

A LITERARY EXPLORATION OF ETHNOCENTRIC SEGREGATION AND
DISCRIMINATION IN BESSIE HEAD'S *MARU* AND GASEBALWE SERETSE'S *THE
PURSUIT OF XHAI*

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ABSTRACT

This literary thesis explored ethnocentric segregation and discrimination in Bessie Head's *Maru* and Gasebalwe Seretse's *The Pursuit of Xhai*. The purpose of the study was to investigate the causes and effects of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination amongst ethnic groups as presented in the selected novels. The study was primarily a qualitative desktop research whereby two novels were purposefully selected and analysed. This analysis was informed by the integrated or intergroup threat theory. Integrated or intergroup threat theory posits that perceptions of threat are significant when considering prejudice and discrimination towards non-dominant groups. It focuses particularly on the conditions that led to perceptions of threat, which in turn have an impact on attitudes and behaviour. In addition, if individuals feel threatened during an intercultural interaction, including fear of being rejected, embarrassed, ridiculed or exploited by out-group members, unfavourable attitudes towards out-groups are likely to occur. The findings of this study revealed that the Masarwa people appear to be active in eradicating segregation and discrimination by keeping their cultural pride and applying their natural talent of communicating to Mother Earth in escaping danger. Although at some points they were victimised as a low filthy nation and untouchable to the locals, their natural beauty and intelligence brought a bond of a good and loving relationship with the superior ethnic groups. On the other hand, the non-Masarwa people who were against ethnic segregation and discrimination amongst ethnic groups managed to overcome all the challenges from their counterparts. They supported the Masarwa people and protected them warmly in every chaotic situation that occurred. This study recommends that further research should be done to analyse how the Namibian writers portrayed ethnocentric segregation and discrimination in literary genres and

further research should also be conducted in other genres of African literature to explore the theme of ethnocentric segregation in Africa.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to all Africans who are willing to fight against discrimination, prejudice and segregation amongst ethnic groups. I salute your effortless contribution in doing so.

DECLARATION

I, Hilde Shigwedha, hereby declare that this study is a true reflection of my own research, and that this work, or part thereof has not been submitted for a degree in any institution of higher education. No part of this thesis may be reproduced, stored in any retrieval system or transmitted in any form, or by means without the prior permission of the author, or The University of Namibia in that behalf.

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Hilde Shigwedha

Date

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the study by providing the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, significance of the study, limitations of the study, delimitations of the study, and an organisation of the study.

1.2 Background of the study

The segregation of people based on particular cultural or racial characteristics has been a feature of urban life since ancient times (Kaplan, 2004). Mhlahlo (2002) indicates that “physical geography, which studies colour, height and facial characteristics, is seen as having given rise to different human races and racial classifications, among them categories such as white (European or Caucasian) and black (Africans or Negroids)” (p. 4). In addition, Feldmeyer and Socio (2010) argue that racial or ethnic segregation has been shown to contribute to violence and harmful consequences for minority groups. Therefore, this study sought to explore the literary representation of ethnic segregation and discrimination among black African ethnic groups as presented in *Maru* (1971) by Bessie Head and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) by Gasebalwe Seretse.

Mhlahlo (2002) defines discrimination as “the unfavourable treatment of a specified person based on prejudice, especially as regard race, tribe, place of origin, sex and sexual preference” (p.4).

Segregation on the other hand according to Mahoney (1995), “is the product of notions of black inferiority and white superiority, manifested geographically through the exclusion of blacks from more privileged white neighbourhoods and the concentration of blacks into subordinated neighbourhoods stigmatised by both race and poverty” (p. 1659). The two selected novels provide a literary representation of the nature of ethnic segregation and discrimination against the Masarwa people who were kept as slaves and condemned to a marginalised life of outcasts within the society.

Research (Garcia, Lochner, Osypuk & Subramania, 2003; Kaplan, 2004; Mai, 2016) has shown that there is a paucity of studies on the issue of ethnic segregation and discrimination between black against black ethnic groups, especially in the field of literary studies in Southern Africa. In a research done by Garcia et al. (2003), it is indicated that segregation by race or ethnicity is stronger than segregation by income; which means that race and ethnicity sort individuals of comparable socioeconomic status into vastly different neighbourhood environments. Therefore, this study sought to explore ethnocentric segregation and discrimination amongst black ethnic groups, with a specific focus on the Masarwa people and Batswanas as presented in the selected novels, *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008). These two novels are both set in independent Botswana, thus the whole study is about the Masarwa people who lived in Botswana.

1.3 Statement of the problem

The problem investigated is with regard to the causes and effects of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination amongst ethnic groups as presented in the selected novels. Most studies (Garcia et al, 2003; Kaplan, 2004; Mai, 2016) attempted to understand racial discrimination that leads to segregation between people of different races. There is a widespread tendency of people favouring their own group over another group. Ogretir and Ozcelik (2008) indicate that the tendency of favouring one's own group denotes a cultural narrowness in which the "ethnically centred" individual rigidly accepts those of the in-group while rejecting those of the out-group. Furthermore, Bizumic (2015) explains that some theories have proposed that people are ethnocentric due to the fact that they prefer similarity. It has been argued that people may be ethnocentric due to socialisation in or conformity with ethnocentric social norms. Bizumic (2015) defines social norms as "customs, traditions, standards, rules, values, fashions, and all other criteria of conduct which are standardised as a consequence of the contact of individuals" (p. 3). Based on the discussion above, it can be understood that there is a paucity of studies on the issue of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination between black against black, which this study sought to address. Despite the findings in such studies, what is evidently clear is that artists, in particular novelists, have penned such concerns but literary criticism on such novels is demonstrably lacking, hence the need for the present study.

1.4 Objectives of the study

This study intended to:

- 1.4.1 explore the literary representations of the experiences that the Masarwa people encountered as presented in the selected novels;
- 1.4.2 examine how the Masarwa people deal with prejudice and discrimination by the “superior” group as presented in the selected novels; and
- 1.4.3 evaluate the challenges experienced by the Batswana or Tswana people towards eradicating ethnic segregation as depicted in the selected novels.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study aimed to explore the literary representation of ethnic segregation and discrimination as presented in the selected novels *Maru* and *The Pursuit of Xhai*. This exploration is likely to benefit those who appreciate literature and the eradication of ethnic segregation and discrimination, in particular. It might also benefit different ethnic groups globally to find ways to fight for the eradication of ethnic segregation and discrimination. Contextually, it is significant as one of the novels examined (*Maru*, 1971) here is a set book for 4th-year Overview of African Literature module at the University of Namibia. Therefore, this research will be of valuable use to the students doing that module. In addition, this study may elucidate the undesirability of the fragmentation on the ethnic basis of one Namibia, one Nation, a slogan which seems not to be acceptable by many Namibians. Lastly, it may also lead to the decolonialism of cultural prejudices and fear amongst ethnic groups towards other people of the same nations, which causes hatred between ethnic groups.

1.6 Limitations of the study

The study focused only on the two novels, and is aimed at the exploration of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination as presented in *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008). Thus, the findings cannot be generalised to other novels and their characters which may be highlighting other themes. Furthermore, the study was bound theoretically through integrating intergroup threat theory which informed this study. More so, the research used materials that were only available to the researcher and the ones which were not accessible remain unconsidered.

1.7 Delimitations of the study

The study was delimited to the ethnocentric segregation and discrimination between the Masarwas and the superior ethnic groups as represented in *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) only. The two selected novels presented other themes of concern, but the researcher strictly limited this study to ethnocentric segregation and discrimination, therefore, any other themes portrayed in the two novels were not considered as relevant for this study. The findings and conclusions of this study were based on the literary representation of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination specifically in *Maru* (1971) and in *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008), and might not necessarily be universal to other literary texts of similar thematic concerns. In addition, the two writers Head (1971) and Seretse (2008) have written many works, however, this study was only limited to the two chosen texts, *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008), because amongst other written works by the two authors, the two selected novels are the only

ones that portrayed the themes of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination which this study aimed to explore.

1.8 Organisation of the study

This study is organised in the following manner: Chapter 1 introduces the study and comprises background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, significance of the study, limitations of the study, and delimitations of the study. The second chapter presents the literature review and the theoretical framework employed to inform and direct the study. Chapter 3 introduces and explains the methodological issues and presents the research design for the study. It comprises the research design, population, sample, procedure, data analysis, and research ethics. Chapter 4 presents and discusses the data, and the last chapter (chapter 5) presents the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

1.9 Definitions of terms

In a study such as this that explores ethnocentric segregation and discrimination in literary texts such as novels, it is crucial to highlight some of the most prominent terms in order to facilitate an understanding by the reader as to how the discussion develops. The following terms are defined hereunder: discrimination, segregation, ethnocentric, Masarwa, Batswana (Tswana), tribe.

