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Code-Switching in a Multilingual Workplace

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on code-switching between colleagues in a multicultural and multilingual university workplace environment, focusing solely on the participants' interactions in English and Spanish. Changing languages within one sentence or conversation is referred to as code-switching. Based on earlier studies of code-switching but moving towards a more specific environment, the workplace, this study intends to answer the following two research questions: What form does code-switching take in the workplace? And, what are the meanings participants assign to the act of code-switching? Using an ethnographic lens, I collected participant observation data and semi-structured interviews with three of the six participants. Analyzing the data through an iterative framework, I identified three distinct meanings that participants assigned to these forms of code-switching: face-saving, expression of raw emotion, and compartmentalization of work and private life.

Keywords: code-switching, multicultural, university workplace

Multilingual interactions between individuals from different cultural backgrounds are constantly occurring, especially in today's globalized society. When interactions among multilingual individuals occur, code-switching is a common practice, especially in an environment where individuals come from different parts of the world. "Code-switching occurs in speech when interlocutors change languages or between different varieties of one language, these called 'codes'" (Parr 2013, 13). These code-switches create and establish relationships that can be different from those between individuals who share only one language. The functions of these code-switches are likely distinctive to the specific context of a workplace, which makes it interesting to study them in depth. Through data analysis and participant observations, the research intends to study these functions. This article will first give an overview of the literature, explain the methods used, and discuss its findings.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Code-switching is an everyday occurrence in multilingual speech communities. "The study of code-switching among members of various language and social communities illuminates how cultural plurality operates in everyday conversation" (Fitch & Hopper 1983, 116). Existing research on code-switching has focused on who is switching languages, the attitudes different individuals have towards language switching, and its impact on language (i.e. Colón 2002, MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clément, & Noels, 1998). On the other hand, literature on language in the workplace focused more on ideology, frame conflict, and discourse struggles, rather than on the act of code-switching itself (i.e., Prego-Vazquez, 2007, Wodak, Krzyżanowski, and Forchtner, 2012). As a result, this study will combine these two approaches to analyze code-switching in a specific university workplace setting.

Language in the Workplace

The workplace as a setting has been the focus of a significant number of studies on language. Researchers have observed language use and language switching between co-workers, as well as employee/customer interactions. Prego-Vazquez's (2007) study identifies the struggles that arise when employees and customers interact. The article focuses specifically on the conflicts that occur when "customers mobilize local discursive patterns, code-switching and conversational topics" (295). Prego-Vazquez uses critical and sequential analysis, along with sociodiscursive analysis, to approach the study through a multimethod lens. Wodak, Krzyżanowski and Forchtner (2012) analyze the communication that occurs in European Union institutions, specifically instances of multilingual practices. Through the discourse-historical approach, the study finds that although there is a deep sense of power in communication, this power can be overcome, specifically as a result of the multilingualism. Power is manifested in the choice of language, topic, access to the floor, and regulation of interactions. This power and the distribution of it plays a large part in the interactions that occur between multilingual individuals in the European Union.

Attitudes Towards Code-Switching

Investigators have analyzed the meaning behind code-switching and observed how members of a speech community feel towards these language switches. Fitch and Hopper (1983) focus on attitudes toward code-switching among 45 participat-

ing students in a multilingual school setting. The meanings attributed to the different choices surrounding language use include: (1) language choice as an inclusion topic, (2) exclusion, and (3) stereotyped attitudes While Fitch and Hopper's research is conducted in a similar setting to mine, the participants in my study are the staff of an office in a multilingual, multicultural university, and the focus of this research is on the meaning attributed to the language switches themselves, rather than on the attitudes the members take in doing their code-switching.

Effects of Code-Switching on Language

Other studies have focused on the effects code-switching can have on language understanding and comprehension. Lu (2014) hypothesizes that if a person cannot express themselves completely in one language, it means that the person does not completely understand the language. Lu's study shows that code-switching occurs above all when one is speaking in one's second language. The study also found that the participants did not think that code-switching was detrimental to language competence. MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clément, and Noels (1998) studied second language use: when the second language was used and why. There were two main goals for the study. First, they identified all accounts of psychological, communicative, and linguistic behavior that could potentially affect communication. Second, they tried to find relationships between these behaviors in order to outline a model that would help predict, describe, and explain communication when using a second language. Their findings indicated that anxious students did not communicate as thoroughly in the second language, which caused a negative correlation in the results of their proficiency.

Code-switching is a regular occurrence in a multicultural and globalized society. There are many situations in which individuals find themselves switching between two languages. As mentioned previously, most research focuses on language in the workplace, the meaning of language, and the effects of multilingualism. However, research should focus on all the different aspects of code-switching, particularly on the meanings given by members of the speech community, in the context of that community. Whether meanings of code-switching in the workplace have positive aspects or not, communication between members of a multilingual speech community has distinctive patterns. Therefore, the goal of this study is to observe and analyze the meanings of code-switching in a multicultural workplace setting. My research questions are the following: What forms does code-switching take in the workplace? What are the meanings that participants in a workplace setting attribute to code-switching?

METHODS

Participants

In my formal investigation, six members of a multicultural, multilingual university workplace environment participated in the study. The six members include: K.G. and H.B., both from the United States (Connecticut and Pennsylvania respectively); M.C., from Venezuela, D.R., from Spain, K.M., from Algeria, and B.M., from the Philippines. The members of the speech community work in the admissions department of an American university in Spain. All interactions between the participants and myself were exclusively in English and Spanish, although some of the participants spoke more than two languages. I use first name and last name initial to protect the identity of the participants in the study.

Data Collection

Due to my personal affiliation with the members of this speech community (as a part-time, student worker in the office), I conducted participant observations as a focused participant observer, which refers to "an observer who enters a scene with an explicit researcher status and a clear agenda of what data to gather in the scene" (Tracy 2013, 111-112). Observations were followed with ethnographic interviews with three of the six participants. An "ethnographic interview is a conversation that is specifically instigated by the researcher and may not have occurred otherwise" (140). Based on the initial data, I determined who were to be the interviewees by looking at my data and choosing the members who were most involved in the act of code-switching. According to Tracy (2013), "structured interviews without long-term participation are a common method of data collection for focused participant observers" (112). All interviews were conducted individually and lasted between 10 and 20 minutes. Interview questions were based on the data gathered in the previous observations and incorporated examples of code-switching that I had observed firsthand. Specific anecdotes, phrases, and words that were mentioned in previous interviews were also taken into account and included in interviews with other participants. All three interviews were

conducted in English—the primary language of the university—in the conference room of the admissions department at the university. The interviews were recorded on camera and subsequently transcribed.

Analytic Procedure

In the process of analyzing the data collected through participant observation and ethnographic interviews, the pragmatic iterative approach was utilized. The pragmatic iterative approach, coined by Tracy (2013), combines emic and etic interpretations (that is, observer and native meanings) of practices. This framework encourages the researcher not only to analyze the data through an emic approach but also to look into "the active interests, current literature, granted priorities, and various theories the researcher brings to the data" (184), as well as taking into account participants' perspectives. As Srivastava & Hopwood (2009) state, iteration is not an automatic task, but intends the researcher to reflect on the data throughout the process. The researcher "visits and revisits the data, connects them to emerging insights, and progressively refines his/her focus and understandings" (Tracy 2013, 184). Following the steps employed by this framework, I identified codes in the data collected through participant observation. First-level coding determined all instances of code-switching among the six participants in the workplace setting. "First-level codes focus on 'what' is present in the data. They are descriptive, showing the basic activities and processes in the data" (Tracy 2013, 189). Second-level codes were determined by a two-step method: first, classifying code-switching instances into meanings determined by the researcher, i.e. me. "Second-level codes serve to explain, theorize, and synthesize them. Second-level coding includes interpretation and identifying patterns, rules, or cause–effect progressions" (Tracy 2013, 194). Finally, the interviews provided an understanding of the native speakers' point of view, adjusting the initial meanings I had assigned to the code-switching acts identified.

FINDINGS

Three principal meanings of code-switching were identified within this particular speech community: face-saving, expression of raw emotion, and compartmentalization of work and private life. In the following sections, I will present concrete instances of code-switching that illustrate these meanings together with commentary from participants that elaborates on them.

Face-saving

Face-saving, according to Trenholm (2011), is when politeness is used for more than just a social nicety, but instead in a way that acknowledges others identities and, consequently, saves face. "Face is the 'conception of self that each person displays in particular interactions with others'" (138). The first data analyzed involved an external participant in the speech community. The external member, M.M., is not immediately in this workplace speech community but resides on the edge because of her position as head of the department. In the months observed, M.M. had three group meetings with all six of the participants, and there was only one instance where one participant was missing due to the fact that she was out of town. One field note obtained an instance of code-switching that occurred due to M.M..

All participants were at work and tentatively awaiting M.M. for a meeting that was to take place at 12:30. H.B. and K.G. were conversing in English about student applications when M.M. walked in. They immediately directed conversation to M.M. in Spanish and stopped talking amongst each other. All seven participants walked towards the back of the room where there is a small conference table. The entire conversation proceeded in Spanish and the topic of the meeting was, among other things, arranging vacation dates. When K.G. directed a question or comment to H.B. she spoke in Spanish, with the exception of one word, "planning," which she pronounced with a Spanish accent.

When first analyzing this data through second-level coding, I believed that M.M.'s power and authority were the explanation and, consequently, the meaning for the language change. The infrequent use of code-switching or immediate switch from English to Spanish in the speech community when M.M. would gather the participants for meetings led me to this conclusion. When interviewing two of the three participants, however, they

expressed different thoughts and meanings about the situation. They assured me that the relationship was not one of power but rather of equality.

> H.B.: I only ever speak Spanish with M.M., unless there's someone who speaks poorer Spanish in the conversation, then we speak in English. I think she prefers to speak Spanish… I think it's really a close relationship. I don't think she's like a super authority figure. I think the levels here are pretty close. I always e-mail her in Spanish. I think it's based on how well the other person speaks.

After obtaining the research participants' meanings, I realized that they viewed this situation as one of face-saving for M.M.. They identified that M.M. does not feel comfortable or confident in her proficiency of English; consequently they felt obligated to speak Spanish exclusively around her. It appears that, although the participants denied that code-switching did take place because of the power M.M. holds, I believe it still might be a prominent factor in the situation. It is also possible that the participants understood power as something concrete, i.e., "being above us" rather than something abstract, as in influence. K.G. agreed that M.M.'s position and power affected the language and the way in which she spoke to M.M.. "I'm conscious about not putting in words in English when I'm speaking in Spanish in front of her because she's my boss… I try not to in front of M.M. because she doesn't like it. And yeah, she's the boss." Since participants had different views and meanings of the situation, I directly asked M.M. what she thought about her position. "We are a team. I don't feel like I have any power and I do not want to have any power."

Expression of raw emotion

Raw emotion refers to the person's instinctual reaction to any given situation, specifically focusing on verbal displays. There were various instances where code-switching of this kind occurred, but one telling circumstance was when participants felt disrespected by P.M., another person external to the speech community (although it should be noted that situations of this kind can and do happen between the members themselves as well).

P.M. walks into the admissions department asking for K.M. who is not present. When she realizes K.M. is not there, she directs conversation at the rest of the participants asking if anyone knows where she can send a recommendation letter that is past its due date. All participants consult each other to see if anyone knows but no one is sure what to do and how to send the letter. At this point, P.M. becomes upset and makes a sassy comment to the participants. H.B. responds to P.M.'s comment stating "It's like if we were to ask you an English question, P.M., and you're a science teacher." It is suggested by one of the participants that P.M. go up to the registrar's office to see if she can sort out her dilemma there. As soon as P.M. leaves, the participants burst out with comments of what just happened in their native languages. Due to everyone speaking at the same time, I was only able to catch what D.R. had said, "Que morro tiene" ("Oh, what nerve").

Code-switching in this case is used as an instinctive mode of expression. The term coined for the meaning given was taken from K.G.'s statement during her interview: "When you're expressing raw emotion… 'cause it's sort of almost like an instinct… like when you drop something or when something totally surprises you, it comes out in your native language." Emotions are expressed in your first language because that is the way in which you first learn to express yourself whether you are feeling angry, surprised, or happy. Another instance where this occurred was when H.B. began singing the Fresh Prince of Bel Air song and M.C. commented "Ay, que bueno" (that's a good one). They are spontaneous expressions and emotions that are difficult to translate. Expressions of emotions tend to be delivered in idioms. An idiom carries specific meaning and when translated into one second's language it is not as accurate, even if a corresponding idiom exists in the second language.

Compartmentalization of work and private life

Code-switching of words, phrases, or conversation, in general, constantly took place between the participants. Patterns emerged when participants would communicate about work and their private life. Because of the university's American-centered education, most, if not all conversations having to do with students, databases and operating systems such as the 'Banner' system, etc. tended to be conducted in English. On the other hand, conversations about private life were almost exclusively conducted in Spanish because all the participants' at-home lives are in Spanish. During all three interviews conducted, the participants stated that words exclusive to the university and work that they do at the university are always said in English.

K.G.: Some of the words that we use, for example in Banner, like 'withdraw', I don't know how we really say that in Spanish, una baja I guess but…words that I think that I use specifically in English are 'transcript', I guess because it is an English concept for me more. I know that there's a word in Spanish, expediente, which I could use but I never do. 'Transcript' I always say in English, and hold on a second I had one a second ago, what was it? Shoot. There was another word, oh, 'report'. 'Cause we can do reports in the database and I always say, 'hago un report'. But, I understand that word is in English.

The participants are aware that the words exist in the other language but, as K.G. stated, they seem to be English concepts. According to K.G., it is enough to know these "workplace" words and phrases in one language. Especially when all the members of the speech community understand this common work language, there is no need to translate or adjust these concepts. While observing the participants and during all three interviews, the participants agreed with K.G.'s statement above: that words and phrases having to do with work or work operating systems such as Banner were always in English. Personal life, on the other hand, was discussed primarily in Spanish. The following instance demonstrates an example of code-switching when speaking of personal life. K.G. is talking to K.M. and D.R. about how her daughter has had a bleeding rash for a few days. K.G. feels guilty about her daughter's rash because she Googled it and believes that the rash has been in part caused by the amount of strawberries that she has been giving her daughters lately.

D.R.: No es nada de desinterés, es tu culpa? (It's not because you are not interested, is it your fault?)

K.G.: No, la de las fresas. (No, the strawberries.)

D.R.: Y otra cosa... nunca hagas consultas médicas for Google. (And another thing… don't consult medical issues on Google.)

There are code-switches occurring throughout the conversation but, the core language that is guiding the conversation is Spanish because K.G. is speaking about a personal situation she is experiencing with her child. This instance also demonstrates the second meaning applied to code-switching, expression of raw emotion, on D.R.'s part, who is comforting K.G. in his native language, Spanish. Another instance where code-switching on account of personal life was when H.B. directed conversation at me in English stating that she had gone to the pelu (hairdresser) and the ceiling was goteando (leaking). In this instance she is code-switching between English and Spanish, but the two words that she is speaking in Spanish are exclusive to a situation that occurred in her private life. Situations that occur in the personal life have to be dealt with in Spanish, therefore, when reported, they are spoken in Spanish. Living in Madrid and at-home life being spoken in Spanish makes it difficult to transmit and translate these situations, especially when it is common knowledge that all members speak both English and Spanish.

