

# Verstrikt in het verleden

De herinnering aan apartheid bij de studentenprotesten van 2016 in Zuid-Afrika



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## Samenvatting

In 2016 ontstonden er in Zuid-Afrika studentenprotesten waarbij gepleit werd voor gelijke kansen voor studenten van alle huidskleuren. Door verwijzingen te maken naar de anti-apartheidsstrijd en de sociaaleconomische ongelijkheden als overblijfsel van apartheid te benoemen, plaatsten de protesterende studenten zichzelf in de grotere geschiedenis van apartheid en onderdrukking. Naar aanleiding van deze protesten staat in dit onderzoek de vraag centraal welke invloed de herinnering aan het apartheidsverleden heeft gehad op de studentenprotesten van 2016 in Zuid-Afrika.

Aan de hand van interviews met studenten uit Stellenbosch en Johannesburg wordt allereerst gekeken naar de expliciete verbanden die gelegd worden met het apartheidsverleden. Vervolgens wordt aandacht gegeven aan de manier waarop studenten zich identificeren en op welke manier deze identificatie verband houdt met het verleden. Tot slot zal een discoursanalyse uitgevoerd worden op alle interviews. Door deze drie factoren met elkaar te verbinden zal een beter begrip ontstaan van de huidige generatie studenten en hiermee kan een betere vereniging van de verschillende groepen binnen Zuid-Afrika bevorderd worden.

Uit dit onderzoek zal blijken dat de huidige generatie nog steeds in een wereld leeft die beïnvloed is door het verleden, maar dat studenten dat in veel gevallen liever ontkennen of ontwijken aan de hand van verschillende strategieën. Hierdoor kunnen ze ontsnappen aan de stereotypische rolverdeling van dader en slachtoffer. Polarisatie is een sleutelwoord voor de invloed van het verleden op de protesten van 2016. Via identificatieprocessen en discoursgebruik heeft dit verleden een invloed op groeiende polarisatie bij de huidige generatie studenten, en hiermee op het verloop van de protesten. Deze groeiende polarisatie zorgde ervoor dat de studentenprotesten in 2016, in vergelijking met die van 2015, exclusiever en intenser werden.

*Foto op het voorblad door Raz, via: <http://www.okayafrika.com/news/south-africa-university-of-cape-town-student-protests-fees-must-fall-2016/>*

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*The country is still caught between an intractable present and an irrecoverable past; things that are no longer and things that are not yet.*<sup>1</sup>

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In de tweede helft van 2016 woonde ik als uitwisselingsstudent in Stellenbosch, Zuid-Afrika. Het is het land waar van 1948 tot 1994 een juridisch systeem van hiërarchische rassenscheiding van kracht was, genaamd: apartheid. Meer dan twintig jaar na het afschaffen van dit systeem geeft het veel buitenlanders nog steeds een vreemd gevoel om door de straten van Zuid-Afrika te lopen. Constant wordt men herinnerd aan het verleden. Niet alleen doordat symbolen van het oude regime nog steeds in volle glorie te zien zijn, zoals standbeelden, maar ook door de zichtbare ongelijkheden die het land verscheuren. Zuid-Afrika heeft na de apartheid de ‘Truth and Reconciliation Commission’ gekend, die ervoor moest zorgen dat bevolkingsgroepen van alle huidskleuren weer met elkaar verenigd zouden worden. De sociaaleconomische ongelijkheid die het apartheidssysteem genereerde bleef echter voor het grootste gedeelte bestaan.<sup>2</sup> Voor de nieuwe generatie, geboren kort voor of na 1994 en die aangeduid wordt met de term *free-borns*, blijkt deze ongelijkheid onacceptabel. Zij hebben de apartheid zelf niet bewust meegemaakt, maar kennen de verhalen via oudere familieleden en geschiedenislessen. Vanaf eind 2015 begon er een studentenopstand in het hele land onder de noemer ‘Fees Must Fall’ tegen de verhoging van het collegegeld die bepaalde bevolkingsgroepen extra hard trof. In de tweede helft van 2016 laaide het protest opnieuw op, en werden ook de eisen hoger. Er werd gepleit voor gelijke kansen, rechtvaardigheid en dekolonisatie van het hoger onderwijs. Protesterende studenten plaatsten zichzelf in de grotere geschiedenis van apartheid en onderdrukking door verwijzingen te maken naar de anti-apartheidsstrijd en de sociaaleconomische ongelijkheid als overblijfsel van de apartheid. Daarom zal in dit onderzoek de vraag centraal staan welke invloed de herinnering aan het apartheidsverleden heeft gehad op de studentenprotesten van 2016 in Zuid-Afrika.

Al vaker is onderzoek gedaan naar de nieuwe generatie studenten en de manier waarop zij zich verhouden tot het apartheidsverleden.<sup>3</sup> Mcebisi Ndletyana, onderzoeker op het gebied van

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<sup>1</sup> Achille Mbembe, ‘Foreword’ in Forde F. *An inconvenient youth: Julius Malema and the new ANC*. (Johannesburg 2011), viii.

<sup>2</sup> Chana Teeger, ‘“Both Sides of the Story”: History Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa’, *American Sociological Review*, 80 (2015) 6, 1179.

<sup>3</sup> Ana Ferreira, ‘A sort of black and white past and present thing’: high school students’ subject positions on South Africa’s recent past’, *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 19 (2016) 6, 1247-1261;

Afrikaanse identiteit, en Denver Webb, geschiedkundige op het gebied van kolonialisme in de Oostkaap, nemen in hun onderzoek naar herdenkingsbeleid in Zuid-Afrika de studentenprotesten van 2015 als uitgangspunt. Zij stellen vast dat een falend nationaal herdenkingsbeleid, nog gegrond op het oude apartheidregime, de frustratie en polarisatie bij studenten heeft doen aanwakkeren.<sup>4</sup> Over het herdenkingsbeleid en de invloed hiervan op de jongere generatie is vooral onderzoek gedaan door te kijken naar geschiedenisonderwijs. Een voorbeeld is het onderzoek van Ana Ferreira, voormalig docent in Zuid-Afrika en wetenschapper op het gebied van onder andere identiteit. In haar onderzoek, waarbij ook scholieren of studenten geïnterviewd werden, wordt net als in vergelijkbare onderzoeken geconcludeerd dat er duidelijk een wisselwerking gaande is tussen de manier waarop jongeren zich identificeren en positioneren in de samenleving, en het beeld dat zij hebben van het verleden.<sup>5</sup> De historische verdeling van slachtoffer en dader langs de lijnen van huidskleur spelen hierbij een belangrijke rol.<sup>6</sup> Melanie Walker, gespecialiseerd in onderzoek naar het hoger onderwijs in Zuid-Afrika, ziet in haar onderzoek ook een duidelijk verband tussen discours en identificatie.<sup>7</sup> Zannie Bock en Sally Hunt, beiden gespecialiseerd in discoursanalyse, beamen dat. Ze voegen hieraan toe dat studenten over het algemeen proberen om de historische rolverdeling te ontwijken.<sup>8</sup>

Hoewel er vaker onderzoek is gedaan naar de manieren waarop apartheid in Zuid-Afrika herinnerd wordt door de nieuwe generatie en wat voor invloed deze geschiedenis op hen heeft, roepen de protesten van eind 2016 nieuwe onderzoeksvragen op. Sommige studenten merken een klimaat van groeiende polarisatie op binnen de huidige generatie studenten.<sup>9</sup> Het lijkt erop dat er een wisselwerking bestaat tussen de studentenprotesten en een verscherping van de verschillen tussen groepen van verschillende huidskleur. Om een voorspoedige ontwikkeling van Zuid-Afrika te bevorderen waarbij bevolkingsgroepen dichter bij elkaar komen te staan, is het belangrijk om deze generatie beter te leren begrijpen en te kijken op welke manier zij verbonden is met het verleden. Dit

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Caroline Suransky & J.C. van der Merwe, 'Transcending apartheid in higher education: transforming an institutional culture', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 19 (2016) 3, 577-597;

Teeger, "Both Sides of the Story", 1175-1200;

Zannie Bock en Sally Hunt, "It's just taking our souls back': discourses of apartheid and race", *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 33 (2015) 2, 141.

<sup>4</sup> Mcebisi Ndletyana en Denver A. Webb, 'Social divisions carved in stone or cenotaphs to a new identity? Policy for memorials, monuments and statues in a democratic South Africa', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 23 (2017) 2, 97.

<sup>5</sup> Ferreira, "A sort of black and white past and present thing", 1247-1261;

Suransky en Van der Merwe, 'Transcending apartheid in higher education', 577-597;

Teeger, "Both Sides of the Story", 1175-1200.

<sup>6</sup> Teeger, "Both Sides of the Story", 1193.

<sup>7</sup> Melanie Walker, 'Race is nowhere and race is everywhere: narratives from black and white South African university students in post-apartheid South Africa', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 26 (2005) 1, 41.

<sup>8</sup> Bock en Hunt, "It's just taking our souls back", 141.

<sup>9</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview uit najaar 2016 in Stellenbosch, Zuid-Afrika, met Farai Mubaiwa door Sonja Pleumeekers.

onderzoek zal een bijdrage leveren aan een groter inzicht in deze generatie en haar relatie tot apartheid.

In dit onderzoek zal de vraag centraal staan op welke manier de studentenprotesten van 2016 beïnvloed werden door de manier waarop de nieuwe generatie studenten zich apartheid herinnert. Om deze vraag te beantwoorden analyseer ik de interviews die ik met zes studenten aan de Universiteit van Stellenbosch heb afgenomen in het najaar van 2016. De interviews werden afgenomen in het kader van een project genaamd 'Is Apartheid Over', waarbij ik met studenten waarmee ik via-via in contact was gekomen, erachter probeerde te komen op welke manier apartheid voor hen nog leefde.<sup>10</sup> Ik sprak met ze af in informele settingen en stelde open vragen over hun persoonlijke ervaringen. De studenten waarmee ik in contact kwam, behoorden allemaal niet tot de kern van de protesten van 2016. Daarom worden deze interviews aangevuld met interviews van internetbronnen met studenten die wel onderdeel waren van de studentenprotesten van de Universiteit van Witswatersrand in Johannesburg. Johannesburg vertegenwoordigt een heel ander gedeelte van het land dan Stellenbosch. Juist doordat er interviews worden gebruikt met studenten uit zowel Stellenbosch als Johannesburg, wordt het representatieve karakter van mijn bronnen groter. Dit zal een kwalitatief onderzoek zijn over de verschillende manieren waarop individuele studenten zich verhouden tot het verleden, en welke verbanden gelegd kunnen worden met de protesten.

Hoofdstuk 1 van het onderzoek zal zich toeleggen op de manier waarop de studenten in de interviews zelf expliciet verbanden leggen met het verleden. Dit wordt gedaan aan de hand van een inhoudelijke analyse waarbij de categorieën nalatenschap, herinneringsoverdracht en betekenis geven aan het verleden gebruikt worden. In hoofdstuk 2 zal vervolgens aandacht worden gegeven aan de manier waarop de studenten zich identificeren, en op welke manier deze identificatie verband houdt met het verleden. Hiervoor wordt gekeken op welke manier de raciale categorieën uit het apartheidsverleden gebruikt worden en hoe de studenten omgaan met de historische rol die geassocieerd wordt met bepaalde identiteiten. In hoofdstuk 3 zal ik een discoursanalyse toepassen op basis van het conceptuele raamwerk van Crain Soudien (2001). Soudien heeft dit raamwerk ontwikkeld voor zijn eigen discoursonderzoek naar de Zuid-Afrikaanse jeugd, en dit raamwerk is vervolgens door andere wetenschappers voor soortgelijke onderzoeken gebruikt. Het raamwerk geeft, in combinatie met het onderscheid tussen verdelend en verbindend discours, een duidelijke context voor de analyse.

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<sup>10</sup> De respondenten van dit onderzoek hebben toestemming gegeven voor het gebruiken van de interviews voor publicatie.

Aan de hand van bovengenoemde drie hoofdstukken zal onderzocht worden welke verbanden bestaan tussen de herinnering aan apartheid bij de nieuwe generatie studenten, en de studentenprotesten van 2016. De combinatie van deze drie aspecten, namelijk expliciete verwijzingen, identificatie en discours, is uniek aan dit onderzoek en daardoor zal ik in staat zijn nieuwe verbanden te leggen.

# I

## Expliciete verwijzingen

In dit onderzoek, dat probeert te begrijpen op welke manier de huidige generatie studenten beïnvloed wordt door het apartheidsverleden en hoe dit tot uitdrukking kwam in de protesten van 2016, is het van belang allereerst te kijken welke betekenis de studenten zelf aan het apartheidsverleden toekennen. Daarom zal in dit hoofdstuk aan de hand van een inhoudelijke analyse onderzocht worden op welke manier de studenten in de interviews expliciet verwijzen naar het apartheidsverleden. Expliciete verwijzingen naar het verleden worden in drie categorieën geplaatst, naar aanleiding van de vragen die in de interviews gesteld werden. Allereerst is dit nalatenschap: de consequenties van het apartheidsverleden die de studenten zeggen te zien of ervaren. Vervolgens komt herinneringsoverdracht aan bod: wat vertellen de studenten over het doorgeven van verhalen door oudere generaties? Familie is een belangrijke bron voor kennis over het verleden voor de generatie *born-frees*, waarbij het narratief van het verleden op een subjectieve manier gepresenteerd en gereconstrueerd wordt.<sup>11</sup>

Het laatste gedeelte kijkt naar de manier waarop studenten betekenis geven aan het verleden, en op wat voor manier dit verleden volgens hen een rol speelt in hun eigen leven. In dit laatste gedeelte komen de categorieën nalatenschap en herinneringsoverdracht terug, doordat deze een belangrijke rol spelen in de manier waarop studenten betekenis geven aan het verleden. In dit hoofdstuk zal duidelijk worden dat de herinnering aan het verleden voor de studenten een belangrijke rol in hun levens speelt. De intergenerationele keten van Suransky en Van der Merwe (2016) zal in meerdere interviews naar voren komen als een belangrijk hulpmiddel waarmee studenten betekenis geven aan het verleden. De intergenerationele keten houdt in dat iemand het idee heeft als generatie een bepaalde verantwoordelijkheid te hebben ten opzichte van toekomstige generaties én voorgaande generaties. Deze verantwoordelijkheid vloeit voort uit de acties van voorgaande generaties.<sup>12</sup>

Voor dit hoofdstuk, waarin gezocht wordt naar expliciete verwijzingen naar het apartheidsverleden, is het een nadeel dat de interviews zijn uitgevoerd in het kader van een project met het woord 'apartheid' in de naam. Hierdoor worden wellicht meer expliciete verwijzingen gemaakt dan zou zijn gebeurd wanneer de naam en insteek van het project anders waren geweest.

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<sup>11</sup> Tarryn Frankish en Jill Bradbury, 'Telling stories for the next generation: Trauma and nostalgia', *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 18 (2012) 3, 296.

<sup>12</sup> Suransky en Van der Merwe, 'Transcending apartheid in higher education', 591.



Het gaat echter niet zozeer om het aantal verwijzingen, maar vooral om de manier waarop verwezen wordt, en welke betekenis de studenten zelf aan hun verwijzingen verbinden.

De zes studenten die ik heb geïnterviewd voor het project zijn Matthew, Megan, Farai, Caleb, Inge en Anton. Matthew was de eerste die ik interviewde. Hij kwam oorspronkelijk uit Johannesburg maar studeerde al vier jaar in Stellenbosch, net als Megan en Farai waar hij me naar doorverwees. Megan verwees me naar Caleb, zij kenden elkaar van de politieke partij waarbij ze lid waren. Caleb kwam echter uit een township bij Kaapstad en woonde net een paar maanden in Stellenbosch. Inge was in het verleden betrokken geweest bij de studentenprotesten en woonde al twee jaar in Stellenbosch. Zij en Anton kwamen beiden uit een kleine boerengemeenschap in de Westkaap, de provincie waarin Stellenbosch zich ook bevindt. Wat betreft de online interviews gebruik ik allereerst een uitgebreid interview met Shaeera, afkomstig uit Pretoria en studente aan de Universiteit van Witswaterrand in Johannesburg. Anzio, Aarti en Shannon, waarvan kortere interviews online staan, studeren ook aan deze universiteit en waren net als Shaeera actief betrokken bij de studentenprotesten.

### 1.1 Nalatenschap

Vrijwel alle geïnterviewde studenten zijn van mening dat de apartheid een nalatenschap heeft in de huidige Zuid-Afrikaanse samenleving. Het is echter de vorm van nalatenschap die ze noemen, waarin verschil te zien is. Zo wordt het feit genoemd dat mensen van dezelfde huidskleur voor een groot gedeelte in dezelfde wijken wonen.<sup>13</sup> Dit is te herleiden naar de 'Group Areas Act', die tijdens de apartheid mensen van dezelfde huidskleur dwong in dezelfde wijk te gaan wonen. Inge zegt daarnaast dat de dominantie van de cultuur van de bevolkingsgroep Afrikaners een gevolg is van apartheid.<sup>14</sup> Matthew zegt dat dankzij de apartheid de welvaart nog steeds vooral bij de witte Zuid-Afrikanen zit. Volgens hem is dit een vicieuze cirkel die moeilijk te doorbreken is, omdat witte kinderen door hun welvarende ouders ook goed onderwijs kunnen genieten.<sup>15</sup> Shaeera praat over privilege voor Zuid-Aziatische moslims, dat ook direct naar de apartheid is terug te leiden.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van interview uit najaar 2016 in Stellenbosch, Zuid-Afrika, met Caleb Kay door Sonja Pleumeekers;

Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van interview uit najaar 2016 in Stellenbosch, Zuid-Afrika, met Inge Odendaal door Sonja Pleumeekers.