1.9.1 **Discrimination** – it is an unfair treatment of a person or group on the basis of prejudice.

1.9.2 **Segregation** – the action or state of setting someone or something apart from others.

- 1.9.3 **Ethnocentric** – evaluating other cultures according to preconceptions originating in the standards and customs of one’s own culture.
- 1.9.4 **Masarwa** – a derogatory name for a member of the San people living mainly in the northern Kalahari Desert.
- 1.9.5 **Batswana (Tswana)** - a member of a southern African people living mainly in Botswana, South Africa, and neighbouring areas. Tswana is also the language of the Tswana, one of the official languages of South Africa.
- 1.9.6 **Tribe** – a social division in a traditional society consisting of families or communities linked by social, economic, religious, or blood ties, with a common culture and dialect, typically having a recognised leader.

1.10 Chapter summary

This chapter presented the aspects and elements that explained what the study entails. In this chapter, the background information, as well as the description of what triggered the study, are explained. This chapter also presented the objectives of the study and significance of the study as well as limitations and delimitations of the study, and a brief focus into the study’s organisation was highlighted, and lastly, this chapter presented the definitions of the keywords used throughout this study. The following chapter discusses the presentation of the related literature done by other researchers and clarify the literature’s relevance to this study. This chapter also presents the theoretical framework that informed and guided this study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a broad knowledge of literature that is produced on the topic being researched, as well as the theoretical framework that the researcher employed in this study. The aim is to look at how other researchers have found out on the topic of this study and identify clearly the gap between the various researches done and this study. The literature review for this study is divided into the following subtopics: racial segregation (apartheid), sexual and gender segregation, colonialism, ethnocentrism and ethnic segregation, xenophobia and 'afrophobia', critical reviews of the selected novels, biographies of the authors, and the settings of the two selected novels. The chapter also explores the integrated and intergroup threat theory which helps the readers to have a broader understanding of the topic under study.

2.2 Literature review

Several studies on segregation and discrimination have been carried out around the world. Several scholars and linguists such as Beinart and Dubow (1995), Carignan, Sanders, and Pourdavood, (2005), Garcia et al. (2003); Kaplan (2004), Mai (2016), Thomas, Moye, Henderson and Horton (2017) hold various views and opinions regarding segregation and discrimination and their effects in societies.

However, most studies conducted (Beinart & Dubow, 1995; Carignan et al. 2005; Garcia et al. 2003; Kaplan, 2004; Mai, 2016; Thomas et al. 2017) have attempted to understand racial discrimination that leads to segregation between people of different races. Moreover, it seems that in Namibia there has not been much done on ethnocentric segregation and discrimination, therefore, most literature that is reviewed for this study are of authors and researchers from other countries; and they are mostly on racial segregation (apartheid), colonialism, etcetera. This scenario, therefore, makes this study crucial, worthwhile and necessary, since it becomes part of literature that can be used by other scholars who intend to carry out literary studies on ethnocentric segregation and discrimination in Namibia.

The following section first explains racial segregation (apartheid) in Southern Africa, followed by sexual and gender discrimination, colonialism, xenophobia or afrophobia, ethnocentrism or ethnocentric segregation and tribalism, critical reviews of the novels, biographies of the authors, and finally, the setting of the novels.

2.2.1 Racial segregation (apartheid)

In order to understand the issue of racial segregation in Southern Africa, it is essential to consider the literature that is already in existence. Generally, in Africa, people are characterised by their race, culture, and class. These are some of the characteristics that make people to feel or realise that they are naturally different, and this makes them to discriminate or hurt each other as well. Racism refers to practices and processes of exclusion which on one hand does not have sufficient separation sharpness, and on the other hand makes the determination of deterministic

relationships more difficult (Rodat, 2017). Carignan et al. (2005) state that some mechanisms of biological racism or essentialist racism deny or prevent all human beings the possibility of sharing the same humanity.

Cosmides, Tobby and Kurzban (2003) believe that race-based inferences and stereotypes are easy to activate and inactivate, given an appropriate context. Cosmides et al. (2003) add that “the race of an individual must be noticed and remembered before a racial stereotype can be activated or racially motivated behaviour can occur; thus, race exists in the minds of human beings” (p. 173). Therefore, as a result, this leads to stigmatisation or a symbolic exclusion that allows a group of people to consider itself as superior by looking down on another group and setting up negative or bad stereotypes. Thus, racism is not only a network of attitudes, beliefs, and convictions; “it also refers to behaviours, practices, and actions” (Carignan et al. 2005, p. 3).

Furthermore, apartheid is the name coined in the early twentieth century in South Africa for the set of government policies and social practices which sought to regulate the relationship between white and black, coloniser and colonised (Beinart & Dubow, 1995). During this era, people were treated according to their races (being black or white) and class. The whites were regarded as more superior than blacks, and they (whites) were given many benefits compared to blacks. Beinart and Dubow (1995) support the view that the intricate nature of paternalism has also been explored in the context of domestic service where, typically, black women have raised the children of white employers while remaining separated from their own families in segregated locations or the distant countryside.

In addition, it was again during the apartheid era that the Bantustans (Black Homelands) were created in South Africa. This is one of the steps of separate movements that were created aiming to separate people according to race. It is explained that “one important step in any attempted separation of the races was the enforced removal of people of different races who had lived closely together” (A UNESCO report on apartheid, 1967, p. 8). Similarly, Michael (2015) affirms that “racism occurs in a wide variety of social situations, including on buses, in schools, takeaways, taxis, state offices and neighbourhoods, and at all times of day” (p. 7). During the apartheid era, children for the white people attended schools for whites only and were given quality education. Whereas, black children had to be taught at schools for blacks only, where they were being taught in Afrikaans, which is not their mother tongue and received poor quality education.

With the link to the present study, the issue of quality or better education being denied to the black children discussed above is comparable to the denial of access to education of the Masarwa people presented in the selected novels. Even though the Masarwas and Tswanas are both blacks, the Masarwa are always regarded as inferior to other black ethnic groups, thus, they were not even allowed to attend any school, except for Margaret Cadmore whose namesake (Margaret Cadmore, the Missionary woman, in *Maru*, 1971) found it fit and right to send her to school; as discussed in Chapter 4 of this study. Therefore, some of such inhumane treatments amongst black ethnic groups are the reason this study was conducted.

Several ways of provocation were done to intimidate inferior groups and to put them to shame. According to Michael (2015), in Ireland, recent incidents including references to Ebola were used against black Europeans as well as African nationals; and spitting was frequently used as a means of communicating disgust towards people of African descent. Thomas et al. (2017) conducted a research assessing the extent to which the great recession affected housing values for African Americans and whites relative to the joint effects of race, class, and residential segregation. The research has shown that:

There is considerable evidence that several factors contribute to racial differences in value of homes: the values of homes owned by whites appreciate more rapidly than those of African-Americans, resale values of homes are greater for whites than for African-Americans, and white typically receive more favourable terms in home mortgage lending than do Africa-Americans (p. 60).

This shows that there is inconsistency in issuing valuable housing allowance between whites and African-Americans. There is an imbalance in houses values given to whites and African-Americans, and this is caused by racism. Even though research has shown such type of segregation between whites and African-Americans, there is still a need for further research on segregation between black ethnic groups in Southern Africa, hence, the purpose of this study.

Garcia et al. (2003) emphasise that “segregation has been a key factor in creating substantial inequalities in opportunity across space and across individuals along racial and ethnic lines” (p. 219). Additionally, African-Americans have been stopped from wealth building through the

housing market due to institutionalised discrimination in loaning practices and restrictive bond (covenants) that blocked the purchase of homes in white neighbourhoods (Thomas et al. 2017). However, even though socioeconomic factors such as income, education, and occupational attainment are believed to be the important determinants of housing quality, Thomas et al. (2017) explain that it did not work out for the African-Americans compared to whites; they (African-Americans) have continued to be disadvantaged in both socioeconomic status and ownership of highly valued housing. Similarly, Margaret Cadmore (the orphan, in *Maru*, 1971) is a teacher by profession but this did not change her from being called a Masarwa (or a Bushy teacher). Her education status did not bring about any change or respect to her as an individual as well as to her tribe in general.

In the United States, racism has always been associated with the access and accumulation of wealth. Martin and Varner (n.d.) concur with Thomas et al. (2017) that people of colour continue to face discrimination in the sale and rental of housing units and receive unequal treatment at virtually every stage of the home buying or rental process including where and how housing units are advertised and where real estate agents are willing to show prospective buyers or renters housing units. Further, Martin and Varner (n.d.) stress that “residential segregation is no accident but is one of a host of expected outcomes of a racially stratified social system that was in place concurrent with the founding of the ‘democracy’ of the United States” (p. 1).

