

A Fanonian study of the perceptions and experiences of transformation of administrative staff at the University of Cape Town's Health Sciences

Kurt Dixon

A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Research Psychology in the Department of Psychology, University of the Western Cape

Supervisor: Professor K Ratele



June 2007

Transformation, Frantz Fanon, administrative staff, discourse analysis, critical theory, institutional culture, psychoanalysis, post colonial, social constructionism, higher education

KEYWORDS

Transformation

Frantz Fanon

Administrative staff

Discourse analysis

Critical theory

Institutional culture

Psychoanalysis

Post colonial

Social constructionism

Higher education



ABSTRACT

South Africa's apartheid past and more than 350 years of colonial rule provides the socio-historical backdrop for perceptions and experiences of change and transformation among staff members of the Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of Cape Town (UCT). In a sense a nation struggling to be born, perceptions and experiences of transformation are framed by various discourses operating within society. This qualitative study aims to use some of Frantz Fanon's critical insights to explore how individuals within the Health Sciences Faculty at the UCT experienced change and perceived the transformation process instituted by University management and the change taking place in the wider society. Frantz Fanon, a critical theorist born in a Martinique, university-educated in France and later employed in Algeria, wrote extensively on how the colonial condition affects the psychology of individuals, thus inter-linking psychology and politics. This study selected six individuals who had experienced the institutional context before and during the process of transformation. Data was collected by way of unstructured interview schedules. A Fanonian psychoanalytic-inspired discourse analysis was employed to analyse the data. The data showed that broader discourses influences the way people talk about phenomena. Our past still plays a role in the way we construct current realities. Two discourses which this study calls: 1 'Everybody wants to be white' discourse; 2 'Things are changing all the time but there is nothing really different' discourse; which are discussed in relation to Fanon's work.

DECLARATION

I declare that *A Fanonian study of the perceptions and experiences of transformation of administrative staff at the University of Cape Town's Health Sciences* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Kurt Dixon



June 2007

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Almighty for giving me the strength to complete this project, which in a sense is actually incomplete, as this is really a project for each and every South African. The participants deserve special thanks for their willingness to participate in this study. My mother Pamela, my sister Lynn to whom I am indebted especially in the last leg of this project, my nephew Zach and close friends (Belinda, Brent, and Zion), family and colleagues deserve thanks for their patience, understanding and guidance. I have not always been present in their lives during the completion of this project. Nico du Bois, who has passed on, also deserve special thanks for his encouragement to complete this project. I would especially like to thank my supervisor, Professor Kopano Ratele, for his patience. His insights and guidance have been invaluable and I have been particularly privileged to have Professor Ratele as a supervisor.

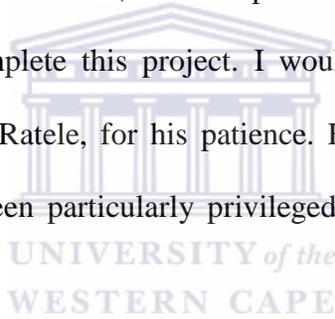


TABLE OF CONTENTS

KEYWORDS	i
ABSTRACT	ii
DECLARATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
CHAPTER 1	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background and context	1
1.2 Rationale and Significance of study	6
1.3 Aim of the study	7
1.4 Theoretical Framework overview	8
1.5 Chapter layout	9
1.6 Usage of terms	10
CHAPTER 2	
2 LITERATURE REVIEW	12
2.1 Introduction	12
2.2 Transformation	12
2.3 Theoretical Framework	21



CHAPTER 3

3 METHODOLOGY	29
3.1 Introduction	29
3.2 Methodological framework	30
3.3 Data gathering	33
3.4 Participants	33
3.5 Procedures	34
3.6 Data Analysis	35
3.6.1 Psychoanalysis	36
3.6.2 Discourse analysis	39
3.7 Ethical consideration	43



CHAPTER 4

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	46
4.1 Introduction	46
4.2 Overview	46
4.3 Discourses that emerged	52
4.3.1 'Everybody wants to be white' discourse	52
4.3.2 'Things are changing all the time but there is nothing really different' Discourse	58
4.4 Reflexivity	66
4.5 Limitations of the study	67
4.6 Conclusion	68

CHAPTER 5	
5 RECOMMENDATIONS	70
REFERENCES	71
APPENDIX A (QUESTIONNAIRE)	88



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and context

More than 300 years ago the South African region saw the beginning of what we have come to know today as the 'Rainbow Nation'. Over centuries this region became a melting pot of diverse cultures from both Africa and Europe (Sparks, 1990). The southern most regions were occupied by the Khoisan and Bushmen peoples. Moving from further up north to south were the Nguni speaking tribes. When they encountered the Khoisan and Bushmen in the Cape they coexisted with minor inter-tribal conflicts over cattle and small areas of land (Sparks, 1990). Around about the same period, Europeans had been circum-navigating their way around the Cape en-route to the East and had during this time started coming into contact with the peoples of Southern Africa. The gradual increase of Europeans trekking into the interior and the dispossession of land contributed to an increase in conflicts which became more intense and bloody. Having large tracts of open land was central to the collectivist cultures of this region and European ignorance and failure to understand this, slowly contributed to the breakdown of the social fabric of these cultures (Sparks, 1990). Increasing skirmishes and the spread of disease caused the extinction of tribes such the Khoisan and Bushmen. The disruption of these complex societies have caused psychological trauma of which the Europeans were unaware of (Sparks, 1990). The formal beginning of European settlement began when Jan van Riebeeck settled here in 1652. It is now with this context in mind that South Africans

have to reconstruct a reality where different worldviews, which in the past have been conflictual, can co-exist.

Mandaza (2001) argues that a South African identity remains unresolved because there is nothing African about South Africans, even during the current era of post-colonialism. Since the formal occupation of the Cape in 1652 where 'Whites' have always held privileged positions within South African society, he goes on to assert that Africa is nothing more than a reflection of more than 350 years of colonial exploitation. 'White' privilege was instituted in law right from the onset, and was further consolidated when the National Party came to power in 1948. The National Party passed laws such as the Mixed Marriages Act (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1949), the Group Areas Act (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1950), the Population Registration Act (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1950), and the Immorality Act (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1950), which was an amendment of the Immorality Act of 1927 (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1927) to name but a few of a large number of laws, which systematically contributed to the creation of identities based on racial segregation.

The Group Areas Act (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1950), for instance, was enforced to displace millions of South Africans from the areas they had grown up in, into racially segregated ghettos and tribal homelands. As such, South Africans grew up on 'different sides of the tracks', going to different schools, places of worship and partaking in recreational activities separately. This contributed to the construction of different

‘national’ or racially and linguistically based identities, such as ‘White’, ‘Coloured’, ‘Indian’ and ‘African’, which were divisive. For a long time, the vast majority of citizens, ‘Coloured’, ‘Indian’ and ‘African’ were denied political representation, as well as access to economic and natural resources and to each other. ‘Coloured’, ‘Indian’, ‘African’ and ‘White’ groups were conceptualised as distinct nations apart from each other under the Population Registration Act (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1950). On the other hand, ‘Black’ was formulated to be a political entity by the Black Consciousness movement and aimed to unite all oppressed people (‘Coloured’, ‘African’ and ‘Indian’), as one group, even though through the laws of the ruling party they had access to varying degrees of privilege (Biko, 2004). This division was further entrenched when the Nationalist government created the Tricameral Parliament which gave ‘Coloured’ and ‘Indian’ groups superficial representation within the Nationalist Parliament (Sparks, 1990). This provided these two groups with a little more privileges in relation to the vast majority of South Africans who were classified as ‘African’.

It is perhaps useful to draw on descriptions of the current South African period in history as ‘post-colonial’. Post-colonial is used here to refer to more than just a period in history but also to an understanding of the relationship between colonizers and colonised (or former colonizers and colonised in the traditional sense) (Hook, 2004). So, even though formal colonization has ended, post-colonial thought aims to understand, critically, the relationships where one culture or ‘nation’ or group controls or ‘owns’ another. Post-colonial societies, of which South Africa is one example, are still in one way or another, subject to overt or subtle forms of colonial domination or oppression. Fanon’s (1986)

(whose insights frames this study and which will be extrapolated later) analysis of the colonial situation is therefore still relevant today as it was when he wrote it in helping to understand relations between 'Black' and 'White' within the post-colonial context that is South Africa.

Over the past twelve to thirteen years, South Africa has witnessed many structural changes. Despite these changes, a major challenge for social transformation is to overcome tensions, originating 350 years ago, which still exists today between 'Coloured', 'Indian', 'African' and 'White' in apartheid language or 'Black' and 'White' in Black Consciousness movement discourse. A number of writers have constructed these tensions as between 'self' and 'other' (Erasmus, 2006; London, 2003; van der Walt, 2003; van Zyl, Steyn and Orr, 2003). Apartheid remains in residual, psychological, social and economic forms today which continue to lock people into systems of power and under-privilege (Burman, Kottler, Levett & Parker, 1997). Most of our ways of thinking and speaking about everyday life and our interactions with one another have therefore remained largely unchanged. Recent incidents in broader society reported in the media (du Toit, 2005, James, 2005; Kassiem, 2005;) within UCT (Ndebele, 2004) and other institutions of higher learning (Jansen, 2004, Odhav, 2002; van Zyl, Steyn & Orr, 2003) show that race continues to situate itself as a dividing social construct and that race and identity continue to play a role in our working and daily lives. These tensions around racial 'self' and 'other' places many psychological demands upon citizens in a country going through major transformation (van der Walt, 2003). Therefore, maybe discursive

perspectives have been particularly useful in making connections between institutional power and talk.

Eaton (2002, p. 46) writes that ‘A South African nation has yet to be born. South Africa currently constitutes an economic and political entity...’, evidenced by the principles of non-racism, human dignity, equality, human rights and freedoms and non-sexism fundamental to the Constitution of the new South Africa (Statutes of the Republic of South Africa, 1996), ‘...but not an emotional one’. These principles and ideals are central to the creation of a new South Africa and which are a decisive break with past racially discriminatory practices. An understanding of national identity should therefore be located within a complex historical process, which spans for more than 350 years (Mandaza, 2001) where colonial white racial domination was entrenched through the social engineering project of apartheid. This has had a profound impact on people’s psyches and relationships.

Against this background of ‘White’, ‘Coloured’, ‘Indian’ and ‘African’ nations, Frantz Fanon (1986), from his own experience in Martinique, France and Algeria, conceptualised the colonised world as a ‘Manichean’ world which is divided into ‘parts’ or ‘species’ such as ‘Black’ or ‘White’. It is within this socio-historical context of South Africa in mind that the perceptions and experiences of transformation within the Faculty of Health Sciences at UCT (where this study was conducted) are thus accounted for. This study will be conducted within the frame of the insights of Frantz Fanon (1986), which

falls within the critical theoretical paradigm. Furthermore, similarly to Frantz Fanon, this study will also draw from psychoanalytic theory when employing a discourse analysis to the data.

1.2 Rationale and Significance of study

Within social transformation, subjective and psychological changes are not easy. Within the current context of transformation in South Africa, much attention has been paid to structural changes such as equity, salary scales and new management, but neglecting the emotional and cognitive issues that play a significant part in blocking changes (van der Walt, 2003). Therefore, subjective experiences of transformation deserve particular attention. For example, an individual's knowledge, which is borne out of his or her past experience, comes under threat in times of rapid change. This clash between the old and the new occurs at a number of levels including cognitive and emotional levels, which can either have constructive or destructive consequences (Gilbert, 1997). In respect of the destructive results, according to Andersen (2003), change can cause anxiety, defensiveness and ambivalence. These concepts that have been used explain that the effects that change has on individuals are psychoanalytical concepts. Psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic theory, which has often been criticised as being elitist, irrelevant and oppressive (Gibson, 2002) can in fact be useful in understanding social situations and can help provide insights into organisational and human dynamics. Psychoanalytic theory that recognises socio-political influences can be relevant within various settings such as in South Africa where people's psyches and relationships have been overtly structured by

politics. Such psychoanalysis may be well suited to offer valuable perspectives on subjective experiences of political phenomena (Elliot, 1994, 1999 cited in Gibson, 2002; Frosh, 1991; Rustin & Cooper, 1996; Rustin, 1991).

Following the birth of our new democracy and modeled on the process of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the Health Sciences Faculty at the University of Cape Town (where the study was located) acknowledged that it was not immune to the racist practices typified by South African society during the years of apartheid. Furthermore, they acknowledged that it was a microcosm and a reflection of many of the racist practices which were typical of contemporary South Africa.



1.3 Aim of the study

It is within the socio-historical context of South Africa that this study, using the insights of Frantz Fanon (1986), aims to explore current perceptions of transformation among non-academic staff at UCT's Health Sciences Faculty.

More specifically, the study has two major aims, to:-

1. Employ Fanon's insights to explore perceptions of transformation around the constructs of *race*, among the non-academic staffing complement at UCT's Health Sciences Faculty.

2. Contribute to a psychoanalytic-inspired understanding of personal perceptions of transformation.

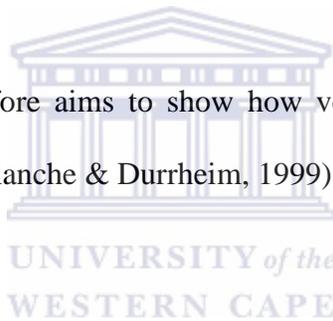
1.4 Theoretical Framework overview

The work and insights of Frantz Fanon (1986), a Martiniquan-born, French-trained psychiatrist who worked in Algeria, whose thinking was developed in relation to colonial contexts, will be employed to frame the analysis of data collected from qualitative interviews conducted among the non-academic staff of UCT's Health Sciences Faculty. Falling within a critical theoretical and critical social science framework, Fanon's descriptions of the feelings of inadequacy and dependence experienced by people of colour in a 'white' world are as relevant today in societies which are emerging from colonial pasts or variations thereof (such as apartheid), societies such as South Africa, as they were when he wrote them. Drawing on psychoanalytic theory, he provided unique psychological insights into the dynamics of 'black-white' relations within the colonial condition.

This study, conducted within a broader social constructionist paradigm, employed a psychoanalytically inspired discourse analysis to gain in-depth psychological insight into perceptions around the phenomenon of transformation. Social constructionism and psychoanalysis complement one another in that they are both concerned with meaning making. Psychoanalysis, '...as a therapeutic process as well as a set of ideas, develops as a form of discourse between subjects, each interpreting his own productions and those of

the other' (Ogden, 1990, p. 1). Social constructionism asserts that language is crucial in the construction of reality, thus making language the object of study. Language is also not only restricted to the spoken and written word but includes signs and symbols. The social world is interpreted as a kind of language where systems of meanings and practices construct reality. Such understandings of reality feed into and derive from larger discourses which are culture and context specific (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). Psychoanalysis is also argued to hold potential beyond its traditional conservative positions and function as a critical theory with the potential to not only uncover meaning, but to also disrupt it (Parker, 2004) through its powers of self-reflection.

Constructionist research therefore aims to show how versions of the social world are produced in discourse (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999).



1.5 Chapter layout

Chapter 2 presents a literature review of topics relevant to the study. The second part of this chapter outlines the theoretical framework employed in this study.

Chapter 3 focuses on the method of conducting the research.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the study.

Chapter 5 consists of recommendations for future study.

1.6 Usage of terms

Terms referring to previous racial categories used within the South African context which are used within the text, will be clarified. These are, black, white, 'Black', 'White', 'Coloured', 'Indian', and 'African'.

The term 'Black' is a Black Consciousness concept created to collectively include all those previously classified population groups ('African', 'Indian', and 'Coloured') in South Africa who were disadvantaged and oppressed by law in South Africa prior to 1994.

The term 'White' refers to the previously classified population group who was of European origin and who according to the laws then, controlled the majority of resources in South Africa prior to 1994.

The term 'Coloured' refers to the previously classified population group who were of 'mixed' (Dutch, German, Malaysian, African, English, Khoisan etc) origin, who enjoyed more privileges than 'Africans' but less privileges than 'Whites' and 'Indians'.

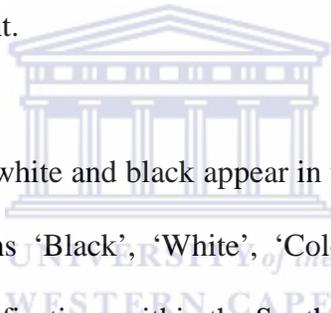
The term 'African' refers to the previously classified population group who had the least amount of privileges in relation to 'Whites' 'Indians', and 'Coloureds' and who were of African origin.

The term 'Indian' refers to the previously classified population group who originated from India. They were less privileged than 'Whites' but more privileged than 'Coloureds' and 'Africans'.

The terms white and black were used by Fanon (1986) to refer to people who were of European and African descent respectively.

The term 'non-white' refers to any population group previously classified other than 'White', but it does not have any political connotation as the term 'Black' created by the Black Consciousness Movement.

Therefore, wherever the terms white and black appear in the text, they refer to those used by Fanon and where the terms 'Black', 'White', 'Coloured', 'Indian', and 'African' appear they refer to racial classifications within the South African context.

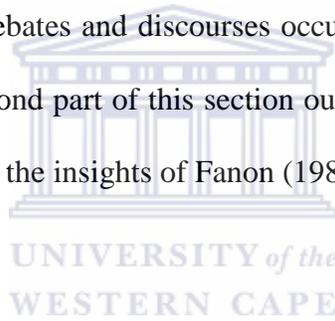


CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to review current literature around transformation, mostly within the context of Higher Education Institutions, as this study is located within this micro-context. What it aims to show is that transformation is a highly complex and contextual process which also informs and influence individual perceptions and discourses on transformation. Many of the debates and discourses occur within the context of national and global challenges. The second part of this section outlines the theoretical framework employed in this study, namely the insights of Fanon (1986).



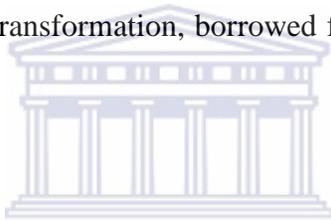
2.2 Transformation

What significance does transformation have as a process of change if society is constantly changing? At what point could we say that we have transformed if any? Within the current context of South Africa why does the concept of transformation carry so much meaning now in this particular time of our history? What makes this time more profound, interesting and challenging is that transformation within South Africa is situated within an era of global change. This concept has occupied centre stage within current political discourse following the election of the new South African government to power and has been used so extensively to describe the current period of change that it

has become almost like a ‘mantra’ (Andersen, 2003). Within institutions of Higher Education it is one of the most commonly used terms today (Hall, 2006).

The *Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary* (MacDonald, 1979) describes transformation: ‘to change to another form, appearance, substance, character...’ The definition below highlights that transformation is a process, which occurs over time, and which is a decisive break with past discriminatory practices, and in the case of South Africa more specifically, past racial discriminatory practices.

A definition of organisational transformation, borrowed from Wits University states that it is;



... a process of negotiated organisational change that breaks decisively with the past discriminatory practices in order to create an environment where the full potential of everyone is realised and where diversity, both social and intellectual is respected and valued and where it is central to the faculty’s goals... (Health Sciences Faculty, 2005).

We may want to extrapolate further that transformation,

...is not only where the formerly disenfranchised participate as equals within a new dispensation but when we cease to define ourselves in terms of race, colour, ethnicity, but also break away from a past characterised by centuries of

colonialism and apartheid which were fundamental conditions of our existence (Corrigan, 1999, p. 33).

So combined they might read something like,

Transformation is a process of negotiated organisational change that breaks decisively with past discriminatory practices in order to create an environment, where not only the formerly disenfranchised participate as equals within a new dispensation, but when we cease to define ourselves in terms of race, colour, ethnicity, but also break away from a past characterised by centuries of colonialism and apartheid which were fundamental conditions of our existence. Furthermore, where the full potential of everyone is realized and where diversity, both social and intellectual, is respected and valued.

For the purposes of this study it will draw on these two definitions of transformation as it captures the essence of South African reality. As per the definition above we see that we still have much to achieve. For example, through globalisation, power has shifted from public to private interests. South Africa has therefore had to balance local challenges of redress, nation building and protection of diversity with global demands (Edwards & Sen, 2002). Also, according to Gibson (2001), nothing significant has changed for the majority of the poor and black in this country where the gini-coefficient (the gap between the rich and poor) is wider now than before 1994. Therefore, the transition from apartheid has betrayed the objectives of the struggle for liberation. So even though we are able to vote,

South Africa therefore, has a limited democracy within a neo liberal economy which appears to benefit a few rather than the majority of its citizens. We can see that social transformation is a highly contextual process where social, political and economic conditions or forces set limits and where power, culture and traditions also exert an influence (Anderson, 2003; Spencer, 1998).

These national challenges at transformation also affect national institutions of Higher Education. This involved institutional attempts at adapting to changing national and global landscapes. Higher education institutions for instance, apart from the domestic and global challenges over the past ten years, have been going through rapid change throughout the world for the past twenty five years (Spencer, 1998). New technologies and global systems have shifted demands on tertiary institutions (van Zyl, Steyn & Orr, 2003) and the place and role of Universities are being reassessed in the light of these changes occurring in South Africa (Spencer, 1998; van Zyl, Steyn & Orr, 2003; Waghid, 2002).

Throughout the world there is concern that higher education should be responsive to changes within society (Spencer, 1998). Part of these changes, are the challenges of funding, its relationship to government, technological changes and leadership etc. This is particularly relevant to South African society. From various sources (Hall, 2006; Subotzky, 2003) there are debates around the emerging tensions between excellence and equity and what implications these have in relation to state, society and economy. These debates occur within the context of our current realities of redress and nation building

while still trying to stay abreast and compete internationally, challenges traditional foundations of excellence. Accommodating greater numbers and an increasingly diverse range of students without increasing resources, for example, places strain on institutional and systemic capabilities in maintaining high standards (Subotzky, 2003). So, the emerging tensions within Higher Education are a local as well as a global phenomenon, but are a bit more complex in South Africa given our apartheid past.

Discourses in transformation within Higher Education in post-apartheid South Africa seemed to have taken on a market flavour with certain phrases like mergers, rationalization, cost efficiency and outsourcing. There has been increased competitiveness between universities to survive. The creation of the new work order has moved closer toward a corporate style of work (van der Walt, 2003). These market discourses seem to be in opposition or tension with the view that we should move away from Eurocentric ways of doing things. Debates on transformation also take on an anti-colonial rhetoric where we would need to "...deconstruct the worldview which we have internalised as a result of decades of colonialism, imperialism and apartheid, and that we construct in its place a worldview that reflects our reality in South Africa" (Kaburise, 2002, p. 12; Mutabako & Helu, 2000). Furthermore, current higher education policy is described as internalised values which are Eurocentric, irrelevant and decontextualised. We are in fact still fixated upon western paradigms and as such the new dispensation suffers from intellectual poverty. Restructuring and transformation then is actually underpinned by neo-colonial rational motives viewed as superficial changes not intended to benefit communities who need it the most.

Another aspect of transformation is the concept of affirmative action which aims to address the issues of redress and equity. It is believed that because of this emphasis, it has led to perceptions that transformation is a ‘numbers game’ (Bekker & van der Merwe, 2005). Thus, the emphasis on numbers has been criticised as leading to a lowering of standards (Henrad, 2003) and which dangerously create the perception that transformation can be conceived solely as a question of affirmative action when in fact it is more than that (Dodds, 1998). Institutional change should not only consist of an increase in ‘black’ students or staff but changing the institutional culture (Ismail, 2003) which according to Luthuli (2003) should be measured by perceptions rather than solely by declarations on paper. The University of Cape Town as an institution of higher education is attempting to change its institutional culture previously seen as ‘White’ and ‘elitist’ (Louw & Finchilescu, 2003). Institutional culture, according to Steyn and van Zyl (2001), is the collective effect of values, attitudes, styles of interaction and memories, in other words, the way of life of an institution by those within an environment, through lived experience.

As part of institutional transformation studies that have been conducted (Louw & Finchilescu, 2003; van Zyl, Steyn & Orr, 2003) to gauge what the feelings were around what the institutional culture was, found that there were still some concerns around issues of racism, managers’ lack of ability to manage diversity among staff and inadequate institutional cultures. A review of the social aspects of the institutional culture at UCT, among other findings, found evidence of discriminatory values that were still deeply

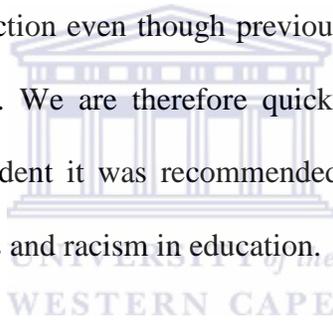
embedded in broader society which transformation needed to address (London, 2003; Ismail, 2003).

Durrheim (2003) argues that in the new dispensation it is difficult to identify what racism is. Are racist accusations and counter accusations political ploys an attempt to make political gains or do they hide one's own insecurities? The formation of institutional structures to implement social transformation have not only shifted attitudes and beliefs regarding race but it has also created opportunities for 'Whites' (or 'Blacks') to hide their racism. Are people then better at disguising negative attitudes? Can we say that there has been a genuine shift in attitudes? Although the contexts of the United States of America and South Africa are different, there are similarities – scrapping policy and instituting new legislation for competition on equal footing. There exists 'racial ambivalence' where there is support for racial integration at schools but opposition to affirmative action. This is what Durrheim (2003) calls symbolic racism. He concludes that old fashioned racism is still a force in South Africa.

Similar reports in the media (du Toit, 2005; James, 2005; Kassiem, 2005) indicate that we are still struggling to move beyond race. In other words, there is still a large lack of respect for diversity. James' (2005), Chief Executive of the Africa Genome Education Institute, in response to an incident where unfounded generalizations were made to the 'Coloured' section of the population that they were '...inferior and in need of ideological transformation', argued that we essentially share a common ancestry. Although vilified for drawing such racist conclusions, it nevertheless highlighted what many think in

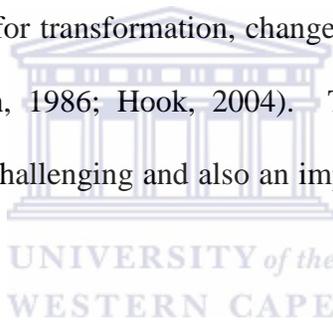
private. Although media reports can be subjective and biased in their findings and do not employ a similar rigour in their findings as in the case of academic social research, it is worth noting these opinions.

Furthermore, another incident that made recent headlines (Kassiem, 2005) was the 'Ned Doman incident' where a fellow learner, previously classified 'Coloured' was stabbed to death by another learner, previously classified 'African'. Whether or not this was racially motivated, the media and public attention that followed indicated that racial categories as part of the apartheid social construction were still widely used. People's daily lives are still influenced by this construction even though previous apartheid legislation on group classification no longer exists. We are therefore quick to interpret events as racially motivated. Following this incident it was recommended that a body be established to address the diversity challenges and racism in education.



The upwelling of recent racist tensions in 2005 within the Western Cape in particular, showed that South Africans still used language in reference to 'Others' as 'us' and 'them' (du Toit, 2005). It was suggested that open dialogue is initiated about the subtle racism that resides in the deeper recesses of our individual and collective identities. Even though Cape Town is seen as one of the most progressive cities in South Africa, it is not immune to racist tensions typified in post apartheid South Africa. Transformation is a deeply personal and individual process and also needs to occur at an emotional level, not only at political levels.

The shift in power which occurred in South Africa in 1994 was transformation as a process of political change. But transformation which required changes in behaviors and attitudes is processes of psychological change (Hook, 2004). According to Gilbert (1997), in times of rapid social change, our present knowledge comes under threat and manifests at the cognitive level which can be destructive, or it can also be a process of countless interactions where some individuals bring their future visions into the present while others attempt to resist and maintain the status quo (Dickinson, 2002). It can also be described as a more or less uncertain and a wisely nervous process (Kaburise, 2002), which can cause anxiety, defensiveness and ambivalence (Anderson, 2003). So, although structural change is important for transformation, change at the psychological level is as important (Biko, 2004; Fanon, 1986; Hook, 2004). Transforming relationships and changes at a personal level is challenging and also an important aspect of transformation (Edwards & Sen, 2002).



These studies (Ismail, 2003; Louw & Finchilescu, 2003; London, 2003; van Zyl, Steyn and Orr, 2003) and recent reports in the media (du Toit, 2005; James, 2005; Kassiem, 2005) are evidence of the challenges that we face in transforming structures and creating new policies which are important for providing the context and space for individual and collective change. However, it is not sufficient in creating the society that we are striving for (Edwards, 2002). What is sufficient then, are the changes in our behaviours and attitudes toward one another regardless of race, or when we cease to see colour as the marker of difference (Fanon, 1986).

