectivism (predominantly advocated by phenomenological approaches) and objectivism (predominantly advocated by structuralist position) to explain social action. An exclusive reliance on either will tend toward a heavy focus on subjective interpretations of the subject (in the case of subjectivism) or a tendency to completely erase individuality and agency (in the case of objectivism). Structural factors are here perceived to operate beyond the individual with the latter lacking any influencing effect (Scott, 2001). Arguing subjective identity has thus tended to fall within either of the two camps, with a positional approach favouring analysis of subjectivity in terms of the positions that subjects occupy and which they are implicitly shaped by; and a cultural approach that has focused on the representations and categorizations of these categories. It is also important to note that these representations

and categorizations have been treated as independent of the occupied social positions (Bottero, 2010).

The concept of *habitus* incorporates both these analytic lens to explain individual experience as meaningful within a relation of inflexible social structures. The interweaving of macro and micro influences in individual agency is at the centre of Bourdieu's social phenomenology. Drawing on Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of the pre-reflective subject, Bourdieu adapts this construct to situate the body-subject within the intersubjective domains of field, practice and habitus. For Bourdieu, the intersections between field, practice and habitus effectively constitute socialized subjectivity. In this sense Bourdieu differs significantly from those phenomenological approaches that focus on individual experience as not only authentic in the act of narration, as well as authoritative in accounting for subjectivity and agency. Bourdieu's alternative is to highlight how individual experiences are situated within broader contexts.

4.8 Critical intersections of race and class: using Bourdieu to theorize racialised subjectivity

As mentioned in *Chapter One*, Bourdieu's work has generated great interest not only amongst sociologists of education, but also researchers with a general interest in an analysis of social relations and identities. And yet, while Bourdieu's class analysis of social reproduction within the education field highlights the role of the education system in reproducing privilege, the intersection of race and class in this process is non-existent. Exploring the racialised nature of classed habitus has been argued by researchers such as Byrne (2006; 2009) to be necessary to not only understanding processes of racialization but also engaging Bourdieusian analysis in terms of broader dynamics of the relation between race and class. Lareau and Horvat (1999) make a similar argument in their exploration of the race-specific nature of the education field. McNay (2004) further critiques Bourdieu's analysis as often reductionist in its treatment of symbolic relations in fixed terms, particularly the relation between habitus and field. In this regard researchers such as Archer and Francis (2007) explore the utility of multiple frameworks to complement Bourdieu's analysis of habitus and field. Using poststructuralist approaches Archer and Francis (2007) argue for an analytics of power that considers the complexity of the psycho-social as well as the discursive and performative dimensions of subjectivity. Given the current study's interest and location in the identities and social relations of students at an institution of higher learning, Bourdieu's

theory of the social subject within the field of education may be obvious. However, a central question, and one that motivates the current framing of this study, is what a possible (re)engagement with Bourdieu's social phenomenology may offer an analysis of young black students' mediation of a specific educational field in a post-apartheid context. Furthermore, and if we are to take seriously Nuttall's (2004) call to theorize the *now*, that is, the post-apartheid context in all of its complexities and contradictions, how might such a framework be useful in accounting for racial identity and race relations amongst young South Africans today? Do the concepts of habitus and field enable a reconfiguration of the social practice of race? Can we imagine raced subjectivities and relations differently, and if so, in what way/s?

It is the contention of the current study that Bourdieu's social phenomenology does indeed provide us with a useful lens by which to interrogate and explore these issues. However, given Bourdieu's under-theorisation — if at all — of formations of racial subjectivities, other interlocutors are drawn upon in attempting to explore the raced habitus of young black scholars at a particular moment in time and the corresponding process of academic enculturation that such a habitus informs and is in turn informed by. The social phenomenology approach of Bourdieu is thus useful in engaging the racial embodiment theories of Du Bois and Fanon to provide us with such an insightful glimpse into how raced habitus intersected with different forms of cultural capital to resist, challenge and reproduce racial identities and race relations. Furthermore, Bourdieu's treatment of agency and reflexivity has been augmented by other approaches that address more directly issues of the performative and strategic essentialism. As an attempt to understand the processes by which race and habitus are produced and transformed, it is important that we grapple with *how* people use race, create race – how "people turn themselves into categories" (Knowles, 2004, p. 24) – *how* raced habitus informs everyday interaction and thus reproduces itself. In this regard, Bourdieu's construct of habitus and disposition is useful in engaging the intersections of race with class, and how students from different class and cultural capital influences navigate their academic contexts and make sense of their experiences and encounters as students. Fanon and Du Bois' emphasis on the lived realities of the racialised subject is thus augmented by a further analytic focus on the intricate ways that racialised habitus is both produced and deployed in the moments of contact in the social field. Several epistemological issues thus arise from this kind of analysis, issues concerning subjectivity, agency and discourse.

Firstly, the utilization of narrative form of inquiry implies an understanding of ***subjectivity as reflexive***. Fundamental to being a person who lives in the social world is the construct that the self is necessarily dialogical in formation and practice. We are regularly engaged in networks of social relationship with others both within our immediate social environment and more generally. Thus, Knowles (2004) has argued that reflexivity is intrinsic to us as social beings, making sense of our place in the world and in relation to others. Embedded in this process of reflexivity is a continuous engagement with the social categories that we ascribe to and that are imposed on us. Exploring the interplay between the personal narratives and meanings that we have in relation to the collective discourses of the self is thus useful to this construct of the reflexive self. And yet, Bourdieu's construct of a reflexive self that is restricted via bodily incorporation of social location is relevant here. Mediation of agency is thus not as voluntary as postmodern accounts emphasize. This construct of agency is elaborated on later in this section.

Secondly, our placement into specific subject positions through discourse and social location implies a understanding of ***subjectivity that is formed in the interface between individuals and the social categories that enable their recognition by others*** (Knowles, 2004). We are recognised as specific subjects through such positioning and interpellation. We are positioned and perform ourselves as raced, gendered, classed individuals. Exploring racial subjectivities therefore requires that we engage with this dimension of subject formation as constituted in the positions that we are located.

Thirdly, ***subjectivity is relational***. It is through the configuration of the self in relation to others that we invent and represent ourselves through narrative. This latter aspect considers the issues of discursive representation as embedded in processes of the relational, the self in dialogue with others. Such a conceptualization releases the self from constructs of social locatedness and discursive representation exclusively. Instead, the self has no permanent fixture but is continually embroiled in relations of reinvention and becoming (Yi & Shorter-Gooden, 1999). Bourdieu (1994) similarly emphasizes the relational nature of habitus, arguing that the latter is formed in relation to the field of interest as well as in relation to other agents within the field. Racialised selves are therefore not permanent constructs or fixed in stable social locations but are continually retold and produced through dialogic interactions. Narrative thus is not the representation of the self but rather a continuous story of the self.

From the above, several core issues emerge that together constitute the approach to agency adopted in the study. Following McNay (2004) I argue that ***experience is essential to an account of agency.*** In order to develop an understanding of subjective reflexivity and social action within the field, accounts of meaning and action are necessary to incorporate in the analysis. Such a construct of agency allows for an engagement with the social location of the subject but simultaneously grapples with both the intractable and changing dispositions and subjectivities that are present.

Secondly, the location of the subject within discourse implies that any account of agency must consider several underlying processes at play: that ***individual subjectivity may be discursively constituted within terms deemed desirable within the group collective*** (Davies, 1990). This element highlights the process of social subjectivities constructed within normative contexts that influence how individuals engage social action. Furthermore, ***the collective may at the same time be discursively constituted as separate from the individual.*** The dialectic process of constitution in both these processes is thus crucial to an account of agency.

The discursive positioning of the subject further implies that the individual has the capacity to exercise or deploy agency depending on his/her relation to the positioning. In other words, ***agency is implicitly an issue of how the individual is positioned within or in relation to discourse*** (Davies, 1990). Other intricate processes are further tied up within this capacity to act such as the psychic make-up of subjectivity, the socio-historical and contextual location of the individual, discursive structures available to the individual etc. We are thus able to refuse or to constitute ourselves within the discourses available to us. This is however not a coherent, unified or voluntary process of self-recreation, but rather occurs in relation to our location in the social (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).***Given our constitution within multiple and often contradictory discourses, our reconstitution of self is often fraught with contradiction and fragmentation***.

Finally, ***part of our refusal to take up specific discourses may imply that the social practices by which we are hailed as subjects do not intersect with our habitus and dispositional make-up***. We may thus simultaneously be hailed within similar practice and discourse but may differentially take-up these positions. Agency exists within these differential

intersections. Davies (1990) further argues that refusal of discursive positioning means that we may even imaginatively place ourselves in discourses that we have not originally participated in, imagine different ways of being.

4.9 Concluding thoughts

This chapter has presented Bourdieu's social phenomenological approach that engages both structural and subjective dimensions of subjectivity. In this way, I argue that Bourdieu's theory of habitus and field provides a critical and useful focal point with which to further engage processes of racialization within the academic field. In contrast to Bourdieu's exclusive focus on the classed habitus of subjects navigating the education field, I aim in this study to engage dimensions of subjectivity that are both raced and classed as fundamental to understanding how black subjects navigate this field. In this regard, the frameworks of a lived experiential engagement of the social world as evidenced in Fanon (1986) and Du Bois' (1997) conceptualizations adds a much needed dimension to Bourdieu's social phenomenology, one that would allow for an engagement with race as *lived* relation. In reverse, Bourdieu's emphasis on the classed dynamics of subjectivity through his construct of habitus, field and cultural capital allows for an exploration of racialization that incorporates dimensions of social class and embodiments of cultural capital. The next chapter introduces the methodological aspect of such a framework.

Chapter Five

Research design and method

*The more pressing political and analytical challenge is attempting to theorize both change **and** continuity, invention **and** repetition, and understanding the forms they take today.*

(Mcleod, 2005, p 24, emphasis in original)

5.1 Research design and method

5.1.1 Overall approach

The approach in this study is that of qualitative research utilizing a critical research paradigm. A metaphysics of blackness as subjectivity is located within this paradigm and engages with some of the lived experiential realities of this positioning through a critical lens. At its core qualitative research is concerned with understanding human life as it is lived and experienced within a social world. This concern is especially reflected in the broader qualitative agenda of bringing to light participants' own subjective interpretations and understanding of their lives. For Krauss (2005) at the heart of the qualitative-quantitative divide is a philosophical and not methodological problematic, whereby the nature of reality is debated. Qualitative research adopts a view of social reality that is context-dependent and multiple. We have to take cognizance of the multiple and varied subjective experiences and interpretations of reality (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Individuals' interpretations of their social world are largely informed by the different meanings that they give to events and experiences. Furthermore, individuals give meaning to as well as draw meaning from these events and experiences (Krauss, 2005) and therefore are engaged in a continuous dynamic and active relation to the social world. A qualitative research approach allows us to understand and explore these dialectic processes of meaning and interpretation. The data is interpreted through analysis of both narrative form and content. Firstly, I examine the core narrative form by drawing out the dominant thematic content focused on racialization practices and processes within the academic field, and further based on extant literature on racialization and cultural capital theory. I further analyze these constructs of racialised selves by drawing out some of the core discursive content in the subjects' accounts, highlighting the function and effects of the discourses utilized, with an emphasis on how discourses are used to frame social realities. The second phase of the analysis explores the narrative form of the

data by drawing out the patterns of subjects' movement within social and academic fields that emphasizes their location in *temporal*, *social* and geographical *place*.

5.2 Social constructionism and qualitative research

Reichertz and Zielke (2008) have argued that social constructionism is a valuable metatheory to frame qualitative psychological research practice. This is because social constructionism engages and makes a welcome contribution to psychology's grappling with both the linguistic and cultural turns of inquiry in the discipline. For the authors, psychologists and researchers working within the social constructionist epistemology the historical and cultural contexts of knowledge production within the discipline become central to engaging the social world. Such practice further allows for a healthy cynicism re the supposed universalism and Eurocentrism in knowledge production more broadly (see Parker, 1992; Gergen and Shotter, 1989 for similar critique).

With its emphasis on the social and historical contexts of meaning and individual agency (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott and Davidson, 2002) the social constructionist paradigm is well situated within a qualitative critical approach. The idea of social and historical contexts of meaning means that we are constantly engaged in a process of renegotiation of our social world that influences how we are able to act. Such an emphasis highlights the contexts of discursive and other conflict that exists in the meanings we attribute to social events and practice. Given this, we cannot naively assume the authenticity and validity of people's subjective interpretations but rather must consider how these are bound up within intricate webs of social and power relations. Researchers working within such a paradigm have employed critically-oriented analytic methods such as critical discourse analysis, feminist and postmodern forms of analysis to explore how the social world is constructed and both enabling and constraining (Burr, 1995; Neuman, 1994)).

It can be argued that the social constructionist approach lends itself to relativist form of argumentation that elevates the social and cultural contexts of meaning. Accusations of unscientific stance toward knowledge inquiry as well as the problem of determinism in its favoring contexts of production as truth have characterized the arguments against the approach. Some researchers have even questioned the validation processes by which constructionist, particularly discourse analytic work, may be evaluated arguing that without

any validating critical analysis of the contexts of knowledge production as espoused by social constructionist epistemology, the approach remains rigidly relativist (see Maze, 2001 for critical overview). And yet, the social context of the genesis of meaning remains a crucial aspect and contribution of social constructionist analysis primarily because it engages actively the processes of the sociality of subject formation processes. Additionally, how discourses frame social meaning remains a significant aspect for unraveling the myriad layers of ideology that are intrinsic to social practice. The accusation of uncritical relativism fails to engage fully these aspects of social reality, but more importantly, fail to consider that a social constructionist approach allows for reflexivity that critically explores the dynamics of researcher interaction with subjects and knowledge production more generally. Furthermore, some constructionist researchers such as Burr (2003) recommend a repertoire of interpretive methods in addition to discourse analytic approaches as a means of strengthening validation criteria.

5.3 Epistemological framework in the current study

In this study, a social constructionist epistemology is used to explore the intersecting categories of race and social class through class and cultural capital. Such intersection is considered as fundamental to how racialization is both experienced and understood by subjects within the academic field[14]. Black students coming into such a field do so with differential accesses to power and agency via their embodied racial and classed bodies. Furthermore, a narrative constructionist approach that engages the relational aspect of subjectivity is adopted to explore the themes and patterns in the accounts, in addition to broader discursive constructs of racial subjectivity.

Traditional research approaches rooted in positivist epistemology emphasize a structure that is internal and governed in a mechanical fashion by external factors. Such epistemological frameworks would thus engage with the self in terms of nature of the 'self-concept', 'schemata', 'prototype' etc. (Gergen and Gergen, 1983). These categories of self-identity are considered to be relatively stable dependent on external forms of manipulation. There are some pressing concerns implied in such an approach: firstly, agency in subject formation remains under-theorized and even more explicitly ignored. The view of the subject as a

[14] Other intersecting categories of gender and sexuality were identified in the data set but have not been included in the current analysis.

passive actor in his/her external environment, developing a linear identity that is shaped or formed by the environment or merely responding to social factors outside of personal control fails to acknowledge the intricate, complex and even contradictory contexts of subjective formation and development. The capacity of individuals to actively engage with their external world as well as challenge and reinforce aspects of this world highlights the need to theorize subjectivity in alternate ways that grapple with this complexity and contradiction. Qualitative approaches to research have attempted to engage this "reflexive potential" of the subject (Gergen & Gergen, 1983, p255). At its core qualitative research is concerned with understanding human life as it is lived and experienced within a social world. This concern is especially reflected in the broader qualitative agenda of bringing to light participants' own subjective interpretations and understanding of their lives.

Qualitative research is significantly different in its philosophical assumptions of the nature of reality, arguing that context is crucial to how we theorize and attempt to study reality. More than this, given that there is no one unitary view of reality, we have to take cognizance of the multiple and varied subjective experiences and interpretations of reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). It is in this central concern with the meaning-making processes of individuals that such an approach is especially useful in the present study. Individuals' interpretations of their social world are largely informed by the different meanings that they give to events and experiences. Furthermore, individuals give meaning to as well as draw meaning from these events and experiences (Krauss, 2005) and therefore are engaged in a dynamic and active relation to the social world. A qualitative research paradigm allows us to understand and explore these dialectic processes of meaning and interpretation. This concern with the processes of how individuals reflect on and draw meaning from their everyday experiences is critical to qualitative research and has been explored in diverse ways by researchers concerned with multiple experiences of the social world, and focused on the process of subjective perspectives in making sense of this world (Alldred and Burman, 2005). Other researchers, working within the same paradigm but with a more critical lens have adopted more critical-oriented analytic methods in their interrogation of the social world. Such an approach is particularly useful in an exploration of the emergence of the subject within a socio-historical context. I adopt such a view of the racialised subject as located within a specific temporal context and I am particularly interested in the link between past and present, how racialised subjectivity – including resistances, challenges, and transformations etc. – is informed by our relational histories that come to bear presence in

present interactions and contexts. The students coming into a new field – i.e. the university – do so with racialised histories and practices of subjectification. Racialised 'habitus' and disposition is evident in how they navigate their academic and social fields.

Taking the narrative construct of multiple perspectives even further, discourse analysts argue that we do not merely reflect perspectives through talk but rather occupy subject positions from which we speak and act and which function to produce particular effects in our interpersonal and social relations (Henriques et al, 1998; Davies & Harre, 1990). This practice and function of subject position is made possible precisely because of the constitution of subject positions as both multiple and contradictory such that we are able to exercise differential positions of power and agency in our individual lives as well as social practices. Subject formation is thus contextual in function and effect. This discursive epistemology contradicts in significant ways the construct of a unitary and stable identity conceptualized in mainstream psychology. Contradictions in narrative account are not located internal to the subject but are seen to reflect the contradictory and multiple circulating discourses within the culture (AlldredAlldred & Burman, 2005). The different linguistic and narrative repertoires available to us – and which intersect with the subject positions that we occupy – allow us to wield power in different ways and at different moments in time. Additionally, because subject positions are differentially available to subjects depending on intersecting social and institutional positioning (AlldredAlldred & Burman, 2005), we do not uniformly wield and engage with power effects merely because we occupy the same social category. Thus, two or more subjects that share the same racial social categorization as 'black' for instance may not necessarily experience such positioning in the same way. Other intersecting categories of class, sexuality, gender amongst others are influential in how racialization is experienced and made sense of by the subject. These intersecting categories influence the differential practices of agency available to the subject. Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) social theory of habitus and field thus provides a critical challenge to constructs of agency that fail to problematize this complexity and social relations of subjectivity. Butler's (1997a) idea of resignification as practice of agency exemplifies such a problematic uncritical conceptualization of self-reflection and agency (McNay, 1999).

5.4 Research methods

In this section I consider the nature of narrative in two specific ways: as a particular type of text (that is, linguistic construct) as well as a specific form of meaning-making tool. *The* concept of narrative has been used by researchers in numerous and diverse ways (see Andrews, 2007; Elliot, 2005; Freeman, 1993; Polkinghone, 1988; Riessman, 1993; Sarbin, 1986; Squire, 2005; Wengraf, 1999; as few examples). It is a term often used to refer to the ways that human beings provide and share their experiences through stories, a primary way through which people make meaning of the different experiences in their lives (Josephsson, Asaba, Jonsson and Alsaker, 2006). And yet, narrative inquiry is much more than just the telling of stories. It is also a systematic form of information-gathering that comprises specific complex features and characteristics not often found in other research methods and practice (Clandinin, Pushor and Orr, 2007). Qualitative researchers in psychology have increasingly relied on narrative forms of inquiry to explore human life experiences (see Bradbury and Miller, 2010; Bruner, 1987; 1990; 2002; Crossley, 2000; 2003; Frosh, 2002; Polkinghorne, 1988; Sarbin, 1986, Squire, 2008; Tamboukou, 2010 amongst others). Similarly, White (1980, p 5) notes the "impulse to narrative" that has characterized the social sciences following the increasing turn away from positivist and behavioral traditions. Given the multiple uses of the term, an elaboration on how the concept is used in the current study is useful at this point. Notwithstanding Smith and Sparkes' (2006) elaboration of conceptual tensions within the field of narrative inquiry in psychology, three core defining features of narrative inquiry can be noted: *1)* dimension of time (temporality), *2)* social conditions (sociality) and *3)* location or place. (Clandinin et al, 2007; Polkinghorne, 1995)). Narrative inquiry seeks to understand people and events as always in transition. Any narrative inquiry attempts to understand the ordering of events in an individual's account of themselves or an event (i.e. a story with a beginning, middle and end). Furthermore narrative inquiry encompasses not only personal stories of meaning, emotions etc. but also an active interest in the contextual influences of these stories (Connelly and Clandinin, 2006). Narrative inquiry is interested in the influence of location or place within which events take place as well as the context within which the narratives are produced (this includes the interview context). These three core dimensions of narrative inquiry cannot easily be separated and are considered to be constitutive of the analytic process. A key function of narrative for this study is the issue of meaning-making. I engage with this function by adopting both a temporal and relational approach to narrative, emphasizing meaning-making in relation to time and narrative, as well

as the selectivity of narrative. A working definition of the concept as utilized in the current study is useful to note at this point.

5.4.1 Defining Narrative

Bamberg and Andrews (2004) distinguish between narrative research focused on narratives as objects of study and narratives as tools to investigate something else. Such a distinction is useful to clarifying some of the complexity that surrounds the epistemology and methodology of narrative research. Narratives have a basic function of providing some degree of order to subjective experiences and accounts of events (Patterson, 2008). These accounts are further structured in particular ways that provide a sense of location or context as well as time. The added dimensions of place and temporality therefore function to effectively order these accounts and experiences. Narrative, simply stated, refers to an account, told in the form of a story that includes a beginning, middle and end and that is structured around a specific plot or event (Polkinghorne, 1995) and that occurs within specific *place* and *contexts*. Narratives are not static accounts of events and people but rather represent shifts in multiple and diverse understandings of social reality. The narrative researcher therefore is always mindful of the possibilities of more than one narrative account. For Bradbury and Miller (2010) narrative's multiplicity in meaning implies that narratives of subjectivities are always open to interpretation and are never static. This is not to imply a radical relativist stance but rather that while narratives are characteristic in their malleability they are also constrained by/within specific discursive networks of meaning. Riessman (2008) further distinguishes between different analytic stances that may characterize narrative form of inquiry: thematic, structural and dialogic or performative. These methods engage different dimensions of storied experience and accounts and researchers such as Bamberg (2006), Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008) has distinguished between 'big' and 'small' stories in narrative to capture this complexity of narrative inquiry.

5.4.2 Narrative analysis of content: thematic explorations of data

Elements of narrative analysis were employed in the analyses of the data with specific focus on the thematic content of the data. Furthermore, an added layer of discursive exploration of the thematic content was employed that allowed for more ideological engagement with the data. Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998) argue that narrative form and content allow for both explorations of the temporal and relational events of a story while also exploring the

discursive networks that emerge in the accounts. Thematic analysis is focused on the identification, analysis and reporting of qualitative data into patterns or themes (Braun and Clarke, 2008). The approach is useful for describing in-depth data in an organizing pattern that highlights the recurring themes within the data set. There are a variety approaches to undertaking thematic analysis that are often in contestation on the exact nature and scope of thematic analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Tuckett, 2005). These different approaches however are consistently focused on searching for and the analysis of themes within and across the data set. Other disparities may exist related to the identification and prevalence of a theme, evidence of theoretical framework in the identification of themes etc. These disparities do not represent a rigid or idealized way of conducting thematic analysis and are often adopted based on the judgment and decision of the researcher. For Braun and Clarke (2008) thematic analysis is an ideal method of research inquiry precisely because it is not tied to any specific theoretical framework position but may be deployed in relation to multiple theoretical frameworks. While this flexibility is useful for qualitative research agenda, it must also be noted that whatever theoretical framework is adopted by the researcher, must be made clear and used consistently and must demonstrate researcher reflexivity through the analytic process (Braun & Clarke, 2008; Taylor & Ussher, 2001).

Braun and Clarke (2008) further note that three distinct frameworks may be utilized within the thematic analytic method: *essentialist* frameworks that focus primarily on the experiences, meanings and lived realities of the participants; *constructionist* frameworks that attempt to explore the social discursive operations within a data set that also influence the meanings, experiences and lived realities of participants, and *contextual* frameworks that attempt to merge both essentialist and constructionist approaches by grounding analysis in the lived realities and meanings of participants in relation to the broader social context that may affect those meanings and realities. Given the study's focus on the racialised meanings and experiences of social and academic spaces within the academic field, an eclectic theoretical framework approach has been deployed to both understand the everyday realities of the students in the study as well as engage with the social discursive repertoires deployed throughout the narratives to make sense of this field and context. In this regard, facets of essentialist, constructionist and contextual approaches have been used in the analysis and interpretation of the data set more generally.

5.4.3 Identifying Themes

The identification of themes remains a point of contestation and inconsistency for many qualitative researchers undertaking thematic forms of analyses given the confusion surrounding what constitutes a theme to begin with. For researchers such as Henning, van Rensburg and Smit (2004) and Riessman, 1993 there is no inflexible construct of what constitutes a theme. What is crucial for these researchers is the identification of a theme always in relation to the research question or topic of interest under investigation. The identification and analysis of a theme in this regard must always comprise the analysis of patterned response across a given data set that addresses the central thrust of the research question. Given this, identification of a theme then is not related to the proportion or number of times that the theme is mentioned in a data set but rather whether or not it captures the essence of the research question at hand (Braun & Clarke, 2008). Researcher flexibility and judgment in identification of themes is thus important at this phase of the analysis.

The identification of themes, driven by the analytic question under investigation, also implies that the prevalence of a theme in itself may be useful to this process but not always. As Riessman (1993) notes it is impossible to posit specific ways of defining prevalence as this construct may entail a variety of processes and is further dependent on the researcher's personal judgment and focus. For example, prevalence of a theme may refer to the number of appearances of a theme in each individual dialogue, or may refer to that number of speakers that articulate the theme, or may also refer to the individual occurrences of a theme across a data set etc. (Braun & Clarke, 2008). At other moments prevalence of a theme may not be essential at all to the identification of themes. Whatever the approach adopted by the researcher, it is important that consistency is evident throughout.

5.4.4 Inductive vs Theoretical Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis may comprise an inductive and/or theoretical mode of analyses that combine either rich descriptive analysis of the data or detailed account of a particular aspect of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2008; Clarke & Kitzinger, 2004). Rich description and analysis of the data will entail presenting an exact reflection of the *entire* data set and will have the advantage of providing very detailed description of the event and narrative. However, this will also mean that depth and complexity in data analysis and interpretation is compromised

(Braun & Clarke, 2008). In this study, a detailed reading and analysis of particular aspects of the data which include focusing on particular themes within the data in relation to specific issues that address the research question has been utilized. I have adopted such an approach to allow for depth and complex interaction with the data, as well as engage with those aspects of the data that relate specifically to the research question at hand. This has entailed a detailed reading of the interview transcripts and thereafter selective reading of the transcribed material in relation to the research topic and questions.

Much like a grounded theoretical approach, an inductive approach to thematic analysis involves a data-driven emphasis of interpretation that is related specifically to the data (Patton, 1990). The theoretical position of the researcher ideally is not evident in this process of analysis and interpretation precisely because the emphasis is exclusively on the emergent themes within the data. In this sense, Braun and Clarke (2008) note that analysis and interpretation using an inductive approach will often bear very little likeness to the interview questions posed to participants. This ideal analytic process does not attempt to fit into an already existing theoretical and conceptual frame. However, given the impossibility of undertaking any research agenda without subjective epistemological and methodological positioning, the inductive approach remains an ideal not always attained in research.

In contrast the theoretical approach adopts a more top-down or deductive stance whereby analysis is driven by the researcher's specific interest in the subject area. This will include a more focused exploration and analysis of specific aspects of the data, allowing for a rich and detailed analytic engagement. However, unlike the inductive approach, this engagement is restricted to specific aspects of the data and not the entire set (Braun & Clarke, 2008). While some analysts may consider such limited focus somewhat problematic, I argue that such concentrated approach allows for a more complex and nuanced analysis that highlights particular facets of the social phenomena under investigation. The current study is further theoretically-driven in analytic approach in the sense that analysis was motivated by a search for specific themes that related to how racialised subjectivities intersect with varied cultural capital attributes to either facilitate or hinder navigation of social and academic spaces on campus. Accordingly my analysis was specifically centred on identifying within the data set those racialised and cultural capital attributes, for instance the deployment of subjectivities of language. I was also interested in exploring the intricate ways that these thematic explorations could be used to include, speak to and expand aspects of Bourdieu's cultural capital theory as

well as Fanon and Du Bois's racialization analyses. Analysis, therefore, was top-down in process and strongly grounded in an engagement with multiple theoretical frames. Additionally my analytic process did not in itself commence only after the data collection process; rather, theoretical thematic constructs were continually identified before the actual analysis, during the different phases of the interview discussions.

5.4.5 Semantic vs Latent Levels of Analysis

Different levels of identification within thematic analysis include both a semantic or surface level as well as a latent or deeper level (Braun & Clarke, 2008; Firth & Gleeson, 2004). The latter process involves an attempt to go beyond a surface reading of the data through identification and exploration of ideological and conceptual meanings that may be seen to inform the content of the data itself. Such a frame of analysis is not surprisingly influenced by social constructionist epistemology that bears some similarity to most discourse analytic forms of analysis (see Burr, 1995 for further exposition on social constructionist epistemology). The latent level of analytic engagement with the data set is in sharp contrast to more surface or semantic reading of the data which tend to focus exclusively on what participants articulate in the interview. This approach progresses from a descriptive to interpretation analytic process whereby the analyst describes the data set and proceeds to make interpretations of the emerging thematic patterns in relation to existent literature (Patton, 1990). In line with the theoretical analytic framework adopted in the current study, I have adopted a latent reading of the data to allow for further engagement with underlying and implicit assumptions within the data. Such an approach allows me to be able to theorize those articulated aspects of subjectivity and experience that are informed by broader socio-cultural contexts of re/production.

5.4.6 Thematic analytic steps used in the study

Thematic analysis is a recurrent process that involves going back and forth in the different phases of identifying and selecting themes. In this sense it is far from a linear process in which each phase builds from the previous phase. Following Braun and Clarke (2008) the following six steps of thematic analysis were adopted for the current study. These steps of analysis did not entail a rigid linear process but involved a back and forth engagement with

the data at different phases of the analysis and interpretation. This process is elaborated in more detail below:

Phase 1: familiarizing yourself with the data

This initial phase of the data analysis was particularly enhanced during the transcription of the interview data set, which was undertaken by the researcher. Transcription allows for necessary immersion in the content of the discussion and allows the researcher to develop even further ease and familiarity with the overall content of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2008; Riessman, 1993). In this sense Lapadat and Lindsay (1999) describe data transcription as an 'interpretative act' act. For Braun and Clarke (2008) data immersion and familiarity further involve an active reading of the data such that meanings and interpretations are already forming in this beginning phase. The initial coding process thus commences at this phase of the analysis and may include attention to both verbal and non-verbal utterances. The transcription process adopted in this study entailed initial transcription of the entire data set with inclusion of laughter as a specific non-verbal communication. No other non-verbal communication was included in the data transcribed. Furthermore, this non-verbal communication was included in the analysis and interpretation of the data. Following immersion in the data the analyst is able to generate preliminary codes for further exploration.

Phase 2: generating initial codes

This second phase of the analysis involves a first exploration with both semantic and latent content of the data, noting those features that are potentially relevant to the research topic and question. The data is initially coded into meaningful groups or clusters (Tuckett, 2005). This coding process is distinct from the generation of themes in the sense that no attempt at interpretation and theoretical discussion occurs at this stage. However Miles and Huberman, (1994) have argued that the coding process is essential to the broader analytic process. This is especially so because the coding process lays the groundwork for later thematic engagement with the data, allowing for preliminary sense of the meaning of the data in relation to the research questions.

The coding process is influenced by the thematic identification approach – that is, whether inductive or theoretical – adopted by the researcher. In the present study, given the theoretical approach to thematic analysis adopted, the data coding was influenced by limited aspects of the data set that were selected on the basis of theoretical relevance and that formed a pattern across the entire data set. This is in contrast to an inductive approach that would typically code with reference to the entire data set (Braun & Clarke, 2008). Part of the coding process entails coding for as many themes and patterns as possible, a process Bryman (2001) describes as 'inclusive coding', which would allow for contexts of the discussion in the selected extracts to be included. Furthermore, selected extracts of data may be coded in different and multiple themes depending on their relevance to the specific theme identified. Lastly, contradictory patterns may emerge but do not need to be 'smoothed over' but rather highlight interesting patterns of discussion in the generation of themes (Braun & Clarke, 2008).

Phase 3: searching for themes

Analysis at this stage is refocused to begin generation of overarching themes. Codes are organized into different clusters or thematic patterns and the relevant coded extracts identified in the previous stage are now collated within these themes (Braun & Clarke, 2008). Important to note at this stage that different codes may also combine to form overarching themes; moreover, the analyst must pay attention to the different relationships that may emerge between codes and/or themes as well as the different levels of thematic categories, that is, whether main or sub-themes. Braun and Clarke (2008) further note that miscellaneous codes may also emerge during this phase of exploration. These miscellaneous codes that do not seem to fit within overarching themes are not to be discarded yet but categorized separately for further refinement.

Phase 4: reviewing themes

During this phase of refinement of the overarching themes previously identified, the analyst must engage with several emergent thematic processes as follows: those themes that fail to meet the criteria for thematic categorization either because there is insufficient data to support them or the data is too diverse and therefore does not cohesively tie together the thematic categorization; secondly, those sub-themes that may easily collapse into each other

to form one overarching theme are reviewed for such purpose and lastly, those overarching themes that may need to be broken down further into separate themes must be explored by the analyst (Braun & Clarke, 2008). In this regard, Braun and Clarke further recommend that Patton's (1990) criteria for refining categories be adopted. This criteria includes assessing both the 'internal homogeneity' (i.e. data selected within themes must cohere in a coherent manner) and 'external heterogeneity' (data selected between themes must have clear and distinct features from other thematic clusters) of selected categories.

In the first level — that is, looking for internal homogeneity within themes – the coded data extracts are the primary focus for review. Collated extracts are reviewed for coherency and relevance to the overarching theme as well as recurring thematic pattern (Braun & Clarke, 2008). Those extracts that are deemed not to fit with overarching themes may lead to several steps: removing the extracts from within that category, refining the thematic category, or creating a new theme altogether. Following this level of refinement, a thematic map may then be created that captures the core themes of the analysis. The second level of refinement involves a similar process of reviewing the data but in this level this process of review is in relation to the entire data set. In this instance, the focus is on whether or not the thematic category is coherent in relation to the data in general, at which point a more refined thematic map is created. Thus, this level of refinement begins to provide a clear construct of the relevance of overarching themes in relation to the research question and focus of the study, which leads on to the next phase where we may now define and label our themes.

Phase 5: defining and naming themes

In this phase the preliminary identified themes are further refined and now defined. The guiding questions here are: what is the 'essence' of the theme/s? What aspect/s of the data does each theme capture? Why is the data content interesting? And how does each theme fit within the overall story of the research, and in relation to the research questions? (Braun & Clarke, 2008). It is also within this phase that the analyst attempts to organize the themes into a coherent story. This would include demonstrating how sub-themes, if any, not only provide structure to the story but also show an order of meaning in relation to the research question. Lastly, names are ascribed to the themes that reflect not only the meaning but also allow the reader to gain a sense of the content of the theme.

Phase 6: producing the report

In this last phase of the thematic analysis, a report is produced that is a concise and coherent account of the story evident within the data set – both within and across themes (Braun and Clarke, 2008). This phase is not a mere description of the data set or themes but must provide tangible evidence that is in relation to the research questions. This is further achieved by providing data extract examples to demonstrate the validity of the interpretation provided. In other words, beyond mere description of the data, an argument must be evident that relates to the overall research question of the study. An added layer of discursive analysis was further conducted related to the thematic content. A process utilizing Parker's (1992) approach to exploring discourse in text was adopted.

5.5 The nature of discourse: divergent voices

Spanning a diverse field of interest and scope, discourse analytic approaches are quite varied in their analyses of textual data and highlight different focal points of emphasis and analytic engagement (see Macleod, 2002 for an overview). These analytic approaches range from linguistic, conversation analytical, social constructionist, psychoanalytic, poststructuralist, Althusserian, Gramscian and other theoretical orientations. Traynor (2004) notes three significant disciplinary influences in the expansion of discourse analysis: structural linguistics, speech act theory and ethnomethodology. These three different fields engage the construct that language provides us with a range of categories and meanings through which we may understand and explore the social world. Language is therefore performative and active in producing effects with words and also functional in how individuals attempt to gain access and sustain their membership within particular social groups. The discourse analytic tradition in the social sciences, particularly within the field of social psychology, is not only diverse but also characterized by epistemological tensions focused on the analysis of textual data. Conversation analysts for instance adopt a realist objectivist position that focuses on the patterns within language exclusively (Sacks, 1992) while others tend to emphasize an interdisciplinary approach that includes linguistics, semiotics and discourse analysis (Morgan, 2010) such as the critical discursive analytic approaches of Fairclough (2003) and van Dijk (1993). Other analysts emphasize the ideological functioning of talk as part of social critique (such as Billig, 1992; Parker, 1992; Burman and Parker, 1993; Wetherell and Potter, 1992 amongst others). Macleod (2002) notes the four commonly utilized traditions of discourse analytic work in the South African context to include: Potter and Wetherell's

(1987) approach to everyday forms of interaction through talk; Parker's (1992) approach that draws on significant Foucauldian conceptualization of discourse and power; Hollway's (1989) Lacanian discourse analytic approach and Fairclough's (1992) critical discursive approach that engages both theoretical and methodological aspects of texts. Ainsworth (2001) notes two distinctive trends of discourse analytic work more generally: *descriptive* discourse analysis which explore the processes of social construction and *critical* studies, which explore the re/production of relations of power and social categories such as race, gender and class.

All of the different approaches and orientations to analyzing discourse share at least three common thematic concerns: firstly, all discourse analytic work is focused on discourse and talk in a variety of interactional contexts. Discourse analysis is concerned with how language is used or deployed to construct particular social actions and/or meanings and how these intersect with institutional practices (Billig, 1996). Some discourse analysts also argue for the importance of historicity and psychological categories in the reproduction of social meaning (Harré, 1986). A second concern underlying all discourse analytic work is the action orientation function of discourse. This emphasis on the action capacity of words, such as Austin's (1962) speech act theory, highlights the myriad of ways that language is used to justify, explain, blame, challenge, and construct social events and experiences. Through language we present ourselves to others in very particular ways. A third unifying feature of discourse analytic approaches is the focus on the rhetorical deployment of language. Through argumentation we attempt to persuade others to our perspectives and positions (Billig, 1996) thus engaging different culturally available argumentative positions. Potter and Wetherell (1987) also emphasize this rhetorical function of discourse and argue for the exploration of how discursive constructs work to create meaning and bring subjects into being through such rhetorical use of language. Additionally, discourse analysts consider social network contexts to be significant to understanding and interpreting the discourses identified in a text (Van Dijk, 1997). Such consideration is premised on the assumption that discourses do not occur in a social vacuum but are instead produced, negotiated and challenged within a discursive network of relations. The socio-cultural and historical contexts of production and reproduction of particular meanings must therefore be interpreted in relation to the dynamic contexts within which the discourses emerge. Tistscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter (2000) further distinguish between broad and local contexts of discursive production of meaning. This distinction highlights the different domains of meaning that are both personal and social

in nature. This interplay between discourses, textual re/production and contexts is central to discourse analytic work. The guiding questions here include: what selections of the text embody discourse? What contexts influence the textual and discursive reproductions in the text?

5.5.1 Conceptualization of discourse in this study

The view of discourse as form of spoken dialogue constituted one of the early conceptualizations (see Sinclair, 1975) of the concept and which was broadened to include aspects of both spoken and written text (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). This and other conceptualizations highlight the practice of talking and writing as essential in engaging how talk and written text are functional in producing subjects (Woodila, 1998). In his introduction to *Discourse as Structure and Process* Van Dijk (1997) reiterates the need for a coherent understanding of the term 'discourse'. This concern with engaging a coherent and consistent conceptualization of discourse has been echoed by other researchers such as Macleod (2002) who has argued that discourse analytic work must not only endeavor to describe the rudiments of discourse and discourse analysis but must equally be attentive to exploring the connotations of the term as well as deconstruction of the methodology itself. This is necessary to determine not only the diversity and contestations amongst discourse analysts themselves as well as more generally.

The current study adopts Coyle's (1998) definition of discourse analysis which approaches language as constitutive of psychological and social reality and not just a reflection of it. This definition allows for a focus on the myriad of ways that so-called 'objective' events and experiences are in fact constructed and interpreted by individuals who are located in particular positions and contexts. Hardy (2001) takes a similar position in the view of discourse "as a system of texts that brings objects into being" (p. 26). Likewise Parker (1992) engages discourse as much more than description and categorization of the social world, focusing on the practices and processes of creating phenomena: "Discourses do not simply describe the social world, they categorize it, they bring phenomena into sight…once an object has been elaborated in a discourse, it is difficult not to refer to it as if it were real" (pp 4-5). He therefore argues that discourse analytic work must engage further with the complex ways that tensions and contradictions are evident in the constructions of social and psychological worlds such that they both reproduce and change these worlds (Parker, 1992). The analyst's

focus must therefore be centred on the constitution of objects and subjects through discourse and not the interaction itself.

The discursive analytic approach in the current study is informed further by Parker's (1992) and Burman's (1992; 1996) approach to discourse analysis. The conceptualization of the subject and power in both these approaches make it particularly useful as an analytic tool. This conceptualization challenges traditional and dominant models of subjectivity, language and representation that fail to engage the contradictory complexities of subject formation. Alldred and Burman (2005) note three unifying features of discursive analytic approaches connected to the view of social reality as both complex and fluid: first, language may both produce and constrain sets of meaning; secondly, the social world can only be understood and articulated through language and lastly, the social world can therefore only be explored through analytic procedures that focus on language and its effects and functions. Butler's concept of performativity (Butler, 1997a; 1997b) similarly alludes to this idea of a contradictory and divided subjectivity that encompasses both a capacity for resistance to social regulatory norms and reproduction.

Parker's (1992) discourse analytic approach engages these dimensions of language as both social and active. Drawing heavily on Foucault's (1972) conceptualization of power, Parker proposes a twenty-step approach to discourse analysis that includes seven necessary and three auxiliary criteria to identifying and exploring discourse. While the former steps focus on the identification of discourse the latter auxiliary steps are focused on an analysis of power, institutions and ideology. These steps are far from rigid but rather can be considered as guiding framework to unpack the social constructs and function of discourse in the text (Parker, 1992: AlldredAlldred and Burman, 2005). The approach is also especially insightful not only in its identification of discourse and articulations of subjectivity, but also in interrogating the functions of the discursive constructs, what they achieve in the moment of articulation and more generally. Exploring the articulations of racialised subjectivity within the academic field, I argue, highlights what Potter (1996) identify as practices of subjectivity at three level different but interweaving levels*: immediate*, *interpersonal* and *social* levels. In the next section I present the analytic steps that I have used in the current study based on a flexible step-by-step reading of Parker's (1992) approach.

5.6 Steps in analysis of discourse dynamics used in this study

Step 1: Generate the text

The interview material is turned into written text through transcription of the audio-recorded material in this first phase of the discursive analysis (Parker, 1992; 1994). This phase is also a significant reflexive aspect of the analytic process and highlights the importance of co-construction of meaning between interviewer and the researcher. Transcription of the interview data is far from an objective exercise that the researcher engages in but rather demonstrates the representational and interpretive nature of research (AlldredAlldred and Burman, 2005). The researcher 'hears' and privileges specific aspects of the data in the process, highlighting that transcription is already an interpretative process in itself. This is even more so in the case of non-verbal material that has not been video-recorded and which is included in the analysis. Consequently, this is wholly dependent on the researcher's memory of events and interactions as they occurred. This process is thus not only selective but also subjective and often loaded – particularly so as the interpretative process of non-verbal behavior often invokes individual and cultural norms of meaning (AlldredAlldred and Burman, 2005). For instance, how a researcher 'reads' a participant's refusal to maintain direct eye contact can only interpreted within specific individual and cultural norms of what such behavior implies. It is in this regard that Mishler (1991) argues that multiple transcripts may indeed be created from the same data set. Interview transcripts are thus far from objective transfer of audio data to written material but also reflect researcher-interviewee dynamics (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Scheurich, 1997).

Step 2: Explore connotations or elaborate the discourse and label the discourse identified

The second step in the analysis of discourse dynamics concerns a process of free association with the text (Parker, 1992). In this process the analyst attempts to draw inferences from explicit and implicit meanings, associations and connotations within the text and which are not necessarily intended by the subject but nonetheless produce specific effects. The analyst therefore pays attention to those aspects of the talk that on the surface may seem irrelevant and banal but may imply social hierarchies as well as subversion of those hierarchies (Parker, 1992; 1994; AlldredAlldred and Burman, 2005). The focus on associations and connotations implied within the text highlights a core aspect of discourse constituting more than – even

though it can be and often is reduced to – a sentence (Parker, 1992). Thus, for Parker (1992; 1994) this stage of the analysis is even more effective when conducted with a team of analysts as it is often impossible for the individual researcher to separate subjective perceptions and interpretations. The multiple and contextual nature of meanings and connotations are further enriched through a shared engagement with the text that allows for diverse interpretations and readings. In this stage of the analysis a label is given to the identified discourses by the analyst. This includes a critical reflection on the terms used to describe this discourse and label (Parker, 1992). Labeling the discourse allows us to interrogate the text at a much broader level in terms of its function and effect of the social world the discourse produces.

Step 3: Identify objects and subjects

In the third stage of the analysis we begin to identify objects within the text, that is, those things described or named within the text. Parker (1992) suggests that an identification of the nouns within the text as a useful way to identify objects. The guiding question in this process: "what is spoken about in this text?" provides further understanding of objectification. A second aspect of the analysis here involves not only identifying objects that are spoken about, but also the relationships between objects (AlldredAlldred and Burman, 2005). The rationale here is that no object is typically spoken about or constructed in isolation from other objects, but rather constitutes part of a constructed world or social reality in which objects are forged together. Through the process of elaboration and connotation began in the previous analytic step, the analyst attempts to fill in the relations between objects identified. Macleod (2002), citing Foucault (1972) notes that guiding questions such as "how is this object delineated by authority?", "what does it mean/not mean?", "who may use this noun?" etc. allow for identification and interrogation of relations between objects as well as a sense of their discursive function. Foucault (1972, p42) further notes that attention to the ways that the objects may be "divided, contrasted, related, regrouped, classified". A similar process of elaboration and identification underlies the focus on 'subjects' within the text. The guiding question here: "what types of persons are spoken about in the discourse?" broadens the analysis to include elaboration not just on who is explicitly spoken about but also what type of person is implied (Parker, 1992). Furthermore, the analyst attempts to elaborate on the relations between subjects identified within the text. AlldredAlldred and Burman (2005, pp 184-5) note that we may identify 'institutional identity categories' in relation to 'less formal

subject positions' and further contrast these to other subjects not explicitly mentioned in the discourse. Parker (1992) highlights that the 'type' of persons talked about in discourse are crucial to unpacking the effect and function of the discourse.

Step 4: Identify rights and roles implied in the discourse

Subject positioning within discourse occurs in another significant way other than the ascription of particular roles, positioning and responsibilities to subjects. Discourse analysts have argued that the subject positions that we occupy also draw boundaries of what can and cannot be said within those positions (Davies and Harre, Parker, 1992; 1994; AlldredAlldred and Burman, 2005). This argument specifies the fourth analytic step in uncovering discourse dynamics which is identifying the parameters of speaking within particular specific subject position (Parker, 1992). Differential speaking rights within subject positions relate to the social hierarchies of power that are tied to these positions. In this sense, discursive analysts are also interested in the function and effects of power that may be present in the re/production of particular social dynamics. The subject positions that we occupy are tied to intricate workings of social power and agency (Henriques et al, 1984) such that we cannot read texts without examining the social dynamics that inform the re/production of the text. Macleod (2002) has argued that both reflexive and interactive positioning is evident in the discursive re/production of subjectivity. Subjects may position themselves reflexively or position each other (interactively) in relation to the discourse. Guiding questions such as "who is speaking? Who is 'qualified' to use this language and [what] are the institutional sites from which the person speaks?" (p 22) enables the functions and effects of subjectification to emerge. In this phase of analysis, therefore, we are also concerned with the functions and effects of what is said and not said in the discourse.