CONCLUSION

This study gives valuable insight on the meaning of code-switching by members of a multicultural workplace environment. It is very telling on the meanings that participants give different situations that arise at work. The three meanings that arose from studying these participants illustrate unspoken norms of when code-switching should or should not occur. In particular, it appears to be significant in relation to the aspect of personal relationships within the workplace. Individuals working together will "honor" the primary language of communication between the parties. However, if a new person enters the conversation, the language will change according to who that person is, what role he or she plays within the workplace, and what is his or her language of preference. An example of this was evidenced by my observation of face-saving and power relations in M.M.. Another important observation and implication of my study was how code-switching contributed to a healthy workplace. By this I mean an environment that takes into account the differences between people, specifically linguistically. Code-switching can, in fact, be a clear representation of respect for these differences and other significant social cues (i.e. roles, language competence, language preference). The phenomenon of code-switching is more prevalent as groups of people from around the world work together in a shared place. As globalization increases, the amount of code-switching will increase and more meanings will be created across diverse groups.

This study was limited by time constraints and lack of opportunity for complete full-time immersion in the speech community. Future research should study various multicultural and multilingual groups, in order to obtain and compare more data. Also, future researchers should try to incorporate themselves more into the speech community. I was unable to achieve full participation in the speech community because I am a student worker and consequently much younger than the participants. Future researchers should also try to record during participant observation. There were many times when participants would all speak at once and it almost became impossible to cite anything they said verbatim. Taking into account these findings, limits and goals, as more research is done future researchers will find more meanings and gain better understanding of code-switching in a multicultural workplace environment.

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Stories of Transition in South Africa

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ABSTRACT

The apartheid system in South Africa lasted for forty-eight years before being abolished in 1994. Codified within the structure was economic and political discrimination that put the population into a hierarchy of four classified races: white, coloured, Indian and black. The outcome was a spatially and mentally divided society. Today, South Africa is faced with the task of levelling out not only economic inequalities but also psychological patterns related to race. In this research, I apply a life history approach to understand how it was to live during the transitional phase in South Africa. Inspired by critical race theory, I examine the various ways of experiencing transitional South Africa based on the narratives of seven research participants. I draw on Pierre Bourdieu's concept "doxa" to illustrate how, in their childhoods, participants took for granted racial segregation and the white supremacist ideology. Through a nuanced examination of the participants' struggle with the "hegemonic condition", I further illustrate that this acceptance played out in complex ways. I then turn to Victor Turner's theory of "liminality" to demonstrate how the post-apartheid space of uncertainty enabled individuals to challenge their commonsense assumptions so far. Throughout this paper, I show that the force of apartheid was so strong that mentalities were only able to shift following the dramatic political transformation of the abolition of apartheid.

INTRODUCTION

In 1948 the ruling National Party (NP) enforced "apartheid" in South Africa. This was a system of racial segregation along hierarchical lines. Besides the harsh economic and political inequalities that this systematic discrimination produced, it further strengthened the white supremacist thinking on which colonization was founded. Like in other colonial countries, questions arise: How was a presumption of white supremacy and the subordination of colonized people maintained in society? Moreover, how do the structures of domination diminish in within the post-colonial/independent state? Today, a generation that remains understudied when it comes to apartheid are those born during the transition phase. The adults belonging to this generation were born in the 1970's and 1980's and are therefore old enough to remember how apartheid racialization played out in their everyday lives. At the same time, they were young enough to accept the changes that started to take place with its abolition in 1994. In this way, they were able to reflect more critically on their upbringing in the wake of apartheid than most of their parents. These young adults – who are now aged between 28-40 are the focus of my research. I take a life history approach, with the aim of learning how it was to grow up both during and in the wake of apartheid. I specifically examine to what extent individuals perceived their society as racialized during apartheid and in turn explore how they reacted to the challenges that came after apartheid.

Inspired by critical race theory, I examine the complexity behind racialized living in transitional South Africa. The first part of the analysis focuses on the participants' narratives of childhood during apartheid, while the second part focuses on their lived experiences in the wake of apartheid. In this section, I draw on Pierre Bourdieu's concept "doxa" to illustrate that the participants took racial segregation and white supremacist ideology for granted during their childhoods. I also engage in a nuanced examination of the participants' resistance towards the dominant discourse. Through this, I illustrate how the participants' acceptance of the racialized "doxa" played out in difficult ways. In the second section, I turn to Victor Turner's theory of "liminality" to examine the shift in commonsense thinking so far. Herein I specifically examine the different ways in which white and black participants reacted to the space of uncertainty that emerged in the wake of apartheid. I conclude by showing that the force behind the apartheid regime was so strong that a political transformation was needed in order to disrupt the atmosphere of acceptance so far. Before I begin the analysis, I offer a contextualization of South Africa's apartheid followed by a description of my theoretical framework and an outline of my methodology.

CONTEXTUALIZATION: THE SHAPING OF A RACIALIZED SOCIETY

A detailed exploration of apartheid in South Africa is beyond the scope of this paper. Rather, I offer a brief summary of the central features of apartheid. In 1948, the National Party won the South African elections by a slim majority under the leadership of Daniel François Malan (Ross 1999). Once in government, a project of social engineering was put in to motion that would secure white supremacist ideology on which colonization was founded (Seidman 1999). The minority white population (20%) legally secured its supremacy over the majority black (75%), Indian and coloured population (5%) (Seidman 1999). A set of laws was passed that enacted racial segregation of all South Africans. In 1949 mixed marriages were prohibited and in the following year the Immorality Act was enforced, which banned all sexual contacts between whites and all other South Africans. The Population Registration Act (1950) enforced the classification of people to one of the following racial categories: white, coloured, Indian and native (later 'Bantu', i.e. black) (Worden 2000). Soon after, under the Separate Amenities Act (1953) public facilities such as schools, parks, libraries, and restaurants were divided along racial lines (Thompson 1996; Worden 2000). With 1948 legislation, reserves that were enforced in the 1913 Land Act[1] became so-called "homelands[2]", for black South Africans. Following this, blacks could work in (white) South Africa, but could never acquire citizenship there. The state-induced segregation led many South Africans to internalize the need for social distance (Worden 2000). The society became racially segregated in social, economic and political spheres. Significantly for my research, the physical segregation had psychological consequences. This is mainly exhibited in the internalized differences that whites and blacks perceived in themselves (Thompson 1996). Given the oppressive history of racial segregation in South Africa, I now turn to analyse the complex ways in which racialized living played out during the transitional period.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS: CRITICAL RACE STUDIES, DOXA AND THE SPACE OF LIMINALITY

Critical Race Studies

Throughout my analysis, I draw on Critical Race Studies (CRS) to examine the multifaceted nature behind racialized living in transitional South Africa, which is communicated in the participants' narratives. Crenshaw (1995), a leading figure in critical race theory, argues that only by looking at the narratives of those who lived under legal systems of supremacy can we understand how certain ideologies could maintain power (Crenshaw et al. 1995, xiii). 'Whiteness studies' is a subfield of critical race studies in which whiteness is examined as a social space of structural advantage (Twine, 2006). Increasingly, scholars within the field have been calling for a more nuanced analysis of whiteness, as new studies challenge the assertion that whiteness is still invisible (Steyn 2001; Giroux 1997).

The South African scholar Melissa Steyn (2001) cautions us not to theorize whiteness in a way that makes it synonymous with being racist. Instead she argues for a layered account of this position through which "an understanding of the true complexities of white sway can be understood" (Steyn 2001, xxxi). In her work on the "epistemologies of ignorance", Steyn (2012) applies this nuanced approach in examining the childhood accounts of both black and white South Africans. Steyn argues that studying both whites and blacks requires a "constructive engagement with the past" (2012, 22), which acknowledges the shaping of their different racial identities. I draw on Steyn's contributions to critical race studies throughout this paper.

South African critical race scholar David Theo Goldberg (2008) stresses that racialization must be used with reference to the historical and political circumstances of a specific region in the world. He offers a nuanced approach, explaining that in South Africa racial segregation was the most dominant indication of a racialized society (Goldberg 2008). Although skin colour had legal implications under apartheid, it still continues to be the primary reference point that influences how people behave and are perceived today: "it sites and restricts, it announces and delimits, it allows and disables" (Goldberg 2008, 302). Moreover, the legalization of white supremacy through apartheid created a society in which race was naturalized and white privilege was normalized (Goldberg 2008). In a similar vein, when I speak of "racialization" or a "racialized society" I address the uneven "race-inflicted social situations" (ibid., 67) between white and non-whites in South Africa that were formed during apartheid and continue to have implications today. When I use the terms 'hegemonic/dominant discourse' I refer to the dominant nature of the racialized society. Michel

Foucault (1995) explains the dominant discourse as a way of speaking and behaving in a society that reflects the ideas of those who have most power. Hence, in the South African case, the dominant discourse was shaped by the above named ideas of white supremacy and a hierarchy between the races. When I use the term 'supremacist ideology', I am therefore making an ideological reference the dominant discourse.

A further concept I will use throughout the paper is that of the "racial Other". In post-colonial writing authors such as Homi Bhabha (1994) characterized the Other as a mystification, or an unknown and unpredictable identity different from that of the hegemonic subject. In this article, I use it a reference to someone who has a different race to the subject.

Bourdieu, Hall and the Doxa

In his works on everyday "practices" French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977; 1990) provides a conceptual framework that helps make sense of the accepted racialized society under apartheid. Bourdieu coins the term "doxa" to explain a constructed vision of reality that is so naturalized that it appears to be the only version of reality. The doxa is a set of "commonsense assumptions about the world through which individuals interpret and make sense out of events" (Bourdieu 1977, 159). Notably, the concepts that shape the doxa need not be linked by logical relations, but are rather bound by customs and regular patterns that characterise the everyday life as it is (Bourdieu, 1977). As Bourdieu explains, the doxa is accepted precisely because it is assumed as the norm and is already "instilled by the childhood learning that treats the body as a living memory pad" (Bourdieu 1990, 68). In other words, the doxa is a paradigm in which socially and culturally constructed ways of perceiving, interpreting and behaving in a society are perceived as self-evident, i.e. natural from early childhood without ever being uttered (Bourdieu 1977). Bourdieu states that the doxa is only made explicit when a competing or divergent discourse is introduced, most often in the context of cultural contact or at times of political and economic crisis (Bourdieu 1977, 168).

In claiming that the idea of "taken-for-granted" is based on contradictory notions, Stuart Hall (1986) confirms the notion that the doxa deceivingly appears to be natural, when it is in fact constructed. As Hall explains: "'common sense' is not coherent: it is usually 'disjointed and episodic', fragmentary and contradictory" (Hall 1986, 21). Beyond illustrating the illogicality behind the doxa, Hall explains why it is important to acknowledge the taken for granted discourse:

> "Why, then is common sense so important? Because it is the terrain of conceptions and categories on which the practical consciousness of the masses of people is actually formed. It is the already formed and "taken for granted" terrain, on which more coherent ideologies and philosophies must contend for mastery; the ground which new conceptions of the world must take into account, contest and transform, if they are to shape the conceptions of the world of masses and in that way become historically effective." (Hall 1986, 20)

Following Hall, it is important to acknowledge that that which we perceive as common sense is in fact constructed. By recognizing the makers and signifiers of this construction, we create the space to challenge and deconstruct the views of masses of people. It follows that by identifying the making and acceptance of the racialized doxa in South Africa, we can better understand the possibility of challenging the status quo. Recognizing the ambivalent nature of the doxa allows for a nuanced examination of the research participants' behaviour in their everyday lives.

Turner's Conceptualization of Liminality

At this point the British Anthropologist Victor Turner's theory on 'liminality' becomes relevant. Turner's conceptualization of liminality provides a framework through which to understand the possibility of a shift away from the accepted paradigm. The space created immediately after the abolition of apartheid mirrors what Turner describes as liminality: "the moment when the past has lost grip and the future has not yet taken definite shape" (Turner 1992, 133). Liminality refers to a middle state, a stage of transition or an intermediate state of being "in between" (Turner 1992, 48). It is a space in limbo, which characterises rights of passage – anyone and anything goes. Herein, individuals are stripped from their usual identity and their constituting social differences while being on the verge of personal or social transformation. In other words liminality represents a period in the life of a subject (a state, an individual or a community) during which any assumptions about the subject's identity are extinguished through the exposure of its inherent instabilities. In this way, the space of liminality is the window of opportunity in which the doxa can be challenged.

While the latter phenomenon indicates a realm of accepted practices that regulates expected behaviour, the former signifies the moment where 'anything goes' (Turner 1992, 48).

Leaning on the critical race approach throughout my paper, I begin by exploring the extent to which racialization, and more specifically, racial segregation and white supremacy, were accepted or seen as the doxa in my participants' lives during apartheid. In a second section, I examine the participants' struggles with the hegemonic discourse in light of the ambiguous nature of a doxa. In a third section, I turn to examine the shift in common sense thinking so far in light of the newly born space of "liminality" in the wake of apartheid.

METHODOLOGY

Life history research is an approach that draws on the stories and experiences of individuals to make broader contextual meaning (Cole & Knowles 2001, 20). In trying to understand the complexities of the lives of a few individuals, the researcher also generates insights in to the wider social context (Cole & Knowles 2001; Walker 2005, 44). I use the life history approach, as it provides a practical method for examining how it was to be an individual growing up during transition in South Africa. In interpreting the participants' accounts of their racialized experiences during and after apartheid, I produce a new level of sense-making. This interpretation is also informed by intended and unintended messages that the respondents communicated about what they perceived to be natural or good relations between different races. Because my goal is to capture different accounts of what it meant to grow up in transitional South Africa, I do not try to quantify data in terms of how widespread a specific narrative is. Having said this however, each of the patterns that I discuss throughout the analysis was supported by at least two of the respondents.

The ethnographic research includes seven in-depth interviews with black and white South Africans between the ages of 25 and 40 (three white males, one white female and three black males). The participants were raised in different parts of South Africa (Johannesburg, Plettenberg Bay, Cape Town, Free State, Durban, Limpopo, Hermanskraal and Bophuthatswana); three had lived in two different locations during their school years. All participants left their home neighbourhood for university or work at one point in time. This research explores the individuals' family and neighbourhood biography as well as their lived experiences in school, university and/or work and day-to-day. I focus on this age group for two crucial reasons: Firstly, these individuals went to primary school before apartheid was abolished and were old enough to remember the political transition and secondly, they are young enough to not have been fully socialized under the old system, allowing for a reflection on their position in the new South Africa. I interviewed the research participants during an exchange semester in Stellenbosch, South Africa. The participants were selected through different means. The majority of the participants were acquaintances or contacts of people whom I knew. Others were selected through serendipity while I was travelling. All the participants' names

have been changed in order to guarantee privacy. The interviews range from one to one and three quarter hours and were all captured using a tape recorder. Additionally, the research is informed by several informal conversations, which I had with black, white and coloured individuals who fall into the same age group.