Historically our diversity was exploited to cause division and suspicion among the various racially created groups. However, these differences are celebrated today, and current discourse on diversity is broadened to include notions of gender, ability, sexual orientation, religion, belief systems, race, etc. However, racial categories, although illegal, are still psychologically part of our socially constructed reality.

This study therefore aims to explore perceptions of transformation with regard to race by using Fanonian insights and employing a psychoanalytically inspired discourse analysis as a research tool to analyse the data.

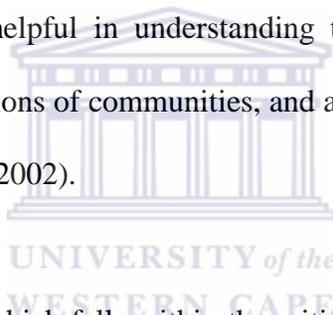
2.2 Theoretical Framework



This section aims to outline the theoretical framework for this study. It will briefly state what critical theory is and how Fanon's (1986) insights fall within this paradigm. Fanon (1986) also borrowed from Freud's psychoanalytic theory to analyse the colonial condition.

Critical theory and or 'Critical social science seeks to be practical in a sense of being a catalyst for fundamental social change...by...educating...its audience and their empowerment' (Fay, 1987, p. 85). It is based on a belief in the power of human reason which through rational analysis and reflection, people can come to an understanding of their selves and can transform their collective existence based on this understanding.

Psychoanalysis which is also imbued with this power of reflection, also aims to serve as an emancipatory function which aims to transform ‘ideologically frozen relations of dependence’ (Outhwaite, 1987, p. 81). Classic Freudian psychoanalytic theory has tended to describe psychology within universal frameworks, emphasizing gender and sexuality as factors in social organization, ignoring therefore cultural and historical conditions influencing the dimensions of race in the process of subject formation (Bergner, 1999). However, contemporary psychoanalysis is viewed as a critical social science because it allows for self reflection about ourselves in the world and assists us to be empowered to act in relation to the conditions of one’s existence (Kelly, 2001). Psychoanalytic perspectives are particularly helpful in understanding the emotional investments that underlie beliefs, values and actions of communities, and also the emotional dynamics that operate therein (Van der Walt, 2002).



The insight of Fanon (1986), which falls within the critical theoretical paradigm, frames this study. Researchers working within the framework of the critical theoretical paradigm aim to reflect critically upon realities that are often taken for granted and attempts to view social phenomenon within their social historical contexts (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000). Although there are many critical traditions which are continuously evolving, the subjective analysis is that ‘...critical theory within a research context which is concerned with issues of power and justice and the way the economy, matters of race, class and gender, ideologies, discourse, education, religion and social institutions and cultural dynamics interact to construct a social system’ (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1998, p. 436). Critical theorists argue that the central focus of critical research is about privileged

groups within society who aim to maintain the status quo and therefore, protect their privileges.

Fanon (1986) was concerned with the alienation of the black man within Martiniquan social and economic realities upon which he critically reflected. He (1986) showed how powerful forms of psychic distress were locked up in the workings of power within the social and economic realities of Martinique. The black man needed to be freed from the arsenal of complexes created by the colonial condition. The relationship that existed between coloniser and colonised, between black and white within the colonial condition, was one which gave rise to neuroses and tensions. Neurosis is a term used to denote a relatively mild mental disorder with predominantly distressing symptoms and without loss of insight (Colman, 2001). According to Freud (Sadock & Sadock, 2003), neurosis occurs when psychic conflicts within an individual emerge as a result of powerful unconscious wishes striving for expression, which have their origin in childhood, but which are repressed instead. Freud (1905) investigated the origins that neuroses had in childhood:

‘...the influence of childhood makes itself felt already in the situation at the beginning of the formation of a neurosis, since it plays a decisive part in determining whether, and at what point, the individual shall fail to master the real problems of life (p. 54).’

‘The occurrence of a neurotic disorder...of childhood proves, first and foremost, that infantile experiences are by themselves in a position to produce a neurosis (p. 54).’

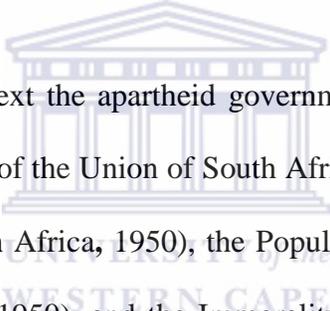
Freud (1905) illustrates this by a case history, the influence of earlier impressions in the development of neurosis.

Fanon employed Freud's psychoanalytic notion of neurosis to explain conflicts between powerful unconscious wishes within the colonial context (Hook, 2004). Such wishes were that blacks strove to '...prove...the equal value of their intellect' to whites at all costs (Fanon, 1986, p. 13). However, the mere fact of being black makes this wish to be like whites impossible within a racist society. Mannoni (in Fanon, 1986) stated that the current black/white tension is a means to an end. It is a dialectic (constant state of tension to be eventually resolved) leading to a synthesis in the realization of the human society without races. 'Negritude' then is a transition and not an end in itself. Fanon (1986) believed that Mannoni's conceptualisation about the experience of being black was being intellectualized. By implication, the synthesis of the black/white dialectic meant that this tension would be eventually resolved. Fanon struggled to find meaning with this conceptualisation. There was nothing to assure him that he was worth something without having to look for acceptance from the white person. His worth then was only validated through recognition by the 'Other'. The following quote from Fanon (1986) aims to illustrate this unconscious conflict that he observed within himself at the time.

'I came into the world imbued with the will to find a meaning in things, my spirit filled with a desire to attain to the source of the world, and then I found that I was an object in the midst of other objects. The attention of others was a liberation'

(Fanon, 1986, p. 109)

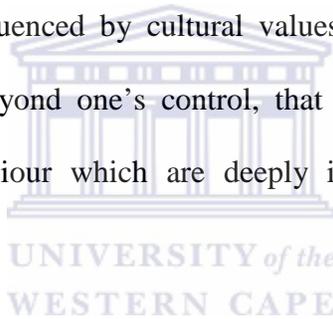
It is the colonial conditions which are characteristic of extreme ambivalences. Inferiority complexes, dependency complexes and psychic conflicts have their real source in social structures (Fanon, 1986), which he was hoping to change through his analysis of the colonial condition. Fanon (1986) showed that human psychology is inextricably linked to and conditioned by sociopolitical and historical forces. This, where politics and psychology are inextricably linked and influence one another, is what Hook, (2004) termed 'psycho-politics'. The laws of South Africa for example contributed largely to the creation of structures and institutions which had adverse effects on the daily lives and psyches of people.



Within the South African context the apartheid government imposed laws, such as the Mixed Marriages Act (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1949), the Group Areas Act (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1950), the Population Registration Act (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1950), and the Immorality Act (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1950), which was an amendment of the Immorality Act of 1927 (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1927), which divided the population into what we know as 'population' groups. The laws do not exist but the 'population groups' still currently do as well as the effects thereof.

These laws created the extreme ambivalences in South Africa during apartheid and which are to a large extent part of current realities. For example, in South Africa where this oppression has spanned generations, institutional and structural oppression and violence

appear as the natural order of things (Bulhan, 1985). It was no coincidence that in 1972 for instance, there was one doctor for every 400 'Whites' and one doctor for every 144 000 'Blacks'. Quality of health and duration of life depended on which racial group one belonged to. The movements of the oppressed were controlled by apartheid laws. 'Blacks' in South Africa suffer the greatest poverty, disease and dislocation, have higher rates of incarceration, and their space, time, energy, mobility and bonding are curtailed, exploited and abused (Bulhan, 1985). These only exist because of the way society and its institutions have been structured and maintained. As a result, negative identities have been created and growth and productive living inhibited. Within the colonial context the oppressed are continually influenced by cultural values and patterns, through stories, media and other resources beyond one's control, that are not one's own, leading to debilitating patterns of behaviour which are deeply ingrained and which dominate everyday living (Hook, 2004).



Bulhan (1985), drawing from Fanon's (1986) insights, explains the relationship between the dominant group or oppressor and the oppressed by employing psychoanalytic concepts. The way the dominant group relates to the oppressed is by way of projection which is a process where they denounce unacceptable parts of themselves on safe objects, which, in this case, are the oppressed. Melanie Klein, a psychoanalytic theorist, explains projection as a defense mechanism to cope with anxieties about perceived external threats (Klein, 1981). Projection thus enables the ego to expel itself of danger and badness. Melanie Klein (1981) first introduced projective identification to explain how parts of oneself are projected into others and which are then related to as if they are those

characteristics or parts. The oppressed, however, relate to the dominant group by way of introjections (which is taking in positive aspects of the 'Other') and identification. When this happens they not only take in good parts but also bad parts. Since the oppressed lack safe objects or appropriate spaces to project these bad attributes onto, they project onto and among themselves the negative attributes internalized from the dominant group. This process further compounds their oppressive experience and inferiority complexes and they therefore become victims of their own projections.

According to Gibson (1999) and Bulhan (1985), 'Manichean ways of thinking' and speaking still exist in contemporary South Africa. The relationships between the different 'population' groups still exist in one way or another. This is evident and expressed within public discourses around perceived racism (James, 2005; Kassiem, 2005; du Toit, 2005) where there is still talk of 'us' and 'them' and 'we' and 'you'. These forms of talk open themselves up to subtle as well as overt forms of oppression (Bulhan, 1985). Decolonisation (and transformation) then is as much a psychological process as it is a political one where according to Hook (2004) colonialism comprised not only of appropriated land but also of the means and resources of identity which has led to powerful forms of psychic distress. Through a critical process we are able to employ psychological concepts to explain the workings of power which may enable us to think strategically about how we should intervene in the life of power.

Thus, the social phenomenon of transformation should be viewed within the context of South Africa emerging from a colonial past spanning almost 350 years as well as within

current political contexts. Also, in doing so one should take into account the psychological effects that these have brought to bear on people and how they are still maintained in many different forms today. Therefore, when exploring perceptions and experiences of transformation, it is with these psychological effects in mind, that the researcher will draw on to guide his understanding of the data.



CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

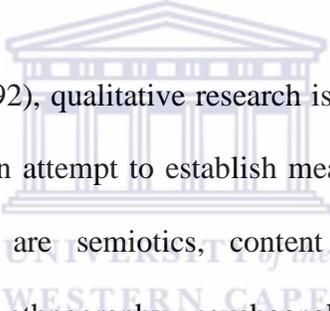
This chapter outlines the methodology used in the study. The choice of methodology was intended not just to reflect on the subjective experiences of the participants, but to situate the data within political and social contexts. Social researchers working within the qualitative paradigm would argue that social phenomena are context specific (Durrheim, 1999). The researcher was therefore not only interested in the experiences of the participants but how these experiences and perceptions were constructed or framed within a specific social and political context. It follows from this then that a qualitative paradigm was chosen which allowed the researcher openness and flexibility in obtaining in-depth data. Furthermore, since another aspect of the research process was concerned with meaning making, the researcher chose to work more specifically within a social constructionist framework. Social constructionist methods are qualitative and are concerned with how subjectivity and experience are derived from and feed into larger discourses (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). The chapter outlines the methodological framework, the method employed to collect data, how participants were selected for the study, research procedures employed, data analysis, the ethics considered in the conduct of the study and the significance of the study.

3.2 Methodological framework

Previous studies (London, 2003) have recommended that future studies around transformation at the Health Sciences Faculty be in-depth in order to gain a richer understanding of participants' experiences. It is against this background that a qualitative paradigm was chosen for the methodological framework of this study.

The ultimate source of the qualitative paradigm is in Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* published in the 18th century (Hamilton, 1998) which was a departure from Cartesian objectivism (which is the source of the quantitative paradigm), which were based on causal laws of phenomenon. Also known as positivism, objectivist thought and epistemology claimed that science as well as history and social sciences explained the world in the form of universal laws (Outhwaite, 1987). Kant, however, claimed that human nature was not independent of the mental processes of the subject. Qualitative research emerged as a counter claim that human sciences were fundamentally different from the natural sciences and that human sciences aimed to understand human action rather than offer causal explanations of social and behavioural phenomenon such as what positivists aimed to do (Schwandt, 2000). Where quantitative paradigms aimed to measure objective facts, qualitative paradigms were concerned with how social reality and cultural meanings are constructed. Researchers working within quantitative paradigms are detached from the research participants whereas those working within qualitative paradigms are involved within the process of research thereby coming into closer contact with research subjects in an interactive process (Neuman, 2000).

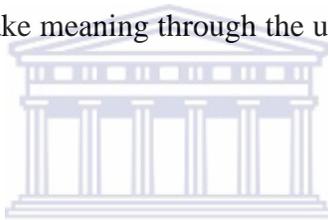
Researchers working within the positivist paradigm argue that the personal involvement and subjectivity of the researcher, such as those working within a qualitative paradigm are a shortcoming. On the contrary, for the qualitative researcher it is an ‘asset to be exploited’, which adds to the quality of the research (Meulen-Buskens, 1997). Its research designs are described as being open, fluid and changeable as opposed to the technical descriptions of quantitative research designs (Durrheim & Wassenaar, 1999). Research within a qualitative framework is an iterative process which requires a flexible approach. The original design may therefore, for very good pragmatic reasons, change as the research progresses.



According to Van Maanen (1992), qualitative research is an umbrella term which draws on a variety of techniques in an attempt to establish meanings of certain phenomena in the social world. Examples are semiotics, content analysis, discourse analysis, deconstructionism, interviews, ethnography, psychoanalysis, etc. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Ethnographic research, for example, is a method which involves immersing oneself in the everyday life of the chosen setting of the study, seeking to uncover the perspectives of the participants’ worlds (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). All these different paradigms or approaches assume that people are integral in the construction of their personal narratives. Some focus on sociolinguistic techniques, while others focus on life events and the narrator’s meaning-making. Many of the methods within qualitative research recognise the importance of language in constructing psychological reality (Smith, Harre & van Langenhoven, 1995). This means understanding human action by

trying to understand the meaning that participants attribute to their actions, thoughts, feelings, beliefs, etc.

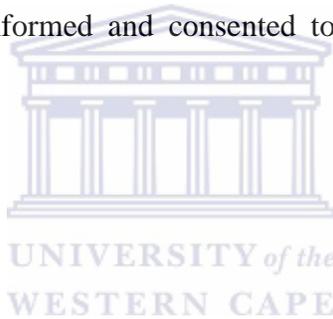
Social constructionist approaches, which is the approach used in this study, uses language as a 'window into some other reality' (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). Language is not treated as neutral but rather how it contributes to the construction of reality. Broader patterns of meaning are encoded into language. Social constructionism is concerned with more than just language per se, but also how the social world in itself acts as a kind of a language. Social constructionism, within the paradigm of qualitative research, seeks to account for how individuals make meaning through the use of language within their lived contexts.



Qualitative research has both strengths and weaknesses. According to Babbie (2004), a chief strength of qualitative research is the depth of understanding and flexibility. Field research design can therefore be modified at any time. The act of research is more spontaneous than one conducted within a quantitative paradigm. For example, one cannot easily initiate a survey or experiment because it takes more planning. Another advantage is the decrease in cost as other methods involve costly equipment. Babbie (2004) states that a disadvantage of qualitative research is that it could not be considered to be reliable. Its in-depth accounts provide for strong validity but the findings may not be extended to other individuals or groups. It is also influenced by the subjectivity of the researcher.

3.3 Data gathering

The data gathering tool that was employed in this study was an unstructured interview schedule which was used to guide the interview. This type of interview schedule provides qualitative depth by allowing the interviewer to answer within their own frame of reference (May, 2001). It also allows a greater understanding of the subjects' points of view. Questions will guide the researcher in providing a general aim but flexibility and discovery of meaning is best suited to this type of study. This falls within the social constructionist paradigm which aims to seek how individuals construct meaning through language. Participants were informed and consented to the use of a tape recorder to record the interview.



3.4 Participants

Considering the historical link between politics and race in South Africa, a diversity of cultural backgrounds was thought important in view of the need to obtain a diversity of opinions (Gray, Delany, & Durrheim, 2005). The study sought to select participants who would reflect the demographic profile of the country. This was not always easy. Certain participants were more willing than others to participate in the study. Also, at the time that the interviews were being conducted, certain staff members were quite busy with administering examination question papers. Generally it was also awkward obtaining a suitable interviewing venue where one could remain anonymous to non-participating colleagues during work hours. The unavailability of transport made it difficult to do the

interviews at participants' houses. Coincidentally, there were two staff members who stayed within a reasonable geographic area of the researcher who were thus able to be interviewed after work hours.

3.5 Procedures

The researcher was an employee within the institution (the Faculty of Health Sciences, UCT) where the planned study was conducted. This provided easy and convenient access to people who could provide advice in conducting the study. The study was approved by the Ethics Committee at the Health Sciences Faculty. Once permission was granted to conduct the study, members of the staff were purposively selected from a list obtained from the Human Resources Department at the Health Sciences Faculty. Participants were selected using the following criteria; firstly, they had to be a PASS staff member, i.e. a non-academic staff member ranging from secretaries, technologists, researchers, administrative assistants, etc.; secondly, they needed to be employed within the institution for at least five years, i.e. that they were employees in the Faculty of Health Sciences at UCT before 1995, thereby assuming that they would have some insight and/or experience of the process of transformation and; thirdly, the researcher hoped to obtain participants who came from different 'population' groups. Candidates were contacted telephonically and asked if they were willing to participate in the study. The researcher was cautious not to select members that were geographically close to where he worked in the belief that this would further protect their anonymity.

Creswell (1998) cautions against conducting studies (what he terms ‘backyard’ studies), within one’s own institution. Although it provides easy access to informants at minimal cost, and internal knowledge of the setting being an asset, Creswell (1998) points out that the value of the data may be compromised by expectations created by data collection. Also, individuals may withhold information, or provide answers they want the researcher to hear, or provide ‘dangerous’ knowledge that may be risky or political for an inside investigator (Creswell, 1998). The researcher was aware of these concerns whilst selecting participants (particularly because of the sensitivity of the topic being researched), which is why he telephonically contacted participants.

3.6 Data Analysis



The method appropriate for this study will be a Fanonian inspired psychoanalytic discourse analysis. This method falls within the paradigm of critical social science and critical theory where the meaning of any experience depends on the struggle over the interpretation and definition of that experience (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1998). Empirical data contains hidden assumptions which should be uncovered through analysis. ‘The knowledge that the world yields, has to be interpreted by men and women who are part of that world’ (ibid. p. 274). This section will provide an overview of psychoanalysis and discourse analysis, which are both used to analyse the data.

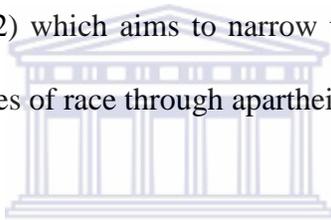
3.6.1 Psychoanalysis

Sigmund Freud was regarded as the father of psychoanalytic theory. Central to his theory was the notion of the unconscious and defense mechanisms (Sadock & Sadock, 2003). The unconscious is not as easily accessible as the preconscious or conscious elements of our mind. When individuals have painful thoughts or feelings to bear, or when they feel embarrassed or guilty, then these thoughts or feelings are stored in the unconscious and kept in check by various defense mechanisms such as repression (to expel or withhold from conscious awareness) or projection (the projection of one's own feeling on another then acting on it) so as to avoid conflict and introjection (internalizing the qualities of an object). Defense mechanisms are therefore a means of coping with emotional pain. Freud theorised that the conflict which determined all behaviour is located within the psyche of individuals and therefore said to be biologically and psychically determined (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997).

The Frankfurt school of critical social philosophy was orientated around using psychoanalysis to change the world as well as individuals (Kelly, 2001). They valued psychoanalysis as a general theory of civilization rather than as an individual treatment.

Through the efforts of the Frankfurt school of critical social philosophy, psychoanalytic theory has evolved from Freud's narrow interpretations of human nature which is believed to be inappropriate for understanding the social and political roots of experience (Ziarek, 2002; Gibson, 2002) thus shifting the emphasis of psychoanalysis from the instinctual to the social origins of human experience. Also, attention has shifted from the

intra-psychic world of the 'self' to relations between the 'self' and 'other' (Elliot, 2002). These new developments in psychoanalytic theory assert that there is a link between repressive social conditions and pathology. Furthermore, pathologies that underlie human relationships are understood in relation to others. Modern social conditions are also seen as alienating the self from other. This social conceptualisation of the person has put psychoanalysis in a unique position to explore the connections between political experiences, present and historical, in relation to what is experienced as personal meaning and interaction. Psychoanalytical concepts are therefore useful in explaining how individuals respond to change particularly within the context of transformation (Andersen, 2003; Gibson, 2002) which aims to narrow the gap in human relations that have been divided along the lines of race through apartheid.



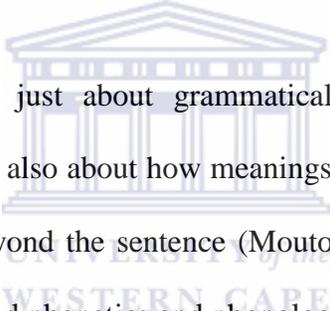
Even though psychoanalysis has often been criticised as being elitist, irrelevant and oppressive, a psychoanalysis that recognises socio-political influences can be useful (Long, 2002). Parker (2004) states with reference to psychoanalysis, 'that the baby should not be thrown out with the bathwater', meaning that just because of its conservative past, should not be rejected since it has the potential to be radically useful. Psychoanalysis therefore is said to be well suited to offer valuable perspectives on experiences of political phenomena (Elliot, 1994, 1999 cited in Gibson, 2002; Rustin & Cooper, 1996; Frosh, 1991; Rustin 1991) especially in South Africa where people's lives have been overtly and racially structured by politics. In this respect then, psychoanalysis should be reworked to better account for racial subjectivity within a material and social context (Bergner, 1999) as demonstrated by Fanon's (1986) *Black Skin White Masks*.

Emotional experience, claims Armstrong (2004), is rarely located within a purely individual space. Being alert to the emotional experiences in the institutional setting is the medium to understand and interpret the relatedness of the individual to the group or institution. The inner psychic space observed in consultations is organisational and not just individual but 'the workplace within'. Bion's conception (in Gibson, 2002), that is, the ability to view the same phenomena of human experience and behaviour, at one time through the 'vertex of the individual' at another through the 'vertex of the group', paradoxically unifies the psychic and social fields (Armstrong, 2004). Bion further developed the psychoanalytic construct of projective identification from Melanie Klein where the infant evoked feelings in the mother, which were designed to evoke responses in her and thus contribute to the infant's development. These ideas have been useful in understanding groups and organizations. For example, through projective identification emotional experiences become shared and there is a loss of boundary between the social network and the person. People then unconsciously use their social network as a way of transferring difficult feelings and parts of themselves onto others. In this respect then, painful feelings are not dealt with and remain hidden from consciousness.

Other examples where psychoanalytic insights and theory have been applied are in the epidemiology of HIV risk behaviour (Kelly, 2001), and in highlighting emotional issues that occur in an everyday work setting between nurses and patients in public health services where they illustrated subtle yet powerful ways in which issues of race, colour and self-identification influenced the relationship between nurses and patients (Van der Walt, 2002).

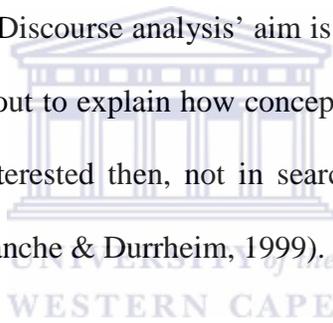
3.6.2 Discourse analysis

The traditional notion of language was radically altered through stressing the role of social systems in understanding society by a Swiss Professor of Linguistics, Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) (Gibbon & Barkhuizen, 1997). Ferdinand de Saussure illustrated that words represented ideas of things and not the things in themselves. Meaning is neither outside language nor inside language either. Rather, the language used in everyday communication in the social world is developed and historically grounded through consciousness and participation in the business of social interaction.



Discourse then is more than just about grammatical rules, spelling and sentence construction (Salkie, 1995), but also about how meanings are produced through language or the analysis of language beyond the sentence (Mouton, 2001). Thus the concern of discourse analysis moved beyond phonetics and phonology to include ‘chunks’ of texts or discourses (Mouton, 2001). The whole world can be described as textual and includes speech, stained glass, architecture, etc. (Parker, 1990). There is talk of a newspaper discourse (Wodak, 1990), ‘racialised discourses’ (Stevens, 1998) or ‘discourses of care’ (Petersen, 1998). Discourse is social (MacDonnel, 1986) where different social situations are characterised by different kinds of social practices thus different discourses. Therefore the kind of speech that occurs within the context of a hospital among doctors (medical discourse) differs from those of a worker on a factory shop floor.

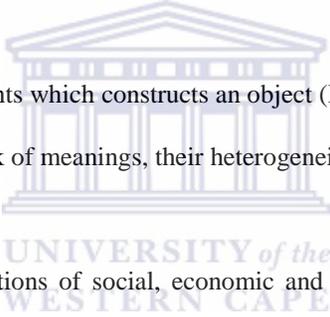
Discourse analysis became a new constructionist theory of social science within the discipline of psychology, which took the meaningful nature of human activity as its object of study (Durrheim, 1999). This contrasted with the utopian version of modern psychology, which as an empiricist science, aimed to predict and control human behaviour. Furthermore, recent debates around the value of empiricism were built on the arguments that multiple conflicting truths existed, which were all supported by empiricism. Empiricist accounts of meaning restrict and fix the meanings of words and as a result, there is a clear distinction between subject and object. The fundamental shift away from empiricism is that words are used to do things in the world instead of just mirroring things in the world. Discourse analysis' aim is interpretive and productive, not descriptive, and therefore sets out to explain how concepts become fixed and pass as the truth. Discourse analysis is interested then, not in searching for the truth, but in how reality is constructed (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999).



Foucault (1989), for example, using an archaeological method, shows how concepts develop and become fixed and pass as truth through the passage of time. Discourses for Foucault are historically and culturally located systems of power and knowledge and how these construct their subjects and their worlds (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). It can be said that discourse then is a social practice where its subjects also unwittingly shape it and put it to work. For Foucault, power operates in and through discourse. It is not only language that is employed within discourse, but they are given meaning, construct perceptions and formulate understanding. For example, discourses in medicine imply a doctor and patient relationship which is framed within the scientific enterprise within a particular social

context. The medical discourse here is a powerful one because to construct other healing systems such as voodoo as equal would be seemingly unthinkable. Certain discourses then come to pass as the only possibility.

There are many diversions within the discipline and practice of discourse analysis MacCleod (2002). The commonalities of the different approaches are the way that language produces meaning. These meanings do not reside in individuals' heads, but are produced as a result of social conditions. It is therefore difficult to speak of discourse analysis as a single unitary entity. It is usually described as:

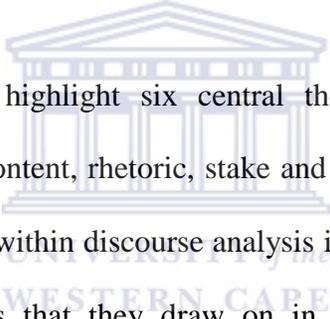
- 
- a system of statements which constructs an object (Parker, 1990, p. 191)
 - A particular network of meanings, their heterogeneity and their effects (Hollway, 1989, p. 38)
 - Products and reflections of social, economic and political factors, and power relations (Widdicombe, 1995, p. 107)

(MacCleod, 2002, p. 18)

Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) also indicate that discourse as a term is quite open and that analysts cannot rely on hard and fast definitions of what constitutes a discourse. They also guide the researcher into identifying what discourses are operating within a text and what effects they are having on the reader. The principal instrument of the analysis is the researcher. An analysis would be a way of reading a text through an immersion in a particular culture enabling us to uncover a 'way of speaking'.

For the purposes of this study, I would like to refer to the work of Parker (1999) and Potter and Wetherell (1992).

The words and phrases used within context gives meaning against a cultural backdrop (Parker, 1999) and retreating to 'set methods' will limit the understanding of complex and multiple meanings. A discourse analysis alerts us to the interconnections between meaning, knowledge and power. Within discourse analysis we would have to focus on three aspects of language; contradiction, construction and practice. Discourses support institutions, that they produce power relations, and that they have ideological effects.