Step 5: Map a picture of the world the discourse presents

In this stage of discourse analysis utilized in this study, the focus is on giving a sense of coherence to the statements identified in a discourse. This involves describing the social world that emerges from the discursive production with particular focus on the function and effect of the construct. Through discursive production a specific type of social world is constructed that serves a particular purpose such as challenging, sustaining, defending a particular view of the social world. Our interpretations of social relations, events and

experiences therefore are linked to the multiple, diverse and culturally available discursive repertoires of meaning available to us. Given the diverse multiplicity of such interpretation then, part of the task of the analyst is to also attempt to unearth the contradictions within discourse (Parker, 1992). We do not make sense of our social world and experiences in uniform and unproblematic ways but our knowledge reflects our different engagement with multiple discourses that may compete and challenge each other. As Parker (1992, p 13) observes: "discourses embed, entail and presuppose other discourses" such that more than one (and at times contradictory) discourse is evident within a text. This part of the analytic step entails identifying alternate discourses within the text and their function and effect. This "interrelationship" (p 14) between discourses constitutes the articulation of discourse with other discourses (Henriques et al, 1984) and demonstrates points of contrast, overlap in ways of speaking about the same object but in different ways.

5.7 Narrative analysis of form: exploring narrative patterns in the data

5.7.1 Relational and Temporal dimension of Narrative

McNamee (2004) observes that narratives only make sense within the context of relationships. The relational aspect of narrative is an important emphasis of narrative inquiry and attempts to explore the different ways that subjects engage each other. Related to this emphasis, narrative researchers argue that meaning-making processes are intrinsically relational not only in how we make meaning but also how social action is informed by the different interactions we are part of (Sandelwoski, 1991; Somers, 1994). In line with the social constructionist approach, narrative psychologists working within a similar paradigm have emphasized narrative as a form of social performance (McNamee, 2004). Language practices in this regard are perceived to be social in form and content and not private inner thoughts as assumed by cognitive psychologists. Personal stories therefore are resituated as social in genesis, function and effect. The processes of how subjects relate to and with each other are central to narrative inquiry. Part of this process entails not only focusing on how a particular narrative is told but also who populates the narrative (McNamee, 2004; Sandelowski, 1991). Researchers such as McNamee (2004) further argue that the reasons for a particular narrative – the 'why' aspect of narrative – is therefore not significant. However, other researchers have argued that an exploration of why particular narratives get told and not others is crucial to understanding the relevance, meaning and function of the narrative to

begin with (Gergen, 1983). This methodological difference is in some respect related to explicit and implied ontological tensions within the field of narrative inquiry more generally (Smith and Sparkes, 2006)..

Gergen and Gergen's (1983) temporal approach to narrative emphasizing the sequential movement of the subject through time is useful to explore the academic trajectories of the participants in the current study and also in relation to their racialised subjective formation. This formulation of narrative is further illustrated and developed using data extracts highlighting the temporal movement and participation of the participants as scholars within particular fields influenced by added complexities of race, class and geographical spaces. I am further concerned with the social genesis of the participants' narratives and understandings of themselves and others as racialised persons in very particular ways and how or whether they sustain and challenge these understandings. In this regard, a sequential account of their racialised and academic subjectivities through time and context is useful. Lastly, a narrative analysis will enable a focus on their reflexive and "diachronic" (Gergen and Gergen, 1983, p 255) nature of subjectivity. The relational aspect of their re-telling of personal lives – i.e. relations with others that have influenced subjective development is considered important to any exploration of subjectivity.

Narrative accounts are more than the re-telling of our stories and description of events as we understand them. In our re-telling stories are structured in such a manner as to provide a sense of direction and order. This characteristic of directionality has been explored as central to most narrative analytic accounts (Avdi and Georgaca, 2009; Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber, 1998; Gergen and Gergen, 1983). The temporal function of narratives means that narratives are always continuous (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber, 1998) and do not always reflect actual life but are rather constructions (and co-constructions) of events. The authors further elucidate that narrative analysis includes both an analysis of content (that is, the narrated story itself) and the form (the plot and linearity or directionality of the story). The characteristic feature of directionality concerns an evaluative aspect to the narrated account: being able to establish or judge moments of transformation and growth in one's personal life. Through the stories we narrate and make meaning of, we are able to gain a sense of our personal direction in our lives either toward positive growth or regression from an ideal (Gergen and Gergen, 1983). In order to able to answer these existential issues the individual interprets them through evaluative criteria such as "am I improving in my quest for

happiness?" This evaluative aspect for exploring directionality in personal accounts is further linked to narrative variations or typologies that inform the accounts. Gergen and Gergen (1983) identify three core narrative types: narratives of stability, narratives of progression and narratives of regression. A cautionary note here is that these narrative types are not in any way rigid in form and content but may be flexible in directionality as well as intersect with other narrative types.

5.7.2 Narrative types and their functions

Narratives of stability

Narratives of stability attempt to link incidents, images, and concepts etc. in such a manner that the individual remains unchanged in relation to his or her evaluative position (Gergen and Gergen, 1983). In other words, the individual remains unaffected by shifts and events in his or her environment and continues to function and participate in the same ways as before the incidents and relational influences in the environment. Narratives of stability therefore denote both positive and negative aspects of personal being given that the individual may remain stable in either a progressive or regressive relational form as indicated in Gergen and Gergen's (1983) continuum of upper and lower evaluative position. Depending on one's positioning on either upper or lower end of the continuum, a suggestion of future events and behavior interaction may be construed whereby we can guess at similar possible positive or negative future such as "I am still happy with my decision and will probably continue to be". Stability narratives may provide the significant function of creating sense of self that is coherent, reliable and enduring as part of the subject's self-construction (Gergen and Gergen, 1983). Such narrative may be evident in how individuals construct interpersonal and other intimate relations as binding by relying on a stability narrative construct of the self. In the current study I am additionally interested in the role and function of identified stability narratives of race in the participants' accounts of themselves as racialised scholars.

Narratives of progression and regression

Through narratives of progression the individual attempts to link together incidents and experiences that characterize their progression from either stable or negative ends of the continuum to a much higher position *over time*. Through this we are able to see a transformation through time that is both positive and ideal. The directionality evident in these

narratives also provide a sense of forthcoming future positive events occurring in the individual's life such that it is not only an account of a positive transformation, but also a promise of similar or even better events to come: for example the surmise "I am learning to be more assertive in my interactions" can be read in relation to a future trajectory that is positive because of such transformation. Narratives of regression in contrast highlight the individual's downward spiral in relation to an evaluative position. Such accounts also demonstrate an aspect of directionality in terms of anticipating further decrements in the future: "I am no longer satisfied with my achievements". The progressive narrative form provides the significant function of highlighting a process of individual and/or social change for the better. In such accounts the narrative form is deployed to demonstrate resilience and perseverance in the face of challenges and a final outcome of success over time (Gergen and Gergen, 1983). It is thus functional in its emphasis on an ascending change of behavior that is positive and productive. In contrast, the regressive narrative form, at a surface level, may be considered to be non-functional in its evaluative criteria. Indeed, such a narrative form is characteristic in its emphasis on negative relational and personal effects. And yet the argument that such negative narrative may be implicitly functional in highlighting moments of negative effects that require concentrated effort for improvement can be made. In this regard, the regressive narrative may be considered to be functional in providing the necessary motivation to change a debilitating status quo (Gergen and Gergen, 1983). While such a function of the regressive narrative is indeed useful to note, it is also important to observe that such motivation to improve the status quo is not always evident and often only becomes functional dependent on a myriad of factors. Finally, Gergen and Gergen (1983) further note that both the progressive and regressive narrative forms, while distinct in function and form may also be intricately linked together. This is especially evident when progressive narratives are deployed as sharp contrast to regressive accounts of the self or an event as a means to demonstrate one's transformation and success.

Intersecting narratives

The three intersecting narrative types may further merge or intersect in multiple and complex ways such that stories reflecting both progressive and regressive and/or stable and progressive etc. forms may exist within the same narrative account of an individual (Gergen and Gergen, 1983). A progressive narrative may be followed by an account of self or an event that is regressive in form or vice versa. Thus, the stories we tell are not always simple stories

of personal development but reflect our complex experiences and subjectivities. Multiple life events come to be reflected in our personal processes of meaning-making that in turn highlight the unstable and continuous processes of subject formation. Important to note also that we may continually revisit experiences and events in as they occur in our lives as part of this process of meaning-making such that we have multiple meanings and understandings of the same events and experiences. In this way, Gergen and Gergen (1983) further note that the constructions we form of events and experiences are influenced by significant broader and at times dominant narratives within our culture and society. Throughout our socialization we are influenced by and participate within a wide and diverse repertoire of narrative forms. We enter into interpersonal and other social relationships influenced by these different narrative forms that in turn are deployed in our interactions and the meanings we attribute to events and experiences (Gergen and Gergen, 1983). The narrative repertoires with which we enter relationships are often multiple, diverse and sometimes contradictory. We may thus attribute different meanings to the same event and at different reflexive moments in time.

Likewise, because the narrative repertoires at our disposal may vary, we may also engage with what Gergen and Gergen (1983, p263) refer to as "nested narratives" or more simply "narratives within narratives". In such instance, we may position ourselves within broader socio-historical and cultural narratives and at the same time develop personal and independent narratives of ourselves and our actions. Both these 'macro' and 'micro' narratives may be further characterized by different narrative forms, i.e. stable, progressive or regressive. For instance the subject may position him/herself within a broader socio-historical race narrative such as apartheid race struggle to reflect on the political survival of his/her racial group (progressive narrative): "Our legacy as a marginalized group is a testament to political and social resilience". At the same time, the same subject may engage in a narrative that bemoans his/her failure to measure up as a racialised person (regressive narrative) in relation to the macro narrative: "I am a disappointment to my family and social group legacy". Similarly, a gay/lesbian identified individual may position him/self within LGBTI[15] political struggles and identity politics of the group (macro progressive narrative) and simultaneously provide a narrative of being closeted and living in personal fear or self-loathing (micro regressive narrative). Nested or intersecting narratives therefore point to and allow for the lack of consistency and coherence that may exist within narratives.

[15] Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Intersex

In summary, narrative form of inquiry to explore personal meaning-making represents an important challenge to analytic investigations that tend to undermine the temporal and relational dimensions of subjectivity. Furthermore, the discontinuities between stories and experiences can be better observed and critically explored in narrative in comparison to other analytic procedures such as thematic and content analysis.

5.8 Study Participants

A cohort of twenty students comprised of thirteen first-year students and seven postgraduate students in their honors and masters level of study were included for participation. Given the labor-intensive nature of the analytic methods adopted in the study, this cohort size was considered appropriate. Furthermore, given the study's concern with in-depth context-specific descriptions, generalizability was not of primary concern, but rather obtaining rich interview textual material (Willig, 2013). I relied on two different sampling techniques to obtain participants for the study. The undergraduate cohort were recruited by means of purpose sampling in which those students identified as fitting the criteria for inclusion were selected for participation. Given the study's focus on the articulations of race and racialization processes, the inclusion-exclusion criteria for participation included that participants were of black African[16] descent and had lived and been educated in South Africa. Furthermore, only those students in undertaking their first-year of study at the institution were included for participation. This latter criterion was related to the study's broader concern with how students entering the field for the first time navigated the social and academic spaces that they encountered. Another important inclusion criterion was that this cohort be a mix of students who were both recipients of private and/or Model C schooling as well as township and/or rural schooling.

The postgraduate cohort was recruited by means of both purposive and snowball sampling techniques. This entailed identifying initially two participants who were accessible to me and then asking participants to introduce me to acquaintances who were also undertaking their postgraduate study at the institution. My only criteria for this cohort were that they meet the racial demographic requirement of the study, i.e. were categorized as black African and that

[16] This categorization was made in accordance with the demographic profiling of the institution (participants' own self-positioning and engagement with this classification was explored in the discussions).

they had undertaken their undergraduate study at the same institution. My choice of sampling technique for this cohort was motivated by the low visibility of black African postgraduate students generally within the institution and more specifically in some departments.

The justification for this criterion was informed by a preliminary theoretical 'hypothesis' was two-fold: firstly that students' early acquisition of cultural capital will influence quite significantly the nature and depth of academic enculturation in the new field, but also that students will deploy racial 'master narratives' differently depending on their cultural capital acquisition. This latter idea was an attempt to begin to theorize what may be described a 'racialised habitus' that influences how a new generation of young South Africans are grappling with race and new instances of exclusion. The inclusion criteria for the postgraduate cohort[17] were that participants were of black African descent and had completed their undergraduate study at the institution. Overall, the undergraduate cohort comprised of seven students who had graduated from rural schools and six from Model C and/or private schools. Furthermore, nine males and four females comprised this cohort of students. The postgraduate cohort comprised of four males and three females. There was no active concern with obtaining a representative gender cohort, however, the gendered aspects of deploying cultural capital are discussed and highlighted as a significant area for further exploration. Narratives from the postgraduate group allowed for an exploration of perceived legitimacy and academic enculturation within the field that was reflective *over time.*

Table: Biographical information for participants

Postgraduate Participant Profiles

Name[18]	**Gender**	**Level of Study at time of interview**	**High School Education**	**Other characteristic**
Participant 1	Male	Second year of doctoral studies	Rural township school	
Participant 2	Male	Masters student	Private School and later Model C school	

[17] Indeed, given the scarcity of such a cohort – i.e. black postgraduate student – at the institution in particular but also in most higher institutions of learning in South Africa more generally, the inclusion-exclusion criteria for this group was much more broad.
[18] Pseudonyms used for all participants.

Participant 3	Male	Masters student	Private School and later Model C school	
Participant 4	Male	Masters student	Rural township school	
Participant 5	Female	Masters student	Model C school	Gap year bet high school and Tertiary education. Gap year bet 1st and 2nd year of tertiary education
Participant 6	Female	Honors student	Rural township school	Excluded in 1st year of study
Participant 7	Female	Honors student	Public government school	Gap year bet high school and Tertiary education

Table 3: Undergraduate Participant Profiles

Name[19]	**Gender**	**Level of Study at time of interviews**	**High School Education**	**Other characteristic**
Itumeleng	Male	First year	Model C and later Public school	
Zinhle	Female	First Year	Rural township school	Gap year between high school and tertiary
Mdu	Male	First Year	Model C	
Sbu	Male	First Year	Rural township school	Gap year between high school and tertiary.
Thulisile	Female	First Year	Model C	
Thapelo	Male	First Year	Rural township	Dropped out in second

[19] Pseudonyms used.

			school	semester
Zakes	Male	First Year	Public school	
Emily	Female	First Year	Private school	
Lindiwe	Female	First Year	Semi-private	
Paul	Male	First Year	Model C	
Bongani	Male	First Year	Public school	
Petrus	Male	First Year	Public school	
Lucky	Male	First year	Private and later public school	Repeating first year at time of interview

5.9 Sampling procedure

Given the specific criteria for participation, a purposive sampling technique was adopted for selection of participants. This process involved selecting potential participants on the basis of the study criteria discussed above. The undergraduate cohorts were all in their first year of study at the time of the study and this was also their first enrollment in first year at tertiary level. Given that the focus of the interviews with this cohort was to explore their academic enculturation from the moment of arrival to the institution, this cohort was therefore homogenous in their accounts of being first-year students and learning the culture of the new field. Furthermore, given the criterion to include both Model C/Private and rural-based educational background accounts, participants were further selected on the criteria of their previous educational background. The postgraduate cohort was also selected through purposive and convenient methods of sampling. Given that this cohort is especially minimal in number the invitation to participate in the study was much broader as long as participants met the two minimal criteria: completion of undergraduate study at the institution and were categorized as 'black African' in the institutional demographic profiling.

5.10 Data Collection Procedures

5.10.1 The qualitative research interview: a phenomenological orientation

It is no surprising that the phenomenological approach has been embraced by many researchers working within a qualitative research paradigm (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Given its central focus on the exploration of subjective meanings and the capturing the

everyday lived experiences of subjects, the phenomenological orientation has proved valuable to the qualitative agenda. In focusing the qualitative research interview on subjective meanings and experiences, this approach has further enabled researchers to engage the interview process in an in-depth and enriching manner that allows for greater reflexivity on the part of both the interviewee and the researcher (see for example the seminal works of Giorgi, 1970; Giorgi and Girogi, 2003).

Both open-ended and semi-structured modes of interviewing may be utilized in the endeavor of eliciting subjective accounts of experiences and events. The semi-structured interview, adopted in this study, had the overriding objective of eliciting narrative accounts of the lived realities of students' lives on campus and the nature and depth of the interactions with others. Given this objective, the interview discussions were centred on obtaining *descriptions* of the participants' everyday interactions as students and their *subjective interpretations* of these interactions. The discussions were thus conducted in accordance to an interview guide that was partly structured but allowed for flexible topical issues to emerge and discuss.

Furthermore, the interview discussions were conducted in accordance with the twelve key aspects of interviewing from a phenomenological orientation as based on Spiegelberg (1960). These are elaborated on below:

1) ***Life World.*** The focus of the qualitative interview is on the 'life world' view and experience of the subject. In order to obtain an understanding of the social realities of the participants, it is crucial to understand how they view these experiences without prejudice and without any prior theoretical explanation and imposed meaning on the part of the researcher. Choosing to explore how black students are engaging with race and aspects of cultural capital thus requires that prior theoretical meanings are not imposed on the subjective accounts without an attempt to listen to and understand how the subjects themselves construct and interpret their world. Thus, obtaining information on the lived realities of the students is crucial.
2) ***Meaning.*** The interview must engage with both factual and meaning levels of discussion. The factual accounts of subjects must be read in relation to the other forms of meanings that are voiced and not voiced. This will include being able to read the emotions behind particular accounts for example, or including bodily gestures and facial expressions as

unspoken meanings. Doing this will allow the interviewer to 'communicate back' to the subject for further clarification and discussion.

3) ***Qualitative.*** The interview must be focused on obtaining qualitative and not quantifiable information. The emphasis here must be on eliciting rich data that truly captures the lived social reality narrated by the subject.
4) ***Descriptive.*** The interviewer should encourage the participant to describe fully the emotions that accompany particular experiences. The focus is on obtaining not just factual data but also the emotive meanings and significance of these experiences.
5) ***Specificity.*** While the interviewer may be interested in obtaining views and experiences of general events, there is also a desire to understand the specific experiences as they have occurred to the subject. In the current study, for example, the interview discussions were not just focused on eliciting views of race and the academic field, but also exploring specific events and experiences as lived through by the subjects.
6) ***Deliberate naiveté.*** Throughout the interview, the interviewer should demonstrate an openness to new interpretations and meanings as they emerge in the discussion and after. This would mean not assuming prior knowledge of and/or imposing own interpretation during the subjective account. In order to encourage openness and sharing of information, the interviewer must therefore not position him/self as 'expert' to the participant but rather communicate a desire to learn more. This issue of non-expert positioning is returned to in the reflexivity section of the *results* and *conclusion* chapters.
7) ***Focused.*** The interview must remain focused on specific themes and address the topic of the research. This would entail returning the participant to the focus of the discussions throughout the process.
8) ***Ambiguity.*** The interviewer must ensure that the responses of the participant are not ambiguous as a result of miscommunication during the interview process. Sometimes contradictions and ambiguities may emerge in the narrative accounts, this may be attributable to the subjective process and dynamics of negotiating social meanings and 'narrating the self' (Frosh, 2003; Hollway and Jefferson, 2000) and the researcher should explore this further in the analysis of the data.
9) ***Change.*** Given that the qualitative research interview is geared around reflecting on and understanding subjective experiences and meanings, it is not uncommon for the participant to change in their relation to a specific event or experience during the course of the interview and/or after. This attribute is considered one of the positive effects of the qualitative interview. There may also be possible negative effects that may be disturbing

to the subject. The researcher must be aware of these possible change effects and be sensitive to the subject.

10) ***Sensitivity.*** Throughout the interview, the researcher must demonstrate sensitivity for different viewpoints as they emerge from the interviewee, as well as the possible effects on the emotional well-being of the participant.
11) ***Interpersonal Situation.*** The researcher must be aware of and be able to address any possible transgressions of boundaries between him/her and the interviewee. Furthermore, given that the interview situation is a close conversation between two people, the researcher must be sensitive to and be able to address any anxieties and defense mechanisms that tend to emerge during such encounters. This issue is returned to in the reflexivity section in the *report* and *conclusion* chapters.
12) ***Positive Experience.*** If the interview is conducted properly, it should overall be a positive experience for both the interviewer and the interviewee.

5.11 Invitation Process and Contact with participants

Students were invited to participate following ethics approval from the Ethics Committee at the University of the Witwatersrand (see Appendix C). Two formal invitation procedures were adopted: invitation at the lecture and tutorial venues and poster invitations. The postgraduate cohort was selected through snowball sampling procedures invitation. Students were informed about the nature and purpose of the study (see Appendix A) and how their participation would be beneficial to the study's conclusion. Contact details of the researcher were provided. Students were thus at liberty to make contact without any duress from either the researcher or social pressures to participate (that tend to exist in a lecture setting). From the initial cohort of students who expressed interest in participation, a further round of exclusion was adopted in accordance to the study's participation criteria. This cohort was an initial number of thirteen students and was later expanded to total thirteen undergraduate students and seven postgraduate students. Appropriate times for the first phase of interviews were arranged with each individual student. Given the researcher's academic position within the department and institution there was already an authoritative relationship set up between researcher and participants and which undoubtedly influenced how most of the participants positioned themselves in the interviews. This issue is discussed further in reflexivity section in the *Conclusions and Reflexivity chapter*.

5.12 Interview Process

Individual interviews were conducted in the office of the researcher in the department of psychology. Semi-structured interviews were conducted lasting approximately two hours. Topic guides (see Appendix F) were utilized to both frame and guide the discussions although flexibility in the order and discussion of some questions was exercised. Interviews were conducted with the students at different phases of their academic study (first year for the first phase of interviews and second year for the second phase of interviews). This latter interest with temporal aspect of narrative was further addressed with the undergraduate group through follow-up interviews, further allowing for narratives of transition to emerge. Approximately two phases of interviews were thus conducted, each conducted in accordance with a specific theme (described below), were conducted. Individual interviews were also conducted with seven postgraduate students. However, these interviews were not conducted over different phases but rather entailed a once-off discussion lasting about two hours per interview. The purpose of the interviews was explained to each participant and why they had been invited to participate. The right to withdraw at any phase of the data collection was discussed as well as the right to not respond to specific questions. At the end of each discussion, participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation and informed about the dissemination of the results and how they may access the final report. At the discretion of the researcher, some repeat interviews were conducted with the postgraduate cohort. Furthermore, participants wishing to engage with me in a more personal and confidential capacity on any of the issues raised in the discussions were accommodated both by myself as well as the CCDU[20]. These latter discussions have not been included in the analyses and have been treated with the utmost sensitivity and confidentiality.

5.13 Interview Topic Guide[21]

The interview topic guide focused on three separate but intertwining themes. All three themes were explored in the first phase of interviews. Only the second and third themes were explored in the second phase of interviews. Furthermore, the topic guide was utilized to frame four key significant contexts for discussion: 1) formal academic contexts such as

[20] Counseling and Careers Development Unit
[21] See Appendix F

lectures and tutorials, 2) 'formal'[22] social contexts such as team social events in the case of postgraduate cohort; 3) informal social interactions both on and off campus (these would typically be student-only events which may occur on or off campus) and 4) the types of conversations that would typically ensue in both formal and informal contexts. The focus of the discussions was to obtain a description of the education history of the participants from high school up to present moment of the interview. This was particularly useful in gleaning additional information about familial background and the educational and occupational history of the interviewees prior to coming to the institution. Furthermore, this phase of the discussion allowed for exploration of temporal and spatial dimensions to the accumulation of cultural capital by exploring narratives of different social fields that the participants had been part of prior to their location at tertiary institution. In this sense, the interview questions addressed issues not only of how dispositions of cultural capital were learnt and deployed in different social fields, but also how a mixing of different fields (over time and space) enable the deployment of capital in the present context or field, exploring how different deployments of cultural capital in different social fields have been inculcated over time. The emphasis of the discussions in this phase focused on experiences of the immediate context or social field. This aspect of the discussion addressed issues of individual experiences within the field that contribute to how they interpret particular interactions as racialised as well as their own deployments and contestations of raced dispositions in their negotiation, challenge and re/production of social and symbolic structures.

The discussion also focused on individual action or strategies for negotiating the present field. Emphasis here was on the strategies of deployment of cultural capital and the practice of negotiations within different moments. In his critique of Bourdieu's conceptualization of symbolic violence and subjectivity, Thompson (1984) notes that Bourdieu's initial conceptualization of symbolic violence presents a rather linear view of the subject that fails to take into account the active and dynamic ways that the individual will engage with his or her environment. One means of redressing this shortcoming would be to actively engage with the processes that the individual interacts with the immediate context as well as the perceptions of resistance that underlie these actions. Bourdieu himself later addresses this shortcoming through his concept of relational phenomenology discussed earlier. While he remains

[22] Although such occasions may be deemed 'informal', I have still framed as formal given that these are moments of contact between key authoritative institutional agents and the student, but also that specific protocols of behaviour between subjects continue to inform the nature of these interactions.

skeptical of the exaggerated sense of agency that phenomenological approaches tend to impose on the subject, he nonetheless affirms and engages in analysis of agency through an understanding of how social categories as a lived experience in relation to the structures that determine those experiences (Bourdieu, 1999). For example, in *The Weight of the World* (1999) he undertakes a relational phenomenological study of social suffering through analysis of narratives of class dispossession amongst other forms of lived social realities.

5.14 Ethical Considerations

Ethical clearance was received from the Humanities Ethics Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand (Protocol number H090702) (see Appendix C). In line with the ethics convention of the University of the Witwatersrand Ethics Committee, a strict and transparent ethical procedure was maintained throughout the data collection process. These ethical concerns included making sure that no form of personal harm, including psychological harm, to the participant occurred. As mentioned earlier, aspects of the discussions that were sensitive for the participants and which they preferred not to share in a public space were not included for analysis. In this regard, the researcher made transcribed material available to the relevant subject prior to data analyses to ascertain that participants were comfortable with the information in written form. Furthermore, free debriefing and counseling services were provided by myself and the CCDU. Participants were further advised of their right to choose to participate in the study and to withdraw at any phase of the process. Information shared in the individual interviews was kept confidential (and pseudonyms or neutral labeling codes were used in the discussion, analyses and write up of the report). Throughout the process of data collection, there was no deception used by the researcher. Participants were fully informed about the purpose of the study and to what ends the results might be used. They were also informed of their right to access the results of the study by contacting the researcher who would provide such information in an accessible manner.

5.15 Personal reflection

Following Braun and Clarke (2006, p 80) I adopt a view of qualitative research that attempts to move away from the "naïve realist" tendency in much qualitative research that assumes it is the task of the researcher to 'give voice' to one's research participants. I take this stance in the understanding that there is always some measure of researcher control related to

representation in any qualitative research. Through selection and edit of these voices we are engaged in a process of argument presentation that may indeed honor the voices we represent but are not fully void of our own orientations and positions. Fine (2002) makes a similar point in her critical interrogation of feminist research epistemology. I acknowledge this limitation of the current research. Nonetheless I kept a reflexive journal throughout the data collection phase of the process, consisting of my impressions of each respondent and the interview discussion session. I returned to these observations and reflections during my analysis stage, allowing me some degree of reflexivity in the analysis and discussion of the data.

5.16 Trustworthiness

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) encourage trustworthiness as a central characteristic of all qualitative research. Various strategies may serve to enhance trustworthiness in the research process. In the current study I have relied on my own personal reflexive observations and documentation of the interview sessions, my purposive selection of participants, and engagement with critical interrogation of the conceptual approaches utilized. Furthermore, I have engaged with the data in a critically self-reflexive manner that acknowledges the potential for subjective reading of the interview transcripts. These subjective influences have formed part of my own introspection and critical interrogation of the overall study results and discussion. I return to these issues in the conclusions and reflexivity chapter.

5.17 Concluding thoughts

I have argued in the preceding chapters that explorations of racialization constitute both an engagement with the material, discursive and experiential realities of racial representation and manifestation. This chapter has therefore attempted to continue this frame of argumentation in the idea that different and multiple forms of analytic explorations are required to further engage the intricacies of race and racialization in the lives of subjects. The chapter has presented the epistemological and methodological approach of qualitative research as a suitable framework to engage these issues. Through the analytic tools of thematic, narrative and discursive approaches, the chapter further makes the argument that these different methods of research will allow for nuanced and different dimensions of the process of racialization in the lives of the study participants.

Chapter Six

Narrative analysis of content: *thematic* explorations of data

Racial categories…obscure hugely divergent social positions, which could be unpacked and mapped onto (an interpretation of) the social fabric as something composed of ***different kinds of racialised lives****.*

(Knowles, 2004, p. 23, emphasis in the original)

6.1 Introduction

The first step of the thematic analysis involved reading through the texts sequentially. This process allowed me to gain a sense of familiarity with the data set as a whole, with a gradual sense of the core ideas evident within the texts and in relation to the research questions. My reading of the texts was theory-driven (Braun & Clarke, 2008) and informed by the social constructionist and cultural capital theoretical frameworks. Through this process, I generated preliminary codes from the data that were then used to identify different processes of racialization within the academic field. Data extracts were selected and matched together with relevant codes. Codes were identified in relation to specific questions and the theoretical frameworks. This approach also meant that data was coded with the specific aim of identifying particular aspects of the data and therefore the entire data set content was not included in the final analysis. Reading through the texts allowed me to ascertain regular and recurring patterns of ideas and connotations that were evident in the different textual data. This recurrence points to the presence of specific themes across the data set that could potentially prove relevant to the research focus. The data was then coded manually by the researcher and involved highlighting and writing notes on the texts with different colored highlighters to indicate the different thematic patterns.

When all the data extracts had been coded from individual transcripts I collated these extracts within specific codes by copying extracts from the individual transcripts and grouping them under an overarching thematic code. This process of grouping was done for all of the selected and highlighted data extracts. Data extracts were also manually matched with identified codes. The early coding phase further entailed coding for several potential themes as they emerged. I was also careful to not lose the contextual meaning of the extracted data (Bryman, 2001) and therefore paid attention to the contexts of particular conversations and have

included these in my identification and matching of codes and data. An illustration of this extraction and coding process is shown below:

Data extract	**Coded for**
…When you are in class you are constantly aware of where you come from, especially when you come from rural areas.	Negative talk about race, cultural capital and navigation of academic space. Racial awareness and visibility.
Again, the kind of personality…you learn pre-university how you must relate to academics.	Talk about dispositions and cultural capital. Socialization and academic success. Academic enculturation and cultural capital.

Figure 1 Sample data extract, with codes applied

When all the data had been coded and collated I began the process of initial thematic identification. This phase of identification included revising, discarding and collating specific codes. It is during this time that the identification of overarching themes was useful and my revision of identified codes was conducted in relation to their relevance to the overarching theme. Following Braun and Clarke's (2008) suggestion I found the use of a visual mind map to be useful in ascertaining the interconnectedness of identified overarching themes, sub-themes and their overall relevance in relation to the research study focus. In my coding of the data I specifically looked at how race and scholarship was spoken about by the participants. I coded the data into two overarching themes: how they spoke about *blackness in positive ways* and how they also spoke about *blackness in negative ways*. However, some of the data extracts did not fit in nicely with both these themes and yet were significant to the overall study research question. I then created two other overarching thematic categories that could accommodate these miscellaneous extracts: *neutral talk* about blackness and *awareness of race* categories. In the positive talk about blackness four sub-themes were identified: visible and invisible processes of racial subjectification that was advantageous to those subjects entering the field with cultural capital; easy entry and participation into so-called 'white' spaces and fields of academia and the strategic deployment of a black identity by subjects so positioned. In the negative talk on blackness nine sub-themes were identified: pressures to perform well as a black student, representative of one's race, social and academic spaces as alienating, visible and invisible processes of racial subjectification that were experienced as debilitating to academic participation, tokenism, sense of belonging, institutional conspiracy

against black students and negative stereotypes concerning black students in the field. Figure 2 is a visual depiction of this initial thematic mapping:

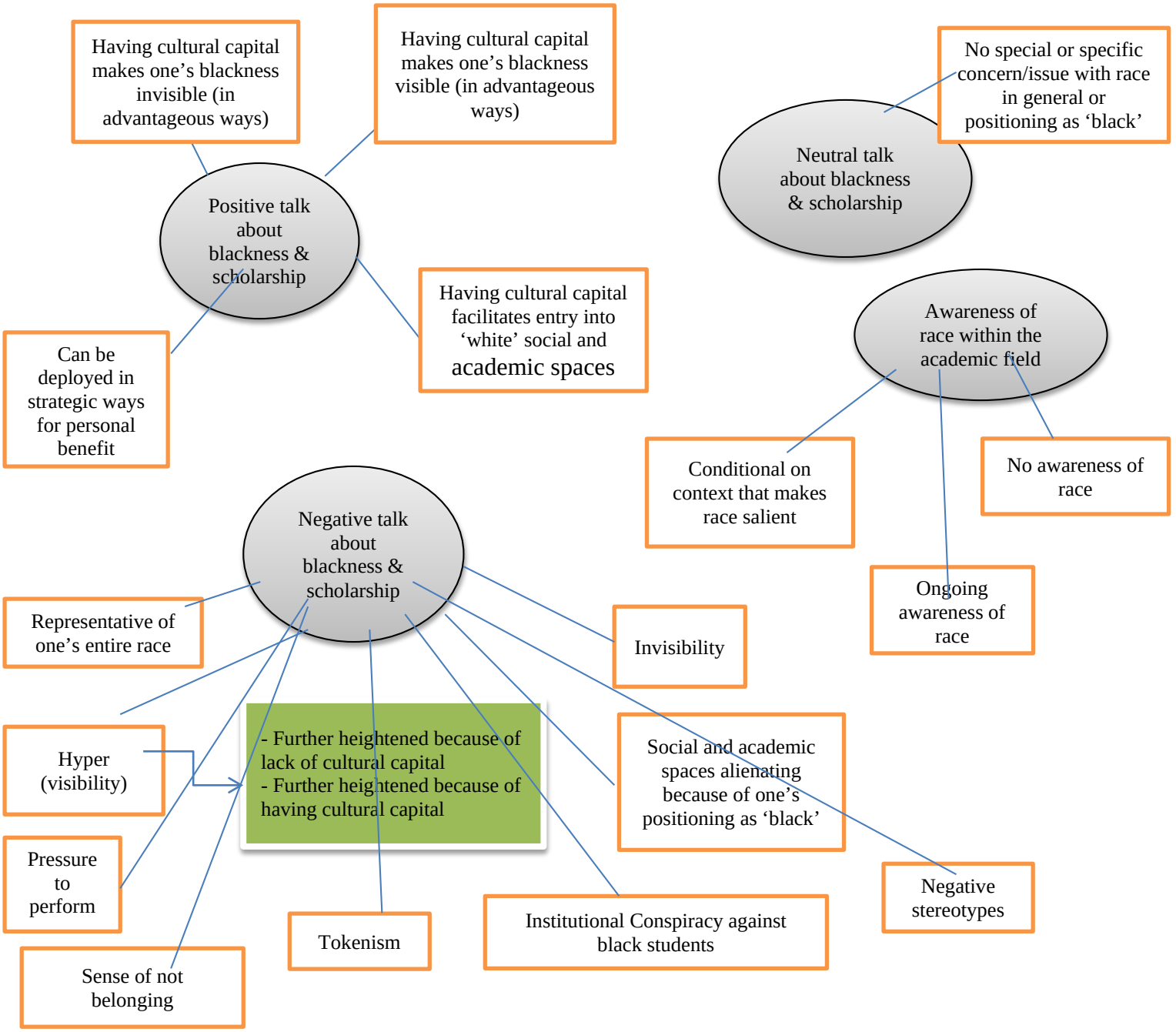

Figure 2 Initial thematic map showing four main themes on race and scholarship

6.2 Demonstrating rigor in the review of themes

Following my initial identification and coding of thematic patterns from the data set, I further engaged a process of refining the identified themes for consistency and coherence. To accomplish this, I relied on Patton's (1990) dual criteria for reviewing thematic categories: *internal homogeneity* and *external heterogeneity*. In the former process the focus was on ascertaining the degree to which overarching and sub-themes were indeed sufficient to support the arguments I was making and their relevance to the research study questions more generally. Part of this refinement therefore involved exploring initial themes in relation to the data extracts and interrogating the 'goodness-of-fit' (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) between these as well as determining the degree to which some themes may be collated within other themes etc.

This process involved two distinct levels of review: in the first level I specifically interrogated the coded data extracts for coherency and relevance. This included critically reading the collated extracts for each theme. Those themes that were identified as problematic with regards to coherency were then either discarded or revised to more accurately reflect the core ideas evident in the data. From this phase of refinement and review a final thematic map (see Figure 3) was created. The second level of review involved a more concentrated focus on the entire data set itself. I read the data set for overall coherency and relevance to the study research question and focus. Those themes that did not seem to present an accurate depiction of the research questions were either revised or discarded altogether. For example, from the data set I had initially identified thematic categories of subjectivity that were significant to how the participants navigated their social and physical spaces but which did not necessarily address the concerns of the overall study objectives and focus in terms of processes of racialization.

Those aspects of the thematic patterns that seemed to relate to concerns of racial subjectivity were revised and collated under other overarching or sub-themes while those aspects that did not relate in any significant way to the study focus were discarded. Furthermore, I identified other important processes of racialization that did not seem to stand independently as overarching themes but which were nonetheless critical to some of the other thematic processes identified. I therefore collated the former within these subsidiary thematic categories. For example, the initial thematic category exploring aspects of racialised visibility

and invisibility had recurring sub-themes related to different levels of these processes. I therefore re-categorized and subsumed these levels as either personal, and/or social levels of in/visibility. I also separated my initial collation of hyper-visibility from the interweaving processes of visibility, and explored other emerging issues of misrecognition, misrepresentation and so forth. The initial category focused on neutral talk was further collapsed within the positive talk and explored in relation to cultural capital effects in promoting neutral constructs of race and scholarship and yet which seemed to embody positive effects. The revised final thematic mapping is shown in the figure below:

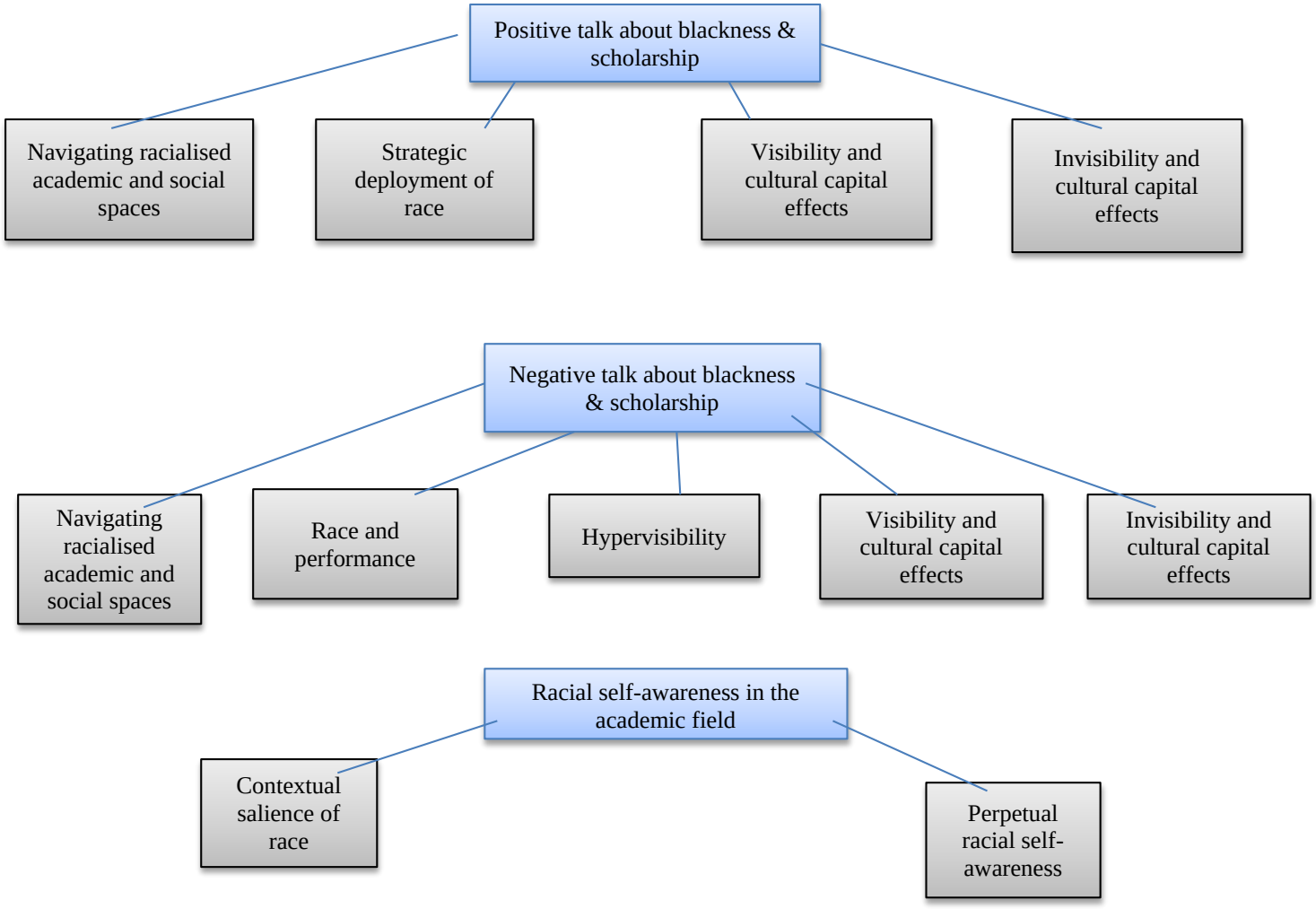

Figure 3 Final thematic map showing three main themes on race and scholarship

This first phase of the analysis was further concerned with how participants position themselves and others as racial subjects with differential rights and agency within the academic field. The findings illustrate the relational nature of racial subjectivities, a process in which blackness or social meanings of blackness are constructed in relation to predominantly social meanings of whiteness and white racial identity constructs. Blackness is further constructed in relation to other constructs of classed identities as well as constructs of academic and institutional identities. In this phase of the analysis, I am especially concerned with four features of the data:

- how language is used to construct a particular version of the social world as raced through discourse
- what the possible functions and effects of the discourses deployed present to challenging, reinforcing and/or justifying these social constructs
- how the subject positions him/herself and others in particular ways that hold together the social constructs
- how racialised subjectivity is re/produced through the deployment of these discourses.

Given the focus and aim of the analytic framework I read the transcribed data with a specific attention to those extracts that seemed to articulate racial positioning in varied ways – either with regards to the self or others – as well as the implied relations arising from this positioning. In this sense then this first stage of reading for discursive construct within the text was already 'tinged' with my own interpretation and understanding of explicit and implied meanings (Alldred & Burman, 2005). Parker's analytic approach (1992; 1994) informed my reading of the data during this phase of the analysis to both identify and interpret the discursive constructs of subjects in racialised ways. Alldred & Burman (2005) further note that this form of analysis may vary with regards to aims and focus depending on the nature of the text. Thus, where Parker further identified three specific criteria or steps to the analysis and which emphasize the role of ideology and institutions in the production of relations of power, Alldred & Burman (2005) argue that not all analytic approaches engage this concern with ideological function. The second and third stages of the analysis explored the multiple meanings and connotations in the text at a much broader level through a process of identifying objects and subjects within the text. In the first part of this process I identified the different objects described in the transcript by iteming the nouns referred to, such as

‘books’, ‘culture’, ‘knowledge’ etc. Using a thematic map, I then focused on the explicit and implied relations between the itemized objects. In this way, I was able to elaborate on possible meanings and associations between objects and discourses. This process was also adopted in the identification and itemizing of subjects. In this instance, all the categories of persons that were referred to in the text were itemized and their implied relations. Following Alldred and Burman (2005) I also distinguished between those institutional identity categories such as ‘lecturer’, ‘teacher’, ‘student’, ‘administrative staff’ etc. from less formal categories such as ‘friend’, ‘peer’ etc. Following this, I focused on the explicit and implied descriptions of these categories that were understood to confer particular subject positions on the individual, such as ‘good student/lecturer’, ‘white/black lecturer’ etc. From this, I was able to highlight the contrasting subject positions of these categories such as ‘mediocre student/lecturer’, ‘ignorant student/parent’, ‘and black/white culture’ etc.

Dynamics of subject positioning was further explored through analysis of the differential speaking rights of the identified subjects in the text – both explicit and implied. Through this, the different dynamics of power and constructs of subjective agency in relation to racial subjectivity was explored. From this, it was possible to attempt an analysis of the general statements within the discourse that cohere to construct a particular type of world that is challenged and/or reinforced by the discourse deployed. The contradictory ways of speaking and deploying discourse was also of central interest and the interrelationships between discourses were explored. The final stage of the analysis included labelling the discourses deployed with the objective of critically reflecting on the uses and effects of the discourse. Three overarching discursive themes were identified that seemed to construct particular view of the social world and racial subjectivity. Each of these themes was explored in terms of the different objects and subjects constructed within the discourse as well as the function and effect of these discursive constructs. Three guiding questions framed the analysis of the themes as follows: what was the implied relation between objects and subjects? What are the implied penalties for not assuming particular subject positions, and what rights and roles are constructed related to each subject position?

6.3 Positive talk on Blackness

6.3.1 "*Race pretty much never comes up for me*": invisible blackness and cultural capital effects

One of the key findings of this study is that blackness as a self-identification and political category may be taken for granted by those students entering the academic field with particular idealized cultural capital attributes. For these students, race takes a backseat to other identity categories such as gender, sexuality and class and only comes to assume salience when prompted by others. In discussing the significance of race to their navigation of these spaces, the responses varied from complete dismissal of race to emphasis on other identity markers as more pertinent to how they navigated their environment. This is the case both in their interactions with staff members and other students as well as entry into the informally racialised spaces on campus. The accounts are positive in the sense that the participants speak about their subjective positioning as black subjects within the field to be essentially free from the negative 'blackness as burden' account that was evident in the discussions with those students coming into the field without the accrued benefits of cultural capital marks of distinction. Embodiments of idealized cultural capital traits function to protect some students from the negative stereotypical social meanings of black subject positioning. It is not surprising that a general lack of awareness of this effect and privilege is present in how these subjects talk about their navigation of the field. Indeed, this ignorance constitutes part of the subjective constitution and illustrates the privilege of embodied cultural capital attributes:

> When I interact with others – staff or student — I can't say that race is really important to me. There are other things that I think about such as being a first year student and how much they will engage with me because of that. Generally I never really think about my race. I went to a Jewish school so you could say that the race thing has in some sense become irrelevant to me. I had to get over that quickly. The good thing is that I am able to communicate with no difficulties with anyone. And for me, the main thing is always how does being a first year student affect how others in my environment see me or respond to me. I am not sure that lecturers give us the same amount of time and energy that they would a final year student for example. So that's what I think about mostly.
>
> *(Participant 1, Undergraduate student)*

> Race pretty much never comes up for me. I don't think it's important at all. There are other things that are more important. I want something from them and they are there to provide it for me. That is their job. I don't think about what they think of me.
>
> *(Participant, 3, Undergraduate Student)*

> I guess I may have been somewhat desensitized in my early schooling, cos I was in a predominantly white school for like half of my academic career. So I guess I carried that with me. Because a lot of people are aware, people who get into these political groups here and talk about, you know, racial issues and student output. I mean in first year, they knew about these things and I wasn't and still not aware or interested in them, you know I sort of picked up on this. And they tend to come from you know your more township schools whatever, you know, so I was just out of all that. I started off from a white environment, I'm used to a white environment and nothing fazes me. I find with them there's a bit of an inferiority complex, even at Masters level, a lot of them are scared to talk to their white classmates, even in my class, especially last year. They were, you know things were like fractured and they went into their own groups. And I was comfortable talking to everyone, so I've never had that thing. I don't know what you call it. Seems that they tend to feel inferior and I can tell that it means something if they are sort of recognized by their white classmates. I never really cared about that, because I sort of got over that as a youngster."
>
> (Participant 4, postgraduate student)

Muñoz and Maldonado (2011) observe that dominant narratives of race may not always be challenged or resisted by subjects positioned within such narratives. Indeed, critical race theorists have argued that relations of power influence the practices of resistance that subjects engage in and therefore critical explorations of how dominant racial narratives may be internalized and reinscribed are necessary (Back & Solomos,2000; Hobbel & Chapman, 2009; Muñoz & Maldonado, 2011). This is not to argue that subjects in the study do not indeed experience some privilege and freedom in not having the race narrative as the primary signifier in their navigation and interaction in the field. Given that these students are entering the field with much valued cultural capital and economic and other resources, their accounts of race as invisible and irrelevant to their self-positioning and formation of relations in the field is not surprising. However, one should note with caution the purported absence of race in their navigation of the field. Indeed, the participant's commentary in the preceding excerpt on other students' dispositions and presentation in their interaction within academic contexts would seem to illustrate just some of the intricate ways that racialization processes are

effective – through ignorance of one's embodied privilege. In the process of negotiating this positioning as different from other black students, a sense of racialised disidentification comes to underlie how some participants categorized as different engage and interpret the experiences of other black students positioned on the margins. The excerpt below illustrates such a process of disidentification through separation. In the space of trying to account for his own and other black students' experiences of racialised positioning and relations to others, the participant constructs his identity by asserting his difference from students with township schooling backgrounds. Moreover, he proceeds to generalize what would seem to be not only racialised but also classed experiences to this group. By attributing an inherent inferiority complex to his peers who fail to demonstrate his disposition of familiarity and ease with other races and the academic space more generally, he effectively dismisses how social class can be racialised as well socio-historical and class contexts of privilege that enable him to assume such a disposition and not his peers. This excerpt further highlights what Rathzel, Cohen, Back, Keith and Hieronymuc (2008), Massey (2005) and Westwood (1990) describe heterogeneous space as that which allows for such diverse and multiple subjectivities in conditions of 'thrown togetherness' to coexist even as the space remains racialised (Phoenix and Phoenix, 2012, p. 56). Embodied cultural capital attributes influence how these subjects not only articulate their experiences of racialization as free of conflict but also influences practices of invisibility in which they do not see the intersections of race, class and cultural capital in how they navigate their immediate social field:

> My biggest concern in terms of my current professional training is that I may be perceived as too young. Race remains in the background for me. It doesn't really factor. It has never really factored most of my life. I am able to engage with anyone without thinking of my race or theirs. I know this is not the case for many others but I don't have that hang-up. You could say that my exposure to different races early in life has served me well.
>
> (Participant 7, Postgraduate student)

> I guess when you point out my race to me then I think about it. But generally, I don't think about that. I am able to be here without thinking about that, and people generally don't respond to me in that way. For me, it would be more about my being a female. That affects a lot of my interactions more than anything. Especially being in the position that I am in, it's about how others respond to me as a woman. Especially my male colleagues.
>
> (Participant 5, postgraduate student)

Racial subject positioning becomes even less important in comparison with other subjective positions that are made more salient to them within specific contexts. *Participant 5* in the excerpt below for example discusses the importance of gender in her navigation of her environment and social interactions. Her social position as first female vice-president of the (predominantly male and black) student political organization on campus means that her invasion of social and physical space is primarily through a gendered positioning that has implications for how she navigates academic citizenship within the field. Puwar (2004) posits that hidden processes underlie how subjects move through social and physical space that in effect reproduces their gendered and racialised bodies in particular ways. It can be further argued that this reproduction of gendered and racialised subjectivities also constitutes the level at which subjects internalize particular aspects of subjectivity to be important to them. Ironically, her anxiety over potential gender stigmatization notwithstanding, she experiences discrimination on the basis of her perceived middle-class status. This negation of her class status is further constructed in relation to racial constructs of blackness. Subjects come to manage their racialised and other positioning via practices of resistance and/or acceptance that may reproduce their bodies and subjectivities in particular ways but also challenge these reproductions so that invasion of social space may be embraced as resistance by the subject in spite of the conditions of conflict and devaluation. The excerpt below illustrates the subject's resistance to her interpellation as a particular kind of black, a 'coconut' – a term deployed as part of a derogatory racializing practice that constructs static and homogenous meanings of blackness. In her rejection of this interpellation, she is effectively not only challenging this homogenous construct but also offering up alternate ways to engage with blackness as a social and political identity:

> There are some of my colleagues who try to use my middle-class status to trivialize and undermine my position, the whole 'she's nothing but a coconut' thing. And then I do think about that, how race is important to me because they are trying to discredit that aspect of me.
> **Interviewer:** What do you think about that label?
> **Participant:** I reject it completely. Because applying to me means that they are saying I do not have the same experiences of being black. I acknowledge my family and schooling has given me some benefits and I have different experiences of the institution because of it. But my political ideals don't change because of that. So I reject the equation of the two.
>
> (Participant 5, postgraduate student)

Free from the emotional and social pressure of negative stereotyping and having to prove one's personal and social worth, these students construct an account of blackness that not only negates the relevance of this identity in their lives but also denotes the added privilege of being ignorant of this privilege. Mckinney (2005) demonstrates a similar sense of invisibility and ignorance of this invisibility in the formation of whiteness in her participants describing the latter process as "prompted whiteness" in relation to the contextual saliency of the identity.