THE RACIALIZED DOXA

Accepting the everyday as natural

> "That's what I remember, they were the working force. They were not among you in the community. If they lived with you, on your residence, they lived on the outside in their own cottage … if they wanted to go to the bathroom, they would go outside and use their toilet. They don't [sic] use the house toilets, cause that's where we go. They'd do their own stuff. They'd make their food on their own and they'd eat on their own"- Alfred, white, 27

The above quote concisely captures the commonsense acceptance of the racialized doxa during apartheid. Black people were accepted as living entirely separate from white people, only to be seen in white communities as the working force. Nearly all research participants recognized racial segregation during their childhood years under apartheid and took it for granted. Throughout the narratives of their childhood environments, each participant could describe patterns or customs in which division, discrimination or inequality between black and white were accepted. Moreover, in many childhood accounts, the advantage that white people enjoyed was accepted in such a way that it seemed unrelated to black people's disadvantage. In this way the white supremacy was naturalized, a façade was created in which "the groups were perceived to be naturally complementary, the exploitative nature disguised" (Steyn 2001, 18). In line with Bourdieu's theorization of the doxa, the participants' acceptance of the racialized apartheid paradigm appeared as a "pre-verbal taking-for-granted of the world" (Bourdieu 1977, 159).

Ben, white, is 34 years old. He grew up in the Free State, formerly the "Orange Free State[3]", which remains known for its patriotic racism (Worden 2000). Like most white families in this area, Ben's family were cattle and maize farmers who relied on black, cheap labour. He describes his neighbours, family and friends as "very much racist and Christian and capitalist orientated". Growing up during a time of workers' unions' protest and revenge killings in this part of the country, he experienced a lot of apartheid upheaval first hand. When Ben was 15 years old, his brother's car was hit off the road by a taxi[4] and he was then shot dead while driving home from town. Ben's family interpreted the murder as an act of hate, which only strengthened the already established antagonism towards blacks. In the waning years of apartheid, his family held a big safe with "a lot of food, arms, grenades and bullets" to prepare themselves against the 'black peril' that threatened to erupt in light of political transition. Ben is referring here to a general fear that the so far well-controlled large black population would turn violent against the white population and take over political and military power leaving him and his family at the black people's mercy. When I asked Ben to explain the relationship between his white family and their black workers he said:

> "But always, there was clear lines [sic]. They weren't allowed to go in to the living room for example. I mean to clean, but not after hours. None of the men from the field were allowed to come in to the actual house. So, but we had a good relationship because, I guess, no one was really aware of any difference. Even from both sides."
>
> "Workers were being really respectful to my dad. He was a really good farmer, if you can perhaps understand that in a racial setting. It might sound kind of atrocious to you… But yes, minimum wages, um, they received minimum wages and received maize for free from the land"
>
> "But, our workers, mainly black people, lived about a kilometre from our house. They lived in mud houses; we lived in our big houses with swimming pool and everything."

As Ben soberly narrated the "clear lines" that kept his black workers from entering the home, I realized that he and his family perceived themselves as honest people within the system. They lived abidingly entrenched within the lines of racial segregation and white supremacist thinking, or the doxa of apartheid. The normality of these divides that Ben claims both his family and their workers to have perceived can be interpreted in light of Marxist scholar Georg Lukács's (1923) writing on the consciousness of the proletariat. Lukács claims that the ideology of the bourgeoisie is projected onto an objectified working class, thereby preventing the proletariat from attaining consciousness about their position (Lukács 1923). By this I mean that the

relationship between Ben's family and their workers was disguised to appear as a relation, not between people, but between things. Both the dominating group as well as the working class accepted their respective roles within the capitalist framework. This allowed Ben's family to exploit cheap black labour and enjoy the material privileges of their race in good faith. Simply by observing the racial division at home, Ben accepted the nationally constructed way of behaving in society. The norm in his environment was that blacks cannot cross into the private zone that belongs to whites, except for working here (Throop & Murphy 2002; Bourdieu 1977, 166). Ben's internalization of the apartheid structures led him to mistake the objective structures of the doxa as natural.

Ben's internalization of these divides is expressed in the sense of superiority he developed as a child. While narrating his childhood to me, Ben explains his relationship to the black labourers' children with whom he would play:

> "As a kid, I copied my dad in kind of paying them when they go back home [sic] (…) because they played with me. Cause I saw them like my kind of workers."

The depth of Ben's feeling of superiority is underlined by the fact that he continued to have a casual relationship with these friends, but always perceived himself as being dominant. In Ben's story, it becomes clear that his family's workers were objectified in such a way that they did not appear human to him. Instead, their relationship mirrored that of Lukács' description as a relationship between 'things'. This is especially highlighted by the fact that Ben saw his playmates as his workers and paid them for their time.

The naturalness of racial segregation, which Ben's account portrays, takes on a different dimension in the childhood narratives of most black participants such as Kotlano. Unlike most white participants who came across their racial Other as children, Kotlano, like most black South Africans (Steyn 2001), never met a white person as a child. I meet Kotlano in front of 'Amazink', the bar that he manages in the township Kayamandi just outside of Stellenbosch's pristine city centre. When I asked him for his age, Kotlano hesitated at first, asking me for my own estimation. Once I told him my guess (28) and explained my research a little bit (at his request), he conceded his age: 34. He began by telling me that he grew up in a black township outside of Durban. His life is characterized by the death of his father, after which he lived with his grandmother for a few years until she also died. Upon this he was left alone to live in his father's house at 13 years of age. While he occasionally saw whites at a distance, for most of his childhood they existed, ironically enough, on the "black and white" television screen. He recounts:

> "My neighbourhood was full of black people. No coloured, no white. The first time I started seeing white people was on TV. But it was black and white, we called it the newspaper, you never really know [sic] what a white person looks like."

When I ask him what he recalls about the images of white people on television, it becomes clear that he too perceived white advantages over black Africans as a natural fact:

> "I saw white people in their cars, it was not easy to see a black man driving in those days. They have [sic] cars, they have money … I can say they have rich lifestyles."

Steyn (2004) takes up this notion of white prosperity as natural in her research on white South Africans. She explains that the white social position was facilitated by the construction of "race". The phenotype race, indicated through markers such as skin colour, became a way of naturalizing economic and political relationships in racial societies. Hence, an idea was supported that inequalities were the result of endogenous, genetic inequalities between the "races" (Steyn 2004, 121). Enmeshed in a daily struggle to survive, Kotlano did not feel that segregation was anything significant or had an impact on his life. His sober recollection of his childhood memories is evidence of this:

> "A thing I noticed for sure was the bus thing. We couldn't use the same buses as white people, own taxis, own toilets, something like that. (…) The pubs were white pubs, black pubs. Black people used the train."

While he remembers factors through which segregation played out, he does not consider these significant. At no point, did Kotlano make a link between his own poverty or neglect and the deprival of civil rights to black people during apartheid. Neither did it bother him that white people were what he perceived as wealthy in comparison to him.

As the accounts of black individuals reveal in Steyn's work on ignorance during apartheid, black people experienced their childhood "the way it is" (2012, 18). She continues to explain that pro-active resistance against the system was overshadowed because "formative broader social, political and economic

dynamics [are] rendered invisible at the level of ordinary, daily life" (Steyn 2012, 18). Like other black and white participants, Kotlano perceived white privileges as natural. The link between black disadvantage and white prosperity that remains invisible to him is in line with the supremacist thinking that whites are higher human beings than the indigenous black population (Steyn 2012; Steyn 2001, 24).

Kotlano does not consider that things would have been different had he been white, or been part of a society with social care or free and accessible education for all. Instead, he takes the difficult position he endured as a child for granted. In this the racialized society remains an insignificant feature that neither influences him nor leads him to develop racial resentment. For Kotlano the fact that his life as a black person was separate from that of a white person was not noteworthy, as his daily life was determined by regular customs such as the use of 'blacks-only' buses (Bourdieu 1977). While many black participants perceived racial segregation from afar, many white participants such as James were much closer to it.

Even though James Bentham, white, 38, had more contact with his racial Other than Ben or Kotlano, he too perceived the racially segregating hierarchies as normal. Growing up, James, lived in what one may describe as usual circumstance within the apartheid paradigm: his white family owned property, in his case a lodge, which required a large non-white labour force to maintain. Bentham's workers lived in walking distance to their lodge on the same property as them. Unlike Ben, however, James considered the coloured children who he grew up playing with as his friends. The difference in his case was that his family was what James terms "white liberals", who were engaged in an ideological battle against the apartheid regime. As such, the Benthams approved of their son's non-white friendships and took an attitude towards non-whites that was not obviously derogatory or racist. That being said, James grew up along racialized lines nonetheless. He went to an English, white, primary school in the white city of Plettenberg Bay, unlike his coloured friends who attended the non-white township school in their neighbourhood. He enjoyed the privileges of a good education, a comfortable home and a secure future outlook that was guaranteed to whites. His comments about how he at once perceived and failed to perceive apartheid shed an interesting light on how one comes to accept the doxa:

> "I think it was so ingrained in culture that you don't notice."
>
> "Because you don't see [sic] it. You see black people, you see townships, you have a black nanny, like but because you're in South Africa, it doesn't seem odd in any sort of way, it's like, 'that's what it's like' "

Notably, in these two accounts James makes a contradictory statement about his perception of racial segregation. On the hand, he claims that he did not see or notice apartheid because it was part of everybody's culture. On the other hand by identifying black people or the black nanny, he is able to report on racial segregation in townships, in the workplace and at home. As he continues to narrate, he realized that the cleaners at his parent's lodge were black, while people who worked in the leading positions were white. The fact that James did not consider the racial hierarchies in his environment as odd is testimony to the naturalization of the racialized doxa to him.

The manner through which James comes to accept both the racial segregation but also white supremacy in his surroundings is in line with Hall's understanding that ideologies work most efficiently "when our formulations seem to be simply descriptive statements about how things are (i.e. must be), or of what we can 'take-for-granted'" (Hall 1983, 26). As Steyn (2001) acknowledges, many white South Africans became aware of their society as racialized through their association with black domestic servants, farm labourers and their children. The norm was established in structurally asymmetrical relationships and unequal ways of interacting (Steyn 2001, 87). Significantly, because racialized living dominated the discourse in school, at home and in the public sphere of their childhoods, nearly all participants perceived this reality as normal, as banal. It follows that James came to consider his racially asymmetrical surrounding as natural through visual statements about how things were without feeling the need to question them.

Ambiguity in commonsense

> "I remember feeling like 'something is really wrong here'"- Lizzy, white

Although most participants perceived the racialized society during apartheid as natural, their narratives were speckled with moments of resistance towards the dominant discourse. In his research on the racial identification of white people in Detroit, John Hartigan (2000) advocates a critical race approach

towards understanding racial identities. Hartigan shows that by considering the contradictory and ambiguous aspects in white racial identification one is able to achieve a more nuanced understanding of whiteness. Following Hartigan, the fact that there are no other terms than racist (or antiracist) to make sense of racial perceptions of people is proof of the limitation of our analytical language (2000, p. 388). Therefore, it becomes all the more important to note the ambiguous interpretations that people voice in matters of race. In a similar vein in her work on German racial identities Müller (2011, 625-626) indicates that by "concentrating on moments of ambiguity and confusion" in research participants' narratives one can better understand how individuals struggle with the "hegemonic condition". Through the identification of moments of reflection or struggle with the hegemonic doxa in the participants' accounts, it becomes apparent that the accepting attitudes towards the racialized society were not as straightforward as it appears. Consequently the ambiguous nature of the racialized doxa is disclosed.

Whites and Struggle

From a distance it is not difficult to tell that Alfred, white, 28, is a rugby player. He jokes that he began playing rugby before he could walk and is a fierce fan of the Springboks, the South African national rugby team. He grew up in a protected, white environment in the suburbs of Johannesburg, which he considers racist in the modern sense: "not the old apartheid racist, but the more modern type … they will greet the guy, but they don't like the guy". While his parents were not necessarily vocal against apartheid, they donned a so-called colour-blind attitude, which they tried to pass on to their son. Notably, however, this attitude was considered too lenient in Alfred's surrounding environment. The racially stereotypical attitudes of his suburban neighbourhood and the segregated realities of his school convinced him of the hegemonic discourse. He re-calls the comments made by his friends' parents:

> "It's only blacks that steal, only blacks that do this (…) you're playing rugby with a black, why is a black guy playing rugby? Isn't he supposed to play soccer?"

Alfred continues to explain:

> "After a while you realize that it's not true… you feel sorry. I played rugby with a lot of black guys and I learnt a lot about their culture (…) But people say, 'hey look listen here, look, this is what the paper says'. And it's hard to ignore the facts (…) So it was hard to ignore the facts and you got brainwashed a bit."

What Alfred remarks here is his struggle with the hegemonic discourse. Having played rugby with black South Africans, he got to know his racial Other through their common interest of playing rugby and was relatively open towards them. Nonetheless, while he was open towards the black rugby players in his team, he continued to hold stereotypically racist attitudes towards black South Africans outside of school. He continues to explain that he kept black people at a distance for a long time.

The resistance towards the 'hegemonic condition' that Alfred portrays is taken up by Steyn (2001) in her account of ambivalence within racial learning. On the one hand, white racial learning is accompanied by a commonsense, a casualness that is internalized with your race position. On the other hand, this privilege is weighed down by a discomfort or uneasiness that has to be repressed in the process of socialization into a racist society (Steyn 2001, 88). As Alfred made clear, while he sensed that the stereotypes were not true, he suppressed this intuition. As Steyn (2001) explains, many white South Africans were confronted with their race in situations that made them feel uncomfortable or embarrassed. Yet, instead of giving these feelings space and reconsidering the taken-for granted structures, they suppressed these feelings (Steyn 2001). In a similar vein, instead of further developing his sympathy for black people, Alfred let himself be convinced by what is presented to him as facts about blacks. The struggle, which Alfred displays in this narrative, is significant, as it shows that his attitudes towards blacks were informed by the overwhelming racist discourse of the time. In line with Hartigan (2000), diagnosing Alfred's account as simply 'racist' does not do justice to the ambiguous perceptions that he has of black people. Instead, accounting for his struggle reveals the challenge in abiding by a racialized doxa, which is by nature ambiguous (Hall 1986).

The force of the hegemonic discourse becomes especially salient in the narratives of white liberal participants who grew up with a counter-discourse in their home environment, meaning that their close family members denounced apartheid at least in private. When confronted with the expectations of white supremacy in public, they struggled to follow their own non-racist intuitions. This struggle sheds a crucial light on their behaviour, as it shows that they too acted in line with racial seg-

regationist expectations when they faced hegemonic pressure. It also points to the stringent force of the racialized doxa. Lizzy's story is valuable in this regard.