<sup>14</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van interview met Inge Odendaal.

<sup>15</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van interview uit najaar 2016 in Stellenbosch, Zuid-Afrika, met Matthew Gouldie door Sonja Pleumeekers

<sup>16</sup> Student Investor, 'Shaeera Kalla #FeesMustFall Interview', 25 april 2016  
<http://www.studentinvestor.co.za/shaeera-kalla-feesmustfall-interview/> (24 maart 2017).

Volgens Farai is het nalatenschap van apartheid groot, aangezien zij van mening is dat de apartheid weliswaar voorbij is in wetgeving, maar alle andere aspecten van apartheid voortduren. Ze zegt hierover:

So apartheid in its manifestations and the consequences of it are still very much here. In structural inequality, institutional racism, in a lot of facets of our lives. And I think what's important is that those who are privileged stop invalidating others when they state that apartheid is not over, cause it's still very much a part of every day experiences.<sup>17</sup>

Zoals duidelijk wordt in dit citaat, is Farai van mening dat apartheid niet voorbij is, doordat aspecten zoals structurele ongelijkheid en institutioneel racisme nog steeds bestaan in Zuid-Afrika. Farai hanteert hier echter een andere definitie van apartheid. Zij ziet volgens dit citaat apartheid als ongelijkheid tussen mensen van verschillende huidskleuren. In dit onderzoek wordt apartheid echter gedefinieerd als een juridisch systeem. In dit geval zijn de aspecten die Farai noemt dus te categoriseren als nalatenschap van dit systeem.

## 1.2 Overdracht van herinneringen

Elke geïnterviewde student praat over de invloed die ouders of grootouders kunnen hebben op de ideeën of het gedrag van de nieuwe generatie. Megan, Matthew, Inge en Caleb praten erover in de derde persoon, waardoor ze zichzelf enigszins distantiëren van de uitspraken die ze doen. Dit kan een strategie zijn om zichzelf buiten de invloed van het verleden te plaatsen. Zo erkennen ze dat sommige jongeren beïnvloed worden door de verhalen over het verleden, maar geven ze ook aan dat een significant gedeelte hier geen last van heeft, inclusief zichzelf.

Anton vertelt dat zijn grootouders nog steeds de mentaliteit van apartheid hebben: 'They don't like standing next to coloured people maybe in the queue for something. Small things like that, they still have that mindset.'<sup>18</sup> Hij erkent ook dat hij wellicht een klein beetje beïnvloed kan worden door de houding van zijn grootouders. Zijn ouders zijn echter volgens hem niet zo conservatief, en daarom zegt hij zelf te zijn opgegroeid zonder de 'apartheid things'<sup>19</sup>. Hij vertelt ook dat er bij hem thuis zelden gepraat werd over apartheid, volgens hemzelf met de reden dat dit voor hem niet relevant was aangezien hij de apartheid zelf niet heeft meegemaakt. Hiermee zet hij zich af tegen het idee dat de oudere generatie invloed op de studenten van nu zou kunnen hebben. Hij gebruikt dus een andere strategie dan Megan, Matthew en Inge om zijn verbinding met het verleden te verkleinen.

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<sup>17</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Farai Mubaiwa.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>19</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview uit najaar 2016 in Stellenbosch, Zuid-Afrika, met Anton Rossouw door Sonja Pleumeekers.

Waar Anton aangeeft dat zijn ouders nauwelijks over het apartheidsverleden praten, vertelt Farai dat bij haar thuis juist vaak over apartheid gepraat werd en dat de verhalen van haar ouders en grootouders haar altijd interesseerden. Ook nu nog spelen deze verhalen een belangrijke rol voor haar. Farai geeft aan dat ze het idee heeft als zwarte vrouw nog steeds een ondergeschikte positie te hebben in de Zuid-Afrikaanse maatschappij, maar de hoop van de oudere generatie geeft haar de kracht om zich hiertegen te verzetten.<sup>20</sup>

Het is verleidelijk om aan deze tegenstelling de identiteit als ‘wit’ van Anton, en de identiteit ‘zwart’ van Farai te verbinden. Hoewel eerder verschillen zijn aangetoond tussen groepen ingedeeld op huidskleur<sup>21</sup>, benadrukt Walker dat het lang niet altijd werkt om zulke conclusies te trekken, omdat er veel uitzonderingen bestaan.<sup>22</sup> Ik zal dus ook niet een dergelijke conclusies trekken, maar wel is het belangrijk om te erkennen dat deze achtergrond van de respondenten van invloed is op hun perspectief en ervaringen.

### 1.3 Wat betekent het verleden voor de studenten nu?

Het is duidelijk dat veel studenten van mening zijn dat de apartheid van invloed is op de huidige situatie in Zuid-Afrika. Maar op welke manier geven zij in hun eigen leven betekenis aan het apartheidsverleden? Een eerste antwoord op deze vraag is de intergenerationale keten. De studenten die hierover spraken, geven aan een bepaalde verantwoordelijkheid te voelen die voortvloeit uit het verleden. Voor Farai waren de verhalen van haar ouders en grootouders erg belangrijk. Hiermee plaatst Farai zichzelf in een intergenerationale keten. Ze geeft duidelijk aan geïnspireerd te zijn door de oudere generatie, en later in het interview benoemt ze ook dat ze de positie van zwarte Zuid-Afrikanen wil verbeteren voor generaties die nog moeten komen.<sup>23</sup> Anzio doet dit door te verwijzen naar de anti-apartheidprotesten door studenten in 1976, en vervolgens te zeggen: ‘We cannot leave this score unsettled as it would be a disservice to generations to come.’<sup>24</sup> Hier is opnieuw de verantwoordelijkheid naar het verleden en de toekomst zichtbaar.

Hoewel Matthew over herinneringsoverdracht in de derde persoon praat en aangeeft niet zelf beïnvloed te worden door de generaties boven hem, vertelt hij later in het interview dat hij zich wel degelijk identificeert met de acties van zijn grootouders. Hij vertelt dat hij zich schaamt voor wat zijn grootouders gedaan kunnen hebben, en dat hij juist trots is op zijn andere grootouders, die onderdeel waren van een anti-apartheidbeweging. Aan de ene kant distantieert Matthew zichzelf en

<sup>20</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Farai Mubaiwa.

<sup>21</sup> Bock en Hunt, “It’s just taking our souls back”, 152.

<sup>22</sup> Walker, “Race is nowhere and race is everywhere”, 46.

<sup>23</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Farai Mubaiwa.

<sup>24</sup> Zanta Nkumane, ‘3 Students on the Front Lines of #FeesMustFall at Wits’ 10 december 2016 <http://www.okayafrica.com/news/fees-must-fall-protest-movement-wits-university-students/> (24 maart 2017).

zijn generatie wat van het verleden door te zeggen dat de nieuwe generatie anders is dan de vorige. Aan de andere kant geeft hij echter aan onlosmakelijk verbonden te zijn met het apartheidsverleden, omdat de huidige generatie de fouten van het verleden moeten goedmaken: 'And what's nice for me to see is, so my generation is so much more open and willing to engage, and kind of come to terms with what happened. And kind of right all the wrongs that's happened in the past.'<sup>25</sup> Dit is opnieuw de intergenerationele keten, die een bepaalde verantwoordelijkheid oplegt voor huidige generaties, een verantwoordelijkheid die voortvloeit uit acties van de voorgaande generaties. Het is echter een ander soort verantwoordelijkheidsgevoel dan we bij Farai en Anzio zagen: dit komt meer voort uit een gevoel van schuld of schaamte, in plaats van uit de inspiratie die Farai noemde.

Daarnaast komt de term polarisatie vaker langs. Farai verbindt de polarisatie van de huidige generatie, die volgens haar groeiend is, direct aan het verleden: 'And a huge reason for polarization is, after 1994, there was never an apology from the perpetrators of the crime.'<sup>26</sup> Hier verwijst ze naar het verlenen van amnestie voor apartheidsmisdadigers, die vaker bekritiseerd is.<sup>27</sup> Zij is van mening dat de stereotypische rolverdeling van de witte dader en het zwarte slachtoffer nog steeds relevant zijn: 'In the same way that slavery still follows black people and unfortunately, that history of being the perpetrator follows white people.'<sup>28</sup> Farai merkt op dat veel zwarte mensen de misdaden uit het verleden hebben vergeven, maar dat juist veel witte mensen nog haat koesteren. Voor Farai is de apartheid dus cruciaal in het begrijpen van de huidige verdeeldheid.

Polarisatie is ook iets waar Anton over spreekt. Maar waar Farai het heeft over haat jegens zwarte mensen, praat Anton juist over haat tegen witte mensen. Zowel Anton als Farai vinden de haat die in hun ogen bestaat, onterecht. Anton zegt: 'I think they still have hatred towards the white people, the white supremacy of the past.'<sup>29</sup> Hij benoemt hiermee duidelijk dat dominantie van de witte bevolking volgens hem voorbij is, tegengesteld aan de mening van Farai. In deze twee tegengestelde meningen wordt verdeeldheid niet alleen besproken, maar ook gemanifesteerd: Farai en Anton hebben een totaal verschillend beeld van de situatie.

## 1.4 Conclusie

In dit hoofdstuk werden de expliciete verwijzingen van de geïnterviewde studenten naar het apartheidsverleden geanalyseerd aan de hand van de categorieën nalatenschap, herinneringsoverdracht, en betekenis geven aan het verleden. Nalatenschap is volgens alle

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<sup>25</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Matthew Gouldie.

<sup>26</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Farai Mubaiwa.

<sup>27</sup> Eric Worby en Shireen Ally, 'The disappointment of nostalgia: conceptualising cultures of memory in contemporary South Africa', *Social Dynamics* 39 (2013) 3, 464.

<sup>28</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Farai Mubaiwa.

<sup>29</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Anton Rossouw.

studenten meer of minder aanwezig, in de vorm van separatie of ongelijkheid. Ook geven alle studenten aan dat er wellicht een invloed is van ouderen op de huidige generatie. In de literatuur komt naar voren dat de huidige generatie nog steeds in een wereld leeft die beïnvloed is door het verleden, maar dat studenten dat in veel gevallen liever ontkennen.<sup>30</sup> Hierdoor kunnen ze ontsnappen aan de stereotypische rolverdeling van dader en slachtoffer.

De betekenis die studenten aan het apartheidsverleden in hun eigen leven geven, heeft voor een groot deel te maken met de intergenerationele keten. Voor sommige studenten geeft dit een gevoel van plicht om bepaalde veranderingen door te zetten, voor andere een gevoel van schuld of schaamte. Beide soorten gevoelens zijn echter in staat om acties van de studenten te beïnvloeden. Hiermee kunnen deze gevoelens, die voortkomen uit de manier waarop zij apartheid 'herinneren', de protesten van 2016 hebben beïnvloed.

Uit de interviews met Anton en Farai bleek dat zij verdeeldheid ervaren onder studenten, die zij beiden linken aan het verleden. Het begrijpen van deze polarisatie onder de huidige generatie studenten is belangrijk om de protesten beter te begrijpen, aangezien er een wederzijds versterkend verband bestaat tussen de studentenprotesten en polarisatie. Polarisatie zal een sleutelwoord blijken te zijn, dat telkens opnieuw naar voren komt als een stimulans, maar ook gevolg van de studentenprotesten. Een belangrijke factor bij polarisatie is identificatie. Daarom zal het volgende hoofdstuk zich hierop toeleggen.

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<sup>30</sup> Bock en Hunt, "It's just taking our souls back", 156.

## II

# Identificatie

In dit hoofdstuk zal onderzocht worden op welke manier het apartheidsverleden invloed heeft op het proces van identificatie bij de studenten in 2016. Dit is relevant omdat de manier waarop studenten zich identificeren kan zorgen voor polarisatie tussen groepen studenten, en deze polarisatie heeft vervolgens invloed op het verloop van de studentenprotesten. Er wordt gekeken op welke manier de raciale categorieën uit het apartheidsverleden gebruikt worden om mee te identificeren, en hoe de studenten omgaan met de historische rollen die geassocieerd worden met bepaalde identiteiten. De stereotypische rolverdeling is die van witte dader en zwart slachtoffer, zoals het voor de meerderheid gold tijdens het apartheidsregime.

De categorieën die gebruikt werden ten tijde van apartheid om verschillende bevolkingsgroepen of “rassen” aan te duiden, waren: *white*, *Coloured*, *Indian*, en *African*.<sup>31</sup> Voor deze laatste categorie waren ook wel de termen *Bantu* en *Native* in gebruik. Vanaf 1978 werd voor deze groep echter de term *Black* de norm.<sup>32</sup> In het apartheidsregime werd de term *Black* uitsluitend gebruikt voor mensen van een volledig Afrikaanse afkomst: iemand van gemengde afkomst werd geclassificeerd als *Coloured*. In dit onderzoek wordt naar de categorieën verwezen in het Nederlands. *White* wordt wit, *Coloured* wordt gekleurd, *Indian* wordt Indiaas, en *African* of *Black* wordt vertaald als zwart. De reden om voor het woord ‘wit’ in plaats van ‘blank’ te kiezen, is het positieve narratief waarmee het woord ‘blank’ in verband wordt gebracht.<sup>33</sup> ‘Wit’ en ‘zwart’ gebruik ik in dit onderzoek als objectieve termen waar geen waardeoordeel aan verbonden is.

Het is belangrijk te begrijpen dat de categorieën hierboven gezien moeten worden als sociaal geconstrueerd en niet van nature aanwezig. Sociaal constructivisme leert ons dat ras of etniciteit wordt geconstrueerd door sociale interactie. Deze raciale categorisatie is daardoor contextueel en niet een op zichzelf staand fenomeen. Dit houdt ook in dat de raciale identiteit dynamisch en veranderbaar is.<sup>34</sup> Dit wordt in het onderstaande citaat door Rogers Brubaker, een socioloog en expert op gebied van onder andere etniciteit, verduidelijkt:

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<sup>31</sup> Deborah Posel, ‘What’s in a Name? Racial Categorisations Under Apartheid and Their Afterlife’, *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, 47 (2001), 56.

<sup>32</sup> Zimitri Erasmus, ‘Apartheid race categories: daring to question their continued use’, *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, 79 (2012) 1, 1.

<sup>33</sup> Clarice Gargard, ‘Waarom witte mensen niet meer ‘blank’ zijn’ (versie 15 april 2016), <http://www.joop.nl/opinies/waarom-witte-mensen-niet-meer-blank-zijn> (21 maart 2017).

<sup>34</sup> Jolle Demmers, *Theories of Violent Conflict*. (New York and London 2012) 26.

Ethnicity, race, and nationhood exist only in and through our perceptions, interpretations, representations, categorizations, and identifications. They are not things in the world, but perspectives on the world. [...] They include systems of classification, categorization, and identification, formal and informal.<sup>35</sup>

Identificatie moet begrepen worden als proces.<sup>36</sup> Dit betekent dat men zich actief kan identificeren met een bepaalde groep, maar ook dat er verzet mogelijk is tegen deze identiteit. Doordat identiteit niet statisch maar juist dynamisch is, is het mogelijk over deze identiteit te bemiddelen. Ferreira (2016) noemt bemiddeling in haar onderzoek 'challenging racialized positions'. De processen die volgens haar hieronder vallen, zijn: het ter discussie stellen van het narratief van het verleden, het ontwijken van het verleden aan de hand van strategieën zoals ontkennen dat men verbonden is met het verleden, of de constructie van ras verwerpen.<sup>37</sup>

In het interview met Megan zei ze: 'I think you can't pretend that race doesn't matter, because it matters to a lot of people.'<sup>38</sup> Dit standpunt wordt onderstreept door de literatuur. Ras bepaalt nog steeds de structuur van levens van individuen, en blijft een sleutelwoord in politieke en sociaaleconomische ongelijkheid.<sup>39</sup> Na jaren van apartheiddenken is ook het idee van vier verschillende rassen in Zuid-Afrika nog steeds aanwezig. Dit is bijvoorbeeld te zien in gesprekken tussen mensen of in de media, waar nog vaak naar actoren wordt verwezen aan de hand van de vier bovengenoemde categorieën.<sup>40</sup> Hoewel benadrukt moet worden dat de raciale groepen een sociaal construct zijn, wil dit dus niet zeggen dat deze geen invloed hebben op de werkelijkheid: 'Groups may be imagined, but this does not mean that they are imaginary.'<sup>41</sup>

In de interviews kwam vaak een bemiddeling voor van de raciale identiteit, zoals ook gezien werd in het onderzoek van Ferreira (2016). Zij geeft in haar onderzoek aan dat scholieren tegenzin tonen om zichzelf historisch te plaatsen en zich met het verleden te identificeren. Volgens haar komt deze tegenzin of soms zelfs verzet door het ongemakkelijke gevoel dat scholieren krijgen bij het narratief van het verleden, en de geracialiseerde rolverdeling die hieruit voortkomt.<sup>42</sup> Bock en Hunt (2015) zien ook verzet ontstaan, maar dan specifiek tegen de historische posities van slachtoffer en

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<sup>35</sup> Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups*. (Cambridge 2004) 43-44.