Potter and Wetherell (1992) highlight six central themes: practice and resources, construction and description, content, rhetoric, stake and accountability and cognition in action. *Practice and resources* within discourse analysis is what people do with their talk and writing and the resources that they draw on in the course of these practices. *Construction and description* is concerned with how discourses become constructed in social actions and how they function as part of ideological practices which become solid and independent of the speaker. As opposed to where traditional psychology treat what people say and write as secondary features, secondary to cognitive processes, etc. discourse analysis, treat the *content* of what was said or written as primary, rather than seeing psychological processing as primary. *Rhetoric* is concerned with how people's views or arguments are designed to counter dominant but established alternatives. People do not just exist as natural disinterested information processors but through their rhetoric, support and organize ideology. People's accounts are constructed in service of what they

have at *stake* within a particular outcome. *Cognition in action* within discourse analysis has questioned whether attitudes are enduring and unchangeable. Rather, their talk about attitude is tied up with stake and a broader ideological field. Potter and Wetherell (1992) point out that discourse analysis is not theory driven nor is it a method driven approach, but it does provide guidelines when conducting a discourse analysis.

What the researcher attempted to do was to look at the underlying meaning of what participants were saying. Drawing from Potter and Wetherell (1992) the research was then able to look at the content and treat it as secondary to cognitive features. Furthermore, in looking at their backgrounds and social contexts, the data was analysed to see how it was located within a social and political context. What were the interconnections between what participants were saying, or how they create meaning, and power and knowledge (Parker, 1999)? One of the premises of discourse analysis is that texts are produced within context. In other words, certain contexts give participants permission to speak in certain ways while other contexts prohibit certain kinds of talk. An example of this would be this research process. This study conducted in conjunction with participants provides permission to speak in ways that they would not have otherwise spoken within their natural work environments.

3.7 Ethical consideration

Qualitative researchers often face ethical responsibilities outside parameters of a typical study with clearly demarcated times and places like a laboratory session (Maracek, 2003).

Ethical principles in research aim to protect the rights and welfare of the participants (Durrheim & Waasenaar, 1999). Three broad principles are outlined to achieve this objective namely; autonomy, non-maleficence and beneficence.

Firstly, participants' participation need to be consensual and informed. They can withdraw at any stage and they have the right to remain anonymous in the event of publication. *Secondly*, the research should do no harm to any of the participants. Potential risks that could cause emotional and physical harm should be considered. In the event that risks are identified, expert advice should be considered. *Thirdly*, the research should be designed to be of benefit either directly to the participants or society at large.

As stated by Durrheim and Wassenaar (1999) the following guidelines were followed: consent, confidentiality, competence, fair reporting, and protection of identity.

The researcher obtained informed consent by the participants. They were informed that participation was voluntary. It was also explained that the researcher would be available to answer participants' questions at any time during and after the research process. The informed consent form informed participants of the parameters of *confidentiality* of the information supplied by them. Participants were informed of how data was to be collected. Only information central to the study was gathered. Raw data containing personal details was securely stored and destroyed. Lastly, all participants were treated in a respectful and professional manner.

The researcher informed the participants that their anonymity and identity would be protected. They were also informed that they would have the right to withdraw at any stage of the research process.

If results are to be reported, they should adhere to the rights of the participants. Care should be taken to protect individual rights. Data should not be falsified or fabricated and should point out the limitations of the findings. Errors in publication should be publicly acknowledged. I have endeavoured and will continue to do so in order to meet these ethical requirements.

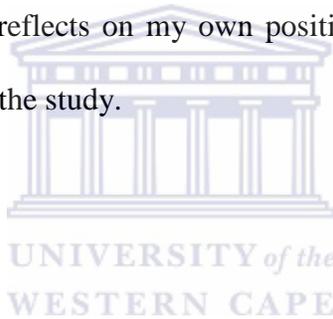
The researcher adhered to these guidelines. In particular, it should be noted that permission was sought and granted through the Research Ethics Committees of both the University of the Western Cape (where the master's degree was undertaken) and the University of Cape Town (the research site) to conduct the study and that the participants were informed thereof.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

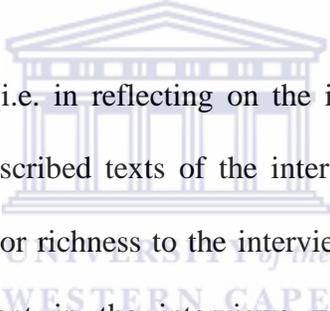
This chapter has three main aims. Firstly, it provides an overview of, as well as critically and reflexively discourses the process of interviewing. Secondly, in order to uncover the various discourses that operate within the texts, the chapter discusses the dominant discourses of transformation found in the interview material using psychoanalytic discourse analysis. Thirdly, it reflects on my own position as a researcher as well as a colleague to the participants of the study.



4.2 Overview

Six non-academic staff members were interviewed using an unstructured interview schedule. Of the six participants that were interviewed, five were from previously disadvantaged groups, in contemporary discourse, while one was from a previously advantaged group. In the language of the pre-1994 racial classifications described by the Population Registration Act (Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1950), one participant was 'African', two were 'Indian', two were 'Coloured' and one participant was 'White'. The purpose of selecting participants from diverse demographic backgrounds was to obtain a broad range of views originating from, what I believed, would be different socio-cultural experiences and contexts given the political and social history of South Africa.

On the other hand, discourse analysts, particularly those working with psychoanalysis, might argue against too close an association between individual views and socio-cultural experiences. The interviews lasted between 20-60 minutes. Factors that influenced the length of time were the location where the interviews took place. Trying to interview participants during office hours was challenging. Participants were either busy with huge administrative workloads or not able to stay after work. Another challenge was that many potential participants were unwilling to be interviewed. As a matter of fact, participants previously classified as 'White' who were contacted were less willing to participate than others in the study for unknown reasons.



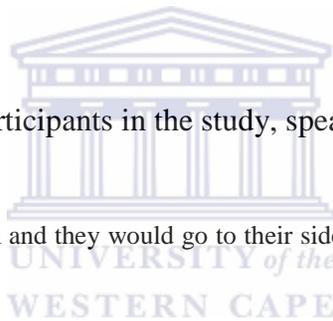
In discoursing the interviews (i.e. in reflecting on the interviews during the interview process and analyzing the transcribed texts of the interviews) I found that there were different levels of engagement or richness to the interviews. Generally, there seemed to be more discursive engagement in the interviews with the participants from the previously disadvantaged groups than with participants from the previously advantaged group. In the literature review institutional culture was defined, according to Steyn and van Zyl (2001), as the collective effect of values, attitudes, styles of interaction and memories, in other words, the way of life of an institution by those within an environment, through lived experience. Based on this definition, the reason for these differences in discursive engagement could perhaps be explained then, by our past where our different values, attitudes, styles of interaction and memories were in violent conflict with one another.

An important characteristic of discourse analysis is to situate the text within context. The context that discourse analysts pay attention to is micro- as well as macro-context (Kelly, 1999). By micro contexts it is meant the views that participants offer the researcher during the interview. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2002, p. 162) maintain that

The context in this sense is the conversational (or dialogical) context, and we should understand the meaning of an utterance in terms of where the conversation has led, what opportunities it has opened up (what it has made possible to do), and what it has closed down (what it has made impossible).

When one of the ‘Coloured’ participants in the study, speaking of an office function, said,

‘we would have it in the staff room and they would go to their side of the room and we would go to our side of the room’,



Participant Z

it seemed as if she was colluding unconsciously or consciously with the researcher.

By macro contexts it is meant that the views that participants offer arise out of a certain institutional and ideological or socio-political contexts. Certain views are only possible in particular historical and social contexts. When the ‘Coloured’ Participant Z said what she said above (‘we would have it in the staff room and they would go to their side of the room and we would go to our side of the room’), it is clear that the ‘we’, ‘they’ and ‘their’ are only understandable in a context where race is an important marker of

difference and identification. It is hard to imagine the 'Coloured' woman using these small words ('we', 'they' and 'their') at a gathering where there were strange or racist 'Whites'.

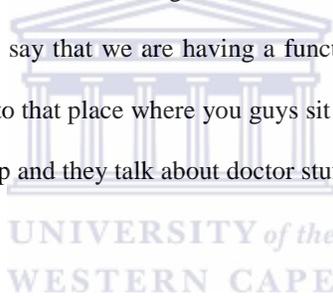
Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2002) say that discourses serve ideological functions and transcend the micro context. Therefore, it can be argued that the reason for the difference in the levels of discursive engagement, was the broader political context in South Africa where the voiceless have now been given a voice, but also the micro context where some of the participants identified with the researcher and one in particular might have had suspicions. In respect of the other participants' level of engagement one might also argue that there is now a larger platform and sanction for narratives about 'struggle' experience than was previously. This result is somewhat consistent with other texts which report of research where 'Black' South Africans (including 'Coloured' and 'Indian') being more proud of their country and 'White' South Africans displaying high levels of negativity and alienation towards the new dispensation (Eaton, 2002). Nonetheless the 'White' participant in the study expressed positive sentiments and welcomed an open society.

The lack of depth of the interview with the 'White' Participant Y and the interpretation thereof as the result of a possible suspicion or racial de-identification articulates with the sentiment by the 'White' Participant Y about 'White' alienation in post-apartheid South Africa. The talk of alienation emerged in the expressed desire to leave South Africa at one point, which was quickly disavowed: 'We also thought if we should go, we did go through the whole motions of Australia, but it didn't come off'. The lack of engagement

within the interview may therefore be related to this alienation from the new political dispensation or macro-context.

Interestingly, a 'Coloured' Participant Y also accounted for experiences of types of alienation or exclusion specifically within the institutional context. In her account there hasn't been enough transformation in her workplace, but also how racial alienation coupled with institutional rank prohibits socializing amongst colleagues outside of work.

'We had functions and we would all be together and we would have it in the staff room and they would go to their side of the room and we would go to our side of the room. That did not change... The space is the same!.. I would say that we are having a function at the end of the year and he would say that he was not going to that place where you guys sit in one corner and the whites sit in one corner and then they talk shop and they talk about doctor stuff.'



Participant Z

Many of the participants felt that there was not enough engagement and interaction among members of the institution and that it appeared to be mostly meeting policy requirements of Employment Equity and that it was a managerial process.

'...they think that they are doing great because they are employing so many black people.'

Participant X

'...transformation is about teamwork, listening to people and supporting staff.'

Participant V

'Transformation is a managerial process...to meet policy requirements.'

Participant W

The premise of psychoanalytic thought is that talking about traumatic experiences has a cathartic effect in releasing painful emotions within the self (Parker, 2004). This has been the defining feature of the discourse of open debate, tolerance and constructive engagement within the new South Africa, also influenced by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. However, it appears that most of the 'talking' is one sided or 'weighted' more to one side. Perhaps an analogy can be drawn from a text describing the new political dispensation where 'Blacks' experience 'Whites' running away (disengaging) from them while 'Whites' experience 'Blacks' displacing (engaging) them (Durrheim, 2005). This is characteristic of what Fanon (1986) calls 'Manichean' thinking. In this instance there is a distinction between different levels of activity, 'Whites' running away and 'Blacks' displacing, or 'Whites' disengaging and 'Blacks' engaging. Existence of 'Manichean' ways of thinking or being can open itself up to forms of oppression or tensions. In this sense then, from the excerpts from above, it is felt that transformation should also be about building relationships between previously separated groups of people and not only by merely implementing Employment Equity policy requirements. As stated in the literature, transformation is a highly contextual process where social, political and economic conditions or forces set limits and where power, culture and traditions also exert an influence (Spencer, 1998; Anderson, 2003) and therefore not always an easy process.

4.3 Discourses that emerged

The main discourses that have emerged from the study which will be discussed below is what I refer to as:

1. 'Everybody wants to be white' discourse
2. 'Things are changing all the time but there is nothing really different' discourse

4.3.1 'Everybody wants to be white'

'Everybody wants to be white' is a discourse about equity versus standards. Formulated in this way by one of the participants it articulates Fanon's (1986, p. 51) argument that, 'Ego-withdrawal as a successful defense mechanism is impossible for the Negro. He requires a white approval'. What Fanon means here is that whereas the white individual under colonialism, and by extension apartheid, can elect not to deal with black people, the Negro's ego (which in the apartheid context can be equated to the 'non-whites' egos) is forced to deal with the white world. The Negro has nowhere to hide, as it were. He or she is almost compelled to aspire to a 'White' way of living, since his psycho-cultural resources have been destroyed by colonialism and apartheid.

Against this background of a 'Black' world and 'Black' individual's experience of being surrounded by 'whiteness', in contemporary South Africa and Africa, the philosophy of African Renaissance seeks to revitalize and celebrate African cultural and social models as opposed to looking solely to western models. Within the

accounts of the participants, the reference to discourses of ‘white’ standards signals to the contest between Western and African models of working and behaving. In fact, one of the participants touches on this opposition of the West versus Africa, which is equated to the opposition between ‘whiteness’ versus ‘non-whiteness’, and from the perspective of the participant ‘their way of behaving’ versus ‘the Other way of behaving’:

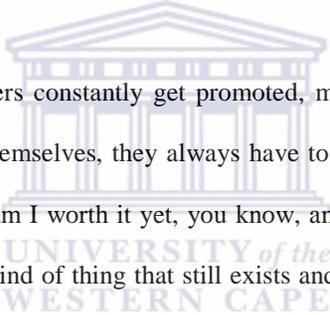
I don’t know, some people just take it for granted this is how they normally behave, that that group should behave the way we behave, and that group is thinking or probably expecting me to behave in the way they want me to behave. If you think about this country everybody wants to be white, in inverted commas. If you look at the way things are going, everybody wants to behave in a certain way that depicts how whites behave, it is like the Americans, everybody wants to be like Americans because they see them to be some kind of superior bunch. In this country it is the same the whites were always the superior ones and people tend to want the same education, they want the same way of living, the same way of speaking, the same mannerisms and this is what people are striving towards. It is just a whole globalisation thing you know, everybody wants to be American and follow the American thing and it is all a superpower and the whites here are seen to be part of that whole superpower thing everybody wants to depict that because they have always had the best of everything, the best education, the best homes, everybody is striving for that...

Participant X

The fact that Participant X situates the opposition of ‘White’ behaviour to ‘Other’ behaviour within the context of globalization is important, as we mentioned in the literature review that the debates about transformation occur in the context of global challenges faced by South African Higher Education institutions. The Participant W thus sees that the opposition of ‘White’ and ‘Other’ articulates with the opposition of

American to non-American and global versus local. The discourse of Participant X reiterates the view that we need to deconstruct the worldview which we have internalised as a result of decades of colonialism, imperialism and apartheid and that a new worldview be constructed which reflects current reality in South Africa (Kaburise, 2002).

Participants of colour still feel that they need to prove themselves over and over again to 'Whites', within the workplace. No matter how hard one works, as Participant X is suggesting, one is never good enough in the eyes of the 'White' world.



You find that white staff members constantly get promoted, most coloured staff or black staff, they have always got to prove themselves, they always have to be doing far more than what the job requires in order to say hey am I worth it yet, you know, and I have had personal experience with that, you know, that is the kind of thing that still exists and I don't know what it is going to take to get rid of that...

Participant X

Set against this feeling of the requirement to work twice as hard for the 'Negro' to receive 'White' approval expressed by Participant X is the discourse 'of being equipped'. The 'White' Participant Y appears to agree with the implementation of Employment Equity but then cautions against the dropping of standards;

I think one knows that must happen, but maybe sometimes there have been a lot of mistakes of putting people into position where they are not actually equipped to deal with, that is a problem.

Unconsciously or consciously Participant U equates being ‘equipped’ to handle a ‘position’ with those who were occupying those positions before the need for transformation. That is to say, the ability to perform competently of those who were in a desirable position in the Faculty during apartheid, which means ‘Whites’, are left unquestioned while a question mark is put on ‘Others’.

Participant X (who is an Indian female staff member), who stated above that she ‘had personal experience’ of ‘white staff members constantly get -(ting) promoted’ while ‘most coloured staff or black staff...have always got to prove themselves...always have to be doing far more than what the job requires in order to say hey am I worth it yet, you know...’, appears to agree with the last participant (who is a white female staff member) when she says:

what I do feel on a personal level, they are looking at employing people, as far as employment goes they are looking at the equity thing, they are looking at first taking black female depending on the kind of area that it is, they are looking at the profile, they are appointing people whether they are fully qualified for it or not is another story,...

Participant X

Participant X sounds as if she is trying to work through the tension between ‘the equity thing’ and ‘appointing people whether they are fully qualified for it or not’. This tension she is experiencing is what Fanon (1986) was referring to when he spoke

of the Negro seeking white approval. The approval or qualification that a hypothetical 'Black' female needs is often taken for granted when other people (meaning white) are thought of. What is of interest here is that both 'White' and 'Black' participants circulate the discourse of equity as sitting in opposition to standards.

The discourse of equity being opposed to standards is supported by previous studies which claimed that the emphasis on targets has led to perceptions that equity is a 'numbers game' (Bekker & van der Merwe, 2005). Emphasising numbers has been criticised as leading to a lowering of standards (Henrad, 2003) and dangerously creating the perception that transformation can be conceived solely as a question of affirmative action when it is in fact, more than that (Dodds, 1998). However this discourse positions 'Whites' as being naturally well-equipped while 'Blacks' are positioned as being naturally ill-equipped to do the job. Doing things and operating according to the standards and the way that 'Whites' have always done, seem to be a reference point. Further evidence of 'Whites' being naturally well-equipped while 'Blacks' being ill-equipped is illustrated below:

I would say that colour has still got a lot to do with it, if I look at my work and how people react to one another, your skin is lighter than that one so what you say goes and your skin is darker and so I wont even bother with you. Come up with a bright idea and then they will look at you as if where did you come up with that, but let the person with the lighter skin come up with that then they will go for it.

Participant V

Here Participant V accounts an experience where the opinions and ideas of ‘Whites’ are held in higher regard than those of people of colour. If and when people of colour come up with ideas then there is an expression of surprise. This is what Hook (2004) refers to as ‘racial stereotyping’ where the racial ‘Other’ of whiteness is thought to possess mostly negative qualities. The narrative of ‘Whites’ as naturally well-equipped to do the job and ‘Others’ as naturally ill-equipped relates to broader discourses operating within the macro-context, following South Africa becoming a democracy, when there were many voices doubting the ability of ‘Blacks’ to govern South Africa. Another way of accounting for this phenomenon of wanting to prove oneself is by looking at the relations between the dominant group and oppressed group. Although ‘Whites may not be the dominant group politically, this way of understanding inter-group relations is still applicable in a psychological sense. Bulhan (1985), for example, states that the way the dominant group relates to the oppressed is by way of projection, which is a process where they denounce unacceptable parts of themselves on safe objects. The oppressed relate to the dominant group by way of introjections (internalizing the qualities of an object) and identification. Since the oppressed lack a safe object to project these attributes onto, they project onto and among themselves, the negative attributes cast on them by the dominant group. This process further compounds their oppressive experience and inferiority complex and become victims of themselves and others. It is no coincidence that the rates of death, violence and incarceration are highest among the oppressed (Bulhan, 1985).

4.3.2 ‘Things are changing all the time but there is nothing really different’

When the participant in this study says ‘Things are changing all the time but there is nothing really different’ he is expressing a discourse that is centrally characterised by ambivalence about transformation in the Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of Cape Town. Ambivalence is a key notion in psychoanalytic theory as well as psychoanalytic inspired post-colonial theorising.

In psychoanalysis ambivalence is described as an emotional attitude towards an individual involving the alternation of the opposite feeling attitudes of love and hate (Drever, 1952). Similarly, Sadock and Sadock (2003) define it as the coexistence of two opposing impulses toward the same thing in the same person at the same time. But it is Freud with whom the concept is mainly associated. Freud first made use of the idea of ambivalence in relation to his discussion on sexual aberrations (Freud, 2001/1905).

The most remarkable feature of this perversion is that its active and passive forms are habitually found to occur together in the same individual. A person who feels pleasure in producing pain in someone else in a sexual relationship is also capable of enjoying as pleasure any pain which he may himself derive from sexual relations. A sadist is always at the same time a masochist, although the active or the passive aspect of the perversion may be the more strongly developed in him and may represent his predominant sexual activity. We find, then, that certain among the impulses to perversion occur regularly as pairs of opposites; and this,

taken in conjunction with material which will be brought forward later, has a high theoretical significance. (p. 159-160).

The material Freud is referring to is, and the first occasion the actual word is mentioned is in relation to (sic), infantile sexuality and the phases of development of sexual organization. Freud argues that certain forms of 'sexual organization can persist throughout life' and that in such forms

the opposing pairs of instincts are developed to an approximately equal extent, a state of affairs described by Bleuler's happily chosen term '*ambivalence*' (2001/1905, p. 199; italics mine).

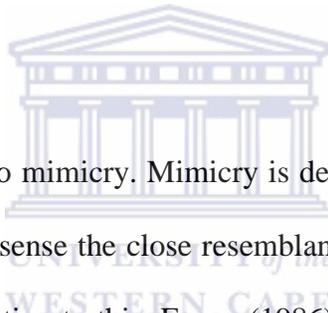
The importance of the idea of ambivalence with regard to perceptions and experiences of transformation becomes a little clearer in the hands of the post-colonial theorist, Homi Bhabha. Bhabha elaborates on earlier anti-colonial theorists such as Fanon while employing psychoanalytic concepts to a widening field of post-colonial concerns. He has argued that '...colonial presence is always ambivalent' (1986, p. 150). By this, he means it is:

...split between its appearance as original and authoritative and its articulation as repetition and difference. It is this *ambivalence* that make the boundaries of colonial "positionality" – the division of self/other – and the question of colonial power – the differentiation of colonizer/colonized – different from both Hegelian

master/slave dialectic or the phenomenological projection of Otherness (Bhabha, 1985, p. 150; italics mine).

Bhabha states that there is a desire for the Other to be different, but not quite, meaning

Colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a *subject different that is almost the same but not quite*. Which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an ambivalence; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference (1985, p. 126).



Ambivalence then is attached to mimicry. Mimicry is defined as a 'close imitation of an act or series of acts; in special sense the close resemblance taken on by one organism to another' (Drever, 1952). In relation to this, Fanon (1986) said that the colonial condition is characterised by master-slave relationships. Under this condition 'Blacks' aspire to be like 'Whites' but by virtue of their skin colour find this impossible, leading to neuroses. This relationship of 'Black' to 'White' is therefore characterised by extreme ambivalences; and similarly, it should be made clear, extreme ambivalences also characterize the relationship of the 'White boss' to the 'Black worker'. Such ambivalences are present in the interview texts, and according to psychoanalytic theory are normal resistances to change (Bader, 2005).

Participants in the study felt that there was some change, maybe even a developing culture of tolerance within the institution, but this was often hard to distinguish from politically correct speech or mannerisms.

On the question of the general interaction of different race groups and cultures this is my answer: The general interaction of different race groups and cultures reveal the real situation. Although it appears that people have accommodated each other on the surface, deep down you can see the division vividly. Take for example during social events such as tea and birthday celebration parties. You will find people in their racial and cultural pockets. It is automatic that isi-Xhosa speaking people or black people will group together. They will just exchange smiles with colleagues of other racial groups but you can see that it is just courtesy. You can see that people are careful about this fragile environment.



Participant W (*emailed answer*)

Participant W, who is a union member and whose accounts were charged with speech characterisable as ‘struggle talk’, elaborated his skepticism of ‘exchange of smiles’ by saying that ‘there is nothing really different’. The Participant U says that ‘the changes that you see now are not the changes that we expect from transformation’.

Other participants expressed similar opinions, that much has changed since the era of apartheid but they still had experiences of an unfavourable institutional climate with regards to relationships between people.

Things are generally ok in a sense that there was no experience of any overt racism but there is an underlying uncomfortableness and tension

Participant X

We had functions and we would all be together and we would have it in the staff room and they would go to their side of the room and we would go to our side of the room. That did not change... The space is the same! I would say that we are having a function at the end of the year and he would say that he was not going to that place where you guys sit in one corner and the whites sit in one corner and then they talk shop and they talk about doctor stuff.

Participant Z

...some people come and go as they please but they never get questioned

Participant X

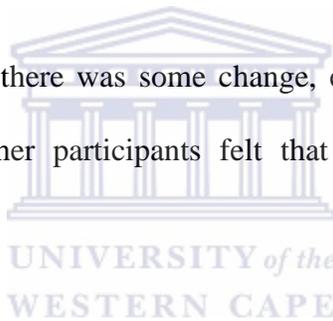
What these sentiments suggest to me is Fanon's question rephrased as 'What does the administrative staff at the UCT's Health Sciences Faculty want when they talk about transformation?' Does transformation mean, as Participant X seems to be suggesting that there should be trust shown toward all groups of members of staff, not only from 'White' to other 'Whites'. The question is by whom should trust be shown to whom? It seems that the people who have to extend the trust to Participant X and possibly others like her are 'White' people, the same people who do not question 'some people' in the last extract above. If 'White' bosses trust only 'White' people, Participant X herself seems to harbour a certain degree of mistrust about the trust that these 'White' bosses have for those others whom they let 'come and go as they please'. On the other hand she might be defining transformation as the need to *develop* trust.

Or does transformation in fact mean, contrary to Participant Z, ‘people want to be buddies’? Might it mean, as a matter of fact, ‘a race thing’, contrary to what Participant W says?

I will give you a few examples, I don't have my bag here but I will give you a leaflet that NEHAWU has produced about a supervisor that had a knife for a worker and that supervisor said it was a joke. There was a quarrel between them over how the job was done. He was stopped by another worker. What people are saying that it was a race thing but it was not about a race thing really, for me it is a skill thing.

Participant W

In contrast to the feeling that there was some change, even if it was indistinguishable from political correctness, other participants felt that there was still a measure of intolerance and arrogance.



This was the way we were brought up to think whites had the authority to walk in anywhere they want and did what they want to... Whatever she (a ‘White’ colleague) asked it was very authoritative she was demanding in wanting something... They (‘White colleagues in general) never made an appointment; they never consulted or even greeted the secretary they just walk straight in...

Participant Z

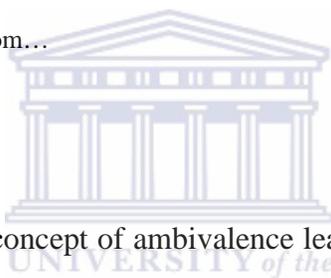
The ‘White’ colleague that the participant is referring to takes a lot of space in my interview with her. Within individuals’ mental lives someone else is always invariably involved (Freud, 1921). This ‘someone else’ in apartheid South Africa, when considering anxiety provoking situations or outright conflictual situations, was likely to be a person of

another race; perhaps the same applies in post-South Africa as well. South Africans may therefore always be part of a race as much as they may be part of a gender, profession or institution. Herein we see the importance of the structure of society in the life and mental makeup of the individual. In psychoanalytic terms identification is the expression of an emotional tie with another (Freud, 1921). Mutual ties between members of a group are therefore based on an emotional common quality with an object or some other person. The implication of this is that misidentification and emotional alienation, a term favoured by Fanon (1986), characterised the relationship between members of groups defined as different as under colonial conditions, apartheid South Africa and racism globally. That the 'White' Other evokes such a lot of cognitive and emotional processes in Participant Z's mental and affective life can be seen in this extract. But in the context of ambivalence it is worth wondering whether the anger the 'White' colleague elicits in Participant Z may suggest as psychodynamic theory argues that the Participant may want her colleague to like her:

Her tone with her friends with her white friends, she is not like that, with her clique of friends. With the coloureds, and I think that the way she was dealing with me and the Supercare staff and with Mrs. C and so on and the other secretaries, was very bullying and domineering... 'You guys must listen when I say do this. You must get it and go fetch', you know. So when the milk ran out in the staff room, when the milk is stored in my office, in Prof X's office, and then she will say, 'Oh there is no milk!', then she will like expect me to like leave my tea and go fetch. Then I would go and say 'Look here, just go help you there'. And then this morning there was nothing. There was absolutely nothing. She said that you could have said that there was nothing. She had offered to go and take from her petty cash, from TTTT petty cash and go and purchase milk from downstairs at Pick and Pay. Then she said, 'There is nothing here.' So I said that I had black

coffee, 'I am having black tea.' But then she carried on. Then I turned around and said, 'You either stop it or I will stop you! You either stop it! Stop it!' And then I walked off man. Then she came behind me and asked me, "Who do you think that you are speaking to?" I said that I was speaking to you. I said, 'Get out of my face now'. You see nobody ever spoke to her this way. I thought to myself that she needed some of her own treatment. I have always accepted the way you treated me and the way that you spoke to me. I would run and get the milk and make sure that you are happy but I am not going to do this anymore I don't have to do this anymore. I don't have to take this anymore, you are just another staff member like me, and you are not even a superior to me. We don't even work for the same employer. And she like looks at me and she is walking out. I am so angry, so angry that I am shivering from anger now, that I put my cup of tea down and thought to myself than I am not going to say anything more to you, I am going to go out to the office and out of the staff room...