Martin and Varner (n.d.) add on “numerous tangible consequences are associated with the forced separation of Blacks and Whites by place, including assaults on Blacks and Brown bodies,

segregated community spaces, and disparate educational offerings for children” (p. 1). This is comparable to how the Masarwas’ homesteads (in the novel *Maru*, 1971) were set on fire by the Mongwato women as a revenge of shame that Xhai brought to them after he slept with Tshepo, the daughter of the royal family. As explored in Chapter 4 section 4.1.3, the Masarwa were severely assaulted especially Mma Xhanadu, who later went to seek for accommodation at Sebeso’s house, and this brought anger in some Mongwato, specifically Morwadi, who came to ask Mma Sebeso to chase Mma Xhanadu away.

The ongoing issue of race among various communities leads to the maintenance of discrimination and segregation in societies. O’Regan, Ellen and De la Roca (2013) believe that racial differences in preferences for racial composition surely play some role in sustaining segregation. Likewise, Ellen (2000) argues that much of current white-black segregation is caused by the ongoing refusal of whites to move into integrated and largely-black neighbourhoods, due to race-based stereotypes they hold about the quality of life in these communities. As explored in chapter 4 section 4.5.1, when Margaret (in *Maru*, 1971) started working as a teacher at Dilepe, many people questioned her about her tribe because her colour totally confused them. When they heard that she is a Masarwa, the principal wanted her expelled from his staff, fortunately, totem or race was not a part of the admission requirements. From that time onwards many challenges came her way and they were all about her tribe and being a teacher. Xhai (in *The Pursuit of Xhai*, 2008) on the hand was denied to fall in love with Tshepo because he is a Masarwa. Masarwas were never allowed to mix with other tribes because they were regarded as animals and they mostly worked as mere servants of the royal families.;

Therefore, this indicates that the issue of segregation does not only exist among people of different races but also within those of the same colour, which this study sought to address.

2.2.2 Sexual or gender segregation

From the foregoing discussion, it is obvious that in many societies there is unfair treatment between men and women; males and females. Men or males are more valued compared to women or females, and women are regarded as inferior to men. For example, Sebeso (in *The Pursuit of Xhai*, 2008) is the most feared and respected man in Mongwato, not because he is a royal man, but because of his gender. Many people including the Masarwas were free to approach Mma Sebeso compared to her husband. This shows that men are most respected and hard to approach, compared to women, even in cases when people needed help, they conveyed the message to the wife to pass it to her husband.

In working places, leadership positions are occupied mostly by men, and to give a practical example, the majority of national leaders are males. Blau, Brummund and Liu (2012) conducted a research on occupational segregation by sex. Blau et al. (2012) indicate that the tendency of men and women to work in different occupations has been widely found to be a source of gender differences in wages. In both selected novels, *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008), people who are heading organisations are males. In *Maru* (1971), the school principal of Dilepe school is a male, Mr Pete; the inspector of education is also male as well as the Chief Maru (the novel namesake) is a male counterpart. In the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008), the Mongwato

people are under the leadership of Sebeso (a man) and his leadership committee consists of males only.

Blau et al. (2012) add that occupational segregation by sex was substantial and relatively stable throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Australian Human Rights Commission (2017) concurs with Blau et al. (2012) by stating that “women remain under-represented in traditionally male-dominated industries, such as science, technology, engineering and maths (STEM), as well as mining and construction” (p. 4). Additionally, employees in the male-dominated industries or companies and occupations earn more than those who work in female-dominated occupations such as education and training, administrative support, health care and social assistance (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2017).

In contrast, men are also under-represented in female-dominated industries; “other than in senior management and leadership positions and rarely responsible for unpaid and primary caring roles” (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2017, p. 4). Masarwas servants specifically Xhanadu, even though he is a man, he was hardly paid by Sebeso for looking after his cattle at his cattle post. Sometimes he was given old clothes that never protected him from the cold weather. This indicates that men can also be disrespected and discriminated at workplaces by people of their own ethnic groups or colour, and not only by people of different races. Such abuse leads to sequestration amongst ethnic groups, which this study sought to explore.

Moreover, many small to medium-size enterprises or businesses are part of industries dominated by women as workers; these include retail, hospitality, cleaning, home child and elder care, where many roles “are casual, rosters uncertain, payment cash in hand, and no human resources support” (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2017, p. 4). For instance, Mma Xhanadu was a servant who worked in the field of the royal family. Her payment was not money but she only relied on what the generous Mma Sebeso offered her. When she gave birth to Xhai she was given some baby clothes by Mma Sebeso to clothe him. She was lucky compared to her husband who never received anything from his boss, apart from punishment when he had lost cattle. In reality, any job is usually done in exchange for money on a monthly basis and not cheating others. There was no fair treatment at work for the Xhanadu family due to inferiority and discrimination by their fellow blacks.

In Australia, gender segregation is important and operates at three levels: industry, occupation and role; and statistics has clearly demonstrated that women are mostly employed in lower-paying and insecure jobs, whereas men mostly work full-time and in the highest-paid industries or companies (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2017). In addition, women also experience revenge for asking about employment condition, for instance, questions about pay and conditions, made them to be perceived as too assertive or threatening mostly in a male-dominated workplace (Sex Discrimination Commission, 2012, as cited in Australian Human Rights Commission, 2017). In the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008), Mma Xhanadu was denied maternity leave by Sebeso simply because she is a woman and a Masarwa. Her pregnancy conditions were not really recognised and taken into consideration by her employer, which shows remorseless and disdain.

Reisel, Hegna and Imdorf (2015) conducted a research on gender segregation in vocational education; and distinguished between two types of gender segregation in labour market, namely: vertical gender segregation and horizontal gender segregation.

Vertical gender segregation refers to the differential position of men and women in the hierarchy of educational or occupational prestige and status. It is traditionally associated with male dominance, meaning that men tend to occupy the lion's share of the most prestigious and lucrative positions in society. Horizontal gender segregation, on the other hand, is the differential distribution of men and women across educational programs and occupations, industries and sectors in the labour market. Horizontal gender segregation in education means that male and female students are unequally distributed across subjects, courses, tracks, study programs, types of schools and or degree programs (p. 3).

This means that there is a difference in educational and occupational positions between males and females. Males are mostly found on top of the ladder, leading with high positions; and this is what vertical gender segregation entails. On the other hand, males and females are not distributed equally in the study programs, schools or courses. For example, teaching and nursing professions are mostly pursued by females, while engineering and science by males.

Moreover, it is common that female typed occupations yield lower financial returns and fewer career opportunities compared to male typed occupations at the same level of education. This occurs when comparing female and male typed occupations that require vocational training certificates, such as nurses-aids and mechanics, and when comparing female and male typed

occupations that require bachelor's degrees such as nurses and engineers (Reisel et al. 2015). In relation to the novels under study, the Masarwa people worked as mere servants of the Batswanas, and their job is regarded as inferior to that of their superiors, even though they do difficult work than their superiors. Due to such corrupt performances towards the Masarwa people by their ethnic superior groups, it brought division amongst them which this study elucidated about. This slavery attitude is explored in length in chapter 4 section 4.4.4.

2.2.3 Colonialism

In order to understand the issues of ethnic segregation and discrimination in-depth, it is also crucial to consider looking into the concept of colonialism and how it can contribute to the causes and effects of discrimination and segregation in societies. Many countries in Africa have undergone the process of colonialism. During this era, many people have suffered a lot; they were injured, killed and some fled to other countries for protection or survival. Different countries were colonised for different reasons by different colonisers. Stam and Spence (2018) define colonialism as “a process by which the European powers (including the United States) reached a position of economic, military, political and cultural domination in much of Asia, Africa, and Latin America” (p. 3). Borocz and Sarkar (2012) define colonialism as a practice which “involves the domination of a society by settlers from a different society” (p. 1). With reference to the above definitions, it is clear that the victims of colonialism were assumed as weaker or powerless; thus, the colonisers took advantage of attacking them and take away their (colonised) resources.

According to Borocz and Sarkar (2012) colonialism brought about many destructions. Some of the destructions caused are such as:

The displacement or murder of significant portions of populations, the destruction of the technologies, circuits of trade and economic institutions of the indigenous societies, the forced importation of West European products, and the imposition of legal schemes alien to the existing legal practices of the colonised society, such as the enforcement of private property in land where communal access to land was the norm were disparate elements of colonial policy that worked together to weaken the economic, political, and social capacities of the study (p. 2).