Lizzy Thomas is a 28-year-old white woman with short blond hair and a lively disposition. She is nearly as excited about the interview as I am and pauses often mid-sentence, giving me the impression that she is in constant reflection about her narrative. Her childhood account sheds a different light on the struggle with the hegemonic discourse than Alfred's does. Similar to James, Lizzy grew up in a liberal home and had many non-white friends on her family farm. In this way, she grew up within a counter-discourse, in a home that was vocal against the apartheid regime. When she was eight years old, her twelve-year old twin cousins came to live with her family, because their parents were supporting underground ANC movements. Known for having coloured friends, she was marked as an outsider in her English school. As she explained: "I was on the periphery to that whole social scene (…) I hated, hated, that school". Not aware of any racial segregation in her home, she claimed to have come face to face with apartheid when her coloured friends and her white friends would meet. In this way, she too was confronted with her society as racialized, when these two "worlds" collided. In a pivotal event, Lizzy described how the sensation of shame made her feel self-conscious about her friendships with coloured people. In this incident, she brought her best friends from the farm to a school event, where everybody else was white:

> "I felt this sensation of shame. And I wasn't sure what I was feeling this shame about (…) I just felt like I was completely … you know when you kind of lift out of your body and feel completely uneasy? (…) I remember feeling like 'something is really wrong here'… It was that kind of sensation. I became quite self-conscious because of my relationships with these kids. "

Hence Lizzy finds herself in a situation in which her own world of coloured friends collides with the mainstream segregationist ideology that governs her school environment. Under the gaze of the white community, she is made aware that she has violated the school's codes of conduct and is acting out of place (Bourdieu 1977; Probyn 2004). Lizzy's reaction to this incident exhibits the strength of the racialized doxa, as she decides to conform to the rules even when she feels uncomfortable about them. As she continues to explain, this experience made her feel like a fraud in front of the white community and her coloured friends alike. She is self-conscious about her friendship with coloured children and senses that something is not right. All of these sentiments led her to change her relationships altogether, in a way that ironically coincided with the hegemonic expectations. As Lizzy explains:

> "My behaviour towards them [coloured friends] was changed. It was separate. I just went with the sense, which was, 'just keep your lives separate, otherwise…' (…) So, I couldn't relate to them naturally because I was aware of how fucking awkward the whole thing was. If friends came here, [to her home] it was totally fine. We all played together. But like socially going out in to the world … we just didn't."

Clearly, Lizzy's incident of shame made her feel insecure about the relationship with her coloured friends. Faced with the racialized society and its hegemonic expectations, Lizzy struggled to stand up for the non-segregationist attitudes that she learnt at home. Instead of challenging the racialized expectations that she senses from her school environment by continuing to bring her coloured friends "out into the world", she decides to withdraw her friends from this environment altogether. Lizzy's compliance with segregationist expectations shows how strong the hegemonic discourse was. As Hartigan (2000, 390) explains, far from being a reflection of a "monolithic ideological condition", displays of confusion about racial judgement can be seen as an "active effort" to make sense of racially-laden situations. In line with this notion, her decision to separate her two worlds should not be seen as a racist act on her behalf. Instead, it can be seen as proof of the ambiguous nature of the doxa altogether. As Hall (1986) highlights, the doxa is shaped by incoherent features, which albeit presented as natural, are in fact based on a project of social engineering.

The Conscious Young Black Man

The 1970s Black Consciousness' Movement (BCM) led by the charismatic medical student Steve Biko was a step in promoting black identity amidst the psychological alienation that black youth were undergoing at the time. According to Biko, blacks increasingly felt disconnected from their own land, culture and language under apartheid as their white rulers forced them in to submission. Biko's (1979) observation that the black

man under apartheid had internalized racial inferiority is in line with the white supremacist ideology of the racialized society. As Biko (1979, 31) explains, the black man has "become a shell, a shadow of man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave". Biko (1979) makes a call for the reclaiming of black dignity amidst a black psychological identity crisis. Biko (1979, 14-15) explains the essence of the BCM as: "the realization by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetuate servitude". Significantly, however, none of the black participants appeared to have reached the stage of internalized inferiority that Biko speaks about. The subtle resistance that I observed in the black narratives notably coincides with the zeitgeist of transitional South Africa: It is a symptom of black resistance. The black participants' resistance towards some white supremacist expectations or sense of ease around white people in their childhood are markers of the disjointed nature of the doxa (Hall 1986, 21). Hall's accentuation of the doxa as episodic and fragmented is especially revealed through Alex's narrative (1986, 21).

Alex Tobhane, 38, is a tall charismatic black man with a distinctly English accent. He speaks fondly of his brothers who are both tennis players today and admirably of his parents who worked hard to provide their family with a "good home" and "good education". Alex's experiences are curious in that he belonged to the first generation of blacks that was allowed to go to a white school in the 1980's. While living in a township in Hammanskraal, his parents decided to send him to a private convent school in Pretoria that was dominantly white. Hence, by the age of seven he was exposed to his white racial Other in school, and lived around other black children at home. At the age of ten, his family moved to the northern homeland Bophuthatswana, where he said: "apartheid didn't exist". He describes his first impressions of going to school with white children as a "culture shock", in which his biggest challenge was learning English. Having overcome the language barrier at primary school, Alex quickly started to feel comfortable around whites. He saw himself as equal to whites from an early age and never came to sense the racial inferiority that blacks of older generations felt. In the following quote, Alex explains how the black children from his neighbourhood were timid around white people, while he could relate to whites easily. He sees the reasons for this in his early contact with whites:

> "The black kids in my neighbourhood would shy away from white people. Whereas for me, it was pretty natural to be with whites."

Alex's description of his ability to interact with white people as pretty natural goes against the white supremacist expectations. His attitude illustrates the mental shift that many black South Africans undertook towards the end of apartheid, signalling the first markers of rupture against the racialized doxa. The fact that Alex went to school with white children indicates that he did not grow up within the standard "systems of dispositions" that shape the racialized society (Bourdieu 1977, 161). In this way, his attitudes were opposed to the larger values and codes of conduct that formed racial segregation during apartheid (Bourdieu 1977). This in turn, shows the faultiness or "disjointed" nature of the doxa, as he does not comply with segregationist expectations (Hall 1986, 21). The experiences of Odingo, who grew up around blacks only, shed a different light on black resistance towards supremacist expectations than Alex's story does.

Odingo is 28 years old, has a kind character and speaks in streams of consciousness, which prompt me to interrupt him repeatedly. He sees himself as belonging to a generation in his village that was never subject to apartheid. Unlike his much older siblings who are still cautious towards whites because of their experiences of racism during apartheid, he claims to see things differently. He says that he is open-minded towards people of all walks of life, and got to know his Dutch girlfriend during an exchange semester at Wageningen University. He grew up in the heart of the north-eastern region of Limpopo, where there were no white people to see for miles and miles. To him, religion, culture and tradition began to dwindle as symbols of identity when he was a child. He tells me that he was often surprised by his parents' ways of thinking. When I ask him what he means by this, he recounts an incident of his early teenage years, when he accompanied his father to his work at a construction company. Typical of Odingo's elusive manner of talking, he does not mention race as the issue in the following story. However, as we were talking about apartheid and the shifting mentalities between his and older generations, it becomes clear that the story has a racial undertone. Odingo recalls being really surprised by how

submissively his father acted towards his white employer at the company. He describes his initial perception of the interaction between the two grown men:

> "I didn't see it equal (…) it was skewed. I didn't know what was happening (…) I was observing it and thought 'hey', I thought, 'something is a bit off, I am not sure what it is'. I thought my dad was putting himself down. Personally, I didn't think he needed to. Cause it was two people working together in a sense (…). The relationship was not balanced."

As Odingo explains in this quote, he did not feel that the interaction between his black father and his white employer was equal. While he does not mention race here, his discomfort with the story in light of our conversations makes me certain that Odingo observed his father acting inferior towards his employer because this man is white. He continues to explain how he confronts his father who does not want to talk about the incident. Odingo's overall reactions suggest that he did not feel inferior himself and did not see the need for his father to act this way either. Interestingly, while Odingo acknowledged racial segregation in his life (he lived in a village with blacks only, while "white people lived in towns"), he struggled to comply with supremacist ideas that consider white people superior to blacks. In line with Hartigan (2000), Odingo's resistance towards the position of internalized inferiority shows his unwillingness to succumb to racist judgments. Against Biko's claims, neither Alex nor Odingo claimed to feel 'lesser' than their white Other. This can be seen as a consequence of the era during which the participants grew up. While the blacks that Biko appeals to in the 1970's are those who have internalized their ascribed position of subordination following centuries of domination, my participants can be seen as members of the black male avant-garde. Significantly, while many of the white participants felt superior, none of the black participants felt inferior. This is interesting, because many black adults that feature in these stories, such as Ben's black workers, or Odingo's black father, show signs of an internalized inferiority. It appears, therefore, that the black participants don't view themselves (or their race) within the apartheid doxa of racial inferiority as their elders did. Their divergent thinking towards their own race corresponds to Hartigan's evaluation of moments of resistance in white people's narratives. Following this, people's hesitation to conform to a discourse "challenges the claims to validity of ideas and ideologies" (Hartigan 2000, 389).

On the one hand, the struggles that both black and white participants had expose the doxa as an ambiguous construct (Hall 1986). This is especially true in cases such as Alex's when individuals are put in circumstances in which the normative patterns of conduct are ruptured. On the other hand however, these moments of struggle were not enough for the participants to challenge the racialized doxa altogether. Most of them continued to live within the confines of the racialized society or were left alone with their rejection of white supremacist ideas. In the next part of this paper, I return to this issue within the framework of a shifting commonsense of South African society.

THE SHIFTING OF COMMONSENSE

> "This is one of those moments in a historical process where change is so far-reaching, but also so accelerated, that one may catch the process of social construction "in the act", as South Africans shape narratives of social identity that will provide bearing in previously uncharted waters" (Steyn 2001, xxii)

Steyn's quote is a reference to the abolition of apartheid. As she indicates, the changes that took place in this period were swift and steady at the same time, making it possible to watch the process of social construction as it happened. Whether South Africans embraced the changes that came about, or feared the uncertain future that lay ahead, apartheid structures were disrupted (Seidman 1999). The Bill of Rights radically improved the political freedoms, employment and educational opportunities that Black South African youth can expect to enjoy (Norris et al. 2008). Visible changes in South African schooling, public facilities and other aspects of the racialized societies took place (Worden 2000). In this way, the crisis, which Bourdieu considers as necessary in order to make the doxa explicit, is represented in political transition in South Africa. In line with Throop and Murphy (2002), the South African doxa was only foregrounded through the introduction of a divergent discourse – the new constitution – in 1994. The space that emerged in the wake of apartheid mirrors what Turner describes as liminality: "the moment when the past has lost grip and the future has not yet taken definite shape" (Turner 1992, 133). Caught up in this moment of uncertainty, participants' lives lost their taken-for-grantedness. Most white participants started to see the inequalities on which their privileges were based and reacted with remorse. In turn, most black participants developed positive ways of dealing with ongoing racism and increasingly detached from essentialist notions of blackness.

Whites and remorse

> "At some point, everyone realized what was really going on, how messed up it really was."-Lizzy, white

Several authors have documented the sentiments of remorse that white South Africans have felt in the wake of apartheid (Steyn 2001; Walker 2005; Vice 2010; Kossew 2003). In her work on white people in the new South Africa, Vice (2010, p. 323) asks "how can white people be and live well in such a land with such a legacy (…) in which the self is saturated by histories of oppression?" Before being able to take any appropriate action, Vice argues, whites must become aware of the position of privileges that they occupy. In line with these findings, the space of liminality evoked guilt and shame in the white participants, as they came to learn about the magnitude of crimes committed under apartheid. Some participants were especially disenchanted by their whiteness when they realized that they or their families had participated in the wrongs of apartheid. In this manner, the space of limbo was characterized by an exposure of the instabilities that formed their white identities (Turner 1969).

Lizzy, the young white woman who had grown up on a lodge with coloured friends, was faced with white guilt as she became increasingly aware of the direness of apartheid throughout her university education. While she was studying sociology in Grahamstown in the early-2000's she started to read about the levels of disadvantage that black people in South Africa experienced. Even though she was aware of differences between white and black people ("white people have more money and have black people cleaning their houses and that's a bit weird but it's the way it is"), she had no idea about the nature of these disparities. As she began to travel and see "kids with flies in their faces starving to death on the street", or learn about how South African police moved hundreds of blacks out of their homes, "like cattle", she began to feel guilt. The feeling, which Lizzy describes as "being privileged by chance", reached a peak when her childhood friend, who is coloured, died in her mid-twenties from heart failure. Lizzy is adamant that if she, a white woman, had been the one with the medical condition, she would have received an earlier diagnosis and better treatment. She explains:

> "And I suddenly thought 'fuck, if that was me with a hole in my heart I would probably still be alive'. (…) You start feeling how unfair everything is. You just happen to be born into a family and that's what you get given. And your friend who you grew up with happens to be born in to another family."

The notion she refers to here is white privilege. This denotes the idea that white people gain advantages by virtue of being constructed as whites (Sullivan 2006). Moreover, the privileges are accrued even when subjects do not recognize that their life is made easier for them (Vice 2010; Sullivan 2006). The benefits of whiteness, which consist in the occupation of "a

location of social and economic structural privilege," are significantly based on a historical legacy of inequality and exploitation (Vice 2010, 6; Alcoff 1998). The immediate response that Lizzy has to the realization of her white privilege is white guilt.

Following Vice (2010), guilt is a feeling directed outwards in response to harm that one has brought about. Lizzy feels that her well-being was secured unfairly by the colour of her skin, which is emphasized by the understanding that her coloured friend was deprived of certain benefits. In recognition of the privileges she has because of being white, Lizzy feels somehow accountable for the injustices committed by whites in South Africa.

In contrast to guilt, shame is directed toward the self in response to what one is. One feels shame as a response to having fallen below one's own standards (Vice 2010). Ben, the white male who played paying his black childhood friends because he thought he "owned them" found his white identity being challenged through the sensation of shame. It was only at the age of 21, when Ben went to work in London, that he made friends with a black man for the first time. It was then that he came to question his stereotypes and condemnation of non-whites. He came to question the values that he grew up with. Ben recalls the pivotal moment when his stereotype of black people was challenged.

This happened while he was working in a biology lab with a Nigerian who was as qualified as he. What shocked Ben was that for the first time in his life, he could speak to a black person who understood him "the same way as a white person and vice versa". Startled by the ease with which he got along with his black colleague, Ben was brushed with a sense of unease, which can be interpreted as shame: "Then I realized, wow there is something different here… something's not right here, I'm not used to [this]." This notion of shame is confirmed in the feeling of discomfort that Ben felt when he returned to his home in the Free State and consciously took in racist remarks of members of his home community for the first time. As he explains: "If I hear someone say or tell a racist joke I feel uncomfortable and want to say 'wake up, you're not superior!' ".

In her article on everyday shame, Probyn (2004) explains that shame has the ability to disrupt routinized actions and therefore makes it possible to evoke everyday ethics (ibid. 334). In the past, Ben had no reason to sense shame, because his accepted views conformed to the racialized doxa. His stereotypes were confirmed through the selective evidence within the limits of what he describes as a racist home environment. It was only when his accepted beliefs were constructively challenged that he felt shame. In accordance with Probyn (2004), this somatic reaction has the ability to challenge how he perceives his everyday. Ben now begins to question his racist upbringing. As he explains, "in the beginning there was a lot of arguments, fights (…) I was trying to say, 'just wake up!'" As with Vice's (2010) definition, Ben's shame responds to something that he is. He does not feel guilt, but rather feels ashamed for having held views, which once exposed, turn out to fall below his own standards.

Blacks and new identities

In Frantz Fanon's controversial work The Wretched of the Earth, 1961, the author proposes a sort of manifesto of violent uprising for colonized people. Similar to the situation under apartheid, Fanon's explains that the colonized world is characterized by physical and psychological segregation between oppressors and oppressed. The manner in which the colonizer treats the native is characterized by such dire violence that this aggression accumulates in the colonized people over time. In this way, violence becomes both the legitimate but also necessary means through which the native can achieve freedom and gain (back) a sense of worth: "The colonized man finds his freedom in and through violence" (Fanon 1961, 68).