Participant Z



Where the employment of the concept of ambivalence leads us is to the fact that the way change processes are thought about in psychoanalysis can provide fertile insights into how to think about processes of transformation (Bader, 2005). Within traditional psychoanalysis, the patient is intrinsically ambivalent about change. Rather than understand behaviour in negative terms, Weiss (Bader, 2005) maintains that patients are actively striving to develop positive and productive relationships with others but are crippled by pathogenic beliefs. In a similar fashion, within social change, one has to create positions of respect, empathy and support. Behind behaviours that are destructive and self-destructive, lie strivings for recognition, empowerment and connectedness. Now if patients could be likened to citizens, then political leaders have to heed to this growth needs by creating discourses and reframing political images where values such as empathy, compassion and love are characteristic of strength (Bader, 2005). This has been

demonstrated by leaders such as Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela who has had a positive effect on people within South Africa.

Fanon seems to think that ambivalence is connected to bondage. Thus his project is to transcend the bondage over centuries experienced by humanity through enslavement. He says, 'No attempt must be made to encase man, for it is his destiny to be free' (1986; p. 230). He requires that, '... the tool never possesses man. That enslavement of man by man, cease forever. That is, of one by another. That it be possible for me to discover and to love man, wherever he may be' (p. 231).



4.4 Reflexivity

Some of the participants were aware that the researcher was a member of staff and this may have contributed to the fact that they were comfortable within the research process and this may have also contributed to the development of rapport and trustworthiness. Although it must be noted that the researcher sensed a more relaxed interview with participants who were previously disadvantaged than with the Participant V who was previously classified 'White'. There was awareness that as a researcher I was a bit sensitive in engaging with the 'White' participant due to the sensitivity of the topic. I was wary of probing too much. Open questions were asked as well as subtle probing, providing opportunities for the Participant W to delve deeper.

When I was interviewing someone from the same political and cultural background as myself I felt that I identified more with this person. In some of the interviews I had to be aware of my political background and try not to appear as if I was agreeing or disagreeing. In listening to the accounts of these participants, there was an awareness of a strong identification with the participants, which could have contributed to the flow and richness of the conversation.

During the interview with the 'White' participant, there was a feeling of reluctance and there was less engagement in conversation with the researcher. The researcher had to prompt discussion most of the time. It may have been that this topic was sensitive for this person as she did not wish to discuss in depth some of the questions that had been asked. The Participant Y appeared to have maintained a distance within the interview by keeping the conversation on the surface and avoided further exploration. This account contrasted with the interviews of participants who were previously disadvantaged, whose descriptions and accounts were rich and at times emotionally charged.

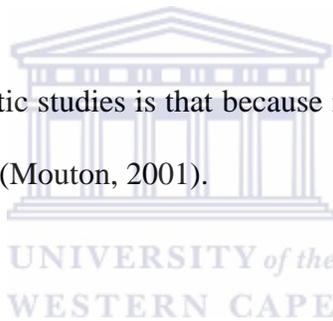
4.5 Limitations of the study

There were a few factors that contributed to the researcher not being able to establish adequate rapport among the participants. The location of the interview sessions played a role in this regard. Participants seemed pressed for time due to work pressures. Some of the interviews took place during work hours when it was convenient for the participant. This placed limitations on the time available for an adequate interview session. Some of

the participants might have viewed the researcher with suspicion as the researcher worked at the Faculty of Health Sciences at the time of interviewing, hence the reluctance to share information.

Another limitation of the study was that the researcher was not able to interview more 'White' participants. It should be noted that the opinions regarding transformation are diverse and information from more such participants would have added value to the study. The discourses that came through could be said to be more characteristic of 'Blacks'.

A limitation of discourse analytic studies is that because it is context-dependent, they are limited in their generalisability (Mouton, 2001).



4.6 Conclusion

Social transformation in South Africa is affected by global events as well as by local demands. South Africa finds itself where it is presently because of more than 300 years of colonial rule. The southern most tip of Africa represents the convergence of diverse cultures. Post-1994 has set the context for tolerance and co-existence among these diverse cultures, celebrating and embracing our diversities as strengths rather than reasons for separation. However, this has not been an easy task and still proves one of the most challenging in post-apartheid South Africa. Individual perceptions and experiences are still influenced by past constructs that have so long defined who we were. Even

though there appears to be ambivalence in the way people express themselves with regards to the process of transformation, such as feeling hopeful and optimistic about the future but also being uncertain about the future, there is more tolerance and a sense of embracing differences among people.

This then is by no means a conclusion per se, but hopefully the start of further study into change processes within individuals in South Africa. A nation in the process of being born faces many challenges along the way. Fanon and psychoanalytic theory provide many insights into change processes within individuals. Structural change provides the context for other change processes to occur. As shown in the literature and discussed above changes at the emotional levels are not easy and poses one of the greatest challenges for social transformation. Perhaps then we should approach each challenge with dignity and respect in the knowledge that all humans are essentially striving for recognition, empowerment and connectedness (Bader, 2005) and that it may be possible for Fanon (1986) to discover and to love people, wherever they may be.

CHAPTER 5

RECOMMENDATIONS

Previous studies have suggested that more previously ‘White’ subjects be interviewed. That was a short coming in this study. This was not possible due to time and resource constraints. Interviewing more ‘White’ participants would enable the researcher to investigate whether there were themes consistent with a previously classified ‘White’ group.

Methodically it is recommended that future studies of this nature be conducted with focus groups. Data could be drawn from within a setting where lively discussion would take place. This would also enable one to witness and locate dynamics among differing discourses as they emerge thus providing for more rich accounts of experience. It is important to note that conducting interviews might prove challenging.

It would also be recommended that a focus group between various ‘population groups’ be conducted. This way the researcher would be able to observe and record dynamics between groups as they emerge thereby providing rich descriptions of inter-group dynamics and opinion. This might also prove challenging for people classified as previously ‘White’ since current discourses validate the views of people of colour. People therefore need to be open to listening to opposing and possibly unpopular views.

REFERENCES

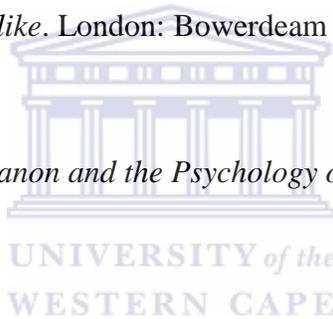
- Alvesson, M., & Sköldbberg, K. (2000). *Reflexive Methodology. New Vistas for Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Armstrong, D. (2004). Group Relations: An Introduction. The “Institution in the Mind”: Reflections on the Relation of Psychoanalysis to Work with Institutions. [Online]. Available: <http://human-nature.com/group/chap6.html>. [2004, December 14].
- Andersen, L. L. (2003). When the Unconscious Joins the Game: A Psychoanalytic Perspective on Modernization and Change. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 4(3). [Online]. Available: <http://www.Qualitative-research.net/fqs/>. [2004, November 15].
- Babbie, E. (2004). *The Practice of Social Research. 10th edition*. United States: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Bader, M. J. (2005). Helping the Patient get Better. Psychoanalysis, Optimism and Social Change. *Tikkun*, 9(3), 11-14. [Electronic]. Available: <http://www.michaelbader.com/article/tikkun-helping.html>. [2005, March 2].
- Bekker, N., & van der Merwe, P. (2005). Transformation: It’s a mind game. *Mail and Guardian*, September. [Date unknown].

Bergner, G. (1999). Politics and Pathologies: On the subject of race in psychoanalysis. In Alessandrini, A. C. (Ed.). (1999). *Frantz Fanon: Critical Perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Bhabha, H. K. (1985). Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree outside Delhi, May 1817, *Critical Inquiry*, 12, 144-165. [Electronic]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/view/>. [2007, April 17].

Biko, S. (2004). *I Write what I like*. London: Bowerdeam Pres.

Bulhan, H. A. (1985). *Frantz Fanon and the Psychology of Oppression*. New York and London: Plenum Press.



Burman, E., Kottler, A., Levett, A., & Parker, I. (1997). Power and discourse: culture and discourse in South Africa. In Burman, E., Kottler, A., Levett, A., & Parker, I. (1997). *Culture, power and difference: discourse analysis in South Africa* (pp. 1-14). South Africa: University of Cape Town.

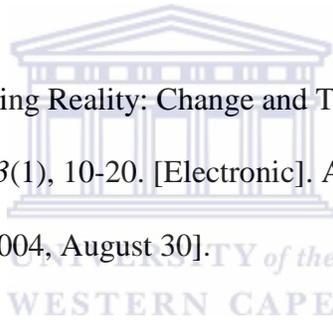
Corrigan, T. (1999). Mbeki: His Time Has Come. An introduction to South Africa's new president. South African Institute of Race Relations.

Colman, A. M. (2001). *Oxford Dictionary of Psychology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cresswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. In Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds). (2000). *The Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 1-29). California: SAGE Publications Inc.

Dickinson, D. (2002). Confronting Reality: Change and Transformation in the New South Africa. *Political Quarterly*, 73(1), 10-20. [Electronic]. Available: EBSCOHost: Academic Search Premier. [2004, August 30].



Dodds, M. (1998). Transforming Organisations. A Social Systems Perspective. *Occasional Paper, 4*. University of Stellenbosch, Department of Sociology.

Drever, J. (1952). *A Dictionary of Psychology*. Penguin Books: U.S.A.

du Toit, F. (2005). Time to confront the racism demon: Open debate could foster trust. *Cape Times*, 7 April: 11.

Durrheim, K., & Wassenaar, D. (1999). Putting design into practice: writing and evaluating research proposals. In Terre Blanche, M., & Durrheim, K. (Eds). (1999). *Research in Practice: Applied Methods for the Social Sciences* (pp. 54-71). Rondebosch: University of Cape Town Press.

Durrheim, K. (2005). Socio-spatial practice and racial representations in a changing South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 35(3), 444-459.

Durrheim, K. (2003). White opposition to racial transformation. Is it racism? *South African Journal of Psychology*, 33(4), 241-249.

Durrheim, K. (1999). Research design. In Terre Blanche, M. & Durrheim, K. (Eds). (1999). *Research in Practice: Applied Methods for the Social Sciences* (pp. 29-53). Rondebosch: University of Cape Town Press.

Eaton, L. (2002). South African national identity: A research agenda for Social Psychologists. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 32(1), 45-53.

Edwards, S. (2002). Evaluating Models of Community Psychology: Social Transformation in South Africa. *International Journal of Behavioural Medicine*, 9(4), 301-308. South Africa: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.

Edwards, M., & Sen, G. (2002). NGOs, Social Change and Transformation of Human Relationships: A 21st Century Civic Agenda. *Mulberry Working Paper Series 1*. Durban: Olive Publications.

Elliot, A. (1994). *Psychoanalytic theory: An introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Elliot, A. (1999). Introduction. In Elliot, A. (1999). *Freud 2000* (pp.1-12). New York: Routledge.

Elliot, A. (2002). *Psychoanalytic theory: An introduction*. 2nd Edition. Oxford: Blackwell.

Erasmus, Z. E. (2006). Living the future now: 'Race' and challenges of transformation in higher education. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 20(3), 51-63.

Fanon, F. (1986). *Black Skin, White Masks*. United Kingdom: Pluto Press.

Foucault, M. (1989). *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. New York and London: Routledge.

Freud, S. (2001/1905). *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Volume VII (1901-1905). A Case of Hysteria, Three Essays on Sexuality and Other Works. (Translated from the German under the General Editorship of James Strachey)*. London: Vintage.

Freud, S. (1981/1905). *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Volume VII (1917-1919). An Infantile Neurosis and Other Works.* (Translated from the German under the General Editorship of James Strachey). London: the Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-analysis.

Freud, S. (1921). *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego.* New York: Boni and Liveright.

Frosh, S. (1991). *Identity crisis: Modernity, psychology and the self.* Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London: Macmillan.

Gibbon, T., & Barkhuizen, B. (1997). *Discourse.* South Africa: Juta & Co.

Gibson, K. (2002). *Politics and emotion in work with disadvantaged children: Case studies in communities from a South African clinic.* Unpublished doctoral thesis (Department of Psychology), University of Cape Town.

Gibson, N. (2001). *Transition from Apartheid.* Koninglijke Brill NV: Leiden.

Gibson, N. (1999). Fanon and the Pitfalls of Cultural Studies. In Allesandrini, A. C. (Ed.). (1999). *Frantz Fanon. Critical Perspectives* (pp. 99-125). London and New York: Routledge.

- Gilbert, A. (1997). *Small Voices Against the Wind: Local Knowledge and Social Transformation*. Peace and Conflict: *Journal of Peace Psychology*, 3(3), 275-292. South Africa: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Gray, D., Delany, A., & Durrheim, K. (2005). Talking to 'real' South Africans: An investigation of the dilemmatic nature of nationalism. *South African Journal of Psychology*. 35(1), 127-146.
- Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein J. A. (2000). Analyzing Interpretive Practice. In Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds). (2000). *The Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 487-508). California: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Hall, M. (2006). The Object of Transformation: Keynote address, "Equity and Excellence": *Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Programme Coordinators' Conference*, Cape Town, January 2006.
- Hamilton, D. (1998). Traditions, Preferences, and Postulates in Applied Qualitative Research. In Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds). (1998). *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues* (pp. 111-129). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Health Sciences Faculty, (2005). Transformation in the Faculty of Health Sciences:
University of Cape Town. [Online]. Available:

<http://www.health.uct.ac.za/transformation/>. [2005, September 15].

Henrad, K. (2003). Post Apartheid South Africa: Transformation and Reconciliation.
World Affairs, 166(1), 37. [Electronic]. Available: EBSCOHost: Academic Search
Premier. [2004, July 25].

Hook, D. (2004). 'Fanon and the psychoanalysis of racism' In Hook, D. (Ed.). (2004).
Critical Psychology (pp. 113-132). Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Hook, D. (2004). 'Frantz Fanon, Steve Biko, 'psychopolitics' and critical psychology' In
Hook, D. (Ed.). (2004). *Critical Psychology* (pp. 85-112). Cape Town: University of
Cape Town Press.

Ismail, S. (2003). Current experiences at UCT-perspectives of black, female and disabled
staff members. In London, L. (2003). *Truth and Reconciliation, a Process of
Transformation at UCT Health Sciences Faculty*. NRF Project Report 15/1/3/21/0022.

James, W. (2005). 'Ngoro Insult' unmasks a poorly read chauvinist who draws racist
conclusions. *Cape Times*, 26 July: 11.

Jansen, J. D. (2004). Black Dean: Race, Reconciliation and the Emotions of Deanship.
Article: University of Pretoria.

Kaburise, J. B. K. (2002). The transformation of Historically Black Universities in South Africa: problems and challenges. In Iya, P. F., Rembe, N. S., & Baloo, J. (2000). *Transforming South African universities. Capacity Building for Historically Black Universities*. Fort Hare University: Africa Institute of South Africa.

Kassiem, A. (2005). HRC slams 'harmful and undesirable' attack on coloureds by city mayor's aide. *Cape Times* [Date unknown].

Kincheloe, J. L. & McLaren, P. L. (1998). Rethinking Critical Theory and Qualitative Research. In Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds). (1998). *The Landscape of Qualitative Research. Theories and Issues* (pp. 260-299). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Kelly, K. (1999). Hermeneutics in action: empathy and interpretation in qualitative research. In Terre Blanche, M. & Durrheim, K. (Eds). (1999). *Research in Practice. Applied Methods for the Social Sciences* (pp. 398-420). Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Kelly, K. (2001). Psychoanalysis, behaviour change and the social epidemiology of AIDS. *Widening Horizons Conference*, Psychoanalytic Trust: Johannesburg.

Klein, M. (1981). *The Writings of Melanie Klein*, in four volumes, London: Hogarth Press.

London, L. (2003). Truth and Reconciliation, a Process of Transformation at UCT Health Sciences Faculty. NRF Project Report 15/1/3/21/0022.

Long, C. (2002). Psychoanalytic Community Psychology: Crossing Worlds or Worlds Apart? In Swartz, L., Gibson, K., & Gelman, T. (Eds). (2002). *Reflective practice: psychodynamic ideas in the community* (pp. 113-124).Cape Town: HSRC Publishers.

Louw, J. & Finchilescu, G. (2003). Summary Report for the UCT Organisational Climate Survey. University of Cape Town, *Department of Psychology*.

Luthuli, N. (2003). Talking Transformation and Racism. Unpublished article for University of Cape Town's *Varsity Paper*, July 2003.

MacCleod, C. (2002). Deconstructive discourse analysis: Extending the methodological conversation. *South African Journal of Psychology* 32(1), 17-25.

MacDonald, A. M. (Ed.). (1979). *Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary*. Great Britain: W&R Chambers Ltd.

MacDonell, D. (1986). *Theories of Discourse. An Introduction*. Great Britain: Billig & Sons Ltd.

Mandaza, I. (2001). Southern African Identity: A Critical Assessment (pp. 133-140). In Bekker, S. & Dodds, M. (Eds). (2001). *Shifting African Identities*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Maracek, J. (2003), Dancing Through Minefields: Toward a Qualitative Stance in Psychology. In Camic, P. M., Rhodes, J. E. & Yardley, L. (Eds). (2003). *Qualitative Research in Psychology. Expanding Perspectives in Methodology and Design* (pp. 49-69). Washington: American Psychological Association.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (1999). *Designing Qualitative Research*. 3rd Edition. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

May, T. (2001). *Social Research. Issues, methods and process*. 3rd Edition. Buckingham, Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Meulen-Buskans, I. (1997). Turtles all the way down? – On a quest for quality in qualitative research. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 27(2), 111-115.

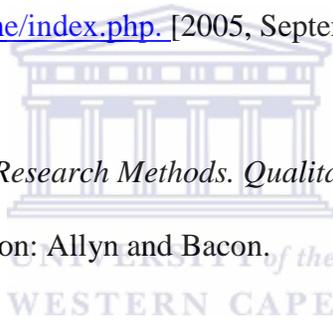
Meyer, W. F., Moore, C., & Viljoen, H. G. (1997). *Personology. From individual to ecosystem*. Johannesburg: Heinemann.

Mouton, J. (2001). *How to succeed in your master's and doctoral studies. A South African guide and resource book*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Mutabako, T. S., & Helu, K. M. (2000). Redefining Power Relations in South African Intellectual Practice: A case for Higher Education Transformation. *Kenton Conference. University of Port Elizabeth*, Port Elizabeth. South Africa 27-29 October 2000.

Ndebele, N. (2004). Letter from the Vice-Chancellor. [Online]. Available: www.uct.ac.za/staff/institclime/index.php. [2005, September 22].

Neuman, W. L. (2000). *Social Research Methods. Qualitative and Quantitative approaches*. 4th edition. London: Allyn and Bacon.



Odhav, K. (2002). From Unibo to Uniwest: A critical overview of transformation at the University of the North West. *Academic Worker*.

Ogden, T. O. (1990). *The Matrix of the Mind. Object Relations and the Psychoanalytic Dialogue*. London: Jason Aronson Inc.

Outhwaite, W. (1987). *New Philosophies of Social Science, Realism, Hermeneutics and Critical Theory*. New York St.: Martin's Press.

Parker, I. (1990). Discourse: Definitions and Contradictions. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 3(2/3), 189-203.

Parker, I. (1999). *Critical Textwork: An Introduction to varieties of discourse analysis*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Parker, I. (2004). Psychoanalysis and Critical Psychology. In Hook, D. (Ed.). (2004). *Critical Psychology* (pp. 139-161). Lansdowne: University of Cape Town Press

Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1992). *Discourse and social psychology: beyond attitudes and behaviour*. London: Sage.

Petersen, I. (1998). Comprehensive Integrated Primary Mental Health Care in South Africa. The Need for a Shift in the Discourse of Care. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 28(4), 196-202.

Rustin, M. (1991). *The good society and the inner world: Psychoanalysis, politics and culture*. London & New York: Verso.

Rustin, M., & Cooper, A. (1996). Psychoanalysis and the public sphere: The project in changing times. Paper presented at the Ninth Annual Conference. [Online]. Available: <http://www.human-nature.com/free-associations/rustcoop.html>. [2002, July 13].

Sadock, B. J., & Sadock, V. A. (2003). *Kaplan and Sadock's Synopsis of Psychiatry. Behavioral Sciences/Clinical Psychiatry*. USA: Lippincott Williams and Wilkins.

Salkie, R. (1995). *Text and Discourse*. London & New York: Routledge.

Schwandt, T. A. (2000). Three Epistemological Stances For Qualitative Inquiry. In Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds). (2000). *The Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 189-214). California: SAGE Publications Inc.

Smith, J. A., Harre, R., & van Langenhoven, L. (Eds). (1995). *Rethinking methods in psychology*. London: Sage,



Sparks, A. (1990). *The mind of South Africa*. London: Heinemann.

Spencer, H. (1998). Transformation or Change. *I-She*. 8(2).

Statutes of the Union of South Africa. (1927). The Immorality Act, No 5 of 1927.

Pretoria: Government Printer.

Statutes of the Union of South Africa. (1949). The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, No 55 of 1949. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Statutes of the Union of South Africa. (1950). Group Areas Act, No. 21 of 1950. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Statutes of the Union of South Africa. (1950). Immorality Amendment Act, No. 21 of 1950. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Statutes of the Union of South Africa. (1950). Population Registration Act, No.30 of 1950. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Statutes of the Republic of South Africa. (1996). Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996 Act 108 of 1996. Pretoria: Government Printer.



Stevens, G. (1998). Racialised Discourses: Understanding Perceptions of Threat in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 28, 204-214.

Steyn, M., & van Zyl, M. (2001). *Like that Statue at the Jammie Stairs...Some of the Students Perceptions and Experiences of Institutional Culture at the University of Cape Town in 1999*. Department of Sociology, University of Cape Town: Institute of Multicultural and Diversity Studies in South Africa.

Subotzky, G. (2003). Addressing Equity and Excellence in Relation to Employment in Higher Education. *Edusource Data News*, 38, January 2003.

Terre Blanche, M., & Durrheim, K. (1999). Social constructionist methods. In Terre Blanche, M. & Durrheim, K. (Eds). (1999). *Research in Practice. Applied Methods for the Social Science* (pp. 147-172). Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Terre Blanche, M., & Durrheim, K. (2002). Social constructionist methods. In Terre Blanche, M. & Durrheim, K. (Eds). (2002). 2nd Edition. *Research in Practice. Applied Methods for the Social Science* (pp. 147-172). Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Van der Walt, H. (2002). Too Close for Comfort: Emotional Ties Between Nurses and Patients. In Swartz, L., Gibson, K. & Gelman, T. (Eds). (2002). *Reflective practice: psychodynamic ideas in the community* (pp. 73-83), Cape Town: HSRC Publishers.

Van der Walt, L. (2003). *University restructuring: whose gain, whose pain, whose transformation? Talk to the Combined Staff Association (COMSA)*, University of Durban-Westville. [Online]. Available: <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs>. [2004, January 1].

Van Zyl, M., Steyn, M., & Orr, W. (2003). “*This is where I want to belong*” *Institutional Culture at Wits. Staff perceptions and experiences. 2002*. University of Cape Town: Institute for Intercultural and Diversity Studies of Southern Africa.

Van Maanen, J. (Ed.). (1992). *Qualitative Methodology*. Newbury Park, London and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Wodak, R. (1996). *Disorders of Discourse*. London: Longman.

Waghid, Y. (2002). Knowledge production and higher education transformation in South Africa: Towards reflexivity in university teaching, research and community service. *Higher Education*. 43, 457-488. Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Ziarek, E. P. (2002). Introduction: Fanon's Counterculture of Modernity. *Parallax*, 8(2), 1-9 [Electronic]. Available: EBSCOHost: Academic Search Premier. [2004, April 29].



APPENDIX B (QUESTIONNAIRE)

Guidelines for unstructured interview schedule

University of Cape Town
Faculty of Health Sciences
Research project on perceptions and experiences of transformation

Background

1. Could you describe for me what your childhood was like within the context of the political climate within the country more than a decade ago,
2. Describe your historical/political background, schooling, family?

Transformation

3. How long have you been working at UCT?
4. Describe what it was like working here before 1999.
5. Describe what it is like working here now.
6. What do you understand by transformation?
7. What are your fears about transformation?
8. In your opinion, have we transformed?
9. Has much changed here in the faculty of health sciences since the implementation of transformation? Have people's attitudes really changed or do you think that we have become more tolerant?
10. As you form part of the administrative component of the faculty, do you think/feel similar attention has been paid to this component of the University as it to other areas such as students and academics? Yes/No. Elaborate.

Other questions

11. Have you participated in any of the workshops for transformation? Yes/No: if no why not, and if yes: could you perhaps comment on it?
12. What would say is the level of inter-racial/ cultural interaction of staff within your department?
13. Do you think that the working environment is too politicised?

14. Has institutional transformation changed the way that you look at and perceive people at work?



APPENDIX A (TRANSCRIPTS)

TRANSCRIPTION

Participant Y
University of Cape Town
Faculty of Health Sciences
Transcribed from tape recording

Interviewer

Could you describe for me what your childhood was like within the context of the political climate within the country more than a decade ago,

Participant Y

You see I grew up in the struggle days, I will be 40 this year, I grew up in the period of apartheid, I was born in Claremont 2nd avenue and we were evicted from the area because it became a white area, then we moved to Lansdowne, we moved to Lansdowne because my dad had a shop and there again, where Kenilworth centre is situated, that was where we lived, there again we were evicted because of the Group Areas Act and we moved to Woodstock and that is where I grew up, because Woodstock was cosmopolitan area, I have gone through and I know hardship and also in 1985 that was a very bad year when we had the uprising and all that. My brother and myself, we were so called put under house arrest because we were involved in the UDF at that time and the UDF and what we did at our home was we used to print banners and make placards you know and that stuff and the cops raided the place and we were put under house arrest. PW Botha was still here, so that was my experience and because as a result of that, because I was involved a lot, that time I was still studying, and I did pharmacy, UCT had pharmacy at that time, that was the best time of pharmacy, and then because my great involvement in the UDF I dropped out of university because I couldn't continue because it was too much you know and then I went to work and after that I went back to technikon to finish my diploma in analytical chemistry and that is when I came to UCT.

Interviewer

What year was that that you started in UCT?

Participant Y

In UCT I started in uh...I started in UCT in 1988, but then I worked in Chemistry for a couple of years and after that I left to study for my diploma, and then I came back to UCT then I came here to medical school,

Interviewer

So you say that you come from quite a political background, your family was quite involved...

Participant Y

Mostly I wouldn't say that my parents because they were old and, uh, I would say mostly my brothers and myself.

Interviewer

What was it like coming to UCT and working here taking into account your involvement in the struggle, what was it like working here?

Participant Y

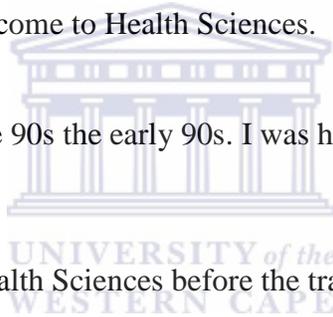
You see I was at chemistry, and there things were very 'verkramped' s to say, I mean uh I was at UCT when the cops used to come onto campus and start firing teargas and because you were a staff member you got involved with the students as well and uh I think you know UCT used to almost that time used to claim that they were very liberal but I had a big problem with the staff the academics so called academic staff because most of them they were ex-Rhodesian because most of them were the racist people. UCT had a lot of them that was the experiences that I had with them.

Interviewer

So what did you when did you come to Health Sciences.

Participant Y

Health sciences I came to in the 90s the early 90s. I was here when the change of government took place.



Interviewer

So how would you describe Health Sciences before the transformation process started?

Participant Y

You see I am talking about health sciences before 1994, pre-1994, it was very very racist and I will use harsh words, Health Sciences was different to upper campus, upper campus although it was racist was not as bad as it was here on this campus, it was so bad that people sat in the tea rooms, faculty of health sciences always had these tea rooms people would sit there and bad mouth, already that time people knew that the pre-1994 regime was on its way out, they would say, 'the blacks are going to rule, we are going to go to the dogs, there would be no progress and people were talking about leaving and immigrating and that blacks could not rule'

Interviewer

So that was quite the topic of discussion during that time...

Participant Y

Yes, they were not even quite scared about saying things like that...

Interviewer

So it was quite out in the open...