This means that colonialism has destroyed many facilities. The colonisers brought up their own changes that weakened the procedures and governing rules of the oppressed. This led to the take-over of governing as well as properties by the colonisers in West European. In relation to the novel, the colonisation was done to the blacks by their fellow blacks of a different tribe. The Masarwas were colonised by the superior ethnic groups namely: Bakgalagadis and Batswanas, who are black like them. The Masarwas became the servants of the black ethnic groups. Therefore, there were no whites' involvement in the process, thus this study was conducted to explore how blacks were colonising each other.

Apart from the destructions of crucial resources in the colonised countries by the colonisers, it also involved the massive dislocation of human beings by force. Borocz and Sarkar (2012) reveal that this dislocation was achieved through physical, juridical, legal, or economic force in the

service of the capitalist production process. Similarly, Stam and Spence (2018) gave an example of Native Americans who were made to appear to be intruders on what was originally their land. People especially blacks, were kept as slaves and inferior. It is stated that “Hollywood films, in any case, show disproportionate interest in the animal, as opposed to the human life in Africa” (Stam & Spence, 2018, p. 7). The Masarwas were once the owner of the land, but when the Bakgalagadis and Batswanas defeated them, the Masarwas left to live in the Kalahari Desert and the Bakgalagadi and Batswana took over everything that was under the Masarwa’s control (Seretse, 2008). Since in the novels under study, there are no incidences of white people colonising the black people, like what the literature studied revealed, but only blacks against blacks, the researcher found it significant and informative to come up with this study.

Furthermore, colonial oppression compels man to adapt to the high culture and dominant identity within their racial boundaries (Das & Singh, 2013). This leads to language loss and identity since the colonised have to acquaint themselves to the new culture, and they will be forced as well to adapt to the foreign living style. The Masarwas, for example, were forced to live a lifestyle of slavery by the Batswanas. Of course, they were not pleased by the way the Batswanas were treating them, but due to the state of inferiority of their tribe, they had to adhere to anything directed to them. Therefore, such inhumane treatments between blacks and blacks enforced the researcher to conduct this study.

During the colonial era, women had undergone sexual exploitation by men from the colonising countries (Borocz & Sarkar, 2012). Borocz and Sarkar (2012) explain that most early Europeans

who arrived in the colonies were men, with specific fantasies about “native” women. There was no protection towards native women when the colonisers entered the colonies. Even native men were also exploited sexually. This exploitation according to Borocz and Sarkar (2012) actually involved the forced mating of enslaved men and women with the sole purpose of reproducing the labour force in a context in which marriage and family formation among the enslaved was forbidden. In addition, sexual exploitation of the enslaved by owners was also a widespread practice during that time. In the novel *Maru*, one wonders who really impregnated Margaret’s mother. Was it really her fellow Masarwa or Batswana men? It is a pity for a woman to give birth in the forest (bushy area) and no one could take care except for Margaret Cadmore, the missionary woman. This is explored in length in chapter 4, section 4.4.2.

2.2.4 Xenophobia - Afrophobia

The issues of xenophobia and afrophobia also lead to ethnocentrism among groups. Masenya (2017) defines xenophobia as “an intense or irrational dislike or fear of people from other countries” (p. 82). In addition, Masenya (2017) states that xenophobia is the fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers, and it is embodied in discriminatory attitudes and behaviour, and often culminates in violence, abuses of all types, and exhibitions of hatred. Fundamentally, xenophobia derives from the sense that non-citizens pose some sort of a threat to the recipients’ identity or their individual rights, and is also closely connected with the concept of nationalism (Masenya, 2017). In relation to the selected novels, in *Maru*, Margaret Cadmore junior was bullied at primary school by her fellow learners as well as at work as a teacher by her learners and some colleagues, simply because she is Masarwa, she does not fit to be amongst people of other tribes. Such hatred leads to discrimination and separation that this study entails exploring.

Furthermore, Long, Chiliza and Stein (2015) shed lights on afrophobia in South Africa that “the facts seem to indicate that South Africa is one of the most violent places on earth” (p. 510). The witnessing of violence against fellow Africans Long et al. (2015) term it Afrophobia instead of Xenophobia, because many factors have been put forward, ranging from the macrostructural and socioeconomic through to the micro-political and psychological issues. In addition, Long et al. (2015) reveal that anger seems to be a dominant public emotion among South Africans today because, instead of confronting the source of their anger, they are scapegoating those with little or no connection to that source. Similarly, in the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008), Xhai caused hatred and too much confrontation to all the Masarwas by the Batswanas, instead of facing Xhai alone. The Tswanas took revenge for all the Masarwas and started mistreating them all. Such a situation, caused dehumanisation and segregation to the Masarwas by the Batswanas, an issue that this study sought to explicate.

Moreover, Tshishonga (2015) explores the impact of xenophobia on the operations of the informal economy on which the poor depend for socio-economic survival, in Durban CBD, South Africa. According to Tshishonga (2015), for the most part of April-May 2015, the streets of Durban were deserted due to xenophobic attacks on non-South African businesses, particularly those owned by Africans from different parts of the continent. This shows that nationalism brought segregation in South Africa since the attacks and the closing down of businesses affected only non-South Africans. Foreign business owners were discriminated in South Africa. Comparably, Masarwa people in both selected novels, *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) were known as people of the Sand Dunes. Masarwas were always reminded of their place of origin and strictly warned to never associate themselves with the

Tswanas, a form of separation and prejudice that caused the development of ethnocentric division, which is the main concern of this study.

2.2.5 Ethnocentrism, ethnic segregation and tribalism

In order to interpret well the origin or causes of prejudice and hatred amongst ethnic groups, it is essential for one to understand the concepts of ethnocentrism, ethnic segregation and tribalism. Ethnic, tribal and racial differences have been successfully used either to build up or tear down communities and neighbourhoods (Sanou, 2015). Sanou (2015) also defines tribalism as “the attitude and practice of harbouring such a strong feeling of loyalty or bonds to one’s tribe that one excludes or even demonises those others who do not belong to that group” (p. 5). Thus, tribalism makes one to have a positive attitude with those of his or her kinship. In the selected novels, the Batswanas supported each other positively in any situation, especially if it involves a Masarwa. For example, in the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) amongst Sebeso’s gang of pursuing Xhai, everyone supported the idea of killing Xhai, because Xhai is a Masarwa and they are Batswanas. These are different tribes.

Furthermore, Bizumic (2015) defines ethnocentrism as “a kind of ethnic or cultural group egocentrism, which involves a belief in the superiority of one’s own group, including its values and practices, and often contempt, hatred, and hostility towards those outside the group” (p. 2). Ethnocentrism is often grouped together with concepts such as racism, nationalism, discrimination, prejudice, as well as xenophobia (Bizumic, 2015). That means there are many things involved that lead to ethnocentrism. When people begin to be concerned about others’

race and nationality, it brings separation and hatred, which can break into fights. It is ethnocentrism that divides the Masarwas from Batswanas and the fact that they normally live in different places, even though in the same country, causes differences in ethnicity. The Batswanas feel they are superior than the Masarwas, thus started calling them nasty names and several times compared them to animals, which shows disrespect. It is the state of superiority that caused sequestration between the Batswanas and Masarwas, which the present study is exploring as detailed in chapter 4 of this study.

In addition, Skirmantt (n.d.) suggests that minority groups living in segregated places will create and reproduce the feeling of belonging to a particular ethnic community, and even if they belong to an ethnic group but they do not live in the enclave, they can notice anyway the local segregation between own's group and the majority. This is similar to how the Masarwas presented in both novels present themselves to the Batswanas. They always feel and believe that they are servants of the Batswanas and they are people of the Kalahari Desert. Further, segregation of ethnic groups can visualise the communities of its members and enhance the in-group view that the status quo places them in a disadvantageous position in relation to the rest of the population (Skirmantt, n.d.). For example, the Masarwas presented in both novels, *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) were regarded as a contemptuous tribe. What caused hatred between the Batswanas and the Masarwas is the tribe "Masarwa" itself, and not the physical appearance, because not all Masarwas could be identified by their semblance. Therefore, tribalism mostly caused ethnic segregation towards the Masarwas, a concern this study aimed to illuminate.

2.2.6 Critical reviews of the novels

In order to present an utmost elucidation of the content for the selected novels, it is essential to present the critical reviews of the novels done by various scholars. There are a number of critical analyses done on the selected novels *Maru* and *The Pursuit of Xhai* by several scholars (Grisworld, 2008; Guldemann, 1997; Mhlahlo, 2002; Ncube, 2001; Seingier, 1997; Reid, 2010). However, as indicated in the following sections, there are various themes analysed and critiqued, such as inner peace, feminism, et cetera, that are presented in the novels, but the issue of ethnic segregation and discrimination is not well exhausted, hence the purpose of this study.