Racialization for the subjects in the current study is not a uniform and universalizing experience and process but rather characterized by conflict, ambivalence and differential moments and access of/to power and privilege. As Fanon (1962) has argued, blackness may be experienced differently by those subjects that find themselves closer to levels of whiteness. The state or experience of *not seeing* how one's racial, class and other positioning is interwoven with differential points of access to power is precisely what constitutes privileged subjectivities in networks of power. Thus, even the seemingly neutral consumption of culture and leisure exemplifies the social, cultural and economic divisions that influence practices of racialization, such that blackness as a homogenous political category becomes fragmented. When asked about their interaction with the social spaces within the field, the respondents not only mentioned not experiencing either theirs or others' positioning in racialised ways, but also explicitly racial relational encounters as not troubling. Part of the reason for this, I would argue, is related to not reading these encounters as racialised. For these subjects, everyday interactions constitute part of the social norm with race perceived as invisible and irrelevant to their navigation of the social world. Their [classed] habitus and cultural capital embodiment and disposition allow them to accommodate racial others – via encounters with whiteness – but also enjoys the invisibility of white habitus:

> I can't say that I feel boxed like other students. People relate to me not just as a black student. I have so much more experiences than just being black, right. And they get that. So, yeah, I really don't feel boxed. We attend the same social club events and it's all good. We talk. Share the same stories or whatever.
>
> **Interviewer**: What kinds of stories?
>
> **Participant 9:** Just general stuff, where we spent the vac or where we will be going to spend vac, what clubs are happening at the moment. Just general stuff about how we chill.
>
> *(Participant, 9, Undergraduate Student)*

> When I interact with someone of a different race, I don't think that they have any negative feelings about me. I don't think anything really. I speak well; I am obviously someone who has had a good education. I know that this matters in terms of how others perceive me. And they respond to me in that way. Maybe it's one of the perks of my background but I don't mind. It allows me to just be.
>
> *(Participant 1, Postgraduate student)*

Practices of racialization constitute multiple discursive constructs of the subject and may construct racial subjectivity that is positive in content. The preceding thematic accounts illustrate some of the positive meanings that participants attribute to practices of being made visible through constructs of an atypical or exceptional blackness. However as Tate (2011) has observed such processes of racialization do not necessarily imply being free from broader stereotypical and negative constructs that come with being a body out of place (Puwar, 2004). Indeed both positive and negative constructs of the visible black body in social space imply two opposite yet functional racializing practices that serve to either construct the subject as an exception or a representative of one's race (Tate, 2011). In either case, broader constructs of the black outsider within the academic space remain unchallenged.

6.3.2 "*It's an advantage being black on top of it all*": visible blackness and strategic meanings of blackness

Racialization processes of invisibility further contrast with simultaneous processes and practices of visibility. The latter process provides marks of taste and distinction that function to set the individual as separate from the social group. On the surface the simultaneous construct of invisibility and visibility may appear both contradictory and irreconcilable. However on deeper level processes of racialization does indeed encompass this dichotomy of simultaneously being seen and not being seen. Du Bois's (1997) construct of the veil is useful to observe here. In a racialised environment and through social encounter the subject comes to experience and realize moments of discord between his/her racial consciousness and that of others. These students in their perception and experience of racial visibility as positive marks of distinction seem to engage in a process of strategic deployment of race that attests to their reflexive awareness of the performances and social meanings attached to the category. Performing to and deploying particular facets of this categorization become instrumental in eliciting desired rewards and outcomes in their social navigation of the academic field. Part of this process of being seen and not being seen also means that the subject must engage both real and imagined differences in their navigation of the field. McKinley (2005) refers to this process as a kind of doubling whereby the subject experiences a kind of splitting as part of process of being stereotypically positioned and also attempting to challenge this positioning. The added features of particular cultural capital attributes would seem to further lend the processes of being seen in a more positive light. While the literature has predominantly focused on the negative aspect of this dichotomy, being seen as *a black student* in the current study sometimes articulated as not only positive but also instrumental in accruing specific rewards and outcomes to the individual. In the excerpt below *participant two*[23] discusses how being positioned as a gifted black student during his undergraduate year enabled him to form rewarding mentorship relations with different members of staff in his undergraduate study:

> "In third year, I got to know Prof *****[24] the Head of the department. And he was hell bent on getting me into the postgraduate program. And he used to tell me 'there's a shortage of gifted black philosophers'. You know they even sort of promised to take me abroad for my

[23] Currently in his postgraduate study at the time of the interview
[24] Name withheld

> Masters and PhD, because they were quite keen on me. All of them. On every essay I'd write, my lecturers would say 'we are hoping you are considering doing postgrad this and this'. I think they just got quite excited because there was a black guy who was out-mastering some of the white students…
>
> Interviewer: How did you feel about being positioned in that way?
>
> **Participant 2** It didn't bother me. I guess it's something that is necessary. It's just odd to see how they get excited about it, and not just them. You see it almost everywhere in how we speak about transformation, you know the 'gifted black student' (laughs). It's a good thing that they are very keen on it, yeah, but it can get a bit overwhelming when they sort of sit on you and they encourage you 'please come, please come'. They put a lot of pressure on you and makes you think like 'shit these guys expect so much and if I let them down', you know […] but also you have to be strategic about these things. This is one instance where being black will work well for you, so why not use. I formed mentorships with my lecturers in the department, so I knew I kinda knew I had an 'in' when push came to shove.

The extract highlights not only the subject's awareness of his racialised positioning by others within the field but also his perception that such positioning can be strategically beneficial to him. Race becomes a strategic tool for manipulation that may be deployed in the realization of specific goals. It is the same awareness and perception of the strategic benefits that such positioning produces that informs the same subject's mentor-mentee relationship with another member of staff, a relationship that foregrounds his successful entry into postgraduate study:

> And my supervisor now…I first met him in my second year of undergraduate study. He was also very very (sic) open and I've known him since then. In fact that's when we started talking about the project that I'm doing now. He was also very good. He would bump into me over the years and ask me 'so how are things going', sort of thing. Took an interest in me."
>
> (Participant 2, Postgraduate Student)

Visibility further relies on key relational encounters that highlight or make salient the social meanings of race to the subject. Being cast as exceptional highlights their difference not just in relation to other racial groups but also from other black students who fail to demonstrate similar skills and knowledge. And yet ironically, being cast as exceptional – or more accurately atypical – is experienced in ambivalent ways by these students. The nature of the visibility is both embraced and rejected, and even contested in parts.[25] The subject learns to

[25] This contestation and rejection is explored in more depth in the negative talk.

read these relational encounters – via the absences, silences, implied physical behavioral gestures – as racially coded. For the participant in the excerpt below, such an encounter only comes to have personal meaning when she is positioned by an institutional figure through what she interprets as racial coding that is, being categorized as 'typical'. Ironically, her engagement with social construct of her racial positioning only comes to the fore in an attempt to resist the positioning conferred on her. Rejecting the homogenous construct of blackness that is implied in her interpretation of this encounter is only successful because she is able to demonstrate possession of legitimated cultural capital. It is this embodiment that in the end becomes the site for her individualization and repositioning as different and atypical:

> There are just some things that you are not expected to know as a black student. It's just understood. And when they realize that not only do you have knowledge about these things but that you also have other skills, then it makes you stand out. It's almost like you are no longer just a black student but you are actually recognized as more than that.
>
> **Interviewer**: Can you give me an example of this?
>
> **Participant:** …well, I guess sometimes in class, you can see that the tutor does not really expect you to engage beyond the reading material. Or there would be certain references that she makes outside of the text but usually this would only be directed at the white students. And my reading of that is that she does not expect the rest of us to know or to be reading beyond our course requirements. And I remember this one time, I debated with her on a text she had referred to and she could see that I knew the reading and that I was obviously well-read in the subject. From that day, she has treated me differently from the other black students. I am no longer just part of the group but someone that she actively interacts with.
>
> **Interviewer:** Had you engaged with her in the class before this time?
>
> **Participant:** Yes, but then it was always responding to the reading material not talking about anything outside of it. And I would definitely say this was different because before that she only actively discussed with the white students if it was something outside of the prescribed reading.
>
> *(Participant 2, Undergraduate student)*

Visibility also means being aware of and engaging the strategic meanings of racialised subjectivity. Part of this entails grappling with the broader socio-discursive field of racialised discourse – particularly those pertaining to race and the academic field – and knowing the potential utility of these discursive constructs. This tacit awareness and knowledge informs how the respondents create and form mentorships with members of the academy, navigating

this competitive field in relation to the broader transformation politics of within the institution concerning the significance of black presence in this field:

> Do I think who I am make a difference for them? Yes, definitely. Especially, when I consider how that feeds into their own politics. I am sure most departments would love to get a black postgraduate student and I am sure they push for this. I guess it's the policy or transformation agenda or whatever. So, someone like me shows up – talented, skilled, intelligent. Like, I am not someone that they would need to push through the system. I stand on my own steam. I can imagine that that is very much a big deal. I know that puts me at an even better advantage compared to the other black students that are struggling. I'm not quite sure how I feel about the agenda itself but honestly it doesn't really matter to me. The agenda is there but I still have to demonstrate why I deserve to be where I am, so that's still on me. It just feels good, starting from the beginning in my first year to have had the mentorship that I did for whatever reason.
>
> (Participant 1, postgraduate student)

> No doubt it's an advantage being black on top of it all. It opens doors for you. That factor of being one of the best in your subject and being black. It means something.
>
> (Participant 13, undergraduate student)

Occupying a racially marked position in the competitive selection process into postgraduate is further constructed as significant in influencing the participant's opportunities for postgraduate study. This perception highlights how respondents are engaging with their racialised positioning at different moments within the institution, in which they perceive their black social positioning as advantageous to their career. This construct relates to broader socio-discursive constructs of transformation agendas within the institution and the nation more generally and illustrates how subjects come to position themselves within broader discursive networks of race. The excerpt below illustrates one respondent's anxiety over being selected into the postgraduate program in his department, an anxiety related to his perception that more informal relations with institutional agents can at times be beneficial to the student:

> I knew it was going to be difficult; yes I was panicking to a large extent. You know I didn't participate much in class and I thought that would influence if I got in, because they didn't really know me. You know certain things….you interact with the lecturer and well, as a

> lecturer you can say, 'I know this person. This person has been asking questions'. And even when you mark their paper, you can personalize things like 'I know what he is trying to say here because we have had this conversation before'. So yes, there is a relationship that is formed in class that I really didn't have with…in fact with all of my undergrad and even in honors, I wasn't one of those that goes to a lecturer, I was a very distant student. So I worried about those factors and I would find out information from other students who had gone to the lecturers and listen to what they had to say and I would think, 'this is going to be a disadvantage for me'.
>
> (Participant 4, Postgraduate Student)

> "But in all honesty, if you start looking along racial lines, well, you don't think you can go in as part of the fifteen and try to be race-blind or whatever. You just think, okay they will need four blacks or so. As part of affirmative action and whatever. You start thinking along those lines. And you say, 'okay I know these people will make it'. And you start counting the number of individuals, like 'I know these ones will make it' just based on the relationships that you've seen and you think that they would do well for some reason. And you know that you are very limited in terms of that kind of relationship. And so you think, 'okay well, at least if they need blacks'. Well they are going to need a diverse, you'd probably feature as one of that group. At some point when the list was out, the first draft, I started counting the number of black people there cos those were my competitions. I was looking and I said 'okay, so these are the people that I have to make sure I beat in the race'.
>
> (Participant 4, Postgraduate Student)

Social contexts are here read through racialised lens that enable the respondent to position himself as a particular type of raced subject within a racialised hierarchy that is then deployed in his strategic response to situational contexts. Construct of blackness in such competitive context is not the only avenue considered to be potentially advantageous to the subject. Blackness is again actively embraced and articulated in a way that is meant to convey competence and skill. In these constructs, participants rely on strategic moments whereby occupation of particular social positions and status becomes a site to recreate and promote different representations of blackness that challenge and disturb dominant denigrating ones. By so doing these subjects engage in agentic responses to potentially devaluing practices and contexts of subjectification. Challenging dominant criticisms of Bourdieu's social reproduction theory as overly deterministic, McNay (1999) argues that Bourdieu does in fact address the issue of subject agency in his theory. Through active self-reflexivity self-

awareness the subject strategically engages his/her environment in ways that may produce change. Bourdieu thus "does not deny the possibility of reflexive self-awareness or the attendant potential for politically motivated change" (McNay, 1999, p. 106). And yet, writers such as Jenkins (1992) and Lovell (2000) point out the contradiction and ambiguity in this idea of self-reflexive agentic subject as it is presented in the construct of habitus as generative. If, as Bourdieu (1977) suggests, it is impossible to engage one's social field without the influencing presence of inculcated habitus – a habitus that cannot be consciously and reflexively touched – then how do such strategic deployments of race occur within the current field? Bourdieu's (1977; 1990) obvious response to such a challenge would be to point out that such examples of strategic practice of subjectivity is influenced by previously inculcated habitus that was already there. I would agree here with McNay's (2000) assertion that such a view denies subjective agency and fails to really engage the subject's capacity for a reflective interaction with processes of subjectification.

Du Bois' (1997) construct of the veil in this process of subjectification and awareness may perhaps be more useful to further unpacking this problematic. For Du Bois [1903][1997] moments of racial encounter that make visible the subject's othering status need not be experienced wholly as debilitating and in fatalistic ways. Rather, spaces to embody and articulate strategic deployments of subjectivity are still present. Through the construct of second sight Du Bois (1997) allows for a critical reflexivity in engaging processes of racialised subjectification. Indeed, the current deployments of black subject positioning by some of the respondents seems to indicate an awareness of the performances that such positioning not only demands of them but also the socially constructed meanings of the category itself. While the subject in the excerpt below engages a process of race management that allows him to address the stereotypical meanings of blackness and the academy, he is also caught within what Tate (2013) refers to as a corporeal economy in which racial doubt marks the black body in [academic] space:

> "There was a lot of thought in the beginning about how I would be perceived. Not only was I young but also young-looking. And more importantly, at that point I was one of three black tutors. And me knowing the discourse that happened when I was a student about the black teacher or the black lecturer…and not wanting to play to a white culture….but also wanting to assert my position as their tutor and my relation to them especially in terms of what I knew was also aware that I was not just a tutor to these students. I was also a black tutor. And that is

> saying a lot because we know what the stereotypes of this are. And so, for me, it was not a time to be anxious or overwhelmed by it all. It was an opportunity for me to provide a new image for them of what the black academic could look like. And I realized I was doing not just for the white students but also for the black students. Especially the black students. I wanted them to see. This is what black could also look like. Also me aware of being a black male in a white female-dominated class. And ironically, the people that were most interested were the people that were the exact opposite of me (laughing) and sometimes I would think: are they testing me sometimes to see how much I know?[…] and sometimes the black students, I don't know, maybe it was some kind of projection but I felt like sometimes they identified with me. Like there was a message sent out to them like 'they could also be here'…so like it was the message 'you can also do this'...that 'black students can do postgraduate study, that we can reach this level'. The idea that this isn't just for a select few but you also do it. So yeah…I think that identification that came from them, I was quite proud of and *played to sometimes for them*…And it was good for them to see that yes we can be at that kind of level. So yeah…there was an awareness of the two different groups and how they interacted with you. Sometimes there was a hypersensitivity of when a particular person says a certain thing and what's behind it.
>
> (Participant 2, Postgraduate Student

The respondent discusses his enactment of racialised performance as a means of disrupting racialised constructs illustrating his ability to challenge and disrupt racialised social and discursive scripts. Pile (1997, p 27) similarly discusses practices of racialised performance that include deployments and performances of subjectivity that are simultaneously "strategic, tactical, mobile, multifaceted, blurred, awkward, and ambivalent". Challenging the racialised meanings attached to one's body is illustrative of how subjectivities can engage practices of agency and resistance within the field. The performative instances of how race is deployed to a strategic end are evident in the respondent's explanation of his presentation of self to both a white and black audience. In the excerpt we can see how racialization is in many ways a two-way relationship that does not only entail structural and socio-discursive contexts of re/production but also subjective agency in engaging, challenging, performing to the discursive positioning that subjects encounter in the field. By "sometimes playing to" the students' identification and recognition of him as a black body occupying white space, the respondent not only recognizes himself in but also overturns the racialised discourses both he and his students are produced in.

This performance is however also simultaneously marked by negotiations and anxieties related to not confirming a stereotype. Such a state of "hypersensitivity" as he describes it must entail a continuous process of surveillance not only of his own positioning and embodied self but also his positioning by others. Never knowing "what's behind it" constitutes a state of hyper-embodiment that reinscribes the racial epidermal schema that propels him to ambiguously challenge yet also seek the approval of the implicitly [white] gaze|:

> "But being there, having the black students and having the white students, I felt like I was tutoring to two different people and wanted to be aware of when I was tutoring to two different people."
>
> **Interviewer**: How did you manage that?
>
> **Participant 2**: You don't. You only think about it later. Like 'what was that about'? Kind of a reflexive thing. But you have to actually; you have to think of certain things. When you're making examples, when you're explaining certain things, you have to think of the two different cultures and bear that in mind. And sometimes you miss it, sometimes you only realize later when students consult with you that that example is not so apparent to this culture. So you can only plan ahead of it, thinking about how this is gonna be received by the group. Certain topics for example aren't ever gonna be received the same way. Certain topics are going to evoke certain things and I wasn't gonna dump it down or avoid confrontation but I also wasn't gonna use this as a sort of platform for political agenda. So you're kind of in the middle, trying to have not just an open discussion but also informed discussions.

His black body is called upon to account for itself through defense of its competencies and knowledges. As perceived outsider then the subject is not only caught within self-surveillance practice but also has the responsibility of dispelling the myths of incompetency placed upon it by racializing discourse. As Tate (2013) states "the burden of proof of capability lies with black academics" (p. 5). It is this burden to prove competence – not only his own but all black subjects more generally – that the participant engages in his performance of blackness. In *Bodies That Matte*r, Butler (1990) argues that identities become "real only to the extent that [they] are performed" (p 278). The respondent's explanation of how he uses his black body to perform a different kind of blackness that challenges and resists the dominant binary separating blackness and the academy illustrates the significance and potential strategy of racial embodiment in daily performance. His account also highlights his own critical reflexivity in relation to the broader racialised body politic that allows him to distinguish and

perceive the underlying social meaning of being "not just a tutor [but] a *black* tutor". Steele and Aronson (1995) have demonstrated the significance and effect of anxiety related to group stereotypes leading to behavioral and/or affective responses that affect performance on a given task. Fanon's (1986) racial epidermal schema is similarly pertinent in how we read the contextual account of occupying social and academic space via racially embodied practices. The positive and strategically performative aspects of the respondent's occupation of these spaces are countered by simultaneous feelings of anxiety and threat that sustain a state of hyper-vigilance of the self.

Lareau and Horvat (1999, p.37) in their extension of Bourdieu's social reproduction theory discuss as "moments of exclusion" and "inclusion that challenge the construct of social reproduction as essentially unproblematic as well as the construct of automatic transmission of cultural capital from middle-class parents (and therefore academic and social success) to their children. Other factors will influence the easy transmission of capital to another generation. Not only does social class mediate such a transmission but race also appears to influence the myriad of ways that some black parents are able to activate, exercise and transmit embodiments of cultural capital to their children (Lareau & Horvat, 1999). For example, the institutional setting may not always recognize and privilege black cultural capital. Cultural capital may thus not be sufficient for successful navigation of a given field and must be complemented by other strategic deployment of identity resources, while social class enables some black students to interact in actively positive ways with their educational institutions than their low-social class counterparts, race may sometimes influence this navigation and even function independently of social class .

> Coming from a well-to-do family I thought. I thought all I really had to do was work hard and that was it. But then you realize that it is more than that really. The working hard part was fine; I was prepared for that already. I know the expectations of being at varsity. My grades weren't disappointing either. It was the other things, trying to get into the student clubs here, or just even be part of the group cohesion, that was literally trying to climb a brick wall. No matter what, no matter what social status you share with the others, you are reminded that "you are still not one of us". They don't actually say it but it's there. So moments like that you do realize 'yeah, I am still black'. But you also suck it up cos it can still count for something, even if it means being the token affirmative choice, but it still counts, it still gets

> you places. I guess you could say it keeps you out of places but it also gets you places. You just have to know when those moments count.
>
> (Participant, 6, postgraduate student, my emphasis)

Ability to read the social scripts is evident in how racialised subjectivity is constructed and deployed by the respondent. Strategic performances of blackness may also characterize the practice of academic citizenship. Such performances entail being able to accurately read the tacit normative constructs of racial subjectivity and being able to enact those aspects of subjectivity necessary to the context. Negotiating this context of contact also means engaging complexities beyond 'do I fit or don't I' to include anxieties and vigilance over *when* one may incorporate to oneself the normative racialised social order. This vigilance is necessary if one is to successfully benefit from how one is positioned within the normative order. Horvat and Antonio (1999) discuss the anguish that accompanies negotiation of the academic field by students from non-mainstream groups. Their study highlights not only the feelings of unbelonging that many of these students experience and encounter but also the performative practices of "leaving oneself behind" upon entry into the school grounds each day.

For these students, the self that is at odds with the [white] organizational habitus is denied, pushed back and silent during social contact with others in the field and later reclaimed when the student vacates the premises each day. Similarly, the respondent's preceding strategy to "just suck it up" reflects a personal negotiation with her racialised positioning as per for the course in her participation in white space. While her account certainly reflects issues of ambiguity and imposed social positioning, I still read her discussion and strategy as positive precisely because it is marked by a persistence in consciously being present as a raced subject as part of an agenda to accrue certain rewards. In this sense then the respondent may be seen to be engaging in an active and reflexive manner with her environment in a manner that challenges the almost fatalistic accounts emergent in the negative talk. What the excerpts presented illustrate is the different contexts and instances of racialised performative enactment on the part of the students positioned in particular racialised ways.

6.3.3 *"We shared the same habits and interests"*: successful navigation of 'white' academic spaces

Racialization continues to remain a defining feature of social relationships and navigation of the broader social field. This is also evident within the academic field where the discursive terrain related to throughput rates, students-at-risk etc. implicitly engage issues of race amongst other factors. The black body in the academic field remains characterized by its *presence* and *absence*. Black subjects' navigation of these spaces previously perceived as white spaces have been documented by academics (Duncan, 2003; 2005; Mabokela et al, 2004 focused on accounting the subjective meanings of racialised spaces within the academy. Navigation of spaces at any institution of higher learning is tied up with both physical and discursive dimensions. Puwar (2004) has argued that we occupy spaces – both physical and discursive – as raced, gendered, classed subjects. Black and/or gendered bodies may come to occupy physical and social spaces previously and predominantly occupied by white male subjects. This process is fraught with conflicting and ambivalent emotions of outsider status as well as resistance. For those participants coming in with idealized cultural capital attributes not only can this occupation of space be both welcoming and accommodating of their racialised and classed selves, but have the added privilege and power to both articulate and deploy multiple markers of subjectivity in the formation of social relations with others in the field. This is in sharp contrast with those students entering the same field without similar idealized cultural capital traits[26]. Both these categories of student must not only successfully read these different codes of interaction but also demonstrate the capacity to enact the desired behavior performance and disposition. Having the tacit knowledge of an institution's values and desired behavior is indeed a necessary requirement to navigating the differently accessible spaces in the field (Bourdieu, 1990):

> I don't recall having any difficulties with proving myself or anything like that, to other people. My experience has been generally a good one. I guess it's easy when you have a lot in common with your social group and your lecturer as well. It makes socialization that much easier. I know a lot of other students have to, but in my case it wasn't the case at all. I don't know why that is, I guess its just my personality. I get in a situation and I get used to it. I don't even think about it. So…yes I do know that I have to prove myself sometimes but mostly I am able to confront my environment. Getting here, I could see that a lot of students were struggling with the work and being here. But I had the preparation for this, my family

[26] This negative dimension is explored in the negative thematic discussion.

> had connections in Jo'burg so id didn't feel like I was alone. I see these other black students, and I get that things are tough but also I see that they are refusing to accommodate the new context that they are in. So they struggle to speak because they are worried someone will laugh at them and the like. I don't get why they would allow that to interfere with their own education.
>
> (Participant 8, Undergraduate Student)

The participant – who happened to be a middle-class student with all of the trappings of a middle-class education – explains his easy navigation of the social field [and his racialised subjectivity] as separate from his class habitus. His account illustrates a lack of critical reflection of his racialised and classed embodiment in influencing his and others' occupation of spaces, the awareness that his embodied cultural capital allows him to fit in particular spaces. While he may superficially stand out as 'just another black student', his embodied capital functions to re-racialize him such that he is able to stand out in a different way. He is able to feel comfortable in this field because his body is a body at home within the academic [white] space (Ahmed, 2007). Perhaps even more interesting is that the respondent not only fails to see how his raced and classed habitus are intrinsic to already entrenched networks of power but also that he is involved in a discursive re/production of this power differential and other habitus as pathological. While tacit knowledge may allow the participant to play the game it is ideally required that this subject be in possession of the necessary form of cultural capital to successfully do so. The participant may possess the financial capital required to enter and navigate a given field and may even possess the tacit knowledge required but without the necessary accompanying capital that characterizes *how* one occupies and moves within space, such process can be fraught with much anxiety and failure.

In her exploration of working class women's mobility to middle class status and positions, Lawler (1999) illustrates the importance of embodied cultural capital in the successful navigation of different fields. This navigation includes learning the socially acceptable mannerisms and dispositions as well as demonstrating one's grasp of cultural and aesthetic cultural knowledge. These socialized attitudes and behaviors however remain hidden in the sense that they are not publicly spoken about but nonetheless are instrumental in separating the working from the middle-classes and vice versa. *Participant 6* in the current study makes a similar point about the tacit nature of dominant dispositions within a given field when he remarks that:

> It's the whole package. Not just your financial status or how smart you are. Its everything. How you are with others. Especially in a department like mine, in the drama department, it's so much more than your having the finances. You've got to know how to be part of the clique. There are elite groups here. To be part of that is not easy. You have to know how to be, who's who and what they want you to be like. No-one tells you these things but it's understood.
>
> *(Participant 6, undergraduate student)*

Bourdieu (1977) have argued that individual success within a given field is not wholly dependent on quantifiable performance but also the subject's informal cultural knowledge of the dominant culture. Purcell (2007) further notes that this informal knowledge is mediated by social factors such as class and race. The respondents below rely on their shared class status in forming more productive relationships with members of staff:

> Gaining access with my lecturers was relatively easy. I remember my one lecturer in English, we came to be close cos she liked to read English and Caribbean literature. I was quite familiar with a lot of these books; my dad introduced me to them. And so we started a conversation after lectures the one day and since then I am able to discuss with her further assistance on my work if I need it. I don't think she would have given me the time of day if didn't cross that boundary. You see, with lecturers we are all just one mass of faces. They need to individualize you. And so she could see and relate to me as different from the others.
>
> *(Participant 13, Undergraduate Student)*

> I had such a close relationship with some of my teachers in high school and so coming here I was glad to have that again. Not with all of my lecturers; some were not as approachable as others. But still I was able to form some really good ties. I think what made it easier was that we shared the same habits and interests. So starting a discussion after class was easier. I remember once in class the lecturer had made reference to some classic film. And I was quite familiar with that. I think that was it; that was how we started talking. After class, I went up to him and we started a conversation on that, and it just grew from there. I think it was the Dracula film and he was talking about fantasy or something like, it was very abstract. And we started sharing reading literature or he would refer me to some other film that we would unpack etc. That was how that relationship started, just simple sharing and discussing. I didn't have him in my second year but we still continued talking and discussing in spite of that. Looking back, that was so useful for me, learning from him but also being introduced to so

much. Through him I also came to know some of the other staff in the department. It's actually ironic that I didn't do my postgraduate study in the department because I already some familiarity with most of the staff.

(Participant 5, postgraduate student)

Part of the process of navigating the academic field includes developing the particular language and disposition of the disciplinary community of practice. This process is interwoven with other facets of cultural capital attributes such as not only having the financial capital to acquire the skills, knowledge and accompanying dispositions but also an awareness of the intricacies of the dominant culture and its interconnectedness with academic cultural practices and language. This shared cultural knowledge is equally useful in navigating the different social clubs on the campus that are predominantly occupied by members from a middle and upper class background. Thus mundane social practices and leisure activities are functional in their reinforcing of particular kinds of habitus that is classed and is enjoyed by those members who not only have prior inculcation in such activities but also have the financial resources to enjoy them. These practices further illustrate the repetitive function of performative action in which racialized, classed dispositions assume essentialized statuses through repetition. The performative reiteration of mundane and banal social activities and participation in particular cultural lifestyles are thus functional in re/producing particular kinds of subjects:

Orientation is usually the first port of call for learning about the campus. I missed my orientation week; I came a week after cos I was travelling from the Eastern Cape. But I learnt about some of the clubs and joined and that was one of my highlights of varsity.

Interviewer: What clubs did you join?

Participant 9: I joined the Xhosa group, debate club and scuba diving. I joined the Xhosa group cos I wanted to feel more at home. Being a first year student can be quite lonely and it was a place of comfort for me. The other activities were just my passion and being part of that was like being with people with a shared passion, you know. So it was nice to go away on trips with the group and all. It was pretty costly if you didn't have the finances, but that wasn't a problem for me.

"I also realize how I wouldn't have met expectations without certain support structures, so like if I didn't come from a relatively 'okay family' I don't think I would have met so many expectations in the year.

Interviewer: Such as?

Participant 2: Well, financially especially. It's a huge demand; it's a really taxing demand that requires you to be familiar as well with certain practices of the discipline and of white culture. You need to be familiar with them.

(Participant 2, postgraduate student)

These positive accounts of navigation of the academic and social field within the institution illustrate not only the influencing role of classed and racialised habitus in this process but also the complexities of these dimensions relationship to racialization practices. The latter process is demonstrated to be far from a one-dimensional process but rather is characterized by intersections of different and multiple social categories in reproducing, challenging and transitioning racialization practices. The positive accounts of blackness on the one hand challenge the tendency to engage racial subjectivity as monolithic and static. These accounts exemplify the potential agentic and strategic deployments of race subjectivity that can occur within institutional contexts. And yet, on the other hand, it is impossible to underplay the ideological interpellation that is occurring at another level in these constructs of positive deployment of race and class subjectivities. The accounts of blackness and navigation of the field illustrate a dual interpellation that encompasses both a collectivized stereotypical discursive construct of blackness as well as an alternate account that emphasizes the individualized aspect of black subjectivity. In the former construct, the subject is interpellated into an account of blackness that is categorized as 'typical' and embodies a negative interpellation of essentialized race subjectivity. On the other hand, the added dimensions of cultural capital and class enable an alternate construct that interpellates the subject into an account of blackness categorized as 'atypical', different from the collectivized other. These discursive ideological constructs are returned to later in the chapter.

6.4 Negative Talk about Blackness

6.4.1 *"Your opinion is not consulted on any significant matter":* Invisible blackness and lack of cultural capital

Sullivan (2001) has argued that while that the discursive critique of representations of the body has provided invaluable understanding of cultural and social interactions of embodiment and subjectivity, it is even more useful to engage the these discursive critique with an understanding of lived realities as a means of further exploring practices of resistance and agency in how subjects make sense of discursive constructs of embodiment. Other writers such as Wendell (1996) favor a more concerted focus on accounting for the lived bodily experiences as opposed to the discursive representations of embodiment, arguing that the material everyday accounts tend to get sidelined in the desire to document the ideological and cultural functions of such representations. Exploring accounts of racialization and subjectivity in the respondents' talk about navigation of academic and social space highlights some of these tensions and illustrates both the importance of engaging a discursive critique that does not undermine the importance of the lived experiences of navigating space through the body. These accounts further highlight that any talk of the body's movement through space is far from neutral and we account for social mediation of our world via representations and internalizations of our bodies as raced, classed and gendered amongst other forms of embodiment. In the current account and in an interesting contrast to the positive accounts of invisibility in the talk of students entering the field with cultural capital, the issue of invisibility reemerges in a sharply contrasting way in the accounts of students coming in without cultural capital.

For these students, invisibility is talked about and experienced in negative ways that are described as debilitating to their academic enculturation. Their experience and talk of invisibility demonstrates the role of normative standards of what bodies are considered to be legitimate in their occupation of particular social spaces as well as academic spaces. This is further related to broader social representations and constructs of the black body in academic space and shows this invisibility to be experienced on both a personal and social level. Charlesworth's (2005) study of social suffering explores similar themes of invisibility in social interaction, demonstrating that the state of *not* appearing in valued embodied cultural capital – reflected in style of dress and deportment – is cause to not be seen by others. The subject assumes a state of invisibility – produced in social interaction as well as internalized

sense of self that becomes the primary means of mediating the social world. This internalization includes self-disciplinary and surveillance techniques such as second-guessing one's social and personal competence and in some instances complete avoidance of social contexts that render one invisible. Quoting the postcolonial poet and theorist Aime Cesaire, Fanon (1967, p. 7) describes this process of degraded racial awareness as "men who have been skillfully injected with fear, inferiority complexes, trepidation, servility, despair, abasement". In the current study some participants described feelings of invisibility in terms of either not being seen heard. *Participant 4* explained her experience of being invisible in a classroom thus:

> I wasn't used to talking to my lecturers. I didn't feel like I had the right language to talk to them. Like when I used to consult with my Philosophy lecturer and I would take long in saying what it is I wanted to say, and you could see that he is getting very impatient with you, you know. And then one time, I was trying to talk with my lecturer and he just sat there waiting for me to finish what I am saying, but you can see that he is getting angry, and he would be tapping his knee, cos you're talking long…like that [demonstrates tapping of knee]…and then this student comes in…knocks on the door and she just talks to him and you can see how he responds to her questions, like they understand each other.
>
> **Interviewer**: And do you feel this way with a black lecturer?
>
> **Participant 6**: No, I don't. But I still didn't consult with them, just because. But I wouldn't have felt the same kind of anxiety though.
>
> *(Participant 6, Undergraduate Student)*

For *respondent 3*, his moment of invisibility is experienced through a process of omission in which he is cancelled out of the public discourse:

> "I'm sorry, this just a random thought that comes…but sometimes when we get our essays back, when the tutor gave back the essays and she was mentioning only the seventy-fives and above, cos she wanted to highlight the students that had done well. And she gave away all of the essays, and there didn't seem to be a black student that got seventy-five and above. And she gave back the other essays without calling out the marks. And I didn't find mine. So…I'm not sure what she was looking at because the names were there and the mark was there on the front page. But she just said in class that mine wasn't there. And I was surprised. And when I went after class it was right there on top and it was a good mark that I got. So is started feeling like… is she…does she feel like I can't get this mark? Cos I told her the name and it was there.

> I don't know, maybe it was just a matter of handwriting but the sense that you get is that maybe she believes that I can't do very well. And I was the second best in the class. But I really felt like…is she trying to stop the class from seeing that black students can't perform as well? Those were the thoughts going through my head. Now I look back I'm sure those were not her intentions and she probably just couldn't pronounce my name, so she skipped it. But that was the feeling that I got and I was very angry I must admit"
>
> (Participant 3, Postgraduate Student)

Embodied cultural capital effects of language and disposition influence not only the nature of her interaction with her lecturer but also her perception and feeling of inadequacy to productively function in the field. The feeling of being invisible, "like I was not there" is Processes of being in/visibility are not always binary opposites but may often intersect in the constitution of the subject. For example, the participants below discuss simultaneous moments of being racially invisible and visible in ways that further function to exclude their active academic participation:

> Your opinion is not consulted on any significant matter unless of course it is a 'black' issue or something to do with black culture.
>
> (Participant 13, undergraduate student)

> "In my honors year I wasn't so keen on the idea of being a black psychologist because I thought it made you lesser than a psychologist, I mean why should you be a 'black psychologist' why can't you just be a psychologist? But you are a black psychologist, you are reminded of it, you have to be aware of it. And it can only benefit you and only benefit others if you are aware of it. And until there are many more black people then *you have to refer to yourself as a black psychologist because everybody and everything else is referring to you as a black psychologist*. I'm much more aware of in my Masters year than in my previous year. And I think as I go on I will be even more aware of it."
>
> Participant 2, postgraduate student, my emphasis

The following two extracts highlight both this racialization process as well as reflexive meta-analysis of what is reinforced in the imposition of racialised subjectivity by others in the enculturation into community of practice. Interestingly the extracts highlight how possession of valued linguistic capital demonstrated through ability to communicate in more than one indigenous language does not override a racial positioning that limits academic and

professional navigation. Here, race remains at the centre of their practice and subjectivity whether they desire it to be or not. The excerpts also make visible another important and effective function of tacit knowledge within a particular field: those facets of professional training within the department that remain ignored and hidden and yet are very visible in their function and effect. Black students participating within these spaces are not only produced as professional subjects but also simultaneously as raced and classed subjects within the field:

> So here I am training for this professional identity but there is other identities that are part of this process and which may hinder or enhance how I am nurtured in that professional identity. In my experience, if difference is engaged with, it is usually gender difference and the staff are very open to that but not with race…in the group there are only two of us who can speak any sort of indigenous black South African language. And a lot of decisions are made around that like: "You are the only two that can do this assessment on a particular child because you are the only person that speaks Zulu", so you have to do that, you know. And that's kind of racial profiling then. Or "you two have to be split when we have two groups because we have to have one black person". And *what does that mean for your academic development where it is kind of determined, dictated by your racial profile?*
>
> *(Participant 2, Postgraduate Student)*

> I've noticed in classes, in our interaction, I and another colleague are the only ones who can speak the language so the expectation that if a client comes through, that they are mine and I will be able to understand their experience. I do feel that those expectations are all around me, not just from clients but from colleagues as well. And sometimes my clients would look at me like I should understand what they are talking about and I don't always. And my interactions with my clients are different from my colleagues and their interactions with their white clients because I'm black. And it's not something that I want to escape necessarily, but I do I want to work it out, what is my responsibility to my client but without…having to compromise who I am and my expectations of myself.
>
> *(Participant 5, Postgraduate Student)*

> "Sometimes I am put into that frame of reference by the client even before I do so myself. And also by the structures themselves. If there's a client who can only speak Zulu, I have to be there. So I am put there already. And sometime it's there in the relation with me and the client. One of the examples I can give you to show how the relationship is altered compared to other colleagues, say I am with a black client and they want to discuss some ceremony that they had on the weekend, there's a shortcut into that discussion where they'll just name the

ceremony. There's a certain expectation that they know I know what it is all about and so they can just go into it and not discuss certain things, with the expectation that I will know them. Sometimes I do and sometimes I don't. And I sit there thinking what does that mean for our interaction. It has been moderated by our racial identity. What does it mean if it was someone else of a different race in there? Would they explain or even bother going into that particular explanation? There are certain things; linguistically there are certain things which can only be racially meant like, 'you know how they are'. I don't think it would be said to a racially different person. I mean like if you said, 'I was visiting my friend in the suburb and playing loud music in the car and then the neighbor came out and complained, I mean you know how they are'. There is so much that is being communicated there than the actual manifest message. And also if I have a white client and they feel that they have to compensate for certain things that they think I wouldn't understand some words for example. So sometimes I have to address the elephant in the room."

(Participant 2, Postgraduate Student)

Stangor and Swim's (1998) respondent illustrates this racial problematic of visibility thus: "*When I talk in class, I feel as though I'm totally on stage, like everyone's thinking, 'oh what's the black girl going to say?' I pretty much never speak up in class though, so I guess it's not a big problem*". This problematic of being visible in particular ways is central to processes of racialization. For some participants, visibility in one's racial positioning is negotiated in relation with other social categories such as gender and sexuality. These categories are in turn further demonstrated to intersect with other interconnecting embodied and objectified forms of cultural capital. Walker (2005) has argued that academic identities are shaped in large part by social, political and historical influences that the subject may find him/herself. Our academic identities are formed in relation to dynamics of race, gender, class in particular and these in turn influence practices of agency within the learning context. Toni and Olivier (2006) and Vandeyar (2010) similarly illustrate the importance of social factors in influencing how academics not only come to see themselves as academics but also negotiate challenges to this self within the field. In the excerpt below, *participant 11*, a young undergraduate gay man describes his navigation of the academic and social field within the institution primarily through a sexual, gendered habitus lens that intersects with other categories of race and cultural capital:

Participant 11: I joined ACTIVATE[27] which accommodates gay and lesbian students here on campus.

Interviewer: …did you find that there were support networks within the group itself that you could build on?

Participant 11: No, because firstly, the way you dress, you find that some people will not befriend you because the way you dress does not suit their status and financially, some people exclude on the basis of the amount of contribution that you make when they go out to parties. If you can't make any contribution to the outings and stuff then they exclude you. And even within the group itself there is still that race issue. Like the ones that are white and gonna stick together and the ones that are black are gonna stick together…

Intersecting categories of rage, gender, class and sexuality have been demonstrated as significant factors in the cultivation of academic identity amongst black students in particular (Youdell, 2003). Furthermore, embodied facets of cultural capital such as not possessing the material resources to fit into the social group or participate in social activities may not be the only sources of alienation and anxiety. For this participant, academic alienation and anxiety intersects with his occupation of both physical and social space that is also racialised. Intersections of race, class, gender and sexuality are evident in how the respondent navigates some spaces as both safe and welcoming:

There are so many times I feel that I do not fit in staying at the res. Many times. Sometimes, I would walk into the shower and people would not want you to be there. They would say names when they pass you and they would say homophobic names and laugh. The minute you walk in they all walk out and say these names. Even the House Com, those guys are one of the people that we should report to when things are going wrong in the res, but you find that they also don't accept you, they don't even want you to be there at Men's Res, and they don't even stop the guys when they are doing things like that. Like we would have House Com meetings and when you ask them to put it on the agenda, they will say that the meeting is only about the important things and not people's personal issues. I have learnt that I must not be gay in straight black men's spaces. I don't think about my sexuality when I am with white men as such, I don't think about it in a way that makes me fearful. But I'm learning to manage my interactions and how I relate to people. But it's hard, cos even in terms of things that I used to enjoy doing like sports I can't do them anymore, it's hard for them to accommodate me. Like I wanted to start a netball team and I spoke to the House Com about it and they said that netball was for girls and sissy boys like me. And that they only play soccer

[27] A Student-led gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender group on campus.

> and rugby in Men's Res. And you attend House meetings there would be these homophobic remarks to the point where I got so uncomfortable that I ended up no longer attending those meetings. So I ended up not attending house meetings. And now they want to start a House Newsletter and as much as I am doing Media and I love it, I didn't sign up for that because I know they are gonna try by all means to make me feel uncomfortable, so I'd rather not invade straight people's space.
>
> *(Participant 11, Undergraduate Student)*

Feminist scholars engaging with Bourdieu's construct of *habitus* and the *bodily hexis* argue that processes of corporeal inculcation – through processes are evident in how subjects move through or inhabit normalized spaces (Grosz, 1994; McNay, 1999). For Bourdieu (1990) power effectively functions at the moment of inculcation of social relations upon the body and dispositions. And it is this latter process that engages the "complicity of the subject" (p. 167) in their own inculcation. When habitus and dispositions recognize as legitimate or leave unchallenged the hierarchical social relations within fields – a process Bourdieu describes as a. misrecognition of power – symbolic violence is enacted. The intersections of race, class and sexuality are evident in how the respondent in the preceding excerpt inhabits social space: potential threat of violence means that respondent navigates his social space as an outsider. Choosing not to "invade straight people's spaces" effectively means configuring social space through internalized relations of inclusion and exclusion that limit subjective agency and reinforces a [racialised] heteronormative norm. Thus Bourdieu's observation that "the *habitus* is what enables the institution to attain full realization" (1990, p. 57). McNay (1999, p. 99) frames it differently when she asserts that "an institution can only be efficacious if it is objectified in bodies in the form of durable dispositions that recognize and comply with the specific demands of a given institutional area of activity". The participant's mediation of his academic field through avoidance and other self-surveillance techniques also demonstrates a kind of complicity in his exclusion from active participation in the field. It is not only in the conscious self-exclusion from perceived heterosexual spaces that impede his navigation of the social field. In his further deployment of gendered, raced and sexual habitus in engaging the social and academic field, he simultaneously excludes himself from an active academic citizenship:

> I do think about that, consulting with my lecturers. I'd rather have a white woman or a white man helping me or a black woman helping me than a black man. And I know it's not a right thing to do, but I know, I won't make contact if it's a black man. Somehow, I don't expect

who I am to make a difference to the other people but I always think about it when I have to talk with a black man. Even if I know he is not going to be biased toward me, I just think that he will have that attitude and that stereotype.

Interviewer: About your sexuality?

Participant 11: Yes.