Contrary to this compelling argument, however, my participants who belonged to the colonized race showed neither resentment nor signs of vengeance, let alone violence. Looking at the wake of apartheid in terms of liminality helps to make sense of this lack of resentment. It becomes apparent that in occupying a space in which the past is gone and the future has yet to be shaped, black participants are detached from essentialist notions of race and increasingly shape new identities. Far from being resentful, some of them have a dual vision, which enables them to live on in a country that is still imbued with racism.

The lack of resentment becomes especially salient when I ask my participants whether they have ever been subject to racism:

> "I guess one incident was four years ago in the Eastern Cape when someone decided to kick myself and my brother out of a bar he didn't even own - he was just a bar

> goer like us! I felt sad for him that his world view was so limited."- Odingo, black

Odingo, the young man who grew up in a small black village in Limpopo, clearly felt discriminated against in this incident. However, he does not show anger or resent for the racist attitudes of this man, but rather pities him. By showing some sympathy for his offender, Odingo reveals "double consciousness" (Du Bois ([1903] 2003). The American sociologist W.E.B Du Bois (1903) developed the notion of double consciousness to explain the dual vision developed by African Americans in the wake of slavery in the Unites States. Du Bois ([1903] 2003, 8) explains this feeling as a "sense of always looking at one self through the eyes of others". In a similar vein, Odingo has become adept at reading the racist behaviour directed at him in light of the discriminatory framework of apartheid, which he sees as limited.

Similarly, Kotlano, who grew up in an abandoned township house in Durban, also portrayed this dual vision. He reported to have been subject to racism regularly, without developing hatred towards whites. On one such occasion Kotlano was kneeling over an injured drunk white student in order to help him treat a wound. Seeing this, the student's father immediately responded aggressively, accusing Kotlano of robbing his son: "The father was saying that I am robbing him. He thinks I am robbing him, because I am black." Even when the son told his father that Kotlano was only helping, he continued to push Kotlano away. While Kotlano felt particular anger towards this man, it did not lead him to general despise towards whites. Quite to the contrary, he does not buy in to racist stereotypes but rather adopts a cautious attitude towards this:

> "When one black guy robs people, there is a saying that 'black people rob' and when one white person shoots someone, you say 'all white people shoot people'. But it's just one bad apple. So I am fine with white people."

Despite having been wrongly accused of theft out of racist motivation, Kotlano does not develop counter-racism towards his offender. Although he grew up in difficult conditions during apartheid (he was left to survive on his own from childhood onwards), he does not feel resentful towards white people in general. His composed reaction to racism can be explained by Fassin's (2013) account of resentment as the reaction to injustice, which maintains that people become resentful, angry or bitter, in a response to what they experienced or imagined as injustice (Fassin 2013, 249). Notably however, the level of resentment on the side of the victim depends on the extent to which the individual was subject to violence and humiliation of domination. Leaning on the reactions of black 'victims' in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission , Fassin notes that the difference felt by individuals in the hearings was based on the sort of everyday experiences of apartheid in which they were embedded (2013).

This resonates with Kotlano's account of his everyday life during apartheid. To recall, Kotlano perceived racial segregation as normal during his childhood and saw white privilege over black Africans as natural. Kotlano did not feel that he suffered any injuries under apartheid that would suffice to hold an entire race accountable for this. The moments of injustice that are evoked through racism may be harmful; however, as Fassin (2013) explains, they merely evoke resentment at the acting person and not at a larger project. Similarly, Kotlano notes that his offender was just 'a bad apple'. His anger was directed at this man only and not the larger white race.

A further explanation for this apparent lack of resentment can be found in the position that this generation occupies. Bhabha (1994) coins the term 'Third Space', adapting Turner's liminality to the postcolonial setting. He does this based on his claim that liminality is a mutable form of meaning-making that derives from the postcolonial condition (Bhabha 1994). The Third Space is therefore "the moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion" (Bhabha 1994, 7). Bhabha (1994) celebrates the notion of "hybridity", or the mingling of cultural signs between colonizing and colonized cultures, for its ability to go beyond the view that identities are essential. As Vayendar (2009) points out, the concept of hybridity is useful because it rejects the idea that colonized people are monolithic or have essential, unchanging features. Far from being weighed down by an essentialist obligation to avenge the black population, both Odingo and Kotlano can be seen as in the process of constructing new identities. Having been born under apartheid, but experiencing their adulthood in the post-apartheid era, they find themselves in the Third Space. Moreover, this position evokes in them a new African identity, which, being detached from essentialist 'blackness',

accounts for the lack of bond with the victims of apartheid.

Bhabha's (1994) claim that racial and cultural purity do not exist is best exemplified by Alex's narrative. The manner in which Alex views himself is characteristic of the new fluidity of black identity. To recall, at the age of 10 Alex moved to the MMabatho, the capital of the homeland Bophuthatswana. Like many South Africans who grew up in pre-dominantly black surroundings, he was not witness to everyday racism towards blacks (Worden 2000). As Alex describes himself, he does not feel like he grew up in apartheid because homelands were autonomous regions in which "there was no apartheid". After apartheid was abolished he moved to Cape Town where he was faced with racially segregated South African society. When I asked him whether he has ever been discriminated against, his lengthy response illustrated the fluidity of his identity and his ability to relate to people of different backgrounds. In this narrative, he explains the subtle racist ways in which white people react to his presence and how he in turn responds:

> "I felt a lot of it [racism] in Stellenbosch because people here don't have a lot of exposure to black people. When they see black people, they look at them as if, you know, they're helpless kids… like they can't offer something to this conversation. But the more I start talking to people and the more the human interaction happens, because I am able to bring it, the more it falls away. (…) I kind of stand out as an individual.
>
> So, yeah, I felt discriminated against all the time. But I don't have the same reaction to it as other people do, who grew up in apartheid. Let's put it this way, if I was fat and I was teased all the time because I was fat, it would be different than if I grew up skinny and became fat and was teased. So if I was teased as an adult, I would laugh off. You see I didn't grow up in apartheid, so I think the discrimination I feel is different. I was able to rise above it."

Here, Alex gives voice to multiple things. For one, Alex describes what Du Bois ([1903] 2003) has conceptualized as 'double-consciousness'. Indeed, he recognizes that racism must feel "different" for him than other people who have been subject to it their whole lives. Having grown up in a homeland in which "apartheid did not exist", Alex does not remember being subject to racism as a child. In this way, when he experiences racism today, he does not take it personally. Therefore, while he states that he often feels discriminated against, he is able to situate his upbringing and that of others within the South African context.

Additionally, Alex's ability to adjust to different social situations is evidence of what Bhabha's theorizes as 'hybridity'. Bhabha argues that within the Third Space, we come to celebrate the articulation of difference. While the moment signifies uncertainty about the unknowable future, it more significantly creates "an expanded and ex-centric site of experience and empowerment" (Bhabha 2004, 24). In a similar manner, Alex celebrates his ability to contribute to conversations when people least expect it. He celebrates the fact that he stands out as an individual, thereby not affiliating with any specific group. In line with Bhabha's notion of hybridity, he feels that his unique experiences and position of understanding empower him in his interactions with other humans. In this way, he does not feel essentially linked to any culture or any race, but rather celebrates the fact that he is human.

CONCLUSION

I began my research curious to find out how it was to grow up during the transitional period in South Africa. I somewhat naively speculated that individuals would abhor the inequalities of their lives; I hypothesized about the revelations that people born during apartheid would have as the system was abolished. By listening to the narratives of seven unique individuals about their lived experiences in this time, I was astonished by the composed ways in which they talked about their upbringing. I quickly came to realize that far from being shocked or outraged about their racialized society, people talked about their lives as anybody else might anywhere else in the world: with a tone of acceptance that indicated the natural course of their lives. Throughout my analysis, it became clear that because the participants experienced their racialized society with such naturalness, only a systematic shift would disrupt their acceptance thus far. With the abolition of the legalized system of white supremacy, a space of uncertainty was born that helped foster such a shift.

Looking through Bourdieu's framework of the doxa was helpful in locating the naturalness of the participants' commonsense thinking in the dispositions of their everyday lives. It became apparent that both black and white participants were accepting towards segregation and saw white privilege as normal without bad intent. Some participants were so deeply entrenched in white supremacist thinking that they were convinced of their racial superiority, thereby living knowingly within the racialized paradigm. For most, however, the link between black disadvantage and white prosperity remained invisible.

Through a nuanced analysis of the participants' struggles with the hegemonic discourse, the multifaceted nature of their acceptance became more tangible. Most participants displayed moments of reflection or struggle regarding what was expected from them, which indicated that they did not fully agree with the supremacist expectations. The force of the hegemonic discourse was made especially salient through the childhood account of one white participant who grew up in a counter-discourse at home, but still felt the need to keep her white and non-white lives separate. In turn, the black participants' narratives showed that they were not willing to take on the roles of inferiority that were promoted through white supremacist ideology. Nonetheless, both white and black struggles showed that the South African society was far from being inherently divided along racial lines. Instead, the ability for people to act outside of the expected normative behaviours revealed the ambiguous nature of the societal norms. On the other hand, however, these moments of struggle were not enough for the participants to challenge the racialized doxa altogether. In this way the force of racial segregation and white supremacy were so strong, that they could not be overthrown by personal struggles.

Instead, a crisis was needed that created a space of uncertainty through which previously accepted norms could be challenged and new identities could be formed. Faced with their racial Other on an equalizing playing field, or coming to learn about the direness of apartheid, many white participants reacted with remorse in the wake of apartheid. For them, the space of uncertainty exposed the instable structures on their white identities. Contrastingly, the black participants did not show much attachment towards the past. The possibility for them to have similar education to whites and accrue better life opportunities than their parents accounted for their lack of resentment and dissociation from essentialist notions of blackness. Remarkably, most of them developed a sort of 'double-consciousness', which allowed them to understand discrimination against their race, without developing racial resentment. Despite being subject to racism in their adulthood, they moved away from essentialist association with a 'victim position' and rather formed new 'hybrid' identities.

The participants' compliance with racialization during apartheid as well as their struggle to resist the dominant discourse reveals the difficulty behind challenging taken-for granted ideologies in any society. The fact that their actions were filled with confusion and ambiguity is evidence of a personal resistance towards the constructed doxa. Moreover, it highlights the need for a nuanced approach towards subjects such as race and racism, as discriminatory behaviour does not necessarily result from racist conviction. Despite the little resistances, which the participants gave voice to, the force of the apartheid regime seemed to overshadow the possibility of change. It was therefore all the more crucial to have a liminal space in which personal positions of advantage or disadvantage could be considered and identities reflected on. In order for this space to form, however, it appears that a structural disruption – the political transformation of South Africa – was necessary.

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To the real Ben, Alfred, Odingo, Lizzy, James, Kotlano and Alex: thank you for your trust.

ENDNOTES

1. 1913 Land Act: Aimed at limiting the ability for natives, i.e. black South Africans to acquire land. Following this Act the black population, which made up 75% of the entire population at this time, could only acquire 13% of the entire land (Seidman, 1999, p. 422)

2. Homeland was a territory set aside for black inhabitants of South Africa and West Africa (now Namibia) as part of the policy of apartheid. Ten Bantustans were established in South Africa for the purpose of concentrating ethnic groups members (Beinart, 1994)

3. Orange Free State was part of the Boer Republic, a federation composed of several Afrikaans, Dutch speaking, self-governed states. Most of these states were established after Britain took over colonial power in 1835. The republic resulted out of the Great Trek during which hundreds of Dutch descendants trekked across the country in order to escape British administrative control (Seidman, 1999; Worden, 2000).

4. Taxis in South Africa are a means of collective transportation primarily used by non-white South African's.

5. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission was set up by the Government of National Unity to help deal with what happened under apartheid. The Register of Reconciliation gave members of the public a chance to express their regret at failing to prevent human rights violations and to demonstrate their commitment to reconciliation (Truth and Reconciliation Commission Website, 2014).

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Constructing Home and Community in Halifax Housing Cooperatives

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ABSTRACT

The subject of housing is a complex and multifaceted one in contemporary Canadian society, and urban areas in particular. Cooperative housing addresses a multitude of housing-related issues and provides an alternative model of affordable and sustainable housing solutions for a diverse cross-section of citizens. Housing cooperatives (co-ops) are a specific response to a variety of urban housing issues, from planning and sustainability, to housing scarcity and affordability. They also address fundamental social issues, from social isolation and marginalization to community building and creation of identity. This paper uses an ethnographic approach to explore how the structure of housing cooperatives and their ideals of cooperation and community translate meaningfully into a sense of place and identity for their members. It looks at how the social production of space relates to the social construction of space within cooperatives, how cooperatives address issues of affordable housing, and how co-ops deal with social distance and community building within urban environments. The findings of this research demonstrate the dynamic ways in which housing cooperatives meet the social and economic needs of diverse individuals within an urban social and economic landscape, establishing sense of home and community for their members, and offering an affordable and sustainable model of housing.

INTRODUCTION- INVESTIGATING THE VALUE OF COOPERATIVE HOUSING

> "We behave as we are housed" – Alexander Laidlaw, in Housing You Can Afford

The subject of housing encompasses both social and economic concerns, and involves individual and societal needs, institutional structure and policies, and dynamics of power and inequality. Housing cooperatives are socially relevant because housing is a complex issue faced by contemporary societies, and urban areas in particular. Cooperative housing makes an intriguing focus of research because it addresses a multitude of housing-related issues and provides an alternative model of affordable and sustainable housing solutions for a diverse cross-section of citizens. The collective and self-sustained approach of cooperative housing holds the potential for empowerment of its members and for the creation of community within urban environments. Because cooperative housing provides shelter for many citizens of Halifax, we sought to gain insight into the structure of the cooperatives and operation by their members, as well as what sorts of value and meaning members derive from living in the cooperative. In doing so, we hoped to answer the question: How do the social production and social construction of space create a sense of place and community for co-op members?

Cooperative housing is a scientifically relevant topic to explore because it encompasses numerous social and structural factors that are specific to cities. Co-ops are a specific response to a variety of urban housing issues, from planning and sustainability, to housing scarcity and affordability. They also address fundamental social issues, from social isolation and marginalization to community building and creation of identity. In order to better frame our research, we set out to investigate the literature and previous research on the topic of cooperative housing, as well as to identify and define the key concepts and principles that we were working with, and the issues that relate to housing and urban living in a more general sense. We wanted to look at how the social production of space relates to the social construction of space within cooperatives, how cooperatives address issues of affordable housing, and how co-ops deal with social distance and community building within urban environments.