<sup>36</sup> Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity*. (London and New York 2014) 2.

<sup>37</sup> Ferreira, "A sort of black and white past and present thing", 1256.

<sup>38</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview uit najaar 2016 in Stellenbosch, Zuid-Afrika, met Megan door Sonja Pleumeekers.

<sup>39</sup> Ferreira, "A sort of black and white past and present thing", 1249;

Teeger, "Both Sides of the Story", 1176;

Bock en Hunt, "It's just taking our souls back", 142.

<sup>40</sup> Posel, 'What's in a Name?', 56.

<sup>41</sup> Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 12.

<sup>42</sup> Ferreira, "A sort of black and white past and present thing", 1248.

dader die eerder in dit onderzoek al naar voren kwamen.<sup>43</sup> Verzet van witte mensen zou vaak voorkomen uit een gevoel van schaamte.<sup>44</sup> Op sommige momenten in de interviews wordt weerstand geboden tegen identificatie met een ras en vindt er bemiddeling plaats, op andere wordt er juist sterk geïdentificeerd met historische categorieën.

## 2.1 Bemiddeling van de identiteit

Zoals benoemd, vallen alle processen waarbij personen een bepaald aspect van hun identiteit ter discussie stellen, onder bemiddeling. Van alle geïnterviewde studenten zijn Megan en Matthew, beiden wit en Engelssprekend, het meest bemiddelend over hun identiteit. Matthew laat weten dat hij zich honderd procent Zuid-Afrikaans voelt en trots is op deze identiteit. In het volgende citaat erkent hij zijn raciale identiteit en probeert hij zich hiertegen te verzetten door zichzelf als Zuid-Afrikaan te identificeren:

I think .. it's a tricky question because if you look at my skin color, a lot of internationals would say I'm not a South African purely because we're not the native people. But I think that's quite a tricky stance to take, because like I said, I identify as a South African 100%, and I'm extremely proud of the diversity.<sup>45</sup>

Diversiteit als belangrijkste factor van de Zuid-Afrikaanse identiteit is iets wat in meerdere interviews terugkomt. Geen van de studenten lijkt echter karakteristieken van een overkoepelende Zuid-Afrikaanse identiteit te kunnen noemen, hoewel Inge het wel probeert.

Inge is ook een witte Zuid-Afrikaan, maar zij hoort bij de Afrikaanssprekende bevolking, die 'Afrikaners' genoemd wordt. De identiteit van Afrikaners is problematischer dan die van andere witte Zuid-Afrikanen, aangezien apartheid een uitvinding was van de Afrikaners.<sup>46</sup> Dit komt ook naar voren in de interviews. Inge laat weten zich vooral als Zuid-Afrikaan en Afrikaan, inwoner van het continent Afrika, te identificeren. Ze noemt hierbij niet haar identiteit als Afrikaner. Later in het interview vertelt ze hoe ze heeft geprobeerd zich tegen die identiteit te verzetten:

Myself, I am actually Afrikaans. I grew up in a very conservative Afrikaans household. And for me as an Afrikaans person, I sort of.. I grew up in a very Afrikaans town as well. So I sort of.. I've made a conscious effort to put myself not out of my comfort zone, but to broaden my horizons.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Bock en Hunt, "It's just taking our souls back", 141.

<sup>44</sup> Teeger, "Both Sides of the Story", 1191.

<sup>45</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Matthew Gouldie.

<sup>46</sup> Melissa E. Steyn, 'Rehabilitating a whiteness disgraced: Afrikaner white talk in post-apartheid South Africa', *Communication Quarterly* 52 (2004) 2, 150.

<sup>47</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Inge Odendaal.



Het bemiddelen van, en afzetten tegen, de witte identiteit, wat we zagen bij Inge, Megan en Matthew, komt wellicht voort uit een gevoel van schaamte.<sup>48</sup> Dit is specifiek bij Matthew te zien, wanneer hij zegt: 'Our generation is called the born-frees, but still I'm guilty of... or maybe not guilty, but a bit more ashamed of what maybe my grandparents did.'<sup>49</sup> Ook Megan laat het woord 'guilty' vallen in het interview.<sup>50</sup> Een strategie van Matthew om zich vervolgens af te zetten tegen de rol van dader, is te zeggen dat slechts een minderheid van de witte mensen voor apartheid was, en zich af te zetten tegen de Afrikaners door te benadrukken dat vooral zij de racisten zijn.<sup>51</sup>

Hoewel Matthew zich hierdoor wel duidelijk identificeert als wit persoon, blijft in het interview met Megan deze identificatie voor een groot gedeelte uit. Pas wanneer het gaat over positieve discriminatie, komt haar identiteit als wit persoon tot uiting. Ze vertelt over haar broertje, die volgens haar geen plek in een universiteitswoning heeft gekregen omdat hij wit is.<sup>52</sup> Hier benoemt Megan voor het eerst dat ze zich wel degelijk als wit identificeert, hoewel dit nergens anders in het interview expliciet naar voren komt. Hieruit blijkt het fluïde en bemiddelbare karakter van haar identiteit.

Caleb behoort tot de categorie gekleurden. Hij geeft aan zich sterk te identificeren als gekleurd persoon, maar verbindt die identiteit gelijk aan het Zuid-Afrikaans zijn: 'Because I feel like I belong to my culture, I feel that makes me also South African.'<sup>53</sup> Hier doet hij min of meer hetzelfde als Matthew en Inge, namelijk de overkoepelende identiteit van Zuid-Afrikaan benadrukken. Caleb geeft aan zich niet thuis te voelen in de omgeving van Stellenbosch, en hij wijt dit aan het feit dat de universiteit en de stad erg gericht zijn op Afrikaners. Hierdoor wordt duidelijk dat ook in Caleb's belevingswereld de raciale identiteiten nog gescheiden zijn, en van groot belang.

## 2.2 Zwart-wit identificatie

Deze paragraaf zal zich richten op wat ik 'zwart-wit identificatie' heb genoemd: het sterk identificeren met de raciale identiteit en verschillen benoemen tussen zwarte en witte mensen. De twee studenten die dit het meest doen, zijn Farai (zwart) en Anton (wit). Farai verbindt aan de raciale identiteit ook de traditionele rolverdeling van witte dader en zwart slachtoffer, zoals we al zagen in het eerste hoofdstuk.

In het interview zet Farai de identiteit van zwarte mensen lijnrecht tegenover de westerse identiteit. Zo noemt ze het westerse karakter van Stellenbosch als een reden voor het zich niet thuis

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<sup>48</sup> Teeger, "'Both Sides of the Story'", 1191.

<sup>49</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Matthew Gouldie.

<sup>50</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Megan.

<sup>51</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Matthew Gouldie.

<sup>52</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Megan.

<sup>53</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Caleb Kay.

voelen in de stad, aangezien ze zelf zwart is. Farai plaatst de zwarte identiteit aan de historische slachtofferkant. Logischerwijs noemt ze witte mensen als de historische dader en onderdrukker. Ook trekt ze de historische rollen door naar het heden door te benoemen dat haar identiteit als zwarte vrouw haar een lastige positie in de samenleving geeft:

I mean, as a woman I still have to prove my worth every single day in this very patriarchal world that we live in. As a black woman it's even worse, because you're basically at the bottom of the barrel where white men don't regard you, black men don't regard you, and you're seen as inferior on the basis of your gender, and on your race as well.<sup>54</sup>

Opnieuw staat aan de andere kant van het spectrum Anton, die zich sterk identificeert als witte Afrikaner. Hij zegt trots te zijn op deze identiteit en voelt zich volkomen thuis in Stellenbosch, in tegenstelling tot Farai. Hoewel Anton zich identificeert als wit persoon, maakt hij zich juist los van de historische rolverdeling door deze in het interview niet te benoemen en gedeeltelijk onderuit te halen. Hij benadrukt de positieve rol van witte mensen bij de ontwikkeling van Zuid-Afrika: '[...] but to be honest, the white people built this country. They've built the infrastructure here. It's like everything was built and other people took it over, but they're not building on it.'<sup>55</sup> In dit citaat is niet alleen een positief beeld van de witte identiteit te zien, maar ook een tegenstelling tussen 'wit' en 'anders' waarbij alles dat niet wit is, als minder wordt gezien: vanaf het moment dat andere, niet-witte mensen het overnamen, stond de ontwikkeling volgens Anton stil.

Bovendien geeft hij aan geen boodschap te hebben aan mensen die telkens terugverwijzen naar het verleden en de apartheid de schuld geven van huidige situaties. Dit is een neiging die in andere onderzoeken bij studenten van alle categorieën voorkwam, en wellicht dient om de historische rolverdeling meer te ontkennen.<sup>56</sup> Over de studentenprotesten zegt Anton dat alle Afrikaners nooit zullen meedoen met de protesten, omdat de protesten gebruik maken van anti-apartheidsliederen waarin wordt gezongen over het doden van de 'boeren', een algemene aanduiding voor Afrikaners.<sup>57</sup> Met dit laatste punt wordt duidelijk dat de protesten voor verdeeldheid zorgen en een sterkere zwart-wit identificatie.

Ook in andere interviews komt het idee naar voren dat het hebben van een bepaalde identiteit, waarschijnlijk die van zwarte Zuid-Afrikaan, nodig is om mee toen doen aan de protesten.<sup>58</sup> Inge geeft aan graag onderdeel te zijn van de studentenprotesten, maar hierin tegengehouden te worden door de leiders van de protesten. Deze verwijzen naar haar identiteit als wit persoon, en

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<sup>54</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Farai Mubaiwa.

<sup>55</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Anton Rossouw.

<sup>56</sup> Bock en Hunt, "It's just taking our souls back", 156.

<sup>57</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Anton Rossouw.

<sup>58</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Megan.

stellen dat dit problematisch is voor haar om deel te nemen in de protesten. In het interview wordt duidelijk dat dit bij Inge tot frustratie leidt.<sup>59</sup>

### 2.3 Conclusie

Identificatie heeft een belangrijke invloed op de polarisatie die vastgesteld was in het eerste hoofdstuk. In dit hoofdstuk werd onderzocht op welke verschillende manieren de studenten zich identificeerden met categorieën uit het verleden, en op welke manieren dit tot polarisatie geleid kan hebben. Hoewel deze categorisatie een sociaal construct is dat stamt uit het apartheidsverleden, is het nog steeds van belang in de Zuid-Afrikaanse samenleving en ook bij de geïnterviewde studenten.

Onder de studenten kwam, net als in vergelijkbaar onderzoek, vooral bemiddeling van de identiteit voor.<sup>60</sup> Hoewel Inge een witte Afrikaner is, vertelde ze dat ze zich identificeert als Zuid-Afrikaan en Afrikaan. Ook Megan en Matthew waren bemiddelend over hun identiteit. Waarschijnlijk heeft dit te maken met een bepaalde schaamte voor de witte identiteit en de historische rolverdeling die hieraan vastzit.<sup>61</sup> Bij Matthew waren twee verschillende strategieën te zien om weerstand te bieden aan zijn geracialiseerde positie: allereerst het afzetten tegen de Afrikaners, en als tweede het marginaliseren van de invloed van witte mensen in de apartheidsgeschiedenis. Deze zijn een aanvulling op de strategieën die in het artikel van Ferreira genoemd worden.<sup>62</sup> Bemiddeling van de identiteit is er vooral op gericht om de historische rolverdeling te ontwijken.<sup>63</sup> Farai bevestigde in het interview juist deze rollen door deze te benoemen en vervolgens door te trekken naar het heden. Hoewel Anton net als Farai aan zwart-wit identificatie deed, haalde hij wel de historische rolverdeling onderuit.

Het sterker worden van de groepsidentiteit, wat kan leiden tot polarisatie, is volgens Brubaker (2004) vaak een resultaat van geweld.<sup>64</sup> Door het gebruik van geweld kunnen mensen gedwongen worden een 'kant te kiezen' en zich dus te identificeren met een bepaalde groep. Deze stelling kan uiteraard aan apartheid verbonden worden: dankzij de apartheid zijn mensen nu sneller geneigd zich te identificeren als 'zwart' of 'wit'. Het kan echter ook verbonden worden aan de studentenprotesten. In meerdere interviews kwam naar voren dat studenten het idee hebben dat een bepaalde raciale identiteit nodig is om mee te kunnen doen aan de protesten. Hierdoor maken de protesten mensen meer bewust van hun raciale identiteit, en wordt het moeilijker gemaakt zich

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<sup>59</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Inge Odendaal.

<sup>60</sup> Ferreira, "A sort of black and white past and present thing", 1259.

<sup>61</sup> Teeger, "Both Sides of the Story", 1191.

<sup>62</sup> Ferreira, "A sort of black and white past and present thing", 1256.

<sup>63</sup> Bock en Hunt, "It's just taking our souls back", 141.

<sup>64</sup> Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups*, 48.

hiertegen te verzetten. De raciale categorisatie die hierbij gebruikt wordt, stamt uit het apartheidsverleden.

### III

## Discours van verbinding en verdeeldheid

In het vorige hoofdstuk zagen we dat de studentenprotesten zorgen voor een groter bewustzijn van de raciale identiteiten. Een factor die van invloed kan zijn op identificatie, is het discours.<sup>65</sup> Daarom zal dit hoofdstuk zich richten op het woordgebruik van de studenten, aan de hand van een discoursanalyse. Discours wordt hier gebruikt in de Foucauldiaanse betekenis: het netwerk van geschreven en gesproken teksten waarbinnen betekenis gegenereerd en werkzaam wordt, een manier van denken, praten en handelen die een bepaalde relatie als vanzelfsprekend presenteert. Discours bepaalt wat wel en niet gezegd en gedacht kan worden.<sup>66</sup>

Dit onderzoek bevat te weinig bronnen om aantallen met elkaar te vergelijken zoals Melanie Walker doet in haar discoursonderzoek onder Zuid-Afrikaanse studenten in 2005. Het doel van dit onderzoek is daarom om op een kwalitatieve manier te kijken op welke manier het discours gebruikt wordt en op welke manier dit verbinding of juist verdeling genereert. Het eerste deel zal verbindend discours behandelen en het tweede deel verdelend discours, beide keren slechts van de studenten aan de Universiteit van Stellenbosch die niet betrokken waren bij de kern van de protesten. In het laatste deel van het hoofdstuk wordt vervolgens gekeken naar het discours van de studenten die wel nauw betrokken waren bij de protesten. Het discours dat zij gebruiken wordt beschouwd als discours van de protesten. Er wordt gekeken op welke manier dit discours zich verhoudt tot het discours van de studenten die niet direct bij de protesten betrokken waren, en wat de mogelijke gevolgen zijn van dit discours. Hieruit zal naar voren komen dat het officiële discours niet algemeen geaccepteerd is onder de studenten, maar dat er vooral verdelend discours voorkomt waarvan een gedeelte teruggeleid kan worden naar de herinnering aan apartheid.

Om het discours dat gebruikt wordt door de Zuid-Afrikaanse studenten beter te begrijpen wordt het raamwerk van Soudien (2001) gebruikt. Dit raamwerk onderscheidt drie verschillende soorten discours: het officiële, het formele en het informele discours. Hierbij wordt het officiële discours gevormd en beheerst door de politieke groep die op dat moment de macht heeft.<sup>67</sup> Sinds 1994 is in Zuid-Afrika het African National Congress (ANC) aan de macht. Hierdoor is het officiële

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<sup>65</sup> Walker, 'Race is nowhere and race is everywhere', 42.

<sup>66</sup> Ibidem, 43.

<sup>67</sup> Ibidem.

discours een van democratie en de 'rainbow nation': het idee van een land vol diversiteit waarin bevolkingsgroepen in vrede samenleven.<sup>68</sup> Het formele discours is het discours van de formele setting, in dit onderzoek is dat de Universiteit van Stellenbosch. Het formele discours wordt vaak doordrongen van het officiële discours, en dit is ook duidelijk te zien bij de Universiteit van Stellenbosch. Op hun website stellen ze dat de universiteit streeft naar een gastvrije en inclusieve campuscultuur.<sup>69</sup> Het officiële en formele discours zijn in deze setting dus samen te vatten als een discours van verbinding, met de sleutelwoorden 'rainbow nation', diversiteit en inclusiviteit.