The respondent's navigation of academic field through sexual, gendered *and* racialised habitus enacted through silence and avoidance contributes to not only his further alienation but also reinforces the heteronormative system that invalidates his academic citizenship. The intersections of racial and classed subjectivities or habitus with other embodied and objectified cultural capital forms are evident in how most of the participants narrate their difficulties of adjusting to different communities of practice within the field. These intersections become even more visible when the subject is perceived to be in possession of the wrong kind of capital. Staunæs (2010) argues that intersectionality as analytic tool allows for a multiple lens that highlights subjective positioning in simultaneously different ways: as 'troubled', 'marginalized' as well as different subjectivities. In her exploration of racial passing[28] narratives, Smith (1994) makes the argument that race, gender and class interconnections influence the reading of such practice as transgression and ideological constitution. The social meanings of race that the practice of passing implies are tied to others' category constructs and influences therefore how the individual mediates and navigates social space. The previous respondent's differential positioning within multiple fields at the institution means that his navigation of the social and academic spaces that he finds himself is thus comprised of multiple and intersecting negotiation of these intersecting categories.

6.4.2 "*We cannot see the black academic*": mediating the social invisibility of blackness

The accounts of social invisibility were explained in terms of absence of black bodies that (do not) occupy particular social positions in specific ways within the institution. These accounts reflect a concern for the social meaning and representation of blackness more generally on the part of the subject, highlighting the relevance of broader cultural and social modes of

[28] Passing is a masquerade performance that entails adopting certain roles or identifies that would ordinarily be denied to the subject by virtue of his/her group membership, such as black subject passing as white.

representation on how the individual subject makes sense of his/her immediate social world. In the accounts, the respondents demonstrate a process of interiorizing these broader social and cultural representations that reflect the negative constructs of the black body in academia. The ways that blackness comes to be made visible through constructs of visibility *and* invisibility is further entrenched in how students perceive and make sense of representations of blackness within the academy (Duncan, 2005; Jansen, 2004). Education scholars have demonstrated the positive influence of collegial relationships between black students and academic faculty (see Patton and Harper, 2003; Tillman, 2001). Other scholars have focused on the benefits of cross-racial relationships between black postgraduate students and members of white academic faculty (see Tillman, 2001). Yet others have highlighted the importance of relationships between black student and staff more specifically (Dedrick and Watson, 2002). Nonetheless, Tuitt (2011) notes that there has been minimal research conducted on the importance of the relationship between black student and black staff within historically white institutions. Black students' perceptions and expectations of black academic staff within such institutions and the academy more generally are significant in its racialization of the academy and perpetuation of the academy as 'white'. Vandeyar (2008) is worth quoting at length here: "The implications of a basically white teaching staff cannot be underestimated. Filtering through from the white-macro-culture's belief of their supposed superiority is the polarized belief of black ineptitude…This belief is played out in the allied micro-culture of the school, sending an unambiguous message to black students of not only the incompetence of black teachers, but by implication, their own" (p. 293).

The respondents' perceptions in the current study of the meanings of the absence of the black academic staff within the academic field were primarily centred on the negative meanings of this absence and the fear that such absence served to confirm broader social representations of black incompetence, thus legitimating such absence. The social relevance and invisibility of black academic staff is reiterated in different ways by the participants in talking about the nature of their interactions with staff as well as their perceptions of the academy as predominantly white. Interestingly, both students with and without cultural capital attributes (and therefore with varying degrees of navigation of the academic field) voice this concern of black invisibility in the academic field within the institution. This perception of race and the academy implicitly feeds into the perception and feelings of alienation and exclusion that are echoed in the accounts of some of the participants. For Knowles (2004) race is about space – the way we may and may not occupy space, the subjectivities that are created in relation to

these spaces that we occupy, the practices of agency that are available to us because of our racialised positions in space etc. Space, in this conceptualization is more than a material entity through which subjects mediate and navigate their everyday encounters and performances. Space is actively present in the re/production of racialised subjectivities; Puwar (2001; 2004) makes a similar argument in her description of some subjects occupying space as "space invaders". The concern that the respondents draw attention to regarding the invisibility of the black academic within the space of the academy thus illustrates more intricate concerns with the implications and meanings attached to this absence of blackness – meanings that are intertwined with broader socio-discursive constructs of race and the academy. I would argue therefore that the concern over the absence of black academic staff within these spaces for the respondents represents concern related to an ideological normative order against which blackness is measured, i.e. one that reinforces the social normative order that privileges whiteness as the norm:

> …in my department there isn't much diversity in terms of race, so it's pretty much lily white with a touch of one black staff, who is generally just there. Not really important or anything, but is just there. That is my perception. That is kinda worrying at times.
>
> *(Participant 1, Postgraduate Student)*

> Yeah, I have had a relative easy time of it in terms of coming to [the university] and knowing my way around. My cultural and family background made it easy for me. My parents had the finances to groom me and support me in just about everything. But I must admit it would have been even better if I had someone from my racial group as a mentor or even just to be present. It didn't matter much at undergraduate level but definitely much so in the postgraduate year. I guess, then it really hits you just how much the institution is white and your presence in it makes no real difference. So it would have been nice to see that.
>
> *(Participant 7, Postgraduate student)*

> There is always the nagging feeling when you first get here that [this] is an open institution and all races are represented but this is not really the case. You definitely see the racial diversity in the student population but not necessarily in the staff. Some departments are certainly different but generally this is the case, especially at postgraduate level. And so, you come in with this feeling of the rainbow nation but then slowly you realize that we are not meant to stop here. It's like we are expected to get our degrees, graduate and move on. Academia is not for blacks. That is the feeling that you get.

(Participant 6, Undergraduate student)

For example, *participant 2* in the excerpt below remarks it is important to not only participate and succeed in the academic field as a black subject but also challenge social stereotypes of the academy as a whites-only domain of participation. *How* black bodies therefore occupy this space is equally important to addressing racializing processes of invisibility:

> I want to be in academia so I can do something about the absence of black academics. Even if it's just being present, if it's just being there to show others that you can be here, and this is something I feel has been lacking in black academics…. black academics have been known to kind of get out of the academic field… not blaming them or anything, but what that means is that often there isn't an awareness of blackness in the academy. We students don't see it. We cannot see the black academic.
>
> *(Participant 2, Postgraduate Student)*

6.4.3 "*You don't like it when they complain about a black lecturer*": social visibility of blackness

If invisibility represents a battleground upon which black students engage broader socio-discursive meanings of belonging in space, identification and recognition, its counter opposite – being visible – is also significant in its capacity to reinstate moments of subjectification. The desire to be visible and to have a visible blackness in the field characterized how the respondents negotiate their own practices of in/visibility. This process of negotiation often entailed making sense of being simultaneously visible with regards to theirs and others physical presence as *black presence*, and at the same time, being invisible with regards to their individual subjectivity. This paradox therefore implied a constant shift between desire to be both seen and heard as well as desire to not be seen and heard in a particular way. The accounts illustrate *how* racialised visibility may both affirm and negate personal subjectivity by foregrounding moments of identification and recognition in different ways:

> We had this black female lecturer…eish…I don't know…she did not know what she was doing. And people like complaining, you know. And you don't like it when they complain about a black lecturer. But with her…it was like…they did have a point, they were not being

racist. So the black lecturers were…I don't want to say disappointing, but ja, they were.

(Participant 13, Undergraduate Student)

We definitely had more than one black lecturer in the semester. And what I find is that the class will respond differently depending on the way that the lecturer presents himself. So like we had this one guy who took us and he had an American accent. Well, I don't know if it was American but he definitely spoke well and with a classy accent and the class embraced him. Later in the semester we had a different guy, also black. And the response was just incredible. Obviously no-one said they didn't like his accent or anything like that. They said he didn't seem to have much knowledge about his subject. That was the official complaint. But you could tell that were not able to accommodate someone speaking with such a heavy African accent.

(Participant 1, Undergraduate Student)

No-one makes much allowance for black staff if they mess up. So, yes I would definitely like to see more black teaching staff but at the same time I think that they need to be really really [sic] good to avoid embarrassment.

(Participant 4, undergraduate student)

I had this black female lecturer for Sociology one time. She has since left now. But we had for about three weeks or so. And she was so brilliant and engaged with the class intelligibly on her subject. And it wasn't just me. You could see how the other students – white and black – responded to her. And I felt so affirmed. It affirmed so many things for me. Having that experience.

(Participant 5, Undergraduate Student)

I would say one of my highlights as an undergraduate so far has been the fact that the one black lecturer that we did have in my entire year was not just good but he was also very strong as an academic. I mean, this man knew his business and he had the confidence to show it. It was nice to see that, cos as much as you want more black staff, you also want them to be really good otherwise it just confirms the stereotype of how blacks do not belong here. So I was very pleased with that.

(Participant 3, Undergraduate student)

The normative racialising order is invoked in the respondent's engagement with moments of specific forms of black visibility on campus. Inhabiting social and academic space in campus

includes different instances of recognition of oneself in the presence of black staff as well as moments of identification. The visibility of acceptable kinds of black bodies – who are able to display competence and skill in the field – become self-affirming objects of identification while a simultaneous process of disidentification characterizes those bodies identified as incompetent and lacking the intellectual capital to belong in that space.

> The structures that appoint professors of teaching, you've got to think about who teaches and if you are getting black intellectuals that do not challenge the status quo, I'm afraid that you won't go far, cos they are just gonna sit there, close themselves in their offices and not engage with issues happening around them, sit in meetings being nice or not speaking, go back to their offices and publish work that does not have much impact, do consultation that leave the academy as pedagogically trapped in a colonial mentality.
>
> **Interviewer:** You are obviously attaching an importance to not just increasing the black staff profile here, but also the nature of the staff engagement with the university community. Do you think it makes any special difference to the students who come in, particularly the black students?
>
> **Participant 7:** Oh yes, it does, indeed it does. I don't buy into the whole idea of just bringing people. It's very important. Remember, identity is an important social concept, it's an action. And I think about our identity as [students of this institution] as an action, we perform it everyday, staff and students. It's a complex one. It makes a difference when I am black, with the history of black people and I am taught by Paul Gilroy[…], I am taught by Achille Mbembe. My idea of this space will be different isn't it to when I am taught by a white person. My role model can…my idea of a role model changes, doesn't it? Like wow, 'natives can also be complex, natives can produce complex things like 'on the postcolony' or 'the black transatlantic'. Wow, 'natives can write, natives can teach'. Because there is a lie, the lie of racism, of racial stereotype, of white supremacy is that that is not possible. If someone stands in front of you and they are black, the system feels different when you are taught by very strong black intellectuals. It does.
>
> *(Participant 5, Postgraduate Student)*

6.4.4 "*The level of engagement with the university is different*": passivity in relating to the field

These students enter and participate within the field through a double consciousness that functions to further alienate and exclude them from activities and interactions that fundamental to academic enculturation. For example, the respondent in the next excerpt

discusses the multiple and interlocking challenges related to race and class experienced by many black students. He highlights the dominance of a particular habitus that allows some subjects to engage differently with their lecturers and by so doing immerse themselves actively within the field. This habitus he recognizes is learned and acquired prior to entering the field and further creates distinctions in how the student body more generally is categorized:

> I don't want to say black students because I think that's very broad and general in terms of class and upbringing. But how students who are like me find it hard to relate to the university and find it hard to believe that the system is fair in a way and it has equal opportunity for whatever reason. And maybe sometimes it could be merit…merit that, I don't know, they've been able to build and develop from high school level because of the schools we went to and therefore perform differently. And that is one of the arguments that comes from the university in explaining throughput. But even when you are at university, it is not as friendly as you would like it to be, institutionally friendly. It doesn't make you relate to it as smooth as someone who is perhaps white and comes from a different type of school, like a private or Model C School. *So the level of engagement with the university is different*[29].
>
> **Interviewer**: In what ways is it different?
>
> **Participant 4**: There are many issues involved. One, there is an issue of language. First language speakers find it easier to speak to lecturers, speak to…because sometimes I want to talk in class, but there are other issues that would come like you have to translate your language to English and then make your point, which is a difficult thing to do. And I'm not a bad English speaker but at that level there is still a lot of things. Confidence plays a significant role as role. So you think beyond the point…beyond making the point that you want to make, what if there is an error in how you express yourself? So there is a confidence issue…so you are not just making a point, you are also thinking of other things. So I think language plays a role as one of the significant things. And also the issue of resource. I'd like strongly to believe we have an equal footing in terms of resources just beyond money, but we don't. You know, books for example. And I find it difficult…let me explain that first aspect. Resources of books…as compared to probably a white student who in a very broad sense buys their books and does not need to spend their time in the library, I don't know in a study room. It's not a struggle for that student in the way that it is for the black student. And the resources in the library are not only scarce but have to be shared by so many other students. And furthermore, in terms of being very limited in the way you do things because I have to go home at a particular time, *so I can't engage fully with the university, I can't have the other*

[29] My Emphasis.

> *extra resources that the university might offer*, I can't get extra tutors or whatever because I can't afford that." (My Emphasis).

The illusion of equitable spaces of embodiment that is promoted by the institution is under interrogation in this extract. The respondent engages the perceived symbolic violence that characterizes the forms of engagement between black students and the social field that they find on campus. The respondent eloquently speaks about what may appear banal and insignificant aspects of personal engagement such as dispositions of confidence, nature of interaction with members of staff, ability to actually converse *appropriately* etc. as pertinent marker of distinction in this field. Embodied and objectified cultural capital – reflected through ability to communicate in the dominant language, disposition toward lecturers, financial resources to purchase books or use transport – are identified as primary reasons for non-participation in the academic and social fields. *Participant 4*'s preceding and later reflections on his engagement and movement within the field are also perceptive not only in its reflection on the racializing and embodiment functions that comes from his lack of capital, but also demonstrative second sight and/or critical reflexivity. The double consciousness implied in the racializing processes of being a black student without valued cultural capital is reflected in the moment of realization that one is different, the moment the veil is imposed on the self. For Du Bois (1997), the subject may respond in ways that further entrench the veil.

Alternatively there is also the possibility of gaining second sight into how social dynamics of power and racialization are produced because of this state of being an outsider. In this account this participant is able to reflect on how his and other student's alienation and exclusion from the academic field is made possible through a socio-history and economic context that reproduces class inequalities which in turn has significant implications for some members of the society, particularly via the intersection of raced and classed habitus. The excerpt below further illustrates the participant's awareness of how some bodily dispositions, ways of talking and interacting with staff is deemed more acceptable in the field than others, and his perception that these contrasting dispositions constitute pertinent spaces and sites of privilege and power:

> Again, the kind of personality…I don't know the kind of engagement you get…*you learn pre-university how you must relate to academics*. I think that makes it better for you. I think the systems are not very different, from a white privileged school to university. There is not much

> difference. But when you get to [varisty] from a township school, the modus operandi is totally different. And the way you engage with your academics and the lecturer is different from how the university operates or how a white or multiracial school operates. So that adjustment that needs to happen; has to happen first and sometimes it never happens, you just learn to focus on your books and nothing else. *You learn to survive, coping mechanisms and never try to go beyond just your academics and making that you understand things fully.* So I think those things come into play in our relationships with our lecturers and our tutors and everyone else. I mean I came from a school where you didn't even dream of calling your teacher by their first name."
>
> *(Participant 4, Postgraduate Student, my emphasis)*

The respondent's insight is especially worth highlighting in its critical self-reflexivity that allows him to be able to reflect on his own and others' exclusions within the different communities of practice at the institution. This capacity for self-reflexivity remains a cornerstone for how social theorists have theorized and engaged the construct of agency and change. Butler (1990) engages the performative aspects of such agency through processes of resignification that address the subject's capacity to re-appropriate normative meanings in strategic and positive ways. Contrasted with the fatalistic engagements evident in how other students discuss their relation to the field (evident in some of the excerpts below and more generally), such critical self-reflexivity is considered to be necessary to the transformative participation within the field:

> My schooling was definitely a disability in the sense that there are some things it doesn't prepare you for. Like how to be informal with lecturers. And sometimes I see the other students and they are comfortable with the lecturers and they would even challenge some of the things that they say in the lectures and I would be like 'what!'
>
> *(Participant 13, Undergraduate Student)*

> …if you cannot speak or engage with the lecturer the way everybody else is doing, then you are doing something wrong or you know, you will have problems in the long run.
>
> *(Participant 9, Undergraduate Student)*

> I am on a stipend now but still it is tough. Like in a class, they send us our notes that we have to print and it's quite a lot. And it is not a problem for the other students and they are quite okay with this. But my stipend is R1 500 and is supposed to last for three months. So I have

to be careful with how I spend the money. And you can't say anything in the class because you know it's just your problem and how can I bother other people about that?

(Participant 6, Postgraduate Student)

…it really shifted my perspective on how other black students who have not come into [the institution] with my social and financial background for example are actually experiencing being here. I mean, you get students who tell you they have to walk about an hour every day to come to lecture, they won't have anything to eat, they struggle to pay their rent and some even got kicked out. And I fully understand how that can affect someone …. how someone so different from my background can really experience this space.

(Participant 7, Undergraduate Student)

And Res life also it was very different and tough…and also that area is not very safe. You can't just walk at night alone. And coming from the village I had heard so many stories about Joburg and Hillbrow and all that. And the res was right next to Hillbrow. And so I was not feeling very secure in where I was staying, especially when I wanted to study at night in the libraries here on campus, you would be thinking about what time to get home and all that.

(Participant 9, Undergraduate Student)

6.4.5 "*From the get-go I am defending my identity*": hyper-visible blackness

In his distinction between visibility and hyper-visibility, Ratele (2005) alerts us to how racial subjectification is bound up within underlying and interweaving processes of misrecognition[30]. Ratele's use of the term refers to the process of not being clearly recognized or being mistaken for someone else. The subject is not just seen (made visible) but is caught up in processes of being *seen too much* – hypervisible. The hypervisible body is a body out of place (Puwar, 2004; Tate, 2013) and is bound up in processes of misrecognition (Ratele, 2005). Thus, when stereotypical constructs of blackness come to subsume how the individual is positioned by others, a sense of being hyper-visible *and* simultaneously misrecognized is evident. Respondents during such moments explain their strategies of self-presentation to include ignoring or minimizing their hyper-visibility either by making jokes to lighten the situational encounter, ignoring their racialization altogether or avoiding particular social and academic places and/or presenting their bodies in specific ways:

[30] This term is used differently from the Bourdieuian concept, where the later refers specifically to a process of recognizing as legitimate the hegemony of specific forms of power.

> When certain discussions come up, like when there's a racial discussion, your silence is loud. If you say one or two things your race is announced, if you don't say anything, it's still announced. It's a catch twenty-two. Certainly the stereotypes are hard. Even if you engage with it, sort of to address the elephant in the room, it's still hard. And if you leave it, there's this unaddressed anxiety amongst you and your relations with your peers. So you can address it and be like ha ha, you know. But what does that mean for you and your identification … it's there, it's there it's there (sic) *you cannot deny it, you cannot escape from it. And to actually say it wouldn't cause anxiety, in my opinion is to lack insight into how race is experienced in small ways*. (My Emphasis).
>
> *(Participant 2, Postgraduate Student)*

> I remember this white lecturer of mine….I needed some help from her. And I had this pile of certificates for my nieces and nephews and I think I was applying for one of them to get into [the university]. And she was like 'oh my God, so many certificates. Are they all from the same parent. And I said no. and she said, 'oh, I was thinking somebody is busy making babies'. And at that point I didn't understand what she meant and so I also laughed with her. But later I thought 'how can she say that?'. And I thought she was using a stereotype that black people only make babies. And then later I thought about it and I was like 'what did she just say?' But you just leave it alone. You come across these things almost all the time, so you have to learn to ignore it and just leave it alone.
>
> *(Participant 12, Undergraduate Student)*

In the preceding excerpt, the respondent explains how she is made in/visible; the respondent opts for the strategy of ignoring the racializing aspect of the encounter, categorizing it as irrelevant in its everydayness. The respondent's account further highlights how racialization occurs in mundane encounters and interactions that appear banal. And yet, these encounters effectively reproduce relations of power in ways that function to re(position) the subject in devalued ways. Bloul (2013) has eloquently argued that the exploration of the racialised corporeal schema (Fanon, 1952) remains an important one precisely because of the potential to experience and live particular encounters as racist when they are in fact not so. Following Bloul's (2013) insight there are several ways that the respondent's interaction with her lecturer may be accounted for, and which lends itself to a critical analysis of racialization through body and racial epidermal schema. The subjective experiences of the respondent in

that moment of contact must incorporate previously racialised experiences that inform how she interprets and responds to the perceived racializing comment:

In the excerpt below the respondent discusses her active attentiveness to resisting her interpellation as a raced subject, illustrating agentic capacity and choice to actively engage and interact with the normative world that she finds herself in:

> I simply refuse to engage in those activities that for me imply I am only wanted because I am black. So, I will not be the token black, no matter what. There have been those moments when I have been invited to be part of the group or join in some competition and the like. And you know that it is only that they need to meet some racial quota or something, and I am like 'no way'. And I guess that's the way it is for some of the black staff. It can't be easy being the only black person in a department, and I am sure they have to deal with ideas of affirmative action and all that. So it puts pressure on them, you know, to be really good at their job, because of that.
>
> *(Participant 8, Undergraduate Student)*

The excerpts below further highlight the process of surveillance (Foucault, 1995) that accompany situational contexts and feelings of hyper visibility in social interactions. This process, for Foucault, is characteristic of the relational power dynamics that can exist between subjects. Feminist Foucauldian scholar McLaren (2002) further notes that surveillance initially begins as an external practice that gradually comes to assume an internal state of being. She notes: "…its effectiveness relies on its moving inside through the self-monitoring of the individual being watched" (p, 108):

> Interacting with white people – whether staff or student – for me means that I am always starting off in a position of defense. From the get-go I am defending my identity.
> **Interviewer:** What do you mean by that?
> **Participant:** I always have in my head that we may talk okay but there are still stereotypes in their minds about who I am and where I come from. So I am immediately caught up in a position of defending myself. I watch how I present myself and the like, just so that I don't feel that I am confirming something in their minds. I am not sure that black and white people can really talk with each other without those kinds of drama going on inside them.
>
> *(Participant 4, postgraduate student)*

> For example when I was in student residence in my first year of undergraduate year, on my floor we were racially mixed. There were white, Indian and black girls and a few colored girls. We had a problem of theft from the laundry room on a number of occasions and the matron of the residence; she was white, called a meeting to discuss it. And sitting there, I kept thinking: "they think it's the black girls". And every time I talked with someone from my floor or the matron I felt like they were thinking that. And so my instinctive stance was to be defensive and I dropped in conversations my family background. I just wanted them to know that my family had money and I didn't need to steal anything to support myself.
>
> *(Participant 5, Postgraduate Student)*

Contexts of visibility/invisibility and hyper-visibility are further mediated by different emotion management processes that are in turn characterized by emotions of anxiety and shame. Configurations of race as omnipresent as well as re-racializing processes of the subject are here evident in contexts where the self is called upon to authenticate its inhabitation of space. For those students who have succeeded in moving into different hierarchical fields within the academy such as postgraduate spaces, multiple reconfigurations of their academic identity become necessary. Their academic identities are now reconfigured as *black* postgraduate students, reflecting a dual identification that incorporates both racialised and academic selves. Furthermore, the anxieties embedded in this new reconfiguration of the academic/professional identity are often characterized by processes that Hochchild (1983) and Harlow (2003, p. 349) identify as emotional labor and emotion work: "Emotion work is the process of handling our daily, personal emotions; emotional labor involves evoking, performing, and managing emotions that are a required aspect of a job or occupation. Emotion management is the process of handling emotions in personal (emotion work) and professional (emotional labor) spheres."

Harlow (2003) further argues that for many black professionals the need to prove competency in a particular task or job often requires even more concerted effort in the management of emotion work and emotional labor than would ordinarily be required by other staff members. This is particularly evident in contexts where the competency of the black staff member is called into question. One respondent in Harlow's investigation encapsulates this over-exertion of emotion work and labor in an attempt to come across as appear competent to his students: "I wanted them to know that I know what I'm about, and that I'm really well qualified to teach what I teach. And I want them to know that I'm here because of my skills

and my ability and that I can do a really good job. And so it's important to me that when I teach, that I come across, because people will try to challenge you." (p. 352). This process of emotion management – expressed through concerns of hyper-visibility and invisibility – is equally evident in how the subjects in the current study discuss their experiences of academic spaces and how they psychologically participate in and interpret varied the practices of the academy.

The discursive functioning of constructs of racial innocence are simultaneously evident alongside another essentializing discourse, one that presents race to be enshrined in an inescapable category of power and relations of domination. This discourse serves to position the subject as perpetually raced and only moving within spaces as a raced subject. This movement may occur through both positive and negative positioning practices that provide limited spaces for maneuver outside of the race category. The function of the race category here comes to take on qualities of omnipresence that are impossible to discard by the subject and that are imbued by angst-ridden practices of what Harlow (2003, p. 349) refers to as "emotion management". Both Leary (1995) and Altman (2000) have also argued that race is always present in any interracial dyad whether it is made explicit or not. In this sense, the subject can never truly escape the veil but must engage with it for survival (Du Bois, 1903; 1997). Fanon alludes to this when he describes the black subject's psycho-existential complex to be marked by "over-determination from without" (p 95).

> And then you are made aware of it by both the polarities, and sometimes it's very subtle, even more than I find here…I mean culture…*there're certain things in culture that are just there*." (My emphasis).
>
> *(Participant 2, Postgraduate Student)*

> You really get into the culture of the professional discipline and once again you realize what the culture is, you realize its make-up and it's really…and you really realize how much of an 'other' you are. So even in its passive state, even when nothing is being done *your difference is being pronounced because it just is.*
>
> **Peace:** You mean just by virtue of being present?
>
> **Participant 2:** Yes. But not only that you are different but you are also being made aware that you are different. Then when things start to happen, when there's activity, when there's interaction you realize your difference as well, the conversations that go on.
>
> (Postgraduate Student, my emphasis).

In highlighting the racial somatic process of embodiment I am referring to what Puwar (2001; 2004) defines as the invisible processes by which a white dominant norm is operates as the standard for identification, behavior and practice. For Puwar the body politic is mediated in significant but often invisible ways by a somatic norm that is both raced and classed, such that entry and participation in white spaces by members of social groups for whom such spaces have historically been denied, is a kind of invasion by these dissonant bodies. To read space in this way is to engage with the myriad ways that space is racialised and the bodies that occupy spaces are re-racialised in particular ways. The accounts analyzed in this chapter illustrate the significance of the racial somatic norm in how black students are not only moving through spaces on campus, but also how they are racialised by others within these spaces. For example, for some of the postgraduate participants whose participation in the academic field includes tutorial work on first-year level, their mediation of the classroom is impacted by the assumptions of the black intellectual that abounds in public discourse. The consequence of the discursive constructs of black academic inferiority is that they not only experience discomfort in the occupation of these spaces but also feel obliged to demonstrate the legitimacy of their presence in these spaces:

> You don't just walk into the tutorial and start talking. You know first you have to dispel any stereotypes that they have about why you of all people are standing there in front of them.
>
> (Participant 5, Postgraduate Student)

> I felt like a spectacle that had been put front centre on stage. How weird is that, here I am, an honors student, on my way to registering for Masters study. And I felt out of place in front of a group first-years. Because deep down you know, they don't care about your qualifications. You are black. And they don't expect any better.
>
> (Participant 2, Postgraduate Student)

> I could walk in there and tell them I am a postgraduate student. But that is not the issue. I will still be out of place. And yeah, I know that other black tutors don't struggle as much. But you have to think: they've got the right stuff: the right English, the way they talk you know, is sophisticated. I struggle with language etc. And what is funny is that we have a tutor here, her heritage is Columbia. And she also struggles with English. But we are not treated the same. So I have to assume that it is the fact that I am black and struggling with English, and not just that I struggle with language.

(Participant, 6, Postgraduate Student)

It has already been noted how language and the mastery of dominant language in particular functions to differentiate the lived experiences of blackness (Fanon, 1986). Fanon's theory of racial embodiment further demonstrates the importance of physical and bodily habitus in the subject's interpellation and movement through space as a raced subject. For the above participants, it is in the moment of occupying physical space that they are hailed as specific subjects through the racial somatic norm. The feelings of being "out of place" denote their sense that black bodies are deemed aliens within the academic space. In their exploration of black female academics' navigation of the academic field, Gqola (2004) and Magubane (2004) make a similar point. It is not only in the tutorial classroom context that such interpellation occurs. For this group of students, the fact of studying at a level not predominantly occupied by many black bodies, the category of postgraduate is also imbued with other assumptions that are intertwined with broader socio-discursive constructs of black intellectual capacity. The position that they occupy must therefore be defended and re-positioned as legitimate to others and to themselves, illustrating an added burden of self-doubt:

> Getting to the level that I am at now, I have to work really hard to show people that I didn't just get into Masters as a diversity candidate. But I also have to prove this to myself. Because, it nags at you sometimes.
>
> (Participant 4, Postgraduate Student)

> And I remember we were all still waiting to hear if we had gotten into the Masters program. I was chatting to my friend and a mate of hers about my worry that I did not perform well enough in the interviews. And this white girl says to me 'I should be more worried, cos at least you are black'. It is those kinds of assumptions that make you wonder if they all must think you are in postgrad because of your skin.
>
> (Participant 3, Postgraduate Student)

The racial somatic norm is further evident in other embodied forms that on the surface seem inconsequential. Thus, participants' concerns that they are easily identifiable because of their non-English surnames on different assessment tasks and therefore disadvantaged, highlights how symbolic distinction may be used to play out racial tensions. Participants feel that they

are already hailed by virtue of their names. It is interesting here that the necessity of physical bodily presence as prerequisite to a feeling of representation by others is absent:

> I feel there is an immediate assumption about your abilities that the markers have when they have your essay as opposed to when they have another student's essay.
> **Interviewer:** What would be the reason for this?
> **Participant 9:** My surname identifies me as different as opposed to another student with an English surname.
> **Interviewer:** And you believe this biases the marker against you?
> **Participant 9:** Yes, it does. I think at an unconsciousness level it does. So they read my essay and even if it was really good. My details would get them thinking 'it's plagiarised'.

Thus, the racial encounter between black students and the institution more broadly but white academia more specifically, is already mediated by racial metastereotypes and a raced habitus that assumes white hostility and denial of their success in academic space. It is in this sense that Haimes (2003) has observed that place and space is not just a matter of positioning between subjects but also *within* subjects. These excerpts further highlight the implication and construction of learner subjectivities through assessment practices that in turn influence how the students continue to participate in the field. Reay and William (1999) have similarly demonstrated the importance of student perception of assessment practice in developing their identities as learners. In the current context, the implicit presence of race subjectivity – both of the learner and the significant agents in the field (as well as the racializing of supposedly objective and neutral assessment practices) further influence this process.

6.4.6 *"It just puts you in a place where you are continually watching your performance"*: racing performance

Transitioning into university means having to engage with different stereotyping practices that include how one is positioned by others and the different kinds of responses that are perceived to be specific to one's racial self. McKinley (2005, p 483) observes that "the 'body' forms the basis of a doubling" to refer to the double subjectification process that many black and marginalized subjects experience. Citing Bhabha's (1994) construct of hybrid identities, Fitzpatrick (2011) similarly argues that this process of subjectification entails a splitting of identities that are also conflicted. For Bhabha (1994) however, this process of

hybridity is not always constitute a negative and undesirable but may be useful in the "strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal" (P, 159). Through resistance, the subject may therefore strategically reverse processes and practices of domination. The participant's conscious and deliberate choice to "engage with the assumed stereotype" in the excerpt below is an example of such resistance:

> I find that *I have to engage with the assumed stereotypes even if I don't believe them, internalize them even if it's just to dismiss it.* You don't buy it but still you have to. So for example, if I am late, I am invariably aware of the thought of 'the late black'. So what does that mean for you? Do you make an extra effort not to be late, you know. Does that mean that you make an extra effort in your presentations to be quite on point?
>
> (Participant 2, Postgraduate Student, my emphasis)

The participant's habitus, as Bourdieu (1990) observes, here acts as a 'structuring structure' through which he engages academic citizenship in the university. Persistently aware of the potential possibilities of being stereotyped because of his racial category, he interrogates his own participation and action within the field as well as how he chooses to 'manage' this participation through concerted effort at not confirming the stereotypes. And yet, the route by which this omnipresence of race is perceived and experienced by the subject seems to differ in relation to the degree of cultural capital possessed by the subject. In the instances where participants' narratives of social and academic fields conveyed spatial and material reenactments of the race narrative, there was also differential interpretations of these racialised experiences in relation to the embodiment of capital that influenced these reenactments. For instance all of the narratives were characterized by a sense of racial anxiety – and in some respects, desire – but these anxieties and desires are experienced differently and also embody different meanings for the individual depending on how much capital they are able to deploy in navigating the different fields. Those students who recognize and identify themselves to be in possession of a specific form of valued cultural capital primarily constructed their anxieties around being categorized as typical black student as well as atypical student. In their construct, this is the student who is perceived to have gained admittance into the university or a specific program, not on academic merit but as part of broader institutional transformative agendas that prescribe the racial profile of student demographics. In effect, these narratives illustrate two significant implications of broader race discourses of transformation in post-apartheid South Africa for these students.

There is a sense of ambivalence and anxiety that is evident not in actual interpersonal interactions *per se* but in relation with discursive constructs and representations of race. Aware of the dominant racialised stereotypes of blackness and academic performance, the excerpts below highlight how many of the participants are engaged in continuous responses of resistance and management. In attempting to resist these stereotypical positioning, they are caught in a process of having to prove oneself to others:

> The fact is, I am here on my own steam. I excel in the way that I do because I put in the effort. I do not want to be lumped in the same category as 'those students who have to be provided with extra tutorial or foundation courses'. And that is what they do here, as if we are all the same.
>
> (Participant 8, Undergraduate Student)

> I do not want to be given favours or let into a postgraduate program because I am black. I get that the institution needs to consider issues of transformation, but I am capable of getting there on my own. You think about that sometimes. If they are relating to you as just another student who fits the quota or because you are actually that good to be where you are.
>
> (Participant 6, Postgraduate Student)

> They talk of these academic development programs that we must attend. And I think implied in that is this idea of the black student who is not prepared to be in this space, our performance is not on par with white students. I really hate that kind of talk because we are not all like that. So for me what it means is that I have to prove myself to others and show that I am not like that, I do not need the help. So even if you have a bad day, you perform badly on a test, your tutor is immediately on your case about attending extra lessons, but she doesn't say it to the white boy who also performed in my range of marks. It is just assumed that he had a bad day or something but I am struggling generally because I am black.
>
> (Participant, 4, Undergraduate Student)

> I actually resent this positioning as being exceptional or different from the other students. what does that actually mean, this construct that we are different from? What they are actually saying is that the norm is that black students have to be carried and coached through their education in a way that white students don't.. That without this extra help we would completely fail. So when they tell me that I am exceptional or different from, I don't think of that as a compliment. It's an insult.

(Participant, 2, Postgraduate Student)

> Being labeled exceptional is not useful really. It just puts you in a place where you are continually watching your performance, because you know it will be read differently if you fail, you are back to being a problem student who needs to be helped.
>
> (Participant 2, Undergraduate Student)

Erasmus (2006) notes that such students demonstrating excellence in the academy often pay a "double price" related to others' recognition of their worth only in the context of being "extraordinary" (p. 58). For these participants, the academic field is a constant re/positioning *by others* as different and atypical on the one hand but also potentially typical and similar on the other. Robus and Macleod (2006) similarly demonstrate the importance of race reproduction in higher education talk. It is within this dynamic that anxieties (and desires) come to exist in a state of being in-between; characterized by anxieties of being positioned within dominant stereotypical racialised constructs and implied construct of non-merit on the one hand, as well as desires attached to individual and social mobility:

> …this idea of the gifted black student brings some pressure because of the idea that you're here because you're smart. For a black person to be at postgraduate it means that you are smart. For a white person it is taken for granted, so there's obviously this pressure that you got here so you have to produce similar high quality work. *And also to prove yourself, very much, to prove why you are there, to prove that you deserve to be there*, …perhaps because of the embodied inferiority-superiority idea that you can produce not even similar work like your white colleagues but sometimes even better. Expectations sometimes from them and sometimes from the lecturers. And there is an invariable more critical eye on your work than their work because yours stands out. If we have green files and the lecturer marks green files and comes across a red file, that red file invariably stands out and it catches your attention, so I would assume much more critical of what you are marking than with the others.
>
> (Participant 2, Postgraduate Student)

Lawler's (1999) illustrates a similar finding in her exploration of social mobility in the class narratives amongst a group of working-class women in Britain. The dominant socio-discursive framing of working-class identities in pathologised ways is evident in how Lawler's participants narrate their movement to middle-class positions through configurations marked by anxiety and desire. For these participants, both a working and

middle-class positioning are anxiety-provoking in how they may indicate pathology on the one hand and fear of being found out on the other. Negotiating dual existence of belonging and non-belonging in such instance becomes an ambivalent kind of "jeopardy" (Lawler, 1999, p. 3) for these women. In a similar vein Layton (2004), drawing on Bourdieu's work on taste distinction, illustrates how emotions of disgust, discomfort and shame are marked by feelings of anxiety and desire in how different working and middle class individuals move through classed spaces that highlight specific classed habitus. These emotions, Layton argues, play a significant role in maintaining social and class hierarchies. For those individuals able to move from a working to middle class existence – what Bourdieu describes as the rising petite bourgeoisie – configurations of the self are marked by anxieties of being re-classed as working-class as well as anxieties of not fully making it into middle-class existence, being perceived as a phony. A kind of distancing of oneself thus comes about, whereby the individual separates from both the pathologized identity and any resemblances of it as well as separates from the desired identity (which is perceived to be fundamentally unattainable). It is this anxiety, born of "distinguishing oneself both from those below and those above" (Layton, 2004, p. 39) that Bourdieu identifies as crucial to sustaining social hierarchies of power.

The narratives of race described by the participants in the present study as inescapable and possessing omnipresent-like characteristics highlight how students coming into the field with cultural capital are able to navigate their social and academic fields in more flexible ways than other students without capital attributes. However, they are still caught up in the unspoken practices of racial positioning that are fraught with essentializing constructs of 'blackness', constructs that are in turn experienced as inescapable and imposing by the students. This is because these constructs imply dichotomous framings of typical and atypical kinds of blackness through other representations of embodied capital (language, accent, cultural and other knowledge, skills, competencies etc.) that they supposedly come into the academic field with. For these students coming into the new field with the embodied capital that separates them from this category of classification, there is yet a configuration of difference that does not allow for free maneuvering of the field. This re-racialization is evident in the edifying of the black student – by both black and white members of staff – who demonstrates exceptional skill and competency. This re-racialization is not only evident in how black faculty members interact with exceptional black students, but also in how these students themselves re-position themselves to others.

The following excerpt attests to this heterogeneity in his description of the research space, also highlighting what Bonilla-Silva (2006) identifies as racialised habitus whereby social groups guide and maintain group membership through inculcation of particular tastes, emotions, views amongst other practices and dispositions related to racial matters:

> I always say that regarding the nature of our group, that we are in New Zealand [laughs]…because when we sit in class we'd sit in a row and you look around and this row is only blacks. And then you go to class and … I'm trying to speak in a way that only reflects my view…because there is another dynamic there I'm sure…but when you go to class and someone is absent or whatever, and maybe because it's just me and I tend to notice these things, but I see how we sit and we tend to sit as black students. And obviously what that means is that white students are sitting as white students as well. And there wasn't any attempt by any member of either group to try and be part of the other group. I'm sure they must have noticed it, I'm sure, but no one spoke about it. I'm sure both groups found it difficult to try and be part of the other group, and so we all just ignored it. But I am sure that they observed this. And no matter how we might mingle outside of class there would always be those issues of positioning ourselves in those kinds of contexts…And I strongly believe it's a characteristic of the university as a whole not only the department. Obviously the department if a subsection of the whole university and someone once observed to me: 'there are the white lawns of the library, the black matrix, the Indian stairs' [laughs]…so it's intrinsic to the university as a whole.
>
> *(Participant 4, Postgraduate Student)*

On the other end of the spectrum, the narratives of those students positioned to be lacking any valued form of cultural capital – whether embodied, objectified and/or institutional – identify different anxieties and ambivalences related to their positioning as racialised subjects. For these students, there is no dual positioning as typical or atypical, instead anxieties are centred on their perceptions of being labeled exclusively as typical.

> I feel shame especially when my tutor tells me to join the development assistance programs because you know that you are in danger of being excluded at the end of the year. You know that you are one of those students.
>
> *(Participant 9, Undergraduate Student)*

> You can't even say it's a stereotype because actually we do need the help. We are struggling in a way that the other students who went to Model C schools are not. It is shameful, but what can you do. I definitely don't like to be labeled as one of those students but when your results come out on a test and they put up your student number on the notice board because it is compulsory that you must now attend academic development program, that really is shameful to you.
>
> *(Participant 5, Undergraduate Student)*

Du Bois' construct of the veil succinctly describes the above accounts of being looked at. It is through the demonstration of lack – such as inability to communicate well through the valued medium of communication that these students experience the moment of the veil, the sense of double consciousness. Fanon's (1986) racial epidermal schema is also evident here in the sense that language and accent as representatives of the dominant [white, middle-class] culture intersects with race and class to produce a process of racial embodiment that is different from other racial lives. Thus, it is those black students in particular that are not able to demonstrate and deploy embodied cultural capital that experience moments of the veil during such interactions.

> I wasn't lonely because I was constantly under my sister's care. But in a way it was lonely. For me the loneliness was more academic…. when you are *in class you constantly are aware of where you come from, especially when you come from rural areas* and what what (sic). You're like 'okay, why do these people know all this'? And I remember once in Political Studies, they were talking about getting our notes from WebCT and I was like, "Webct, what is that". I didn't even know how to spell it and I'm like, 'okay, I'm shocked'. And for a while I was feeling really scared that I would never cope with this place. But with me, it's like okay, adapt quickly. These students are like from Park Town and you are like from very far away, you shouldn't be left behind and I think that was my biggest fear. (My emphasis)
>
> *(Participant 9, Undergraduate Student)*

The racialization process occurs differently in the sense that while race is experienced as omnipresent it is always *negatively* omnipresent. For these students, there is both a conscious – and I would argue *unconscious* awareness – of how the social and academic hierarchies of the field are best navigated by cultural capital attributes that they do not possess. Thus, for these students lack of ability to communicate in English properly, speak with the 'right'

accent, possess dispositions that allow them to converse or engage in debate with a member of staff, have the basic cultural knowledge to participate in academic discussions, and other competencies become crucial to how they narrate their enculturation into the field. Moreover, these students mediate their social and academic fields through the added adage of race. Put more explicitly, these students interpret and relate to others as *black students who do not possess the desired capital* and therefore do not have the legitimacy to participate in the field. In this instance, both raced and classed habitus are evident in how re-racialization processes comes to exist in their navigation of social and academic spaces. Academic citizenship – or lack thereof – comes to be informed by these explicit and implicit processes of subjectification. The complexities of racialization in these instances occur through simultaneously conscious and unconscious processes imbued with emotions of ambivalence, shame and anxiety.

> I just keep quiet even if I disagree with something. And also, coming from my type of school I have to get used to computers and how to access and use WebCT and things like that. And being on a student loan you don't get money to buy books or anything…
>
> *(Participant 5, Undergraduate Student)*

> "…in more ways than one it is different experiences you get depending on which department it is. I think it definitely does influence how you approach your subjects. I mean, in terms of how much you are able to communicate with the lecturer, how much you are able to express yourself in the tutorial and in the lecture, then determines how much you are able to understand that subject. Because of the thing with varsity material, even just the articles, they are quite complex. They need a more theoretical understanding than what you have at the moment. So being able to go and consult and say 'I've read this, how can I understand it better, what should I be reading?', if you are afraid of seeming stupid then you will always have this complex idea in your mind. And sometimes you cannot just put things on paper. For example, I'm a very artistic person and there are times I've had issues with writing academic essays. I've got serious issues with writing academic essays. The only thing I ever had to write an essay for before coming here was Biology, and we would often only write it in a point form. And you get here and they are expecting a huge amount of words and being creative, I now had to be factual and writing things in a way that they would want, so it was not just being factual but also writing in the style that was acceptable. And at times that was hard.
>
> *(Participant 5, Undergraduate Student)*

…you get a sense that when you enter the research arena, you get a sense that there is a tribalism along racial lines. Even in your presentation and things like that, you feel that you are more hammered. You feel a sense that….you feel it to a large extent…I don't know; sometimes I guess you misread these things, I don't know. I must say that sometimes our perceptions might be flawed but sometimes you feel that sense of racialization in the research meetings. There were some people's voices which were shattered when they tried to speak, there were some people who were undermined…maybe it's just those people and it's not about if you are white or black. But that is the sense that you get, you get a very strong sense of it. *And it affects how you relate to the department and I know at some point I was very distant to the department as a whole.* (My Emphasis)

(Participant 4, Postgraduate Student)

…when you are writing your essays and your tests and everything, there is that lack of confidence that you get in the assessment system itself. You know when you are writing your name and surname you feel that automatically the lecturer or marker sees it, and there is that bias that just goes through your head that they've seen my name and they have now made an assumption about me based on it. The very assumption that goes through that and then they start marking. Or that the way they relate to my name will be different from say 'Christopher Smith'. So I think those things come into play and you…and even sometimes it's a mark that you would have got, that you deserved, but because of those assumptions that you've got, you lose confidence in the whole assessment process. You lose confidence and you start not engaging with the system as you should with your academics. Sometimes you find that you can't even complain about your mark because to some extent you are afraid…to some extent you that it's fine, that's the way things are. You see the system as authoritarian and rigid and it's fixed so who are you to start questioning things, to start questioning Prof so and so, so there is that distance that I am so and so and who are you to question me, I am white and I am privileged, so who are you. That's the feeling that I get. Now, unlike a white student, who has not been raised to accept things in that manner he will challenge the lecturer and even more so if it's a black lecturer. That's the way I feel.

(Participant 4, Postgraduate Student)

The respondent in this excerpt reveals his awareness and consciousness that subtle social stereotypes exist which may manifest in mundane and supposedly neutral practice such as assessment contexts. This awareness frames his perception and interpretation of race in the context of academic practice and highlights a racialised lens in how he reads specific

communities of practice as racialised. This reading is in terms of his blackness relative to the whiteness of the assessor and not on the basis of other differential markers of subjectivity. Thus, from his point of view, his blackness predetermines his encounter with the racial other in the academic field and becomes the basis for his reading of particular actions as discriminatory and prejudicial. The account also reveals that being subjected to this [white] gaze of the institution influences how he engages with the different communities of practice as well as loss of confidence in his own capabilities. Interestingly, the respondent also demonstrates reflexive insight in his ability to theorize processes of subjectification and limits to agency within the field. He is able to exercise a form of meta-analysis of the different ways that some black students, including himself, may be affected by their devalued cultural capital.

6.4.7 *"…you can speak with the black lecturer but in your own language*": navigating 'white' academic and social spaces

The challenges experienced related to the navigation and mediation of the social and academic spaces on campus are important in their categorization as 'white' spaces by some of the respondents. This racialization of the field by students cannot be separated from the raced habitus and dispositions that inform how they interpret and experience particular social interactions and academic practice as racialised. This is not to argue that there are no racializing practices evident within the field or that students may be misinterpreting how they are racialised by others within the field. Rather, it is to argue that moments of intergroup contact are deeply tied to how subjects live the racialised corporeal schema (Fanon, 1986), that is, how subjects experience the lived reality of being positioned relative to others in particular ways and in relation to their physical difference. The sub-thematic accounts related to the navigation of perceived white academic and social spaces included the moments of racial visibility that related to being a token black subject and/or being called upon to represent or speak on behalf of one's social group, general social and academic alienation related to one's racial and class group membership, embodiment through language and general negative stereotypes related to one's social group. These accounts are significant in their perceived relevance for how the black student is able to be in a particular space in the same way as others. Access to particular spaces as well as participation in particular practices are here considered to be intricately tied to these dimensions of racialised subjectivity that therefore function to implicitly exclude them from fully integrating into the field.

Margolis and Romero (1998) explore the influences of professionalization processes on students of color and argue that the look of the departments or – to use Bourdieu's term, field – that these students find themselves in may appear superficial but has significant social meanings for these students. Those fields that are perceived to be white spaces influence how subjects will not only participate in but also how racialised and other subjectivities are reinforced and resisted. Durrheim and Dixon (2001) have demonstrated the role of place and space in re-inscribing racialised subjectivities. Their analysis of subjects' occupation and articulation of physical space highlights the social constructed in creating categories of outside and foreignness to place. Contrast is evident in relation to the flexibility and ease of movement through space and social interaction with the narratives of the students without valued cultural capital. These students experience their narrative possibilities and discursive positioning as *closed* and inflexible. Furthermore, these students describe a racial disposition to be foremost in their participation within the immediate academic and social fields, informing how and with whom they interact. Furthermore, academic enculturation in some instances become secondary to this race register. For example, the excerpt below illustrates the participant's racial profiling of potential research supervisor on her thesis:

> **Participant 6:** Staff are generally not very approachable. And when you add that they are white it makes it even more unapproachable…My first choice was you and they told me you were not around, that you are on leave.
>
> **Interviewer**: And this was because you already knew me?
>
> **Participant 6**: Yes, I knew you but mainly because you were black. And then they advised us to choose someone who was interested in our area of interest. I didn't listen to that. And I went to *****[31] and he referred me to you but then you were not here.
>
> **Interviewer:** You went to him because he was black as well?
>
> **Participant 6**: Ja. And when that didn't work out I thought I will do what they advised us, but most of the people who shared my interest were white and so I didn't go. And so after I became desperate I decided I had to find someone soon. And I decided to choose the one person who I would more comfortable with from that group. That is how I have always approached staff since I came here, from my undergraduate to now.
>
> **Interviewer**: Why did you feel you would be more comfortable with this person?
>
> **Participant 6**: Because I didn't see her as white. Not like the others. She was different.
>
> **Interviewer**: What makes her different?