Participant Y

Yes, they said what they wanted to I mean I know of a few examples, of staff members, maybe they are not around here anymore, 'ya I am buying guns and if any black come near my house I will blast them and shoot them and kill them' that was the topic that was going on, open openly said. I mean you can't say that things now, that was how the faculty was, if you look at for example, a good example, the MacClub, At that time when it was operating, blacks and when I say blacks, I mean we coloureds, because there wasn't much blacks on this faculty and I am talking about the African blacks, we didn't feel comfortable going into the MacClub and if you went into the MacClub there would be all these 'whities' that would turn around and look at you, you know it was like an exclusive club there, whites only, it was not entrenched in law, they would make sure that you were very uncomfortable there and so you would leave like things like that, psychological racism,

Interviewer

What was the feeling maybe you mentioned, the incidences of tea, could you recall any other incidences that you could describe as racist, because sometimes people find it hard to describe what racism is?

Participant Y

You see,

Interviewer

What feelings come to mind?

**Participant Y**

Oh you mean my feelings, you see, you feel angry you know and you cannot openly express your anger because you were surrounded by racist people and there were a few other people also non-whites who felt the same way and they would maybe after the tea, would meet, at some place at some place on campus and say, 'did you hear what they said and they were very upset you see', so one feel very upset, the way you feel as if you were bottling it up inside, you see you feel, angry, you feel de-motivated and everything and you feel angry at the people, you know that white people, you know another incident that I remember, that time I was still in medical biochemistry, medical biochemistry was in Weiner Beit South at that time, when the windows faced the freeway, there was this big march in pre-1994, when they marched from Langa to Cape Town when they walked on the Freeway, I mean that was a massive march, I don't know if you could remember that, these people were all standing at the windows saying, 'ya look you just drop one bomb on them then all our problems would be solved then there would be no blacks, we could all be standing here just shooting at them' things like that you see, those were the comments.

Interviewer

So what is it like working here now?

Participant Y

You see, now I haven't experienced that form of racism that I experienced then. You don't get that but what the feeling kind of that I get is that still that old guard but they are not open, they are very closed and they would maybe uh, set obstacles in your way or they would set you up to fail, in your tasks so hopefully that way they would get rid of you. I don't think that transformation is happening fast enough.

Interviewer

What do you understand by transformation? It is quite a broad concept and what we have been talking about now is one aspect of it so what is your general understanding of it?

Participant Y

Transformation the way I see it, you know some people think that transformation means that you must get more black persons and when I say black I mean coloured, Indian, more black population staff in the faculty and the way I see I don't think that is the way that I see transformation, that could be it, you must offer the disadvantaged more opportunities but secondly also, the present non-whites must be given opportunities to you know education wise better their positions get promotions and thirdly to give some Africans more opportunities and when I say some Africans I mean South African non-whites. The way I see and maybe at UCT, they are giving more opportunities to black people but foreign black people, you see when I talk about transformation I talk about building South Africa. Building South Africa by creating more opportunities for South Africans, disadvantaged South Africans.

Interviewer

You know there was a reconciliation process that started I think in '98 or '99 and you described to me earlier what things were like before that, what were the general feelings when that reconciliation process was started in health sciences? Can you recall the sense you know.

Participant Y

Yes, I remember and then I declined to participate in that I remember vaguely, I was given the opportunity and I declined...

Interviewer

Why?

Participant Y

I declined because I thought that this was just a rubber stamp to get approval to not do transformation but keep the status quo in position, because the way that I see UCT, UCT is run like a Roman empire, you have a Senate, you have one or two or three black persons on the senate and the rest are black so you have no power because everything is done through the voting system like the Roman empire, so there is no ways that you can get through policies because the whites will always outnumber you. It is the same with the UN, the US will always veto whatever, and they can veto a similar situation here.

Interviewer

So think that we have not really transformed.

Participant Y

Ya, I don't think so.

Interviewer

So what ...

Participant Y

Serious serious transformation

Interviewer

So what is your idea of real transformation, what is your concept of transformation?

Participant Y

Well I like I told you, I want to see more South Africans, non-white South Africans, in positions here, because most of our people must leave South Africa to seek opportunities but they do return but they are not given opportunities.

Interviewer

That was one aspect of transformation where you were moving people where you are changing the demographics and providing opportunities for people who would never have had those opportunities, the next question I want to ask, and maybe I might have repeated, is how much has changed in Health Sciences since the implementation of the transformation process, I other words have people's attitudes really changed, or do you think that we have become more tolerant.

Participant Y

I think that peoples attitudes have changed in certain departments or certain areas and in the area that people have not changed here people have just become more tolerant towards the changes taking place, I mean I can give an example, if you look at the new institute you just see white students, I mean I have never, I mean I am allowed to mention any specific lab...

Interviewer

Whatever is said here is confidential I am not going to play this tape

Participant Y

You see the things is, if you look at Mr. G's lab, you walk in there you have to think where I am I or am I in London, there are only white students, I don't know if he cannot find non-white students but I think that the Institute is a good example of a division or a section of this faculty that is not changing or transforming, you see.

Interviewer

What do you think that they could do to change?

Participant Y

You see I don't know what the policies of the Institute, I think that the Institute is growing separate to the Faculty of Health Sciences. The FHS looks like they are changing. The Institute seems to be growing on its own and personally the way that I see it the institute thinks that it is a little Europe in Africa so there needs to be big changes. I don't know how they are going to change it I think that it must come from higher up in the faculty.

Interviewer

Earlier on we had a conversation and maybe you can enlighten me about that, we talked about racist attitudes from whites towards blacks and vice versa...

Participant Y

That is also what is happening here. You get foreign domination over South Africans and it does not mean that it is white on black it could be for example, Indian on non-white you see and that is the experiences that I had presently for the last three years from now back. I have noticed Indian racism and I have noticed many examples but I will just give you one example which I just remembered now, for example there was certain positions there was one incident there was a position for professors job who was retiring and it was said by this one Indian professor that I worked for that he went and told another Indian person to apply for that job, one Indian girl actually a post-doc person, and he told this person look you need to apply for this post, I am going to be on the selection panel committee and I will make sure and then he went to the other Indian professors, look this girl is going to apply for the job vote for her, you know, actually I overheard this and I actually phoned my friend at the NRF and I told him look this is what this guy is trying to do and I am going to send you the advert and I want you to distribute it widely because I did not like the way he was going about it and I experienced his racism and I get very upset when foreigners come and try and practice their racism on South Africans because we went through so much already. It happened to be, I don't think that the girl got the position because the guy was suspended so his plan did not work.

Interviewer

Did you have any experience of other forms of racism like intolerant attitudes, from say blacks or whites, what was the general feeling around these issues?

Participant Y

You see, I have seen intolerance from students toward South Africans especially the foreign students here on this faculty toward South African students, it is not their fault, they cannot identify with the struggle that we went through and this would find from other African student from this continent toward sought African students. That is what I picked up you see, because I work a lot with students my nature of work I work in a research lab, so I work with different students from different backgrounds, especially with funding and also I think that I must mention this as well,... some professors know this so they will keep a few South Africans there so that they would use them to get funding and then they would distribute the money in their research lab and distribute to

the international students who can't get any funding. That is the experience that I get in our lab. They get it and then they give it to the foreign students.

Interviewer

Why do you think that this is so?

Participant Y

You see, because, to get funding is difficult, you get organisations like the NRF and the MRC their policy that they only give money to South African students and South African researchers and if you are a research group and you have disadvantaged South African students in your group, we will pump in money so they would do that I think that because the foreign students maybe they are busy on a certain project which is of extreme importance to the researcher, in this case the PI or principal investigator and then they know that they cannot abandon the project because the foreign student does not have the money so they would use the money coming into the South Africans and push it into that project. So I think that is about survival.

Interviewer

You form part of the non-academic part of the staff, when I sort of embarked on this study I had gone through studies that was done on transformation and institutional culture which some of them, actually most of them were done with students and with academics, now as you have been part of the non-academic component of the university, do you think that similar attention has been paid to this component of the university.

Participant Y

I don't think so... the non academics are almost forgotten. They are like the machine of this faculty, they make the faculty run and function, so it is like no one sees them, they are not appreciated for what they are doing and the impression that I am getting is like you are getting paid that is your compensation so just keep quiet don't make a noise just do your work.

Interviewer

Is that the general impression that you have, have you spoken to people how you feel or is this your personal opinion?

Participant Y

Look this is the impression that I get because when I talk to other non academic staff I feel that they are not appreciated and that is the message that I get from them and I talk to many of them...

Interviewer

And this is throughout the faculty?

Participant Y

Through out the faculty, or definitely the departments in this faculty.

Interviewer

So you say that transformation would also include making the non academic staffing complement also feel appreciated and important.

Participant Y

Like I said they make the place run, they are the machine of the place and if it was not for them the place would collapse.

Interviewer

Have you been on any of the diversity workshops?

Participant Y

No, I have seen these ads and I wanted to go but because of my current situation I have not had time to go.

Interviewer

Have you heard about other people's experiences?

Participant Y

No, I have not spoken to other people that went on this workshop. I would like to go.

Interviewer

What would you say according to your general observations of inter racial inter cultural interaction among staff?

Participant Y

There is a good relationship because people always want to know about other cultures and also when it's in a specific culture when it is a holiday then they would organise some function so other people can get invited and involved. From a student's perspective, I don't know just looking at the medical students, one culture mix with their own and another culture stick with their own, you know little groups.

Interviewer

Do you think that this working environment is too politicised?

Participant Y

How do mean?

Interviewer

Maybe it's a difficult question. You know people are always saying that there are too much politics.

Participant Y

Oh, people always use that phrase loosely.

Interviewer

Maybe the question that I phrased here is too broad, but especially with transformation happening I think that certain people's perception of transformation is that something that has been imposed from the government in that sense, do you think that the environment is too politicised?

Participant Y

No, I don't think so. I always hear that word is that UCT has got too much politics and what they mean by that is that there is too much red tape. I don't think that there is too much politics.

Interviewer

In your experience has institutional transformation and within this faculty changed the way you look at and perceive other people from other races?

Participant Y

I don't think so you see I have been politicised enough you know, I don't think...

Interviewer

What I am asking is if the transformation that has taken place, look you come from a background, from a struggle background, has your views changed from then due to the transformation process?

Participant Y

Well I think that my views have changed, I have become a lot calmer, like I said transformation is too slow.

Interviewer

You mentioned earlier that you want to see more people from disadvantaged backgrounds getting more leadership positions...

Participant Y

And especially South Africans.

Interviewer

Well those are all the questions that I want to ask but if there is anything else that you want to add around transformation then you could do so. If there are any other feelings that you would like to share around that then...you could do so.

Participant Y

Ya, I can't think of any now but I think that I have mentioned this in the past. We must be careful of foreign domination and South Africans not getting opportunities and I have seen returning...Africans being turned away and not being given opportunities rather giving to international people, and also you call the support staff there, I think that it is very important that we have South Africans, because basically we are here to build South Africa.

Interviewer

You are saying that because you have had first hand experience with this?

Participant Y

No I can speak out strongly I actually believe in South Africa, I love Cape Town, I will never leave South Africa, I believe in South Africa as a dream and the South African dream is to build South Africa and how do you build South Africa you give South Africans opportunities, we are not here to build India for example.

Interviewer

If that is all that you want to share then I thank you very much for your time. If there are any questions that I have in future before I round up this project could I contact you?

Participant Y

Yes sure, I will be most welcome to answer any question you may remember tomorrow for example.

Interviewer

I know we have stopped the interview but you mentioned when I asked you about what you, when I said transformation you said that you had other ideas, would you like to elaborate on this?

Participant Y

You see, transformation the way I see it is not the way maybe not people think it is and what is written in the dictionary for example, I think transformation is also in the mind, you have to change your mindset, the way you think, the way you were conditioned especially people that come from the past that come from maybe, that was comfortable during apartheid, you know and uh so I think that they have been conditioned about the so called 'swaart gevaar', things won't run properly if you have blacks in certain jobs, things are going to go backward, I think that also needs to change, that is also transformation. Transformation of your mind, your mindset, and also getting South Africans that were disadvantaged in the past giving them more senior positions and opportunities to get into senior positions.

Interviewer

Let us just pick up on what your were saying that transformation is not just the physical restructuring but also of the mind and you mentioned earlier on in your experience inter racial relationships between people are quite good and given that would you say that there has been a transformation of the mind?

Participant Y

You see, I don't think so from certain people, especially the older generation that have lived through apartheid, especially among the white community, I don't think that they have accepted fully what has happened and like I said it is because of their conditioning in the past, they will always talk about emigrating, they will always bring out that topic. I

can give you a good example. We had an HOD in this department, acting HOD who was heavily involved in the struggle and who was a very liberal guy, Mr. J, and I was in this department at that time and this was post 1994 and you would think that because this was a person who was heavily involved in the struggle, his main gripe was that the government has let crime go out of control so he has emigrated to XXX and took his whole family to XXX and he has made it openly public that this is the reason why he was going because he did not want his children to grow up in this environment, I forgot to tell you about that experience.

Interviewer

Is there anything else that you want to add? You can email me or let me know, or post it.

Participant Y

I would like people to know what I said. I am not scared and I have been through a lot, this is Mickey Mouse...

END



TRANSCRIPTION

Participant X
University of Cape Town
Faculty of Health Sciences
Transcribed from tape recording

Interviewer

The project was approved by the Health Sciences Human Ethics and my host institutions' Human Ethics. I have questions to guide the conversation but it is an unstructured interview so you can say whatever comes to mind and the topic again is: the perceptions of transformation more or less along the lines of race...

Participant X

Specifically within Health Sciences?

Interviewer

Yes within the Health Sciences Faculty. Exploring perceptions of transformation along the lines of race. The reason why I have asked you is because you have been here for a long time and you are able to compare if there has been any changes in attitudes and in terms of their relationships with one another, especially since the transformation process has been started in 1998. I have divided the interview into two sections. The first one is to explore what your background is, where do you come from, within the political context in South Africa, your political background...

Participant X

..My political background...

Interviewer

Just your background in general, where you grew up...

Participant X

Ok, I grew up in Durban in the early sixties, I went to a coloured school, that time everything was, apartheid was in full force, went to a coloured school, had many white teachers and uh that changed in high school, the white teachers had to be removed to be replaced by coloured teachers. I thought that we had a very good education, but living separately. The only things that bothered me was when as a child we would go to the beach front and we could not use the facilities, the fun facilities that were for whites and we never went to the restaurants because they were all for whites and you know you just become socialized into that kind of situation and uh also I got involved in theatre, it was a very political kind of theatre, through music and theatre we tried to show up the situation in a very colourful and light hearted way. We did have a show called the 'Colourful World' and the security police were there every other night and eventually they took all the scripts and stopped the show. We eventually were going to take it around South

Africa but they stopped it. It was a fun show but it showed up apartheid in such a funny way and it had full audiences every night but obviously we could not continue. I think that it was after that that I gave up the theatre. In my twenties I moved to Cape Town. I found Cape Town to be a lot less racially divided than Durban. Somehow the other, every group was kept completely separate, the blacks or the whites or the Indians or the coloureds and each group would have their separate issues of each other. If it wasn't a black white thing then it was an Indian coloured thing and then an Indian black thing and a coloured black thing and a white to everybody else thing. I must say within myself I always felt that I was just a person, people needed to accept me for who I was and I accepted everybody irrespective of what their colour was as a human being. That for me was my philosophy.

Interviewer

Where did that come from?

Participant X

I don't know. I think it was because I started reading at a very young age and the fact also that my dad was an Indian and my mother was from Cape Town and I went to a coloured school and eventually when I started working it was with a variety of people...

Interviewer

And your theatre experience...

Participant X

And my theatre experience mainly it was just whites or coloured at the time and Indian which was part of the theatre group. We met different people, like Athol Fugard and Ivan Bryson when she was around and they were also very much into political kind of theatre and they came to Durban and then we got them to host the show. We mixed in way with different people and also I had friends at work who were white. I think for me it just wasn't an issue and I don't think it affected me badly as a lot of other people and I think that it was mainly my attitude although I lived separately, my vision was different and how I saw people was different and I expected them to see me in that way, they did not see me in that way. That was how I grew up and it is still like that today. I moved to Cape town you know I do see the changes yes, because people are freer and they can move a lot more freely where they could not before. Somehow or the other relationships I don't think have changed that much especially in the working environment. I think that people are more accepting of one another...

Interviewer

They are more tolerant...

Participant X

Tolerant, you find people build friendships from different race groups, I mean I take myself, I meet students from different countries and we have actually built up friendships you know, I could go and visit them in Uganda or the States or wherever, you know. I think that people are a lot more tolerant and I think since 1992 a lot of people have made

the effort and many people don't have the choice a lot of relationships are far better now and I think the nice thing is that people are given more educational opportunities and that kind of thing.

Interviewer

When did you start working at UCT?

Participant X

1989. I had a broken service, I went into the private sector and then I came back again.

Interviewer

So in comparison, were you always in this department?

Participant X

No, I started in the department of VVV in 1988 and at that time whites were still in the top positions and there were virtually no blacks on the staff apart from cleaners and people who were departmental assistants, sort of being lowly paid jobs. There were, the people in administrative positions were mainly coloured but also in the secretarial area, but there weren't very many, and also up in the finance department, but over the years, more and more coloured staff were hired and in very recent times black staff and even then not very many in administrative positions. I think that it is getting better if you go to finance. At Health Sciences Faculty I don't see too much of it, of diversity of staff in administrative areas. I think in the Faculty office you have got a few, but generally around, academics are getting better into decent positions.

Interviewer

In comparison, in terms of looking at relationships between people, when you started in 1989 and you look at it now, in between then and now there was a transformation process and transformation is quite a broad concept and maybe I should just ask what your perception is of transformation. What is your understanding of that concept of transformation?

Participant X

Transformation is looking at a change in the way things have happened and how it should happen and the process of change and change in this sense is change from an apartheid system to an integrated system, that is how I see what transformation should be. The change being tolerance where everybody tolerated everybody else irrespective of their race, where opportunities are open to everybody in this case more so for disadvantaged because they have been undermined for so long. You know just general opportunities, educational opportunities, business opportunities, academic, everything, for me that is transformation, everybody has a say, it is like democracy,

Interviewer

So it is a wholesome concept incorporating everything from relationships to changing the whole culture of work...

Participant X

Yes, yes, that is transformation...

Interviewer

Do you think that we have succeeded thus far in, has transformation occurred?

Participant X

In certain areas yes, in other areas, no. you know there is lot of talk about transformation and sometimes departments in the Health Sciences Faculty think that they are doing great because they employed so many black people and on a closer look, most of those black people may be out in the field as research staff. If you look at the academic structure there is virtually no black in the top positions in the top academic positions, there is not even many in the administrative positions in some departments. So I think that there is a lot of lip service as well. There is a lot of people who sit on committees who voice their, you know, how it should be. I think that there are too many meetings and not enough gets done.

Interviewer

Why do you think that is so, are people fearful?

Participant X

Some people are but I think a lot of people, it can also be a status thing where you are seen to be progressive or pushing the cause forward. It is a status thing and often the academic who is in that position is far too busy with his own thing, he sits in these meetings and nothing gets done about it, you know although the faculty now from the top they are trying to push it if you look at the HR forms where you are obliged to say are you meeting your equity targets but many people don't know what their equity targets are or should be. Many HODs still don't know what it should be. Any person filling out an admin form, ok even though it has got to be signed off by the HOD, doesn't even know what the equity targets are? So is it just another exercise that is going to fall by the way side? Although somehow I think that they are trying to push it. We will see. The other thing as well, there is not enough space given for training for disadvantaged in order to meet equity targets. How many people do you find out there have the experience to come into a specific job, I mean you don't want to set somebody up for failure either, so I think people are not getting adequate training to fill positions that are vacated by white staff or coloured staff. If a person is put into a training position to check up on what level is this person so if they want to promote transformation they have got to look at that kind of thing, there is either never money for that. There is the excuse that there is no money to put people into training, you know. They can learn the job, it might be happening elsewhere in the university but I don't know enough about what is happening in the Health Sciences Faculty to say that this is actually happening.

Interviewer

So redress is important but what is also important is that people have to put in effort into making it work...

Participant X

I have experience of people telling me of few academics having left here because there was no career pathing, they were always over looked and they have felt it, they have raised it and they have found other jobs outside the university, they were getting more there and I see it over and over again and it is who you know and I find the white staff often getting promoted.

Interviewer

Do you find similar instances with administrative staff?

Participant X

I find similar things with admin staff. You find that white staff members constantly get promoted, most coloured staff or black staff, they have always got to prove themselves, they always have to be doing far more than what the job requires in order to say hey am I worth it yet, you know, and I have had personal experience with that, you know, that is the kind of thing that still exists and I don't know what it is going to take to get rid of that because you must remember that a lot of people in top positions have also been around for a long time and how much of transformation happens within themselves is another story you know. Do they still carry all the old ways of doing things and attitudes?

Interviewer

In your experience do they?

Participant X

I think they do.

Interviewer

It comes through in what you have just mentioned now, where certain groups of staff are favoured...

Participant X

It is subtle but it is there.

Interviewer

People are tolerant, so there is a kind of ambiguity in a way.

Participant X

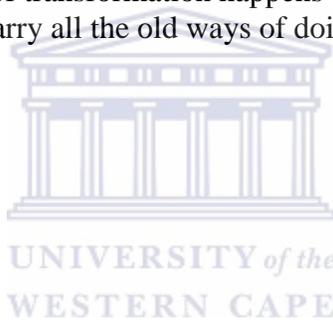
Yes, yes.

Interviewer

People are tolerant but when it comes down to doing something to show that they have transformed or that there is transformation it does not happen, there is lip service.

Participant X

You usually find in this situation, I am not mentioning names or anything, in this situation, you find that there is a huge group of black staff and it looks good on paper, but



where are they and who are they? They are all pay class 8's to 7's or 6's or they are cleaners at sites so it looks good but it, you have to look where they are fitting in, you look at the academic staff then you will see. You look at the administrative staff then there is maybe one. There are mainly coloured and a couple of white staff and definitely in my experience, they get favoured in promotions, certain people can come and go as they please they never get questioned,

Interviewer

Certain groups of people?

Participant X

Certain groups of people, they never get questioned. Yet the moment you are in a different group, you are not following the rules which they perceive the rules to be, you get questioned about it

Interviewer

So there is still discrimination but on...

Participant X

Yes there is but on a subtle level.

Interviewer

It is almost like pettiness, petty apartheid in a way...

Participant X

That's it.

Interviewer

It is not law but a sort of etiquette.

Participant X

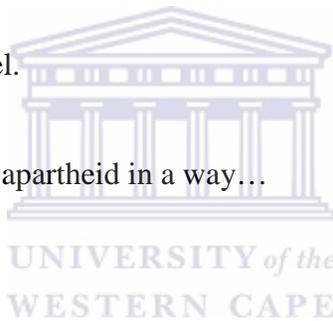
It is very subtle but it is there. Because I am a sensitive person I pick it up very quickly, I can pick it up, I am sensitive to these kinds of things and I come through the system. I know what it is like. I have worked in other parts of the university as well and I have experienced it, I have seen it happen in a different area that I have worked in, very blatant at that.

Interviewer

Are there any other accounts that you can recall certain forms of subtle discrimination or incidences that you can relate to?

Participant X

Just relationships or work wise?



Interviewer

Yes work shares in your experience. You have mentioned one aspect where certain groups of people are just sort of allowed to do as they please. Are there any other examples that you can relate to?

Participant X

Salary wise. They always seem to get more than anybody else and always somehow get promoted and...

Interviewer

And in terms of relationships

Participant X

I don't know how many people mix as in after hours mixing or socializing in that way. Look often there is a group at the end of the year where everybody comes together, lot of people feel uncomfortable in that situation, like this year for instance there is a whole group that preferred to go on their own and have Xmas dinner. It was just uncomfortable, they were not happy with the previous one, the food was lousy and there were a whole lot of issues. They thought that they would do something on their own. My life is so busy I don't check to see who is getting on with what afterwards. I don't know how much socializing there really is, outside...

Interviewer

But the discomfort that you are you referring to?

Participant X

I think that certain groups of people feel they can't let their hair down because of who is there and I think that that is where the discomfort comes in when people have to behave in a certain kind of way or expected to behave in a certain kind of way.

Interviewer

What I am hearing you say is every group of persons, be they white, black or coloured or whatever, have got perceptions of how they should be acting in that situation so everyone is thinking the same thing about the other one, so maybe...

Participant X

I don't know, some people just take it for granted this is how they normally behave, that that group should behave the way we behave, and that group is thinking or probably expecting me to behave in the way they want me to behave. If you think about this country everybody wants to be white, in inverted commas. If you look at the way things are going, everybody wants to behave in a certain way that depicts how whites behave, it is like the Americans, everybody wants to be like Americans because they see them to be some kind of superior bunch. In this country it is the same the whites were always the superior ones and people tend to want the same education, they want the same way of living, the same way of speaking, the same mannerisms and this is what people are striving towards. It is just a whole globalisation thing you know, everybody wants to be

American and follow the American thing and it is all a superpower and the whites here are seen to be part of that whole superpower thing everybody wants to depict that because they have always had the best of everything, the best education, the best homes, everybody is striving for that. With the breaking down of apartheid, people had more access to, its more accessible now, that is how I see it, that is my perception.

Interviewer

Within the department how would you say it is, we talked about EE and sort of recruiting people, but in terms of inter racial cultural within your environment, how would you, you talked about it earlier from your point of view and background that you were ok with everybody, it does not matter...

Participant X

It does not matter who you are and I just feel that if you don't accept me for who I am then it is your problem not mine and I accept everybody the way they are. I think generally in this school people seem to get on well with one another. I don't know of particular racial altercations amongst anybody here but also people won't voice their opinion of somebody whom they are uncomfortable with so you never know. There have never been incidences, let us put it like that. But in my speaking to people yes they feel that, there are a lot of people who are students as well and they feel, they are in class, in a lecture, they are ignored, over white students, because the white students are more verbal and they always feel intimidated in class. I have also heard of research staff saying to me that they also, the white staff are favoured above them when it comes to promotions and when the contract comes to an end they are the first ones to go. There are racial overtones or undertones whatever you call and I think that does get discussed but generally talk to whom they are comfortable with, it never gets brought to the surface. We have started meetings here, transformation meetings and people don't attend them, it is very badly attended. What people feel is that it is a waste of time. Nothing changes.

Interviewer

Who feels that, coloured people?

Participant X

Coloured and black people. Feel that it is a waste of time. It gets raised but nothing happens.

Interviewer

Do you think that there is such a thing as real transformation?

Participant X

I think that it will be a gradual process and I think that transformation has happened if you look around South Africa, you will see that there is a huge change to what there was before, some negative most positive, I think transformation is like evolution it has to evolve, the main structure that have been taken away like apartheid has been taken away. Transformation is happening, you look on television, you see how people have transformed you mean from what television used to be like to what it is today, I mean

there is a big change, yes there is a huge amount of poverty and there is huge population of people that may never transform simply because of, there needs to be another form of transformation within the government, they need to transform so that the bigger picture is looked at, poverty can be addressed the economy can be addressed and all these things that needs to come from the top, there is a lot of corruption up there which actually handles transformation, the money grabbing, the filling of pockets and that kind of thing and I think that that is another area that needs to change in order to have real change.

Interviewer

Do you have any fears around transformation?

Participant X

No the only fear that I have is, are you talking about within the university or just generally?

Interviewer

Well let's start within the faculty.

Participant X

Well I don't really because transformation is really slow, what I do feel on a personal level, they are looking at employing people, as far as employment goes they are looking at the equity thing, they are looking at first taking black female depending on the kind of area that it is, they are looking at the profile, they are appointing people whether they are fully qualified for it or not is another story, but it is going to make it more difficult to move and change jobs within the university, for me not being a white person, it is not a fear but I think it may impact on my moving around my employment opportunities within the university, it is not a fear really but it is a possibility, in fact a good possibility.

Interviewer

So it is something to be concerned about?

Participant X

It is a concern and I am looking for something worthwhile, but the person who has potential and who is black is going to be the person that will more likely get the position, even though I am fully qualified to do the job, the whole equity thing has to look at whether that person has the potential to do the job. They would rather take the person who has the potential and pay the person less rather than take me who has experience. It is a concern. If I had another form of income it would not worry me, but for a single parent it can be a concern because sometimes you are stuck in a place and your salary is not going to go up, working conditions may not change, then you need to move on because that is the only way to gain experience is to move. After a few years you have to move and learn new things and for me that is important.