2.2.6.1 Critical reviews on *Maru*

Seingier (1997) explored Head's three novels, *When Rain Clouds Gather* (1968), *Maru* (1971) and *A Question of Power* (1973) and concluded that characters of these three novels are looking for inner peace and necessary mental balance in order to find happiness. In *Maru* specifically, Seingier (1997) expresses that Head extends racial prejudice to people of the same colour; since this novel is inspired by the historical oppression of the Masarwa or Bushmen people. Seingier (1997) believes that a powerful inner life that Margaret has saved her from madness because she lives in a society which keeps refusing her a place. Seingier (1997) adds that again Margaret's psychic wholeness is not so much affected by an external factor, she did not really mind with people's threatening behaviour towards her. Seingier (1997) looked at how brave and firm Margaret as an individual overcome prejudice, but the Masarwas were all segregated and discriminated and were kept as slaves by the Batswanas which is still under-investigated, hence the purpose of this study.

Additionally, “*Maru* is a psychological novel in which the characters play a drama on a subconscious level and in which no one seems to have complete control, not even Maru” (Seingier, 1997, p. 30). Seingier (1997) adds that Margaret faces an identity problem that goes back to her childhood; even though she is adopted by a white Margaret Cadmore, this did not erase the fact that she is a Masarwa. Regarding Margaret’s determination of keeping her real identity as a Masarwa, Seingier (1997) believes that it is what prevents her from going insane. This, on the other hand, shows bravery and pride of culture, which makes Margaret a strong woman who intended to overcome the challenges of ethnic segregation and discrimination by the superior ethnic group, an issue that this study aims to address.

Margaret’s first experiences of happiness and delight is when they formed a friendship with Dikeledi. Seingier (1997) believes that “Margaret and Dikeledi have both two very different, even opposed, attitudes and personalities and this is probably what helps to cement their friendship” (p. 34). Their friendship benefited Margaret’s psychic wholeness, as she (Margaret) developed strength of purpose and identity and also became a powerful woman. Later on, Moleka fell in love with Margaret but, Maru intervened in their relationship; and this brought two conflicting ideas in Margaret’s heart, since though she loves Maru, she is still in love with Moleka. In addition, such connections have shown the sign of eradicating discrimination and segregation between ethnic groups; Moleka, Maru and Dikeledi are Batswanas and Margaret alone is a Masarwa, so, their closeness presents a symbol of unity amongst ethnic groups. Therefore, this indicates that there are some Batswanas who wanted unity amongst ethnic groups, a situation that has been scarce in their society and which this study aimed to elucidate.

In addition, Seingier (1997) explains that Maru needs Margaret to escape the insanities of his society and create his own world. On the other hand, Margaret's love for these two men (Maru and Moleka) also reveals that Maru and Moleka are two opposite characters that cannot be reconciled in a single character. Therefore, Seingier (1997) concludes that the unresolved ending of *Maru* suggests that Head was not ready to draw conclusions about the mysteries of the human mind, thus, to find her own psychic wholeness she needed to go further in her exploitation. Seingier (1997) looks at the role Margaret, as a Masarwa woman has played to keep her living style undisturbed, but the slavery that her fellow uneducated Masarwas went through remains a big concern. This shows that even though Margaret is educated, she is still a Masarwa, and she has been still treated as others who are uneducated. The main issue is not really being educated or not, but rather the tribe itself. Therefore, tribalism brought about discrimination and ethnic segregation amongst ethnic group, an issue that brought up this study into existence.

Furthermore, Ncube (2001) analysed Head's oeuvre with reference to migration and discrimination from a feminist perspective and claims that Head showed that ascribed identities were degrading since they did not reflect the true inner person and did not give the outcast an opportunity to reveal their capability. Ncube (2001) adds that in the novel *Maru* (1971) "Head moves beyond the boundaries created by people to hinder human movement, the boundary of race, class and historical background" (p. 58). Head introduces three migrations undertaken by Maru and Margaret, such that Margaret migrated to the Batswana community from the Masarwa community in Botswana; due to this, she was dehumanised and this revealed the fact that Margaret and her class were different races (Ncube, 2001). The dehumanisation by the fellow black ethnic groups is a sign of hatred and prejudice amongst people of the same colour. Such

behaviour led to severe division of tribes, the Batswanas and the Masarwas, a matter that the researcher of this study saw it fit to be investigated.

Ncube (2001) explains that “Head depicted Margaret as a passive character, who endures suffering and pain with an intention to prove to the Batswanas that even “Bushy” could enter closed doors.” (p.58). Ncube (2001) adds that Head compared Moleka and Maru because they were from the same race, social and cultural stratum, however, Maru crossed the boundaries with the aim to honour the Masarwa community, since he saw the natural beauty of a Masarwa woman outside his racial territory. Of course, this happened to re-unite the ethnic groups and eradicate discrimination and ethnic segregation. It also shows that there are some Batswanas who were not really pleased by the way Masarwas were treated, thus, people like Maru ended up marrying Margaret, just to show others (Batswanas) that the Masarwas are equally human as them (Batswanas); and such issues are the reason that this study is drawn up since there seems to be nothing much researched on ethnic segregation and discrimination.

Even though Margaret migrated from her birthplace, it was never stated that she acquired the European behaviours or personalities, since she was raised and supervised by a European woman. Similarly, Margaret attended school with people outside her race, despite her achievements she was still marginalised (Ncube, 2001). Furthermore, Maru migrated from the Batswana community to the Masarwa community, because he fell in love with Margaret. This, according to Ncube (2001) “Head portrayed Maru as an assertive because he knew both his rights and the rights of the Masarwas; and people moved from one place to another in search of

light and civilisation” (p. 60). In relation to this study, Maru, as a chief, wanted to be exemplary to his people, to show them that the Masarwa people are just like any other human beings. He played a role of eradicating discrimination and ethnic segregation against the Masarwa, which is one of the objectives of this study.

Ncube (2001) adds that Head was interested in the way in which the Batswanas talk of the Masarwas. In addition, Head assumed that the exploitation and evil stemmed from the lack of communication between the oppressor and the oppressed. Interestingly, Ncube (2001) stipulates that although Margaret, Maru, and his followers left the village, the fact of marriage between a Masarwa woman and a man who otherwise would have been paramount chief, permanently changed the perceptions of the Masarwas left behind. This indicates that Maru as a leader does not support discrimination and ethnic segregation. He wants his people to re-unite and become one. Thus, this study seeks to explore the challenges and breakthrough that the Batswanas have undergone to bring about change amongst their society as blacks.

Ncube (2001) emphasises that “despite the ironies of an image of imprisonment as a vehicle for liberation, the novel’s closing paragraphs emphasise the importance of this symbolic marriage for other Batswanas who have incidentally been virtually absent until this point in the novel” (p. 62). In addition, Ncube (2001) claims that Margaret can be regarded as a heroine since she led her society out of discrimination; it is through the activities that she has done the laws of the society were amended and discrimination against the Masarwa people was handled accordingly.

They (Masarwas) were treated unfairly, bullied, called nasty names and insulted, which shows segregation and discrimination against them, hence the purpose of this study.

Guldimann (1997) states that “*Maru* (1971) seems at first reading to uphold a more traditional romance structure as it ends with the marriage of the main protagonists” (p. 74). Guldimann (1997) believes that the marriage has been read as a resolution to the racial inequality of the Masarwas which the novel explores; yet, it is seen as a vehicle for the union of a Masarwa and Batswana, as represented by Margaret and Maru. Therefore, this will give rise to the new society as one of Maru’s wishes or dreams. Guldimann (1997) argues that the way this marriage is executed in the novel is violent which is responsible for the feeling, amongst other critics, that the romance structure does not ultimately work. Guldimann (1997) further puts it that it sounds incredible since Maru has never approached Margaret, but rather manipulated Moleka, whom Margaret loves, into marrying Dikeledi and then he (Maru) abducted Margaret. So, since marriages of Masarwas and Batswanas were never into existence because of segregation and discrimination, the approach that Maru took is caused by such. It was not as easy as one could do with a fellow Batswana, but he had to find a way to do it, that some people may see not arousing. Therefore, this shows the role some Batswanas played to end ethnic segregation and discrimination, an issue that this study aimed to elucidate.