HISTORY OF HOUSING COOPERATIVES IN HALIFAX

The Cooperative Housing Federation of Nova Scotia was founded in 1981 as an umbrella organization overseeing housing co-ops across the province (Housing Cooperatives 1985, 1). The collective mission was to provide co-op members with secure, affordable, and decent housing (Housing Cooperatives 1985, 3). Cooperative housing emerged in Halifax as a response to a housing crisis. Indeed, a 1981 census indicated that on the Halifax peninsula alone, at least 26% of households were spending over 30% of their income on shelter (Housing Cooperatives 1985, p. 8). Moderately priced housing was fast disappearing due to gentrification and condo-conversions, and only 11% of renters in Halifax could afford to purchase a house. As well, with a vacancy rate of only 4%, it was not unusual for renters to see rent increases of 50% or more (Housing Cooperatives 1985, 18). Gentrification affects the North End in particular, meaning that processes of "urban renewal" have led to residents in a once primarily working class and Black neighborhood to be pushed out as middle-class people move in and rents increase (Baker 2014, 8). Initially, there were approximately 35 housing co-ops operating in Halifax, with 587 units providing homes for low-to-moderate income families. Currently, there are 48 co-ops in operation in the city, with 1165 units between them.

SOCIAL PRODUCTION AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF SPACE

In order to better appreciate what housing means to people, it is useful to understand how space is both socially produced and constructed. As defined by Setha Low (1996), the social production of space deals with the material structures and processes that produce space, whether the physical buildings themselves or the economic or planning policies that form them (861). The social construction of space refers to the ways in which people transform space and render it meaningful through their symbolic experiences and their use and perception of the space (Low 1996, 862). With this understanding, we demonstrate how the structure of housing cooperatives contributes to the value of members' experiences of living in a co-op. Low (1996) also refers to Foucault's examination of space as a form of social control, and Bourdieu's theories of how social structures are reproduced through the lived experiences of space (862-863). In this context, we can reflect on how cooperatives may constitute resistance to

dominant power structures through the claiming or reclaiming of space, thereby constructing a particularly significant sense of meaning and identity for cooperative members.

AFFORDABLE HOUSING AND CAPITALIST MARKETS

Low's article addresses the ways in which claims to urban space are contested through various social and economic processes. Cooper and Rodman (1992) articulate this idea in an urban housing context through their discussion of exchange values and use values, which often play out in a conflict between market agents and residents seeking a quality of life (7). They argue that the commodification of housing and urban space has resulted in policies and decisions about urban land use that place an emphasis on exchange values, rather than on use values, which include such things as shelter, privacy, identity, and community (Cooper & Rodman 1992, 7). Laidlaw (1977) asserts that private landownership and profiteering from land has meant that housing is controlled by producers such as developers and their allies, leaving the citizen consumer with little say or control (23). The capitalist ideology within North American society promotes personal autonomy, including independent homeownership, but economic power structures and increasing urbanization mean that this is not attainable for a growing majority of people. Additionally, housing shortages, race and class prejudice, and gentrification contribute to considerable gaps in the rental market and, as Laidlaw (1977) argues, "whatever form housing may take, there is a large and growing proportion of Canadians who are left without when the market economy is allowed to function as it will" (202).

Laidlaw (1977), in his study of Canadian housing cooperatives, argues that cooperatives address the inadequacies of the market housing system by providing a non-equity model of housing wherein people are able to utilize their collective power to address their own housing needs (21). While cooperative housing still entails private ownership, the advantage of this type of housing lies not in its resale value, but in its continued use by members (Laidlaw 1977, 105) and thus it is not subject to the inflationary forces of the equity housing market. Because housing cooperatives operate on a break-even basis, charging only as much rent as is necessary for the maintenance and operation of their buildings, they essentially act as an informal system of rent control. In this way, they are able to provide stable, affordable housing for their residents, with a minimum of bureaucratic oversight (Laidlaw 1977, 121).

SOCIAL DISTANCE AND COMMUNITY-BUILDING IN URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

As demonstrated in the previous section, institutional control of housing by markets and governments and the forces of urbanization, such as gentrification, can contribute to the marginalization of many city-dwellers. The discussion of exchange vs. use values also highlights how the functional and affective aspects of housing are often inextricably linked (Cooper & Rodman 1992, 7). The issue of how emotional needs are met by housing takes on increasing significance in light of Fran Tonkiss's (2005) work, which discusses how urbanism tends to produce a fragmentation of traditional social relations and support networks (13-14). Tonkiss examines how urban sociality moves away from the Gemeinschaft model based on mutual ties of interdependence toward the Gesellschaft model of more formal, impersonal interactions and increasing social distance (12). While pointing to the alienating factors of urban life, at the same time, Tonkiss emphasizes that the social and spatial isolation of urban environments have the potential to draw people together in the formation of new types of solidarity and community (14) and says that community can be viewed as being both defensive and assertive (16). In this way housing cooperatives can be seen as defensive in the practical sense of protecting their members against housing scarcity and economic disadvantage, as well as well as being an assertive gesture in the affective sense of providing support and identity for their members.

As Tonkiss states, "community can provide a vehicle for mobilization, opposition, for a positioning and a claim to voice" and housing cooperatives can certainly be understood in this context (25). Equally, Rae Bridgman's (2006) work with homeless people in Toronto explores how disenfranchised and marginalized individuals can achieve empowerment and build community when given the opportunity to act on their own behalf (188). Laidlaw (1977) explains that the foundational structure of co-ops, which is based on collective ownership and democratic control (48), can foster the creation of community and provide the means for members to address both group and individual needs beyond those of basic shelter (89). Cooper and Rodman's (1992) work elaborates on this by describing how co-ops enable members to

control use values by taking the management of housing in their own hands, empowering citizens who have previously had the circumstances of their housing controlled by others (10), which allows them to meet a diversity of housing needs and improve their quality of life (269). Cooper and Rodman assert that housing cooperatives are not just buildings, but small societies with the goal of community at their heart (79). This again relates to Tonkiss' (2005, 12) discussion of Gemeinschaft and urban community, as co-op members can be understood to be part of an informal social economy of mutual reliance and must therefore navigate the tensions between individual and collective life. In this way, a housing co-op can be seen as a small but complex social world, or as Laidlaw (1997, 185) describes it, "a village within a city".

WHAT IS COMMUNITY?

In light of this discussion of creating community, it is important to attempt to define what community actually means. As Laidlaw (1977) discusses, traditional ideas of community deal with the relationship of individuals to a larger group living within close proximity, the ways in which bonds are produced through social and cultural activities, and how formal ties of interdependence create a more rational order of life (184-185). More recently, Tonkiss (2005) identifies three types of community that often overlap, each of which can be related to cooperative housing: the community of locality, which applies based on the fact that all the members are living in spatial proximity to each other; the social model of community, which applies because they are not only living as neighbors but also operating within the institutional framework of the cooperative; and the affective community, which applies because cooperative living can contribute to a shared identity and set of values for many of its members, who also belong to a broader network of cooperatives operating both within the city and nationally (15). As Tonkiss notes, the social and spatial aspects of community are often merged, in what she calls "the process of making and holding space" in response to social distance (17). However, in their role as little urban villages, housing cooperatives manage to avoid the spatial segregation and 'ghettoization' that often characterizes public housing projects and leads to the exacerbation of social problems. Housing cooperatives tend to be small in scale, geographically dispersed throughout city neighborhoods, and rather than resulting in a closing off and separation from the broader society, they can actually work to articulate a removal of boundaries.

Cooper and Rodman (1992, 89-90) explore the concept of community within a housing co-op through three definitions framed by the co-op members themselves, which intersect with yet are distinct from Tonkiss's three models of community. The first is the traditional view, in which ties are based on shared values and interests, and mutual concern and interaction. The second is the organizational form, wherein the structure and shared sense of responsibility within the co-op encourages social bonds and brings about change in individuals (Cooper & Rodman 1992, 91-92). The third is what they term the "new age" view, which emphasizes communication, commitment to relationships and sharing of conditions, and requires the overcoming of differences and the transcendence of structure and self (93-94). While each of these understandings of community relations within co-ops entails a different approach, Cooper and Rodman's examination highlights the importance each definition places on democratic and humanistic values and the willingness of individuals to participate in the processes of the co-op (86-87). In this way, we can see how members' experiences of community within housing co-ops are influenced by the values they hold and their personal roles within the co-op structure.

METHODS

Objectives

We proposed to look at how cooperatives operate and how social relationships are negotiated within the cooperative. Our intention was to see how cooperative members evaluate the experience of living in a co-op, both on an interpersonal and intrapersonal level. We sought to understand the role of individual members within the co-op, how the co-op is set up and managed by its members, and how social dynamics play out within them. In addition, we also looked at the learning process and skills gained through co-op living, as well as how relationships and processes within the co-op were tied to certain ideologies and identities for members. In doing so, we hoped to determine how the structure and operation of the co-op builds and reinforces relationships and meanings and create a sense of place for its members. We anticipated that despite occasional conflict between members, overall the cooperative serves each member

better than individual housing. Furthermore, we expected to find that cooperative housing provides members with a sense of community, belonging, and support that may be unavailable in an otherwise potentially isolating urban community, and creates both physical and social proximity.

Setting out

Our initial steps into understanding housing cooperatives were to conduct reviews of relevant social sciences literature on the subject of cooperative housing. In particular, we looked at the history of cooperative housing in Canada and specifically in Halifax, as well as examining contemporary ethnographies of specific housing cooperatives. We also looked at quantitative data concerning income and poverty levels, and rental and housing markets within the Halifax Peninsula, in order to gain some contextual reference for understanding the existing social conditions and issues related to housing in the Halifax area. To answer our research question and to get a scope of how members feel about their own personal experiences of the cooperatives we used several ethnographic methods, namely, in-depth semi-structured interviews, observation of participants' living environments, and construction of housing timelines for each participant. Our interview questions aimed to probe how people felt living in the cooperative, so most of them focused on the interviewees' relationships with other members and what they got out of the cooperative living experience in general. We also collected information such as previous living situations (and how they compare with cooperative housing), how the cooperatives are run and their personal role within the cooperative. At

Name	Time in co-op	Cohabitation	Role in co-op	Is co-op a long-term solution	Previous housing
Jordan	2.5 years	2 roommates, 1 is co-op member	Former chair of maintenance committee	Yes, probably	Renting: roommates/ alone Built house with partner
Lizette	9-10 years	Used to have roommates but alone now	Former chair of board	Unsure Maybe buy a house?	Renting: roommates/ alone
Morgan	13 years	Her son, age 6	Former president Has been on every committee	Yes "I'll die in this building"	Renting: roommates/ partner
Carly	3 months	Lives with partner	On maintenance committee	Yes, until I can own	Renting: roommates/ partner
Paige	1.5 years	Alone	VP On maintenance committee	Yes, until I can own	Renting: roommates/ alone
Julika	11 months	Her son, age 4	Treasurer On executive and finance committees	Yes, until I can own	Renting: roommates/ alone Living with family

Table 1: Research participants and key themes

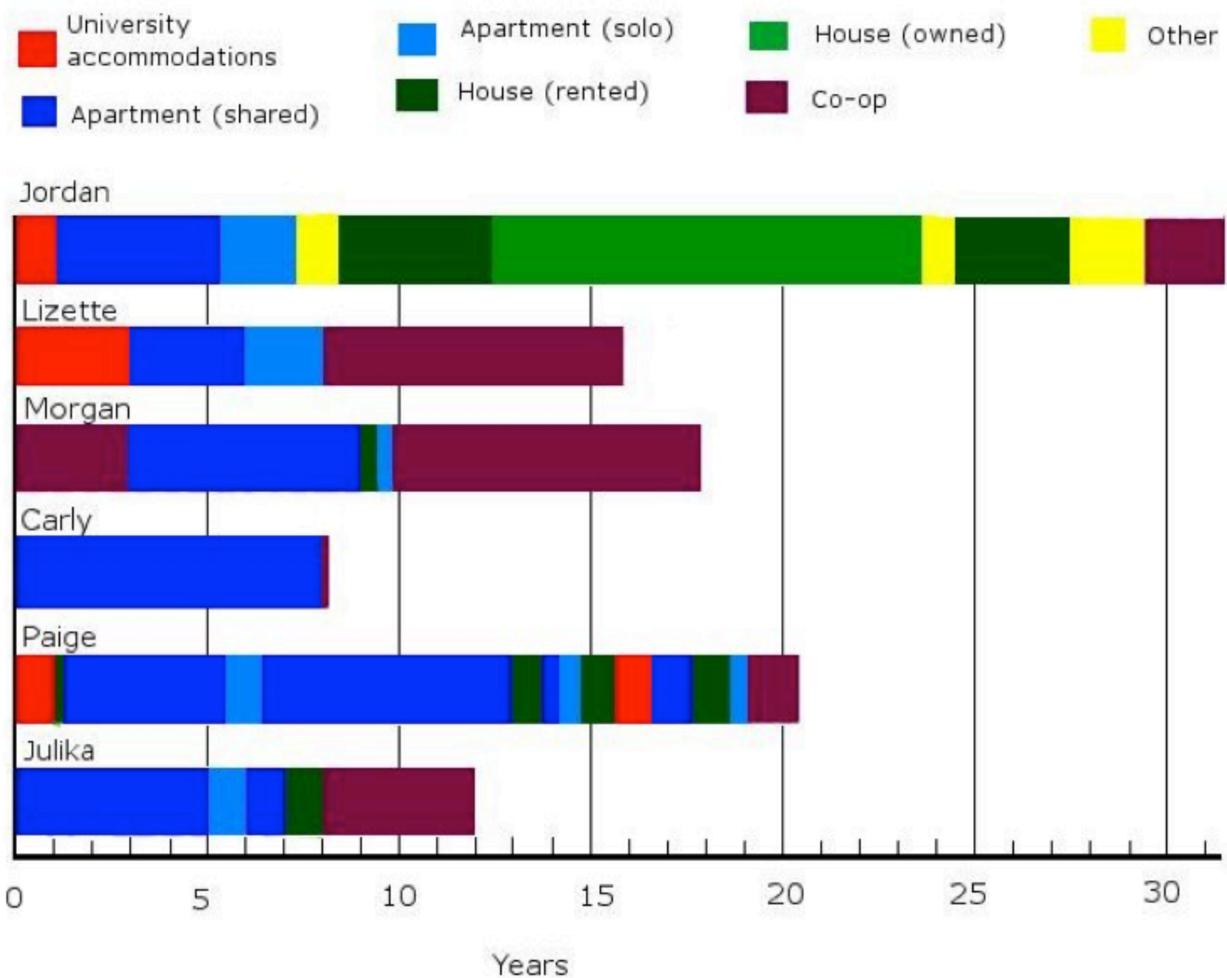

Figure 1: Timeline of Previous Housing

the end of each interview we drew up a timeline of participants' housing history. These housing timelines provided us with some good background information, made it easier to compare participants' histories and also brought their personal experiences into focus.

To find research participants, we decided to start with existing connections in the hopes of following the network in a sort of snowball effect. Shannon contacted a friend she knew to be living in a co-op who put us in touch with people living in her own co-op and others. In the end, we got interviews from three different cooperatives: Halifax Women's Housing Cooperative (three interviews), Longhouse Housing (two interviews), and Green Stem Housing Cooperative (one interview). We obtained this last contact coincidentally: Shannon was searching for a place

to live and an acquaintance who was looking for a roommate contacted her. It turned out that the acquaintance was living in a co-op so we used the opportunity to get another interview. Five of our interviewees are female and one is male; all of them are single; two of them have children. All of their housing co-ops are located in the North End, a working-class Halifax neighborhood that is struggling with increasing forces of gentrification that have made it ever more difficult to find affordable housing.