Interviewer

Does the university pay enough attention to the administrative component of the university staff compared to the amount of attention paid to academic staff?

Participant X

No, admin staff just has to produce and academic staff is encouraged. They go on courses, conferences, you know, again I can't say for all departments because I don't have experience in other departments, but often the admin person has to initiate something. When I applied for this job I also applied for a B Ed honours and I asked the person who was taking me on whether I could take half an hour off earlier to make my classes at the end of the day. He said he would not take me. Here was somebody trying to hamper my education at the university. Here was this person saying that he would not accept it. I would of course work in the time that I left early. I did get the job anyway, but he was reluctant. That was an eye opener for me. Here was somebody who was trying to hamper my education. If you were an academic then you would be encouraged to do it. Why shouldn't admin people educate themselves?

Interviewer

Is there anything else that you would like to share?

Participant X

A lot has happened in this past ten years and a lot should still happen. It will take time. People at the top need to be given more of a push. There are too many people giving lip service.

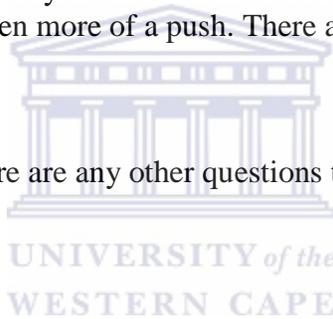
Interviewer

Thanks for the interview. If there are any other questions that I have could I email you?

Participant X

Yes of course.

END



TRANSCRIPTION

Participant Z
University of Cape Town
Faculty of Health Sciences
Transcribed from tape recording

Interviewer

What do you mean by subservience?

Participant Z

This whole incident arose from, from our office, you know in the past we used to...if you look at the past we used to get tea and coffee and sugar from the office. Each office used to get their supply free of charge and you could have as many coffees and teas as you want, many years ago. Then we had a coffee and tea club fund and we bought tea and coffee and so on. I used to that, keep tea and coffee and so and make sure that...ok so, my career progressed, I moved and I thought that I don't have time to go and buy tea and coffee, nobody else wanted to do that and nobody else wanted to collect the money and I didn't have the time to do all of this as well. And nobody volunteered. This was a volunteer thing so you need to volunteer to get it going...you cant have tea and coffee and whatever goes with it, you people need to have a fund going...that was not going, anyway Prof Y that time decided ok lets used from the department money to buy coffee and tea...we have cost recovery, we generate money, we have got excess...lets thank them that way...we had to use the funds from petty cash. It was not my job then, coffee and tea...then the money run up, no more cost recovery, he moved on he moved up he moved out of the department, Prof X came in so he says no, that's rubbish that is not going to happen anymore. They are NHLS, they are NHLS staff the NHLS must supply their coffee and tea. This was a whole drama saga thing and I was in the middle of it. Uhm, and then he said no! Eventually Mrs. M organized tea and coffee and at the end of the day I had to live with the tea and coffee because it was stored in my office. Coffee and tea and milk and sugar, in my office. So, whenever they run out the tea lady, from super care service she comes to fetch from me and so on but in the morning, every Jack and Jane, that wanted tea early in the morning, before I even put mine back in my locker "Mrs. R there is no milk, there is no tea!" and the way that they would ask would be in a rude manner man. There is no tea there is no milk, you no, you are supposed to see and make sure that it is always there. And it is not even tea time. But this particular woman, the manner in which she asks, "where is the tea! Where is the coffee! Where is it!" now I don't get the milk, Mrs. M must place an order and get a requisition from the NHLS and then the milk will arrive. I am dependent on NHLS for supplies so if there is no milk or if it will arrive in two weeks then there is no milk then tough you know, it is not my problem anymore, you guys have to go to the shop and go buy. Ag man this woman comes to me and says that there is no milk as if I carry the milk home. I don't get here first at work; the other secretaries get here first. When she gets here then Mrs. C says off hand that there is no milk, but the way the other woman like says. "where is the milk!" you know like the whole tone of voice the way she says it is like you guys are taking! The milk, you are using the milk, ya we want the milk and not please can we have some

milk. You know if you are making some tea then you will offer someone to make tea as well and it is not even tea time. She says this to the Supercare lady as well.

So, the other morning I hear the story again. They complained again. Prof X said that Mrs. G was here and that she wanted milk. So I went to them and said that I placed an order but the milk was not here yet, so I said, "Must I give you milk from my breast!" that is the way that I thought about it and I used to joke like that. Look here I am going to get a cow in this place, and then we can get regular milk then we will have no problem. So this particular morning, I went to my office and carried on with my work. Tea time I went into the staff room and she is there. I had forgotten what had happened in the morning and then she like starts and she says uhm, "you know the store is out of milk?" but the way that she carries on man. So loud.

Interviewer

Is she always like that?

Participant Z

Her tone with her friends with her white friends, she is not like that, with her click of friends. With the coloureds, and I think that the way she was dealing with me and the Supercare staff and with Mrs. C and so on and the other secretaries, was very bullying and domineering...you guys must listen when I say do this. You must get it and go fetch you know. So when the milk ran out in the staff room, when the milk is stored in my office, in Prof X's office, and then she will say, "Oh there is no milk!", then she will like expect me to like leave my tea and go fetch. Then I would go and say look here just go help you there. And then this morning there was nothing. There was absolutely nothing. She said that you could have said that there was nothing. She had offered to go and take from her petty cash, from NHLS petty cash and go and purchase milk from downstairs at Pick 'n Pay. Then she said there is nothing here so I said that I had black coffee, I am having black tea. But then she carried on. Then I turned around and said, "You either stop it or I will stop you!" you either stop it! Stop it! And then I walked off man. Then she came behind me and asked me, "Who do you think that you are speaking to?" I said that I was speaking to you. I said get out of my face now. You see nobody ever spoke to her this way. I thought to myself that she needed some of her own treatment. I have always accepted the way you treated me and the way that you spoke to me. I would run and get the milk and make sure that you are happy but I am not going to do this anymore I don't have to do this anymore. I don't have to take this anymore, you are just another staff member like me, and you are not even a superior to me. We don't even work for the same employer. And she like looks at me and she is walking out. I am so angry, so angry that I am shivering from anger now, that I put my cup of tea down and thought to myself than I am not going to say anything more to you, I am going to go out to the office and out of the staff room and she walks out of the staff room, and she comes back, it is almost like, no, no. this is...

Interviewer

She was looking for a confrontation.

Participant Z

Yes, she didn't get, she, she, I now started something; this was not going to happen to her. Then she says uhm...this must come to an end. I said look here, I tell you what, it will come to and end, it will come to and end today. You will come and fetch that tea and milk out of my office, come fetch everything and you will keep it downstairs there by you. I don't have to keep it. It is not my baby. I looked after your guys' tea; I don't have to do this. You are being spoilt. Come fetch it now! Come fetch it! Then she huffed then she walked. And then Mrs. M and then after that I had my tea, just cooled down here. I had my tea and then I went straight into Prof X's office and said look at here, this is what happened. I want this out of your office now. I don't have to accept this behaviour from anybody especially that woman. She is a bully and this is not necessary especially the way she treats and talks to...she talks to everybody this morning in a way that she felt that we had to be bullied into something for her. I am not going to accept it and I just told here that we are not going to accept it anymore. It ends today. So he phones Mrs. M, and he told her that she come and fetch the milk and you guys can some sort it downstairs, because he had experienced the same thing. She just walked into his office; I mean not even showing respect, he is the HOD. She just walks in and says, "I am looking for milk!" She did it to me as well. You know, that behaviour, somebody else now keeps the milk downstairs. It is being kept with a white typist downstairs and if the typist is not there then she will get the milk from whomever. The Supercare lady must now sign in when she takes the milk, how many litres and sign how many tea bags she took. When it was me then I just gave it because I trusted I mean this was for the department. There was nobody else using it. This was the most distrust, it was actually the reason that she was going on like this like we were carrying off the stuff.

Interviewer

She had like had preconceived ideas of what coloured people are...

Participant Z

Yes, yes we are all stealing. And even what the results of this uhm...this whole tea...uhm I asked Mrs. B the Supercare lady downstairs, sometimes in the morning this people go into the staff room looking for a cup of tea and then there is no milk. She has been instructed that she can't come and fetch milk before 10h30; otherwise they will use the milk up. They never thought of it at anytime of the day, all of them, the technologists, they come at any time of the day even at lunch time to come and fetch tea, milk, sugar from my office. They didn't realize that they were disturbing me for this tea thing. But you know when she goes down she says you can only go down a certain hour. It was also good that it went down there. It was abused in a way because they thought that they could come at any time and just get it from me at any time. It was actually a bad thing because in my situation it was like this, it was not my stuff. It was NHLS stuff. They are NHLS staff and it belongs to them. It was for their joy. If they want it they must come fetch you know and help them to it. But now you can see it moved. The whole mindset was that it was being stolen.

Interviewer

They could not trust you?

Participant Z

Ya it was that type of behaviour.

Interviewer

But also did they usually if you have the office space, say for example where I work there is a certain space where I can feel comfortable going into without really asking someone, but it does not sound like they were on that relationship level with you but they acted like they were. So there was a certain amount of disrespect.

Participant Z

Yes, they would walk for instance, for a few days for a couple of weeks she would not greet. I mean I greeted her, I have nothing against you, I just thought that you were not going to bully me. That was over. I should have done it a long time ago. She comes into my office, she does not greet. You know it is natural for me to greet someone, whether you sitting in my office, I am going to greet you in any case, whether you greet me or not I am going to greet you. She will not even greet back.

Interviewer

How long has she been here?

Participant Z

She has been here longer than me. Longer...

Interviewer

How long do you think that she has been here?

Participant Z

She has been here for twenty...she went away...she was working here when I came and then she had gone and had children, then she came back here. She had a headache on Friday, I keep Panado's in my office and people always come look here for Panado's, she had a headache and I was thinking to myself after she left, I don't even begrudge her, I don't even feel angry I don't feel anything, I mean she is just another human being, just another colleague here. You could see that she had difficulty in greeting. She couldn't say hello or hi or whatever the case may be. She asked me for a headache tablet. I was thinking that I don't have any more tablets and I was thinking, "you know you have got a headache but your headache will go away of you are nice to people."

Interviewer

So you think that she's like an uptight person?

Participant Z

She is. You know we make excuses for them, I make excuses for her. They are obviously fearful of the future and what is happening at the university and what is happening with their jobs. But they are fearful of their security, but that is me, I will try and put myself in people's shoes and she say ag man she is also a woman and she has also had her share of



strife with her husband and being divorced and you know and having to be the sole parent and all those things, I am making excuses for her for her behaviour you know and I think and then I tell myself it does not matter about your behaviour because I actually know what you are going through. So I can already forgive you...

Interviewer

but don't you think that is ironic, I mean you mentioned earlier on from what you said it sounds like, and I see the irony in it, the so-called whites are always saying you must forget and move on but yet it sounds like it was easier for people who were oppressed to move on and maybe on a more subtle level those who oppressed in the past, are finding it difficult to move on with a new way of living, so it is like an irony,...

Participant Z

It is you know, I come from that era of being oppressed uhm, and I have been on this diversity workshop as well and one of the outcomes of that workshop was that we had to divide into two groups the white group and the black group, and the coloureds had formed part of the black group. We were had discussed our behaviours and our thoughts and feelings of one another, to the other and they had done the same and one of the things that came up was that, you know because we, as as uhm, even though we were oppressed and our situations we were never as bad as the black people were, they were always. They were always worse off and we were always considered, I mean even then, our parents, a lot of the things I even said in the workshop, was we were always told by our parents that we were ok and that we did not need to get involved in all this radical stuff, that we have an education and that we have a roof over your head and you have food on the table, you are actually ok and we looked on white people as giving us opportunities to get a job and get a better job than blacks, so they created that environment of making it seem as if we were better and almost but not as good as them but it was ok, we were kept in our places and thought. In our workplace, and when I came to that place, I started working there in 1989, so it was still part of apartheid,

Interviewer

What was it like then, that was like the hey-day...the mass democratic movement...

Participant Z

You know because of the way we were brought up, you knew there was the division and you respected that division. There were no blacks working in our department as well, there were just coloureds and whites. At that time, we could use the toilets, there weren't many divisions of using those facilities, yet in that staff room, that staff room, they should actually demolish it. Because in the staff room we had different tea times, during that time we had a different HOD. There was a time when the whites went and there was a time when the coloured went and never the two shall meet at the same time. We had functions and we would all be together and we would have it in the staff room and they would go to their side of the room and we would go to our side of the room. That did not change.

Interviewer

It didn't change?

Participant Z

It didn't change.

Interviewer

It is still the same?

Participant Z

It is still the same.

Interviewer

Exactly the same?

Participant Z

Exactly the same!

Interviewer

The same space?

Participant Z

The space is the same! The furniture has not changed the people are the same, people have not moved on. The HOD's have changed. The people have remained and they have been the same persons since 1989 and they were before me here and they are still there. There is, there is, after 1994 you could see that there was slight change, people wanting to know each other, the only time, the staff parties, well the staff parties were terrible, even Mr. M would, I would say that we are having a function at the end of the year and he would say that he was not going to that place where you guys sit in one corner and the whites sit in one corner and then they talk shop and they talk about doctor stuff. It has not really changed and you know it can change, there is a lot of people in that department that will help change but here are still certain people, that one woman in particular, last year still, I remember last year, I was part of the end of the year organizing the function, at the end of the day I felt that it was my sole responsibility of organizing that function. Everybody was to get involved but when it came to the end of the year, everybody seemed to be busy, you know when it comes to who was organizing it, then when it came to who was arranging the catering then this woman comes along, "we are not going to have Muslim food, we are not going to cater for Muslims."

Interviewer

But there are Muslims in your department?

Participant Z

Lots of Muslims in our department and two years ago I decided. Last year I told them that I am not having another function with you; I refused to have another function with you.

The minute you say that you are going to put pig on the table, and then I walk out. The minute you say this is not an end of year function, it is a Xmas function then I will walk out. That will be the end of organizing from this office I will tell you I will end because you are not thinking of the Hindus in the department, the Christians in the department the Muslims in the department all you think of is satisfying your stomach and our idea of having a good time.

Interviewer

Do you think that is one person or does she represent a group of people?

Participant Z

She influences a lot of people, what happens is that she is the instigator of making people think either they side with Mrs. R or anybody that says you should have Muslim food, at the end of the day we must have a function because people are asking everyday Mrs. R what are we going to do. Mrs. R gets involved and let's have a function. So I go to her we are going to have a function the department is going to put x money the NHLS is going to put x amount of money we need staff to also put money in to make this thing work. The minute you start talking about the function then I said we are going to use Muslim caterers there is no two ways about it. No she says no no, I am not going to have Muslim food I cant eat Muslim food, they do not want to eat our food why must we eat their food. My thing was if we don't have a problem eating what we can we are not obliged to fall within any parameters of eating certain foods so must respect people that do that is their religion If we had restrictions then we would expect people to respect us but we don't. So why not accommodate each other that were my thing. Why can't we accommodate each other?

Interviewer

So why do you think she is being like that is it just lack of respect?

Participant Z

Her thing is I am not going to give you your way I am not going to give Muslims their way – every year was a problem the Muslims in fact pulled out of the organizing. They are going to organize their own thing. Often times we said we are not going to do that. Some years when Eid was before Christmas then they will bail out so it was an excuse. We will have our celebrations after Ramadan and then we would do that. And they would be saved because of that in fact they would not even consider conflict. They won't even consider standing up for what they believe in they would talk about it amongst themselves. Last year we were having this Muslim thing and we were getting caterers and so on I brought the menus she looked at it and said I don't want to eat this in fact she said we have used this people often before, the university uses caterers often then she said no I want references for this caterers so I said no we have used them before and the university used them before they are good caterers I would want to eat good food but she insisted she wants references. I called the caterers and told them what this woman wanted she said Mrs. R you are insulting me now. I told her that this woman wanted references. This woman is doing this to me now she wants references to say you are good then she would be happy. So we got the references I gave it to Mrs. G so she said

no I still don't want them and we are going to do our own thing in fact she is a caterer herself. I said it is not going to work. Anyway I made up my mind by going to Prof H and said we are going to have a split party we are all going to be in one venue with two caterers afterwards I could not handle her anymore. I told her to do what you want to do organize everything – use your money this is half the money. In fact this is what I am going to do for you I will find out in the staff room we decided who is going to go where some staff members said they were going to come with this caterers and some said with Mrs. G's caterers and there were Muslim people with Mrs. G's caterers – so I asked them tell me now why do I go to the effort to get Muslim caterers and then you go with Mrs. G's caterers? Because she is not going to have Muslim food for you. Why am I putting myself out in defending you why can't you stand up for yourselves because some of these people work with her in the lab and that is why they do not want to go up against her..

Interviewer

So basically they are going to eat her food?

Participant Z

No they were going to bring their own meat but eat from her salads. They will bring their own meat and braai their own meat.

Interviewer

So what does that mean, do you think that they are scared of her?

Participant Z

They are scared of her. They were scared of her. The one guy I know bought a car from her and they were like friends because they work together. It has got to do with principles. Don't complain in the staff room later on that you guys don't look out for the Muslims. We are always outsiders and outcasts and all that. When it comes to defending in what you believe in, then you going to chicken out. Then we had this function. Our was nicely spread out our caterers catered well we had puddings and cakes and lovely stuff the people that went to her function when they saw our stuff they wanted to eat by us so I told them that they can't eat by us.

Interviewer

So it was one venue but two different caterers?

Participant Z

In fact it was three because the Muslims had their own food and their own braai. Most of the doctors had gone with her when they saw the food and all the deserts her deserts was watermelon, ice cream, etc.

Interviewer

They could have made a compromise because it was just the meat that was an issue.

Participant Z

But her whole thing was that she was not going to back down and she was going to do it her way.

Interviewer

She was not even willing to compromise?

Participant Z

No she had given money to the Muslims to buy their own meat and stuff. There was lots of food so we said come eat and help yourselves and there was this cross pollination of people coming across. There should not be a situation of where you are going to eat and so on. She caused this animosity then Prof X said no we are not going to do this again. When she started coming into his office last year he said no she walks right past me into his office she does not even knock on his door. She says what are we going to do about the function and he said there is not going to be a function. He said from my experience and what is happening he won't be having any function in this department anymore. If we can't cater for everybody then that will be my stance on this matter and now there has been talk of arranging something we did have some nice functions in the past going out and so on. But it has always been the case of accommodating and complying with what they want. It is not all of them it is a click of people even the older people are better. It is more the females we don't have white male administrators and technologists and so on. In the lab itself and this all comes up to our office and he has released himself from that responsibility with the animosity of that situation of that vibe of that superiority like you do it now and do it the way I want to that is still the same. We do have some black people working in the department. They are not quiet and they have been told not to be quiet by their supervisor to express how they feel and they have they have come to him to complain this is what is happening in the lab we are being bullied by the whites and we are made to feel that we are not part of the team it is a team effort. They have been delegated to do the doggy type work but this is in the labs.

Some of the staff that has left could not wait to leave because of the unhappiness. The young people refuse to work in that environment I can understand the people that have been working there for many years – they become use to the environment or accept it but the younger trainees that became the qualified technologists they refused. They used to sit in my office and tell me they were leaving because there I know I will be treated well because of my qualification. Accordingly but I have been treated so like a second class citizen, like a second rate worker all the time no matter how well I do. The minute I do something wrong then I am the pits that was unacceptable. Even senior people would make mistakes none of them are perfect in their work.

Interviewer

But they were not reprimanded for it?

Participant Z

No.

Interviewer

So you think it is because white maybe have the perception that you were appointed because of affirmative action, because of your colour?

Participant Z

No, because in this situation they I would not say that actually does not come up. I think they regard their qualification in quite high esteem their qualifications as medical technologists. And whether you are black, coloured or white you have achieved quite high qualifications not once in the workplace you are being treated as you are doing the doggy type work. In my situation I always say it does not matter what you do it's the experience you eventually get to come up to their level. Then there was this one girl who was talking of leaving to me for many months something had happened there where she had come from and she said she was going back now because now she had a reason to go back. I wanted to leave a long time ago but this was a good reason but my mother my parents. They needed me and my excuse was that I had to go. She was a qualified technologist and she said Mrs. R why can't I become a secretary why can't I study what you are doing. I was looking for other courses for her and I was telling her listen here you are a black woman who will have lots of opportunities available for you just because you are black and because you are human. Why would you want to think about leaving just wait until these people go and then this opportunity may develop for you she said no she can't wait? I can't wait for people to die or leave.

Interviewer

But that is basically what has to happen.

Participant Z

Yes they must leave, retire or you know or resign. That is never going to happen because they are all at risk. I encouraged her to do a management course to become skilled and then you can become a manager. And then you will be better prepared they want black people to become managers. Wait don't leave then of cause the crisis happened in her family and then she left and she had an excuse to go. It is in most of us it was in me many years ago I was so grateful to be in the position I was I would not have thought of leaving or changing jobs for the very fact that they chose me out of quite a few people. Who am I to want to leave because of my own reason? I never thought that I should look out for myself and do this for myself I need to be happy no matter how unhappy I was. And I was unhappy at the job. You would not believe.

Interviewer

What were the reasons was it work related?

Participant Z

No it was in relationships. Two HOD's ago.

Interviewer

What was it like before Prof X? Were they white? How was your relationship with them?

Participant Z

Yes they were white with the one just before Prof X he was a very good leader. I owe him a lot in making me believe that you can make it happen for yourself you can actually do it and you don't have to stay here to make it happen. He was one of the first people that encouraged and saw potential and said that you can do it but you have to provide the opportunity to make it happen. If ever you should have met a charismatic leader then it is that HOD he spoke and walked the talk. People did not like him a lot because he was very business minded and he wasn't doing as much clinical work as they would have liked him to have done and so he was concentrating more and HOD's do have a lot of administrative work but he was good at it. And he always used to say if you can't get something right because of all the paperwork and applications and submissions that we had to put in that bureaucratic system is working because we are taking so long to get what we want. He always used to admire them and he said they are doing their job right. Their job is to stop us from getting what we want because of the bureaucratic system that it is. Then he said because I know how to get through the system he knew how to work the system and he said I will show you how to get through the system. And that is what he taught me he said never take no for an answer. One letter came back rejecting his request that is because of the system that was in place and their job is to stop getting finance because that is their job to stop budget from coming through. Your job is to get through that and get beyond that and that is what he believed in fighting the system and never accepting what is given to you. He was a different type of leader. The one before him was

Interviewer

Each HOD is different. I was just wondering about this one person in particular and how she relates to people and you and your current HOD. Was she different with the other HOD's

Participant Z

She tried to do the same she did exactly the same. This was the way we were brought up to think whites had the authority to walk in anywhere they want and did what they want to. She would just walk into his office and at that time I thought to myself that you must make an appointment you know. His door is open but you can't just walk in and demand and say that this is what I want and then walk out.

Interviewer

So she though she had a direct line to the HOD?

Participant Z

Yes. What ever she asked it was very authoritative she was demanding in wanting something she did it with the previous boss and she tried to do it with Prof X but he does not allow that. He says work through Mrs. M she is your manager you don't come and

see me at all unless it is work related or it has go to do with something that I asked you to do. There is a certain click of women that would do that that would just walk into the HOD's office say their say do their say and walk out. They never made an appointment, they never consulted or even greeted the secretary they just walk straight in it came from them working so long there and believing that because they were senior staff and senior technologists that they had the right to do that. They did not follow a line of command I don't think they agreed with a line of command they were the command.

Interviewer

Because of their time.

Participant Z

Yes and in fact everything should just happen the way they deem it to happen. And even other UCT staff members they were always confused who was their boss because of the way they act and they would say I don't know who's our boss because you instructed me and then I must listen to this person who gave me an instruction and that person who gave me an instruction and then there is conflict between you and me because I am not sure who I must listen to because you are white and also superior and also a senior technologist and I think I must respond to you as well. But there is a line of command here and if you want something done you must come through me. If you want something done you must come and ask me and I will instruct them. You don't also instruct everybody else here it does not happen that way. But that conflict was sorted out.

Interviewer

Do you think that diversity workshop changed people's attitudes to some extent.

Participant Z

In the workshops that I went to I was the only staff member from our department. Even though the invitation came around 3 times in one week nobody came. In fact the instruction was when I came back from the workshop I went to Prof X and I said look here I actually think that our doctors should go on this. This is for them because they have never been through this change. You know this whole change from apartheid to democracy they have never been to anything.

Interviewer

So you say before the whole transformation process they were like in a bubble and now they are still in a little bubble. They basically did not know what happened what people went through and what their experiences were.

Participant Z

They did not know how we feel or thought of them because of their intellect they feel that we know that we don't have to go to this. Because of our academic position we don't have to bow down to anybody so why should we.

Interviewer

And the other admin staff...was there no change in attitudes? Did they actually go did they show any interest?

Participant Z

They did not show any interest. A few years ago when we had workshops where we had been there were one or two of them when it came up now again there was no interest. They said why should we show any interest when things are not going to change?

Interviewer

So you think white people think we don't need to and coloured people think nothing is going to change so the reasons are different for not going.

Participant Z

Yes.

Interviewer

Because of the black people they would want things to change but they find it useless or a waste of time.

Participant Z

One senior white guy in our department asked him along on the diversity workshops so he said that he is not going to go. Then the transformation workshops came out and I asked him why we both don't go. It will be useful. You can give your perspective as a white male and what you experienced and what you are going through and obstacles you are facing and then there would be a nice forum for you in which to voice it. He said that is not going to happen that is a waste of time. In fact he says he fears his job in a way he feels yes no the coloured and blacks were disadvantaged and he is in a privileged position now and he does not want to cause any waves you know.

Interviewer

So he does not want to cause animosity by bringing out how he really feels about things.

Participant Z

He feels it is going to be useless for him. Why should he have to say something.

Interviewer

So what do you think they want? I get a sense that some people feel that either it's useless because of some reason they are not saying maybe it should be done in another manner or another forum. Have you ever thought, have they ever expressed to you what they would want out of such a forum? It sounds like they don't want to say something then nothing is going to happen or it is going to fall on deaf ears.

Participant Z

I think ultimately if you look at our department most of the people who have worked there have worked there for many years.

Interviewer

So you say they are still carrying a lot of baggage?

Participant Z

They are carrying baggage they have come this far and all they really want is and I know because I am speaking from experience there will not go a day or a time will go by where one of those doctors would feel they don't have to acknowledge you or greet you. They want something from you but a thank you or a please does not come out of their mouth so that respect ultimately we don't want people to be buddies with us it's the little things that we take for granted that is accepted between normal people like a thank you or a please. Things that we teach our children to say thank you or please that little bit.

Interviewer

So you saying that is between doctors and administrators.

Participant Z

Across staff and between staff. The mannerisms are gone.

Interviewer

What was the feeling like when the whole transformation process started like in 1999? What was the feeling was there like any particular feeling in the department when they heard now there is this transformation process.

Participant Z

There was excitement. We had Prof Y that time and because he was the leader that had a vision and he had come from London his whole focus was I am going to go with this change I am going to help with this change. Immediately when he was appointed he had formed workgroups and task groups in the department to find out what were the feelings of staff. So in his tenor when he was there he had created an environment where we could talk and there was discussion groups everyday we had meetings. We used to talk about how we are feeling. We had internal attempts at transformation. This was across all groups of staff. You could decide which work team you wanted to join. It was exciting. Here you are invited to say something and be involved in workgroups and task groups. But then we soon realized that we were jus meeting and being part of these task groups and nothing was coming out of them. We were just attending meetings and work groups but nothing was coming out of them.

Interviewer

What were the staff's expectations, what did they expect, were they were excited? You said there was a general staff excitement. Ok so there must have been a certain amount of expectation. What were those expectations?

Participant Z

I think the expectations were, let us work together as friends...

Interviewer

So they wanted to overcome the past, but you say that the work groups did not facilitate that?

Participant Z

No, no they didn't. what happened and I know now that there are groups now between whites and coloureds, what happened, the one guy Mr. G that is on the workshop with me now, he is a hiker and uh, he formed this attachment with one of the doctors who is also a hiker, they decided those that were interested in hiking they were going to do that, now that group, formed a bond, a friendship beyond the workplace.

Interviewer

Was it like a different group?

Participant Z

Only that one group. So the group did not extend to other people, it was only for those interested in walking and mountain climbing. As the year went by you could see that there was a friendship developing between the lab assistant and the doctor.

Interviewer

So was that between different race groups. Because of them meeting after work there was that breaking down of barriers?