De laatste vorm van discours in het raamwerk van Soudien is het informele discours. Dit wordt door Soudien omschreven als het geheel van relaties dat in verband staat met sociale en culturele belangen.<sup>70</sup> Elementen van het informele discours kunnen tegenstrijdig zijn, het is dus mogelijk om binnen het informele discours zowel verbindende als verdelende termen te vinden. Al het discours dat de studenten uiten is in principe hun informele, persoonlijke discours omdat gevraagd werd naar hun persoonlijke perspectief. Wel kan geconcludeerd worden dat ze elementen uit het officiële of informele discours overnemen.<sup>71</sup>

### 3.1 Verbindend discours

Allereerst worden de interviews onderzocht op verbindend discours. Diversiteit zou een belangrijk sleutelwoord zijn in zowel het officiële en formele discours, dat verbindend van aard is. Al eerder in dit onderzoek werd duidelijk dat veel studenten 'diversiteit' benoemen als belangrijk karakteristiek voor de Zuid-Afrikaanse bevolking. Het lijkt er hiermee dus op dat zij het officiële en formele discours hebben geïnternaliseerd. Sommigen nemen ook het concept 'rainbow nation' duidelijk over. Zo zegt Matthew: 'I'd like to think that it's the rainbow nation, which is a complete melting pot and a land of completely different cultures. I think we've got 11 official languages, there's such a rich amount of diversity here.'<sup>72</sup>

De meesten praten echter over de 'rainbow nation' als een streven voor de toekomst, waarbij benadrukt wordt hoe het land op dit moment nog verdeeldheid kent. Sommigen zijn sceptisch: 'So I think everyone's trying to creating this whole "everybody loves everybody, we're one big rainbow nation", but it's not really possible.'<sup>73</sup> Ook het concept inclusiviteit, dat vaker genoemd wordt in de interviews, komt meestal naar voren als een toekomstwens. Het officiële discours wordt

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<sup>68</sup> Ibidem, 45

<sup>69</sup> Stellenbosch University, 'Transformation and Diversity', <http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Pages/Diversity.aspx> (17 maart 2017).

<sup>70</sup> Crain Soudien, 'Certainty and ambiguity in youth identities in South Africa: discourses in transition', *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education*, 22 (2001) 3, 312.

<sup>71</sup> Ibidem, 314.

<sup>72</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Matthew Gouldie.

<sup>73</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Megan.

afgezet tegen de huidige situatie: 'That's not the South Africa that we're trying to achieve'<sup>74</sup>. Hetzelfde geldt voor het woord 'equal'. Dit wordt vaak gebruikt om een toekomstbeeld aan te duiden. Hoewel dit woord vaak voorkomt in de interviews, is dit vaak voor met een ontkenning er direct voor of na om te benadrukken dat de Zuid-Afrikaanse samenleving op dit moment nog niet gelijk is.<sup>75</sup>

Wat opvalt is dat Inge een totaal andere, originele manier heeft van verbinden. Ze lijkt zich bewust te zijn van de kracht van discours. In plaats van te verwijzen naar de diversiteit, verwijst ze naar alle Zuid-Afrikanen op dezelfde manier: 'us, as Africans'. Hiermee verbindt ze alle Zuid-Afrikanen onder één naam, waardoor iedereen automatisch gelijk is, en er geen onderscheid ontstaat. Inge is echter de enige student die dit doet, het is niet duidelijk waar dit discours vandaan komt.

Het gevaar van het officiële discours van diversiteit, is dat het snel vervalt in 'the past is the past' discours, wat het belang en de invloed van het verleden ontkracht. De consequentie van dit discours is echter dat het verleden wordt afgedaan als irrelevant voor het heden, wat nieuwe vormen van racisme kan opleveren. De neiging om het verleden weinig aandacht te geven, heeft wortels in het nationale herdenkingsbeleid. Dit beleid zou collectief geheugenverlies faciliteren doordat aan de ouders amnestie verleend werd.<sup>76</sup>

### 3.2 Verdelerdiscours

Het is opvallend hoe veel meer verdelerdiscours er voorkomt in de interviews. Onder verdelerdiscours worden allerlei woorden gerekend die een breuk impliceren tussen verschillende bevolkingsgroepen. Dit zijn de categorisaties die stammen uit apartheid zoals 'black' en 'white', maar ook woorden zoals 'they' met een negatieve connotatie, 'other', 'racist', 'race(s)', '(white) privilege', '(white) supremacy', 'exclusive', en zo verder. Het verdelerdiscours zet zich af tegen officieel en formeel discours, omdat dat altijd verbindend van aard is.

In de interviews werden vaak de raciale labels van het apartheidsverleden gebruikt om mensen mee aan te duiden. Het gebruik van deze labels komt in elk onderzoek naar discours onder studenten opnieuw voor en is een teken dat het discours nog erg beïnvloed wordt door wat men kent uit het verleden.<sup>77</sup> Het feit dat verdelerdiscours vaker wordt gebruikt door de studenten, ondanks dat ze allemaal aangaven graag een manifestatie van die 'rainbow nation' te zien, wijst in de richting van polarisatie. Gebruik van verdelerdiscours kan niet alleen polarisatie blootleggen maar

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<sup>74</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>75</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van interviews met studenten in Stellenbosch, najaar 2016.

<sup>76</sup> Eric Worby en Shireen Ally, 'The disappointment of nostalgia: conceptualising cultures of memory in contemporary South Africa', *Social Dynamics* 39 (2013) 3, 464.

<sup>77</sup> Walker, 'Race is nowhere and race is everywhere', 53.

het ook versterken.<sup>78</sup> In het volgende citaat wordt die verdeeldheid tussen wit en zwart duidelijk getoond door de woorden 'black' in verbinding met 'our stories' en 'our pain' te gebruiken, en dit tegenover witte mensen te zetten:

And that is why we're polarized at the moment, a lot of **black** people are saying: listen to **us**, listen to **our stories**, this is **our pain**, a lot of **white** South Africans are like: no apartheid ended, get over it.<sup>79</sup>

Het gebruik van het woord 'our' geeft aan dat er een scheidingslijn gesteld wordt tussen 'wij' en 'zij', en in dit citaat is dat duidelijk een scheidingslijn tussen zwart en wit.

Het gebruik van de woorden 'black' en 'white' wordt over het algemeen opgevat als verdelend discours.<sup>80</sup> Als een stapje verder wordt gegaan, kan gekeken worden naar de woorden waarmee 'black' en 'white' in verband worden gebracht. Het woord 'white' wordt vaak in verband gebracht met privilege en racisme. Enkele voorbeelden zijn:

[...] **white** friends as well who recognize **they** are **privileged**.<sup>81</sup>

'And maybe some **white** grandparents, they are still **racist** because they believed in apartheid regime, whereas the **black** and **coloured** communities [...]'<sup>82</sup>

'I think there's **institutional racism** and **the white privilege** in countries all over the world going on.'<sup>83</sup>

Het woord 'black' wordt dan weer vaker in verband gebracht met woorden zoals 'disadvantaged'. Zoals in deze citaten:

'There's a lot of people that want South Africa just for them, to take it back, basically especially the **disadvantaged**, it's deemed as like their country'<sup>84</sup>

'and I guess it's the same with the **black** people, they want all the **white** people off the land'<sup>85</sup>

Hieruit kunnen we concluderen dat er labels geplakt worden op percepties van gedrag van bepaalde groepen die gecategoriseerd worden langs de lijnen die tijdens apartheid gebruikelijk waren. Het kan dus gesteld worden dat het discours dat onder de geïnterviewde studenten gebruikt wordt, wel degelijk verdeeldheid oproept en dus een polariserend karakter heeft. Verdelerende termen zoals 'black' en 'white' zijn duidelijk overblijfselen uit het apartheidsverleden. Andere woorden, zoals

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<sup>78</sup> Ibidem, 42.

<sup>79</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Farai Mubaiwa.

<sup>80</sup> Walker, 'Race is nowhere and race is everywhere', 41-54;  
Ferreira, "A sort of black and white past and present thing", 1247-1261;  
Bock en Hunt, "It's just taking our souls back", 141-158.

<sup>81</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Farai Mubaiwa.

<sup>82</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Matthew Gouldie.

<sup>83</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>84</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Megan.

<sup>85</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Matthew Gouldie.



‘institutional racism’ of ‘privilege’ zijn recenter van aard en komt bijvoorbeeld in het onderzoek van Walker in 2005 beduidend minder voor.

### 3.3 Discours van de studentenprotesten

Tot nu toe is het discours van de studenten van de Universiteit van Stellenbosch onderzocht, en de mate waarin dit discours verdelend van aard was. In dit laatste deel wordt gekeken naar het discours van de studenten die actief bij protesten betrokken waren. Allereerst valt op dat hier het woord ‘black’ veel gebruikt wordt, en vaak in combinatie met het woord ‘struggle’. Ook een vaker gehoorde term is ‘black child’. Het volgende citaat is hiervan een goed voorbeeld:

In ten years a time. A young **black** South African must wake up in a country and not dream about where his next meal comes from, that young **black child** must receive the best education from primary to secondary and finally study for free at the best University.<sup>86</sup>

Dit discours, dat benadrukt dat de protesten vooral voor zwarte mensen zijn, resoneert bij de studenten in Stellenbosch en lijkt daar voor verdeeldheid te zorgen. Zo zei Megan: ‘I don’t want to pretend like it’s my struggle’, en vertelde Inge:

And I don’t want to sound like I’m playing the **race card**, like the **white privilege**, **white tears** or something, but what I want to say is like, it’s sort of unacceptable when you go to a meeting [of Fees Must Fall] and people tell you that you’re **white** so you need to sit down, this is not your **struggle**.<sup>87</sup>

Het discours van de protestbeweging zet zich expliciet af tegen het idee van gevierde diversiteit in Zuid-Afrika, nog meer dan de studenten van Stellenbosch dat deden. Zo wordt de ‘rainbow nation’ een ‘fallacy’<sup>88</sup> genoemd, en wordt er gesproken over ‘the myth of an equal society’<sup>89</sup>. Ongelijkheid is dan ook een ander sleutelwoord in het discours van de protestbeweging. Daarnaast wordt duidelijk gemaakt dat dit gaat om gelijkheid voor zwarte mensen, in tegenstelling tot witte mensen die opnieuw met privilege in verband worden gebracht:

**We** want to be **equal**, we want to finish our degrees without black tax waiting for us at the end or the withholding of our degrees till we have paid up. **Black** students want to be heard. **We are not the privileged** that can afford to return to class in silence.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Student Investor, ‘Shaeera Kalla #FeesMustFall Interview’, 25 april 2016 <http://www.studentinvestor.co.za/shaeera-kalla-feesmustfall-interview/> (24 maart 2017).

<sup>87</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Inge Odendaal.

<sup>88</sup> Zanta Nkumane, ‘3 Students on the Front Lines of #FeesMustFall at Wits’.

<sup>89</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>90</sup> Ibidem.

Doordat de protestbeweging gebruik maakt van een discours dat zo sterk gericht is op zwarte mensen en dit ook expliciet benoemt, draagt het bij aan polarisatie onder de studenten. Opnieuw ontstaat het idee dat een bepaalde identiteit nodig is om te kunnen deelnemen aan de protesten. Het gevolg hiervan is dat de protesten van 2016 als een stuk exclusiever werden ervaren.<sup>91</sup> De protestbeweging maakt gebruik van discours dat stamt uit het apartheidsverleden en voegt hier andere soorten van verdelend discours aan toe.

### 3.4 Conclusie

Hoewel het officiële discours van diversiteit en de 'rainbow nation' welbekend is onder de studenten in 2016, kwam uit alle interviews naar voren dat ze het niet of in mindere mate eens zijn met dit discours. Het werd vaak neergezet als een toekomststreven. Verdelend discours nam daardoor een groter deel in beslag van de interviews en van dit hoofdstuk. Het is duidelijk dat het verdelende discours dat uit de apartheid stamt en dat zich focust op de verschillen tussen zwart en wit nog veel voorkomt onder de huidige generatie, zoals ook Bock en Hunt concludeerden.<sup>92</sup>

In onderzoeken tot nu toe kwam naar voren dat studenten aangeven dat ze graag het verleden achter zich willen laten.<sup>93</sup> Dit was echter hier niet zozeer het geval, doordat de studenten erkennen dat er nalatenschap bestaat. Waar Bock en Hunt beschrijven dat de studenten hun historische rollen van 'black struggle youth'<sup>94</sup> willen ontwijken, lijkt dit discours van de 'black struggle' juist teruggebracht te worden door de protestbeweging. Hierdoor wordt het ontkomen aan de raciale identiteit en historische rolverdeling moeilijker.

De protestbeweging maakt veel gebruik van verdelend discours dat gericht is op studenten die zich als 'zwart' identificeren. Aangezien dit gedeelte van het discours gebruik maakt van labels die uit de apartheid stammen, worden de protesten zichtbaar beïnvloed door het apartheidsverleden. Er was ook nieuw discours, namelijk dat van wit privilege en geïnstitutionaliseerd racisme. In het onderzoek van Walker in 2005 kwam één keer de term 'everyday racism' voor, wat lijkt op 'institutional racism'.<sup>95</sup> Het is duidelijk dat dit modernere discours zich sindsdien verder heeft ontwikkeld en nu gebruikelijker is onder studenten. Ook dit is verdelend discours, wat de verschillen tussen groepen studenten verscherpt en hiermee polarisatie groter maakt.

Ferreira beargumenteert dat een post-conflict samenleving ook post-conflict discours nodig heeft, dat zich niet meer aan de regels van het verleden houdt.<sup>96</sup> In dit hoofdstuk hebben we gezien

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<sup>91</sup> Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers, transcript van een interview met Megan.

<sup>92</sup> Bock en Hunt, "It's just taking our souls back", 141-158.

<sup>93</sup> Bock en Hunt, "It's just taking our souls back", 141-158; Ferreira, "A sort of black and white past and present thing", 1254.

<sup>94</sup> Bock en Hunt, "It's just taking our souls back", 150.

<sup>95</sup> Walker, "Race is nowhere and race is everywhere", 50.

<sup>96</sup> Ferreira, "A sort of black and white past and present thing", 1260.

dat het erg moeilijk is voor de studenten om te ontkomen aan het apartheidsdiscours dat raciale identiteiten benadrukt, en hiermee verdeeldheid kan versterken. De studenten vervallen echter niet in het 'the past is the past' discours<sup>97</sup>. Doordat erkend wordt dat de 'rainbow nation' nog niet verwezenlijkt is, wordt erkend dat het verleden impact heeft op het huidige Zuid-Afrika. Hiermee zijn de studenten in deze interviews anders dan die in andere onderzoeken, waar de nadruk vaak wordt gelegd op de wens verder te gaan en het verleden te laten voor wat het is.<sup>98</sup> Het verleden compleet achter ze laten, is dus voor deze generatie geen optie, maar de enige optie die rest is verdeelend (apartheids)discours.

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<sup>97</sup> Walker, 'Race is nowhere and race is everywhere', 46.

<sup>98</sup> Bock en Hunt, "It's just taking our souls back", 156.

## IV

# Conclusie

Hoewel de studentenprotesten van 2016 door de nieuwe generatie *free-borns* werden gestart, staan deze niet los van het apartheidsverleden. In dit onderzoek heb ik aan de hand van interviews met studenten in Stellenbosch en Johannesburg onderzocht op welke manier de studentenprotesten beïnvloed werden door hun herinnering aan apartheid.

Allereerst deed ik dit aan de hand van het onderzoeken van de expliciete verwijzingen die zij maakten. De belangrijkste bevinding in dit eerste hoofdstuk was dat de huidige generatie nog steeds in een wereld leeft die beïnvloed is door het verleden, maar dat studenten dat in veel gevallen liever ontkennen of ontwijken aan de hand van verschillende strategieën. Hierdoor kunnen ze ontsnappen aan de stereotypische rolverdeling van dader en slachtoffer. De intergenerationele keten werd door veel studenten benoemd als een belangrijke invloed op hun acties. Daarnaast kwam de term polarisatie al snel naar voren als belangrijke dynamiek onder de huidige generatie studenten. Deze polarisatie bleek het sleutelwoord te zijn dat in elk hoofdstuk opnieuw ter sprake kwam.

In hoofdstuk 2 verdiepte ik me in het proces van identificatie met de categorieën die uit de apartheid stammen, zoals 'zwart' en 'wit'. Onder de studenten kwam, net als in vergelijkbaar onderzoek, vooral bemiddeling van de identiteit voor. Er werd opnieuw weerstand geboden aan de historische rolverdeling. Ook waren er echter studenten die identificatie op een zwart-wit manier zagen, en de verschillen tussen deze twee groepen groter probeerden te maken. In meerdere interviews kwam naar voren dat studenten het idee hebben dat een bepaalde identiteit nodig is om deel te kunnen nemen aan de protesten. Hierdoor maken de protesten mensen meer bewust van hun raciale identiteit, wordt het ook moeilijker gemaakt zich hiertegen te verzetten aan de hand van bemiddeling en krijgt polarisatie dus meer voedingsbodem.

Tot slot voerde ik een discoursanalyse uit op de interviews. De studenten van 2016 bleken allemaal niet te geloven in een vreedzame 'rainbow nation', hoewel dit in andere onderzoeken nog wel het geval was. Deze generatie is dan ook misschien wel de meest kritische tot nu toe. De protestbeweging maakte vooral gebruik van discours van de 'black struggle', wat enigszins polariserend werkte in de praktijk. Het maakt het ontkomen aan de raciale identiteit en historische rolverdeling moeilijker voor de studenten die niet betrokken zijn bij de protesten.

De invloed van het apartheidsverleden op de studentenprotesten van 2016 werkte via polarisatie. De herinnering aan het apartheidsverleden, die voor de studenten belangrijk bleek te

zijn, had invloed op het gebruikte discours en op de identificatieprocessen van de studenten. Dit discours en deze identificatieprocessen werkten vervolgens meer polarisatie in de hand. Deze groeiende polarisatie zorgde ervoor dat de studentenprotesten in 2016, in tegenstelling tot die van 2015, exclusiever en intenser werden. Omgekeerd was er ook invloed van de protesten op polarisatie: de studentenprotesten en het gebruik van hun discours zorgden ervoor dat studenten gedwongen werden zich te identificeren met een bepaalde groep zoals 'zwart' of 'wit'.