[31] Name Withheld

Participant 6: I don't know…she just is. She is not like a proper white person.

The respondent relies on broader socio-discursive meanings and constructs of whiteness in her navigation of the social field. This racialization allows her to construct desirable and undesirable forms of whiteness that influences her choices of supervision. And yet, implied in this construct of whiteness is a simultaneous construct of blackness. An interesting exchange between the respondent and the researcher ensues that further illustrates the essentialziing construct of race in how the subject navigates her academic space. The excerpt further highlights the intersections of race and class in how she chooses to mediate her social and academic environment:

> "…it's not that I want to exclude myself, it's just that…[silence]…I don't know…the things that they talk about…eish…I don't know. I just feel like they don't, they won't really get me…I don't know. You won't understand that. For example, you are someone who I can approach if I have any issues. But some of my issues will not be the kind of issues that you would experience, so I think sometimes it would be difficult to understand me… [Pause]…even if you wanted to understand me.
>
> **Interviewer**: How come?
>
> **Participant 6**: Because you are not from my kind of background. You are like a white person because you understand the things they talk about. Like if you refuse to be part of their group, it's because you don't want to be not because you feel excluded by what they are saying. Or if you say something, they will listen to you because they respect that you know what you are saying.
>
> **Interviewer**: Because I am an academic?
>
> **Participant 6**: Yes, but also because of who you are. You are not like someone like me, like you know about how to be like them…I don't know.
>
> **Interviewer**: You mean that I understand the kinds of things they would talk about and the expressions they would use?
>
> **Participant 6**: Yes, but they also accept you for who you are. But with me, they don't bother because I am not like them. They seem to be … eish …from around here.
>
> **Interviewer**: From around here?
>
> **Participant 6**: From here…like they are urban. So the things they know, what they are interested in is different from me. *Like I have so much to catch up on*. (My Emphasis).

Hill (1999) argues that white public space may be constructed through the surveillance and monitoring of speech and language of racialised minorities. Part of this process entails a continuous self-surveillance practice that pathologizes one's embodied difference in the form of language and accent. Given the embodiment of language and accent to the body, practices of speaking and style of speaking act as signifiers upon which abstractions of race and legitimacy are attached. Blackledge (2006) for example asserts that language practices are significant in their representation of race in hegemonic discourse. In the current study context, I would further argue that it is both through language as spoken practice but also language as social signifier that subjects enact particular subject positions. Language in both these functional aspects is the medium through which subjects occupy positions of classed and racialised subjectivities that denote aspects of inclusion and exclusion within the field. How subjects understand and make sense of their subjectivities in relation to the linguistic practices that they participate in remains a crucial avenue for exploring the processes by which subjects take up practices of agency and resistance to their interpellation in particular ways. The respondents in the excerpts below make direct links between their language and accent in relation to their social and academic subjectivities thus:

> …you can speak with the black lecturer but in your own language. ….Especially when I need to say something that I first need to get my head around the concept. It makes it easier to just speak in Zulu because it comes out easier and quicker, if you know what I mean. But if I was confident enough about the concept and I understand it, and I just want clarity on something, I don't mind speaking in English with my other lecturers.
>
> *(Participant 12, Undergraduate Student)*

> … if I want to ask something then at least I can say it in my language and he would understand me, but like we will understand each other. Because I don't feel that with a white lecturer.
>
> *(Participant 13, Undergraduate Student)*

> …a black person would be easier to approach, if you have a story to tell and if you have something that you feel you need help on, it would have been easy to approach a black person than a white person… most times you think, 'okay, by the way, this is what we were taught about these people, this is how they operate, so I'd rather back off and not get help'. But if I find a black lecturer then wow, that would be great because I would express myself without having to think about those negative things that we were taught before.

(Participant 8, Undergraduate Student)

> Language for me is a big deal. I am not fully able to express myself to my lecturers or tutors. And it's easier just to not engage at all. Even in the small group discussions in the tutorials, I still find it difficult. The tutor asks you a question, and you can just imagine everyone looking at you and wondering what you are saying.
>
> (Participant 2, Undergraduate Student)

> When I think of what everyone will be thinking, I mean I don't have the right language to express myself, so I can just imagine. It's even worse when the tutor corrects you, right in front of everyone.
>
> (Participant 2, Undergraduate Student)

> I feel so much shame when I have to talk in class, especially if I am struggling to explain myself. And it's not that I don't understand the discussion, I cannot talk in the language that will make them understand me. Not all the time, but yes, mostly, I cannot talk.
>
> (Participant 3, Undergraduate Student)

Delpit and Dowdy (2002) argue that language practiced in the classroom context is far from neutral but embodies social and political meanings that are in turn attached to particular social groups. Bourdieu (1977) considers language to be a social practice that does shape how subjects exist and navigate the social world. These accounts highlight the strategies of negotiations that the respondents engage in as part of limiting their exclusion from and making visible their devalued linguistic capital. It is equally evident how linguistic capital functions as a site not only for exclusion but also anxiety and shame. Du Bois (1997), Fanon (1986) and wa Thiongo (1986)) have demonstrated how the imposition of the dominant language on the black subject creates a double consciousness in the subject that entails seeing oneself through the dominant devaluing representation. These accounts of mediating social and academic space in relation to linguistic capital are consequences of representations of embodied cultural capital that impose dominant meanings and constructs of legitimation on different accents and linguistic skill on subjects. The self-surveillance practices of the students further means that their avoiding active participation and limiting how they participate in this field only serves to reinforce these dominant normalizing practices.

Navigating the academic and social spaces on campus become racialised for some students through a spatial imagery that emphasizes not only how they exist as blacks within that space but also how the white imagery constructs and positions them within that space. Thus for some subjects, location within a particular place demands simultaneous justification and defense. Lipsitz (2007) argues that lived experiences of physical space is fundamentally racial in content and conveys differential hierarchies of exclusion and inclusion more generally. And yet the constitution of racial subjectivities within the field is far from simple. Foucault (1981) argues that the production of subjectivities through the privileging of discourse is not a linear and monolithic process. The constitution of particular subjectivities also imply possibilities for resistance and other counter-discursive constructs: "There is not, on the one side, a discourse of power and opposite another discourse that runs counter to it. Discourses are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field force relations; there can run different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy" (Foucualt, 1981, p. 102).

Tinto (1987) makes the well-known assertion that students from marginalized and minority backgrounds will struggle within the academic field in comparison with those students whose families have academic background. Furthermore, criteria for success within this field for the former students entail detaching or separating themselves from their cultural and familial backgrounds (Tinto, 1988; 1993). This detachment is considered necessary to transitioning and fitting in within the new academic and social fields. And yet, the excerpts from the students coming into the institution without valued social and cultural resources would seem to challenge this construct. These students demonstrate capacity for navigating the new field through acquisition of new capital but at the same time sustain their ties and connection to their cultural and familial backgrounds. Furthermore, in these students accounts there is no explicit desire to acquire the dominant cultural capital status but rather an awareness of how they are racialised and classed within the different spaces but also how this implies that they either have to work very hard to achieve success, race management, and/or strategic manipulation of their racialised and classed positioning to achieve their objectives. Reay et al (2009) present a similar finding in their exploration of working-class students' navigation of academic field. They argue that students may enter a field without dominant cultural capital attributes and still aspire to different degrees of professionalism without necessarily detaching themselves from cultural and familial backgrounds nor consciously choosing to acquire the dominant cultural capital.

6.4.8 *"…we were being racially positioned and grouped"*: race self-awareness

Racial awareness – both of oneself and also others – is described in the respondents' accounts as a negative feeling in which contexts of saliency demand that they enact or take up particular subject positions related to their racial positioning. For these students racial awareness constitutes two different but important dimensions: 1) engaging contexts when race is made salient to the situation or the subject and 2) existing in a state of perpetual racial self-awareness and therefore maintaining a continuous state of hyper-vigilance. What these excerpts make evident are the processes by which space no longer centres only on practices and relational dimensions within the space (see Massey, 2005) but also how space comes to embody personal and social trajectories that are in continuous re/construction. moreover, these spaces are characterized by processes of interpellation (Althusser, 1977) by which subjects are not only called into being but also come to recognize themselves in the discourse. For example the following excerpts highlight how subjects are not only racialised – through omission and/or silences around race – but also come to recognize their own interpellation within these silences, omissions and implicit discursive constructs.

> I mean when I applied for a supervisor, I chose two people, both of them white, because of the type of research that I was going to do and I felt that they could be relevant and I also felt that they were good people to be mentored by. But they gave me a black supervisor of which was not part of my wish list and number two, furthermore they went on to give three other black students the same supervisor. And we all did not chose that person to supervise us and that black supervisor didn't have any white student. So…that was at the very early level. And paralleling that was when we would go to research meetings and it seemed like no this there is something seriously wrong happening here. Maybe for reasons that they perceived that we couldn't comprehend, but there wasn't any effort to try and explain to us why that happened and that would leave us to judge for ourselves and the conclusion that we drew at that point was that we were being racially positioned and grouped.
>
> *(Participant 4, Postgraduate Student)*

Understanding the rules of both social worlds allows him to move through the social spaces of different race groups with relative ease. Having a sense of the rules of the different playing fields becomes possible because of prior inculcated dispositions learned through familiarity with the different social practices (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) of the two cultures. This

construct of being caught up in middle culture is also evident in another participant's account of the social field at the institution:

> …I guess it's hard to really explain this if you are not part of it, but for me being here, I sometimes feel so out of the whole race thing. When I got here, the first thing you hear about is the black student politics and how we need to join the student group, SASCO. And they give you all these speeches about how the institution is against us and all that. I do not buy into that politics. I do not really care to be honest. I came here for me, and my goal is to succeed. Anyway, I joined the group just to see what it would be like. Me and a couple of my friends. And I can say that I have never felt so alienated at the social gatherings. I thought it was the politics but I actually the majority of those students in the group were from totally different backgrounds than me. I felt like I didn't understand them and they definitely didn't get me. And then I would be at a different social event, dominated by white students and there is much more that we have in common. But still you are aware that you are different, this is not my lifestyle. Actually, you would feel that in both groups. This is how it has always been for me since I can remember. Going to a private school and still socializing with my friends who were in township and public schools. I always felt this separation and also with my white friends in school, I would still feel it.
>
> *(Participant 12, Undergraduate Student)*

Racial separateness is constructed between middle class black students and other black students with lower social class status, what is commonly referred to as "coconuts" and "dusty crusties" (Eramus, 2006, P 57)[32]. The latter group of students tend to revile and treat with scorn those students considered to have forsaken their inner blackness. And the same time, however, these students are also revered for their "apparent linguistic and social ease when negotiating the white world" (p.57). It is this racial separateness that Fanon (1986) alludes to when he argues for construct of different degrees of blackness (Hook, 2004) that differentially enable greater access to social and material resources amongst blacks. For Fanon, the black individual becomes "proportionally whiter…in direct ratio" to his [sic] knowledge and mastery of the white world (Fanon, 1986, p. 18). In her exploration of articulations of identity amongst a group of students at a former whites-only school in South Africa, Vandeyar's (2008) participant makes a similar allusion to this sense of being 'stuck' between two cultures: on the one hand, feeling that she was "out of touch with my African

[32] 'Coconut' is a derogatory term used to refer to black individuals labelled as 'white'. 'Dusty Crusties', another derogatory term is used to indicate 'backwardness' and 'rural'.

roots" due to her demonstration of dominant embodied cultural capital reflected in her use of language and accent, and on the other hand feeling anxious that she was "acting too white" (p. 292).

Such a process of double racialization, Vandeyar goes on to note, constitutes a process of making sense of one's identity via the "gaze" of others (p. 292) – in this instance the racial gaze. Du Bois' (1997) *double consciousness* exemplifies this moment of racialization and negotiation. In the same way the student in Vandeyar's study encounters the veil at the moment her language use and accent are questioned by others, so too do the following three participants in the current study experience different moments of the veil through social practice and relationships:

> Since I was at school I have always had this issue with my black friends and sometimes with my white friends. I can't escape it. So my black friends will be like 'why do you talk in that accent?' kind of thing. And I almost feel like I have to defend myself, you know. But then, my accent isn't completely like 'white', you know. But it does make you feel self-conscious. So you try to be a little more black. You learn the lingos, the different music and all that. Just so you can fit in.
>
> *(Participant 4, Postgraduate Student)*

> At school, we were like maybe three black students in the entire class. And you know what happens when issues of race or culture comes up in class discussions. Everyone looks at you to explain something if its about black culture. Not even black culture. If it was anything African. Like you just get used to those kinds of interactions. And in those moments, you realize that you are different. And the same thing still happens with my white friends. So, we can be friends, but there is always these little things.
>
> *(Participant 2, Undergraduate Student)*

> So, for example, there was this boy who liked me in school and I liked him too. He was white. And we used to just flirt and chat, you know. And then one day he says to me that someday he will pay lobola for me, like just playing around. And my friends, who were also white, like we all laughed at him saying that. But inside I was like 'what!', not every black person pays lobola, you know'. But it just struck me how they thought of me, my culture and background and all that.
>
> *(Participant 5, Undergraduate Student)*

This sense of being caught between cultures is however not unanimous. *Participant 3* below, also with middle-class background and schooling, describes his familiarity with a white habitus as unproblematic in his interactions and engagement with the racialised student political context within the institution. For him, continuity exists in alienating himself from and *not* engaging with such a context as this is not part of his social identity and in terms of mediating the new social field, illustrating Davies' (1990) point that universal discursive constitution may be interpellated differently for different subjects. Similarly, for another student, also with middle-class background and schooling, the constructs and meanings of blackness evident in the student party representations is both challenged and rejected by her. In the excerpt below, she interrogates the meanings ascribed to being a black student at a historically white institution of higher learning, arguing that such constructs are political manipulations racialised subjectivity:

> It kind of makes me mad actually, this cheap manipulation of students that the student group does. I mean, here we are, all of us are here and they want us to join forces in terms of their own definition of what life is like for black students. What they talk about, those are not my experiences. I am black and those are not my experiences. So, yeah it irritates me. Cos now it creates a stereotype about the rest of us. Not all of us are here on bursaries, not all of us are struggling to pass exams, not all of us are facing exclusions. I mean, I was excited to be coming to varsity, like 'finally!', you know, and you come here and have to hear this nonsense about how the institution does not want you here. Which I don't buy, it's their own manipulation.
>
> (Participant 9, Undergraduate Student)

Vandeyar (2008) argues that many students in post-apartheid schooling contexts continually challenge and resist the available racial categories of identification, preferring to construct their terms of a global popular culture (also see Dolby, 2000; 2002). This reconfiguration of identities further demonstrates Davies' (1990) assertion that available discursive resources enable the individual to not only resist particular subject positioning, but also to create and construct new ones. And yet, this capacity for reconfiguration begs the question: *to what degree is the rejection and reclamation of self-mediated through embodiment of cultural capital?* The excerpts demonstrating rejection of imposed racial positioning denote processes of reclamation as they are practiced by subjects with valued cultural capital in different

forms: embodied (through personal style, language, accent, and personal disposition), objectified (through material capacity to procure valued objects useful to academic enculturation) and institutional (via privileged high school education that has prepared them for the new field). Effectively, their power to renegotiate particular discursive positioning is made possible through cultural capital resources. Furthermore, the reclamation of self is also made possible precisely because available discursive and narrative positioning is *open and not closed* to them. In addition, given the dialogic process of subject formation, others within the field implicitly recognize and engage with these multiple selves:

> When you get here, people try to tell you what kind of black you should be. The SRC[33] especially, they fill your head with all kinds of nonsense about black students at [this institution]. It's just a political game, really. And quite frankly, I do not subscribe to their constructs of black students. The issues they campaign about do not relate to me. I am not here on student bursary or financial aid; I am not struggling to cope with my studies and all that. But then you realize that even the academic staff have some idea about who they think you are, but if you interact with them a bit, they soon quickly come to realize that the box that they placed you in does not fit you at all. There is more to you than this construct of 'black' that they have.
>
> *(Participant, 11, Undergraduate Student)*

> "So my transition has allowed me to be aware of race at different stages of growing up. On campus, I don't feel it so much. Like walking through campus, no I don't feel it. I mean, you see the different racial aspects, group relations on campus, maybe racial, maybe cultural, maybe gendered, there is that very superficial awareness. In class though, definitely. Whether it's as I said, because *you are the only one that can perform particular tasks or can't perform particular tasks because of your race*. The way somebody will or you might sense somebody is speaking a particular way because they don't want to offend you because of your race, so yes, I feel it very explicitly. I find that I have to engage with it, internalize it even if it's just to dismiss it. You don't buy it but still you have to. So for example, if I am late, I am invariably aware of the thought of 'the late black'. So what does that mean for you? Do you make an extra effort not to be late, you know. Does that mean that you make an extra effort in your presentations to be quite on point? When certain discussions come up, like when there's a racial discussion, your silence is loud. *If you say one or two things your race is announced, if you don't say anything, it's still announced. It's a catch twenty-two*. Certainly the stereotypes are hard. Even if you engage with it, sort of to address the elephant in the room, it's still hard.

[33] Student Representative Council, primarily headed by the political student body SASCO.

> And if you leave it, there's this unaddressed anxiety amongst you and your relations with your peers. So you can address it and be like ha ha, you know. But what does that mean for you and your identification and I mean it's certainly… (silence) it's there, it's there it's there (sic) you cannot deny it, you cannot escape from it. And to actually say it wouldn't cause anxiety, in my opinion is to lack insight into how race is experienced in small ways. And I vary in terms of how I address this. I think it's very contextual and its function also is very contextual. So is to make things easier for everybody, is it to reduce my own anxiety or is it to reduce their own anxiety? It's very very (sic) contextual in the way that you address the 'why', how'.
>
> *Participant 2, postgraduate student, my emphasis.*

7. The threat of being/becoming black: emotions structuring racialised habitus

Throughout their narratives, the respondents in the study highlight the tensions that surround their movement through space as black bodies participating as outsiders – both as bodies with valued cultural capital and without. These accounts denote a dual interpellation process that constructs a dichotomous black subjectivity as either 'typical' or 'atypical'. Conflict and ambivalence are equally evident in this dual interpellation process whereby those black bodies deemed atypical narrate emotions of anxiety related to being re-interpellated as typical. The consequence of this dual interpellation is that these students navigate the field via emotions of anxiety related to the potential threat that they might *become* black at any given moment. This threat is experienced differently for those bodies already deemed to be out of place, who navigate the field through embodiment of a stereotypical blackness, one that reinforces the belief that they are currently in the field not because they are competent and have the skills to be present but rather because they are part of the institution's broader social transformative agenda. These students do not experience threat of becoming black as much as the threat of *being made visible* in their blackness.

Subjects are produced within discursive fields through hierarchical categorizations and constructs that both legitimate and de-valorize certain bodies as belonging and bodies that are constructed as out of place. These constructs and discourses illustrate the relationship between broader cultural representations and subjective experiences that further demonstrate the personal conflict of mediating two different interpellating systems. The meanings that subjects attach to bodies – both theirs and others – in general interweave with the cultural and

discursive representations and discourses of the [raced], [classed], [gendered], [disabled] body etc. For Wright (2004) the process of becoming black revolves around the meanings and significances of black embodiment in a white normative order. It is the awareness and lived experience of how the black body locates the subject into a racialised category with all of the symbolic and material functions and meanings attached to this categorization. Thus, for the black subject, becoming black is not only the process of being racialised in particular ways and/or being aware of their black embodiment, but also being aware of the predetermined racial scripts that constitutes black embodiment.

Underlying the different accounts of blackness – both positive and negative – is a range of powerful emotions that I argue function to further solidify the discursive constructs of racial subjectivity. The contradiction evident in the positive accounts of blackness and cultural capital is that students and other key actors in the field attempt to reinterpellate already interpellated subjects. Coming into the academic field entails a process of entering an already discursively constructed space that interpellates them – by virtue of their racial classification – in specific ways, whether it is 'at-risk' students, 'financial-aid' students etc. These students perception of such interpellation means that they attempt to distance themselves from what they perceive as a negative positioning, and thus engage a reinterpellation strategy that aims to provide alternate discourse. The unintended consequence of these attempts is that the subjects are almost always in a state/relationship characterized by dual consciousness, ambivalence and conflict.

In *taste and distinction*, Bourdieu (1984) discusses the processes by which the different social classes constitute themselves as separate from the other. These processes of 'distinction' include conscious and unconscious processes of navigation of the social field, processes that constitute socialized habitus and dispositions. Layton (2004) argues that this emphasis on the 'social psychoanalysis' of a sociological process of becoming or developing habitus is Bourdieu's important albeit implicit engagement with psychoanalytic thought. Subjects acquire habitus largely through unconscious practices and processes that come to be normalized and taken-for-granted: "The schemes of the habitus, the primary forms of classification, owe their specific efficacy to the fact that they function below the level of consciousness and language, beyond the reach of introspective scrutiny or control by the will" (Bourdieu, 1984, p 466). The subject distances him/herself from lower and upper class factions through such a process of unconsciousness introspection. For Bourdieu, it is this

repetitive, relational and unconscious practice of distinction that is the backbone of social reproduction. The emotions underlying such practices become the uniting force of social reproduction. All habitus is therefore held together by particular emotions, which provide it its mark of distinction and strategy of moving within a social field. Although Bourdieu fails to undertake an in-depth exploration of emotions in social reproduction practice, his engagement with aspects of the emotional process of distinction such as shame, resentment, disdain and anxiety in the distinguishing of class factions within specific fields perceived to be belonging to another class illustrate the importance that he does accord to this process (Layton, 2004). Similarly race scholars, including Fanon's (1986 phenomenological exploration, have argued the importance of emotions in the investment and meanings of racial oppression and conflict (see Essed, 1991; Hooka, 2006; Srivastava, 2006 amongst others).

Youdell (2006) observes that "subjectivities are not the stable, interior possessions of a self-knowing subject, but are instead artefacts of discourses that produce these subjects as though they were pre-existing" (p 55). The respondents in the current study provide accounts that illustrate their negotiations within different racialised moments of interaction, pre-existing discursive constructs not only of race [and class] in general but also what it means to be a black student. In speaking about their experiences and accounts of race within the academic field, the participants in the current study engage in different practices of defending, challenging and making sense of theirs and others' positioning as raced subjects. Particular discursive constructs emerge within the thematic accounts that highlight the role of emotions in structuring the racialised subjectivities of blackness. I argue that particular emotions intersect with specific practices in the field that function to create categories of separation and distinction and which implicitly has implications for academic citizenship and praxis. Foucault's (1977) construct of technology is useful in this regard. He uses this term to describe those knowledges, practices, techniques and discourses that may be deployed in the function of specific objectives. These technologies may either be deployed by subjects on others or on themselves. In this regard, affective technologies (Hook, 2007, Rose, 1998) may include those techniques such as emotions that function to produce certain social norms and dynamics of inclusion and exclusion either in relation to oneself or to others (Layton, 2004).

In *The History of Sexuality, Vol.* 1 (1976) Foucault makes the argument that the body is the site of struggle and deployments of power are invariably connected to the body. Power in this conceptualization both operates on as well as *through* the body. Discourses around the body

thus come to embody ideological functions that are far from neutral. Part of the effect of power is the repression of subjectivity through constructs of deviant and normal sexuality. Social constructionist scholars have emphasized this role of language and discourse in implicating and creating categories of subjectivity that embody differential privileges and power. Through constructs of idealized racialised subjectivity categories of ideal form of blackness are constructed through discursive constructs of ideal blackness. These constructs are deployed both in the construct of racial subjectivities as well as in reinforcing particular relations and dynamics of power and privilege. And yet, any discursive exploration of race subjectivity that fails to incorporate the embodied processes of subject positioning is lacking. Indeed, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) emphasise this corporeal dispositional process in their engagement with habitus. The role of the body is considered to be fundamental in producing and sustaining habitus whereby both the material and the symbolic interweave to produce the embodied subject. I would also argue that one of the effective techniques running through these constructs of blackness is the undercurrent of particular emotions of shame, anxiety, desire that function to further maintain dynamics of inclusion and exclusion.

The discursive construct of blackness and threat is held together by ambivalent and intersecting emotions of shame, anxiety, desire and resentment that implicitly function to structure the racialised and classed habitus of the subjects. Through self-surveillance practices, different categories of black scholarship are constructed whereby binary constructs embodied in the constructs of typical black student vs atypical black student are created, different and at times contradicting emotions structure the dynamics of interactions and navigation within the field. For example, those students with idealized cultural capital attributes construct categories of inclusion and exclusion through a discourse of threat. For these students, navigation of the academic and social fields is facilitated by their embodied cultural capital distinction that separates them from the broader social discursive constructs of blackness and scholarship. The social and psychological mobility that such capital embodiments incur also mean that a desire to hold on to and benefit from such a status and position is experienced in relation to other emotions of anxiety and fear that at any moment this elevated position will be taken away, that one will indeed be exposed as and become black.

> You know the tendency here and everywhere I guess, is to assume that you are here for other reasons, you know. I mean, black students' being in postgraduate is not always considered on

merit, we have to prove that we were not diversity candidates or anything like that. So, obviously you are always working harder than most and have to be careful that you don't get lumped with the others. I know some of the others are definitely diversity candidates, but you don't want to be categorized in the same way. So you have to watch yourself. Even just keeping to the same racial group in the long run is not good for you, for your reputation, cos it sends out a message that you are only comfortable in your group or that you are the same as all the others. I just want to be treated on my own merit, you know.

Participant 5, Postgraduate Student

I'm one of very few black students and I think about that. I think about what message that sends to others, what it means, how and why. And sometimes I feel like the interaction in post grad for black students…there may be a lot more validation than in undergrad. Because the assumption is that you worked a lot harder than other black people. And you are one kind of like a 'super black' because you are one of the few who made it through.

Interviewer: Does that mean anything to you?

Participant 2: Sometimes. It does however bring some pressure because of the idea that you're here because you're smart. For a black person to be at postgraduate it means that you are smart. For a white person it is taken for granted, so there's obviously this pressure that you got here so you have to produce similar high quality work. *And also to prove yourself, very much, to prove why you are there, to prove that you deserve to be there*, to prove…perhaps because of the embodied inferiority-superiority idea that you can produce not even similar work like your white colleagues but sometimes even better. Expectations sometimes from them and sometimes from the lecturers. And there is an invariable more critical eye on your work than their work because yours stands out. If we have green files and the lecturer marks green files and comes across a red file, that red file invariably stands out and it catches your attention, so I would assume much more critical of what you are marking than with the others." (My emphasis).

Participant 2, postgraduate student

…going out and we are all of us organizing event at a friend's home and they make a point of telling us that we should come and that the event is free. And for me I read that as specifically directed at the black students in the group and also that we are considered as the same, we all struggle with finances and everything else. So yeah, I was really pissed. And I didn't want to come after all, but then it would be like saying that we didn't belong there. So little things like that, always watching yourself and how you respond and how the others are treating you the same way based on a stereotype.

(Participant 7, undergraduate student)

> I see how these other black students in the class act around whites and its all about not really asserting themselves. I didn't have the background where I was taught to behave that way with anyone, so I am definitely not part of the group in that sense. And I don't want to be, because blackness here […] is equated with student politics and all that. I never was, and I am not interested in all that. And I don't like to be associated with that frankly. So we are not all the same, but that is not always recognized. I am a top performing student and I perform the way that I do because I work for it, I did not get into this level of study because I met some quota. But when you listen to some of the talk of the final year students, it's all about how their race may be useful for them, and I think, some of us did not rely on that. We actually worked.
>
> *Participant 3, postgraduate student*

These discursive constructs reveal that the respondents are aware and conscious of both the explicit and often subtle ideological meanings attached to practical practices, that may function to elevate their marginalized racialised status and positioning. The respondent above employs a liberal-progressive discourse in his construct of competence that allows him to create a distinction between him and other black students perceived to not embody these attributes. I would argue that a continuous process of self-surveillance is evident in how these students attempt to manage their racialization as different from normalized constructs of blackness, that implicitly denote threat of being constructed in homogenous ways by the other. Ahmed (2004) has argued for the simultaneity of emotions in processes of subject formation whereby particular signs, objects, bodies and even practices may be perceived to embody specific attachments that are imbued with particular emotions of investment. Hunter (2010) has specifically argued that discursive constructs of the body produce embodied subjectivities that influence the subject's navigation of the education field. Emotions of shame and anxiety are also evident in the accounts of those students navigating the field without cultural capital. For these students anxiety is evident in the constant concern about being perceived as typical in their lack of academic preparedness and general lack of display of idealized cultural capital. It is primarily through social meanings and practice of language that this anxiety manifests itself, the fear of being judged inadequate because one is unable to communicate effectively or fails to display the dispositions necessary to effective communication.

It is interesting that it is in moments of speech communication that these students experience racial visibility as well as accompanying emotions of shame. These emotions function to further alienate these students by influencing defense strategies such as avoiding social interactions between student and lecturer or in class. Emotions of shame also structure the subject's movement within the social field by not participating in social events that will only make more visible one's being a body out of place:

> When you are at such events and you see how everyone is able to associate with each other, they understand each other, or have been to the same kinds of places, and then sometimes I feel so anxious and ashamed that that is not my experience. And I wonder what they must think of me. So generally I don't participate in those activities. I only do the group work because it is compulsory but if it isn't I don't participate at all.
>
> *Participant 4, postgraduate student*

> I feel so much shame when I have to talk in class, especially if I am struggling to explain myself. And it's not that I don't understand the discussion, I cannot talk in the language that will make them understand me. Not all the time, but yes, mostly, I cannot talk.
>
> *Participant 3, Undergraduate Student*

Simultaneously, emotions of desire and resentment structure the different practices of racial management. Resentment is further directed against other black students who are perceived to possess the valued cultural capital that would enable easy navigation of the field. These emotions are central to how habitus not only structures but also how hierarchical social relations are reinforced and made invisible. Layton (2004) puts it more directly when she argues that "*doxa* is transmitted in conflictual relational experiences and thereafter held in place by emotions…" (p. 48). The production of emotional spaces within the academic field is also functional in creating and perpetuating exclusionary and inclusionary categories of subjects. Emotions become a powerful and effective organizing trope that mediates the subject's movement within space as well as in maintaining relations of exclusion and separation. Social boundaries are created that allow subjects to legitimately separate themselves from others perceived to be different and maintain ties with those constructed as similar.

Social theorists interested in the role and function of resentment as emotion that structures the racialised spaces (most notably Ahmed, 2004; Boler, 1999; Reay, 2005; Zembylas, 2007;

2008) have argued that emotions may function to further entrench individual and collective bodies within social networks of power. For Zembylas (2010) schools may also function as emotional spaces that construct connections around inclusion and exclusion. Resentment as affective economy is illustrative of how emotional culture may reinforce particular discourses and practices of participation. In the participant accounts in the current study, emotions of fear, anxiety and shame are evident in how the participants describe moments of interpellation and visibility. I argue also that these emotional spaces are also underwritten with emotions of resentment in how some of the discursive accounts represent those students from middle-class backgrounds who have demonstrated capacity to actively become part of the social and academic culture at the institution. Zembylas' (2010) study explores the affective economy of resentment in relation to white resentment arguing that emotional spaces of resentment are evident in the majority students' engagement with the minority Other. In the current study, this affective economy is evident struggling to engage active academic citizenship related to embodied cultural capital relate to their peers through emotions of resentment that construct categories of 'authentic' and 'inauthentic' blackness. Discursive constructs of the former groups of students as traitors to their social group and "coconuts" is illustrative of such practice:

> Well, what I can say is that all of this comes at an expense. Yes, you can become part of the group and what not, but it will come back to bite you. So you are never really part of the group, even if you may appear the same. At the end of the day, to me I would rather be real than be someone who is not real.
>
> **Interviewer:** what do you mean 'not real'?
>
> **Participant 3**: I don't pretend to be white or to behave like whites. I choose to be real even if that means that I get excluded on some things. But others, I can see that they prefer to be part of the group, so to me they are not real.
>
> *Participant 3, undergraduate student*

> …but these students are not sympathetic to how others black students here […] struggle to belong here. They have the advantage of coming from families with the finances to support them; their schooling is Model C schooling and the like. So they don't really understand. Not to judge them or anything. It's just the way it is. But it's a problem when they turn around and fail to understand how we are struggling. It is insensitive but also expected. Because if you have that background, why would you understand how other people are living? To me, they are no different than white students, and I think sometimes it's worse because they don't like

> to be associated with us. So I can expect a white student to help me with some of the work if I ask him but I would never ask another black student who is with that kind of background. That is what I real coconut is like, really.
>
> *Participant 6, postgraduate student*

These practices of surveillance are constituted through essentializing discourse that creates categories of blackness in fixed and static terms. These constructs of blackness are further posited as essentially bound up within the individual and constitutes an original and authentic blackness that cannot be erased, irrespective of whatever inauthentic attempts at whiteness may be adopted:

> **Participant 2:** …so I can see how it is easy for her in terms of that. For most of the students who can discuss with the lecturer like that. I did not have that kind of background. So it is difficult for me. I keep my distance because it is easier for me. I am not used to being so informal with my lecturer as if we are equals. But nothing is forever, you know, I keep saying to my friends that she'll realize one day that she has turned into a black person [laughing].
> **Interviewer:** what do you mean?
> **Participant 2:** I'm just joking [laughing]

The excerpt illustrates the discursive positioning of an essentialized blackness that remains present under different conditions of performance of whiteness. Blackness becomes an entity intrinsic to the subject and attests to the inevitable failure at any attempt at assimilation into whiteness. The excerpt above is not only characterized by an essentializing discourse but is also deployed through a rhetorical strategy that allows the subject to construct a particular category of blackness by distancing herself from the discourse: "*I'm just joking*". The excerpts also illustrate the positioning of middle-class black students as Other. Such a positioning functions to legitimate exclusionary practice related to interacting with these group of students and at the same time allows the subjects to remain in a comfortably superior position that implicitly protects them from shame and anxiety related to not having valued cultural capital. The role of emotions in the production of racialised selves within extreme racist and nationalist contexts has been explored by social theorists (Ahmed, 2004), however Zembylas (2007; 2010) has argued that within the education field this emphasis remains under-explored. Zembylas (2010) further argues that practices of exclusion and inclusion within schools include the racialization of emotional spaces. Such a process entails the construction of racialised subjectivities through the production of emotional spaces such

as resentment of the Other. This construction is made possible through the participation and production of multiple and interweaving *processes* that are constitutive of racial subjectivities (McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2000; Miles, 1982; 1993).

The subjects' navigation in the field also denotes a different ideological process that is simultaneous to this dual interpellation: the attempt at re-interpellation (by becoming/being the 'atypical' black student) demands a complicity in reinforcing and sustaining the *original* interpellation of being 'typical' to begin with. The individualizing discourse of personal competence and skill necessitates that one presumes the existence of an alternate. This is evident in how some subjects – who have cultural capital currency – construct their peers as not only lacking competence and skills but also exemplary of a collectivized stereotypical construct of blackness as fundamentally problematic. Part of this process of interpellation also means that a *performance* of race is called for, whereby subjects experience the necessity of demonstrating their competence and skill.

8. Between *ignorance* and *subterfuge*: constructing a 'raced' institution

Another discourse repeatedly deployed in the construction of race is that of power relationships pertaining to the institution and the black student. The participants' talk makes clear that there are two distinct subjects in relation with each other: the black student – who is powerless in need of institutional assistance through financial aid as well as alienated from the institutional culture – and the institution which holds all of the power. These two subject positioning in turn constructs clear differential rights and practices of agency within the field: the black student is told how to be, is the recipient of practices conducted within the social field while the institution blocks information, financial assistance, refuses to listen or engage with issues affecting the black subject. Conflicting emotions of anxiety and desire are recurrent in how constructs of the institution are narrated. These constructs are further intertwined with broader social discursive constructs of the historical and social prestige of the institution. In addition to the narrative accounts of academic and social enculturation within the institution and the influences of cultural capital and racialised dispositions to this enculturation, several thematic accounts that exemplify the merging of personal and social construct of the institution are necessary to highlight. One of these accounts is the participants' construct of themselves in relation to the institution itself, both prior to coming to the institution and during their integration within the field. These accounts are especially

significant in their positioning of the institution as fundamentally hostile to *black* students as a distinct group with the exclusive purpose of 'keeping black students out'.

Two contradictory discourses are deployed in the positioning of black students in relation with the institution: on the one hand a discourse of ignorance is evident in how the institution is constructed and positioned as inherently unawares of the issues experienced by black students entering the field. In this construct, an imagery of the institution as 'innocent' of what it means to be black, the social and cultural background of black students etc. is deployed. The function of this discourse is evident: if the institution is unaware of and ignorant of the cultural differences of its students – in this context, black students – then it is inevitable that practices of exclusion and discrimination will result:

> …part of the problem is that the institution does not understand the culture that most of its black students come from and engage with that culture.
>
> *(Participant 4, Postgraduate Student)*

> We all coming in here and [the institution] wants to adopt a rainbow policy, but at the end of the day we are not the same. Black students coming [here] are not the same as the other students. Of course, not all black students but still the majority. And for [the institution] to be like we all have the same financial background is very biased, in my opinion. And I would imagine this has to do with the illusion of being democratic and wanting to be the top institution but things like fee increment does not affect us all in the same way, and for the institution to remain ignorant of that is very biased and misleading.
>
> (Participant 7, Undergraduate Student)

> …and it is only when you listen to how they talk about some of these issues you realize that there is just so much they remain blind to. For this institution to really transform itself, it must engage with all the cultures of its students and not just one culture. This is a white institution; let's face it, in every way that matters. Every student coming in here must fit in and that's that. And I don't think that it is a deliberate exclusion, it's kind of like we have eleven official languages in the South Africa but we all know that only one language is the one that really matters. It's the same here […]. Only one culture counts for anything and every student must get used to that. So for some of us, we are already battling being here at Wits even before we really get here.
>
> **Interviewer**: Can you give me examples of this culture […]?

> **Participant 6:** Its in the day to day stuff. How we talk and interact with the staff, expectations of the institution, even just being present here, you know physically present, all of this relies on what your residence status is like, for those of us who don't live on campus, we can't really engage in the activities of the institution, we are continuously thinking of transport issues, being safe and the like. I come from a background where I was punished for even daring to question my teacher, I get here and the interaction is totally different. Speaking back with your lecturer is rewarded, it is the expectation and if you can't participate in that then they don't bother to know you beyond the classroom.

In these constructs of the institution as ignorant of the cultural differences experienced by its black student population, underlying discursive constructs of culture that is equally deployed in essentialist ways that function to present difference as fixed and impermeable. The institution's failure to not only acknowledge but also engage with these differences is thus perceived as failure on the part of the institution to engage broader social discursive principles of transformation. The discourse of ignorance is constituted in relation to another effective discursive construct of the institution: a conspiracy discourse is deployed to further position the institution as exclusionary in its racializing practice. This latter discourse operates in two distinct ways: on the one hand the institution is positioned as deliberately conspiring to alienate and exclude black students from the social field through material effect such as denial of funds to study and withholding of information to access financial resources; at the same time the discourse is also deployed to construct an imagery of an institution that again conspires to give black students superficial access to the social field for strategic public relations objective but with the hidden agenda of eventually alienating and excluding them:

> I think daily about belonging in this space, it's funny [the Vice-Chancellor] framed his vision a '[a university] to call our own'….it's a powerful idea if you think about it, 'A [university] to call our own'. The problem of blackness is a problem of belonging. … I think that if by transformation you mean the issue of access and success that historically disadvantaged groups must be able to have access to the learning space that is [our institution], then not only must they have access to that space…across the university different structures – student recruits, staff etc. – the historically disadvantaged people must be able to be in this space. How do we ensure that? Not just bringing them in but succeeding in allowing them to be here.
>
> *(Participant 7, Postgraduate Student, own insertions)*

The participant in the above excerpt engages the institutional and broader social discursive constructs of transformation within the education field by repositioning subjects in the discourse in specific ways. On the one hand, a discursive construct of ignorance is evident in

the positioning of the vice-chancellor as someone who appears to either have no complete knowledge what the process of transformation in fact entails. Through this subject positioning he is able to critique the chancellor's idea of transformation as misguided in its failure to engage other elements of this process such as ensuring a feeling of belonging amongst its black student population.

Secondly, he positions himself in opposition to the institutional "vision" of transformation by creating a different imagery of himself. If discourses not only create subjects and objects but also serve particular functions in these constructs what function is evident in the discourse of ignorance in the excerpt? Parker (1992) argues that discursive constructs are created in relation to particular connotations that function to create a specific imagery and meaning of the social world and subjectivity. In this regard, we must be attentive to the absences and silences in a discourse and consider the hidden constructs and rhetoric that are functional in legitimating a particular worldview. In the current excerpt different subjects are not only positioned in differential hierarchical positions but also differential speaking rights and legitimacy is granted to these subjects. A deliberate positioning of the speaker as introspective is conveyed in the statement: "I think daily about belonging in this space". This imagery is implicitly placed in direct opposition to the vice-chancellor who "frames" a vision of transformation that is not grounded in such introspection, and therefore fails to fully engage with all of the rudiments of what such a process should look like. Thus, while differential power is attributed to the different subjects, an underlying construct of legitimacy, who has the right to speak on transformation, and who should be listened to is evident. Constructs of differential rights and responsibilities is further evident in how the institution is attributed qualities that serve to create an image of a monolithic, all-powerful racializing power:

> Because you come here and you don't…I don't know if it's like a rule that you don't mingle with white people. When I came here it was still very political in terms of the student societies. And you come here and they start informing you about things like, 'we are black, the struggle this and join this student party and we must fight for this and that, and the white people don't get excluded or have financial problems, and [the institution] wants us out', you know. So when I got here, those people really influenced how I saw [the institution] and how I chose to relate to my lecturers and other students.
>
> *(Participant 6, Postgraduate Student)*

> I've heard a few stories and rumors about people who've been affected and people who don't get to succeed because of their backgrounds. But I'd say again if you were to take [the institution] as a country…the people who are the citizens would be the students and the lecturers and the politicians would be the administrators and all those people. Now I blame this unequal beneficial distribution of whatever it may be to the politicians if I could put it that way. So saying that people would reach their goals equally would be a bit unfair. Cos…I would say, I'd say I'm towards believing the rumors here. There's a rumor that there's a funding that exists…and the people who know about it are basically people who are white. So it's not published on notice-boards so only particular people know about through connections. And he told me that most of the people who know about it are white people and I started asking myself how come we don't know about it. And I started concluding that maybe there is this stereotype that white people would get the first preference. I didn't get much information from it but what I know is that it's from [the institution]. It's like someone giving [the institution] money so that [it] can pay us and [it] doesn't tell everyone about it but only particular people…. What I would imagine is that they would want certain people to get their degree and stuff so that they can replace them immediately, that's the only assumption I can come to. …
>
> **Interviewer:** And you believe this is a deliberate exclusion on the part of the institution?
>
> **Participant 10:** Yes. They have to know that when the fees are increased it affects a particular group of students. Or they don't fully inform students about funding opportunities. What I know and believe is that there are sufficient funds but these are not expended in the right way. *Even if it is not deliberate, I think something is not done about it deliberately.*"
>
> (Undergraduate Student, my emphasis and own insertions)

The discursive effects in these excerpts operate through the construct of distinct subjects: students and the managerial institution, also exemplified in the institutional agents. *Participant ten's* account not only positions subjects in opposition to each other but also effectively attributes differential power and powerlessness to both subjects. Interestingly his positioning of students and lecturers as separate from the institutional administrative domain is created through a construct of citizenship – a construct implying legitimacy of status, the right to be present in the field and yet this construct also connotes powerlessness, a citizen who remains at the mercy of the leading authority figures of the "country", the institution. The use of the label of "politicians" operates to create an imagery of not only power but also deceit and manipulation of a powerless citizenry. Differential rights are conferred on these different subjects with the institution constructed as monolithic in its racial profiling and

discriminatory engagement with its student population. The different subject positioning evident in the excerpts thus effectively function to further create a world of disempowerment on the part of the black student at the institution. A discursive rhetoric in which the respondent relies on a generalizing and matter of fact form of argumentation: "they have to know that…", illustrates how the discourse is functional in constructing a factual account. A conspiracy discourse is evident in the construction of exclusionary practice by the institution as effective in two distinct ways: on the one hand, the institution deliberately works to exclude black students from the social field through blocking of financial aid, and on the other hand, the institution deliberately remains ignorant of the effects of its own racial profiling for black students in the field.

Even in the absence of racialised constructs an imagery of an emotionless and inhumane field is evident in how the participants talk about the structural and social field within the institution. These constructs again create distinct subject positions in which the institution is constructed as manipulative in its deliberate misleading of students who are here positioned and constructed as innocent, duped victims:

> Like, no one cares. No one cares about you personally. No one's asking why your grades are dropping or how you are finding the subjects. And there are times you actually do feel just like a number. When I got to University I remember thinking, 'no one cares about me, I am just a number'. And there were times I actually felt like 'oh my gosh this is really what I have become, a number'.
>
> *(Participant 12, Undergraduate Student)*

> I am at the state of understanding why some people get off the edge, why [the institution] gives you the edge and you actually fall off it, I am that stage of understanding why that happens. Some of my friends have actually failed the first semester and I understand, I don't even make a big deal of it. Unlike in high school where if you fail people would make a deal of it, like 'how do you fail, the teachers were always there'. *[Here] there is nothing, there is no communication at all, we have sort of become shadows and that is just the lifestyle*. (My emphasis)
>
> *(Participant 1, Undergraduate Student)*

> …once you start listening to people you realize the things, little things that you miss that actually bring other students down, and you realize that varsity is not this place that you had

> painted, I mean it is, but there is also another world that other students experience being here and it is an evil place, if I can call it that.
>
> *(Participant 9, Undergraduate Student)*

> When you get here […] you don't expect the same attitude. Like if I had to put them on levels I would say that the one from high school would be at the bottom and the one from [here] would be at the top. So I wouldn't understand them to be the same, so that was a surprise, coming here and finding how things are in terms of how some people are excluded from participating.
>
> *(Participant 8, Undergraduate Student)*

Scanlon, Rowling and Weber (2007) report similar findings in their exploration of student transition to university at first-year level. They argue that part of the difficulty with transition experienced by many first-year students is that naïve knowledge about the university informs students' expectations and how they in turn engage with the different communities of practices at the institution. This naïve knowledge consists of assuming that the contexts and nature of interaction at university will be the same as in the previous learning environment at school. Bourdieu (1977) have argued that such naivety and disillusionment illustrates lack of cultural capital effects in reflected through dispositions not productive in the new field. Drawing on these previously inculcated dispositions is not always instrumental in successful navigation of the new academic field. And yet, this alternate reflexivity is not evident in how the subjects make sense of their new field; instead a particular discursive version of the social and academic world is constructed that is functional in sustaining the idea of villain and victim and which further serves to absolve subjective responsibility in acclimatizing to the new field.