Participant Z

We tried to have a thing after work. But because of the distances it did not really work. So we organized a function in the work place and when you are here you go with the people that you are familiar with. So you are not tempted to find out what the other person is like and doing. But if you are in a park or in a mountain then it would be different. That relationship building did not happen. But with Prof Y, you still had problems because there was strife between the doctors as well because of their difference of opinion. He had organized among them a getaway so that they could go and form relationships. Even when I was part of their consultant meeting, I could not wait to get out of the meeting, they had no respect for each other they did not think anything of anybody, they were so full of themselves. We had a huge turnover in academic staff and lab and admin staff. There were not many people joining us.

Interviewer

Where was the turnover, was it just specific or was it in general.

Participant Z

People would rather leave even if there was a scarcity for that type of job available or the opportunities for that type of job available. That was strange.

Interviewer

Was this to a specific group of people?

Participant Z

No it was in general. It was always the people that you thought would make a difference here.

Interviewer

So why do you think that they left?

Participant Z

Because they would not have been able to adapt here.

Interviewer

Greener pastures, or did they not like the institutional culture?

Participant Z

They did not like the culture. They were scared of becoming like the people here.

Interviewer

And what was that?

Participant Z

Their attitudes, their arrogance.

Interviewer

There is just one more question that I would like to ask, when someone says transformation, what is your general perception or understanding of it?

Participant Z

When I think of transformation, I sat in many meetings with EE and transformation meetings, from the very beginning with Prof L, from day one that we had the first meeting, my hopes then when they spoke of transformation was that there would be a mindset that opportunities were going to be changing here that was going to become available, the way it was being done was going to change radically. It never happened. The whole idea, the function of transformation was to change it around so, so that we can fix the wrong so that we can transform what was to what should be.

Interviewer

You talk about the radical change what was that..?

Participant Z

The change was to make available opportunities to black and coloured people, managerial positions, to change it so that they could fit into these positions, in fact one of the topics of discussions that came up was the early retirement and retrenchment of senior academic staff so that we can move young people of colour into these positions and engage them into academic work and development and so on. That was the discussions then. It is happening now and it is happening because some and I know that my HOD is one of the HODs that deliberately would select and he would not appoint if it was not

suitable if he did not and it was not a black person then it was not suitable. If it was a white person then he would not appoint. Because his whole function was appointing a black person because he believes in that change. If there should be a change then we should change the face of what it must look like. The demographics say we are more and they are less, so it should be the other way around and that is transformation. That is one of my...

Interviewer

So demographic change is...

Participant Z

Ya physical, it must switch...

Interviewer

You also mentioned the mindset.

Participant Z

Also the mindset, this is a responsibility for each individual, it is not, it is really the onus on the person, what you desire is an attitude change of respect, to move from arrogance to respect and we cannot hope to work in a harmonious atmosphere, it can work there, we can get there, but what you want really is that little bit of respect of coming to work, appreciating and I always said to my HOD my first HOD, Prof R and he was and he couldn't understand me and I was the first one to go into his office and tell him that he needed to speak to his doctors and tell them to greet the people in the staff room, when they walk past the people in the corridor and when somebody greets them they must greet back because it is attacking their being when they do not that. They discussed it and I think that they must have spoken about it and I think that there must have been an attempt. It is not major change and I think it is that little bit that I expect when I think of transformation.

In the diversity workshops as well there were doctors there, the perception that they have of coloured and blacks, they think so little of that cultures, that it is almost too much too believe that we are all human beings. That one human being is of actually a more superior nature than the other and that mindset needs to change and it can only happen when the one tells the other like in that forum, people had the opportunity to say look here this is what I thought of you and this is what I was brought up to believe and I walked around thinking this. At the end of the day we were able to say that that was not really so. It was what we were told because we believe what people tell us and we are influenced by what people tell us and until somebody tells you and say, you I actually thought you guys were demi-gods and you must say that you are crazy to think that I am a demi-god, what made you think that I was one, that was the type of discussion that took place, that thinking, we put you guys on a pedestal, we really thought you guys were demi-gods...

Interviewer

Because they created the perception, the perception was created

Participant Z

You guys had everything you were clever people we put you there and they spoke in return and yes we thought that you people were drunkards, thieves and liars and all that. You know what, the outcome of that meeting you were relieved, you would act in the manner what people believed you to be, I suppose that the people you deal with are drunkards because you believe them to be drunkards, so they became drunkards. Even with our children if you belittle them they will think little of themselves.

END.



TRANSCRIPTION

Participant U
University of Cape Town
Faculty of Health Sciences
Transcribed from tape recording

Interviewer

Can you describe for me either what your childhood was like or what was your political influence so to speak?

Participant U

I grew up in Cape Town, a middle class white background obviously, obviously I grew up in apartheid and everything, but family was always the opposition, they were never the supporters of the Nat government, that was always very much shunned, but obviously was only in one's sort of sphere, didn't really get exposed, obviously one had a servant, a live-in at that stage, obviously she used to go back to the Transkei at that stage, but I mean she was part of the family as such but obviously you didn't really get more involved with her family and everything, and there were the pass laws which were...so that was generally my childhood. I got exposed to those terrible things.

Interviewer

How was that experience for you?

Participant U

That was quite frightening because it did not make sense at all they were people yet they were hounded and picked up and put in jail, and not allowed to be in certain areas.

Interviewer

and as a teenager growing up as a young adult can you recall any thoughts or experiences around what was happening in the country, because toward the 80's things became quite hectic for everyone?

Participant U

When it was '77 and '76, obviously that was very much, one was aware of what was going on there. We were exposed as such ya. Also as far as before that my husband was at UCT and the riots on campus and everything one sort of did see that and see the police and you know that sort of things and confrontations and so on, not that I was actually personally involved but you know.

Interviewer

When did you start working here at UCT?

Participant U

I started working here when I had two kids and the first one started school. He was six years old and he is now thirty so you can work that one out. 24 years at like two mornings a week when I started.

Interviewer

You were here at the medical school...

Participant U

Then down there at Falmouth building when the department of medicine was there, but I have been with XXX all the time and that was where we were, we were down there and it was very interesting working there never having been in a medical background before, before I had children, I worked in the legal, I was a legal secretary, the medical field was completely different.

Interviewer

So how do you find working here?

Participant U

I have enjoyed it, obviously it went through lots of changes, my job has obviously changed. It was just a pure two mornings a week, I was just temping. Then it carried onto three mornings, then it was everyday and then it was Friday mornings only. So I had a morning's only job when my children were little.

Interviewer

You have a huge amount of institutional knowledge. You have seen a lot of changes. Can you describe for me what things were like say before 1998 or 1999, the reason why I am saying that date specifically is because you might have heard of the transformation or reconciliation process that was started at UCT at Health Sciences that was the time that they started making changes. Because you have been here for more than twenty years we can even go back before 1994. Could you describe how things were in the faculty before then, what was the atmosphere or the climate like?

Participant U

Of course those were the days when everybody was leaving the country and those were all academics

Interviewer

You have experienced that first hand.

Participant U

Oh yes absolutely. There were these wonderful people, really fantastic graduates as such

Interviewer

How did that make you feel?

Participant U

I must admit we also went through those ourselves. We also thought if we should go, we did go through the whole motions of Australia, but it didn't come off, so yes one experienced them going off, most of them at that stage, the doctors were all going to the states...

Interviewer

What was the reason that you considered also leaving?

Participant U

I think was obviously the indecision and not knowing exactly what to expect and also your children were smaller.

Interviewer

Did that intention to consider leaving, when you expressed it here at work, did that in any way impact on your relationships with people, weren't you maybe afraid of what people would think, I know at that time when people thought of emigrating people were labeled. Did that impact on your relationships here at work in any way?

Participant U

Chicken run. No, not really because I think it was like a personal thing, it wasn't really expressed openly as such that we as a family pursued it, it didn't happen. But we have got all our family here all your ties and everything, it would have been uh...but then again all your friends sort of were doing it.

Interviewer

Have you regretted staying?

Participant U

No, things have not been easy. Just from a work point of view he would like to go. We are South Africans and we have been and this is our country.

Interviewer

The kind of work culture or relationships within people within the area that you work, before 1994, how was that, how would you describe relationships between people?

Participant U

Obviously people would have different opposing views, some would have very strong views, sometimes it was, I wasn't really much of a political person, you can't really say too much because obviously it was a sensitive time. Sometimes we avoided the...

Interviewer

What were your feelings? What I am trying to get at is, I think you can get a sense of kind of what the relationships were between people even though they did not say anything, I am just trying to gauge was there fearfulness, was there sort of, would you describe the relationships as being strained.

Participant U

As far as working relationships were concerned

Interviewer

Yes within the work area.

Participant U

No not really. Not really

Interviewer

Would you say people generally got on well?

Participant U

Ya I think UCT has always been a sort of free sort of place. It has been that sort of environment you know.

Interviewer

Is that why you find one of the reasons why you find working here so stimulating?

Participant U

I think it is. You are certainly not in the main rat race as such, the university is totally different.

Interviewer

Would you say people's views here tend to be more liberal?

Participant U

Definitely. We are maybe not exposed to what goes on out there in the marketplace as such.

Interviewer

When the whole transformation process started, maybe I should ask what do you understand when you hear of the concept transformation? What is your understanding?

Participant U

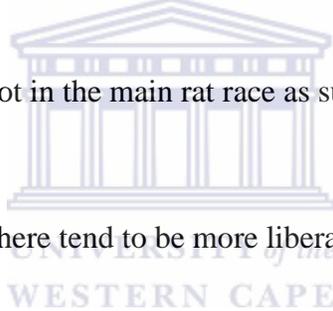
BEE.

Interviewer

That is what we hear in the media

Participant U

That is very much what it is, we have got to address the imbalances and everyone realises that.



Interviewer

Is that your understanding of transformation? How do you feel about that, what is your opinion about that?

Participant U

I think one knows that must happen, but maybe sometimes there have been a lot of mistakes of putting people into position where they are not actually equipped to deal with, that is a problem.

Interviewer

Do you think that it is actually misused, it is like a tool but it hasn't been used effectively?

Participant U

Ya I think that it could definitely be handled better.

Interviewer

What do you think is a better way to handle it?

Participant U

I think after so long one would think, the education, a lot of people had decent education for quite a long time even long before 1994 even in the 80s the schools were open as such the model C schools, the former model C schools in Cape Town were open at that stage. I mean my son was at SACS junior, there were blacks attending the school as such at that stage so, those people had an equal education so there shouldn't be any discrimination there, it is just that why should they get preferential treatment if they have been through that whole system from scratch, but yet obviously lots of others weren't and then there is all the different education systems as such but the ones that were in that, maybe there should be a different criteria for them as such as opposed to people that were in the other schooling systems.

Interviewer

It is quite tricky

Participant U

I know it is tricky I know you can't do it.

Interviewer

It is almost like a catch 22

Participant U

I know it is difficult, they have obviously benefited in a way more than others as such obviously getting everything now.

Interviewer

Yourself personally, do you have any fears around transformation. I know in the eighties or early nineties you mentioned people were thinking of emigrating and I think that one fear that people had was the change that was happening in this country.

Participant U

Absolutely, the fear of the unknown.

Interviewer

At this day and age would you say that you still had those fears or concerns within you?

Participant U

I would say a fear or concern today is crime and violence. That is everybody's; otherwise I think that it is fantastic to have an open society.

Interviewer

How do you personally deal with all the changes, you mentioned that many people find change difficult. How would you say that you cope with those changes. It is easier for people to leave and go to another country where you don't experience crime (on the scale in South Africa), I have also been in countries where it is not so bad as here.

Participant U

It is absolutely fantastic! We have done a bit of traveling and it is wonderful, not to have that threat that you can just walk around, the freedom, the freedom of movement. It would be wonderful if we could get to that point.

Interviewer

how would describe and I know that it is difficult or sensitive for some people, because we come from a past we were boxed into different race groups or population groups, how would you describe working with people from previously classified race groups? What is your working experiences or relationships?

Participant U

I think it is actually, you are now getting to know people and their backgrounds and their cultures and their traditions and everything and it is, everyone is different and that is actually quite fascinating listening to how they were and what, that is very interesting.

Interviewer

So the experience that you are having right now, can you compare that experience to what having right now to say in the late eighties or nineties, is it a different experience that you are having?

Participant U

I am mostly exposed to people who are pretty well educated, you don't really...it would be different.

Interviewer

I mentioned earlier on that they started the transformation process in the faculty specifically; judging from when you were working here before 1994 and now has anything changed because of this transformation process?

Participant U

Ya, obviously the staff profile has changed.

Interviewer

Have people's attitudes changed or the way they talk about

Participant U

Ya, I think so, you hear especially in the...of health sciences oh they are part of the old regime, you that term sort of mentioned a lot in our department.

Interviewer

Which old regime which is part of the old regime.

Participant U

I suppose before transformation, like set in their ways and that there is still some of those people around.

Interviewer

You are talking about now? You say that is talk that you hear?

Participant U

Yes, that is right. I suppose that is their perception and I suppose that is they are a bit regimented then it is because of the old regime.

Interviewer

Do you feel that people are still like sort of stuck in their little boxes? Or do they interact more?

Participant U

I think that people are interacting more but there is still obviously...who are put in their boxes, but here I must admit that we joke about racism. You 'white woman' that is the 'coloured mentality', you know we do talk like that, one is free to say things like that, and we are laughing

Interviewer

There is no amount of uncomfortableness.

Participant U

No, no.

Interviewer

I think that sometimes we use jokes to convey messages that are uncomfortable to us, if we said it in a serious way then it wouldn't actually...it is a gentle way to release tension

Participant U

I think that is part of being in Cape Town I think people are like that

Interviewer

You hear it a lot, Mr. L is one such person

Participant U

Yes, yes

Interviewer

They say laughter is the best medicine. People make mistakes and if you can look back and laugh at it then I suppose it could be a good thing, it could be therapeutic in a way.

Participant U

Absolutely, especially all that is going on you have to have a good sense of humour.

Interviewer

Just another question that is maybe a little different from the others, you know that the university has three staffing complements, students, academic staff and non academic staff; do you feel that there has been enough attention paid to PASS staff, how do you feel as an admin staff?

Participant U

I think that we are on the bottom of the pile seeing that students are their main thing and obviously academics and students need each other, and often the non academics get...

Interviewer

Left by the wayside? They form an important part,

Participant U

They are not recognized enough.

Interviewer

Would you feel better if they recognized the admin staff?

Participant U

Ya I think that it is coming though, it does seem to be, obviously there have been some problems with the salary negotiations before that they would just accept anything, now people don't just accept anything.

Interviewer

Would you say that you have come a long way since you have been here?

Participant U

Absolutely you would never think of you think you are going on strike and things like that...

Interviewer

So does that make you feel more empowered.

Participant U

In a way I feel that that is part of transformation when you feel that you can.

Interviewer

You heard of the diversity workshops?

Participant U

There have been emails.

Interviewer

So you have not been on any?

Participant U

I haven't been on any.

Interviewer

I wanted to explore whether you have actually, whether it has changed your views in any way.

Participant U

I haven't been on any; it is a very busy office.

Interviewer

It is difficult, work is so tight. Do you think that it would be useful, something to explore?

Participant U

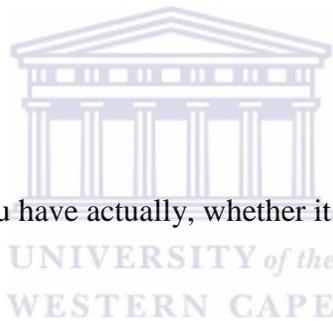
I don't know, it could be I suppose if one had the time just to see what goes on. I have not really considered seriously that much.

Interviewer

Is there anything else that you would like to share, I think that I have asked most of the questions that I wanted to explore around your feelings around transformation?

Participant U

You know I think I find that certain , like in ethics you kind of find there is such a movement of people you sort of get to know that so and so has left, then somebody totally brand new goes 'oh no I have just started here, I know nothing' and then I would ask where would you be coming from and they would say 'I came from there to there'



and then there are these big jumps and maybe they are a little bit, obviously they got the right profile, they are wanted, they are sort of being jumped up maybe a little bit out of their depth.

Interviewer

How do you feel?

Participant U

Kind of like feel, gosh you are just getting somewhere; gosh I can't help you I don't know. That sort of thing.

Interviewer

So there are gaps, you know I have read one or two articles where they talk about affirmative action and the way that you are reflecting on your experience of that is actually, it is just numbers game.

Participant U

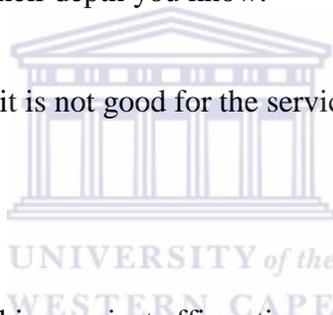
The person must not be out of their depth you know.

Interviewer

So it is not good for the person it is not good for the service.

Participant U

The service suffers as such ya.



Interviewer

You personally don't have anything against affirmative action it is just the way that it gets applied,

Participant U

Absolutely. I think that UCT is trying to do it too quickly in certain areas.

Interviewer

I think maybe from another point of view, in the bigger scheme of things, numbers are what count.

Participant U

I know, that's it.

Interviewer

They are not really looking at quality and whether the service improved...that is a debate that has been going, another article that someone wrote is around equity and excellence, you want to redress but you also want to maintain excellence,

Participant U

Exactly we don't want standards to drop. Don't go there, don't go to UCT you don't want to get an inferior degree, you don't want that to happen.

Interviewer

I think that concludes our interview if there is nothing else that you would like to add. What I would like to ask is if I have any further questions or clarifications if I could call or email you for this?

Participant U

Sure, alright.

Interviewer

Thank you very I really appreciate the time talking to you.

END



TRANSCRIPTION

Participant W
University of Cape Town
Faculty of Health Sciences
Transcribed from tape recording

Interviewer

Could you describe for me what your childhood was like within the context of the political climate within the country more than a decade ago?

Participant W

I was raised by a single mother, a young single mother in the rural Transkei in 1967. My mother could not be supported by her brothers who were supporting her from Cape Town. She had to change her own circumstances to support her so she had to come here to work in 1975. For the careers that there was the only option for her was as a domestic worker for a black woman and it was also illegal because she had no right to be here and she had to stay. They didn't allow her to stay with the children so I had to stay with my uncle in a hostel in Langa which was a men's hostel. My sister had to stay with our so called coloured family in Elsies. She was very young about one year old at that time. I was two years old at the time. She learned the language through Afrikaans. Staying in the men's hostel with only men and seeing township life, the police would come in very early in the morning and they would take everybody out and people would just run hiding like animals. So those were my earlier experiences of city life. It was totally different from the rural life. There was really no place for a young child in the city which was unfamiliar for a child like me.

My mother had to get relatives to look after me back in the village so she got an aunt to look after me in 1976 and that is when I started school. I stayed with an aunt I went to schooling. Again under the circumstances my mother would send money to the village I am sure that she was not earning much, most of her income would really sustain herself and us and also the other relatives, so she would now and then send money to us and we would struggle. I had an experience of an aunt that was very cruel. I had to drop school from standard one and went to work as a farmer close by at the village and at 11 years old I was the youngest farm labourer. I worked there for two years. I sustained those conditions there on the farm. All we got was the tobacco on Saturdays and four pints of milk on Mondays and a bucket of milk once a month. That was the only thing that was sustaining us, I would never forget it, I was earning two rand a month. I wouldn't even take a chance to go and ask for it because there was no pay day. You just worked and asked for your money when you wanted it. I would never go and ask for it because I realised that I wouldn't do that much with it, so we would get a supply of clothing, just cheap takkies and trousers and shirts in Xmas and in winter some boots and an overall. So that kept us going all our lives during that period. I was smoking at that age already. The only thing that they supplied was tobacco. I was working on smoking farm. So I had

to learn smoking. Everyday I would go down with the madam and they would share their cigarettes with me but they would not do the same with the children and I didn't understand. My mother heard that I was working on the farm and she didn't like that so she took me. I tried to escape more than two times and the farmer would come to my home and take me. My mother's aunt would have difficulty to stand against a white man from taking me as such and so she would just let me go.

I came to Cape Town in 1981. My mother could not let me stay on the farm anymore so she took me. She was staying in crossroads now. Crossroads was kind of uh very very havoc at that times it was the time of the 'witdoeke' and other things so life was very tough there as well. It was different from Langa but still the urban life there was very much crueller. In Langa at least we knew each other and there were common routes where we came from and we shared that with solidarity and here in the Crossroads you didn't know where people were coming from and everybody would be treated as a stranger and it was tough. I was treated very rudely by even the young boys because I was coming from the village so I was this boy who doesn't know city life and they would laugh at me because I was coming from the village and not really being socialised in the city life. So I got through city life in that way, by then I realised that I wanted to go to school so I went back to the village but another village. Instead of going back to standard one I went to standard three. They wouldn't ask for the report so they accepted me when I said that I passed standard two. I did very well at school. I came from the city. I had a lot of new things to show to the people. I was kind of motivated and I took the centre stage in anything. Even the language, the language people could see that I was talking was newer. So I think that also kind of built my confidence. I mean in terms of being confident to do things that other people were not really doing, but that village was a village where there was no development. The school was up to standard five only so if I wanted to go to standard six I must go to another village. It would take you two hours to get there and two hours to come back. So that is how we did it. As a result many people would finish standard five and go and work. I was doing standard eight; I was the only boy in that village that was doing standard eight and two girls. I could not understand how I persisted in school under those conditions where everybody thought that school was a waste of time. Many of my friends left school, go work and they even got married and they even started their families while I was still at school but I was also late in school. So I finished my matric in the village. That was when I became politically aware in the high school where I realised that there was a struggle going on. There were some influences from people coming in from the city, from East London, Cape Town, PE, and they could not school there because of the political situation and they came here and brought those influences. We accepted it very nicely and we formed an underground student organisation that was organised under very harsh conditions. The school was a tribal school and it was under tribal authority and it was very trying to organise under those circumstances. The SRC would try and control but the tribal authority would be in control so they would come and destroy all the meetings that we had. I took the lead in those struggles to the extent that I realised that I had to sacrifice even my education. I finished my matric within three years. I went back to my village and in that it was 1989 and that time there was this new political movement in Transkei. That time Transkei started to grapple with politics at that time very much, things were coming in the open so

we took the lead in the formation of the youth organisation. We became politicised not only in the school but also in the village youth. Then unfortunately I had to go and look for work because that is what everybody has to do. So I went to work in the mines in Rustenberg platinum mines. I worked as mine security. I did not like the job, I took an oath that I would never wear a helmet to carry a gun and wear a bullet proof to go and marshal a meeting or gathering but that was my job but that time I was challenged to do that which I refused. Now there were workers marching for a wage increase of which there were mine workers. I started to form a union, I started to recruit people into a union within...there was a NUM which was starting to organise people in the mines but now in the department. I started to organise people underground and people would really (inaudible). I was young and people would think that I was playing with my job. They had too much responsibility to that. The best way to recruit people was by their cases and problems and then when they signed the form I would represent them and win their case and then they would become union members. I had to do that in order to do my work. I had to take their cases voluntarily and I was grappling with real work based politics which I was new to. I wanted to continue my studies and had to leave in exciting times when the union was becoming stronger so I left in 1991. So I joined my friend in Cape Town in 1992. I came to study but I could not study so I joined the unemployed workers union. I became active in that line when I went back to study...but my mother passed away in 1992. I went back to studying Khanya College in 1993. 1994 I could not continue to study because my mother was; there was no source of income, so I had to take over now that income responsibility in the family. My young sister was 11 when my mother passed away. I did a social science degree at UCT in 1995 which I did not finish. I struggled with that degree because while I was studying I was also working in many places trying to supplement my income; I had to sustain my family responsibilities, so my studies kind of suffered. But also there were struggles within my studies because I know that I was questioning things. I was doing political studies and economics which I never understood how I failed economics because I had my economic view. I was employed in the university in 1998 as a NEHAWU secretary, paid and employed permanently by the university, so that was how I got employed here. I took the job. But in that job itself I have been threatened and dismissed and transferred more than two times. I suffered a lot. In this faculty was dumped here as that result. I did not even have a seat there so they dumped me in the west areas until they said that I must sort out myself. So I had to sort out myself by looking out for people that want to work with me because I was employed as a clerk in virology here. There they told that they were employing me under the conditions that I was not going to be involved any more and I accepted that and I promised that I won't be involved. They took me on. I told them that I could still be in the union and that I won't be involved. That was the least that I could do but they did not like that. They dismissed me and they set me up. I wrote a report about my experiences which I think will be relevant for you. I wrote that report for people to see on record and kind of what my experiences were. I have had a bad experience with people telling me that they don't like politics within the office. I sat in an office with two white ladies. They did not like a picture of women carrying a picture of the world on their shoulders. They did not like that. They said that it was politics. I questioned that psychology and asked them what they thought of the Steve Biko Memorial at the entrance when you came in at Barnard Fuller? What do you think of these statues of Smuts and all these old

'Boere'? Is it not politics? So for me that taught me a lot in terms of the psychology of the people that I worked with. The way that I landed in this job was through that struggle. It was not through the good intentions that I moved from being a secretary to being a researcher and a trainer and they did not like that I had to write that report and it could be to their credit that I had to write the report. To say how that came about. It was not through the good intentions of transformation and en-skilling the staff. It was through the attitude of attacking people that have an independent mind. And now they were telling me that they won't work with me. I was dismissed wrongly. I won my case I was reinstated and through legal process but they told me that the university can reinstate me but they won't work with me, so that was that kind of attitude and because the university's position was that people in Virology was responsible for their funding, people go out and raise their funds so they are actually sustaining that department, so the university can't decide who they want to work with, they cannot impose that, they are kind of autonomous.

Interviewer

In a way because of the funding?

Participant W

Because of that funding thing ya that upset the whole process of transformation because you saw that this depends on funding and who is really paying for transformation or for whoever wants to implement transformation because if I don't want and I have my own money then I am not going to do it. Or else I will take my money and go.

Interviewer

Are you saying that the whole process of transformation is linked to money and...?

Participant W

Yes, it's where you get your source of income. What is the purpose of that and what is your view about that and who has got money. People here are respected because they have got names and they can attract funds. Now whatever I am telling you can see that I was in the union office and I can see the programmes of the workers coming through that office. Even when I was out of that office I still continued to be an active NEHAWU member. This is one of the things that I have come to realise and being involved in the struggles of the workers I got exposed to things that I have never expected. People are bad around here and I am telling you there are professors that I have dealt with that there are black...that don't deserved to be here. The university didn't do anything, they said look these professors working six months here and six months overseas, can't we pay you R2000 just to make peace. And that was peace and this was a professional conducting himself in that manner and they won't even say a word about that because he is independent. For me whatever transformation depends on the autonomy that people have in terms of where they got their source of income and it really becomes crucial for the university because of (inaudible) funds leave the department to do their own thing. HR can't really intervene in the affairs of the department around issues of transformation; they can only refer to the line manager....

Interviewer

So are you saying that transformation has not being as effective because of that?

Participant W

For me I have not really grappled, I have grappled with issues of transformation, I joined the university in 1998 and that time there was the process that was started...

Interviewer

What was the feeling that you got around that time...?

Participant W

You see the process of transformation came through students and workers. There was an alliance and there was a transformation march where students and workers demanded that the university needed to transform. The university actually bought that language over and hijacked it put its own, and they did that, they did not even consider that there were students and workers to be considered. So there was a management process.

Interviewer

You said that the students and workers actually drove the process...

Participant W

Started...

Interviewer

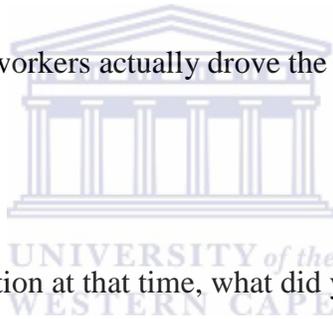
Yes started, what was the intention at that time, what did you mean by transformation.

Participant W

When students and workers talked about transformation they were talking about the way institution was treating workers and students, the way the institution is regarding itself within the society and the community of South Africa. The university is regarding itself as elitist and remote as very coming from the top. This should be a community based university, people should realise and this university should be able to accommodate the poorest of the poor here instead of actually keeping them in margins. Workers here should enjoy all their rights instead of being marginalised and the university has actually used that name to say that we must transform. That was now in the election of Prof R. The election of Prof R itself was seen as a transformation process a black woman in the position of Vice Chancellor I mean it was history at UCT. So that was not what students wanted, they did not want the position of Vice Chancellor to be occupied by a black woman. They wanted a change of attitude a change of mind and a change of policies.

Interviewer

...and a change of how people interact with one another.