The issue of ethnic segregation and discrimination exists even in the marriage of Maru and Margaret. Even though Maru married Margaret, he did not propose marriage to her from his heart, but it was a way of stopping Moleka from marrying her (he was jealous only) because he

knows that Moleka's love to Margaret was genuine. Guldemann (1997) further suggests that readings which posit the ending of *Maru* as unsatisfactory, or even naïve, are a symptom of the way in which Head's work has been generally read. Guldemann (1997) adds that "a reading of *Maru* which is able to account for its ending must be one that sees Head using the romance structure in a far more radical way than merely as a vehicle or metaphor for another language" (p. 79).

Moreover, Guldemann (1997) claims that from the beginning of Margaret's life, art plays a vital role in that the only contact she has with her history or heredity is through art. Through reading Margaret's art, one can get an understanding of the crucial role Margaret plays in the text. This is one of the ways that assisted Margaret to overcome discrimination and segregation. Her missionary teacher and namesake Margaret Cadmore taught her how to draw sketches and this creativity impressed many, including Maru and her sister Dikeledi. Margaret's creativity saved her from continuous segregation by the Batswanas and created closeness between them. Therefore, this study looked into matters that Masarwas have done to eradicate ethnic segregation and discrimination an issue that is under-investigated especially in Southern Africa.

Furthermore, Margaret's art gives another perspective and suggests that her role in creating a new society is the essential one. Art, thus, becomes a radical space in *Maru* where other meanings exist and it is also used to change meanings (Guldemann, 1997). Guldemann (1997) adds that "what Margaret senior's inscription does is to disrupt the naturalisation of the meaning of the sign and language by which people are normally (dis)placed" (p. 79). Guldemann (1997)

concludes that Head mobilises a new world through language where characters are involved in recreating one another in an interdependent universe “in a process too continuous and too variable to allow for the fixity of labels” to restate Driver’s words (p. 97).

In addition, through drawing, people communicate with each other just by looking at the pictures. Margaret’s creativity in Art has somehow brought unity between her and the Batswana people. Her relationship with Dikeledi became strong through her artistic work. Dikeledi has always requested for sketches from her and she ended up showing them to Maru, who also requested for his own in a betrayal way. This is another approach of uniting the Masarwa with Batswana to eradicate discrimination and ethnic segregation, which this study entailed to investigate. Thus, it is one way of showing that the Masarwa people like Margaret were not just standing idle watching to what was happening, but they stood up to do activities that could bring about change.

Reid (2010) explains that Head was trying to show the complications of modern prejudice in insular Botswana communities, where Maru tries to overcome prejudice in a manipulative way. Reid (2010) believes that in the novel *Maru* (1971) there is true love between Moleka and Margaret, but not between Maru and Margaret. According to Reid (2010), Maru attempts to influence society by his actions and he betrayed Moleka and Margaret so that he gets the girl (Margaret) and be the high moral individual who ignores prejudice. Reid (2010) concludes that Maru seems to act not out of love but of desire for his place in society. However, this still needs further investigation specifically on the issue of discrimination. Even though Maru pretends to

love Margaret, it does not stop discrimination by others, since he did it as a way of keeping his place as a high moral individual who ignores prejudice. As explored in Chapter 4, section 4.6.1, Maru's aim as a leader is to lead by example and he did not want to lead a society that is not united. Thus, he decided to marry a Masarwa to begin and lead the right way.

Mhlahlo (2002) claims that the irony of the discrimination against the Masarwa is that they are the original inhabitants of the land, yet on the basis of their racial and tribal identities, have been relegated to servile second class citizenry by their respective "conquerors". Mhlahlo (2002) believes that it is the western education that Margaret received which becomes the basis of some personalised identity. Most of all, "the academically and artistically gifted Margaret moves from her objectified identity as subaltern Masarwa to a dignified (yet one feels patronised) young female teacher whom Pete, the principal, had given the teaching position by 'only looking at her qualification'" (Mhlahlo, 2002, p. 26). The academic gift that Margaret possesses has advantaged her. Her outstanding qualification saved her from being expelled from the teaching profession by her principal, as discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.5.2. Other Masarwas were kept as slaves because they never got a chance to go to school like her. However, criticism has arisen from here and there about her tribe, which led to discrimination and ethnic segregation to remain an issue that needs further investigation.

Similarly, Margaret's qualification proves that education and not social or racial background can without prejudice give one an opportunity and identity to serve as an indicator of personal potential. Mhlahlo (2002), concluded that "the characters' personalities tend to strengthen and

stabilise each other's identities, therefore, this could usefully be thought of as a form of identity by association, as the various characters struggle to resolve the question as to who they are" (p. 28). This indicates that if a tribe is regarded as inferior no matter how hard one may try, it rarely changes such inferiority. Margaret has been excelling academically, but the Masarwa name was still stuck on her and she remained treated as her fellows, as explored in Chapter 4, section 4.5.2.

Koul (2017) analyses the politics of race, power and gender in the novel *Maru* (1971). Koul (2017) undertakes a critical study of the novel in order to identify the subordinating and the marginalising tropes that result in silencing of female subjectivities in Bessie Head's protagonists. In the analysis, Koul (2017) again looks at the role of cultural and psychological forces in maintaining patriarchal hegemony, which is based upon hierarchy and domination of women rather than equality. Koul (2017) indicates that "thematic development in *Maru* (1971) provides a unique version of the politics of race and gender in a postcolonial society and the role of the postcolonial woman in shaping the destiny of her culture" (p. 458).

Bessie Head condemns all forms of racial prejudice leading to racial oppression. Koul (2017) stipulates that for one to fully understand Bessie Head's representations of the effect of racial conflict on the identities of the oppressor and the oppressed, it is crucial to start with the story of Margaret, from his birth until when her namesake Margaret Cadmore raised her into a grown girl. Bessie Head according to Koul (2017) reveals that "the lengths to which a dominant, bigoted culture can use its power to define a different, and in the context of *Maru* (1971), a despised racial group as having no point of entry into the dominant culture" (p. 459).

Koul (2017) suggests that Bessie Head chooses to make the heroine of the novel a Masarwa, the lowest of the low in Botswana society, to reveal how irrational, hurtful and even criminal such prejudice can be. Though Margaret inherited a culture and knowledge from her namesake who adopted her; with such an identity and the proof of her humanity, she is then reintroduced as a Masarwa to elevate the group as a whole. In addition, Koul (2017) states that “even her education does not save her from the power of racialism and from being ostracised” (p. 460).

Obviously, it was Margaret’s outstanding educational qualifications that made her to get a job in the first place, however, to Seth and Pete, these are less important than Margaret’s Masarwa origins (Koul, 2017). To them, an outstanding educational qualification is inferior to her tribe. Margaret’s educational background did not change her tribe or become different from other Masarwas who are kept, slaves. Thus, this study sought to investigate the issue of ethnic segregation and discrimination amongst the black ethnic groups as presented in the novel *Maru*.

Koul (2017) adds that Maru does not have the courage to marry Margaret at all, but the fact that he is expected to become the paramount chief, he does not want to rule a society of human hatred and petty human social codes and values, thus, he opts to marry Margaret in order to eradicate all of these. This indicates that it is just the position or rank that made Maru to marry Margaret claiming that he wants to eradicate prejudice but discrimination and ethnic segregation still exist in the community, hence, the purpose for this study.

Koul (2017) ends that Bessie Head shows that she is no longer willing to accept racial difference as the instance which would facilitate admittance to universal humanity. Koul (2017) adds that “some of the issues that engage Bessie Head’s imagination in her novel *Maru* (1971) are the ways in which racial, sexual, and class-based oppression are intractably linked within a culture so that one kind of oppression often leads to another” (p. 463). Besides these findings, the issues of discrimination and segregation by superior ethnic groups presented in the novel *Maru* (1971) against the Masarwa people has not really been exhausted, thus this study is carried out to investigate thoroughly on the challenges the Masarwas experienced and how they overcame them.

2.2.6.2 Critical reviews on *The Pursuit of Xhai*

Grisworld (2008) analysed the novel and expressed that the basic themes of racism and discrimination, treating a group of humans as non-humans, or nonentities, or as a people to exploit, whip, beat and kill at will, belongs to the past decades, but discriminatory attitudes among people of Botswana still existed. According to Grisworld (2008), the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) has shown that old attitudes of mistreating and provoking others intentionally still existed in Botswana. Statements such as “The Basarwas do not need to be educated; all they are fit for is to work for us” still exist in Botswana (Grisworld, 2008, p. 2).

Grisworld (2008) again criticises the writing process, that at times it is poetic and challenging, and other times repetitions and trivial expressions are used, for example, “eye at the back of his head”, “rubbery face”, et cetera, which could not be interpreted by everyone reading them. This

prevents the readers from grasping correctly the meaning of the poetic language used. Moreover, Grisworld (2008) feels that Seretse has treated the Basarwas or Sans as homogeneous, though he is aware of various stereotypes about other people who exist in Botswana. The mistreatment of Masarwas by other ethnic groups is clearly presented in the novel and it can clearly tell that the Masarwa people were the most mistreated people in Botswana by other ethnic groups. They endure all insults and slavery from the superior ethnic groups. Even though they are all blacks, the Masarwa were the most disrespected tribe amongst all. Thus, this study aims to explore the causes of humiliation amongst the Masarwa people from the superior ethnic groups.