Research ethics

Throughout the interview process, we kept ethical considerations in mind. We made sure that we answered any questions our interviewees had about why we were asking them these questions and tried to clarify what it was we were setting out to do. We asked all of our interviewees to sign a consent form and asked them whether they preferred to remain anonymous. Although most of them seemed okay with having their names used, one of the interviewees expressed an interest in remaining anonymous. For this reason, and because using real names seemed unnecessary, we have given all of our interviewees pseudonyms, which we use throughout the rest of the paper.

Analysis

After we conducted each interview, we listened to the audio recordings, wrote down the most important parts and plotted them on a table of participants, paying close attention to the emerging patterns (see Table 1). We also transcribed quotes from the interviews that stood out. We took the timelines and used a graphic design tool to put all of the timelines together to compare their housing experiences, again paying close attention to patterns that were emerging (Figure 1). Finally, we looked at how the information that we had gathered fit in with social science concepts we have covered and compared with some of the outside resources we looked at.

FINDINGS

How the Cooperatives Function

There are three different committees within each cooperative (Figure 2): a finance committee, a maintenance committee and a membership committee. Members take on all of the executive roles, which include a president, vice president, secretary and treasurer. There is one meeting a month that all the members attend, as well as meetings once a month for the other committees. There are various levels of commitment from members as well as various levels of organization within different co-ops.

Empowerment

Cooperative living provides members with a feeling of empowerment. An important aspect of cooperative living is that, as all members are required to take some responsibility for running the cooperative, it creates a feeling of egalitarianism where all members are generally given the same amount of power. Even though some members may take on more 'important' roles at one time, all members are offered the opportunity to take on these leadership roles. Members often change roles and have the opportunity to explore new ones until they find one that suits them and provides them with a sense of personal authority. In Jordan's case, he went through a couple of roles before he found that maintenance suited him quite well and gave him the feeling that he was really contributing.

Cooperatives enable members to feel empowered within a capitalist housing market that is typically disempowering for many low-to-middle income people. The egalitarian structure of the co-op allows members to reclaim a sense of control over the circumstances of their housing. As Jordan says,

> "When you're with a landlord, it's just a throw of the dice. Sure you can get a great landlord but you can get an asshole too. And if it's an asshole, they just automatically have more power than you. So if it's an asshole that's a problem. There can be an asshole in a co-op too, but they're an asshole that has the same amount of power as you."

This quote emphasizes the importance of cooperatives in creating an atmosphere where, while dealing with adversity, a resolution must be reached in the most equitable manner possible. No one person's wishes or opinions are considered more important than another's.

Through the cooperatives, women are empowered to take on non-traditional roles. Morgan says she's learned "a ton" about maintenance issues, as well as business management skills, through dealing with the many facets of running a co-op. Furthermore, all members are offered the opportunity to express their opinions and have their voices heard.

Cooperation and Conflict

As comes with the territory of working with others, conflict inevitably arises within the cooperatives. There are many individuals trying simultaneously to meet their own interests, while remaining productive and doing what is right and needed within

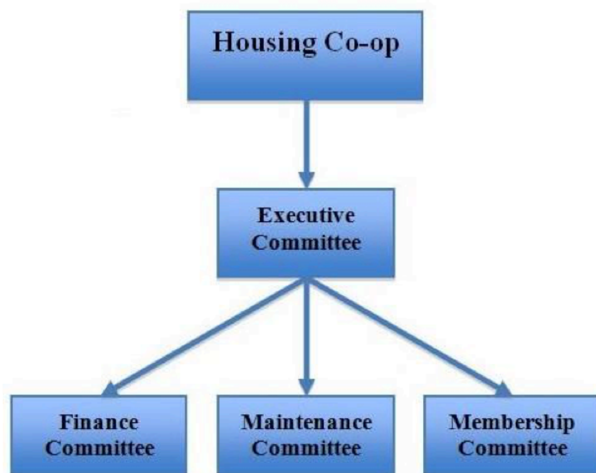

Figure 2: Organizational Structure of Housing Co-ops

the cooperative. Quite often this results in a conflict of interest between members that needs to be resolved. Moreover, productivity and group cohesion can be easily diminished by even one negative attitude. We had at least two interviewees express frustration at individual members of their cooperatives who did not work in the interest of the communities, leading to meetings that were prolonged and filled with negative energy. "It's been difficult and intense," Jordan told us. "The learning curve is huge…I feel like a lot of people go into co-ops for the low rent, and I think that's a really lousy reason to go into a co-op."

However, from this type of conflict arises an opportunity for growth which can be either embraced or ignored. Morgan emphasized the importance of resolution, stating that if conflicts were unresolved conflict would linger, creating an unpleasant atmosphere, but if resolved they could lead to group cohesion and could actually bring the members closer to each other. Lizette brought up an important point of cooperatives, which is that, unlike many other types of urban neighbors, co-op members interact on a daily basis whether they want to or not, which increases the importance of cooperation and mutuality. We noted that many of the co-ops have both shared common hallways and outdoor green space, and members frequently see and acknowledge each other, if only in passing, within these shared spaces. Morgan said, "I enjoy that I have frequent social interactions with people. My door is open, people walk in the hallways…just your typical neighbourly can-I-have-a-cup-of-sugar sort of thing down to our roof is falling off."

Skill-Building

Skill-building was an important factor of cooperative living for the members that we interviewed. Living and working with people is a skill that many found they improved upon while living in the cooperatives. Because members see each other on a regular basis, it is very important for them to maintain positive or at least friendly relationships with their neighbors, and to work through any conflict that might arise between them. By facing conflict, cooperative members learn about the dos and don'ts of group living and how to be productive while overcoming disagreements and strife.

Our interviewees found that membership through committees helped them to develop a skill set that they wouldn't have otherwise. One interviewee stated that the Cooperatives Housing Federation runs conferences that offer workshops such as 'How to Chair a Board Meeting' so that members gain the skills they need to run the cooperative effectively, and that the cooperative sponsors members to attend these conferences. Lizette further (indirectly) articulates the importance of taking on new roles in the co-op and of members challenging themselves. She states:

> "I think it's a really good learning opportunity for people…learning about everything from maintaining a home to working on a committee or working with other people…so I think it's good for confidence. Over time learning 'oh, I can manage this, I can handle this, I can even chair a meeting…I can help run something".

This demonstrates the benefits that can be gained from living and working within a cooperative, especially for those who commit themselves to keep it running. Carly highlights another important aspect of cooperative living: preparing for potential homeownership and property management in the future. Carly was drawn to the cooperative because "I'd feel more like a grown-up if I was living in a co-op and it'd be a nice intermediary stage between renting and owning," and that she would "learn things that people who have homes learn". Overall, there are many skills that can be learned through participation in cooperative living, which can be applied to this particular housing situation or to life in general, and can be utilized in the future.

Sense of Place, Pride and Ownership

Members put down roots inside the cooperatives. Our interviewees felt a strong sense of belonging in the co-ops and saw them as an integral part of their identity. This is likely heavily influenced by and related to the fact that they put a lot of time and effort into its maintenance. Many of the units we visited had a DIY aesthetic, and members noted things in their apartments that they had repaired or improved themselves, indicating a sense of place and pride in their self-determined living space. Often salvaged materials were used for low cost improvements, giving each unit a distinctive look, and the creative choices of each resident also gave each unit a vibe that was warm and personal. Lizette told us, “You do get to make choices about your unit. I get to paint it whenever I want, whatever color I want”. When we were conducting our fieldwork, Paige pointed out the paint color she had chosen when she moved in, and Jordan showed us around and explained the various minor renovations he had made in his unit to better suit his lifestyle, such as built-in storage for his tools and other creative supplies. Co-op members we spoke to seemed to particularly appreciate being able to feel personally invested in their space, as well as feeling empowered to make necessary repairs and renovations.

Particularly fascinating is the way in which cooperatives in Canada started off as subsidized housing, but members began to see themselves as “autonomous self-help communities democratically controlled by members and concerned for the welfare of others” (Cole, 2008, p. 3). Members invest themselves in many aspects of the cooperatives: the physical space, the people and the ideal – which in turn results in a strong sense of attachment. Jordan said, “I want to put hours in doing stuff that otherwise we wouldn’t be able to do.” Bridgman (2006, 29) states that, “place-making is less a blueprint then a process in need of continued renewal”, and we can see the constant renewal of the place-making process in the members’ continued personal investment in both the space and the community within.

Relationships and Support

Housing cooperatives offer members the opportunity to build relationships among themselves as well as form a network of support. For the most part, our interviewees had very positive responses when asked about their relationships with other co-op members, claiming them to be significantly stronger than those found in a typical renting situation. A couple of our interviewees added that relationships were better among those who play an active part in running the cooperatives. The fact that members work together on a regular basis both provides the incentive to build social ties and facilitates their daily interaction. Furthermore, meetings can be seen not only as a necessity in running the cooperative but also as a social activity that brings members together and provides the opportunity to catch up or get to know their neighbors.

Significantly, all of our interviewees asserted that they would be comfortable reaching out to the other co-op members in times of need. Although the question was met with various levels of enthusiasm, some emphasizing that they would not necessarily be the first ones they would go to, all of their answers were affirmative, which makes a clear distinction from other sorts of housing situations. There were also members who spoke of mutual initiatives or favors that happened in the cooperatives. Carly told us “There’s a grapevine that one person planted and that other people make grape jelly out of and then other people make wine.” Morgan expressed her appreciation for her neighbors who would take her child out for play-dates on occasion. This is an important example of the way in which the individual and group needs beyond shelter are met, initiated by other members. It is also an example of Gemeinschaft relations found within an urban environment. Interactions such as this go above and beyond the relations other housing situations normally provide, and are facilitated by the sense of mutual dependence and comradeship inside the cooperatives.

Participation and Commitment

Given the fact that cooperatives are sustained by their members, it is important to look at the participatory element of cooperative living. Overall, there are various levels of involvement from cooperative members. Naturally, those who responded to our call to answer questions about cooperative living were more enthusiastic members of the community. We were unable to make contact with non-participatory members who may be less motivated by the logistical elements of cooperatives and more motivated by low rent, which was made apparent in our results. All of our interviewees, holding the community and participatory elements dear to them, were naturally more inclined to talk to us. Consequently, our results are centered on an ideology of these elements rather than one of low rent. From the responses we got from members, we could ascertain that there

was a community amongst the more participatory members of the cooperatives, stemming from the fact that there is so much cooperation involved in running and maintaining the cooperatives. These findings fall into line with those of Cooper and Rodman (1992, 270) who indicate "the most satisfied members had…a high level of involvement, and sense they could make things happen in co-op". We found that participation and cooperation formed an important part of identity and resulted in an increased sense of belonging for these members.

Security of Tenure

A key element in cooperative living is security of tenure. Every single member we interviewed spoke of it as one of the main benefits of cooperative living. Unlike in rental situations, members are not subject to the tendency of landlords to boot them out or raise rents without warning, and they know that when they leave it will almost always be of their own free will. This is a comfort for members, and it allows them to establish roots. Three of our interviewees expressed their gratitude for being able to grow a garden that they would be able to care for year after year, and we noted large and well-established gardens in the backyards of all of the co-ops we visited. At the Women's Co-op, Morgan showed us around the large shared green space and pointed out a few of the many improvements she had made in her years living there, including some perennial shrubs, and raised garden beds for herbs and vegetables. It became clear that members were not afraid to invest their time and energy into the cooperatives because they knew it would not go to waste.

Compared to Other Housing Options…

Overall, our interviewees were satisfied with their experience of cooperative housing as compared with their other housing options, and there are many factors that played into this. Jordan cited moral and ethical ideals as an important factor in his decision to live in a cooperative. He found that of the three models – renting, owning and cooperative living – the latter was the lesser evil, as it were: "I feel strongly that the cooperative model is the least screwed up of the three models". Particularly in contrast to renting situations, there is no need to deal with neglectful landlords. Lizette, on the other hand, found that her neighbors in the cooperative are a lot more respectful than in her previous renting situation. This likely stems from the fact that, because of their daily interaction with each other, members of the cooperative are more aware of those around them. It also nicely coincides with sources we found on possible motivation to move into a cooperative housing, with Andrews and Breslauer (1976, 27) claiming that one of the most common sources of dissatisfaction with previous housing is "exterior noise transmission" (32.4%) and general dissatisfaction with their neighbors (28. 2%).

After collecting information on participants' previous housing situations, we analyzed the data on this graph to discern any patterns that might appear, forming a housing timeline for each interviewee (Figure 1). What we found was that very few of our interviewees have lived in single family houses. A couple people lived in shared, rented houses for short periods of time and Jordan lived in a house that he had built for a significant amount of time, but none have ever purchased a house. Furthermore, although a few have lived in their own rented apartments for short periods of time, none had any lengthy periods of living solo. All of our interviewees, however, have lived for a long time (although not always in the same apartment or with the same people) in shared apartments. We think this plays a part in people's ability to integrate into cooperative situations, after having the experience of living with other people and gaining some (though not all) of the skills necessary.

Summary

Overall, the information we gathered generally fell in line with our hypotheses, and aligned well with previous research done by others. Cooperatives provide a sense of belonging and security for the members, essentially providing them with a "home" rather than just a "house". Furthermore, members learn valuable skills by facing the challenges that come with this sort of living situation. The one truly surprising result was the fact that virtually none of the interviewees cited "low rent" as an important factor in choosing cooperative housing, and many explicitly stated that they did not think this alone was an adequate reason to move into a cooperative. Of the two who cited low rent as their original reason for moving into the cooperative, they soon found that it was no longer the main benefit and that there were many more aspects of the cooperatives that they loved. This coincides with Laidlaw's (1977, 270) assertion that while the economic rewards can certainly be attractive to some members, the non-economic factors often outweigh them in importance.

Although we feel that our research provided us with some valuable information, we did run into a few limitations. One was that, due to time restrictions, we were not able to conduct

as many interviews as we would have liked. Another was that, although we had originally planned to incorporate a considerable amount of participant observation into our research, we were unable to do this to the extent that we would have liked, again due to time restrictions. We conducted most of our interviews in members' homes and were able to make basic observations about their living spaces and some co-op member interactions, which contributed significant ethnographic insight. However, we did not get to do as much "hanging out" as we would have liked or sit in on meetings as we had planned. We also did not obtain interviews with less participative members of the cooperatives. Given the time we had and the amount of research we did, however, we are satisfied with our results.

CONCLUSION

We set out to understand how the structure of housing cooperatives and their ideals of cooperation and community translate meaningfully into a sense of place and identity for their members. We discovered that the structure of self-governance within co-ops creates a strong sense of empowerment, particularly for those who have previously experienced disempowerment in their life and housing circumstances. This sense of empowerment forms a strong sense of place and belonging for the members of the cooperative, fostering an important feeling of security and allowing for the building of relationships and community. It was also apparent that the democratic and egalitarian values found within co-ops make it possible for the expression and coexistence of differences. While it appeared inevitable that conflicts would arise between diverse personalities over the conception of differing needs and use values, these conflicts can be overcome through the ongoing commitment and participation of members. By building the skills and taking on the responsibility to meet their own housing needs, co-op members are able to not only build and sustain the long-term security of an affordable roof over their heads, but to create a vital quality of life and a sense of home, identity, and community within an urban environment.