9. Racial awakening: discourses of racial innocence and defilement

In the subjects' talk of social interaction with the new field a discursive construct of prior racial innocence underlies how participants engage their racialization in the field. These positioning included constructs of previous fields as embodying idealized racial integration and a racialised subjectivity void of racializing dichotomies and conflict. The new social field at the institution is positioned as racializing of subjects and also instrumental in its destruction of racial innocence. Once again a positioning and discursive construct of innocence is deployed to convey a sense of defilement and corruption of subjectivity in which

subjects become racialised by virtue of their being in the new field and participating in its communities of practice:

> …when I came here to [the university] I discovered race. I mean I knew of race but it was a different thing altogether to what I found here…it was something else.
>
> *(Participant 1, Undergraduate Student)*

> I didn't know race was like this. I thought we really were over it and things were not as bad as this. My whole consciousness has changed since I came to [the University].
>
> *(Participant 2, Undergraduate Student)*

> In a way I feel so angry and let down. Because [the institution]has taken something away from me. I didn't used to think like this. Now all my interactions are based on race and what the other person is thinking. And this is not the person that I want to be.
>
> *(Participant 5, Undergraduate Student, own insertions)*

> I don't know why it is so racialised but that is what I found when I came here. In my high school we were very well integrated and there was no such thing as you are different because of your race. I expected so much more from such an institution but it has been such a let down. And now, here I am having been exposed to all this and how do you just move it from your head now?
>
> *(Participant 8, Undergraduate Student)*

> [the institution] has definitely re-racialised my thinking. I don't know if it is a good thing or not but I can tell you that I have changed so drastically since I came here. I have been here now for five years and let me tell you I am not the person I was when I first came here. I have grown as a student but I have also regressed as a person in terms of my relations…now I relate in terms of race. And it is not like this is who you decide you are gonna become but it is this place, it does things to you. If you don't respond, you are either blind or fooling yourself. But my soul has definitely been destroyed in terms of that. I can never go back again.
>
> *(Participant 5, Postgraduate Student)*

> What I can tell you is that where in high school I would interact with my teachers and not think of race, it is not the same here. So that has changed significantly for me. And other things obviously, but for me that is one thing that I think of when I speak to my lecturers.
>
> *(Participant 3, Undergraduate Student)*

> I never picked up any racial vibes at my high school or in any of my interactions with other groups before I came to [the University]. Now everything is just race for me. What does it say when an institution of higher learning actually makes you resistant to forming friendships and contacts that are about transformation?
>
> *(Participant 6, Postgraduate Student, own insertions)*

The subject positioning in the excerpts are mostly constituted out of discourses of defilement, betrayal and permanent damage. Two distinct worlds are further created through these discourses: a world of utopia characterized by racial innocence and integration in which the subject is positioned as harmonious with his/her social world; and a raced world, exemplified in the new social field that is characterized by disharmony and disintegration. Again the subject positioning of the subject as an innocent, duped victim is present in opposition to the institution that is constructed as "evil" in its racializing function. Through statements such as "I didn't know what race was like" the speaker is able to construct a state of bliss that connotes not only innocence but also a state of purity. It is this purity that is the subject of defilement and corruption. Discourses of betrayal are deployed that further construct emotions of righteous anger in speaking about their racialization within the institution. The subject positioning is interesting here: the student is constructed as almost childlike and the institution positioned as the parental authoritative figure that has been complicit and at the forefront of the student's defilement. This relation of childlike trust and betrayal on the part of an all-knowing and authoritative figure legitimates a perception of deception on the part of the institution and passivity on the part of the student. The subjects' embodied performances of race illustrate not only the normative contexts within which these performances occur but also the continuous processes of reimagining race subjectivity and resistance. Some of these discursive constructs are deployed in the function of survival and social management of the context and also allude to the crisis inherent in these performances and reimaginings.

Concluding thoughts

This chapter has presented a narrative analysis of thematic content of the identified in the data set. These themes emphasize both positive and negative patterns in talking about race and scholarship within the academic field. The respondents described the different ways that they navigate the field through racialised frames of reference – not only related to themselves but also to others that they encounter within the field. When respondents spoke about their different practices of belonging and negotiation of the social and academic fields within the institution they often referenced the body – as personal and social – related to corporeal attributes and practices. Through constructs of in/visibility, race awareness, racialised negotiations of performance and other social interactions, the accounts highlight how the different practices signaled moments of belonging and alienation, and simultaneously constructing hierarchies of blackness and authenticity.

The accounts also indicate that racializing processes of in/visibility cannot be neatly separated but are in fact simultaneous and interweaving processes. For Ahmed (2000) and Butler (2005) normalization of the social body may occur through processes of marking the social differences of not only ourselves and our bodies but also the bodies of others. The discursive constructs in the respondents' accounts illustrate what Thomas (2009) describes as the "spatiality of the social-racial body" (p 8) in which subjects navigate their social world through a corporeal awareness of their bodies as raced in particular ways. At the same time, these constructs highlight reproductions of broader racial discursive constructs in their reproductions of the very same categories that they aim to challenge and resist. The discursive constructs of race range from feelings of anxiety, resentment to desire etc. Embodiment of racialised discourse is thus far from a one-dimensional process but rather reflects the complexity. If, as Garland Thompson has argued, [subjects within discursive fields] "are placed within a hierarchy of bodily traits that determines the distribution of privilege, status and power" (1997, p, 6), then the social and discursive constructs of bodies becomes a key site to explore racialization processes. The raced body as Fanon (1986) and Du Bois (1997) amongst others have demonstrated constitutes a significant location for conflict and resistance to racialization practices. Subjects' interpellation into discourse and their own resistances and counter-discursive re/productions attest to the complexity of agency within macro and micro fields. The next chapter presents a narrative thematic reading of the data set that focuses on the temporal and relational trajectories of race and academic narratives in terms of stability, progression and regression.

Chapter Seven

Data presentation and analysis: narrative analysis of form

As a consequence, the histories that human beings write are not the "objective" accounts of events occurring across time that they seem to be; rather they are, like fictions, creative means of exploring and describing realities.

(Andrews, Sclater, Squire & Treacher, 2000, pp. 6-7)

7.1. Introduction

My first reading of the data set and exploration of thematic patterns entailed focusing on and documenting individual narrative accounts. These narrative accounts were analysed via life history presentations for each participant (Flick, von Kardorff & Steinke, 2004) that documented their distinct academic and social histories to the present. This included representing individual narrative patterns of stability, progression and regression. However this approach, while useful for exploring in-depth and large amount of raw data, proved to be inadequate for my specific aim, which included engaging an overall thematic narrative pattern across the entire data set. Also while documenting all twenty individual participant life history accounts through narrative pattern provided rich and in-depth trajectories and data transcripts, it equally failed to engage fully with eliciting general thematic patterns across the data set[34]. Following each interview, I transcribed and analysed each participant's discussion separately, focusing on their individual trajectories. The data was coded in relation to themes of navigation of the academic and social fields prior to entry into the institution and in their current new field at the institution via racialised constructs of subjectivity and the field itself. Following the initial vertical exploration of the data transcripts I explored similarities *between* the individual narratives. Using a horizontal approach I then created and categorized general narrative patterns and themes within the text. Following Gergen and Gergen's (1983) approach I explored the narrative patterns in terms of the different narrative types and their functions, showing the trajectories of participation within different fields and their influence in the current field.

I have defined as stability narrative patterns to indicate those processes – both positive and negative – that demonstrate a sense of continuity in how the subject mediates his/her academic citizenship and race subjectivity both prior to coming into the new field and in the

[34] Appendix G provides a temporal narrative graph for each participant.

current field. The regression narrative patterns indicate those processes that demonstrate a sense of decline in the subject's academic citizenship. This is construed as a negative process given that the subject is hindered in his/her successful navigation and academic practice in the field. It should be noted however that regression narrative patterns need not be exclusively negative in form but may also indicate those processes that denote a decline in a subject's /self-destructive pattern of interaction with his/her external environment. In such an instance then, the decline narrative pattern can be considered positive. In the current study, I have focused exclusively on the regression pattern of academic citizenship, thereby highlighting primarily the negative form of this trajectory. This is primarily due to the fact that the dominant account in the text emphasized the challenges and conflicts related to achieving full and active academic citizenship. Interestingly, these accounts predominantly described the latter process in relation to both racialised subjectivity as well as a lack of currencies of cultural capital. These narrative forms further demonstrate intersections of both stability and progression narrative patterns that challenge any notion of linearity in how the subject mediates the social and discursive world. Only one narrative account highlighted a decline in the subject's racialised subjectivity that may be considered positive in form – whereby the subject accounts a decline in her internalized sense of racial inferiority and a move toward more positive (intersecting with progression narrative) sense of self. The other narrative accounts either engage with a sense of heightened race awareness (progression) or continued relation to race awareness (intersecting with stability narrative). The narratives of progression reflect those narrative patterns that demonstrate an increase – both positive and negative – in the subjects' participation of academic citizenship (this is considered a positive progression) as well as race register in mediating the social and academic fields (this is considered negative progression). The latter process is particularly negative in its influence of hindering individual academic citizenship whereby the race register is deployed to avoid or refrain from participating in academic practices in the field.

These narrative patterns highlight the temporal and relational influences in subjects' academic enculturation as raced scholars. Although I had initially separated these two processes in my coding phase – i.e. inculcation into an academic habitus and processes of racialization – in my final analysis these two processes are presented as interwoven in the subjects' identity formation as "black scholars". It was more pragmatic separating these two phases during my coding as this allowed me to get a sense of the trajectory of identities as 'scholars', considering the different relationships that were influential, the social networks to

this process. The second phase of coding allowed me to further understand and explore this enculturation process in relation to the classed and raced dispositions of the subjects within particular fields of interaction. The emphasis on temporality allowed me to further understand and explore the continuity and stability of classed and raced dispositions in the subjects' current navigation of the academic and social field within the institution. Lastly, the analysis demonstrates that the three overarching narrative patterns of stability, progression and regression are in turn held together by other sub-narratives.

Furthermore, both positive and negative accounts characterized all three narrative patterns. In all the narrative accounts I focused on and explored those aspects of the narrative that addressed different relational networks such as family, school, social connections etc. I analysed the data in relation to the positive and negative stories and discussions of these relational networks as well as the trajectories present in the accounts that is whether the stories illustrated stability, shifts or declines in how the subject navigated his/her different fields through racialised and cultural capital processes and practices. In exploring the sub-narratives within the overarching patterns, I further highlight the intricate ways that some of the narrative accounts did not always demonstrate simple linear trajectories but rather intersecting narratives comprising different aspects of stability, progressive and regressive accounts. These narrative forms indicated an interstice in which transitional acclimating may sometimes occur with the possibility of regression, progression and stability narrative patterns. Also, cultural capital effects are not always simplistic and straightforward in their function and navigation of a field. Indeed, the intersecting accounts illustrate the nuanced ways that some students entering the field *without* any cultural capital currency are still able to successfully navigate and excel within the field. In contrast, some of the narrative accounts of students who do enter the field with cultural capital currency describe struggles with adapting to the new field. In other instances, processes of race interpellation override embodiments of cultural capital as ineffective and the subject's navigation of the field exclusively through recourse to currency of cultural capital.

7.2. Narratives of stability in the academic and social field

7.2.1 "*Not like other blacks*": normalizing dispositions of race and learning within the family

Both positive and negative trajectories characterize the narrative accounts of stability not only with regards to influences and experiences prior to entering the field, but also the participants' current navigation and interpretation of events and experiences in the new field. These accounts are stable in the sense that there are no shifts or transformations in how the subject engages his/her social world as well as in their racialised subjectivities and how the latter informs their navigation of this world. The positive trajectories illustrate those narrative accounts that emphasize and construct rewarding and affirmative experiences of the subject's entry into the academic field prior to tertiary study and which have continued into the present field. In addition, the accounts of race awareness intrinsic to this academic enculturation also encompass this binary of positive and negative experiences of subjectification and identification. Not surprisingly, all of the participants entering the field with idealized cultural capital traits and characteristics talked about their entry into the academic field in positive terms, describing different and yet similar experiences of becoming enculturated into an academic habitus primarily through family networks and then later through other extended formal and informal networks of school and familial connections. This primary inculcation through the family included developing a disposition for particular habits and high-level intellectual and cultural activities such as reading widely. The following excerpts highlight this early familial influence in the development of dispositions and habits:

> So generally there is an acknowledgment and sense of academia as a key achievement in the family, both immediate and extended; which is quite interesting because there isn't the pressure but there is the acknowledgement without making it too big. So there is that pressure that you must do this or the other and there is the acknowledgement like 'congratulations, well done' but there is not a kind of huge effect *because it's kind of normal*. (My emphasis).
>
> *(Participant 2, Postgraduate Student)*

> Both my parents are university scholars, both my grandparents are university graduates, so achievement was always something that you strived for in the family if I can put it that way. It wasn't actively pushed as such, but it was evident in what kinds of behavior would get rewarded, such as reading and joining debate clubs at school. And if we formed friendships in the school or outside of that, *we instinctively knew* that the criteria that should determine that

> is whether or not the friend's family was a scholarly one or established in terms of academic achievement and professorship. Not many black families in my community had that kind of qualification, so most of my friendships were outside of the community, and that is how my parents preferred it.
>
> *(Participant 7, Undergraduate Student, My emphasis)*

> Both my parents are academics, well, they are academically driven. The fact that both of them, unlike most black parents, are still pursuing more in their career has been a big deal in the family. My mum being a teacher already set a lot for me. The decisions and selections of schools fell on her, because of her knowledge of that…I think that has driven my outlook on so many things, cos my parents are high achievers in their careers, so *you are implicitly expected to be like your parents*, so if I don't get my honours it would be a big deal in the family, and I think that is what drives me, that has become my push. I've got the freedom, I've got the choice but now I've got to do something with these as well, and I guess that has come from the family culture.
>
> *(Participant 2, Undergraduate Student)*

Learning and adopting dispositions of learning and academic pursuits remains an almost embedded practice not explicitly spoken about within the family. The excerpts highlight one of the significant and effective ways that this intergenerational transmission of dispositions occurs. Through implicit understandings of what gets valued and rewarded in the family as well as what the idealized marks of distinction – in terms of race – are, the subjects come to acquire and promote as individual objectives particular habits and practice of learning. The academic disposition is promoted within the family that it becomes "kind of normal". This normalization simultaneously occurs in tandem with other processes of habitus acquisition that operate effectively through the unspoken, what remains absent but is present nonetheless. Thus, subjects come to also learn particular marks of distinction that are not just academic but also racialised in tone. Thus, while it is "implicitly" understood that the academic disposition of the parents will be adopted by a different generation, it is also understood that social alliances must equally entail this aspect of distinction, "instinctively knowing what the criteria" for such alliances must encompass. More than this, the awareness that this embodied mark of distinction may function as a strategic social and psychological mobility within racialised environment as well as is crucial to the formation of a particular racialised habitus.

The processes of academic inculcation also revolve around other socialized habits of being and behaving that include an active engagement with the external social world through particular cultural and lifestyle pursuits. Again, these practices become habituated within the subject's personal and social mode of being that they are no longer given conscious thought and instead become normalized ways of interacting and engaging with the social world. The stories and accounts of seemingly mundane events or social outings are here considered to be important to this process:

> We had regular outings as a family since I can remember. It was what we just did but now that I think about it, we were actually very particular about what kinds of outings. So we usually had different things happening in the neighbourhood, social events and picnics etc. My parents were very strict about our not participating in those. We lived in the township at the time, and they were very strict about how much we were involved in stuff happening in the neighbourhoods. I guess you could say we were social outcasts almost. We went to school in the suburbs so it wasn't like we knew any of the other young people anyway. So the outings we did were always outside of the community and I guess you could say it wasn't typical stuff. It wasn't the usual picnic or party stuff. We would have excursions to go see a play or other things like that. Or there would family camps organized by some group of parents within the community that we would participate in. So that's how it was for me, socializing within a particular group and doing activities with that group. We eventually moved but we kept those contacts.
>
> *(Participant 6, undergraduate student)*

> My parents encouraged a lot of trips. My siblings and I would go on group trips during the vacation breaks. They said it was good for us to see the world and experience other cultures. So we travelled a lot. In fact, I took a gap year after my high school cos I was working as a volunteer overseas and I wanted to gain that experience of being away from the family as well as just experiencing other cultures. So I spent my first year by myself away from the family after high school. I realize how much I love travelling; I guess this was nurtured in me for so long. I enjoy it so much […] Well I hadn't really thought about the racial dynamics of the group but I guess it was predominantly white, mostly white actually. Going abroad was just me and three of my best friends who were all white. But race wasn't a thing that we thought about. It was more about our interests and hobbies.
>
> (Participant 8, undergraduate student)

Part of the process racial subjective formation includes the subject's immersion and engagement with the different stories of race that is told within the family context including the silences and gaps related to racial stories. For the participant in the excerpt below these stories of race were predominantly characterized by ubiquitous modes of silencing around racial issues. He describes this as typical within his family and attributes this silence to his parents' desire to not burden their children with accounts of a racial history characterized by trauma:

> "In my family, race was discussed and acknowledged but it wasn't made a huge issue. And if I'm to be a bit critical, you can understand, if you're moving out of the lower class which is kind of associated with the black race, you kind of want to engage with a different kind of discussion, which is class. So it wasn't necessarily that pronounced. There is a consciousness of race, there is a consciousness of blackness and a consciousness of black that you are and that the other blacks are as well. So there would even be discussions in the family that would go along the lines of 'those black people', very much from parental figures to the youngest members of the family. There was and still is an understanding of whiteness and what that comes with and being aware of your blackness in relation to the whiteness and not being completely infused or lost in it. And the possible antagonistic nature of whiteness towards your blackness, so certainly there has always been a consciousness of my blackness. In the community it's grown from being very aware of it because you were one of two black families to now being maybe two white families left."

In contrast, for *participant 12* below stories of race were explicitly deployed to categorize and create marks of distinction between his family and others, but still articulated in indirect ways. The subject learns to read the underlying social script related to acceptable forms of blackness:

> You slowly learn certain things, although someone like my mother would usually just tell you not to do this and that. So, like I had a male friend and we were kind of close and I brought him home the one time. And my parents didn't say anything was wrong with that. We were still in the township then until my family eventually moved out into the suburbs. And then when he did come over next weeks, that was when she said we don't socialize with people like that, and I couldn't understand what the issue was until she said that he and his family

were not our type of people, we were no longer living in the townships and that I must see new people. I still didn't get it though but I never brought him home again.

Ball (2003) has argued that class identifications must be sought "in the everyday, in the uncertainties of status, in fine distinctions as well as gross ones (p. 176). This construct of the everyday re/productions of class subjectivities resembles Essed's (1991; 2002) call to explore and interrogate re/productions of race in the everyday encounters and practices of interaction. Byrne (2009) argues this construct of the everyday reproduction of both classed and raced habitus in the schooling choices of white, middle-class subjects. Relying on Bourdieu's (1991) idea of network of oppositions Byrne (2009) further argues that categorizations of particular members of a social group into 'people like us' and 'people not like us' is fraught with deeper constructs and meanings of exclusion and inclusion that are both classed and racialised. The accounts the respondents share about their familial transmission of racial constructs illustrate not only the role of storytelling in the transmission of social race narratives but also the influence of a particular imagery of blackness – not only in relation to desired school and learning influences for their children but also their ideal and desired companions. This imagery is classed, certainly, but also marked by racializing constructs of a hierarchical blackness that is functional in the categorization of some blacks as 'not like us'.

In contrast to the earlier narrative accounts of familial influence, the role and significance of the family in the inculcation of an academic disposition was not always evident in the accounts of those students without idealized cultural capital. Indeed, the latter accounts are characterized not only by indifference and discouragement in some instances within the family but also highlight *absence* of familial influence. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) amongst others (Coleman, 1990; Lareau, 1987; Makoe, 2006) have demonstrated that social and cultural experiences of learning are influenced significantly by the family background context of the learner and those individuals with a background steeped in the benefits of cultural capital effects enjoy productive social networks that mediate their navigation of the education field. Byrne (2009) has also argued that parental cultural capital influences the process of selection of institution of learning as well as the social networks that may be explored in this process. A series of dispositions is central to how parents are able to engage and interact with available options and key institutional agents. Having the cultural and social resources to explore and interrogate school systems is instrumental to the choice and selection of where to study and the choices of subjects to study. Reay (1999) makes a similar

argument in her assertion that parental cultural capital influences the learning experiences of many students. For Lareau and Horvat (1999) and Nora (2004) practices of exclusion and inclusion are centred on the intersections of race and class in mediating student experiences of the field. Reay and Ball (1998) and Reay (2006) illustrate the importance of family cultural capital influence in the education choices of students. They argue that the educational decisions that inform student choice of institution, subjects and general learning experience can be related to the processes of inculcation within the family. Part of this process is imbued with particular class dynamics and socialization processes that further reinforce and perpetuate relations of class in the education context. Bourdieu (1977) similarly makes the argument that early family socialization is crucial to the inculcation of habitus, particularly cultural capital attributes that become essential for success within the education field. The accounts of the students without this background of familial support illustrate experiences of isolated and solitary engagement in the academic journeys of some of the students:

> My family is not academically-inclined. I am so far the only member of my family to pursue an academic qualification. So in some ways while it was a big deal in the family, there really wasn't a starting ground for me. There was no-one to talk to about anything, I was on my own. And because you couldn't talk with anyone, you just kind of went with the flow of things.
>
> **Interviewer**: In what way?
>
> **Participant 3**: You didn't discuss your interests; sometimes you didn't even know what was what so there wouldn't even be any room to begin such a discussion anyway. Until started school and formed relationships with others, especially the teachers, I really didn't have that. Until then, you just were part of the rest of everyone and you chilled with the rest of the social group. School was it for me, it really opened my eyes to what was out there and what I could do.
>
> (Participant 3, postgraduate student)

> I wouldn't say my parents weren't interested or anything like that. But where I grew up, we just had this understanding that you went to school to discuss and learn more about things like that, and when you were at home you there was no point discussing that. School was for intellectual activities and you had like-minded people to engage in those discussions with. But outside of school was a different world and the two just didn't mix.
>
> (Participant 9, undergraduate student)

> Not having anyone to talk with about my interests was very lonely for me. My parents supported me and encouraged me to make something of myself, you know, dream big. But we didn't really have much else. They never went to school. My mother finished her matric but that was it. My father never completed. The rest of the family didn't have education either. I had to discover the world for myself when I started school.
>
> (Participant 5, postgraduate student)

Part of the reason for these solitary journeys it can be argued have to do with being first generation members in the family attending tertiary education and therefore not having the kind of understanding, support network and intellectual history of being a student that the early accounts from other students demonstrated. Makoe (2006) documents a similar trajectory in the accounts of her participants attending tertiary education at a South African university and who have come from geographical rural contexts:

> Being the only member of my family who would be going to school was a big deal but it also meant that it was a very lonely journey for me. Not only was my family not involved in what I did, but I wouldn't say that I had even the emotional support I felt I needed. It really was very lonely for me and there was no one that you could talk to about that because most people either felt that you had been given such a great opportunity and can't complain or that you were just being spoilt. So for me, it wasn't an enjoyable time. It took me a while, until one of my teachers began working with me and helping me with my work, then I started to enjoy school a lot more. Before that, it was desperately hopeless and not a place I wanted to be.
>
> (Participant 11, undergraduate student)

> …when I applied I just wanted to go, but unfortunately my bursary was late. So my parents said I must wait for a year. And it was very hard because you had already got this construct that I am meant to be there and I am at the age to be at varsity etc. So during that time I decided to try other bursaries and I applied to more than just one for funding and fortunately I got it. So it wasn't my choice as such to take the gap year, it was that I couldn't afford it at the time and I didn't know the process of bursary application early enough. My parents couldn't help me with that as they didn't understand most of that process.
>
> *(Participant 8, Undergraduate Student)*

Taking Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) assertion of family socialization as elementary to student success, Silva (2005) argues that further interrogation of cultural capital as either individual or familial resource is necessary. For Silva, Bourdieu's ignorance of the gendered

dynamics of the family downplays the potential for non-traditional nuclear families to enhance cultural capital. This critique further extends to his conceptualization of the family in static terms that fail to engage the changing dynamics of family strongholds as well as emerging cultural values cultivated within the family and broader society at large. Bourdieu (1977, p87) argues that "the habitus acquired in the family underlines the structuring of school experiences (in particular the reception and assimilation of the specifically pedagogic message)…". What is strongly evident in these contrasting stability narratives in the early inculcation into an academic disposition is not only the presence of an academic-oriented disposition within the family as a whole for those participants with currencies of cultural capital but also a sense of continuity in generational attendance at university and academic learning in general. None of the participants in this group are first-generation university students but originate from parents and primary care-givers who were themselves graduates from university. In contrast the subjects without currencies of cultural capital were first-generation university members in the family. Heymann and Carolissen (2011), Jones, Coetzee, Bailey and Wickham (2008) have demonstrated that first-generation students often tend to come from socio-economic marginalized social groups and are primarily dependant on financial-aid assistance for study.

Fischer (2007) in her exploration of student adjustment to campus life argues that the process of settling into the new field is more likely to be fraught with tension for students who are the first generation to go to college. Terenzini, Rendon, Upcraft, Millar, Allison, Gregg and Jalomo (1994) further demonstrate that students who are first-generation attendees at college tend to experience greater unease and disjunction in relation to the new field. They argue that part of this disjuncture arises from a sense of separation from familiar contexts including family and friends. Students who came from families with a history of college attendance on the other hand, tended to view and relate to the new field as "part of the life course" (p. 67) or as Bourdieu aptly describes tend not to "feel the weight of the water" that they find themselves in and rather acclimatize to the new environment like "fish in water" (1992, p. 127). Fisher's (2007) study further distinguishes between the racial adjustment patterns of black and white students to university arguing that white students are more likely to experience the academic field to be in line with their familial cultural capital background. In the current study this sense of familiarity is evident in how students whose families embody academic cultural capital already demonstrate and come to embody particular dispositions

crucial to the education field even before they enter this field. The narratives also highlight the intersections of race and class in the formation and normalization of these dispositions.

7.2.2 Making the perfect student: normalizing dispositions and habits of learning within the school

Familial influence in the inculcation of academic dispositions and general cultural knowledge further come to be substituted by and reinforced by other socializing agents such as the school. In an early extension of Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction Di Maggio (1979) argued that the school may come to replace the family in significant ways, particularly in the modification of previously acquired habitus. Schooling is one of the primary socializing institutions through which the subject comes to acquire "cultured habitus" as general disposition (Bourdieu, 1967), p. 344). The production of subjectivity via spatial and geographical location has been explored and posited as a critical site to engage racialization processes and practice (Keith and Pile, 1993; Knowles, 2003; Lefebvre, 1996; Massey, 1994; 2005). The racial geography of schools in South Africa remains an important aspect of transformation in the country. This is because the racial geography of particular institutions such as the school entails an association with particular social groups that in turn influence the relational aspects of subjectivity.

For Knowles (1999) this relational aspect highlights not only the spatial dimension of racial subjectivity but also broader social relationships. McDowell (2003) asserts that processes of racialization and spatial occupation occurs at both macro and micro levels whereby the geographical locatedness of subjects in space is largely determined by broader socio-political, historical and economic structures whilst material subjects living within these spaces come to be produced and embedded within these spaces. Space therefore is a symbolic manifestation of the broader inequalities of social, cultural, economic and other power within the society. Social and racial subjectivities and positions are thus deeply enmeshed within the social geography of race (Frankenberg, 1993). The geographical location of schools in South Africa exemplify such social geographies not only in their physical location within urban vs rural contexts but also the structuring of 'white' and 'black' geographies through socialized habitus both within and outside the school: "[o]nce a person is in a landscape structured by racism, a conceptual mapping of race, of self and others, take shape, following from and feeding the physical context" (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 69). This social and landscape influences the emotions and feeling of fear and belonging that accompanies one's occupation of particular

spaces (Back, 1996; Kern, 2005, Layton, 2004). The social geography of race is underscored in the participant accounts of early schooling that further highlights the influence of class not only in the social and psychological mobilities of the subjects but also the development and cultivation of habitus. Township schools are described as providing little to no engagement with academic practices of learning, the environment is demonstrated to cultivate apathetic dispositions instead.

Horvat and Antonio (1999) have demonstrated the importance of organizational habitus in fostering and developing particular forms of habitus within the school. This organizational habitus is rooted within the foundational structures of the school such as the student and managerial body, the teaching staff composition etc. The symbolic markers of the organization – reflected in the organization of social and discursive space such as the curriculum etc. all contribute to the reinstitution of particular habitus. For Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) the process of schooling is far from a neutral process but rather steeped in systematic and strategic practices that function to create particular types of subjects. Neutral practices such as manner of interaction with staff, use of particular linguistic styles and even school uniform amongst other social practices are functional in promoting and reproducing subjectivities that are aligned with the broader dominant class habitus. Symeou (2007) also argues that all subjects entering the education field do so with already developed habitus and thereafter engage different practices of legitimation and devaluation dependent on the form of that habitus. Students with legitimated and valued cultural capital tend to experience a goodness of fit in the new academic institutions of learning precisely because these institutions inculcate similar habitus and dispositions acquired in the family. The distinction in the narrative accounts of the students who were influenced by a middle-class schooling system and those who attended less resourced schools are evident in some of the excerpts below:

> "The class size was fairly visible, there would be like twenty of us in class, the extra mural activities were of high quality, what was available and what you could do, the resources there, the…I mean things were quite good you know. Umm…your field trips, your weeklong trips that you had that you knew your public schools didn't have. The uniforms…there was a sense of pride in the uniforms because it distinguished you from others when you were out. And the *school kind of reinforces it and you also want to reinforce it, wear it properly because you know what it means.* Also the other schools, for very many reasons, school isn't so important

and what is worn and how it's worn. And also the colors, something like that, blazers and what is worn..."

(Participant 3, Postgraduate student, my emphasis)

"The quality of teaching is different. Even the interaction between students, and then the racial spread is very different. And just the access to things, like there were amenities in the private school that you wouldn't dream of even in Model C schools, like the one I was in; the exposure to more things in terms of sports tours and stuff like that. And I'll just say the education is probably better because the classes are much smaller. Cos you got that individual attention. I'll give you an example. I think when I was in CBC[35] the classes were like 20. Twenty kids in the class. And another school that my friend was in, a Model C school, had between 40 and 45 in the class. And that school was considered a Model C school, so a pretty big difference."

(Participant 2, Postgraduate student)

"Relations with the teachers were very formal. You sort of called your teachers 'Sir' and 'Ma'am' and you were not friendly with your teachers. I think it's only after high school where I was able to see a different side of my teachers and I became friends you could say with some of them. And the school, the kinds of activities, we had sports and cultural activities like debating, public speaking and choir. And very focused on academics…that's what I felt at least. I always felt that the kids who did the best sort of academically, they got the recognition, a lot of the recognition at the school. So becoming a prefect, you know being in a position of leadership and power at school was dependent on how well you did academically. At the time I was there it was predominantly white. The majority of the girls were from Middle class. In most of my classes I was usually the only black kid in the class. And I think in grade 8 there was only three of us, in grade 9 I was the only one, grade 10 the only one, grade 11 and 12 there was two us respectively. And I suppose by black I mean…I am excluding Indian and Colored. So, definitely majority white girls. And the teachers were all white. And mostly female. I remember there was a librarian who was male and at one point I had a male student teacher. Going to Jeppe girls that was my decision. My parents didn't really mind so much where I went. I had heard good things about Jeppe girls, good academics, good culture and well-rounded sports and other cultural activities, the girls were very active in that. So that was my decision and parents supported that."

(Participant 6, Postgraduate Student)

[35] Christian Brothers College

The distinctions and dispositions encouraged by the organizational habitus within the school is demonstrated to be instrumental to how the students not only cultivate but also come to engage a distinct habitus that incorporates and develops aspects of class and intellectual dispositions. These attributes are nurtured in the student body through repetitive performances that further interwoven with disciplinary modes of surveillance. This inculcated habitus comes to be internalized as part of individual habitus and effectively functions through inculcation of pride in the embodiment of the organizational habitus. Thus, students come to want to wear this habitus with pride because they intrinsically know what it means, developing an awareness of the broader significance of their location within particular socio-discursive meanings of competence and quality. They therefore derive marks of distinction, institutional capital that is conferred on them via the field.

Furthermore, the structure of the schooling in the previous accounts is sharply contrasted with the accounts of those students coming from backgrounds with devalued cultural capital related to the school. These accounts provide a different picture altogether, highlighting the function of a habitus dominant the field that reflects the epistemic and systemic violence specific to the broader community. This environment is particularly functional in failing to provide any sense of individual pride and inculcating deeper dispositions of learning that characterizes the well-resourced schools:

> "I was in a township school. Politics have always been part of my schooling. Even back in high school. It was a different politics back in those days. It was a township school that I came from and I stood for the Learners Representative Council and I participated in what at that time would be considered a political participation within the high school. But I wasn't exposed to political organizations like COSATU, but I didn't know much about it until I got [here]. Two things were important in my high school years: the SCO[36] and politics. So lunchtime prayer meetings, Bible study, that whole charismatic enterprise – Christian charismatic[….]"And you know what township schools are like, the people are not really…people were not really doing much. They don't take the learning, not everybody takes the learning seriously, so they easily vandalize, the teachers are more authoritative. And in my school there was violence as well, there used to be groups…gangs…circumcision in the Vaal was a big thing, it was a big thing, and there used to be different groups, gangs according to who went to which circumcision school. And there would be fights. And so school would be

[36] Student Christian Organization

out at ten in the morning, sometimes eleven, school is out. Just the culture of *yizo yizo*[37], if you know what I mean. I mean although yizo yizo is problematic there are those experiences that were really very disruptive of learning, there was police often coming to the school, sometimes our school would be fighting with the other school, guns, knives, basically related to the violence that was going on in the community. Or other groups would be groups of sort of…American hip hop rap stars, proper rap, dressed the way the American hip hop stars were."

(Participant 1, Postgraduate Student)

"I went to school in Orange Farm, that's where I grew up. Obviously a township school, fully black in terms of staff and students. Fairly, it's a fairly local township school, obviously the practice and everything else. Our lifestyle, everything was in such a way that I would expect for a township school. It was a mixed school in terms of gender. I spent all of my five years there… In many cases, it was informal. We could laugh with our teachers and things like that. We could speak about issues beyond biology for instance. We could speak about other things. They tried to be supportive as much as they could. Tried to understand where we were coming from as people who had never been in the outside world. So it was very open relationships between teachers and students. And in many cases, especially for those students who showed commitment got extra attention. The language was not that much of an issue. At some points certain concepts would be explained in the local language, make it easy for you to understand the subject."

(Participant 4, Postgraduate Student)

…there were those teachers who were bad, like our English teacher sometimes would teach us English in Tswana. And then some of us went to him and asked him why he does that. And he said to us, 'because these baboons wouldn't understand'. And we complained to the principal. So one day he came in and he taught us in English and they were making noise and he came to us after the class and said 'you see'. So we never again complained after he got cross with us. That was how it was. I didn't enjoy it very much, my high school, and I was glad to come [here] after I finished. There was nothing much to do there at school. The teachers didn't even motivate us to have any cultural and other kinds of activities that they do in other schools. Many of them were not interested in what they were teaching, like some would come to class and spend it sitting in front of the class, just reading their own books or whatever and leave us to do our own thing. They were not interested at all. So I just learnt to wait and couldn't wait to leave, hey. I didn't engage at all with that school.

[37] Colloquial term used to refer to culture of violence in South African townships.

(Participant 8, Undergraduate Student)

These accounts are especially poignant in their illustration of the material and symbolic violence that pervades not only the structural foundation of the school but is also present in the organizational habitus of the schools, exemplified in the dispositions of the teachers. As Lipsitz (2007, p. 12) observes "the racial demography of the places where people live, work, play, shop, and travel exposes them to a socially-shared system of exclusion and inclusion". These students begin not only emotive journeys of academic isolation but also narrate a history of racialization within their communities that dismisses their sense of dignity and pride in their racialised scholarly selves. Even before they have begun to engage the 'contact zone' (Pratt, 1991, p 6) with other social groups in the multicultural context, they are engaged in a ritualized system of symbolic violence that mirrors back to them a racial imagery of inferiority, denigration and incompetence.

Narrative accounts reflecting a sense of stability and continuity in how the racial register is deployed by participants to navigate the social and academic fields is highlighted in how the raced habitus is reproduced in different contexts. In these accounts the race register is seen to be important to how participants navigate their social fields and a sense of a raced history becomes crucial in understanding this sense of continuity and stability. A racialised subjectivity or habitus that both informs and is formed within the field is evident in how participants both act and literally move within the field. Part of this racialised habitus includes a sense of having to account for one's race in the different spaces that construct either white and/or black habitus. Those registers that implied a goodness-of-fit, i.e. in how past racial habitus continued to be the primary lens through which they navigated their immediate social field are highlighted. It is through the social practices – the mundane social practices of the everyday that difference is configured (Knowles, 2004). In the excerpt below the participant describes his movement through social spaces of white and black cultures, highlighting the taken-for-granted activities as fundamental to his awareness of and positioning as different, belonging to what he describes as a "middle culture". This sense of different cultural lifestyles influences a strategic and self-positioning that allows for negotiation and comfort of different dispositions evident in the different contexts:

> "…we started off at private schools and then went off to Model C schools…very Jewish kind of school. Both of us[38]. Umm…and throughout school we always came in as the few black people. As the transition period came in, you know you got more black people in these schools. But there was also a sense that the black people that came in fall into a different culture…which was the difference between your…kind of your traditionally conceived black person and the suburban white culture.
>
> **Interviewer**: Whose perception was that?
>
> **Participant 2**: From both white and black people. I suppose it becomes a bit more pronounced from black people than white. It's a small distinction but yeah, more from black people than white people. You kind of fall into…there's a middle culture *that gets established or that was established* and a self-identification of where you are in relation to it all, you know, not being in either group of completely black or part of the white culture… Sometimes you embrace and romanticize some aspect of white culture and sometimes you embrace and romanticize some aspect of black culture."
>
> (My emphasis).

The participant's navigation of two different cultural and social worlds highlights the different habitus prominent within the different that further entrenches different racializing practices. What is equally striking in his accounts of mediating both cultures is his strategic engagement with the alienating dimensions of both racialised and cultural habitus. I would argue that this response is an agentic rejection of the master narratives that function to rigidly place him within either one or the other cultural group at the exclusion of the other. Claiming a kind of cultural space in-between, he displays agentic responses through performing and deploying different codes of racialised disposition and behavior dependent on the context. The temporal meanings ascribed to specific practices such as religious holidays become central to how difference is perceived and inscribed between white Jewish and black non-Jewish students. This racial presentation of difference is also interestingly asserted amongst black students themselves who attend private and public schools:

> And there was something bizarre that would happen. There is the holiday period, and these are different for the different schools. And the way you place yourself in relation to the others plays itself out through that holiday period. So you want people to know this is when you take your holiday cos of what it means…that you are in this type of school…umm, and it inadvertently creates this rift between you and the other

[38] His brother.

> that you can never interact because of the holiday periods are different. But also for me symbolically means you can never really interact because you are kept apart, you actually lead two different lives. So yeah, I think there was a general tone of hostility sometimes but not always explicit.
>
> (Participant 2, Postgraduate Student)

Time, as a symbolic marker of difference and reflected in the differential holiday time periods for private school students and public school students, social lifestyle practice such as fishing become significant sites of exclusion and reformulation of difference. The excerpt further illustrates his sense of continuity in how race and difference has developed in his consciousness. He describes this racial consciousness as a sense of continually being caught up in a middle culture that allows easy navigation of both black and white spaces and at the same time also becomes a site of alienation within these spaces. It is with this sense of being caught between two different cultural worlds that his current navigation of the social and academic fields within the institution are navigated. Du Bois' construct of *second sight* is demonstrated in how the participant is able to locate himself within the different discursive contexts of racial and cultural difference and reflectively make sense of his relationships and interactions with others. More than this, his awareness of the functions of his dual positioning allows him to strategically deploy modes of subjectivity within different contexts.

Understanding the rules of both social worlds allows him to move through the social spaces of different race groups with relative ease. Having a sense of the rules of the different playing fields becomes possible because of prior inculcated dispositions learned through familiarity with the different social practices (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) of the two cultures. The respondent's schooling socialization is also marked by awareness and self-positioning in relation to the largely implicit and sometimes explicit race and class divisions as well as the positioning by others, both within and outside of the school context. This middle culture is a constant reminder of one's racial in-betweenity as neither white nor black. From his account, it is awareness and a distinction that is even more pronounced amongst black students themselves through social comparison:

> **Interviewer:** When did you begin to get a sense of this other middle culture?
> **Participant 2**: Primary school.
> **Interviewer**: You were aware of this?

> **Participant 2**: Yes, you were aware of it and you were made aware of it a couple of times as well. For example, by your cousins going to all black schools, other people you play with going to all-black schools and you going to a school with predominantly white people. And the black people that come there, there's kind of a discussion perhaps, sometimes very implicit about your difference to either races and other cultures. So sometimes it became a racial thing to a cross-racial thing, you know suburban black boy culture, suburban black student culture and the things that you do."

For the participant, this racialization process was at times both implicit in the mundane cultural lifestyle practices such as 'fishing' and at other times explicit during the moments that "you were made aware of […] the polarities". Furthermore, the role and influence of different leisure activities that become part of a lifestyle are significant in how difference is asserted, reasserted and sustained.

> And then you are made aware of it by both the polarities, and sometimes it's very subtle, even more than I find here…I mean culture…*there're certain things in culture that are just there.* If you look you'll just find it and sometimes even if you don't look. Something like fishing, that a lot of white people do, that isn't done in black culture. You'll be made aware that that isn't your culture, that it is very normal to them, that they do it a lot. Something like Jewish holidays, a lot of the Catholic practices, things like that. Things that you don't do, that make you fall on the margins and therefore outside of those people. It was very small things that happened…like when you sleep over at either your white friend's or your black friend's. And you either go fishing and you realize that this is not my culture.[…] But then with your black friend, you'd be made aware that you don't necessarily live in the township, you don't go to the schools there, and you are not part of the culture there. So you'd be made to feel different…sometimes it was hostile, sometimes antagonistic but not always necessarily so, but you'd still feel that.…you'd get a sense of what you missed out on. You'd go to the township and there's this feeling of having this culture that your friends have but you don't. You get a sense of what you may have missed out on, I mean, when you go visit and you see that, what you may have missed out on and then you'd go to the white culture and you know there are certain things you'd never be part of, regardless.
>
> (Participant 2, Postgraduate Student, my emphasis)

The construct of being caught up in middle culture is also evident in another participant's account of the social field of the institution:

> …I guess it's hard to really explain this if you are not part of it, but for me being here, I sometimes feel so out of the whole race thing. When I got here, the first thing you hear about is the black student politics and how we need to join the student group, SASCO. And they give you all these speeches about how the institution is against us and all that. I do not buy into that politics. I do not really care to be honest. I came here for me, and my goal is to succeed. Anyway, I joined the group just to see what it would be like. Me and a couple of my friends. And I can say that I have never felt so alienated at the social gatherings. I thought it was the politics but I actually the majority of those students in the group were from totally different backgrounds than me. I felt like I didn't understand them and they definitely didn't get me. And then I would be at a different social event, dominated by white students and there is much more that we have in common. But still you are aware that you are different, this is not my lifestyle. Actually, you would feel that in both groups. This is how it has always been for me since I can remember. Going to a private school and still socializing with my friends who were in township and public schools. I always felt this separation and also with my white friends in school, I would still feel it.
>
> *(Participant 12, Undergraduate Student)*

Interestingly, in spite of a sense of alienation and belonging he experiences in relation to the two different cultural lifestyles, there is also a sense of strategic agency and freedom to act that arises precisely from this sense of in-betweenity. This is a sense of agency that is reliant upon *not* fully belonging yet having an awareness and familiarity with the other culture. Participant 2 explains it thus:

> But there also certain advantages that you get from being in this group, of not being part of either.
>
> **Interviewer**: Such as?
>
> **Participant 2**: Being able to understand from outside and knowing or having a *sense of your place and other people's place* when you have to interact. I mean, can you imagine a white suburban person trying to interact with someone totally different or vice versa, they would both be on uncertain ground, but I don't get that because I somehow have a sense of the rules of both.
>
> **Interviewer**: Even though you were not completely part of the two?
>
> **Participant 2:** Yes, I know it sounds contradictory but that is how I can explain it.
>
> (My emphasis).

These participants illustrate the development of a disposition that enables them to manage difference by adopting the dispositions of the culture that they find themselves part of. These practices of negotiating difference further reinscribe essentialist ways engaging and interpreting certain cultural practices that in turn informs how they engage the different contexts within the institution. For these two middle-class students, racialization occurs within two different racialised worlds that evokes moments of alienation, acceptance, recognition, identification and strategic responses.

7.2.3 *"Varsity life fits in with my lifestyle":* navigating academic and social fields

Entering into the new field for the students with idealized and valued cultural capital demonstrates the influence of the latter on processes of further academic enculturation and adaptation to tertiary education. These stability narratives illustrate the continued influence and dominance of particular habitus and dispositions in how they make sense of and relate to their new social and academic environments. In addition, the racialised habitus acquired in previous fields in both the family and school are seen to continue to inform how the subject relies on and articulates racialised subjectivity in the new field. Both positive and negative stability narratives are again evident in the navigation of the new field. Hawkins and Pea (1987) have argued that those students whose cultural identity harmonizes with the micro culture of their discipline are engaged in a process of cultural transmission known as "enculturation". These students experience an easy blending of their cultural socialization and personal disposition with their academic field. This process is different from another process of cultural transmission known as assimilation (Jegede, 1995) which involves a discord between the student's cultural and social socialization and their current field. The positive accounts conveyed a sense of familiarity with the different academic practices and tools of learning encountered at the institution.

While other students with non-exposure with the communities of practice of the academic environment expressed anxiety in their adaptation process, the students with positive accounts emphasized a sense of *already knowing and understanding* the requirements of the academy. For example, participant 3 in the excerpt below emphasizes the necessity and ability to work independently as well as have some familiarity with what he describes as the academic culture of a field in order to successfully navigate and form useful partnerships:

> I think my private schooling set the foundation for my relationships, so by the time I went to the other school let's just say the foundation was solid, so I could work on my own, I did not

> struggle that much…and when I got here it was fairly different but strangely enough, almost similar in terms of the academic culture, so I was not so shocked by it all…I formed a very very (sic) good relationship with my lecturer. We spoke a lot, we were close, so from first year I had these people. And in Philosophy I had…in fact it was everyone. In fact I think I know pretty much everyone in that department, because they had all taken a liking to me."
>
> *(Participant 3, Postgraduate Student)*

This sense of familiarity and a prior understanding of the expectations of the new field contrast with the accounts of others students with less or no prior engagement and socialization. The excerpts below highlight not only the subjects' unfamiliarity with some of the practices of the academy such as academic writing but also relate this unpreparedness with their prior schooling environments. In addition, the subjects' accounts point to unfamiliarity with particular dispositions which allow other students to speak freely with members of staff. These dispositions, intrinsic to the academy and arguably necessary to forming productive relations with staff, are lacking in the habitus of the students entering the new field from schools with little or no capital resources:

> I would say it was a big shock coming here, that's for sure. First off, I am not used to the kind of interactions that happen here between the lecturers and the students. We were taught that you always keep a distance between yourself and your lecturer, they are not your friend or buddy or anything. But I see how others students are interacting and I am like 'wow'. I could never do that. I speak to my lecturer only if I have to and even then I keep it short and to the point. But other students can talk to them about anything. I can't believe that. I generally don not talk with my lecturers or tutors. I wouldn't even know how to begin.
>
> *(Participant 13, Undergraduate Student)*

> Here, you are expected to do things by the book, you know. There are rules about how to approach your lecturer, you don't go if not the consultation times, or whatever. But even just doing your essay and so forth, I am struggling to learn the rules of writing, or even just using webct and typing up my essay. I came from a school where no one cared about that. The teachers didn't care. We didn't have computers. We had nothing. When I came here, it was actually my first time to be in a library, so I didn't even know how to search for books. I am learning now but it was a struggle. Generally I don't approach my lecturers though.
>
> *(Participant 15, Undergraduate Student)*

The concept and function of social capital as resource tool is central to Bourdieu's theoretical engagement with the transmission of power and privilege (Bourdieu, 1977). For Bourdieu social capital is more than just social networks but also one of the intricate ways that social reproduction of privilege pervades in society. In addition to economic and cultural capital, Bourdieu (1986) identifies social capital as a fundamental dimension of social reproduction function whereby social capital (in addition to cultural capital) may be transformed into economic capital. Social capital constitutes the social "connections" and social network resources available at the subject's disposal that are functional in providing support in different forms – knowledge, skills, information on pertinent resources etc. Social capital is evident in how subjects are able to utilize particular knowledge resources in relation to their social connections and networks to accrue particular rewards and benefits. The function of having social capital networks was evident in how these participants described their initial adjustment to the institution and its academic environment. Social capital is generally utilized to describe those social dialogue and communication *between and within* social networks. These practices of communication are functional in the acquisition of instrumental value to increase productivity within the network: "The core idea of social capital theory is that social networks have value….social contacts affect the productivity of individual groups…social capital refers to connections among individuals" (Putnam, 2000, p. 18). Participants did not express feeling any sense of estrangement, either from the new communities of practice or their own engagement with different tools of learning. Instead, they attributed their current success and sense of familiarity and ease with the new field to their previous academic lifestyles and practices. The following excerpts illustrate some of these:

> As a subject, I couldn't really get to grips with the subject. But then I asked my mum for help and that helped me a lot. I can't really say I have been overwhelmed in any major way by any of my courses just yet...My dad has like a big base of friends that I can approach, either here in Joburg or that I can just call up and get their opinions on things. And in general, my dad has variety of interests so I can just go to him and ask him. I mean, even at home, like now I am surprised that the books that we do in Literature I didn't actually have to buy. They were at home; I didn't have to buy them.
>
> *(Participant 1, Undergraduate Student)*

> …So those are the kinds of books I am reading, that I enjoy reading, biographies. I might go into Media and Political Studies, maybe Political Media or stuff like that. I read other stuff though. I'm not really an Oprah's Book Club kind of person but yeah, I do read a lot. I think

> it's something l learnt from my dad, he passes books onto me. Like, I got ten books for Christmas last year. I don't spend twenty-four hours reading but you know what I mean. *I am enjoying varsity life at the moment because it fits in with this aspect of my lifestyle*. (My emphasis).
>
> *(Participant 7, Undergraduate Student)*

> When I struggled with adjusting when I first got here, I called my dad's friends. They are here in Jo'burg and are academics, so I could talk to them about my struggles and they tutored me on weekends. So it has been easy, I guess.
>
> *(Participant 3, Undergraduate Student)*

Putnam's use of social capital differs in a significant way from Bourdieu's conceptualization of the concept. For Putnam (2000) social capital denotes those collective resources of relationships, trust, and cooperation and shared values that may be drawn upon as valuable resources. In the preceding excerpts these functions of social networks are seen to be effective in promoting success within a given field as well as reinforce already existing privileges of capital in comparison to those students who enter the field without such network capital. Bourdieu (1986) however engages the term differently in his emphasis on the unequal distribution of resources and the competitive struggles within the social field more generally. For Bourdieu, the relational resources at our disposal are part of this struggle and are strategically deployed in the further struggles for resources and power within the field. Thus, Bourdieu is emphasizing the inherent competitive nature of social capital networking as a far from neutral practice. Members of the academic community enter a field with differential access to social capital and it is these attributes that are already in place and which set the parameters of success within the field. Students entering the academic field without such resource are thus already at a disadvantage and wired for struggle within the field:

> I used to talk with my dad but then he died. After that, there was no one. Cos, my mum is like…sometimes I would try and get into details, but she doesn't get some of the things I am saying, like she doesn't relate to them, so no, I don't discuss with her. And there is no one outside of that. We don't really talk that much but we can talk, just not about school though. And I don't really have anyone else in the family who I can discuss schooling with. They support me that I should get an education but we cannot talk about what I am doing, cos they don't understand the issues.
>
> *(Participant 10, Undergraduate Student)*

Wentworth and Peterson (2001) argue that working-class students tend to experience a disconnection from their family and cultural backgrounds in their engagement with unfamiliar field of the university. However, Reay et al (2009)'s study with working class students provide evidence to the contrary. The authors argue that working class students can successfully navigate their academic fields without experiencing disconnection and in fact tend to remain loyal to their cultural and familial background. Indeed Reay et al's (2009) study is critical in its evident engagement with Bourdieu's construct of reflexive transformation through its documentation of subjective resistances to their classed interpellations and affirming of these classed selves and also reinvention of other aspects of the self amongst working-class students at an elite university. Horvat and Antonio (1999) and Makoe (2006) also argue that subjects may both reproduce *and* resist moments of interpellation within the normative social order, demonstrating capacity for subjective agency.