However, Grisworld (2008) concludes that *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) is a good novel that needs to be read as widely as possible, but still, it might have benefited from additional work to make it even more balanced. In addition, the Masarwas have tried to retain their freedom that they had before, by standing firm and fought to be treated equally as other ethnic groups. Xhai fled to Shoshong as a way to meet up with Tshepo and stay together as lovers forever peacefully, even though Tshepo's father was furious about it. Such bravery saved his life and in the end reached his dream of marrying a Mongwato. This novel presents the issues of discrimination and segregation that the Masarwas experienced from superior ethnic groups in Botswana, and these are issues that this study sought to investigate as there is a paucity of research done in this area, especially in Southern Africa.

2.2.7 Authors' biographies

A biography can simply be defined as the life story of a person written by someone else. According to Kendall (n.d.), a biography is the subject of which is the life of an individual, which seeks to re-create in words the life of a human being, as understood from the historical or personal perspective of the author, by drawing upon all available evidence, including that retained in memory as well as written, oral, and pictorial. Similarly, Surbhi (2014) defines a biography as an account that tells someone else's life story. Surbhi (2014) adds that it can be written with or without the authorisation of the subject, it aims to inform people about the history of the subject, and it is written in a third person. Therefore, it is crucial to include the biographies of the authors for the selected novels, since the biographies are relevant as they contain the facts about the authors' historical backgrounds, which may help the readers of this study to draw conclusions on the themes in the study (of ethnic segregation and discrimination).

2.2.7.1 Biography of Bessie Head

A couple of scholars (Gray, 1971; Ncube, 2001; Holzinger, 2006) wrote about Bessie Head's biography, and they describe her as follows:

Bessie Head, one of Africa's best-known women writers, was born on July 6, 1937, in South Africa, by a black man and a white woman. Her mother passed on when she was just 6 months and her father was not known by her family, therefore, she never knew her biological parents. She was raised in apartheid South Africa by a white family who later realised that Bessie Head was not "white" and returned her. She was then put into the care of Nellie and George Heathcote, a "coloured" couple who were devout Catholics, where she believed that Nellie was her

biological mother. The above information is similar to that of Margaret Cadmore, the Masarwa girl, who does not know who her parents are, and was also raised by a missionary woman, whom she was named after.

After finishing standard 4 at the age of 12, Bessie Head was taken from Nellie's home and sent to St. Monica's Home near Durban. This was an Anglican boarding school for "coloured girls." When she was 14, a dreadful incident happened. St. Monica's refused to allow her to visit Nellie for Christmas, instead, she was taken to the magistrate's court where they told her that Nellie was not her biological mother and that her mother was a white woman and her father a native. This affected her badly. At the age of 16, just after writing her Junior Certificate Examination, she ran away from school and went to Pietermaritzburg. Fortunately, she agreed to return back to school and passed well her examination.

Moreover, Bessie Head started a 2-year course for primary school teachers. In January 1956, at the age of 18, she left St. Monica's. She had enjoyed the protected life of a girls' boarding school for 6 years. Bessie Head immediately began teaching at the Clairwood Coloured School in Durban. For the next 2 years and 6 months, she enjoyed intense intellectual growth. She became aware of the political turmoil in South Africa. Hinduism fascinated her and she became a Hindu. She never enjoyed teaching because her students were ill-disciplined and seemed not to appreciate her efforts. Similarly, Margaret was also never respected by her learners and she was even called "a Bushy teacher". This clearly shows that Bessie Head wrote the novel *Maru*

reflecting from her own experience as a black child who was raised up by a white family and went through hardships from the people in her community.

In June 1958 she resigned from her teaching job and decided to become a journalist in the Cape. She became a freelance reporter and the only female reporter at the *Golden City Post*, a popular newspaper for 'non-white' readers. In 1959, she moved to Johannesburg to work for the weekend magazine, *Home Post*. In 1960, following the Sharpeville massacre, she was arrested for her PAC activities. Furthermore, in mid-1961, she met Harold Head, a journalist and a member of the non-racial *Liberal Party*. They fell in love and got married in September. This indicates that regardless of the hardships she went through, she always found a way to come out. Just like Margaret, she was bullied and mistreated even at work, but she was strong enough to stand on her feet.

Bessie Head did not really experience a happy life in marriage since apartheid grew cruel by the day. She experimented with poetry and fiction, publishing a short piece in *The New African* with a memorable last line "I have just got to tell a story." In 1965, Bessie Head began writing seriously, often at night by candlelight. Even though she had received moral support and little money from a few individuals, Bessie Head remained desperately poor. Afterwards, she met Patrick van Rensburg who assisted her financially. Similarly, Margaret's marriage was also not the best, challenges were still there. Some Batswanas felt she does not deserve such a lovely offer. Again, her Artistic talent of drawing sketches helped in bringing about the closeness between her and some Batswanas like Dikeledi, Maru and Moleka.

The first novel Bessie Head wrote is called *When Rain Clouds Gather* (1968). It was published in New York and London and it received excellent reviews. In 1969, she finished writing *Maru* her second novel. This novel was then published in February 1971. In April 1972, she finished writing her most difficult book *A Question of Power*, a book that appeared in October 1973 to immediate praise and acclaim. Her next book was about Serowe itself, and it is called *Serowe: Village of the Rain Wind*. It was published in 1981. Also, in 1974, she assembled some of her short stories to be published together as a book, but *The Collector of Treasures* and *Other Botswana Village Tales* were delayed for publication until 1977. Bessie Head often worried about her security in Botswana. She was still a refugee until when she was granted Botswana citizenship in 1979.

She published one more book in her lifetime, the long historical novel *A Bewitched Crossroad: An African Saga*, which appeared in 1984 after many years of research and complicated writing. In the mid-1980s, she endured a painful rupture with her son Howard, then an unexpected divorce after 25 years from her far-away husband Harold. Her last great piece of writing was a brief, personal article in March 1985, *Why Do I Write?* Bessie Head died on 17 April 1986 in Serowe. She is buried in the old cemetery, on the hillside behind Botlaote ward, amidst trees and flowers.

With reference to the biography, it shows that Bessie Head dislikes discrimination and segregation as in most of her works she wrote emphasising how people were colonised, discriminated and segregated. To concede, Koul (2017) suggests that Bessie Head chooses to

make Margaret Cadmore the heroine of the novel, a Masarwa, the lowest of the low in Botswana society, to reveal how irrational, hurtful and even criminal such prejudice can be. Her written work is teaching the readers how to overcome such issues by looking at the roles characters played in the novel. Thus, the researcher found it significant to look at one her novels *Maru* (1971) to explore the issues of ethnic segregation and discrimination amongst black ethnic groups, an issue which still remains under-investigated especially in Southern Africa.

2.2.7.2 Biography of Gasebalwe Seretse

According to Tshwenyego (2012), Gasebalwe Seretse is one of the best-known writers in Botswana. He was born on 12 June 1974 in Serowe. He started writing since childhood and he is involved in both fiction and non-fiction writing. Apart from being a writer, he is also a minister of the word of God with the Church of God of Prophecy since 1997, something he considers a divine calling.

His first book was published in 2004, entitled *Tshekedi Khama: The Master Whose Dogs Barked At*. It is the book that introduced him to the industry. In 2008, he published another book called *The Pursuit of Xhai*, some of the leading people in the industry consider his best work so far. He drew great inspiration from being an avid reader. This indicates that Seretse believes in teaching people through writing, and those who like reading are the one to benefit the most.

Furthermore, Gasebalwe Seretse started reading old Setswana version of the Holy Bible when he was still in lower primary. He also used to read difficult work that his mates would not dare to attempt. In relation to this study, Seretse seems to have high hopes in doing things and believes in himself just like Xhai, who decided to fall in love with Tshepo even though he knows it is a taboo for a Batswana and a Masarwa to fall in love.

Apart from being an author, Gasebalwe Seretse has also worked as a journalist. He worked for Mmegi for a number of years as a journalist covering entertainments, arts and culture. He quit the job in 2010 because he hated city-life and he was missing his home village Pilikwe. He is a full-time author and does a bit of freelancing for Peolwane, the *Air Botswana in-flight* magazine. In addition, Gasebalwe Seretse is also a patron of Gasebalwe Seretse Primary School in Gweta.