Hoewel veel respondenten van dit onderzoek zich nog steeds probeerden te onttrekken aan zwart-wit identificatie en -discours, net als in voorgaand onderzoek, werd er meer onderkend dat het verleden een rol speelt in de huidige maatschappij. Het problematische herdenkingsbeleid dat suggereert dat het verleden geen invloed zou hebben op de huidige samenleving, geven ze hiermee minder invloed. Hoewel bij het hoofdstuk over identificatie veel bemiddeling voorkwam en studenten zich wilden onttrekken aan raciale identificatie en zwart-wit denken, werd in de discoursanalyse duidelijk dat onder alle studenten verdelend discours, dat voor een groot deel zijn wortels heeft in het apartheidsverleden, de boventoon voert.

Twee respondenten stonden vrijwel constant lijnrecht tegenover elkaar, namelijk Anton en Farai. Het kan als symbolisch opgevat worden dat twee personen die een andere raciale categorie vertegenwoordigen, tegenstrijdige opvattingen hebben. Ik zal hier echter geen generaliserende conclusie uit opmaken, behalve dat de achtergrond van deze respondenten van invloed is geweest op hun perspectieven. Dit onderzoek heeft een poging gedaan meer kwalitatief begrip te creëren over de verbanden tussen discours, identificatie, herinnering aan apartheid, en polarisatie van de huidige generatie studenten.

Hoewel dit een onderzoek was naar de generatie *free-borns*, kan de legitieme vraag worden gesteld of er wel gesproken kan worden van 'vrijgeborenen'. De huidige generatie studenten leeft in een wereld die nog steeds sterk beïnvloed is door het apartheidsverleden, en dat niet alleen: ze heeft nog geen manieren gevonden om zich als samenleving écht te hervormen en het apartheidsdenken te overstijgen. Op vele manieren is ze nog verstrikt in het verleden. Ik hoop dat vervolgonderzoek manieren kan uitwijzen voor deze nieuwe generatie om zich hiervan los te kunnen maken. Een mogelijke manier om dit te realiseren zou het ontwikkelen van een nieuw soort discours zijn, en de samenleving ontdoen van zoveel mogelijk vormen van nalatenschap van apartheid. Hiervoor zal meer historisch en sociologisch onderzoek nodig zijn, en interesse binnen de wetenschap naar de nieuwe generatie van Zuid-Afrika zal hiervoor ook altijd van belang blijven.

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# Bijlagen

Archief van Sonja Pleumeekers: transcripten van de interviews met studenten van de Universiteit van Stellenbosch, Zuid-Afrika, najaar 2016.

Interview met Farai Mubaiwa

I am Farai. I am 21 and I'm from Johannesburg. I've lived in the colony [Stellenbosch] for 4 years, and I'm leaving this Friday. I just finished my postgraduated honours in Management Accounting.

**Do you identify as South African?**

Yes. Although I think that such classifications are also colonial. So before South Africa was called South Africa, it was called Tanzania. And I think that the boundaries we have, that separate Nigeria from South Africa from Sudan from other countries is a lot of colonial construct. So I think I'd first say I'm African, and then in terms of nationalities, I would say South African.

**Do you feel like you belong in Stellenbosch?**

I think that within the context of Stellenbosch, I would say to someone I used to live in Stellenbosch, however I wouldn't say I belong in Stellenbosch. And I think the reason is because as much as there have been some significant changes, Stellenbosch still has a long way to go. And it's still not an inviting space for a lot of marginalized groups. If you are black, or trans, or queer, then you don't feel welcome into the space. So I think that I'd say I belong with the friends I made here, but I don't feel like I belong to Stellenbosch, or belong with Stellenbosch

**Can you explain why you refer to Stellenbosch as "the colony"?**

It's sad for me how Stellenbosch is actually in South Africa, yet the town operates as if its external from the rest of the country. So here in the town it operates as if its a Europe inside of Africa. And a lot of international students that I've spoken to, first week they got here, they were like "this is exactly like home". And I was like: that's such a problem! Because, you come to the continent of Africa, I don't feel like I belong to Stellenbosch, which is my own continent. Which is in fact the land of my people. So I think ... so that's why we refer to it as "the colony", because we think it still has a lot to go in terms of decolonization, inclusive spaces, transformative spaces. And until then, it will still be seen as that.

**In what ways would you say does Johannesburg differ from Stellenbosch?**

What I love about Johannesburg – and I'll be honest, within Jo'burg and within these cool areas like Maboneng and Downtown, that keep on popping up, it is definitely a case of what you call a gentrification. And it's not fair that that's happening. And I think that happens in Cape Town as well,

where different parts are being gentrified for capitalist sort of businesses, however, what I do love about Joburg is the hustling. Everyone is hustling to get somewhere in life. And I appreciate that because that keeps me motivated as well. I also really love the diversity of Joburg, I mean, Joburg you can walk into a restaurant, a white person can walk into the township and you won't feel awkward, you won't feel like you won't belong. In Cape Town, you would be walking in the Waterfront as a black person, and you're looked at, or you're seated towards the back of the restaurant, so that you aren't in the view. I think also... I find Cape Town very cliky, people have their groups and they don't want to go out of these groups. In Joburg, people are a lot more mixing to other people, and yeah, I just think I'm a really big city girl and that's why I prefer Jo'burg.

**Do you have the idea different groups in South Africa are engaging with each other?**

I heard a stat the other day, I think it was from.. it was either from the South African human rights commission or some other organization, but the stat basically said that more than 50% of South Africans never engage with another person of a different race. And I think that speaks volumes in terms of the structural inequality that we have here. And I mean.. when you see engagement between different races, it's often in elitist spaces. So in order to come to university, it's a very elite space. And that's where you'll engage, that's where engagement is usually happens. I think that at the moment we find a very polarized South Africa which is also stopping our levels of engagement. Also meaning that it's less nice to engage. And I think the reason South Africa is as polarized as it is now, and I mean particularly with us young people, the ones who are in various activist movements, I mean. It's polarized because we realised that this concept of freedom was never tangible. So it was freedom as an abstract concept. And being told you can vote now, and I mean I really appreciate the work of our freedom fighters. However there's still so much to be done. And I think that... and.. where people often don't understand is that apartheid ended in legislation. But not in anything else. We still see it in institutional racism, our structural inequalities, and we still see it with the fact that, I think there was this fact that 0,6 percent of white South Africans suffer from poverty. All the other races have extreme, extreme numbers. And I think that... and that 's evidence to proof that there's still so much to do and there's still such a long way to go. And when we talk of SA being polarized, I think one of the main reasons for me as to why it's so polarized, is because after 1994, so people always think that when apartheid ended, racism ended. That people just stopped being racist automatically. But that's really not the case. It's just the legislation. But a lot of the mentality just stayed behind. And people always think that "no apartheid ended, because the national party government wanted to do great things, but it only ended because it wasn't economically feasible. South Africa was being sanctioned, was being cast out, weren't making money, and so that's why they wanted to end apartheid. So I think assumptions of people being inherently good after

apartheid don't work. And a huge reason for polarization is, after 1994, there was never an apology from the perpetrators of the crime. And instead victims were told to forgive. And we took that stance, which meant that instead of understanding the different pain that different bodies experienced, instead of understanding situation in extent to the damage, we chose to just have this very kumbaya-approach where we tolerate each other. But the sad thing about that is now you see that within young people like myself and I mean, I always say to young black people who are angry, I say you are justified in your anger. Because there was no apology, you can see it now when you go into stellites rage, talk to white students: there's no apology at all. And I mean, you're living in this society where every system is constructed for you to fail. And that is why we're polarized at the moment, a lot of black people are saying: listen to us, listen to our stories, this is our pain, a lot of white South Africans are like: no apartheid ended, get over it. And they like to say, yes, you must be equal. But if you and I are running a race, and then in your race, in your part everything is clear, but in my part there's obstacles and what not, then the distance is equal, but the ways to get there are not. And I think that's where justice comes in to it.

I think a lot of young people right now are still living with the consequences of actions taken before. And now it's up to us to determine, how would we then make a much better for the next generation to not have to fight for things we're fighting about. I don't want our future children to be fighting for them to be recognized as a human being. You know, it's frustrating and it's draining, and I don't think anyone has to go through that.

**Do you still feel you have to fight that fight?**

Yes, absolutely. I mean, as a woman I still have to prove my worth every single day in this very patriarchal world that we live in. As a black woman it's even worse, because you're basically at the bottom of the barrel where white men don't regard you, black men don't regard you, and you're seen as inferior on the basis of your gender, and on your race as well. Yet, .. and it's a tough space to navigate in. But I think what I particularly love about being a black woman, is that we support each other. And that we realize that.. black women for example in the states are the most educated group there. And I mean, we support each other, we continue to uplift each other. For me, when a black woman does anything, I will cheer for her, I will clap for her, 'cause I know how society does everything to break us down in any way.

How I've coped with negative sides here and I even wrote it on facebook yesterday, is through finding great people that I can associate myself with. So I mean a lot of my friends, we all.. I believe in intersectionality. Whereby .. we've all got different stories and experiences, and I mean we all listen to one another, we all care for one another within that. So I've got trans friends, queer friends, white

friends as well who recognize they are privileged. And I think that for me is important. I've lost a lot of white friends on the way. And I don't care, because I realized that they only liked me when I assimilated. They only liked me when I was palatable to the white man. And since I started rejecting that, and embracing a lot more Afrocentric views, they've gone away. And that's been fine, because I made other friends who recognized their roles as white allies. And not white saviors, cause I think white people get a little bit wrong, there's a difference. And it's just in surrounding yourself with magical people. And I think what has helped a lot, is me surrounding myself with other really passionate black women, who can encourage me, who can be there when I wanna fall or when they think they are falling, I'm there for them as well.

### **In what way did you talk about apartheid at home?**

I think within my family we've always been able to talk about apartheid, and I particularly love hearing from my mom, my grandparents, what their experiences have been. And a lot of my family members as well. They tell me stories of exclusion, of being chased by the police. Of being mistreated, two of my grandmothers were nurses. And even within spaces, you'd only be allowed to work at designated black hospitals, and within those hospitals you'd still be mistreated as well. And I mean you can see, for me what's significant when I talk to my elders that I can see the trauma in their eyes, but at the same time I can see a lot of hope in their eyes. And that's really what keeps me going. Because there's times that I can be very negative, and there are times that I can just be like "this world isn't for black people, we keep on being abused and victimised and mistreated every step of the way and it doesn't matter how high you climb up, you can be a corporate South Africa and still be treated like shit". And I think that knowing that they still have hope is significant. And it really does make things better. And obviously I mean, sometimes when we talk about things we disagree in approaches. They are very much about forgiveness, and I'm like "I agree with forgiveness, but you can't forgive without an apology". And that's why for me, I battle to understand why it's so easy for black people to forgive white people, and I mean, black people weren't the oppressors at all, yet a lot of white people still hate black people. And you're like "but we didn't oppress you, we didn't implement 400 years of colonialism, we didn't implement 40 years of apartheid, why are you mad?"

In black families, you're encouraged to think "we're all equal, everyone must be treated as a human being". So I grew up with a lot of white friends, and it was never me thinking anything bad of them, I just always knew and I remember when my parents told me that you can be friends with white people, treat them equally, but know that white people will never see you as their equal. So I've got friends, but I recognize that, even with my friends, I'm always very aware.

I bet you get that with a lot of black homes. It's a huge family of understanding and love. I had one of my white friends come to visit my grandparents, and it was the first time they met one of my white friends. And they were feeding him, loving him so much, giving him food. And I mean, that for me is amazing. But I can't go to his house, 'cause his parents don't wanna have me over. So it's really intense.

**Do you think an apology can still be made and should be made now?**

I think that the apology should've been made then. But obviously that was not. So I think it's up to a lot of young white people today to undo, and to unlearn as well a lot of the things they've been taught are okay. And also I think, to apologize in that regard as well. To be like "I recognize the effects and the trauma that my ancestors had on you, and I want to make things better, and I want to be better". And I've white friends who are like that, which is really significant. But I think that what gets scary is when I meet young white people in their twenties who are completely racist. And I'm like, but how could, how can you be this way? You've got the choice to recognize the wrongs your ancestors did and unlearn it. And you've got the choice to do good. And they see it as a huge burden, as their responsibility. But you can't throw away responsibility like that. You can't be like, no after 1994, this is now a different era, 'cause such things follow you. In the same way that slavery still follows black people and unfortunately, that history of being the perpetrator follows white people. But you need to know how to do good with that. And I think we've got excellent examples of white people who do that. I also think that white people need to talk to each other a lot more about these issues. But the issue in a lot of white communities is that you're being shunned as a white person saying that. Or you're being told, no you're too radical.

**Do you think education should be decolonized, and why?**

I think there's so much reading one can do on decolonization. Because there are a lot of different angles to it as well. But just from my own experiences and from the experiences of a lot of my friends, decolonization is not just about what we teach. It's about the way we teach, it's about the structures we have in place, it's about education being inaccessible. There's so much that we hope to achieve with decolonization. And it needs to take place on all forms, not just in terms of institutions, but our schools as well. The only thing I learned about South Africa in my twelve years of school, was apartheid. That's it. And there's a person I was talking to the other day about decolonization, he was like 'what is there to learn about Africa?' and I said: you are the exact manifestation of the problem. Because you don't see anything wrong with it. And I think there's something fundamentally wrong there. Because we're learning young people how to succumb with western standards, but not African standards. And in doing that we aren't improving Africa, 'cause we keep on trying to mould our continent to Western standards, but we shouldn't have to.

We need to do things in a very innovative and Afrocentric light, and our current colonial education system doesn't allow for that to happen. I mean, we learn more about European history. When I learned about feminism, it seemed as such a Western concept. Cause we only learnt about Western feminism. But there's so much in terms of African feminism that would never cover. And I think what's great about decolonization is that it's also very personal thing. So in the sense that – yes we talk about it in terms of structures, institutions, but it also it's the decolonization of the mind. It's about you unlearning this inferiority African complex, that we tend to carry around with us. It's about us embracing blackness, embracing a lot of Afrocentric ways of doing things that were shunned by the West. I mean you see the natural hair movement, that to me is one of the most powerful symbols of decolonization. You see women wearing the doek. Three or four years ago, you would've never seen that. But now you see almost everyone embracing the doek, because it's part of recognizing who we are and where we find our identity within. And slowly but surely we're pulling away from these Western norms and Western ways of doing things. And it's not about rejecting the West, it's about understanding that so much of what you have to offer should not be cast aside, should not be seen as inferior. And I think that.. we definitely have a long way to go but the process is good. And we all need to play a role in it.

### **Do you have hope for the future?**

A concept that I really hold true is that we're all in the process of learning and un-learning. So we've all been taught certain stuff that's been passed on to us, and when we find that it's problematic or prejudice, or whatever, it's up to us to unlearn that, and then to learn something new. I always encourage people to read. We need to read, to have conversations, we need to stay connected. And by reading I don't just mean facebook posts, because that's what people do now. You need to read literature: Steve Biko, Fanon, Asata – there's so much that people can do. I think that we definitely need to foster a culture of reading, of understanding.

Whether people like it or not, decolonization is happening. I mean it's been happening around the rest of the continent, it's just in South Africa that we're quite slow, cause we still like to hold on to our colonial stuff. But it is definitely happening. And if one does not read and keep up to date, and keep challenging themselves in every space, then you get left behind. I think we'll definitely see change, and change is already happening now through student movements, through activism, through leadership, I mean we see all this change in every aspect. And perhaps completely decolonizing university will only fully see one towards the end of my life, but in my children's life, but it's definitely gonna happen. South Africa is moving forward. And I don't like when I meet young African people who are Afro-pessimistic. Cause there's no place in our continent for Afro-pessimism. For as long as we are pessimistic about our continent's future, we play into the hands of those who

destroyed us to begin with. So we need to be realistic about things and we need to be innovative and creative about how we take our continent forward.

**What do you think: is apartheid over?**

Apartheid ended in legislation, but that's it. And it only ended because it was no longer economically viable, it didn't end because people stopped being racist. So apartheid in its manifestations and the consequences of it are still very much here. In structural inequality, institutional racism, in a lot of facets of our lives, and I think what's important is that those who are privileged stop invalidating others when they state that apartheid is not over, cause it's still very much a part of every day experiences.

## Interview met Megan

I am Megan, 22 years old, from Johannesburg. I've been living for four years in Stellenbosch. I do volunteer work in Kayamandi, am part of several societies and an active member of the DA society.

**What would you say is the South African identity?**

I don't think there is 1 identity, and I think that the problem is that everyone is trying to find the South African identity, that puts us under one banner. And I don't think .. it's one of those situations where not everyone wants to be labeled as one South African. There's a lot of people that want South Africa just for them, to take it back, basically especially the disadvantaged, it's deemed as like their country, and they don't want to be seen as this under the same banner as the ones that put them under that pressure. So I think everyone's trying to creating this whole "everybody loves everybody, we're one big rainbow nation", but it's not really possible. I think there's too much... yeah.