7.3 Narratives of regression in the academic and social field

7.3.1 *"… I can't engage fully with the University":* disidentification and disillusionment with the field

Howarth (2006) has argued that school exclusion is very often preceded by more symbolic forms of exclusion within the field that constitutes different processes of belonging and alienation. These symbolic processes of exclusion include practices of being stereotyped, marginalized and discriminated against – practices that may often function at the level of subtlety. Part of this process of symbolic engagement with the academic field, I would argue includes how the subject mediates first encounters, that is, those encounters that not only present a shock to one's habitus but also one's first interracial encounters. Pratt (1991) describes multicultural classroom contexts as a type of "contact zone" whereby subjects meet each other in "contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power" (p 6). Crossing over into new and different fields within the institution for some subjects means encountering an environment both alien and hostile to previously acquired habitus and disposition.

Entering a new field often entails encountering a different logic of practice that has its own set of expectations and rules of the game Bourdieu (1990). Not only are these students unprepared for how others respond to their acquired habitus and dispositions, it is also the

first time that they will be sharing and participating in an environment with a racially diverse population. Race subjectivity takes on a very physical and concrete meaning for these students whereby their negotiation of their own positioning occurs relative to re-negotiating first-time racial encounters. *Participant six*'s account below is especially significant as the sole illustration of a regression narrative account that highlights a positive shift in the occurrence of racial register in sustaining active academic citizenship:

> For me, where I come from it was all about white people being superior and then when I came here I was like, 'no, that's not right'. Based on my background with my family I realize that my parents and grandparents had a different experience with white people than me. So for me it was like no. And I remember when I came here I was talking to this friend of mine and I remember saying, 'I wish my grandmother could see me now. I'm speaking to white people and what not'. They'd be very scared. But now I don't even think about that. Unless I experience racial discrimination I don't really think about that.
>
> *(Participant 6, Undergraduate Student)*

> I must say, being taught by lecturers of different races was something that I had to get used to and it was a struggle for me. I wasn't used to their style of engaging with us and i couldn't even talk with them in consultation. I still don't consult if I can help it. But if I must, then I would only do that with a black lecturer. I just don't have that confidence, you know. I don't have the language. At least with a black lecturer, you can talk in your language. But even if you can't, it is still alright.
>
> *(Participant 11, Undergraduate Student)*

Both stability and regression narrative forms are evident in how the subject below navigates his immediate academic and social fields. The excerpt highlights a sense of continuity in the subject's comfort level with different representations of race as well as informs his current practice of mediation in the field:

> You quickly learn that even though you have all these different races, there really isn't any mixing beyond your close friends anyway. So at that level it was easy to get used to the different race groups that I found when I came here. The residences are all black, so I don't really share intimate space at that level. But it is when I have to interact in class with other groups, then I feel very uncomfortable. I have never worked with a white or Indian person

before and suddenly we have to work together in the tutorials, and that's very uncomfortable for me.

Interviewer: What makes this uncomfortable?

Participant 9: I don't know. It's just that I feel uncomfortable.

Interviewer: You don't feel this way with a black student?

Participant 9: No. maybe, because I am used to that, I don't know.

Interviewer: How do you feel about a white tutor?

Participant 9: I guess that's fine. The white tutor is better than a white lecturer because usually they are more approachable.

Interviewer: What makes them more approachable?

Participant 9: They are younger I guess.

Accounts of disidentification and lack of active academic citizenship within the field are complemented by sub-narratives illustrating the importance of objectified capital in influencing other currencies within the field. Academic citizenship in the above accounts for example is constructed relative to currencies of language and race. The added aspect of being first-generation university students in their families was also seen to reinforce feelings of alienation and pressure to succeed. Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) assertion regarding the convergences between familial cultural capital and students' experiences of the academic field is evident. What these extracts also illustrate are the racialised moments of engaging the veil (Du Bois, 1997) and how these moments of contact with the other will translate into active or passive practices of engagement including how students read particular social scripts in racialised ways, if at all. Other currencies of material resources are tied to how the subject is able to exercise active academic citizenship:

> I think my biggest problem in my first year was that I was a traveling student, so my engagement with the university was very minimal. And the traveling was not a ten minute drive or fifteen minute drive. It was quite long. And I couldn't enjoy most of the activities that I joined…. I couldn't relate to it that much and even basketball I couldn't go to most of the practice sessions, because there was that distance that I had to travel. I don't know how many kilometers but it was quite hectic.
>
> *(Participant 7, Postgraduate Student)*

> I was staying outside. And it was very challenging because I would be thinking about going back home in time so I wouldn't be able to use the library as long as I wanted or join study

> groups, because they met after hours, so that was hard. And my friends were not doing the same courses that I was, so they couldn't always assist me with things like that. And if you do stay in a study group then you think about bus fare and other transport issues but like you can't ask the people in your group cos you don't know them very well. I would make sure that there is nothing that comes after hours because of the late hours and you're scared.
>
> *(Participant 9, Undergraduate Student)*

> "I have always been an all-rounder type of person, singing, thinking, sports, whatever I was there. That was something that was neglected when I got to high school, remember high school had no sports or things like that except singing in choir. When I got to university I was excited because now I can do all those things that I didn't have a chance to do... And I was still staying in Soweto, so traveling just to attend the clubs and societies that were here […] was almost impossible, and I was still sort of finding my feel. So in Orientation I didn't really join these societies.
>
> *(Participant 4, undergraduate student)*

Reflecting on the socially imposed visibility related to her physical appearance, the respondent in the excerpt below reflects on her negotiation of the gendered habitus that she finds herself in that intersects with moments of in/visibility related to her social and cultural exclusion. This exclusion is based on her presentation of a classed and devalued cultural capital:

> And when you get to varisty, especially Res, you get to be exposed to different people and you get to understand that that okay the values and qualities that I have are different and sometimes people think you are backward or old fashioned. Especially me as I was stereotyped because I am wearing ZCC[39] on my dress and my hair is always covered. And I was sharing with a Swati girl. So I realized that we are totally different, because she was bold. She wasn't scared to take without asking or inviting boys into the room etc., of which I wasn't used to."
>
> *(Participant 6, Undergraduate Student)*

In making visible her religious affiliation by wearing a ZCC symbol on her dress, she risks not only exposing herself as conservative – and therefore a body out of place (Puwar, 2006) in the diverse and cosmopolitan context of the university – but also invites possibility for

[39] Zion Christian Church

hostility and derision. This cultural shock is further compounded by the fact that she is staying in a mixed gender residence. Becoming familiar and less anxious about this gendered habitus included learning the social rules for personal safety. And yet, her narrative of decline in acclimatizing to the new field intersects with a narrative account of progression that illustrate subjective agency in how she responds to the challenges that she encounters. Evident in her narrative is not only self-surveillance of her embodied self but also her environment – an environment that she judges as inadequate to her safety. This critical engagement with her situation also ties with identification of possible options available to her and action that function to alleviate some of her anxieties about occupying space. :

> **Interviewer**: Which res were you staying in?
> **Participant 7**: Esselen.
> **Interviewer**: That's a mixed residence isn't it?
> **Participant 7**: Yes, which was another story. I was not used to this. Okay I'm from school, I'm used to seeing guys but I'm not like used to living with them or seeing grown men and you feel like actually you are very very (sic) young. And the thing with me is that I talk a lot, even if I don't know you and that attracted a lot of guys to me, which I wasn't used to. And also that area is not very safe. You can't just walk at night alone. And coming from the village I had heard so many stories about Joburg and Hillbrow and all that. And the res was right next to Hillbrow. And so I was not feeling very secure in where I was staying, especially when I wanted to study at night in the libraries here on campus, you would be thinking about what time to get home and all that. And so for my own peace of mind I applied to change res. And now I am at Jubilee. And I am learning not to just talk with every one because you also get to know what people are like and that you don't need to be associated with some people. So I think I found myself at a deep end and I had to find a way to live where I was comfortable. And so I hustled, you can say. I formed a close relation with a woman who was in charge of assigning students to residences. Made sure she knew me as a person and not just some number that she assigns a res to. So she got me into Jubilee, which was all female residence. Jubilee is better in terms of the location because it is here on campus but the girls are still very different from me. But you know, I realize now that that is res, yes, you will find people who are different from you, you will not find a copy of who you are. And I didn't come here to make friends, I came for other reasons. So they must just get used to my ZCC badge and what not. Being in a better res helped me a lot. I could study late at the libraries, participate in study groups etc. My grades picked up and I am doing very well now".

The respondent moves toward a transformation of her social reality – not by changing her value and meaning of her embodied subjectivity but by re-evaluating the values and meanings that she finds in the field. Her critical reflection of her body within this field and personal and social negotiation of the different habitus that are legitimated within the field illustrates her capacity for critical self-reflexivity and challenge to the dominant hegemonic cultural order. Through questioning the habitus and dispositions within the field, including how this dominant habitus constructs her own body and subjectivity, she effectively resists any attempt at subjectification, her resistance to being interpellated, through rejection of the dominant gaze that function to 'keep her in her place', the respondent engages in a reflexive agency that rejects the normative social and cultural order, and which facilitates her inculcation into the academic field. The preceding extract illustrates the moments of intersection in the narrative patterns in the accounts of the participants, exemplifying moments of regression and progression in how the subject transforms within the field to cultivate a new habitus and disposition that allows her to remain in the space that she finds herself.

7.4 Narratives of Progression in the academic and social field

7.4.1 *"I had to learn the culture of each academic department*": inculcating new habitus

Through stories of how they gradually come to engage in academic-oriented activities and developing dispositions that enable them to become active participants in their engagement with key agents within the institution, narratives of transformation and growth are evident in how participants talk about their enculturation into the field. The excerpts below present some of these reflections on change and growth but interestingly, also reflect their own awareness of the role and value of possessing cultural capital to academic citizenship and their perceived importance to becoming successful within the field. The excerpts also highlight the strategic practices adopted by the students, such as forming potentially useful relations with staff that are identified as key to inculcating successful academic citizenship. In this, participants demonstrate their increased awareness and ability to play the game, learning to be both agentic in the pursuit of their academic success as well as strategic in how they are inculcated as 'professionals' within the field. Interestingly, these different strategic practices are deployed by students with both private and township schooling backgrounds.

Bourdieu (1977) has argued that those students belonging to more powerful social groups, such as the middle-class, enjoy greater synergy between their familial and previous schooling life-worlds and the current education institution. This is primarily because their inculcation in these life-worlds provides them with the ability "to know, understand and play the game" (Archer, Hollingworth and Halsall, 2007, p. 220). And yet, the excerpts below demonstrate that while middle-class habitus significantly enable awareness of and ability to play the game; it is not exclusively the domain of this group. Indeed, it would seem that Du Bois' (1903; 1997) idea of second sight demonstrated by subjects on the margins of participation in dominant culture may facilitate not only increased awareness of the game but also how to enter and play:

> You know I didn't participate much in class. Coming from my kind of background, I didn't have the confidence to do any of that, and I thought that would influence if I got in[40], because they didn't really know me. You know certain things….you interact with the lecturer and well, as a lecturer you can say, 'I know this person. This person has been asking questions'. And even when you mark their paper, you can personalize things like 'I know what he is trying to say here because we have had this conversation before'. So yes, there is a relationship that is formed in class that I really didn't have with…in fact with all of my undergrad and even in honors… And my supervisor now…I first met him in my second year. He was also very very (sic) open and I've known him since then. In fact that's when we started talking about the project that I'm doing now.
>
> *(Participant 6, Postgraduate Student)*

> Even the teaching style, I mean coming from high school, especially from a black rural school where we had nothing, I now have to be computer-literate and I have to write my essays on the computer. Learning to type has been a mission and learning how to do this fast. But I have learnt. You get here, and you have to learn to sink or swim.
>
> *(Participant 4, Undergraduate Student)*

> My approach was basically get as much information as you can, like in terms of, what I will need to get ahead that kind of thing…. I always knew that it was an advantage that they[41] knew me and they liked me. And all of them encouraged me to apply for postgraduate study cos I participated quite a lot. So I knew that if it[42] was like edgy and it was me and another

[40] Into the postgraduate honours program.
[41] Staff participating in selections.
[42] The selections process.

person, that could weigh up, you know play in my favor cos they already knew me and what I was about.

(Participant 5, Postgraduate Student)

I came straight here after my matric in 2006. And it was my first confrontation with different racial groups and other cultures. First time lectured by a white person. First time sharing a lecture hall with a lot of different races. It was the first time experiencing all this. There was a shift in…I don't know…*you could see there was a mind shift that that brings with it*. And you realize this is university, you'd feel it, now things are different. Even the practices and the lifestyle, you'd feel it that there is a need to adjust to certain things." (My emphasis).

(Participant 4, Undergraduate Student)

Edwards (1993) and Pascall and Cox (1993) observe that contradictions and discontinuities characterize the entry of many women students into the academic field. Through personal narratives of their subjective experiences of the academy, Mabokela and Magubane (2004) also argue that the transition into higher education is indeed characterized by contradictory and anxiety-provoking thoughts and emotions. These authors further highlight the role of race and gender in the articulation of academic identities and experience of the latter in conflicting and ambiguous ways. In the next excerpt *Participant nine*'s awareness of her social class positioning and underprepared educational background creates conflicting tensions and anxieties in her that include moments of self-interrogation related to sense of belonging in the field. She experiences different moments of not fitting in and attributes this to her own lack of cultural and other capital. And yet a sub-narrative of agency is present in how she and others similarly positioned choose to respond to the new field and its different expectations:

It is not always easy. There are times I fail and I would go to my bedroom and think 'what now? Is it my background? Did my school not prepare me enough for this?' And I remember one time my tutor mentioned that [the institution] used to have foundation courses for those students who were struggling and not up to standard, and I would think 'is that me? Like, did my school make me one of these types of students?' you know, that type of thing. And you feel it is such a competitive arena and maybe if I had gone to one of these up market schools I would not have these problems in speaking English or in my work. But it's just a thought. When things go wrong, you think about that. But for me, yes, even though I have a problem in English, when I speak it's more about being comfortable with the person that I am speaking to. And if I am not comfortable my English is just gonna go somewhere else and I am not even going to understand what I say. During high school and primary school I did not have

any interaction with a white lecturer, we all spoke the same language. *And now you come here and you have to seriously hustle, seriously get out of your shell because at the end of the day you need help. This is where I want to go and this is what I need to do to get help. I have to talk with people I wouldn't have considered talking to*. (My Emphasis).

(Participant 9, Undergraduate Student)

So I think something like that gave me a huge perspective on what I had to learn in order to succeed here – *I had to learn the culture of each academic style* in the different departments…and you can do this on your own, no doubt. But you must also learn who are the people that can help you get where you need to be.

(Participant 5, Undergraduate Student, my emphasis)

Sometimes it's a case of you know what they want, so you just have to learn to give it to them. It's not just about having the marks but you got to make them recognize you, cos you will need that familiarity at a later stage, especially when applying for postgraduate study. So, form the relationships now. We have different lecturers throughout the year. Don't just make one or two lecturers know you. Make all of them know who you are. They all hold your future in their hands. So, when I got here, I struggled for a bit. Then I realized the best way to help myself was to read outside of the course outlines, do extra work but also make sure my lecturers were aware of this and giving me feedback. It's not just about improving my marks. I need to be seen to be doing this. When the selections come down to choosing between you and another black student for postgrad, you are not just 'another black name' that is need for the racial quota. They know you.

(Participant, 7, Postgraduate Student)

The progressive narrative accounts generally reflect characteristics of intersecting narratives that retell stories of struggles and overcoming these struggles within the field. The participants engage their new academic contexts in ways that reflect critical self-reflexive subject capable of transforming their immediate social world. In this way, it is evident that students entry into the field without valued cultural capital is not deterministic in its reproduction of failure and exclusion. These students demonstrate resilience in how they mediate moments of exclusion and find ways to either remain in the field but not be immersed within the broader social communities of practice or even manage to engage the latter fields as well.

7.4.2 *"My race awareness has changed…"* Recentring race within the social field

The final narrative form to emerge within the participants' accounts of race was that of transformation and growth in the dispositions and racial habitus *post* arrival at the institution. These narratives highlighted the emergence of racialised habitus/subjectivity that only comes to have meaning in the context of the new field. Furthermore, this racialised habitus/subjectivity is considered as key to how they navigate social and symbolic space. These narratives further highlight the role of the institutional context in affecting the sense of self, identity and meaning (Levinson & Holland, 1996; Luttrell, 1996). For many of the participants, the engagement and significance of their identities as racialised became paramount within and in relation to the different social practices at the institution:

> I think my schema since coming here is…my orientation…is definitely race. I can't identify what makes me feel inclined to speak to a black as opposed to a white staff. I'd feel the distance in class, you know, with some white lecturers. You'd feel that 'I can't speak to this person outside class'. You'd feel that this person is gonna tell me to get off or whatever… When I got to my honors, I must be honest, there was a high level of interaction with my lecturers… But with the engagement beyond that you'd feel you get a sense that when you enter the research arena, you get a sense that there is a tribalism along racial lines. Even in your presentation and things like that, you feel that you are more hammered. I don't know, sometimes I guess you misread these things, I don't know. I must say that sometimes our perceptions might be flawed but sometimes you feel that sense of racialization in the research meetings. There were some people's voices which were shattered when they tried to speak, there were some people who were undermined…maybe it's just those people and it's not about if you are white or black. But that is the sense that you get, you get a very strong sense of it. *And it affects how you relate to the department and I know at some point I was very distant to the department as a whole*. (My emphasis)
>
> *(Participant 4, Postgraduate Student)*

Part of the objective at this phase of study is further enculturation within the academic field which occurs primarily through the communities of practices (Lave and Wenger, 1991) specific to this phase of the academy. Thus, in spite his successful mediation of the undergraduate domain, the participant experiences a sense of disidentification with the academy as a whole, a disidentification that he ties together with the racializing processes

within the academic and department cultures. Another postgraduate student notes this increased sense of racial self at the postgraduate level of study:

> "*…my race awareness has changed from undergrad to post grad*. So in undergrad I was aware I was one of very many black students, whereas in post grad I'm aware that I'm one of very few black students and I think about that…in my undergrad it didn't really feature that much but still I was aware of me being a black student talking to somebody of my own race.
>
> *(Participant 2, Postgraduate Student)*

> …my political concerns started in high school I think. So when I came [here] I already had a political consciousness although it was a different one to what I found here…I became more focused on race than before. Before, it was all about improving learning and working with disadvantaged students and the community but things changed when I got here…now I am all about race.
>
> *(Participant 1, Postgraduate Student)*

> I think in my honors level I felt an intense level of racialization. And you start seeing sometimes lecturers who are friends with someone else in the class and those relations do not exist between you and the lecturer and you start seeing those dynamics and you believe that racial issues still come into play. Because with you, you are just student and lecturer, and with others it's something more.
>
> *(Participant 4, Postgraduate Student)*

> I can say I am more aware of my blackness as a matter of *fact* (original emphasis) ever since I've come [here] in a sense.
>
> *(Participant 8, Undergraduate Student)*

> I did not find the same integration here […]. I mean, not only the separation between the races. I think there is separation between just different ethnic groups. You find that Zulu students will only befriend Zulu people and these are the people invited to join the Zulu student group or whatever. The same goes for the Xhosas and there are separations on the basis of whether someone is a Xhosa or not. You find that there are stereotypes of ethnicity that the students use to categorize others or form social groups around. And that was something that came as a surprise to me.
>
> *(Participant 6, Undergraduate Student)*

The above excerpts further allude to the processes of racialization reflected through the embodiment of cultural capital. The role of language – not just as capital useful in communication but also as key register in the embodiment of the self – is again reiterated for many of the postgraduate students in professional training degrees. Here, non-mainstream language comes to function as a different kind of capital – ironically, one that is desirable and can be put to strategic use – and yet at the same time, also serves to further essentialize difference. In this sense, language functions in both ambiguous and contradictory ways – simultaneously functional in positioning the individual to be in possession of a valuable form of capital (that allows them to converse with clients from different cultural backgrounds) and yet also simultaneously trapping the individual within a rigid category and thus effectively allowing no other possibilities for being in that space. Race is here constructed as omnipresent, inescapable and delimiting:

> Race is really something else. I am able to grasp, I am really able to grasp, but I am also thinking that being with a circle of friends you sometimes speak after lectures and we would be complaining that here is this typical Boer…[laughs]…you know sometimes you get these lecturers…like the higher educated they are they sometimes use these bombastic words which they, you know, they think everybody understands and they think we are all from the same schools. I mean I didn't do English as my first language, I did English as my second language and it is difficult as a first language. I mean I read a lot of books so hence I am able to express myself but sometimes a person who wasn't in the same environment as me, who only concentrated on English as first language and never studies anything beyond the context of that language, it would be very difficult for me, as opposed to them, to grasp everything that is said in lectures. You go to lectures and you have to go with a dictionary. So the race issue plays a very complex. But it differs with lecturers of course.
>
> *(Participant 4, Undergraduate Student)*

Even more enunciated in these accounts of structural racial profiling both within and outside the classroom is a simultaneous construct of a hidden culture that is imbued with a precondition of familiarity with this culture to facilitate active participation. This hidden culture is perceived to be intrinsic to whiteness. This is akin to Bourdieu's (1994) construct of tacit knowledge about the rules of the game, the techniques of engagement that are not made explicit but are considered central to familiar and easy movement through and mediation of the field. Thus, mundane and on the surface inconsequential social practices such as

'catering', language use etc become sites of inclusion and exclusion. The excerpts below highlight differential aspects of this hidden culture and how subtle practices of alienation may exist at this level of interaction in class:

> I think that the discipline is imbedded in the white culture. So for example, one thing that I have been doing in the past three weeks is noticing how many times metaphors get used, how many of them I am familiar with and that another black student wouldn't be familiar with and which sometimes I'm not even familiar with. You can surmise what they mean but not necessarily familiar with. This is just one small example of how white culture seeps into the language of the discipline, engulfs it and if you are not familiar with white culture you also essentially fall out…and you need to be familiar with that in order to get familiar with this, the academic discussion, in order to appreciate the comparison being made. Or something else like lunch days, every Thursday we take turns in catering. And the food that gets catered and what that means. The type of food that gets catered is certainly skewed to white culture and you as a black person not necessarily being able to cater your type of food or not even being catered for or even knowing something about the other culture. Something so simple as not knowing what a vegan is, which is in my opinion quite embedded in white culture. And for example, the expectations of having to be in therapy. The financial burden of that, you know. And would somebody else be able to handle all of that? And yeah…there are a number of small things like that. *So you can interact in the class and you can be part of the program but there are those little things.*
> (My emphasis).
>
> *(Participant 2, Postgraduate Student)*

> "I did get into the Poetry Reading sessions at the […] Theater for a while. They have these open poetry slam sessions on Thursdays at the theater and I would write some stuff to perform and then I quit that. They had this whole construct about promoting black consciousness through the poems. So I knew there were some readings but I wouldn't go.
> **Interviewer**: Was the theme predominantly black consciousness then?
> **Participant 9**: You need to understand that having been 'white', I didn't really know what black consciousness is and the significance of being black and the institution of or the repercussions of being black, you know. And it's something that I have come to realize through reading. But during that time I just hated that whole political-racial vibe. And it was something that my parents had never done. They just wanted us to move forward and it was the new South Africa and that kind of thing, they want us to think like they did. But my

parents were never hands on anyway. They didn't appreciate my contribution or what I was about.

Interviewer: Because it wasn't black consciousness-related material?

Participant 9: Yeah. But after I left I started doing a lot of reading about that stuff. I started identifying with a lot of social consciousness hip-hop artists like Tumi and the volume, Proverb and all those groups. It was very social in content. It would touch on political things but it would focus more on aspects like unity."

Interviewer: Why did you start reading these literatures?

Participant 9: I wanted to become black. It still hasn't happened though. I can say I am more aware of my blackness as a matter of *fact* (original emphasis) ever since I've come [here] in a sense."

…you get her and see the racialised siting patterns and other little things and suddenly it dawns ion you that you have entered a multicultural world that is not really multicultural.

(Participant 3, undergraduate student)

…when you go to class and someone is absent or whatever, and maybe because it's just me and I tend to notice these things, but I see how we sit and we tend to sit as black students. And obviously what that means is that white students are sitting as white students as well. And there wasn't any attempt by any member of either group to try and be part of the other group. I'm sure they must have noticed it, I'm sure, but no one spoke about it. I'm sure both groups found it difficult to try and be part of the other group, and so we all just ignored it. But I am sure that they observed this. And no matter how we might mingle outside of class there would always be those issues of positioning ourselves in those kinds of contexts…And I strongly believe it's a characteristic of the university as a whole not only the department. Obviously the department if a subsection of the whole university and someone once observed to me: 'there are the white lawns of the library, the black matrix, the Indian stairs' [laughs]…so it's intrinsic to the university as a whole.

(Participant 4, Postgraduate Student)

When you get here, people try to tell you what kind of black you should be. The SRC[43] especially, they fill your head with all kinds of nonsense about black students at [the institution]. It's just a political game, really.

(Participant, 11, Undergraduate Student)

[43] Student Representative Council, primarily headed by the political student body SASCO.

> You really get into the culture of the professional discipline and once again you realize what the culture is, you realize its make-up and it's really…and you really realize how much of an 'other' you are. So even in its passive state, even when nothing is being done *your difference is being pronounced because it just is.*
>
> **Interviewer:** You mean just by virtue of being present?
>
> **Participant 2:** Yes. But not only that you are different but you are also being made aware that you are different. Then when things start to happen, when there's activity, when there's interaction you realize your difference as well, the conversations that go on. (My emphasis).

I concur with Levinson and Holland's (1996) observation that education institutions are also complicit in the re/production of raced subjectivities and it is interesting to note how the students' racialised sense of self also comes to be foregrounded through positive reinforcement practices by staff members – both black and white. Davies (1990) notes that intrinsic to the process of subjectification are an engagement with broader discursive representations of subjectivity and social categories. In this context, broader discursive constructs that circulate and have become part of the national and transformation education repertoire relates to black students in institutions of higher learning. In the following extracts, participants indicate an increasing awareness of their subject positioning as black students and the different forms of positive reinforcement related to this from both black and white staff:

> **Participant 2:** I think definitely in the Psychology department, there was a bit more reception if you are a black student talking to somebody of your own race.
>
> **Interviewer:** Reception from whom?
>
> **Participant 2:** From other black staff. Perhaps because…I can only imagine from the structures perspective, there's a wanting to encourage you to carry on given the paucity of racial diversity in the field, wanting to encourage you to carry on. So they'd usually be the only ones you'd care to consult with. And in other departments as well. I think, there was also a desire for me in terms of being a bit more comfortable. But trying to be aware of being comfortable and not taking advantage, being comfortable and not undermining, certainly it's there.
>
> *(Participant 2, Postgraduate Student)*

Other contexts of racial signification occur within the student informal spaces on campus. For most of the students, a significant means for becoming inculcated within the culture of the

institution is initially through participation in the student social clubs on campus. However, participation within these clubs is often facilitated by the degree of familiarity with particular cultural lifestyle practices. Acclimatizing to the academic environment in general is thus simultaneously facilitated by the degree of acclimatization to the social field – that is in turn enhanced by one's embodiment of cultural capital. The excerpts below illustrate the role of white habitus – reflected through social practices that privilege white lifestyle – in creating and perpetuating spaces of inclusion and exclusion. Durrheim (2005) and Dixon and Durrheim, 2003 observe a similar phenomenon through their investigations of what they term 'micro-ecology of interracial interaction' (p.445), whereby spatio-temporal practices characterize the interaction patterns of whites and blacks. Dixon and Durrheim's studies illustrate the spatio-temporal practices and movement of *both white and black habitus*:

> …*those clubs give you an orientation other than your classroom to the university life*…But most of those I joined I must say were dominated by blacks and in my third year I joined Explorers, but I didn't really partake in any of their activities, cos it was predominantly white and I struggled to integrate with them. So there was that distance. And I joined the debating society and sometimes I would take part in some debates but I also struggled with that also because it was predominantly white…and they usually wanted to go somewhere…mountainside or whatever, you'd have transport issues; you'd have money issues to buy the outfits and other issues of paying for whatever is needed. And that is so unfair. Like…how do I become part of this? *And then you slowly lose interest in them and you start seeing them as irrelevant and like you don't fit in so just leave it*. (My Emphasis)
>
> *(Participant 4, Postgraduate Student)*

> I joined some of the groups, like I joined the Mountain climbing club, because I really like that. But I left about a month after. And I didn't join any other group after that. It was not for me. Like it was not my lifestyle. I did not follow most of what they were doing or saying most of the time. And I did not have the money to do most of those things. Because the meetings were usually outside of campus and unless you have transport it is difficult to go with them. Or they would plan trips to go to Magaliesberg and I did not have money to buy the camping gear or things like that. So ja, it was not for me.
>
> *(Participant 13, Undergraduate Student)*

7.5 Concluding thoughts

Racialization processes occur at both macro and micro levels of interaction and navigation of space. As Twine (1996) observes the relation between space and subjectivity is far from a simplistic relation but rather one that incorporates other dimensions of subjectivity such as class hierarchies. We relate to spaces as raced subjects and these spaces in turn shape and produce us in particular ways, and therefore has influence on our sense of belonging in particular spaces. The narrative accounts of the respondents' geographical contexts – both related to schooling and livelihood illustrates the importance of context in forming and shaping habitus and dispositions that are simultaneously classed and raced. This chapter has presented and discussed the narrative patterns emerging within the thematic accounts of the data set. These patterns focus on the structuring functions of three dominant narrative types: stability (focused on continuity in the subject's navigation of academic and social fields), progression (focused on the subject's transformations of subjectivity and academic habitus within the academic and social fields) and regression (focused on decline and disidentification in the subject's engagement and navigation of the field). Wilson (2007; 2009) has argued that production of racialised spaces is relational in the sense that production of white spaces implicitly includes production of non-white spaces. Any racial encounter entails the production of particular spaces that discursively construct how subjects navigate those spaces. These discursive constructs emphasize to its subjects not only the appropriateness of particular spaces for the subject but also the subjectivities relevant to that space. The academic field is demonstrated to exemplify spatialized and racializing processes for the students that inhabit the field. The next chapter engages these discursive re/productions of racialised subjectivity within the academic field.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion and reflexivity

As Black academics (and students), one of our tasks has to be to transform theory itself, if we are not to remain permanent 'curiosities' in academia. For us, the habitus of academia is as dangerous as society at large, because we are not 'fish in water'…

(Simmonds, 1991, p. 61)

"…how to be black is shaped by the conditions in which we find ourselves, not just our own subjective wills." (Ratele, 2013, p. 119-134)

9.1. Summary of and concluding thoughts on results

Students entering the university field are uniquely located within matrices of power and subjectivity that tend to intersect with other categories of subjectivity. These intersections influence and frame the ways that they occupy social and academic spaces and subject positioning and interpellation within the field. Bourdieu uses the concepts of habitus and field to provide some insight into the power dynamics that influence the practices of agency and subjectification that occur within these contexts. His analysis provides a critical way to think about the interweaving of both macro and micro dimensions of social power in the society at large but especially within this field. However while Bourdieu's analysis engages the intricate dynamics of class and cultural capital it simultaneously fails to engage other dynamics that can and do intersect with these class configurations. The nuances of race and racialization in a post-apartheid context provide a critical site to engage some of these intersections of subjectivity.

Where Bourdieu fails to engage the intricacies of a raced habitus the psychosocial theories of both Fanon and Du Bois provides a different kind of insight into configurations of power and subjectivity. Locating the subject within postcolonial relational network, both Fanon and Du Bois grapple with the nuances of racialization that include aspects of the lived experiential and psychic aspects of subject formation. This latter dimension particularly allows for an in-depth exploration of the obstinacy of raced subjectivity. And yet, the failure to fully engage configurations of race with other intersecting configurations also leaves a gap in these theories that does not always capture some of the nuances of subject formation. More critically, what Bourdieu's social phenomenology and Fanon and Du Bois' psychosocial

approaches to subjectivity demonstrate and powerfully elaborate are the paradoxical conditions that may often accompany moments of subjectification.

This study has endeavored to engage some of the tensions in the experiences of navigating the social and academic field by black students with differential embodied cultural capital. Informed by a depth heremenutic approach, a critical narrative analysis of form and content reveal positive and negative thematic patterns within the data and often conflictual moments of belonging and alienation within the university space. This complexity is further heightened by embodiments of cultural capital and the influences of these attributes in influencing how students not only consciously navigate the field as black bodies but also how they are racialised by others within the field. The thematic content analysis reveals dual processes of subjectification and resistance in students' academic enculturation processes. These processes of being *visible, invisible* and *hyper-visible* are not only racialised but also central to how racial embodiment comes to re/assert itself in social and academic spaces. Subjectification is evident in how blackness is differently made visible for some black students that are dependant on the currencies of cultural capital. Those students entering the field with currencies of cultural capital invariably experience their positioning as 'black' differently from their peers who enter without the currencies of cultural capital. Conflicts of visibility/hyper-visible are further compounded by an at times superficial opposite: the dilemma of being invisible and therefore not seen at all. This superficial opposite is further reflected in moments of invisibility that is also a process of still being *seen* even in the face of absence.

The respondents' experiences and accounts of in/visibility are further demonstrated to be recursively connected and not distinctly separate at all. Other dimensions of visibility that explore the social dynamics of blackness – whereby the individual is reproduced through the social representation of black bodies within the academic space – is considered to be significant in how students experience the field as 'space invaders'. And yet, the stories of negative experiences related to the institutional context are at times mediated by other stories of strategic interaction and resistance within the field that allows some students to obtain particular rewards and benefits related to their deployment of blackness. The implications of such a process for a theory of agency and resistance remain pertinent to Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) social theory.

The students' mediation of their field does not reveal a determinist passive reaction to the context but rather demonstrates moments of agency and resistance in how students deploy race to make sense of their positioning within diverse contexts in the institution. And yet, these practices of resistance are not always void of relational configurations of power but may infact reinforce and reproduce these configurations. Students' racial scripts do not always allow for active participation and enculturation of academic citizenship and instead produces passive forms of engagement and mediation within the institution. The thematic and discursive readings attest to the dual interpellation processes that occur when students enter and continue to navigate the field. In such instances, both survivalist and resistance practices are present as a response to different and conflicting processes of interpellation. The black student enters the academic field as an already interpellated subject. Resistance and mediation of the field entails an attempt at *re-interpellation* that must engage the original interpellation – both implicit and explicit.

The subject's interpellation into particular discursive positions within the institution implies a constant anxiety of continual and potential ontology of [a problematic] blackness. The emotions structuring this racial awareness include emotions of shame, fear, anxiety, resentment and desire. Students' embodied performances of race are premised on the desire to challenge the normative discursive contexts that demand complicity and reinforcement of the racial normative order. These performances –enacted with varying degree of agency and passivity – present different moments of conflict and crisis that include specific emotions of affect that further reinforce and/or challenge this normative order. These emotions are functional in the emergence of the students as specific subjects. Similarly the practices of resistance and mediation include not only bodily occupation of space but also deliberate and purposeful deployment of the raced body in particular ways that attest to the student's capacity for agency within the field. The relational encounters of students with others within the field demonstrate this significance of the body in both forming and negotiating racial encounters and racialised subjectivities.

Underlying the thematic accounts of race subjectivity within the institution, discursive constructs of the institution that present contradictory images of a monolithic, racially hierarchical and 'naïve' institution exists that function to hold together how students not only deploy race but also survive hostile experiences within the field. The subject positions of students as 'innocent' and 'victims' further serve to solidify this construct of the institution as

monolithic. One could argue that such practices of discursive constructs function as coping mechanisms in the face of institutional barriers. Nonetheless, the potential failture of such attempts are evident in how these constructs allow for increased non-performativity and inculcation within the field. The nuances of subjectification within higher education (David, Coffey, Connolly, Nayak & Reay, 2006; Davies, 2006; Hey, 2006; Youdell, 2006b) complicate these moments of resistance and complicity in subjectification even more. For example, Hey (2006) illustrates the generative potential of resistance exercised by female stduents within higher education contexts. Her research rightly positions everyday relational interactions to be fraught with moments of negotiation, contradiction and both passivity and active responses. Gendered subjectivity in this instance is understood in far more nuanced ways that take into account the structural and micro nature of subjectification. Nayak and Kehily (2006) similarly grapple with this everyday performative dimension of performing subjectivities. Their research illustrates the gendered performances of students within higher education at the level of embodiment through personal styling and enactments. These studies highlight the performative nature of subjectivity and I would argue pinpoint toward a new direction for thinking about racial subjectivity that incorporates both this performative aspect but also the psychic processes that are part of them.

The narrative analysis of form engages the stories and accounts of academic scholarship and racialization through a narrative structure that highlights the trajectories of stability, progression and regression in the respondents' life histories related to schooling. This analysis reveals how prior learning experiences influence the students' current navigation of the academic and social field at the university as well as the complex relation between this prior inculcation of habitus and dispositions within the new field. The data demonstrates that while previously inculcated habitus is significant and influential in how students navigate their field, it is not always simple and linear in its practice. The narratives focused on their personal journeys as scholars both prior to and in the current field. Each respondent discussed how their academic habitus developed in relation to a racialised habitus that either facilitated or disrupted their inculcation within the academic field. Among the most salient narrative accounts were those stories retelling *1)* their primary socialization within the family as raced and intellectual persons *2)* the role of the school environment in further developing or introducing dispositions of learning, building social networks that fostered learning and awareness of opportunities to continue study *3)* the moments of race contact within the school that formed disturbing or harmonious dispositions related to interracial mixing *4)* entry into

the new academic field at the university and the moments of culture shock related to the social field as well as the academic community of practice. These accounts reveal the influence of previously established habitus in how students currently relate to the new field as well as the struggles, successes and failures of breaking free of some of these patterns. Racial and racialised subjectivities are linked with academic identities and practices of knowledge production. How discourses within the academy work with constructs of academic citizenship and configurations of subjectivity such as race and class – and reflected in currencies of cultural capital – is crucial in addressing issues of educational transformation.

The analysis of themes and discourse in general illustrate the multiple, contradicting discursive constructs rooted in popular, cultural and educational practices that are implicit in how students both represent and position themselves as well as broader institutional and relational interpellations of these students. The analysis further demonstrates the circular nature of these different circulating discourses that are evident both within the institutional context as well as outside of these contexts. This is particularly evident in the analysis focused on elicitng the different academic and social trajectories of the participants. The analysis in turn argues that students entering the institution – as black bodies – make themselves possible in very specific ways through limited interpellative constructs of being atypical and typical representations of their racial group. The possibilities for agency and resistance are thus limited within such a performative space and yet such attempts at resistance and insertion of self are evident through strategic deployments of their racialized selves. In this instance, these practices highlight the potential utility of Butler's (1997a; 1997b) performative politics in relation to performances of resistance and agency. This is even more pertinent in light of the dual interpellative process that occurs when these students enter the institution.

Social psychological research focused on the racialization practices and processes of re/production of racialized identities may arguably be enhanced with such a critical emphasis on the complex processes of performance and subjectification. Butler's (1990) deployment of discursive reproductions highlights Foucualt's idea of the generative capacity of discourse production. Such a conceptualization engages the interpellation of black students even prior to their racialized performances within specific spaces. This notion of a pre-existing subject is at the core of Butler's (1990; 2004) deployment of performance and agency: "regulatory power not only acts upon an preexisting subject but also shapes and forms that subject"

(2004, p. 41). Secondly, for Butler, engaging practices of resistance and agency requires that we do so at a discursive level – whereby 'discursive agency' (Butler, 1997a, p. 127) is part of a process of naming or rearticulation of subjectivity through discursive renaming. This is indicative of an active subject, though passive in some respects within the field, is still able to act upon the field. The strategic deployments of racialized selves evident in some of narrative accounts exemplify this capacity for acting with intent as part of resistance. This is somewhat of a deviation from Foucault's (1980) engagement with discourse as separate from intent but it does highlight the constitutitve processes by which subjects may, and do, deploy and perform subjectivities.

Fanon and Du Bois's insights further reveal the importance of corporeal encounters marked by racial difference for many students within such a context. This is especially significant when one considers that such encounters are not only representative of actual moments of contact, but also reassert socio-historical subjectivities (through dual interpellation of raced bodies) such that they are implicitly imbued with unspoken ideological, psychi effects. Fanon's racial epidermal schema is especially useful in how we can read these interpellative moments. And yet, we cannot simply accept subjective accounts to be void of deep-seated psychic effects. Indeed, a psycho-social framework urges that we intrerrogate these moments of intersection between racial embodiment and interpellative practice – by critically reflecting on the limits and contradictions of intercorporeality, for instance. Participants' readings of some encounters as unequivocably racist for instance presented some reflective issues for me as a third party listening to their interpretations that I often found to be fraught with tension. Perhaps interrogating subjective accounts of racist injuries requires more an ideological and socio-discursive critique. Fanon and Du Bois's emphasis on the importance of bodily memories and emotive affect provide some part of the answer to this problematic and yet not completely. Nonetheless, given the omission of engaging lived experiences of a racialized habitus in Bourdieu's conceptualization of socialized subjectivity, the extension of the latter framework to include the psycho-social and phenomenological contributions of Fanon and Du Bois provide for critical and insightful avenues for exploring racialization. Ineed, Bourdieu's bodily hexis and relative analysis of stigma evoke Fanon's racial epidermalization and Du Bois' double consciousness to open up spaces for thinking about contradictions and complexities of a "habitus divided against itself" (Bourdieu, 2002, p 31).

9.2 Reflexivity Concerns

Self-reflexivity is a central concern for qualitative researchers undertaking interactional dialogue with research subjects and contexts. This reflexivity is not only related to broader concerns of the ethical aspects of our research but also a methodological concern with being absent from the knowledge that we re/produce in/through research. This is especially necessary in engaging relations of power and researcher subjectivity within social research. I not only currently lecture in the institution where this study was conducted but also came into the institution as a student. Similar to some of my research participants, I have experienced multiple and contradictory positions of power related to multiple and intersecting categories of subjectivity that include race, class, gender, sexuality and nationality amongst others. Also, given my transition from student to staff within the field of research I have been located in differential positions of power. In my introductions and discussions with some of the participants, my position as previous student and later staff was mentioned. Negotiating how much of my previous experience as a student within the institution was a continuous process related to my concern that I do not influence the accounts that my participants discussed with me. In this regard I followed De Lyser's (2001) caution that awareness of a shared spatial history with one's participants may inadvertently lead to the misperception on the part of the respondents that the researcher is already familiar with their experiences and interpretations. On the other hand, this awareness of a shared history was useful in creating a sense of trust and comfort on the part of the respondents that facilitated sharing some personal stories of their own processes of being in the field and relations with institutional agents. At the same time my position as lecturer within the institution served to maintain a sense of distance between myself and the respondents. My being young black academic collecting personal stories of academic and racial subjectivities from young black students who were significantly disempowered relative to me was therefore a continuous process of negotiation on my part. For example, I was cognizant of the fact that I tended to be more guarded in my discussions with those students I perceived as not sharing similar cultural capital background to me, choosing to not disclose particular aspects of my schooling experiences because I was concerned that this would alienate them.

While my racial and possibly age-related positioning may have facilitated my entry into their narrative spaces, and provided me a privileged position to engage these different accounts, it may certainly have also served to create some barriers that influenced the stories that were

shared. My multiple positioning: young, black, female, non-South African *academic* in a previously white institution may have influenced their perception and reading of me as possessing some forms of valued cultural and intellectual capital. This positioning may have been read in a myriad of ways that either facilitated further sharing of information or may have set me up as an outsider for some participants – indeed, one of my participants, attempting to explain our differential agency and privilege described me as "not really black". Thus, despite my shared racialised identity and shared spatial history, I often experienced myself and was often positioned by some of the respondents – particularly the undergraduate cohort – as different. Even though this cohort would only have recently come into the field at the time of the interviews and therefore ideally have had no prior interaction with me in any capacity, my academic position within the university may nonetheless have framed the nature of the stories that were shared. Indeed, the location of the interviews (which all took place in my office) would no doubt have heightened this sense of distance and difference. During the course of the interview discussions I was thus aware and sometimes, as in the case of the respondent's assertion that I was "not really black", made aware of my own habitus. This awareness entailed having to be sensitive to how the respondents were responding to my perceived habitus, performing to it and even critiquing it. Furthermore, I often had to continually be aware of and manage my own emotional and subjective responses to some of the issues raised in the discussions, such as my impatience in the face of what I sometimes perceived as student apathy and also rejection of some of the constructs of blackness in the accounts etc. During and after each interview I was attentive to my emotional responses to participants, engaging in continuous moments of 'checking in' and renegotiating my emotions. While it is near impossible to control how respondents in a qualitative study will perceive and interact with the researcher, these continuous processes of self-reflexivity were necessary and useful in allowing me to be aware of my own impositions in the process of data collection and later analysis.

Reflecting on my methodological and epistemological approach, I had initially approached the data from a case-study narrative approach in which I explored the narrative trajectory of each participant as a single case. This approach allowed me to not only engage with the uniqueness of each account but also provided more insight into the individual differences and social categories. However, given the limitations of presenting this data in its exhaustive form, I opted for a discussion of select narrative form and content that illustrated the *shared* patterns of a narrative across the narrative accounts. As a result significant possibilities for

analysis, such as individual life histories, have not been presented in the current study. This shortcoming can be considered a significant limitation of the method of analysis adopted. I return to this issue in my limitations section. Furthermore, considering the theoretical and conceptual focus of the study, Tate (2013) has argued the problematic of being an insider-outsider within a racialised normative society. This problematic may enable critical engagement with both the positive and negative affects within the academic field that are part of the practices of racialization. At the same time, issues of subjective bias in the interpretation of data may arise.

9.3 Future considerations

In the retelling of the narrative accounts through a generalized and shared trajectory, the analysis not only failed to draw attention to the embodied presence of the storyteller (the respondents) but also the dynamic nature of interaction between researcher and respondent. I therefore lost some of the complexity of each narrative account. Furthermore, given that I had interviewed twenty respondents, tracing their unique personal academic trajectories, the vast amount of data that was generated proved impossible to incorporate completely in the final analysis. This generated necessary selectiveness with regards to the analysis of the data. Following Yusuf, Soudien and Carrim (2003) I concur that without a multidimensional focus schools will remains sites of domination and exclusion. Black feminist scholars have highlighted this limitation in much feminist work arguing that the exploration of social positions is often thwarted by the tendency to favour one position over another such as gender over race or vice versa. In the current study, I have not fully engaged with the multidimensional aspects of subjectification, that engages not only aspects of race and class but also gender amongst other possible subjectivities. It is therefore recommended that future study explorations in this area explore and engage the multidimensional nature of subjectification within the education field.