Participant W

Yes...what people really wanted was that the university must start to serve the poorest of the poor. What workers have seen is that conditions that have becoming worse. That is not what they wanted when the university transformed they wanted things to become better. So the university actually hijacked the word transformation to implement a neo liberal agenda.

Interviewer

To serve its own ends?

Participant W

To serve its neo liberal agenda where they are cutting costs that is where outsourcing actually came about when they had a financial crisis when they realised that they cut costs at the expense of pushing the workers out of the university and not being part of the university and not benefiting from the transformation that we actually putting in place. The workers have suffered the lack of transformation in the university for years. You see them here everyday but they are contract workers they are not UCT workers. You see one of the things which I have taken up in the faculty which I never really take up I have raised, I have raised this with Prof G while she was transformation manager and I have taken transformation issues to her and she would tell me that there was nothing that she could do. These departments are autonomous. Because of this decentralisation of funding. All that she is there for is really to meet policy requirements. She does not have power to say this and this about transformation. I have taken issues of transformation to her and she said that there is nothing that I can do. There was a woman here and she was the first woman to be employed here as the transformation manager and I think that you must get that report that she wrote. She was the first person to be employed as the transformation manager at UCT, that woman was Mrs. T. She was very open minded and she was working very openly with us. She saw that the unions have got a stake to play in transformation. You can't keep them away. As a result she was in conflict with the university as a result they frustrated her, undercut her capacity and they closed her office down. You must get those things because those kinds of things will show you how this whole thing evolved.

Interviewer

What you are saying and what I hear you saying, you are actually saying that nothing has really changed, because what I would like to know is also to compare the process of transformation before 1999. Were things different before and now?

Participant W

Things are changing all the time but there is nothing really different. The changes that you see now are not the changes that we expect from transformation but we must also understand who we are. There are few black workers here who are doing administration, but that administrator job has been under resourced has been kind of devalued and degraded because now we are taking on these people. It actually doesn't really serve the transformation purpose. That had an exodus of black skilled people, they take and they go. It is about income. We are training black people to take on skilled positions but

because once they have those skills because they are underpaid, the highly skilled people of the university in terms of the market rate, so they get attracted at a higher market rate. These black people. It does not happen to white skilled people. We have white skilled people who have been here since 1967. The registrar has been here since 1977 since the 70s. He never goes. Prof M and all these DVC that are white have been here all these years they never go. That is a prejudice in itself that white people do not go for income while black people go for income. That has racist connotations in itself. The highly skilled people get more from the budget so that they can get more from the lower paid workers using this kind of argument transformation. The only way that you can pay more on top is by taking from the bottom. Can you see the kind of transformation that they are talking about? How do you think that the worker will feel in that kind of environment? Will they feel that things have changed?

Interviewer

Speaking to workers it has gotten worse for them.

Participant W

Even when you go to the academics these days they are talking of supplementing teaching with research money. So now because of this transformation there are no funds for teaching. You have taught even in your free time because you have to teach because the universities core business is teaching and research. So, that kind of changed conditions for academics for the worse, not for the better. But that happens at all levels. Outsourcing for us was like tarnishing the worker because the worker had benefits like medical aid as a cleaner. Children of cleaners only paid 25% if they wanted to study. That would have been a change of quality of life.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Interviewer

That would have been real transformation because then you would have the poorest of the poor....

Participant W

Ya, they would have access to education that is the kind of things; now my child cannot be deprived of education because I am a cleaner. They will study and be doctors and be what they need to be. Look at these young workers they are young. Some of them would have been studying should they have had this opportunity but that would never have as long as they were kept as contract.

Interviewer

In terms of the experiences that you have had in relationships with people, other people from other population groups, has transformation had any impact on that?

Participant W

Unfortunately at UCT it is a managerial thing. It is not a people's thing. It is a managerial process that is really meant to meet the policy requirements of the country. It is on paper.

Interviewer

So what you are saying is also to meet EE targets.

Participant W

Yes it is really about meeting policy requirements so that we can be seen as part of the new South Africa, so that we can survive. That is the only way that we can survive so that we can be seen as part of the new South Africa. There is a lot of despondency from UCT workers. I will give you a few examples, I don't have my bag here but I will give you a leaflet that NEHAWU has produced about a supervisor that had a knife for a worker and that supervisor said it was a joke. There was a quarrel between them over how the job was done. He was stopped by another worker. What people are saying that it was a race thing but it was not about a race thing really, for me it is a skill thing? It was a supervisor that was valued to have special skills in the lab and cannot be easily replaced and this is a worker that you can always replace. So that is how they value, that is how the policy is being implemented according to who you are and what skills you have. I have been criticising the faculty here of having a transformation agenda that is not legitimate at all. There is no involvement of staff in the transformation agenda. In all these transformation things that they have been talking about, have you seen union representatives there? You must ask them at the faculty level. They don't want to. They have the charter here. I was here. I went to Prof G and asked if they ever considered that there were workers here who would have had an input into it to give it legitimacy. They know that it was not going to serve them. It wasn't going to change anything.

Interviewer

Are you saying that the transformation charter was a managerial?

Participant W

Everything around transformation is a managerial thing. It is so arrogantly done that they don't even consider co-opting so to say the so called stake holders. I spoke to the then Dean, he accepted that there was no transformation programme for non-academic staff. Transformation has been about student faces and that time they were chasing these targets for funding.

Interviewer

It is quite interesting what you are saying because what is happening here from the picture that you were describing what is happening at UCT almost actually mirrors what is happening in the country, like a microcosm of the whole country.

Participant W

I am sure it should be, because the policy is talking double standards here. If you look at the national policy they are talking transformation but they are talking efficiency and competitiveness and

Interviewer

I suppose that is the same dilemma that the university is in at the moment. You see that is why I say it mirrors the country because now we are exposed to, you see what we are doing here, it is not in isolation there are other variables that affect.

Participant W

That is what I am saying, like I said they have to do this because they have to survive and you have to position yourself to do this kind of thing. When we talked about transformation at an earlier stage they did not want to. But they had to talk about it because that was how they had to position themselves. The country is facing that problem because you are talking about redress, but they are talking about competitiveness and those two things don't work together, they actually clash with one another. You can't talk redress, competitiveness, efficiency and those kinds of things. Redress is not an equality thing it is a political thing it is a moral thing and the competitiveness is economic.

Interviewer

I suppose that is where they are trying to strike a balance.

Participant W

In fact they are not even trying to strike a balance they are trying to cover up with an economic interest in terms of using the moral justification. That is the advantage of South Africa that you have to justify what you are doing morally and politically because people have political expectations after apartheid.

Interviewer

Have you attended any of the diversity workshops?

Participant W

Mrs. Z is very angry with me because she feels that I am letting her down. I am actually letting her down because I am sceptical of these workshops. My scepticism comes from the fact that, like I said, it is not really to serve any purpose for me to go there, to say these kinds of things to those people. Those people have made up their mind, they know what their mandate is, they are employed for a specific purpose, and if they do not go according to that then they will be marginalised, cut off and closed down, like they have done with Mrs. T. I can only go there to understand the mindset of whatever the dynamics are. But for me if it is managers meeting there and a few staff members that want to be co-opted in the process then it is not really going to serve any purpose. I raised the issue with them and I said to them why you don't try to bring stakeholders. They said no then I must go there as a union representative then I must have a mandate and I must deliberate and set a position and then I must report back. Transformation is not supposed to be done for people. You are not going to change the mindset if you are doing it for me. I can only change my mindset by getting involved in it.

Interviewer

What you are is that there were certain obstacles that are blocking real transformation and only once those obstacles are removed and when people start to become involved in the process, then mindsets will change...

Participant W

That is the only way...

Interviewer

Once you start interacting with one another and doing things together...

Participant W

In fact this process of transformation is supposed to transform people's minds; it is not about waiting for the results. By getting involved with the issues with one another, by clashing with one another, I have also raised the issues in the department as well; transformation should be personal, should allow for personal experiences to come forth and address personal and individual things but also should be collective. But here the collective does not have to be serving every each and individual interest. We must accept that transformation collective what is said in the others. When you start talking about the collective as one there is no such thing as collective...as one. We have here people that have been evicted from apartheid and we have people that have been kept away from apartheid and you can't serve those people satisfactory as one without taking from one another.

Interviewer

There has to be interaction and engagement...

Participant W

And that engagement has to make the other side accept that they have to give in. my personal view in South Africa is that we have the arrogance of people who have got the direct benefit from apartheid but they still feel that what they have they deserve. Now they want to hold on to that. Not what black people want but what the poor want (inaudible). There were many governments throughout the Bantu Stan systems, what the poor wanted was the access to material resources to change their material conditions. They wouldn't mind if it was a white government if their material conditions were changed, that is really what mattered. Here until the people who drive transformation start to change the material conditions, it is not going to work. This is a thing that white people think that they deserve that is why they are putting down obstacles such as skills development, so that for people to do certain things they need to be skilled. Empowerment. I am being empowered right here right now, having gone through the studies of the university but they still consider me that being black I can't be a researcher. I need to be empowered. I cannot be empowered by those that have been advantaged. In which manner are they empowering me, to protect them, not really to let me take over them? Not really to give me power to take over their power. It is to make sure that I don't take over their power. That I show they can stay in power. That is my mindset and I need it to be clear, so it is not really for you, I have said it to the people around that are how I

am made to be. Transformation is not something to be researched or an academic thing, it is something to be done, and doing what is necessary, what is necessary is that we have the space that the citizenship of the world is shared. They distribute to everybody accordingly and we must accept that the history is responsible for the inequality that we have and that history is the history of wars, colonisation and fighting with one another for resources, so what we have now is distribution, but it's through that kind of distorted form of distribution? We can't honour that without drastically changing that. So what you have, we must have another war, to defeat, we have to conquer others in order to transform. Maybe it has to be like Zimbabwe but, there can be no transformation unless we talk of changing the quality of life and in terms of equalising relations in society, unless that whole historical development is being reversed. Those that have power, handing over power, we don't think that they will relinquish power because they believe in transformation, no power is about surviving, they will relinquish parliament and everything they will give us but not power, it is about survival. We must fight with them, that is the struggle that we are talking about. When I talk about that I am not talking about that physically and literally, I am talking about the struggle that is engaging each and every society that is unequal because unequal societies are always engaged in conflict, which is why we have got this conflict in the whole world now. It has never been solved although we have all these accords and peace bodies. The real conditions matter for that equality to exist. So for transformation to take place you must change the material conditions. The power balance. Then there will be real transformation. My mindset will not be changed by people lecturing me about A B and Z.

Interviewer

I understand that, it is because of your background, you come from a very active background, where you had to do something to change something and not really taking about it, it is good to have debates about equity and excellence and delivering papers, but the real work comes from doing something and engaging, I mean if the problem is between a person and between two people separated for so long, and if there is a tension then it must be through engagement.

Participant W

There must be coming together...

Interviewer

From what you are saying from this whole interview is that the material conditions are not right for that engagement to happen.

Participant W

Definitely...

Interviewer

So there is a link between like material conditions, funding and all of that and how people sort of engage...

Participant W

Very good, you have made it nice. That is my point.

Interviewer

You have given a very rich description

Participant W

I am glad, I was also thinking that you might get the negative which maybe you felt that I must have said enough of that. But that is me; I am very much negative about the situation. I am come from that background like you said and I have gone through that experience of understanding myself and my understanding is kind of through that reflection in terms of how I came about to see the things in the way that I see them, and to just now suddenly learn from the books what should be done and forget about my own experience.

Interviewer

But you see you integrate it to, you see that is the thing, it makes it more...

Participant W

I know I see, I can't throw away what I am through that experience. It works very well if I can do whatever I get to interpret my experience rather than to ignore it.

Interviewer

I think that is always the challenge for someone who starts to get involved in academic work. I for myself also because when I read the books, people just say that you read all the time, but what is important is to integrate your experiences and where you come from, who you are and what you do everyday, to what you learn, that is really important you know.

Participant W

I learnt from the struggle more than anything else. i have been in the struggle and that is where I have learnt that inequalities are not supposed to be there and that they should be dealt with and there is a solution to them and the solution that I have I did not get from the books I got from the struggle, the solutions that we are putting forward for the inequalities that should be dealt with. Here I am making this point again; the majority of the people are living in material conditions that have been untouched. So long have people struggled over one another for few resources. So long people start to be sceptical of one another rush one another aside because they each other as a threat to their jobs, to their jobs to their positions and to their benefits because now things have been made difficult for people. So long people is treat each other...they use race one time, they will use gender the other time, they will use the area that you are staying in the other time, they will use since when you get the jobs like I have been here for a long time, those kind of barriers of discrimination...the racist people are not really for the race they are for themselves. They just use the 'race' to give themselves power, to be able to make that claim, they are just for themselves...

Interviewer

So it can be both ways whether it's a white person being racist or a black person, they are serving their individual interest..

Participant W

They are serving themselves. They are that race or that group.

Interviewer

it makes sense in a way what you are saying because in this time, we don't live in a time where the government is like...its about competitiveness and survival and that is where your argument links up. The using the race card to serve their,,

Participant W

Ya to elevate, I very much despise these black staff associations because for me, the issues that they are picking up does not matter really, people are claiming here that they have degrees that they do not want to be administrators and be paid that low level and be led by white women who have been here through a secretarial certificate course and now they have worked themselves up to be an administrator or senior administrator, that is not the argument that you must use. Now they wanting to use now, they have got degrees, and because they are black, they also use the policy of affirmative action to claim for themselves, not for the black nation, because there are a lot of black people here on the ground that also want those kind of benefits but they wont get because they don't have degrees, you see what I am saying and you don't want to say there is not that blackness to claim for yourselves. They won't be vice chancellors they won't be managers, they don't have that qualifications but they are here and they are black. But people don't want to, they will use that blackness to bargain for their individual selves. So they are just white but also being black. People are using the black, or transformation or what is it, affirmative action to consolidate their own power not now racism as being white, they are saying no, we are transformation, we are equity, they are even bringing black people and bring them some things to consolidate their power, not to give over their power. Not because they believe in affirmative action. I have said a lot.

Interviewer

I have learnt so much from this conversation. You have given me so many insights into what is really happening and have made me understand me more about transformation.

Participant W

I want you to go and investigate for yourself if you are interested. Though this investigation you will be unpacking things for other people as well. Before UCT in 1998 they cancelled a considered an agreement of the union which was a key stakeholder when it comes to transformation, for the poor, they cancelled the agreement which means they effectively nullified the union formally, from there they destroyed the union membership, by retrenching all the majority of the members. That was now taking the power of the beneficiaries of transformation, they had no power at all, now they are putting the agenda of transformation on the table for UCT, knowing very well that the victims of the beneficiaries are so drunk that they wont even know what they want, they are so weak

that they will accept anything that they put on the table at the moment. They are so vulnerable, can you see that is their strategy. This is what you see all over, the organisations of the poor are so weak to be effective in this kind of transformation agenda hence now they are really a management prerogative all these people in positions of power. You can't hand over power voluntarily; there are serious consequences for that.

Interviewer

thanks for your time, I think that you have answered everything, I didn't really ask you much but I think that you have touched on all the things that I wanted to, but what I want to say is if I need any further questions and clarifications could I contact you?

Participant W

Sure. This was good for my own engagement as well, I like to be challenged. By engaging with you I am consolidating certain positions as well. To be honest people do not have a problem because of their mindsets, where they have a problem is because of the certain material conditions that are protective about. Like I mean the coloured and the black people the white and the black people, white people didn't have a problem with the black people really when they did have a problem was when they wanted to protect their power. Then it becomes a problem. People don't really have a problem with each other there is that human need for one another, but because of the scarcity of resources...

Interviewer

That you are saying is the underlying...

Participant W

That is the underlying for the conflict that exists..

Interviewer

And it just so happens that the majority of the people

Participant W

There are historical reasons, so that explains why you find this kind of circumstances.

Interviewer

Thanks I have understood much from this interview. Thank you.

Emailed answer from Participant W:

On the question of the general interaction of different race groups and cultures this is my answer:

The general interaction of different race groups and cultures reveal the real situation. Although it appears that people have accommodated each other on the surface, deep you can see the division vividly. Take for an example during social events such as tea and birthday celebration parties. You will find people in their racial and cultural pockets. It is automatic that isi-Xhosa speaking people or black people will

group together. They will just exchange smiles with colleagues of other racial groups but you can see that it is just courtesy. You can see that people are careful about this fragile environment. Although you speak of race and culture but elements of class also exist. It is easy to see professor clubbing together while administrators or junior researchers relate to one another easy. So transformation is really on the surface and very much fragile in my department. It ends up on our acknowledgement that it is an imperative that we can accommodate one another. But I can take this further and say that the whole workplace culture is a foreign culture to me and possibly too many people from my community. So in being socialised into the workplace culture I am being assimilated into the culture that I am not familiar with. I do not know why the celebrate birthdays instead of workers achievement for instance.

This takes me to the next question of my level of interaction among staff members in the department. Myself I cannot deny the fact that I am being assimilated to the white middle class male's workplace culture as a learned individual. I have adopted a lot of what is existing within the current workplace culture for my own survival. I repeat for my own survival. Remember culture is a way of surviving and developing under given conditions. My political activism has enlightened me to many things that are predominant in the workplace culture. Sometimes my colleagues are aware of my consciousness and relate to me in a particular way that they will not relate to someone else of my race or culture. My level of speaking English is another way of facilitating my assimilation to the extent that I am not seen as an outsider that much by English speaking people when speaking English. So I am not a good measure of how much transformation has done but more of how much assimilation has happened.

END

TRANSCRIPTION

Participant V
University of Cape Town
Faculty of Health Sciences
Transcribed from tape recording

Interviewer

What we are going to chat about are your experiences and perceptions of transformation, specifically around race. There are different perceptions of transformation influenced by our backgrounds as well. I would like to hear about your experiences of transformation? The first part of the interview will explore your background, childhood, political...

Participant V

I don't really have a political background.

Interviewer

How would you describe life before 1994?

Participant V

Problem free basically. Your parents did all the decisions for you at that time you know. How can I say? You didn't really think much of responsibility at that time because your parents were always there for you. They carried most of the responsibilities for you and now that I am a parent myself I see what it is like when I was a kid. There is a lot of change and stuff and whether it is for the better or the worse you are not really sure. Then the future looks ok for your kids then it doesn't and at the moment for me having two girls and it is like, what are they going to become when they are older, is there going to be work for them when they are older. I mean half the matrics are walking the streets. I was grateful when I came out of high school I went to college and I got a job within the next year. I hope that my kids are so lucky like I was. They will get what they need and that they don't have to struggle, equal opportunity you know.

Interviewer

Would you say that your family is political taking into account the upheavals in the late 80's?

Participant V

Not my parents, they are not political. They don't really discuss these things, they watch the news they see what happens but that is about it. They are not racist or anything like that. They treat everybody the same and they have taught us to treat everybody the same because we are all equal no matter what colour you are we are all equal.

Interviewer

You are not describing them as political. You describe your childhood as stable and you feel that you have been quite privileged and lucky...

Participant V

When I started working, that time my father was retired and that, they were there for me. I wanted to buy a house and they helped me out, I would not have been where I am today, I would not have gotten far in life if it was not for them. They sacrificed a lot even though it was just my father working, they sacrificed a lot we got what we needed and not unnecessary things, they were very supportive and they would not hold anything against you it was still your decision that you made at the end of the day.

Interviewer

How long have you been working at UCT?

Participant V

Nine years in total, seven years permanent and two years contract.

Interviewer

You can you see anything different in the institutional culture or the way things were or are from when you started and now.

Participant V

When I started it was so cool, it was hard work you were meeting all these people from all over the country. It was nice for me because I was sort of an introvert but then I started speaking. I mean I used to sit and have lunch with the students, you know. It was cool just hanging with them, it was nice. I would say that there was a lot of change that time already because from little we used to go with our father to work, and things wasn't, you could see that there was a difference, you could just see that it was not the same. In most cases when we went with him there was three or four guys doing that job and when I started working there was one person doing three people's work. That was what happened. Not only that, a lot of the work has become contract. Permanent work is hard to get. That is what is happening all over and if they could give you a once off payment where they do not have to give you a housing subsidy, medical aid, that is what is happening, that is the major change that is happening. If you could get a permanent job then you should take it. There are like four permanent staff in our department and that is the major change that I have seen.

Interviewer

Have you seen any changes in people's attitudes toward one another in terms of difference in your attitudes toward different race or cultural groups?

Participant V

Man you will get some people who are uptight about this or that, I would say that colour has still got a lot to do with it, if I look at my work and how people react to one another, your skin is lighter than that one so what you say goes and your skin is darker and so I wont even bother with you. Come up with a bright idea and then they will look at you as if where did you come up with that, but let the person with the lighter skin come up with that then they will go for it. There is also a lot of favoritism also.

Interviewer

Would you say that is based on racial lines?

Participant V

I would say it depends on the person. If you are not someone that can communicate with somebody from another race or you have a racial issue then it will be difficult, then you wont give that person the time of day, but if you don't have that then your life is so much easier. If you can be the same with each and every person why not why must you make life difficult for you when you can make it easier.

Interviewer

So you think people are not making an effort really to...

Participant V

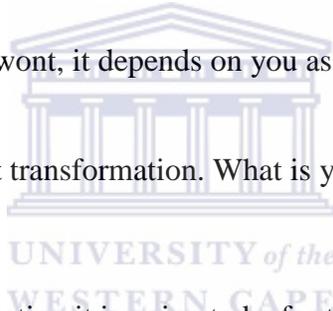
Some people don't...

Because it is difficult there are language barriers and different cultures and in the way we communicate and some people don't make an effort to cross that barrier.

If they don't want to then they wont, it depends on you as a person.

Interviewer

I would like to ask a little about transformation. What is your understanding of transformation?



Participant V

If there is going to be transformation it is going to be for the best not for the worst.

Interviewer

What would be for the worst?

Participant V

Everything just falling apart when you are trying to get something. It is like building a house and you have too much sand with your cement or something you know. It is not going to last long basically. If you want transformation you have to start from the bottom then you have to build it solid to the top.

Interviewer

And how will you do that?

Participant V

If it was me now, I would actually listen to the people around me, because that is the only way you will know what changes to make and what transformation is going to have to happen. You have got to keep an open mind about everything and everyone for something to work. You have to put everything into it and if you are not going to put everything into it, it is not going to work.

Interviewer

Do you feel that there is not enough listening?

Participant V

No, it is in by the one ear and out by the other ear. It is like talking to kids who do not listen to you.

Interviewer

You mentioned earlier that people only listen when your skin colour is lighter?

Participant V

Yes, that is what happens. There are lots of cases where we say that we are not light enough you know or something or maybe we must go.

Interviewer

Is that the general feeling in your department?

Participant V

I would say for most coloureds around there. We have a lot of Germans and English guy a Swiss guy, our previous HOD was German, he is light, what he says we must do but it is not always the right way, you know. You must give somebody else a chance, if you give everybody a hearing then you will get your answer. Transformation does not work with one person it is a team effort.

Interviewer

And black staff?

Participant V

Black staff, those that we have either left due to a contract finishing or they got jobs somewhere else, but we do have, they are not blacks but they are darker of complexion. The students that we have are black students. I communicate well with them.

Interviewer

Overall in the department how is the level of interaction, would you say that there are barriers?

Participant V

Man you know being in that department when it comes to work, you hear people talk then you hear 'why do the blacks do this, why' then I will ask why do the coloureds do this, why do the whites do that, each one has got their own reason for doing something, either you learn to work with it or not. My mother always said to me that you will learn to know a person when you work with them or when you live with them. That is so true, so true, you know.

Interviewer

Do you have any fears about transformation?

Participant V

Not really, if it is done properly then we should not have any fears, it should be smooth sailing, if the team that is deciding on the transformation then obviously we will have doubts and fears because you will not know where we are going to be at the end of the day.

Interviewer

In your opinion do you think that there will be a point where we can say that we will be transformed? What will this be if yes.

Participant V

Then things have to change drastically, then there must not be colour, race or nationality involved, or anything like that, nothing, you see this person and that is that person, if you are white South African, black South African, coloured South African then you don't see that. You just see that person as a South African or German you know.

Interviewer

Do you think that it is possible?

Participant V

If we want then it can be. If I treat you like I treat the next person why not and it is possible why not, hey, it won't be.

Interviewer

It is possible but people find it difficult,

Participant V

But why, why do they find it difficult, they can make it as easy as possible, it depends on you as a person, if this is what you want then you make it happen, if you are determined to do something, then do it and do it properly. It is like I said to my husband all the time don't do things just for tomorrow, do it for years to come, and if you are going to make anything, make it last for long not just for today. Whatever it is you are doing.

Interviewer

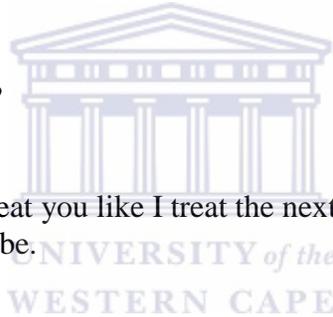
Given all that are you saying that all the effort that people are making in transformation you are saying that they are not serious enough.

Participant V

They are not that serious about it. I don't think that they are that serious about it.

Interviewer

What makes you say that?



Participant V

Just their whole attitude. It is just everything.

Interviewer

Is it a feeling that you get or is it from direct experience?

Participant V

Yes, if I look how certain people handle other people then this is not something that I would do. I would not go that route. I would, if you want something to happen you have to make it happen, you have to put everything into it.

Interviewer

That is from your background

Participant V

Yes. Everybody was welcome in our home.

Interviewer

In terms of change, would you say much has changed?

Participant V

Not much has changed. Nothing is happening like it was supposed to. Look at the IIDMM, we are supposed to be an Institute and we are all supposed to work together but when it comes to me then they do not know where I belong, they had no place for me on their plan, there was a whole argument about it. I am a lab supervisor and I am not doing the work I am supposed to be doing and they actually hired someone to do the work. They tried to upgrade me to a technician in 2004, it is 2006 and I still have not heard anything about it. So, obviously nobody has made much effort and when I ask about it.

Interviewer

Do you think that that has got to do with your colour?

Participant V

Look I would say that I don't have the degree that I am supposed to have to do the work but I am capable of doing it and they have got to prove that I can do it, but I mean all the evidence is there what more do they need. I am running the one section by myself, why should it take so long, two years and why should I follow up when there is a supervisor and a secretary that can do it.

Interviewer

Maybe you should take it up with HR

Participant V

Maybe I should. I am still hanging in the air.

Interviewer

As the non-academic part of the university do you feel that enough time has been spent on this part of the staffing complement?

Participant V

No, I don't think so. If you look at the academic staff, they are the people that have the degrees and have studied to where they want to get to, fair enough, the non-academic, not everybody's parents could put them through university, have the money to send them to study, who is doing more of the work, the non-academic staff is getting you the results that you need and who is getting the credit for it, hey? They are getting the credit, obviously they have the degrees and yes do that no do that, but you are the one who is doing the trouble shooting to get that thing to work. And you spend more time there. The academic staff comes and goes and as they please, the non-academic staff work their eight hours for the day non stop. We had a team building last year. We went to Houdinis spa, we are broken up into groups, you had your students you had your postdocs, you had your support staff, the secretaries, the technicians, and we sit with the bulk of the work, I noticed that I was the only one there without a degree and I said with my HOD sitting next to me that people think that if you don't have a degree you don't know what you are doing, but yet they come back to you and ask for this and that, you are good enough to do the dirty work but not good enough to get credit for it. What did they say, if that is the case they said that they would send me for lessons, we must send you for courses. It never happened. You cannot make transformation work if you do not support your staff.

Interviewer

So for you it just sounds good but there is no action.

Participant V

There is never action to it. I am a person if you say something then I expect it, because if you come to me and say you want to do this and that and ask for help I will help you. I always go the extra mile helping people without complaining. A small transformation that happened for me was when someone left; I proved that I was able to cope well without that person around even though it was thought that I would not cope. I told them that when I go on leave there will be problem. We all overloaded with work already running off our feet yet we still get told that we are not doing enough work. It is like a little factory on our own.

Interviewer

Have you heard of the diversity workshops or been on any one of them?

Participant V

I have not been on any other workshop since I have started here, there is no time as well.

Interviewer

We have touched on the level of inter racial interaction within your department?

Participant V

Yes, like I said I don't see colour, you are who you are, you are a person with special talents and needs and you are a person with special talents and needs and we can't change that.

Interviewer

I am not sure if you want to add anything more?

Participant V

I think that I have said a lot.

Interviewer

Thanks so much for your time

END