It's interesting, I don't know if you heard of docteral Mpele Mpele? She is Biko's wife, so she was really involved in this whole struggle for freedom and all the kind of anti-apartheid movements. So that was really interesting, you should look into her. I went to a talk of her. But she spoke about how everyone needs to stop playing on the same level. That everyone's trying to play on the same level and trying to interact with each other, and make it more equal, but at the end of the day there's still people who are high up on the top of the mountain, that's what she said, and people at the bottom of the valley. And they aren't interacting with each other. So people on the top of the mountain are trying to deal with the issues at the bottom of the mountain, but they aren't actually coming down the hill to see what the issues are. And I think that's the problem with different races, different people, genders, identities in South Africa as well. No one is really giving each other time to understand what's going on.

**Do you have the idea that people from different cultural groups aren't engaging with each other?**

I think more now than there probably ever was, people are engaging. But sometimes it's certainly on a superficial level. And just with the change that's been made as well, like the progress and the transformation that we've achieved, it's kind of superficial as well. Like the policies we have in place to equal that playing field, like BEE policies and land reformation, and redistribution, and that's all trying to help solve the problems, but its on a superficial level. Not really the proper engaging and dealing with the issues in smaller communities.

I think a lot of people don't like the policies, but I'm not gonna say that it's unfair discrimination. So those things that are put into place, they're there for a reason. There can't be a lot of people thinking "this isn't fair", because I have the same qualifications as him, but it's just because I'm white and he's black, shouldn't mean that I won't get the job. So at the end of the day, everyone's still gonna be



unhappy. Because we can't forget about what happened, and also the same time it's twenty years down the line, twenty-two years, are we still really .. it hasn't quite transformed fully. So we can't just pretend like there wasn't any discrimination and want things to get along the way they are.

A lot of people that aren't really involved in the whole political ... that are studying art or aren't involved in the whole social dynamics of how this country operates, and especially like the politics, they will say "well it's 22 years they've had their freedom, why haven't they made something out of the means that they've been given?". Which I don't think it was enough.

Mpele, she also mentioned that TRC still needs to be continuing now. Because we did.. I don't know I think its.. like I said, people on top of the mountain and at the bottom of the valley, they still need to come together and deal with the problems. They can't deal with the problems separately. They have to come together. I think that's in any society. I think it's just made worse because of the racial separatism.

Everyone should be tolerating each other more. Not having to be pushed onto each other in a unnatural way, but to want to be together, to not have to be brought together by a similar identity. But rather be brought together because they want to solve problems, I don't know.

There's no one identity. And there shouldn't be. I think that's the biggest problem in Africa in general. There are so many different cultures, beliefs, traditions.

### **How would you identify yourself?**

Depends who I am talking to. I'm half Irish as well, so and my parents are both Zimbabwean. So I'm a South African, I was born here, raised here, went to school and everything here, but I would say I'm an English South African. With a bit of Irish in me and .. I'm not really culturally diverse at all.

### **Do you think a lot of SA are going to townships or other places than they're used to?**

I think so. I think its becoming... it's quite scary, because there's a lot of people are saying that like whites are guilty and thats why they're doing this. I know people that don't really appreciate what we're doing. Not the children that we're helping, but bystanders, people that aren't doing anything about it. So like for instance, there's this one person, at Stellenbosch Uuniversity, and he or she is very against what we do, in terms of going to the high school and tutoring them after school. Or helping 20-30 kids learning how to swim. Cause it's just a like a resentment.. a feeling of why you're doing this? You're trying to make yourself feel better but you aren't really dealing with any of the problems. And then there are the problem is black the financial inequality and education and fees must fall. And those seems more the bigger issues to them. It just depends, .. I think it's like a religion. It depends on how you think the problem is gonna be solved. And I think about it a lot.

Because some people.. there's always gonna be haters. And there's always gonna be people that really gonna appreciate what you do as well. And that comes with everything.

It depends on the reason why you're helping. Because I think that's where the anger comes in from other people, they'll maybe jump to the conclusion that you're helping because you're guilty. Or that you feel remorseful for what happened, how privileged for example I am. Maybe I feel guilty for how lucky I am. But I think for me I know that I do it because it makes me happy and I think that it's making a difference, even if it's in a .... it just depends on what the reason is.

**Talking about Fees Must Fall, I heard a student say “why would you engage with the protests if you're white”. What are your thoughts about this statement?**

First of all, I want to engage in the protest. I did last year, but this year I will not participate in any protest if it means that it's in any way unconstitutional. So that's what's I've learned from the DA society. It's issues in groups, people that have come together for this new protest. And it's completely unconstitutional. People might be fighting for the rights to have cheaper or free education, but at the end of the day the protests are taking away the rights for other students to study in their daily lives. For instance, last week I had two assignments due, and my place to work happens to just be the bib. I love working in the library. And I was completely disrupted because the library was closed for the whole week. And that's where I go in the weekends to work as well. So it really affects us badly. And that's so unconstitutional. That's why I won't participate in the protests.

Last year I did, because.. it seemed to me as if it was a different cause. This year there's a lot more on the line in terms of what's being asked for, and I don't necessarily agree.. maybe I don't know the full extent of it, but i don't necessarily agree with what is being demanded. First of all that it's affecting other students. In a negative way, and it's impacting them from writing their test. And essentially from graduating. And we've been lucky in Stellenbosch because the protests haven't been bad compared to other universities. I'll take that back. But I know that there's stuff being done behind the scenes and that there have been meetings with council, like the university council. There have been meetings that have been carried out behind the scenes. And there's more of a respect I think at Stellenbosch Uuniversity in terms of meeting at a similar level. In terms of the council and the students meeting halfway. I wouldn't necessarily say it's equal, the way that either are sacrificing, the students are budging as little as the council's budgy, in terms of how they're willing to sacrifice and negotiate. So I just think it's maybe.. Stellenbosch University is handling it better. The students are more responsible, and they haven't been disrespectful.

I don't want to pretend like it's my struggle. And it's almost a slap in the face maybe if I try to get involved meanwhile I can afford to start a third degree next year. I think it has become very – that's

why I wouldn't get involved this year – unless it start becoming so inclusive. You should have seen it last year, it was absolutly incredible. It started off a bit like this, but it was worse actually. They were burning dustbins in the road and blocking the wholes treet. Jumping on cars, burning cars. No where near as bad as other universities though, but it got quite tense. And then it was to a point where if you weren't didn't know about the protest that was got on, then you weren't welcome to be a part of it. So unless your fellow friend in the struggle, then there wans't really any space for people like myself. But then towards the end..... that was when everyone was included. There was no racial .. but I don't know if that will happen again. That was really awesome.

It's more exclusive now. It's more secretive as well, the planning, the discussions. Last year it was a lot more open, because the issue was a lot bigger, and now the issue kind of redefined to fee decrease for the poor, instead of fees must fall.

I went to a meeting of the academic council. Academic affairs council. And they explained how council works, how the university's leaders operates and how it's so difficult to get something through. So it's the same kind of complicated structure as the US government. And what was quite interesting was with policy development how it takes about 6-8 months to change anything. And then also students were saying that council has in their mandate is things like allow for acces and support for students, and encourage academic excellence, and a council is to show decolonisation as well. And then a lot of students suggested that that wasn't being done.

**Do you think it's necessary to decolonise university?**

It 100% is. because I think you can't have a decolonised country and the rest of Africa to a certain extent, but we can't neglect now in university there are still traces of colonisation. That's not the South Africa that we're trying to achieve. And I think one of the points is the council, how that's a colonial kind of structure. 'Cause it is, I wouldn't say it but other students have pointed it's a structure for white supremacy. So and that's not decolonisation at all.

**Do you think there are equal chances now for everyone in South Africa?**

No I don't think so. Like we said in the beginning though, there's frameworks and structures put into place that try to level the playingfield. But at the end of the day, I think there's still discrimination. Whether .. like discrimination is never equal, and never fair. But if it needs to be done in order to level the playingfield and create equal opportunities, which is what is being done, then that's still problematic and it's .. it's contradicting. So either way there hasn't been enough transformation and change to allow there to be no discrimination or whatshowerver. So just because it's better discrimination doesn't mean it's good discrimination. So at least it's not oppressive towards a certain

race anymore, dependent on their race, at least it's not oppressive, but I mean, I still don't agree with..

For instance my brother isn't able to get into a res because of the new placement system. But in the past, it was based on your excellence and also I think you got in a lot easier if you were white, and now it's much more fair. So I'm not saying that it's a good thing, that my brother can't get in, but it's fairer. But it's still discrimination. So it's .. at the end of the day, obviously I want my brother to get into res. But what's the right thing?

I think you can't pretend that race doesn't matter, because it matters to a lot of people.

**Do you think this new generation is engaging more with these kinds of topics?**

Definitely. I think there's been a lot of movements, and people moving towards this kind of change. I learned about it so many times, over every single year. I heard of friends from school, a friend of mine she said that her granny would tell her, there's two things that you need to be afraid of and that's dogs and white people. And she didn't follow by that at all. But then you have some people that are extremely influenced by their grannies. And for instance another friend of mine, he said he's come from the eastern cape, and now he's at Stellenbosch. And people there think about whites completely different than he does now. His parents never made him differentiate between to different races.

**What do you think: is apartheid over?**

My thoughts on apartheid not being over comes down to one thing, and that being that the end of apartheid was meant to bring democracy and equality. And of those two things, that the post-apartheid era has tried to achieve, I don't think it has. So therefore I'm gonna say briefly in short that I don't think the remnants of apartheid are completely resolved from our society, I think it still very much affects people that live here in this country, and then that also refers directly back to my analogy that I used earlier with you, with the people on the top of the mountain and those on the bottom of the mountain. And clearly there's no other reason for that divide between people besides racial inequality. So that's my answer. So I would say that the laws and the policies of apartheid are obviously completely abolished, but the culture is still remnant I think.

Interview met Matthew Gouldie

My name is Matthew Gouldie. I'm 23 years old. I'm a fourth year student at Stellenbosch University and I'm from Johannesburg.

**What would you say the South African identity is?**

I'd like to think that it's the rainbow nation, which is a complete melting pot and a land of completely different culture. I think we've got 11 official languages, there's such a rich amount of diversity here, but obviously and unfortunately all of that has been a little bit scarred by the apartheid history. So it's still a lot of reconciliation going along with that, it's not a smooth flowing kind of dynamic at the moment. But I do think that there's such a rich, wonderful history and I like to look at the positives. So I think the diversity is the identity of South Africa

**Do you identify yourself as South African?**

Absolutely. One hundred percent. A lot of white people, or every white person that's come here has either come from a colonized nation or their parents have moved here looking for a better life say from UK or Holland, but I think .. my parents were born here, so I was born here, and I would absolutely say that I'm South African. A lot more South African influence than influence from Scotland or Wales where my ancestors are from.

**If you walk around Stellenbosch, do you feel like you belong here?**

Yeah, I think so. I feel comfortable, I feel proud to be South African.

**What characteristics make you South African?**

I think .. it's a tricky question because if you look at my skin color, a lot of internationals would say I'm not a South African purely because we're not the native people. But I think that's quite a tricky stance to take, because like I said I identify as a South African 100%, and I'm extremely proud of the diversity, I think .. there's so many cultural beliefs ...

**Do you think there's a lot of incorporation from the white and black cultures? Are the cultures mixing?**

We're such a new democracy, it's only about 21 years. So Nelson Mandela took over in 1994 and was kind of an reversed kind of overthrow from the government in control that was done peacefully. And the whole international community looked at that and thought that was amazing. And then all of a sudden, that was that. Everything was gonna be fine but there were so many things that weren't talked about that happened in apartheid, that are coming through and that still have to be aloud, that weren't going away. For example the generation that was growing up under apartheid, which are now the grandmothers and grandfathers of our generation, they still have horrible memories and

experiences that they went through under apartheid. And they can't forget that or come to reconcile that just yet. And I suppose the younger generations that are coming through which are maybe more open-minded to embracing one another's cultures are now starting to push up. And I think it's just gonna take a long time, it's such a young democracy. I think internationally they expect South Africa to just turn around like this and be a young, really receptive place but it's really gonna take a long time.

Those stories are shared around the fire and around the dinner table. And maybe some whites' grandparents, they are still racist because they believed in apartheid regime, whereas the black and coloured communities, their grandparents are .. have told stories of murders, all of the atrocious things that happened, and I think it's .. 20 years isn't long enough to... yeah and it's gonna take definitely a few more years for everyone to kind of come to terms to that. Still I think.

**In what way was being talked about apartheid in your home?**

My grandmother was part of what was called 'the black stash', which was a white group of ladies that fought against apartheid, and protested against it. So it wasn't the case of the white against blacks, the apartheid regime. It was the minority, similar to the nazis. The nazis were a minority in the country, but they managed to overthrow the government and gain control. So I think that's also a struggle today, is that a lot of the whites are grouped together as a whole, and that everyone's racist and ... but I don't think... I think it's the actions of a few that kind of overthrow everyone's opinions towards that group. So maybe a few extremist people, or crowds, do something racist that all the group .. and I guess it's the , they want all the white people off the land.. but there's so many day to day experiences that i've encountered that everyone's trying really hard to get along. And it's only the small few that's I think still feel that way.

Around the dinner table for my family.. So my one side which is interesting I have a great grandfather who is extremely racist. But then my mothers' side, she was part of the black stash. So I suppose there's so many different dynamics, still from the grandparents that have passed on to the children, that are also affecting the parents' dynamic. So it has just to take time I think for people to grow through that.

**Do you think our generation is starting to talk about this?**

I think now they're definitely talking more openly. Especially on campuses. Cause I think universities are normally the vessels for change, and where there's the most discussion and critical thinking, and I think definitely. Cause Stellenbosch used to be a stronghold of Afrikaner territory, this used to be the most racist place in the whole of South Africa. And I think, to some extent there is still aspects of institutional racism here. So the university doesn't reflect the population. I think it's 60% white to 40

other, which isn't a true reflection of the population. I think over the past 3 years they're definitely trying to increase that every year. But there's still certain things. So there's still a lot of Afrikaans people and farming people here, who's not only their grandparents are racists, their dads, and now them. And by virtue of that fact they are also completely. But I think the universities are definitely more critical thinking and a lot more open thoughts and a lot more discussions which I think is really good.

**Do you think there are still a lot of ideas from apartheid incorporated in people's minds?**

Yes, I think there is. I think it's not as open and liberal as let's say Holland, who says a human being is a human being, an equal kind of thing. Which I think, it depends on who you are and your family and where you've come from, but I think there's definitely still cases of the kind of the white people being brought up like that. They would say: I'm not racist, but there's subtle things that ..

**Let's take an example: would it be okay if a black guy dates a white girl?**

That's a really good example. For my family it would be, 100%. And actually the only thing that I might have an issue with that is my grandparents, cause I think that was completely taboo back then. But I think absolutely, my family would be fine by that. But I think a lot .. I don't know if I wanna put a statistic on it but maybe half, more than half of the white population, would be .. their parents wouldn't be happy. And I think it's strange, because they definitely have a lot of black and coloured friends, but then when it comes to dating or even marriage, that's not .. maybe not even a consideration for them. I think it kind of shows that there's still the mindset that's lingering on.

**What do you think about the language policy at Stellenbosch University?**

I think, as much as.. that's extremely tricky because Afrikaans is the language of the oppressor, so to speak, so the majority now and the black and coloured students, maybe not even the coloured students 'cause they speak Afrikaans, but they don't want Afrikaans at all, which I don't think is right. Because I think even though that has happened in the past, it's still if you're here, you still have the right to be taught in your own language. So I think they should incorporate all the cultures, not completely wipe the history of one culture where because of something that their forefathers did in the past. But .. so I think everyone deserves an equal opportunity for education. So I think they should keep Afrikaans classes, but also accommodate .. I mean it is hard because English is the main language internationally, so if they bring one of the eleven official languages of South Africa, it's not very applicable to Stellenbosch and that internationally or even in the business context of South Africa. So I think they have to think carefully about that. But in terms of getting Afrikaans disapated completely from the teaching medium, I don't know if I agree with that, but .. 'cause I do think that Stellenbosch has the resources to accommodate everyone.

**Do you feel excluded when there's a class taught in Afrikaans? (as an English-speaking person)**

I would say, I can speak it a little bit, I can understand it, but that's purely because I've been in Afrikaans areas where everyone spoke Afrikaans. But not sufficient to learn in it. My textbooks are in English, I think it's tricky to being taught in it and being translated on the spot. But I would say I do feel excluded, I mean it's also a bit of – not a divide, but a cultural difference between the white Afrikaans people and the white English speaking people. Even culturally. They get along well, but if you can't speak Afrikaans, or an Afrikaans person isn't really good in English, then they won't be friends or wouldn't even get along, because they can't communicate at all.

But now, I think the university is only allowed to accept a certain amount of Afrikaans people. If you're white and your first language is Afrikaans, they can only accept a certain portion of you. So maybe a person with an 85% or 90% won't get in, compared to a coloured or black person with maybe a 60%, just because of the policy to let people in.