The current contexts of transformation within the education sector in post-apartheid South Africa necessitate that those aspects of institutional culture that function as barriers to transformation be explored with an agenda for social change. The South African academic landscape is particularly complex – a complexity that necessitates we recognize that students entering the field will experience this landscape in different ways, relative to their socio-historical, classed, racialised and also gendered histories. The implications for resistance and

agency within the academic field are thus fraught with both structural and individual factors that must be considered in the project of transformation within this field. The current study is firmly located within such an attempt to explore the subtle, nuanced and often invisible institutional practices that make it impossible for all institutional agents to fully experience academic citizenship. Part of such an agenda and exploration therefore is that the subjective lived experiences of agents within the institution be addressed and taken seriously. The student population of the university comprises an important cohort from which to begin to engage with institutions of higher learning and their different contexts of transformative practices.

While the literature has tended to favor analysis of the difficulties of black student retention, throughput rate, at risk students etc., it is equally important to explore the subjective meanings and experiences of the academy from the point of view of the students we theorize so much about. This current research contributes to such an agenda, by engaging with aspects of embodiment that students are coming into the field with as well as the impact with regards to how they navigate the academic field. The study demonstrates that students' acquisition of cultural capital in its varied forms as well as their *raced habitus* significantly influences how they experience and mediate the academic field. This has important implications for educators as well as broader transformative scholars. Addressing the invisible effects and practices of social exclusion remains a pressing concern in a post-apartheid South Africa. Part of the future direction of the study therefore concerns exploring other agents of the institutional field, in particular the members of the academic staff community. While it is important to explore and understand how students navigate the social and academic spaces, it is equally important to understand the actual practices of reward, for example, in the demonstration of particular aspects of cultural capital by members of staff toward students. The processes by which staff interact and perceive the student body is significant in further obtaining evidence for how dimensions of cultural capital are reinforced by the institution. Furthermore, a more intensive exploration of the emotive aspects of racial embodiment and cultural capital deployment is necessary to produce a much fuller account of *raced habitus* and cultural capital functioning within the field.

The analyses of the data illustrate simultaneous processes of resistance to racializing categories and practices as well as feeling burdened or imprisoned by these practices. I concur with researchers such as Butler (1993), Grosz (1994) and Ahmed (2000) who have

argued that subjectification remains an inescapable practice that implies we are always raced, gendered, classed etc. Furthermore, we invest in these social practices not only in how we identify with these categorizations but also how we reproduce particular meanings attached to them by incorporating them into aspects of ourselves (James, 2000). The challenge is to describe "this bodily participation in ways that do not reduce the body to a collector of information or processor of stories outside of any body" (Langellier & Peterson, 2004, pp 8-9). Intersections of cultural capital with racial embodiment theories provide a useful site to engage the intersections of macro and micro embodiments of race and racialization. What these analyses further point to and suggest are the dual processes of subjectification that both students and staff experience within this context. Indeed, it would be necessary to undertake future explorations of the latter's own constitution within the field by dominant professional and other discourses that equally intersect with racialized, classed and other subjectivities. Engaging the subjective experiences of race and schooling require that we adopt multiple layers of analysis that allow for critical interrogation of performative politics within higher education contexts.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A

Participant Information Sheet for Undergraduate Students

Dear Student

Good Morning. My name is Peace Kiguwa and I am a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am currently undertaking a PhD research study in the department of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. My study is interested in exploring the perceptions and experiences of black students at a historically white institution of higher learning. More specifically, the research is concerned with exploring how black students coming to study at tertiary level for the first time experience being at the institution.

The study aims to explore these issues by conducting individual interviews with identified participants. These interviews will last approximately one and a half hours each and will be conducted by myself at a location that will ensure your privacy. You have been invited to participate in the study because you meet the criteria of being categorized as 'black' as well as being a first year student at the institution. Based on this, I welcome your participation in this study. With your permission, interviews will be tape recorded. Should you agree to participate, your participation is voluntary, and you will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate or not participate in the study. All of your responses will be kept confidential, and no information that could identify you would be included in the research report. Some of the responses that you provide in the interview will be quoted directly or indirectly in the final written report whereby an anonymous labelling process will

be used to refer to your identity and responses. The interview material (tapes) will not be seen or heard by any person in this organisation at any time except by myself. In the interests of transparency, your interview transcript will be made available to you for your perusal. Any information that you may/not be comfortable with for inclusion in the final report may be amended in this stage.

The interview schedule contains questions that will inquire about your educational history, your social network influences such as family, perceptions of your current academic environment at the institution and how you experience this environment as a black student. You may refuse to answer any questions you would prefer not to, and you may choose to withdraw from the study at any point (the data collected at this point will in this regard be discarded and not included for analysis). If you choose to participate in the study please contact me or alternatively leave me a message, and I will contact you within a day or so in order to discuss your participation. My contact details are 074 882 8314 / 011 717 4537 or via e-mail at Peace.Kiguwa@wits.ac.za.

Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in the study.

Yours Sincerely

Peace Kiguwa (Researcher)

Supervisors: Prof Gillian Finchilescu (Gillian.Finchilescu@wits.ac.za) and Prof Garth Stevens (Garth.Stevens@wits.ac.za)

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Appendix B

Participant Information Sheet for Postgraduate Students

Dear Student

Good Morning. My name is Peace Kiguwa and I am a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am currently undertaking a PhD research study in the department of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. My study is interested in exploring the perceptions and experiences of black students at a historically white institution of higher learning. More specifically, the research is concerned with exploring how black students who have completed their undergraduate and currently in postgraduate study experience being at a tertiary institution.

The study aims to explore these issues by conducting individual interviews with identified participants. These interviews will last approximately one and a half hours each and will be conducted by myself at a location that will ensure your privacy. You have been invited to participate in the study because you meet the criteria of being categorized as 'black' as well as being a postgraduate student at the institution. Based on this, I welcome your participation in this study. With your permission, interviews will be tape recorded. Should you agree to participate, your participation is voluntary, and you will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate or not participate in the study. All of your responses will be kept confidential, and no information that could identify you would be included in the research report. Some of the responses that you provide in the interview will be quoted directly or indirectly in the final written report whereby an anonymous labelling process will be used to refer to your identity and responses. The interview material (tapes) will not be seen

or heard by any person in this organisation at any time except by myself. In the interests of transparency, your interview transcript will be made available to you for your perusal. Any information that you may/not be comfortable with for inclusion in the final report may be amended in this stage.

The interview schedule contains questions that will inquire about your educational history, your social network influences such as family, perceptions of your current academic environment at the institution and how you experience this environment as a black student. You may refuse to answer any questions you would prefer not to, and you may choose to withdraw from the study at any point (the data collected at this point will in this regard be discarded and not included for analysis). If you choose to participate in the study please contact me or alternatively leave me a message, and I will contact you within a day or so in order to discuss your participation. My contact details are 074 882 8314 / 011 717 4537 or via e-mail at Peace.Kiguwa@wits.ac.za.

Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in the study.

Yours Sincerely

Peace Kiguwa (Researcher)

Supervisors: Prof Gillian Finchilescu (Gillian.Finchilescu@wits.ac.za) and Prof Garth Stevens (Garth.Stevens@wits.ac.za)

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Appendix C

Consent Form for participation and audio recording

I hereby consent to participate in this research project. The purpose and the procedures of the study have been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time or refuse to comment on particular issues, without negative consequences. I understand that my responses will be kept completely confidential and that I may decide what aspects of my transcript data may be made public. I understand that my name will not be used and that I will not be linked to any specific responses in the research report without my permission.

Name of participant _____
Date _____
Signature _____

I have explained the purpose and procedures of the study as well as the rights of the participant. I agree with the conditions in the participants' information sheet and consent form and undertake to adhere to them.

Name of Researcher _____

Date _____

Signature _____

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Consent Form for audio recording of interviews

I hereby consent to the audio-taping of the interview discussions with the researcher. I understand that my right to confidentiality will be respected at all times and that the tapes will be destroyed after completion of the study.

Name of participant _____
Date _____
Signature _____

Appendix C – Ethics Approval Letter from Faculty

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Kiguwa

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER H09/07/02 [EXTENSION]**
PROJECT TITLE	Performing race: what price cultural capital? Black students negotiating identity at a historically white institution
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Ms P Kiguwa
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Human and Community Development/Psychology
DATE CONSIDERED	10/07/2009
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Unconditionally
EXPIRY DATE	16/02/2016

DATE 17/02/2014 **CHAIRPERSON** _____ (Professor T Milani)

cc: Supervisor : Prof G Finchilescu

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10003, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ **Signature**

_____/_____/_____ **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix D

Participant demographic profile details

Postgraduate Participant Profiles

Name[44]	Gender	Level of Study at time of interview	High School Education	Other characteristic
Thabo	Male	Second year of doctoral studies	Rural township school	
Sipho	Male	Masters student	Private School and later Model C school	
Siphelele	Male	Masters student	Private School and later Model C school	
Dumisani	Male	Masters student	Rural township school	
Tendani	Female	Masters student	Model C school	Gap year bet high school and Tertiary education. Gap year bet 1st and 2nd year of tertiary education
Hlonelwa	Female	Honors student	Rural township school	Excluded in 1st year of study
Simphiwe	Female	Honors student	Public government school	Gap year bet high school and Tertiary education

[44] Pseudonyms used for all participants.

Undergraduate Participant Profiles

Name[45]	Gender	Level of Study at time of interviews	High School Education	Other characteristic
Itumeleng	Male	First year	Model C and later Public school	
Zinhle	Female	First Year	Rural township school	Gap year between high school and tertiary
Mdu	Male	First Year	Model C	
Sbu	Male	First Year	Rural township school	Gap year between high school and tertiary.
Thulisile	Female	First Year	Model C	
Thapelo	Male	First Year	Rural township school	Dropped out in second semester
Zakes	Male	First Year	Public school	
Emily	Female	First Year	Private school	
Lindiwe	Female	First Year	Semi-private	
Paul	Male	First Year	Model C	
Bongani	Male	First Year	Public school	
Petrus	Male	First Year	Public school	
Lucky	Male	First year	Private and later public school	Repeating first year at time of interview

[45] Pseudonyms used.

Appendix E

Interview Topic Guide 1

Sociocultural Alienation / Integration

1. What do you think the values of this university are?
2. Why did you choose to come to the institution to undertake your study?
3. Do the values at this university reflect your own values?
4. What is your education history before coming to University? What kind of school did you go to? Describe the values of your school? Were these values similar to your own personal and educational values? Do you find that these values exist within the community?
5. How did you feel about joining the institution? What is your level of integration within the social and academic activities at the institution?
6. Do you think that there is a community at the institution? What is your sense of this?
7. To what extent do you feel integrated into this community?

Academic Concerns related to 'race'

1. In terms of social and cultural needs, what are your thoughts on race and integration at the institution?
2. Have you ever felt like dropping out of this university? For academic or social reasons?
3. How comfortable or uncomfortable do you feel in raising questions with a **white** instructor/tutor when you don't understand the material?
4. How comfortable or uncomfortable do you feel in raising questions with a **black** instructor/tutor when you don't understand the material?
5. Is the race of your lecturer / tutor important to you?
6. Do you feel comfortable discussing your performance on assessments with your instructor (irrespective of race)?
7. How do you think your instructor / tutor understands your performance?
8. Do you feel your instructors have stereotypes about you because of your race?
9. Do you feel all students experience the same kinds of **academic** difficulties (irrespective of race)?
10. Do you feel all students experience the same kinds of **social** difficulties (irrespective of race)?
11. Is race important to you in this context (i.e. within the university community)? Are there other identity categories that are important to you within this context?

Social Racial Positioning

1. Would you favor increasing, decreasing or keeping the same percentage of black students on campus?
2. Have you found it easy or hard to make friends with other races at the institution?
3. How do you feel other race groups (students and lecturers) respond to you as a black student?
4. Do you feel there are stereotypes about black students at this university?
5. How do you feel about being a black student at this university?
6. What does being black mean to you?
7. How do you think the university constructs you in terms of your race?
8. How do you think your instructors construct you in terms of your race?
9. How do you think other students construct you in terms of your race?
10. What are some of the stereotypes about being a black student that you are aware of? How do you respond to these stereotypes? Do they have any meaning for you?

Racial self-positioning

1. What is your racial identification?
2. What are some of your first memories of recognizing your place in a racial/ethnic group at school?
3. How important is your racial identification for your self-concept?
4. Do you consider other people's racial identity to be important?
5. How important is your racial identity in these different contexts 1) at home 2) in your neighborhood 3) in public and 4) on campus
6. What other identities are important to you other than your racial identification?
7. When do these identities become important for you?
8. Which identities are more important to you in these different contexts 1) at home 2) in your neighborhood 3) in public and 4) on campus
9. Does your perceived race matter to you in different contexts? Such as?
10. If you were not being asked to discuss your race, could you discuss your academic environment without mentioning race or ethnicity?

Appendix F

Interview topic guide 2

Interview guiding questions were further structured around the following thematic discussion emphasizing different phases of transition and focus: academic and social background prior coming to the institution (forms of cultural capital that were activated in particular contexts); first-year at the institution (forms of cultural capital that were activated in particular contexts); undergraduate study (forms of cultural capital that were activated in particular contexts); getting into postgraduate study (forms of cultural capital that were activated in particular contexts); postgraduate study(forms of cultural capital that were activated in particular contexts).

Objectified Capital	**Embodied Capital**	**Institutional Capital**
- Family background - School background - Financial access into the institution - Tools for success (books, transport, money etc)	- Skills (language, prior knowledge, communicating with staff) - Popular culture (clubs, fashion and style, music) NB: Moment of alienation (academic and social)	- Synergy with own / prior desires, interests, goals etc - Successes within the institution (academic and other) - Failures within the institution (academic and other) - Future projections

Types of social interaction within the institution

1 Formal institutional context e.g. supervision, lectures, presentations, personal and professional identity, building of networks with staff, tutoring etc. **WHAT/HOW/WHEN/WHY/WHO???**	**2. Formal social gatherings** e.g. relationships bet staff and students, etc **WHAT/HOW/WHEN/WHY/WHO???**
3. Informal gatherings (within and outside the institution) e.g. parties, restaurants, clubs, social activities etc.	**4. Topics of conversation within the institution (formal and informal)** e.g. popular / key cultural topics. **WHAT/HOW/WHEN/WHY/WHO???**

WHAT/HOW/WHEN/WHY/WHO???	

Appendix G

Visual narrative representation of academic and racial trajectories of for each participant from high school (HS) to tertiary level (Postgraduate)

Fig 1: Visual representation of Participant 1's academic and race orientation progression

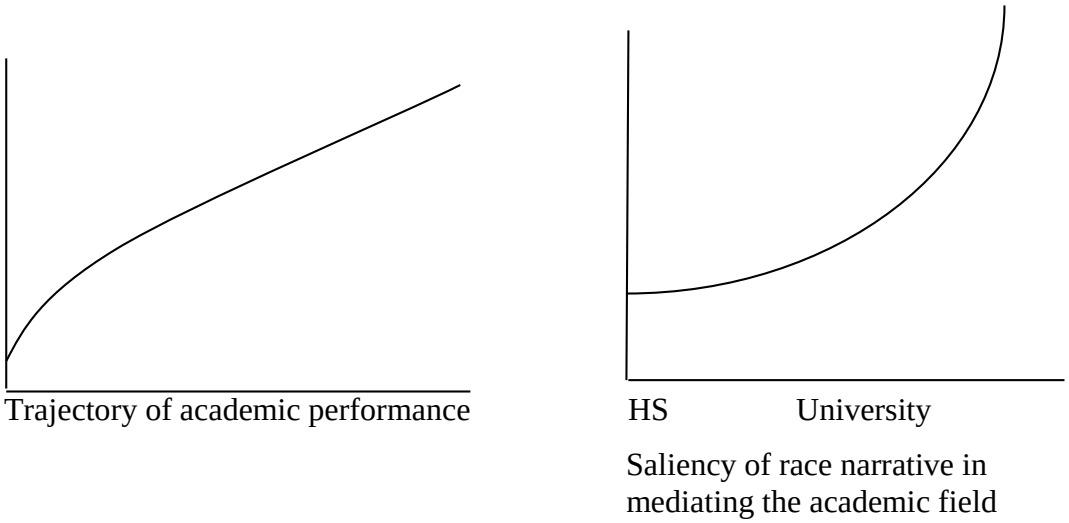


Fig 2: Visual representation of Participant 2's academic and race narrative account

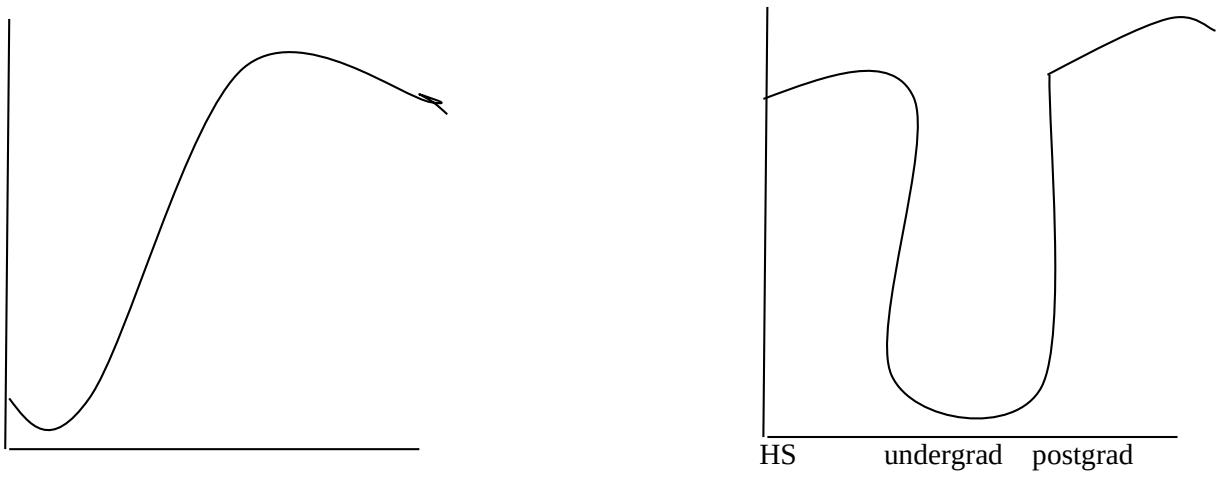
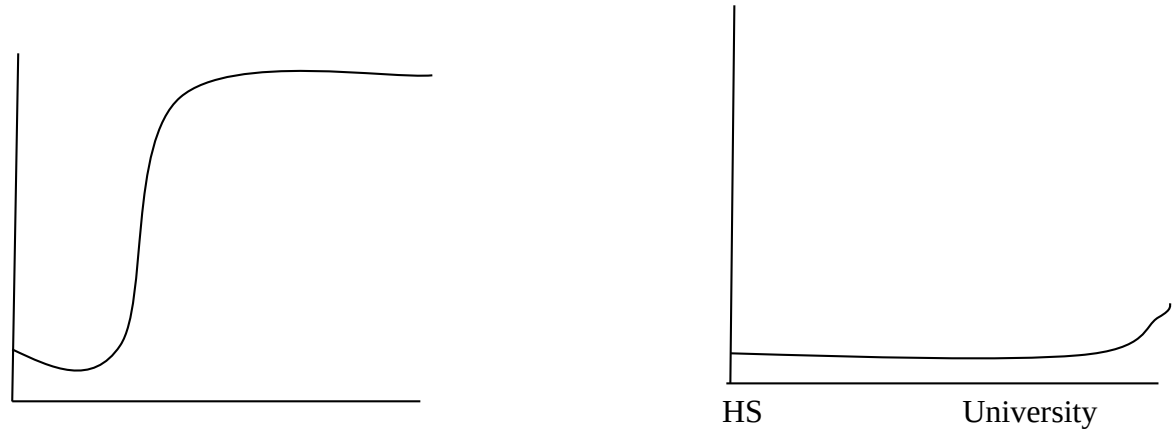


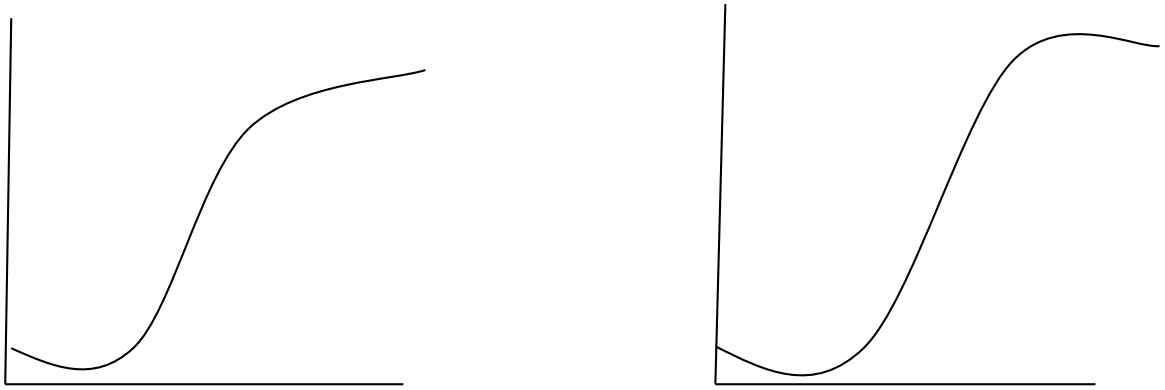
Fig 3: Visual representation of Participant 3's academic and race narrative account



Academic trajectory

Racial saliency in mediating the academic field

Fig 4. Visual Representation of Participant 4s academic and race narrative account



Academic trajectory

Race saliency in mediating the academic field

Fig 5: Visual representation of Participant 5's academic and race narrative account

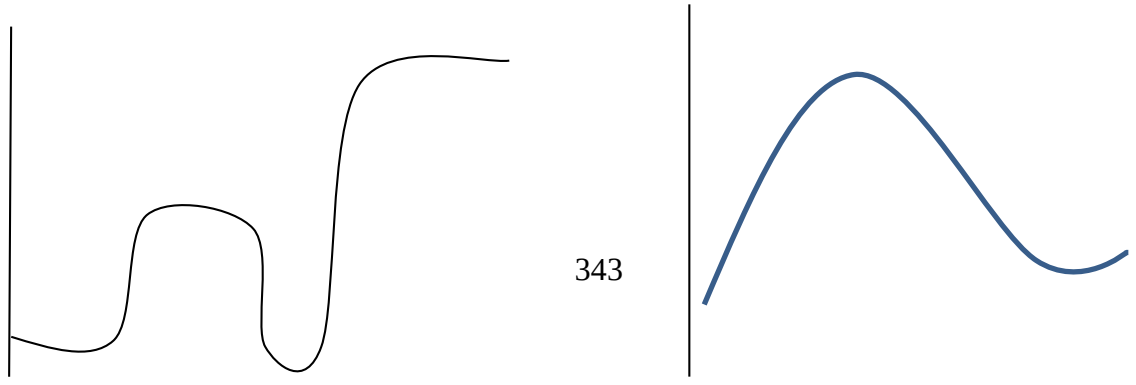


Fig 6. Visual representation of Participant 6's academic and race narrative

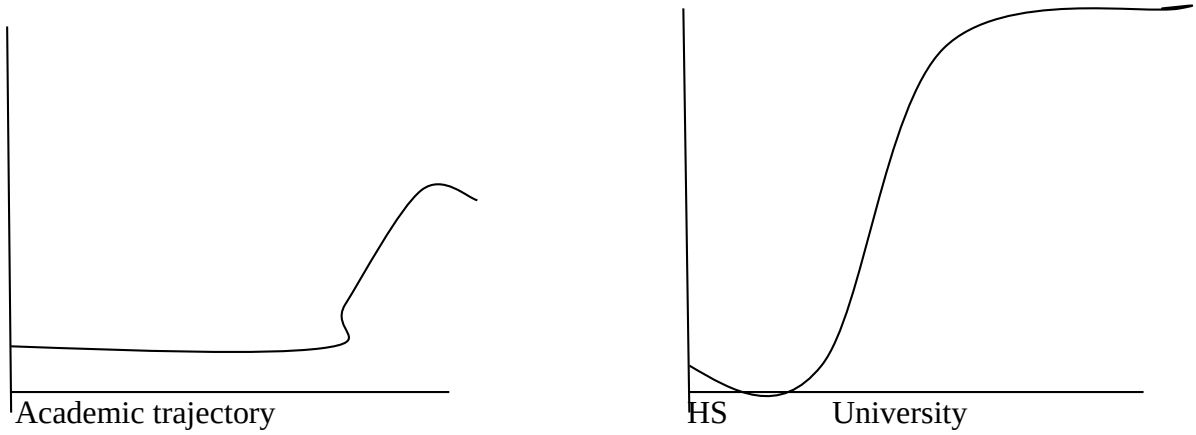
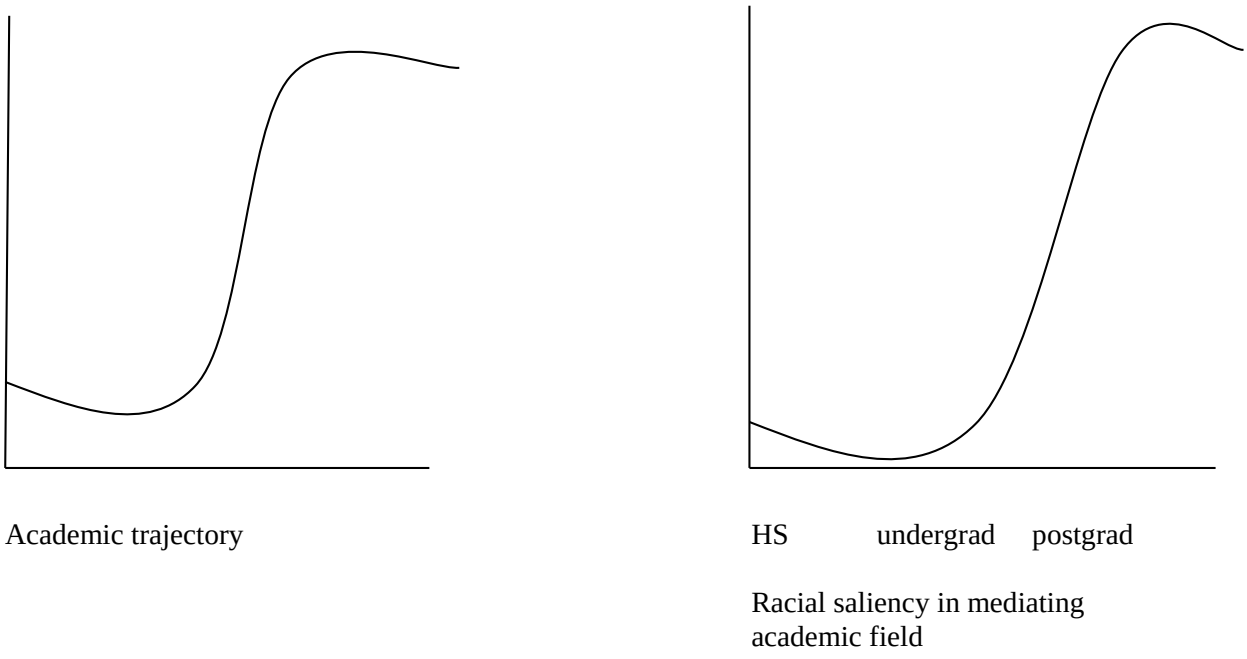
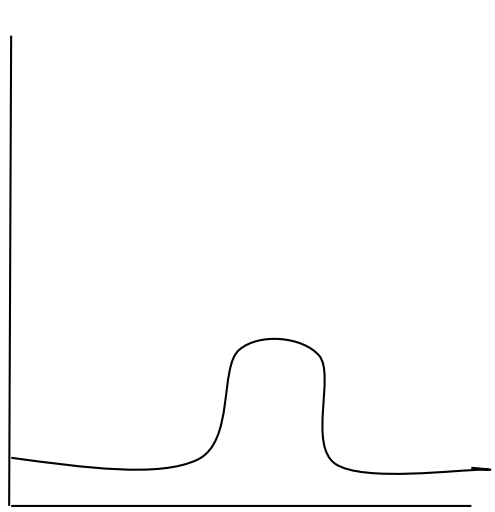


Fig. 7 Visual Representation of Participant 7's academic and race narrative



Undergraduate Cohort:

Fig 8. Visual representation of Participant 1's academic and race narrative



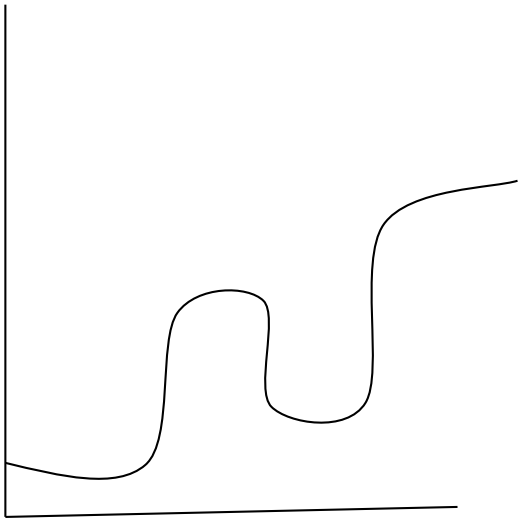
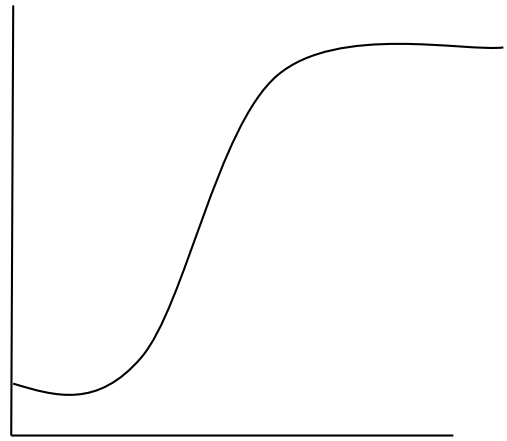


Fig. 9 Visual representation of Participant 2's academic and race narrative



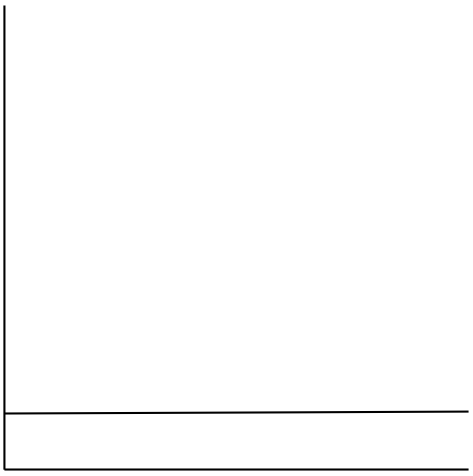


Fig 10. Visual representation of Participant 3's academic and race narrative

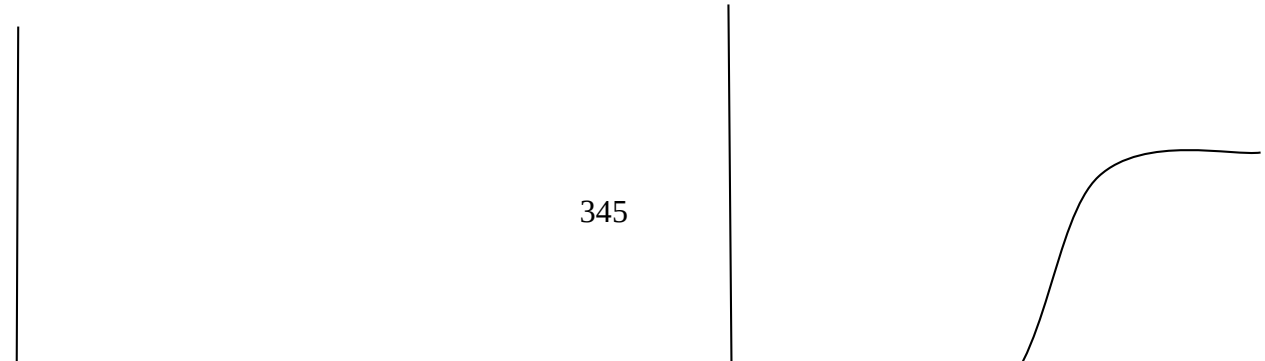


Fig. 11. Visual representation of Participant 4's academic and race narrative

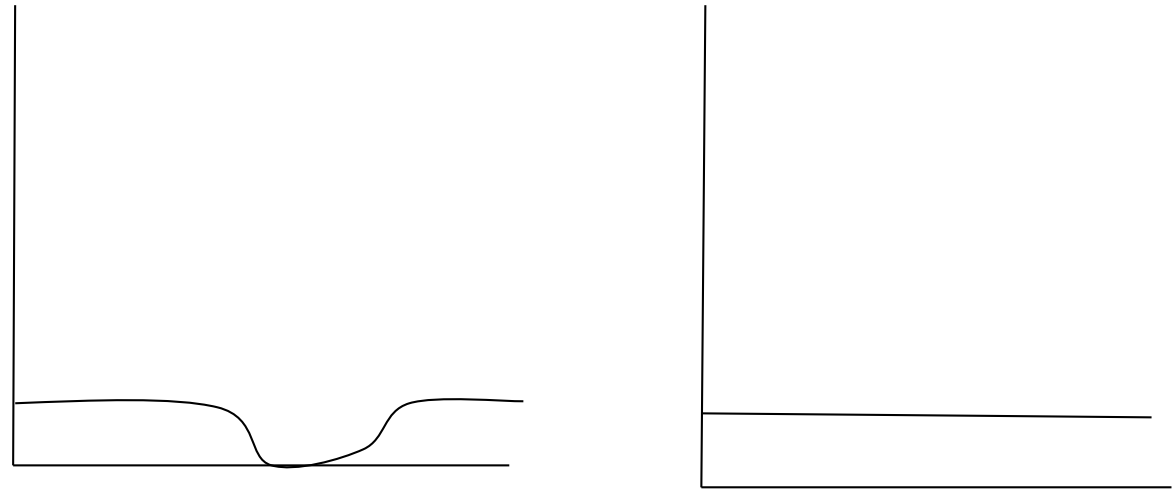


Fig 12. Visual representation of Participant 5's academic and race narrative

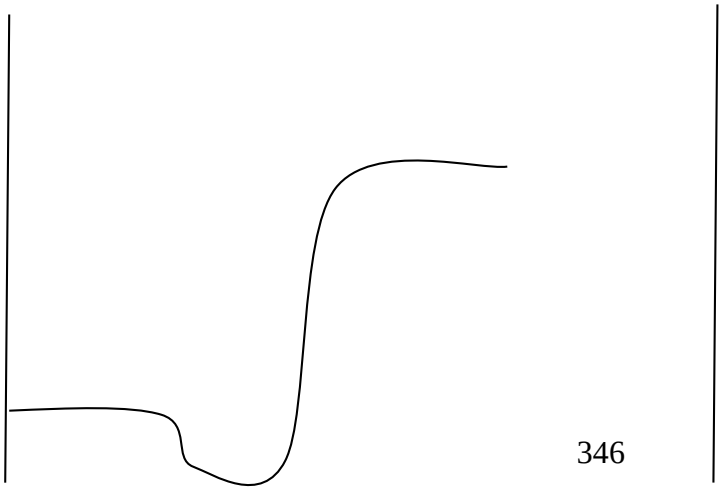


Fig 13. Visual representation of Participant 6's academic and race narrative

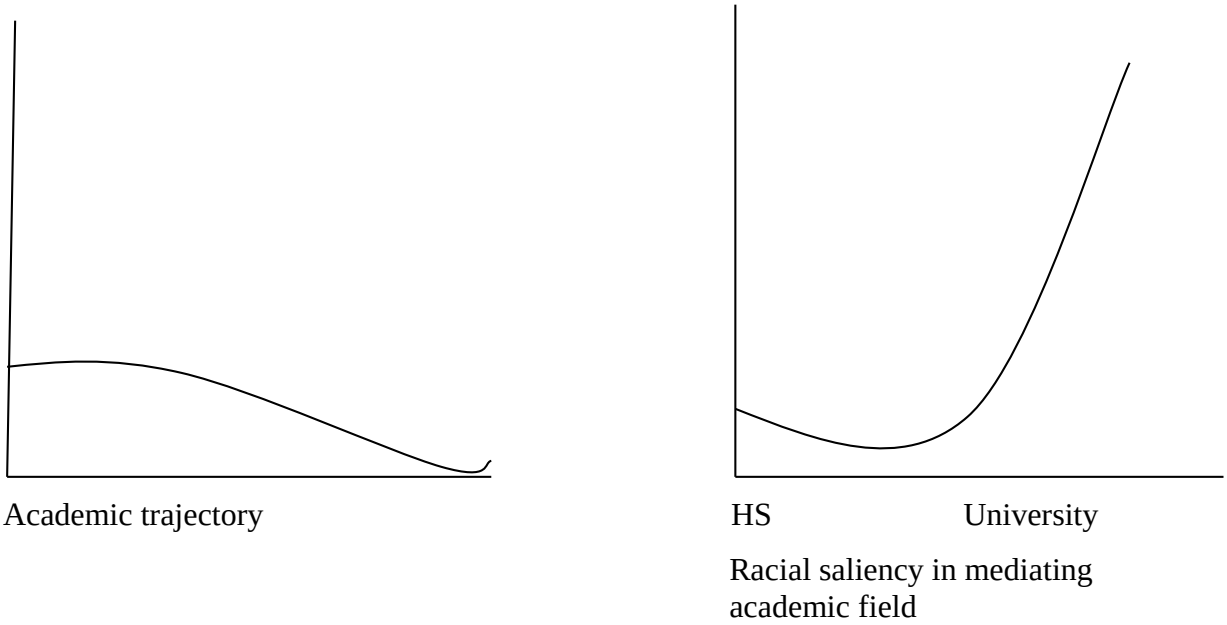


Fig. 14. Visual representation of Participant 7' academic and race narrative

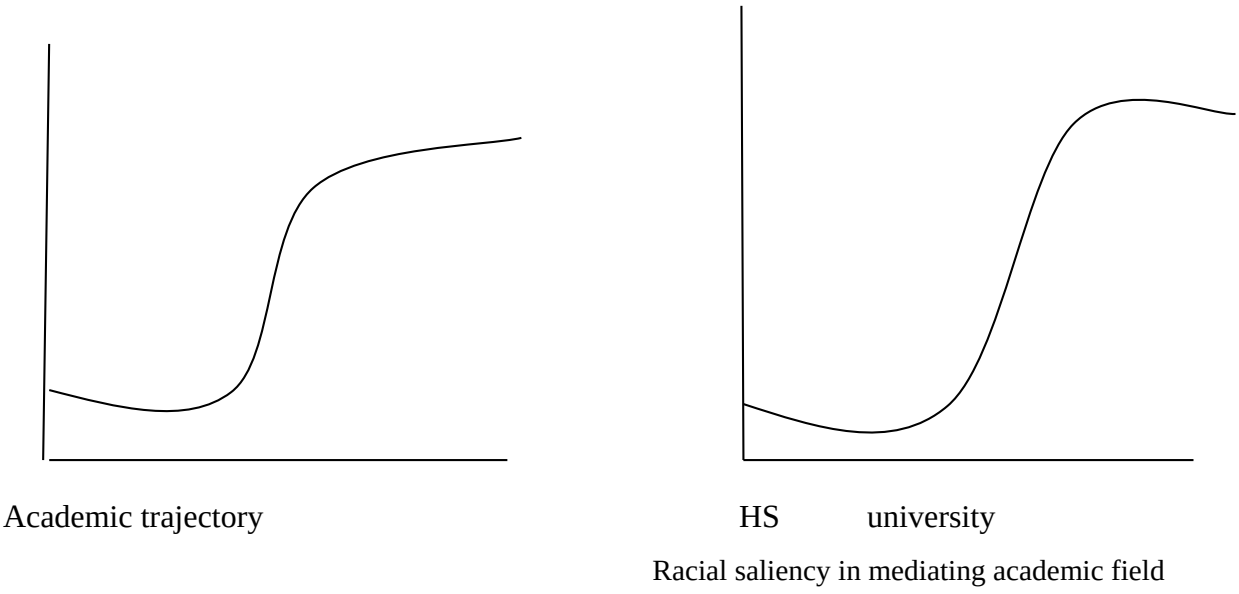
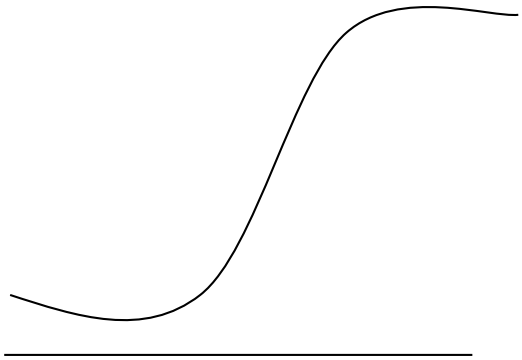
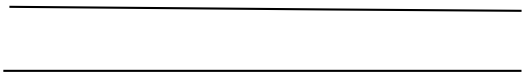


Fig. 15. Visual representation of Participant 8's academic and race account



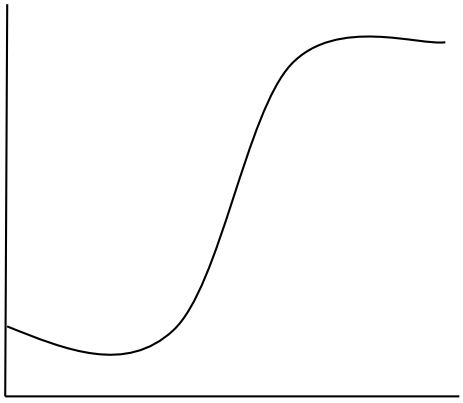
Academic trajectory



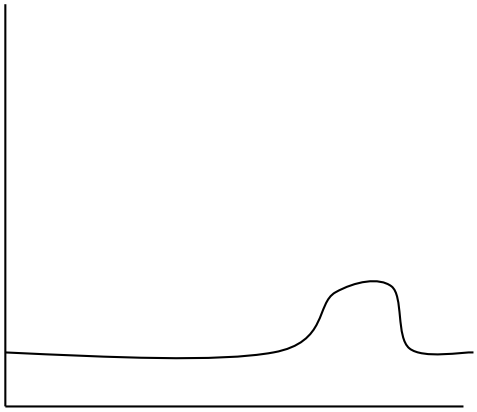
HS University

Racial saliency in mediating academic field

Fig. 16. Visual representation of Participant 9's academic and race narrative



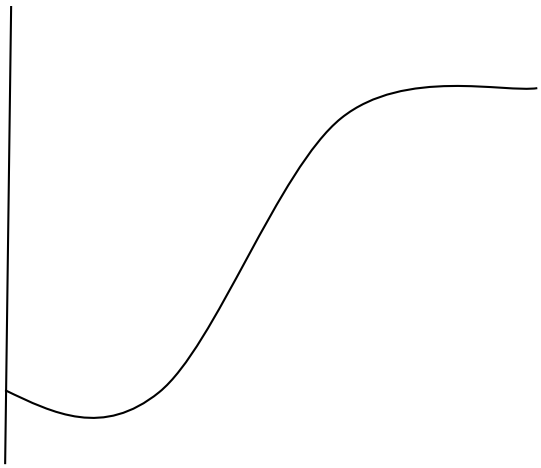
Academic trajectory



HS University

Racial saliency in mediating academic field

Fig. 17. Visual representation of Participant 10's academic and race narrative



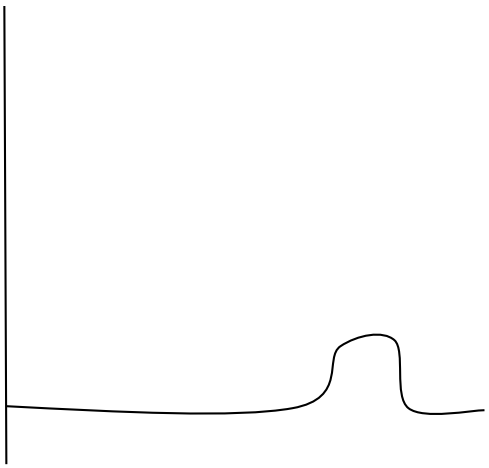


Fig. 18. Visual representation of Participant 12' academic and race narrative

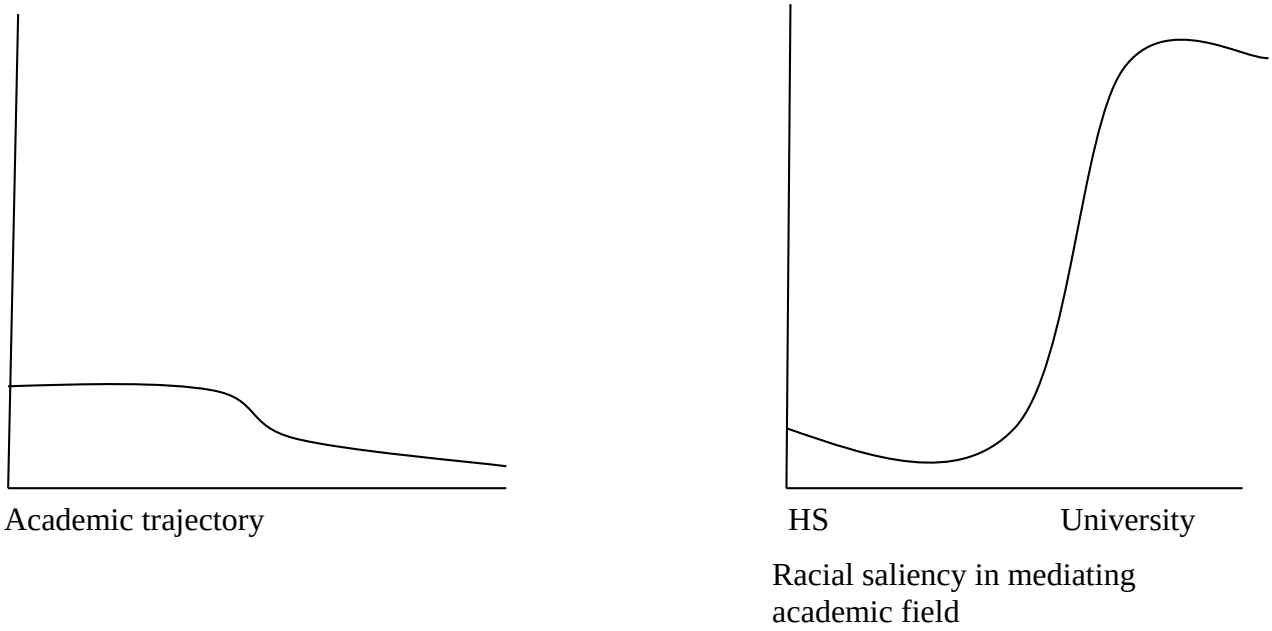
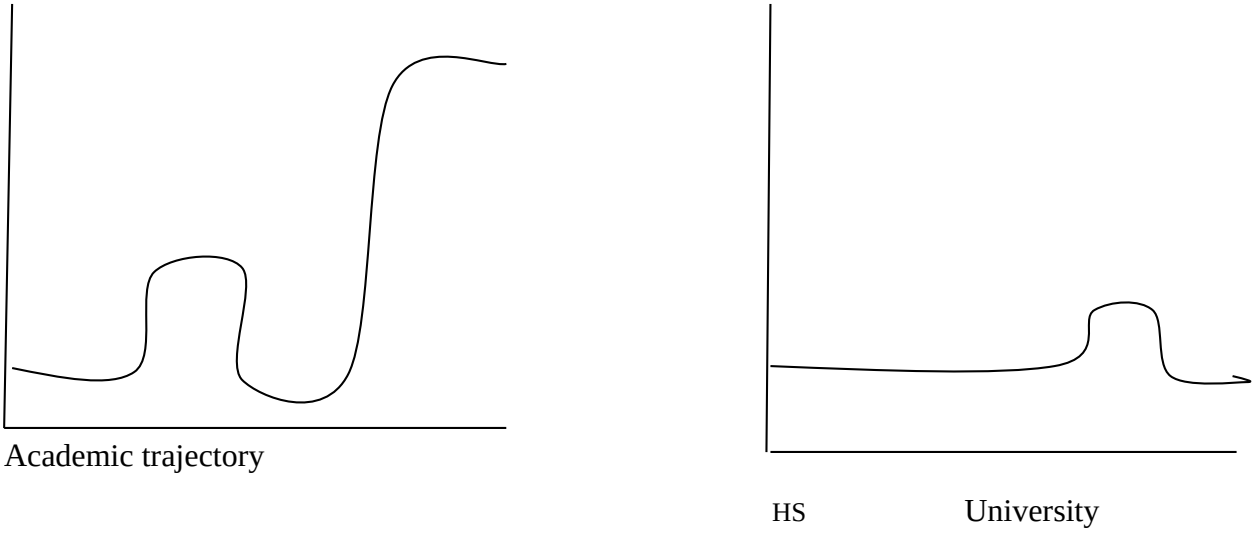



Fig. 20. Visual representation of Participant 13's academic and race narrative