In the co-op's expression of a democratically functioning, heterogeneous "village within a city," providing not just housing but community of various types and support for its residents, there appears to be enormous potential for addressing a variety of social concerns. In recognizing the economic instability and structural power inequalities in our contemporary society that lead to the marginalization of many groups and individuals, it becomes clear that values of collectivism and self-reliance in cooperatives create a powerful model for providing a means of both secure, affordable housing and community-building. The dynamic ways in which housing cooperatives meet the social and economic needs of diverse individuals are worthy of more thorough exploration than our research could encompass in the duration of this project. In the future, we would hope to undertake a more in-depth investigation of housing cooperatives, expanding our research to cover a broader range of co-ops and residents, in order to uncover a greater diversity of meaning and experience. For the moment, however, we feel that our research has at the very least revealed the significance of housing cooperatives within the urban social and economic landscape, and of their importance as both home and identity for their members.

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The Phenomenon of Naming: Maintaining and Defining Relationships

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ABSTRACT

This study of terms of address focuses on the use of naming in interpersonal conversation. Many individuals in the speech community of this American university in Spain use naming to refer to each other in interpersonal communication. Methods used to gather data on this practice were participant observation and informal interviews under the framework of ethnography of communication. It was found that participants used naming in order to get attention with emphasis, accentuate a joke, and bring the other interlocutor closer physically and relationally. These results imply that participants increase and maintain solidarity and intimacy relationally specifically through the use of naming.

Keywords: Terms of Address, Naming, Solidarity, Ethnography of Communication

What do you call someone when you are speaking to him or her? Do you use their name in conversation? People use names, often unconsciously, when interacting with others. This use is not necessary in its most literal sense, that is, as deictics that function to indicate who is being addressed. So, why do people name other people when it is not apparently necessary? Naming, as studied here, is defined as a term of address characterized by the use of the addressee's personal name. Naming is limited to personal names, not special nicknames or second-person pronouns. For example, take the use of a name in the middle of a conversation between participants A and B. After explaining a concept, A concludes, "So do you understand what I mean, B?" even though the duration of the conversation has been conducted exclusively between the two participants. Much research has been conducted in recent years on the meanings behind different terms of address, but in those cases, naming is usually grouped with "additional terms" while the main focus is placed on other specific terms of address. Naming is an integral speech act in interpersonal communication that is often overlooked by society and researchers because it is only thought about in terms of its literal function: to address someone. However, upon studying naming in a wider range of contexts, it becomes clear that it is a much more nuanced practice that goes beyond its literal function as a term of address, which calls for further exploration into its meanings and usages. This approach will grant us a vantage point to better understand identity and social relations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies of naming exclusively as a term of address are scarce. The majority of studies focus on second-person pronoun address terms such as informal versus formal address, and subsequent power dynamics and other social structural developments in various languages (Winchatz 2001, 339, 362). This study of power dynamics can be broken down into investigating the use of honorifics or titles to indicate status versus the use of nicknames or first names to indicate solidarity or lower status (Takiff et al. 2001, 134, Weizman 2008, 117).

Other studies look at address terms that are based on colloquialisms such as Kiesling's (2004, 281) study of the use of "dude" and Rendle-Short's (2009, 3) analysis of the Australian term "mate." Both studies focused on the social construction of gendered identity, especially masculinity, through such terms. Studies of the construction of femininity through terms of address are less common, however Villanueva's (1995, 10-15) research on gendered naming in Mexico reflects how femininity is constructed in that speech community through terms of address. Terms of address, specifically the adapted use of names, were also studied as derogatory labels or as face-threatening acts by Aghbari (2010, 345) in Omani Arabic, a practice exclusively used by the women in that society, and by Weizman (2008, 116) in her study of role relationships in news interviews.

Catrin Norrby and Jane Warren's (2012, 229) investigation of the term of address choice in French, German, and Swedish groups took a more social constructionist standpoint than other research. They asserted that terms of address function as indicators of social relationships and can be used to understand social structure and cultural values within specific speech communities. Their study took Brown and Gilman's (1960) model explaining second-person pronoun choice (referenced in Norrby and Warren 2012, 226), and asserted that cross-cultural languages and second-language learning processes are two key factors in address choice that need to be taken into consideration along with power and solidarity. In this study on naming, social motives other than ones centered on identity were uncovered, so Norrby and Warren's study, from a social constructionist standpoint, informs the analysis of this research nicely.

This body of research informed my current investigation, and it evidenced a thematic gap: the academic community hasn't studied naming exclusively, nor what it means, in detail yet. My

research intends to begin to fill said gap. Studying naming is critical because although it is useful to investigate identity construction, it also is capable of opening a window to richer understanding of social relationship structure as enacted through communication. The research questions that structured my investigation were: How is naming used to construct meaning? What is the meaning that is constructed through naming in interpersonal interactions?

METHODS

The principal method of data collection was ethnographic participant observation. I participated in interactions with other members of the speech community as a play participant, identified as an active participant in a speech community who also performs the function of an observer, and as a focused participant observer, which is distinguished as an individual who places importance on acting and thinking as an observer before participant. These roles are further outlined by Tracy (2013, 109-113). Both were taken on because in the first case, I was already an established member of the speech community and in order to gather data, I had to join in activities that allowed for naming to take place, but in the second case, I also always had an ear to the ground for instances of naming in interactions with friends and acquaintances and occasionally asked probing questions regarding name choice in the moment. In this way, I participated in normal activities pertaining to the speech community, and was able to record instances of naming that occurred within the everyday context.

Over the course of two and a half months, I observed five specific communication scenarios and I recorded several naming instances in each case. I also held three open-ended interviews, as described by Tracy (2013, 160-162), with members of different cultural backgrounds in order to obtain a better understanding of participants' meanings and interpretations of the phenomenon of naming. Throughout the process I obtained consent from the participants to be observed and quoted. The speech community consisted of college students from a variety of cultural backgrounds attending an American university in Spain and predominantly communicating with each other in English. I studied several distinct social groups within this broad community to uncover whether certain uses of naming were limited to specific individuals or circumstances. Since the speech community was limited to university students, communication scenarios took place on campus during free time or off campus at informal student gatherings, and therefore were between friends and classmates. The multilingual nature of the participants has to be taken into consideration when discussing the meanings of naming since different cultural backgrounds and practices inform choices of term of address.

ANALYTIC PROCEDURES

The analysis of the data is grounded in Hymes' (1964, 71) "SPEAKING" framework to describe and interpret the different communication situations and speech events in which the act of naming took place. This framework is a useful heuristic that Saville-Troike (2003, 110-24) identifies as consisting of the components of communication. These components are broken down into genre, topic, purpose, setting, key, participants, message form, message content, act sequence, rules for interaction, and the norms of interpretation (110-111). This model provided a starting point from which to focus on specific acts of naming and uncover the distinct meaning behind such acts. From here, an iterative analysis, as outlined by Tracy (2013, 184), allowed me to group my descriptive (or first-level) identifications and meanings into three key categories, or second-level meanings, and then to postulate an even more abstract concept that these categories could be part of.

FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

Through the data collection process, participants' meanings and uses of naming allowed me to understand how naming was involved in defining and reinforcing solidarity between speakers. The three major categorical meanings behind naming in interpersonal conversation within the university community were revealed to be: (1) getting another's attention in a dramatic way or with a specific purpose, (2) accentuating a joke, and (3) bringing speakers closer together.

Attention-getting

Regarding getting an individual's attention through naming, I looked beyond the obvious use of a name when calling to an individual, and moved towards use of names in circumstances where "getting attention" in the literal sense is not necessary. I noticed that naming was employed to reinforce a point or add emphasis or drama to the topic of conversation. Reinforcement

of a point includes reprimanding or informing, especially when subtlety is of key importance.

For example, when out with friends, an insulting comment about a neighboring group was made in French. The speaker said, "nous sommes un petit comité," (we are a small group) sarcastically referring to the unfriendly nature of the other individuals; they were not open to having a conversation with our group. When one of the members of our group (who does not speak French, participant L) pushed to understand what was being said and would not let it go, another group member, who picked up on what was going on, turned to her and said her name in a serious, reprimanding manner along with a wide-eyed, meaningful look. This short act helped L understand that she needed to let the comment go, and she did. In this case, it wasn't necessary to specifically get L's attention, but instead to subtly draw her attention to a social cue that was being missed and to increase shared understanding within the group.

The use of naming can also be found in instances that do not involve a reprimand but merely to serve to add a sense of drama to the interaction. This was seen most clearly during a dinner party I attended, consisting of six students from various cultural backgrounds. I helped serve the dinner by carving the chicken, and had some difficulties. I made a joke about giving one of the visitors an entire leg and thigh all together. While laughing, two of my friends tried to come to my rescue saying, "Claire, wait," and "Claire, let me help you." There was a sense of urgency in their tone, and they spoke rapidly, enhancing the drama of the moment, even though they weren't entirely serious. Participant C (one of the speakers) commented later that, "we use someone's name to get their attention, but then there's an exaggeration…". This indicates how getting someone's attention can go beyond the purely literal purpose and takes on a varied, and unique purpose, in this case, getting attention or increasing urgency, and adding drama which is then shared by the interlocutors.

Accentuating a Joke

Naming is also often used to accentuate a joke. In Trinidad, according to participant C (a native of that country) when interviewed, there is actually word for this practice, called pikong (or picong). It refers specifically to an exaggerated way of ridiculing someone in good fun, and always consists of the joke being preceded by the individual's name. This was seen often among various groups of college students and in many different social situations. One such interaction was observed between three students: an American male (J), one American female (P1) and one British female (P2).

P1, P2, and J were in front of the university chatting when I arrived. J was being asked for all the details from his weekend with his parents and was purposely taciturn and straightforward in his responses. The girls (P1, P2) began to jokingly accentuate the way they asked the questions by using a singsong tone of voice and repeatedly elongating J's name, taking turns asking him questions and teasing him.

P1: "Why don't you hang out with us, J? You should hang out with us more!"
J: "I don't know…?"
P2: [arm around J's shoulder] "It's because he's hanging out with his girlfriend!"
Me: "Oh, really?"
P1: [laughing] "No, no, but you do have a crush on someone, don't you J?"
J: [stepping back] "What? No!"
P2: [in mock serious tone] "There's no use denying it, J. We know aaaaall about it."
P1, P2: [laughter]

This interaction is typical between P1 and P2 with their friends. J, especially, is often the subject of much teasing, but it is known by all parties to be in good fun and not malicious in any way. P1 and P2 like him, and want to reinforce their closeness with him by joking with him about his life. P1 and P2 conveyed the joking nature of their questions by their sing-song tone and the repetitive format of each question, which included addressing J by his name in almost every speech act. There are other ways to convey joking, perhaps by laughing or addressing him in a more outrageous tone, but the purpose of this act was to increase closeness between the participants through teasing and the use of a more intimate term of address, and to make the closeness more natural by using his name to excess and incorporating it into the joke.

Teasing has been uncovered to be a discursive tool, which in its ambiguous nature allows for both humorous and non-humorous goals to be achieved. Dynell (2011) asserts that teasing is most often used in situations in order to mitigate "intentionally produced aggressive acts" (230), but it is also worth noting that this same ambiguous act can carry out a more connective func-

tion, modifying attempts at establishing greater relational intimacy between interlocutors as seen above through an ambiguity that creates a more casual context.

Bringing People Together

Lastly, naming was often found as a conversational tool to maintain a connection between two speakers or to bring two members of a conversation closer together. As participant H commented when interviewed, using names draws people in and brings people closer together, "it is acknowledging their person, their humanity, like their unique personhood." This act of 'bringing together' can be achieved especially by demonstration of solidarity and support through the use of naming.

Bringing people together was seen most often when individuals were sharing something or saving face. During the dinner party mentioned above, after the "chicken incident," participant R addressed me with the aim to reassure my pride that I was doing an adequate job serving dinner. She addressed me, saying, "Don't worry if the chicken is shredded, I'll eat it anyway. Claire, just blame it on the knife." The use of my name reflected a desire to reinforce the fact that by addressing me, she was supporting me and saving face, which established a greater connection between us in the ongoing conversation. Another incident occurred later when R received her plate of chicken and found a bone on the plate not connected to her meat. She was surprised and laughed about it, and H turned to her and held up her own bone, saying, "You and me, R." Here, H was reinforcing a connection to R within the conversational group by using her name to share the fact that they both had a useless bone on their plate and something to laugh about together.

These three meanings can be identified as interactional methods of establishing and maintaining relationships with others. The participants defined naming as something they used to delineate relationships in general terms, when their attention was brought to it. As stated by participant A, when discussing when and why she uses her sister's boyfriend's name frequently in conversation, "I use names more when I have a closer relationship with the person." The use of names reflects the status of the relationship between speaker and addressee. Depending on the circumstance, usage also increases solidarity and intimacy between speakers.

CONCLUSION

While many of the previous studies on terms of address focused on how address choice reflects and constructs identity, this study helped to uncover the relational and social constructive functions of naming in this particular speech community, following what was initiated by Norrby and Warren (2012, 29) regarding terms of address and social construction. Here it has been shown that naming functions to get attention in a dramatic way, to soften the blow or increase intimacy through a joke, or to bring people together, especially in terms of reassurance.

All three of the meanings uncovered connect to solidarity, support, and intimacy or closeness as key factors informing address term choice in the majority of naming instances in this speech community. This concept of solidarity is also analyzed in various other studies on naming. For example, Weizman (2008, 117) interpreted that in news interviews in Israel, first names were used to appeal to the positive face (or need to be liked) of the interlocutor, thereby increasing solidarity within the context of the speech event. Weizman also noticed that the use of names could go the other way, serving to present a challenge to the respondent. While my research did not focus names used specifi-

cally as a challenge, the use of names in attention-getting often served to mitigate or accentuate a reprimand (which functions as a kind of challenge to the face of the reprimanded party). Perhaps if the speech community were one that included a greater variety of speech events, especially ones that take place in "challenge environments" (Weizman 2008, 116) the use of names as threats or challenges would become apparent.

Through this study we see that naming serves to enforce a shared understanding of a communication situation, and this shared understanding then leads to solidarity between participants. This sense of connection and even intimacy carried through naming connects to its use in jokes as well, because by acknowledging a person directly by their name while teasing them makes the joke less "mean," it "softens the blow," or reassures the other person that what is being said really is a joke, increasing the closeness of the interlocutors. The act of naming also adds a greater feeling of support to an interaction, contributing to an increase in closeness between interlocutors due to the sympathetic nature of the speech act. All of these functions achieve an increase or maintenance of closeness and solidarity between the speaker and the "named" party within the context of the speech community.

Further research on different speech communities would be useful to establish cross-cultural contrasts and thus identify if there are any more universal aspects of this practice. There are other uses of naming that, although they did not appear in my data, could have appeared in different speech communities. As mentioned, the use of naming as a challenging or threatening act, which I did not observe during my research, might have occurred in a different context (perhaps a workplace) and perhaps related to Aghbari's (2010, 347) observation of the use of naming as an insult. Additionally, research in other contexts and with different theoretical approaches would be beneficial to better understand what naming means in interpersonal interactions and possibly uncover alternative answers to solidarity as a major impetus behind naming.

Through my research, I found that naming is often used as a practice that "unites" people in terms of solidarity or intimacy, but through informal observation and intuition, I believe that naming can also be used as "separating" communicative practice, by challenging or threatening others, and further research to better understand this would enrich the observations outlined here.

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