**Do you think black and white people have equal chances in this country?**

It's tricky, because I think high school and university, they're still a lot of institutional privilege. So it's easier to get into a very good school or a very good university if you're white. Because of the past, the wealth is still with the white population. So they have the funds to send their children to university, to give them the best education. But there's a black middle class that is growing because there's also a policy of – it's called BEE which stands for Black Economic Empowerment, which means that the first person to get a job is a black female, then a black male, I think the last is a white male. So again they've swapped it. So in terms of that maybe not, it's more the sense of a reversed... but that's because there haven't been equal opportunities in the past so I think they're trying all these different economic policies and measures to redistribute the wealth and make it an equal playing ground, but I don't know how effective it is because the economy is not growing or doing well because of that. But to answer your question .. I think it's quite tricky now in South Africa as a white person to maybe go further, a lot of people are leaving because of that, they're leaving South Africa to Australia or England or.. Because they know their children won't get jobs and they won't get jobs, 'cause I think the unemployment rate is so high. And then they know they won't get promoted because of that policy. But also I think there's so much potential here. I think I'll always stay. I think if you work hard enough, you will be successful.

**What are your thoughts about the BEE policy?**

The problem with that policy is that the most skilled people in the workforce are not getting the jobs because of their qualifications: they're getting the jobs because of their colour. So in terms of our economy, it's really bad. Our GDP is down so much. But in terms of redistributing the wealth and



equal opportunities for the previously disadvantaged, then it's maybe fair. But I think they have to tweak it a little bit, it's not working at the moment.

A majority of the people I think have good heart and have the best intentions, and they want to get over it. But it's the small few, it's that ten percent that have opinions of "let's redistribute the land, let's .." like what happened in Zimbabwe, where they took away the land without any compensation, and just gave it to people, and then the farms fall in six months they were not profitable and everyone left, because they don't have the skills to run it. So it's a tricky one. I do think there's .. they need measures to kind of help the previously disadvantaged, but maybe not ...?

**Do you think in general black and white people engage a lot with each other and know a lot about each other?**

I think the blacks and the whites don't know a lot about the culture groups at all. So you don't know .. not in depth enough. The black people know white culture through the mainstream media, through pop culture, they know kind of how South Africa is through apartheid, but we don't know what their cultures and their lives are actually like at all. If that makes sense.

**Have you ever experienced racism?**

Yes. My res [residence] is about 350 boys, and last year I was the welcoming leader. So I was the senior in charge of all the first years that come in. And I have to do orientation with them for a two-week program. All the resses around Stellenbosch are predominantly Afrikaans, because if your dad went... it's now just on marks. If you get in, your academics .. if you have a high enough percentage, you can get into a res, but it used to be.. you can only get in if your dad or your grandfather was in there. So there's a lot of traditions and that kind of thing. So I think that changed about 5-6 years ago. So the tradition with the welcoming .. there were a lot... but I chose to do it differently and kind of make it inclusive for everyone. So the Afrikaans culture has a lot of traditions. For example, all of the guys have to stand in military lines, every morning at six o'clock... and everyone gets a nickname as well. And for me a nickname should be constructive and build you up, and a lot of the nicknames when I was in first year , they were just not constructive and a lot of them maybe racist. Not blatantly but just a subtle, a sarcastic joke or something. So I changed that whole thing: only constructive nicknames. Especially a lot of the black guys got nicknames of black football players, or .. but there's still a lot of Afrikaans guys in the resses that are extremely racist, so their dads and grandfathers, they were the people who made apartheid. And they are still living in Stellenbosch and it was not a daily thing, but often you'd see a case of.. maybe like a name.. he wouldn't say it to his face, but maybe behind his back or that kind of thing. But it's tricky, because also you're friends with them, and they'll say something like that. It's strange. I would say something about it, but I don't think

everyone does. I think Stellenbosch is still extremely white, whereas if you go to universities in Jo'burg, they are I think 95 percent black.

I think there's institutional racism and the white privilege in countries all over the world going on. But I think in South Africa, because of our past we're willing to say it, and talk about it. Maybe people in other countries who are racist don't believe it themselves. So I think in some way that's good, because people chat about it and have open discussion about it. But that's maybe not everyone. I think because of the history..

**Do you sometimes feel guilty for being white if you learn about what happened in the past?**

Yeah, one hundred percent. Our generation is called the born-frees, but still I'm guilty of... or maybe not guilty, but a bit more ashamed of what maybe my grandparents did. But then I'm also proud for my grandparents on the one side, who fought against apartheid. And then also just saddened by how people can do that to other people. Just from the colour of their skin, not valued on their character or anything. But that's just sad about human nature.

**What do you think: is apartheid over?**

So apartheid for me was complete control by a minority and you had to show passports, your ID-book. That's completely changed, it's free-moving and it's up to you what you wanna do. But saying that, I think that the institutional racism, is the last effect of it – the lingering effects of apartheid are still present in certain communities, for example Afrikaans community. For example in a farming town, where there's not a lot of exposure to change, there's certainly a lot of racism there. I think the black community is definitely still underprivileged and disadvantaged, from that history, and I think it's gonna take still quite a while for them to feel that they are kind of equal. But I like to think it's changed, I like to think there's a lot more positivity and a lot more engagement with one another. And what's nice for me to see is, so my generation is so much more open and willing to engage, and kind of come to terms with what happened. And kind of right all the wrongs that happened in the past.

## Interview met Inge Odendaal

My name is Inge, I'm 20 years old and in my second year of International Relations. I am originally from Durbanville. I have been living in Stellenbosch for the past 2 years.

**Do you identify as South African?**

Yes, I definitely identify myself as South African and as an African. It means to mean that I embrace Africa as a continent. I'm a firm believer in the African Union. So I believe that we should be.. our institutions, our decisions: it should not be influenced by practices or mindsets which are let's say westernized and .. but that we should adopt us to a style of living and make decisions which is to the benefit of us, as the African people.

It's actually very difficult to say that there's a South African identity. Because there's .. we're so diverse in this country. However, I would say that basically in South Africa we were inclined to .. since apartheid, we're inclined to take the moral route, if you know what I'm saying. In terms of... I'm going to explain this like we all subscribe to certain sets of values. Something like Ubuntu, but I know Ubuntu is becoming like a catch-phrase or a buzzword. But I would say that there is... there are some defining factors among South Africans. I would say.. there are some practices like braaiing en potjiekos, so I must say that South Africans, I think we're very expressive of our heritage. And I think it's good.

**Do you have the idea that different groups in South Africa are engaging a lot with each other?**

Well, in certain spaces different cultural groups are still very much isolated. However, in institutions like university, people are actually engaging much more with each other. And I think that's very good. I do think that it is only 20 years into this new democracy, and things won't change overnight. But I do see that we're engaging with each other much more, we're having much more dialogue, much more open dialogue. So I do think change has happened, but it's happening slowly.

Myself, I am actually Afrikaans. I grew up in a very conservative Afrikaans household. And for me as an Afrikaans person, I sort of.. I grew up in a very Afrikaans town as well. So I sort of .. I've made a conscious effort to put myself not out of my comfort zone, but to broaden my horizons. Because the thing is, you must remember that the way you're brought up or the setting in which you grow up, it's not necessarily the only reality. There's so many more realities in South Africa and I think if you're complacent in your little... I don't say that you should totally change your identity, or what you like to do, but I think you should definitely broaden your horizons 'cause I think you'll see that there is other ways to living and doing.

In South Africa you'll see that Afrikaans is a very dominant culture. For instance in sport, you'll see rugby is the Afrikaners sport, and it gets so much attention. So I must say I think that it's one of the effects of apartheid that Afrikaans – it's only actually seven percent of the population. However, I think a lot of Afrikaans people sort of struggle to venture out of their little Afrikaans bubble. You see it in the dynamics on campus, with the history of Afrikaans.

**If you walk around in Stellenbosch, do you feel like you belong here?**

I don't know. I've recently experienced awakenings in terms of the university management. I'm not quite fond of them so much anymore, because they've .. we've escalated from speaking directly to students to not engaging with students at all about important issues on campus. You sort of see it with the un management: they respond with force, instead of democratic sitting around the table trying to discuss the issue, trying to get a solution that works for both sides. But in terms of Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch is a very Afrikaans town. It's very much in a bubble. Especially when you move into the center of town, it's sort of like.. it has this resort type of feeling. And it's a very privileged space if you can call it that. Privileged in the sense of it's safe, it's idyllic. So for me coming from a very Afrikaans white idyllic sort of the same space, it feels natural to be here. However for someone I believe with another upbringing, I think Stellenbosch would be very strange for them. But I don't think that they would be negative towards it, but I think it would be a very different experience. For instance there's one little section of the town that we call little Europe, as a joke.

**Do you think racism is still an issue here?**

I think racism – not only in Stellenbosch, but in South Africa is still a problem. But I don't think.. I read an interesting article that white people they tend to see racism as race-hate, right. But racism is in little things. It's nuanced. And a lot of people do not have that perspective. Like I said, we're only 20 years, only one generation into a new South Africa. And a lot of the racist mindsets, it's not like you have democracy and boom, everyone gets new mindsets and we're all kumbaya and stuff. You know, for instance close family members of mine, my friends, who I grew up with in Durbanville, they still have these racist mindsets but they don't think they're being racist. It's just.. but how do you tell someone who grew up, who's like about 50, 60 years old, to just stop being like that. They don't use inappropriate or non-politically correct words and phrases, but it's still there. And those little things get translated into their childrens' lives. You see a lot of it on campus. Where people say like "I'm not a racist, but...". especially if you read the comments on Facebook. You will see a lot of it is still that backward mindset, it's still there. And I do think that we often struggle to emphasize with each other in South Africa. If you look at what happened in the rest of the African countries, they all had like this ethnical cleansing or a dictator that was executed and the country moved. In South Africa, you didn't have any of that, you had a very peaceful transition. And it's just only "let's talk about it". But the

issues, they don't go away. They didn't go away, unless you actively try to improve some things. And with the social economic growth over the past twenty years, we haven't delivered on some promises in terms of service delivery. And it's just basically giving more tension. Especially racial tension.

**What do you think needs to be done?**

I think that firstly, people need to acknowledge their privilege. They need to understand the current environment of South Africa where we are. They need to understand that there are still legacies – because a lot of people where like “yeah, apartheid is over, let's move on”. Apartheid still today affects some people. For instance look at Stellenbosch, for instance the setting. You have Cloeteville and Kayamandi totally on the periphery of town, and then again, white people living in the center of town, people of colour living towards the outsides. That's a legacy of apartheid. So I would say by acknowledging the privilege. Then looking at basically the current context of South Africa and being honest with yourself. And then I think that we need to vote in institutions that serve the people, and not just.. that's really focusing on bettering the quality of life.

South Africa is ranked as one of the highest... I think the Gini got 0,63 points, which is very high. And in South Africa, if we were more of an equal society I think we would be on better terms.

**Would you say the chances in South Africa are now equal for everyone?**

You must look at... I'm a firm believer in the Fees Must Fall. We believe in free education. But I think that we need to look at the issues. We have a basic education system which is failing on youth. And they go to university, and tertiary institutions is underfunded by the government. So we're not prioritizing education. Which leads to opportunities, which leads to job growth in the economy. So I would firstly say that if you look for instance at the traditional white schools. They were all predominantly white during apartheid. And now they're fine. But if you look at school that were disadvantaged during apartheid: yes they have teachers now, but if you look at the standard, they both the same model school. You're supposed to receive the same level of education there. But you don't. So the thing is, it's all due to we're not prioritizing what needs to be prioritized in this country. So i think that if we had a schooling system which produced equal graduates who are equally capable, and then basically focus more on skills-training, because right now, the unemployment rate for youth is double than that of the normal unemployment rate. Basically half of the people between the ages of 18 and 25 are unemployed. And you're sort of setting up a generation to fail if you're not giving them... because for instance if you take the western cape economy. We have the job opportunities there, for people who are skilled. But we have too much unskilled labour now, the system is currently producing unskilled labour. I think now that South Africa in some cases they look at gender, background. And I don't see anything blatantly wrong with that. Because the thing is, if

people have been underprivileged, for large amount of time, give them. If a person is capable to do the job, and you give that person the job above another graduate based on that persons' background. For me, someone has to be appointed who is capable.

### **What are your thoughts about Fees Must Fall?**

I was involved last year. The movement has a lot of factions in the movement. So those who have the loudest voice naturally go to the front. So I had some disagreements about the cause of action which is taken. Because I believe that you first look at conventional action, such as handing over a memorandum, such as having a meeting. But if that doesn't work, then you can go over to unconventional actions, such as sit ins. And this past year - and I told the people, I was part of the sit in for the first two days. And then when they sort of barred the library, on a Wednesday morning. I went and I told them, you need to open the library. Because now you're denying access to people who need access. You can't fight the fight for access by denying people access. And then they got very mad at me. And it was sort of like "yes, white privileged person was mean, we can't comment on protesting?" We have some radical elements, but that's everywhere. But since then, I've been engaging with the rector and this is what has lead to my dissatisfaction with the institution. They've been unlawfully suspending students. Putting them out on the street. I don't know if you have seen how militarized campus is.

Fees Must Fall on our campuses sort of it's been totally been demobilized, because of the suspensions and everything. However, tomorrow there's a march happening at the parliament. I must say what's happening at other institutions, i think this year particularly it's a very different Fees Must Fall to last year. And I think that a lot more radical elements are coming to the front, and you see things which you wouldn't definitely happen last year. Last year we had thousands of people marching. And everyone was like "yes, we believe in free education". But now all of a sudden, it's been totally different. And I don't want to sound like I'm playing the race card, like the white privilege, white tears or something, but what I want to say is like, it's sort of unacceptable when you go to a meeting and people tell you that you're white so you need to sit down, this is not your struggle. I think that anyone who pays their fees, or anyone who is affected by the fees, has a say in fees must fall. So like I said, it's sort of becoming exclusive. You see that some of the self-proclaimed leaders of the Fees Must Fall movement on our campus, they actually don't have issues with paying their own fees.

All of a sudden this year, it was like "let's be intersectional. Down with patriarchy". And I'm like yes, I understand, I'm a feminist, I understand everything. However, let's talk about fees now. Because this is about fees. We can address the other issues like outsourcing, patriarchy – because they do occur

within the space, but let's largely focus on the fees now. Because I think when you focus on something, you're trying to achieve something, you need to be focused. And I think that they sort of lost focus, and for some people it became more about trying to prove that there are struggle credentials. But that's just my personal opinion.

**How do you respond to people when they say it's not your struggle?**

I've experienced it a lot the past year. Because politics form a very complicated space on campus. You give people the impression that you're white and privileged, middle-class, dressed from cotton on, that type of thing. When you talk about things like poverty, and inequality, people are like 'but this is not actually your fight'. And I would like to say that you should stop telling people that this is not your fight. For instance, what happened with the big downfall of the Fees Must Fall movement on campus was, a lot of the so-called allies, they were alienated to the point where .. when people got arrested, people are not going to help you. Cause you've alienated that so much. I do however think that people when you have not personally experienced something, let's say such as rape, you can not be the loudest at the rape culture meeting, right. So I must say that you must be cognisant of when you speak, but you must not be prohibited to speak, just because of certain identifications that you have. I think everyone deserves a seat at the table. But that you must be cognisant In which spaces we are.

I actually organised a Fees Must Fall meeting. And someone messaged me and said like: it's very problematic for you to be arranging the FMF meeting when it's the struggle of the black child at Stellenbosch. And I was like: okay... I understand your struggle, but you must understand that I get things done. So if you want to alienate me it's fine, but.. yeah.

Usually I just ignore people when they say something like this. However, it's a fine balance. You must understand that when someone is really speaking to you because you are problematic or you're doing something which is problematic, but I do think that you must basically look at who is saying what. I always look at the context of a situation when i make a decision.

**Do you think it's necessary to decolonize university?**

Decoloze is a very interesting term. Some people see it as differently, however I see it that we must do things which is in the benefit of us, in a way that suits us, as Africans. So in terms of that: yes, if that is your basis of decolonization I would say yes. Stellenbosch University for example when they answer the phones, they would still answer it in Afrikaans. So like that, you need to decolonize that to a certain extent. And basically make it much more cosmopolitan. Cause Afrikaans is a minority. I'm not saying you should take away Afrikaans: I am Afrikaans. But I'm saying you need to make space for something which can accommodate everyone.

**What do you think: is apartheid over?**

I think apartheid is over, I just think that we're dealing with the repercussions of it. And it's not easy. Like I said, we're only one generation and it's not just like apartheid is over, everyone's happy. We still have a lot of the issues that we had during apartheid, we still have that now. However now we're able to sit at the table and to talk about it. And to ... and you must also understand that we need to transform ourselves. We can not be that static Afrikaners.. that was seen during apartheid. You need to change, you need to adapt to a situation. Sometime ago, I saw this very.. it was this form about 'ek afrikaner' or something. It was sort of like this documentary. And it showed these real, still super racist people who live in Bloemfontein on a farm and stuff. And it's still the exact same actions that people .. in the form.. that you can expect from something that would happen during apartheid. And the thing is, I think we must be cognisant that we are not that static Afrikaner. So I think apartheid is over, but we're dealing with the repercussions of it.



## Interview met Caleb Kay

I am Caleb Kay, 19 years old and I'm studying B accounting. I'm from Mitchell's Plain and this is my first year in Stellenbosch.

**Do you identify as South African?**

I do. I feel like – obviously when you fit in to the culture, because some people don't fit in the culture – I feel like I fit in, at least the culture I was born in, being coloured. And of course there are a lot of different cultures to South Africa, it is very diverse, but because I feel like I belong to my culture, I feel that makes me also South African.

**Do you feel like you belong in Stellenbosch when you walk around here?**

I do feel welcome, but I just don't feel like I belong. No. You feel like nobody's going to be nasty to you or whatever, but the culture does exclude you in a certain way. Stellenbosch is still very much focused on the Afrikaner culture, which makes sense because the majority is Afrikaner. But I do feel like it needs to become more inclusive and I'm sure I'm not the only one who feels like this. People will start feeling more welcome when it becomes more inclusive. This is a very one-cultured university, and because we're a diverse country we need to be diverse in our universities as well.

The majority of people are Afrikaner so we understand that it's gonna be a bit more focused on Afrikaner culture. But I feel like now it's a little bit too much Afrikaans, and it doesn't create space for different cultures to come here. So in the language policy, they can keep the Afrikaans lectures but all the other people who don't speak Afrikaans should have the same opportunities to learn at the university.

I personally haven't seen anything that represents a different culture on this university. I mean you get people who would play African type of songs, but that's not really inclusivity. So definitely I understand that it is a majority of Afrikaans, but also understand that we need to incorporate more inclusivity and make people feel welcome. Races, and people of different religions, different sexualities, et cetera.

**Do you feel the different groups in South Africa are mixing a lot?**

No, I feel like the group areas act of apartheid played a role in the way people are living right now. Now, people are still living separated. In Mitchell's Plain, you'll find mostly coloured people, whereas in Khayelitsha the majority will be black. And then in the city centre, the majority of the people will be white. This means we don't get the chance to mingle. So the chances you get to mingle would be at events, at places like university. So that's basically the only time you get the chance to interact with people of different cultures and different races. And that's obviously a problem because if we

don't get the chance to get to know each other, we don't understand each other and prejudices occur.

**Have you ever experienced racism?**

Not directly. But obviously when you're in a certain space, you don't always feel like you belong. Because people look at you in a certain way, like "oh, what are you doing here..?" So I've not experienced racism directly, but obviously I've seen racism on facebook posts.

**What are your thoughts on the Fees Must Fall protest?**

I don't agree with the violence at all. Yes, people are angry because sometimes universities don't listen or the parliament doesn't listen. But they go to parliament a lot. But you need to understand why they do what they're doing, but you can not really condone the way they're doing it. I mean, many people are saying "if you can't condone it, then you shouldn't understand" but it's not about that. It's about actually doing things in a democratic way, because we have a constitution that protects peaceful protest. So I'm definitely for the cause, because even me, I wouldn't have been able to be here if it wasn't for my bursaries. So I understand them completely, and I would personally want fees to fall, especially for the poor, but not with violence. We can do it in a democratic way, and if it was like that, I would join in.

**Do you think it's necessary to decolonize university?**

Decolonize university in a way that doesn't ... we should have things more in an African perspective, and a more South African point of view. But there are certain things that you can't take away or scrap. Things like science you can't scrap, that would take us a hundred steps back. In order to become a more developed, stable country, we need these things. But we do need to have the African perspective as well, because right now a lot of things are quite Western and Eurocentric. This isn't necessarily a problem, we can learn about those things, but we need to have things that are more African as well so that we can start feeling pride. But like I said, decolonize in a way that doesn't affect the quality of education. So that your qualification doesn't become useless when you go overseas.

**Do you think everyone has equal chances now in this country?**

No, obviously not equal chances. Something will always favor a certain race. The majority of people at the top of big companies is still white, and I also think some companies would employ a white person, because they would be seen as more competent, or so I assume. But black people would be in purpose of BEE. So people.. I don't feel like it's equal chances, also when you look at the difference in quality between primary schools and the difference between public and private schools.

But that being said, we do need affirmative action. So there don't really need to be equal chances but it has to be equitable. So like it's necessary to have black representation, but it can't happen at the cost of merit. You can't just throw people in based only on race. And I feel like when people do judge based on race, they also need to start developing people. Not just give them a certain number of jobs, no, you have to actually develop these people so that they are competent enough to compete with someone else, so that you don't say anymore "ah, you're just here because of a quota, because of the color of your skin"

**Do you think apartheid is over?**

On paper it is. but really it's not. You can still see some racism, especially with the older people who lived during apartheid. But I think they definitely have an influence on the younger generations as well. Also, like I said, we still mostly live in areas divided by skin colour, so coloured with coloured and black with black. So I don't feel like apartheid is over. I also feel like apartheid is to blame for certain things. But you also need ot blame the current government for not being able to deal with this problem fast enough. Because I always feel liek we're blaming apartheid, which isn't a problem, we can and we should actually blame apartheid and acknowledge the things that happened in the past and the consequences they now have. But we should also blame the current government, and not addressing the problems fast enough. I think the current governemnt doens't always deal with the root cause of the issue.

I don't feel like apartheid is totally over, there are still some things we have to work on. And I think we can achieve the rainbow nation we want, if we all understand each other. If we all stop judging each other. Obviously there is always gonna be people wo are gonna judge someone, but we should work towards a South Africa that's very much more united then what it is now. Because we are divided, I won't lie about that. And we do have a lot of people in this country who are very inclusive, but there are still people who are very conservative, and you have peopel who are very radical as well. So I don't think apartheid is over but I think we can work on it, and it will have to include our government as well.

## Interview met Anton Rossouw

I am Anton Rossouw, I'm from a small town called Rosenville. It's a farming community, 70 km from Stellenbosch. Right now I'm studying engineering and I'm 23 years old.

**How would you describe SA identity and how would you identify yourself?**

It would be very broad, because we have different racial groups in South Africa. I don't know all of them, how they operate or what's part of their culture. But my culture is Afrikaner and we are people that likes to get together and we will braai and have beers. We like coming together for food and drinks.

**If you walk around Stellenbosch, do you feel like you belong here?**

Yes, I actually feel that I belong here. It's like.. I feel welcome here, there's always a welcoming vibe. And most of the people in Stellenbosch are very nice.

**Do you think the different cultural groups in South Africa are mixing a lot?**

There's definitely the groups don't mix. People are still keeping to their own culture. But I would say between the white people and the black people they would mix. I have a few coloured Afrikaans friends in class which I would mix with. But in terms of groups mixing, no, definitely not. And also between white people, Afrikaans and English, they don't mix a lot. Just here and there you have a few Afrikaans people and a few English people friends or so. My majority friends are Afrikaans and I have a few English ones, but my groups is normally Afrikaans.

**Are a lot of people going to townships?**

That's a township, and we have nothing to go to there actually. I would never go there, I wouldn't know what to go to there. You can say it like that.

It's definitely part of the fact that the townships would be like informal housing. So maybe like a few shacks and small brick houses. And it's obviously the poor living there. But that's probably why there's nothing to go to do there.

**What do you think about the language policy of Stellenbosch University?**

Personally I feel in my classes in terms of getting a lecture in English is better for me, because in engineering all of the terms are in English and it's better to know all those terms in English. So I personally, I am Afrikaans, but I would still study in English. So I would even though I have a option of writing in Afrikaans, I would still study it in English. So for me, to have a lecture in English, it doesn't matter. I find that it's better to have it in English. But in terms of maths, I prefer to have them in Afrikaans, because when I was in school all of my maths were given to me in Afrikaans. So the terms I don't know in English. But all other subjects, English is better for me.

I wouldn't go fight for the Afrikaans, but there should still be a little bit of Afrikaans. Some people would feel different about it, but in terms of the long term, I see it in the workplace, English is gonna be better. I'm not feeling so strong in the Afrikaans as primary lecturing language.

**What are your thoughts about the fees must fall protests?**

Personally I don't take part in the protests because I can afford to have a fee increase. But in the end I don't mind having to pay a bit less, in the next year. But I wouldn't take part in the protest, because it's not part of what I am. I wouldn't protest and burn things down maybe, or to get something. But I understand where they come from. Because people who can't afford the university, they would maybe have loans or something. But then suddenly there's increase in fees, but this part they have to pay themselves. So that has to come from something. So I see where they come from. And I understand their opinions. But the way they go about it to get what they want is not the right course. You can't burn things down and get something with violence, there's better ways to do it. And what they don't understand always is that the uni can't give you the money. It comes from the government. And as I see it it's normally the government they voted for, it's now letting them down.

**What are your thoughts about the statement: 'it's not logical to involve in the protests if you're white'?**

I think then you should have the same reason as an African person. Because there are many white people who can't go to uni just because they can't afford it. I have a few friends they couldn't go to university because their parents can't afford it. Because you can take out the loan but the loan still has to be paid by someone. And so therefore I would say as white people they can also take part in it. And that would be mainly due to the money issues and last year there was a lot of white people taking part in the protest. Because personally for them, they actually need that money. But I wouldn't take part as I said because I'm in a fortunate enough position that my parents are able to pay for the fees. But lots of people can't, from all cultures.

**Is it only about money then?**

There's always something a little bit more at it, because it could start with one thing and then the fees will fall, and then it will maybe go back to the language policy. And so forth. So there's always something they would try to protest against. But at the moment it's not as bad as last year. We're lucky enough with that.

**Do you feel the protests can also be exclusive – using Xhosa songs and culture?**

What happened actually with those Xhosa songs, they were actually singing 'kill the boer', like kill the farmer, they were actually singing struggle songs last year. Which were the songs they used to sing during the apartheid era when they wanted to kill all the boers. They would say things like "one

bullet, one farmer". And during the fees must fall protest, they were singing this in Xhosa. The white people who also took part in this protest didn't realize, but the people next to them are singing, kill white people. And that hurts me as a white person, because the other cultural groups, they are always forced to say that "you are racist", but when they do it, they don't feel it's racist. And that's why we'll never take part in the protest as Afrikaners, because there's always like one day you're standing next to them but the next day they sing songs like that. And that hurts. You think you're being nice and the other day they're not nice to you. And they definitely know what they're singing, because they initiate it. I think they still have hatred towards the white people, the white supremacy of the past. I think most of the children and they grew up in poverty and they see that it was for white people that they weren't give better circumstances to grow up. I think it comes from that. And than they still feel a little bit of hatred towards white people.

**Do you think the hatred is sometimes also the other way around?**

I don't know. Personally I don't hate black people. I don't know about my parents but I don't think so much, because the white people weren't suppressed by something else. But it's the same like back in the day, during the boerenwar, our white people were suppressed by the English. But we don't hate the English now. I think it's because it's years ago, it's so long ago. It's more forgotten. Even though we know that the English killed our Afrikaners, we won't hate them now. But maybe with the black people, they feel a bit different.

**In what way do you feel is being talked about the apartheid past?**

Everything is always blamed on apartheid. Black people will blame it on apartheid. Something happens, and suddenly.. especially in parliament. They blame something on apartheid. Literally. I think it was this year, we're having a really bad drought. Our government doesn't declare it a national crisis. And then the parliament literally say that the apartheid government built the dams too big, so it takes a long time to fill up the dams. And he blamed it on apartheid. Something will not go their way after more than 20 years, they still blame it on the apartheid government. It always goes back to that. But meanwhile, they've been ruling more than 20 years, so they had many chances to actually improve. But there's so much corruption anything that goes wrong: blame it on apartheid. It's like the scapegoat. And then they're actually blaming the white people, but to be honest, the white people built this country. They've built the infrastructure here. It's like everything was built and other people took it over, but they're not building on it. Instead of moving forward, we got everything now, now we have to do nothing. To be honest, the government, they don't always understand where money come from and that things have to be constantly upgraded. Like for instance you have to paint your house every five years maybe, but they don't always know that they

have to be continuously upgrading roads, and then it fails and they can't understand why. And they're literally messing around with the tax-payers's money.

**In what way did your parents talk about apartheid at home?**

We never really talk about it, only if I maybe ask a question. Because, I didn't grow up in apartheid. I was born just before apartheid ended. But I know a little bit of how it was, and we on the farm.. we always see everyday work with farm workers, which are coloured people. But their farm workers culture is also something special, if I could say it. They literally.. they don't know the concept of saving money. So maybe we pay them Friday, and then after the weekend they have nothing left. They would be using alcohol the whole weekend. And what used to be at the farms in the apartheid era, they call it the 'dopstelsel' which means, each morning when they come to work, they get a glass of wine. And then after the day's work they get another one before they go home. Because they were known to be alcoholics, if I can be honest. So you're keeping this guy content, he wants to come to work because he's getting his everyday dop. It was a thing to keep him happy. Even my dad did it back in the day, but he stopped it before apartheid was even ended, before everyone else stopped it.

But about apartheid in particular we didn't talk much. I know that everything was separate, like the beaches were separate, all the groups had their own beaches and shops and whatsoever. It's actually sad how apartheid was. They're making the value of a person is now less out of a white man's eyes. You would see a black person as something else, something less valuable. But he's actually human. And that's the sad thing. White people would think they were better but that was just part of the whole discrimination thing. And they said it went on for 40 or 50 years. That's quite a long time.

My grandparents, they still have that mindset. They don't like standing next to coloured people maybe in the queue for something. Small things like that, they still have that mindset.

**Do you think you were influenced by that?**

Yeah a little bit, I would say. But I grew up.. my mom didn't tell my things like "don't go stand next to a coloured person" I grew up without the apartheid things.

**Do you still racism or discrimination happen around you?**

Yes, definitely. Actually last week on my second year whatsapp group of engineers, one guy accidentally sent a text in the group. [met het scheldwoord 'kaffer' erin] I was also surprised that someone actually still uses the word. Because he is a person who when I was a little boy on the farm I might have called a few of those words out. But as I went to school, I learnt it was not right to use words like the K-word. And I was quite surprised that this guy actually still uses this word. Because personally I wouldn't say something like that aloud. I just wouldn't, it's wrong. But there would still

be some Afrikaners, especially this group i would call the 'boeren', even if they might not have a farm, they would normally maybe explicitly hate other coloured people. This is actually a sad thing. So they would maybe in public a night in town, they would feel they are superior to a black person in the same place they are. And personally, I don't feel that's right. We all should be equal and we're all human. I wouldn't say you have to mix between different races, but you can still be nice. Like this morning I had the incident, I went into a lift with a black person and he was so nice. And I even told him when I went out of the lift: "have a lovely day". Just being nice to the everyday person you're walking by. And that's how I feel, because if you're nice to other people, they will be nice to you. And then you would maybe put hatred of the past out of the way.

**Do you think the new generation is thinking more about these topics?**

I would say so, yes. When I started studying here five years ago, the majority was white. And my classes, there were only two or three coloured people in the whole class out of a hundred people. But now these days it's a bit more. So I definitely think different races are interacting a little bit more in terms of just being in a class. Which is actually a good thing.

**What are your thoughts about BEE policy?**

I am definitely against it, because I believe in a company, you should appoint the best you can. Because I've heard many stories of companies where now the government forces them to appoint a black person, sometimes the black person just can't give it all. So he's definitely not the best person in that position, but the government forces it to be. So I'm not saying there's no black person that can do certain job, but if you look at the quality of people applying for the job and now you have to appoint the black person but you would've liked to appoint the best person you can. So now your company are actually paying for a job which is not .. the guy is not doing his job properly. Because he knows he must have this job, because of the BEE policy. I think it's the wrongest concept ever. And you can also take this over to our sport now. Because now we're being forced to half of the team must be coloured players. But yet again now .. i'm not saying they can't play rugby, I'm just saying, you choose the best player in the position. And but now you're being forced to play someone of colour, but it's not necessarily the best player. He's good, obviously, but there's another one that might be better. And I believe.. so if you're good at what you do, you will be in the right position.

**You don't think it's necessary to make an equal playground?**

I don't think it will ever become totally equal. What happens now, lots of other players in rugby will play overseas, because they feel like 'I will never be able to play for my country'. Because of this policy. So I might as wel go out of the country. Now there's lots of players playing elsewhere, and



that weakens our provincial teams. And now we're struggling against Australia, New Zealand. And now due to those struggling teams, now our Springbok team is also not of the standard.

**Do you think black and white people have equal chances in this country?**

In terms of getting work, the BEE is still in place, so it depends if it's a private company or whatsoever, and if you do an application, normally the black guy might get the job. Which sometimes in my eyes would be fair, but if my marks or qualification is inferior to his, I would feel sad, because I might be the better guy for the position.

So I would definitely say all we might not be on the same equally level anymore, due to that fact. But in terms of a social everyday life, going to shops or whatsoever, we all are equal. But in the workplace, we will never be equal. And to stop about maybe another part is: if you're on a farm, the farmer is not equal to his workers. The boer is living in his big house and the farm workers are living in smaller houses. With our economics, we will never be equal in terms of what you have, what you possess.

**What do you think: is apartheid over?**

I think it's definitely over. I mean, it's been more than 20 years now. And it definitely is the differences different racial groups have among each other. Our culture, and that will always separate us. And I think in terms of that's a state of apartheid. It's not like apartheid, living in apartheid, but separate classes or whatsoever, but in terms of everyday social life, there would still be a bit of apartheid due to the difference in our cultural background. So groups tend to stick to each other. And I think that's dividing us and I think it's a little bit of apartheid where you'll always be.

**Do you sometimes feel ashamed for being white?**

Personally I don't feel ashamed, but I still feel like it was wrong to suppress another cultural group, just because they were maybe not like the white people. But like they built infrastructure. Some cultural groups, it's not part of their culture, they like to live more in small farming communities. That's their history and they did it maybe always like that. And I just think that apartheid wasn't the right thing, but maybe it was necessary on the time, because there was very much conflict. So and that's why the government started apartheid, due to conflict between white people and black people and so forth. I'm not ashamed, but I feel like it wasn't right at all.