Gasebalwe Seretse's biography shows that his writing career has taught many a good lesson, especially those who read his work. He is an inspiration to many and his work carries educational messages, which aim to teach people how to treat each other in a society. In his novel *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008), he wrote about how the Masarwa people were colonised, discriminated and segregated, which indicates that he is one of those who are against discrimination and segregation. His written work is teaching the readers how to overcome such issues by looking at the roles characters played in the novel. Thus, the researcher of this study found his novel *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) appropriate to use in order to explore the issue of ethnic segregation and discrimination amongst black ethnic groups, an issue that sets off peace and well-being of the inferior black ethnic groups.

2.8 Settings of the novels

A setting refers to a text-initial, structural macro-unit that describes that starting point and surroundings for a story by providing the main characters, the spatiotemporal location and other necessary background information (Pitkanen, 2003). It can also be simply defined as both the time and geographic location within a narrative or within a work of fiction. Therefore, it is crucial to include the settings of the selected novels, since the time and place give an in-depth knowledge of where and when issues of discrimination and ethnic segregation occurred.

Maru (1971) is a novel written by Bessie Head. It is set in the rural and unforgiving village of Dilepe, during the colonial era of the apartheid regime. In Botswana, they have a conquered tribe, the Masarwa or Bushmen, who were the true owners of the land in some distant past, that they had been conquered by the more powerful Botswana tribes and from then onwards assumed the traditional role of slaves. Furthermore, *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) is a novella by Gasebalwe Seretse. It is set in the pre-independence era against the backdrop of beautiful Kalahari in Botswana. Similar to the novel *Maru*, the Masarwas were believed as the owners of the land in the past but later were overpowered by the Batswanas and became slaves.

2.9 Theoretical framework

This section presents the theoretical framework that was used to inform this study. The theoretical framework in literary studies serves to connect the researcher to the existing knowledge as well as permits the reader to evaluate them critically. We live in a world polarised by religion, nationality, political ideology, race, ethnicity, sex, social class, and many more

divisions. These social groups shape our identities and our lives, and they are characterised by membership criteria and boundaries, therefore, they include some people and exclude others (Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009). However, these boundaries should not necessarily imply any tension between groups, but practically relations between groups are far more likely to be incompatible than harmonising.

The theoretical framework through which this research was explored is integrated threat theory, which is now revised to intergroup threat theory (Clifton, 2011). The theory was proposed by Walter Stephan and Cookie White Stephan in 2000. The original premise, that negative attitudes arise out of perceptions of threat, remains the same; therefore, the revised theory intergroup threat theory (ITT), “places an emphasis on the context of intergroup attitudes, because the relationship between threats and attitudes depend upon the specific groups being examined” (Clifton, 2011, p. 12). In addition, the main idea of integrated threat theory is that people perceive changes in the environment, particularly how other people are using resources, which then either motivates them to behave well or not (Redmond, 2016).

Similarly, integrated threat theory focuses on the conditions that lead to perceptions of threat, which in return have an impact on attitudes and behaviour (Wagner, 2008). Some threats are in the form of bullying, some are insults, et cetera, such threats can cause fear and hatred amongst the victims. For example, in the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008), Xhanadu has been threatened since his young age until adulthood. At times, he was beaten if he lost any livestock. Similarly, Xhai was also threatened for the death penalty for sleeping with Tshepo, the daughter to the

royal family. Due to that, he decided to flee away from his village and made sure he fulfils his will of living his entire life not loving any other woman but Tshepo, even though Tshepo's father opposed their love relationship.

Furthermore, Mounsey (2007) observes that Stephan and Stephan (2000) have mooted that if individuals feel threatened during an intercultural interaction, including fear of being rejected, embarrassed, ridiculed or exploited by out-group members, unfavourable attitudes toward out-groups are likely to occur. This is similar to what is presented in the selected novels *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008), where the Masarwas are regarded as a low filthy nation, untouchable to the local, slaves as well as victims of bullying, as explored in Chapter 4, section 4.4. There are three main categories of threat in intergroup threat theory (Clifton, 2011; Mounsey, 2007), namely: realistic threat, symbolic threat, and intergroup anxiety.

(a) Realistic threat

Clifton (2011) defines realistic threat as perceived threats to in-group welfare or safety, as well as perceived threats to economic and political power. In the same vein, Stephan and Stephan (2000) define that realistic threats “are threats to the very existence of the in-group (for example, through welfare), threat to the political and economic power of the in-group, and threat to the physical or material well-being of the in-group or its member (for example, their health)” (p. 25). Like in the novel *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008), the Batswanas are not happy that their children are being taught by a Masarwa, Margaret; and their daughter, Tshepo, is involved

in a love liaison with a Masarwa boy, Xhai; therefore, these are all threats done to the Masarwas, and such threats made them to feel unsafe amongst the Batswana people.

In addition, this concept of realistic threats has its origin in realistic group conflict theory. Stephan and Stephan (2000) emphasise that their concept of realistic threat differs from the idea of threat which is emphasised in realistic group conflict theory in two ways: firstly, the focus is broader, encompassing any threat to the welfare of the group or its members. Secondly, the focus is on the subjectivity perceived conflict between groups. Thus, Stephan and Stephan (2000) support realistic threats because the perception of threat can lead to prejudice, regardless of whether or not the threat is real. Realistic threat, therefore, better explains the rationale of the characters' actions in the two novels as illustrated in Chapter 4 of the present study.

(b) Symbolic threat

Stephan and Stephan (2000, as cited by Clifton, 2011) define symbolic threat as threats of morals, values, beliefs, and traditions of an in-group. More importantly, symbolic threats are threats to the worldview of the group. These threats arise in part because the in-group believes in the moral rightness of its system of values. Stephan and Stephan (2000) in this concept of symbolic threats include threat posed by the out-group to any of the central values held by the in-group. For example, in the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008), Xhai is denied to fall in love with Tshepo, a non-Masarwa girl, but since they love each other, they chose to flee to a different area for the safety their lives and to begin a classic love story.

Furthermore, Esses, Haddock and Zanna (1993) argue that the more the in-group's values, customs, or traditions are blocked by an out-group, the more negative the in-group's attitudes toward the out-group will be. Stephan and Stephan (2000) state that in their integrated threat theory, "feelings of threat that are generated by challenges posed to the in-group's value system are measured" (p. 26).

(c) Intergroup anxiety

This is a threat centred on feelings of anxiety or discomfort during out-group interaction (Clifton, 2011). Riek, Mania and Gaertner (2006,) define intergroup anxiety as "uneasiness and awkwardness in the presence of out-group members because of uncertainty about how to behave towards them" (p. 341). These views, therefore, help to explain instances that in both selected novels *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008), the Masarwa people have lived a fearful life. They are limited to almost everything. For example, sharing any material or item of need or even to accommodate a Masarwa in a Batswana's homestead was a taboo. Stephan and Stephan (2000) argue that "people feel personally threatened in intergroup interactions because they are concerned about the outcomes for the self, such as being embarrassed, rejected, or ridiculed" (p. 26), this is explored in Chapter 4, section 4.4 of the present study.

Clifton (2011) used integrated or intergroup threat theory to investigate the relationship between perceptions of threats and attitudes toward same-sex marriage. Clifton (2011) states that the theory of intergroup threat theory postulates that outgroup prejudice and discrimination are driven by threats to the in-group. Additionally, Clifton (2011) concludes that stronger

perceptions of intergroup threat are associated with greater resistance to same-sex marriage and more prejudiced attitudes toward its beneficiaries. Mounsey (2007) employed an integrated threat theory to review how the construction of ethnocentrism and its composites are related to attitudes to immigration and diversity. Mounsey (2007) discussed ethnocentrism in relation to several precipitators and moderators of ethnocentric attitudes to immigration and diversity, including authoritarianism, social dominance, security, ethnic hierarchies, cultural distance, and social conditions. Therefore, the researcher sees this theory as the most suitable one for this study as it considers aspects pertaining to segregation, prejudice and discrimination towards minority groups, and in this case, the Masarwa people.

Moreover, Stephan et al. (2009) state that the relative power of the groups is one factor that affects the perception of intergroup threat. Generally, low power groups are more likely to experience a threat compared to the high power groups. This happens because the low power groups are highly susceptible to perceiving threats because they are at the mercy of more powerful groups. Corenblum and Stephan (2001), as well as Stephan et al. (2009), demonstrate that low power racial and ethnic groups perceive higher levels of threat from high power groups than high power groups perceive from low power groups (Stephan et al. 2009).

Generally, issues of group power, prior conflict and relative group size would be expected to elicit realistic threat to a greater extent than symbolic threats, because these factors are more closely related to the groups' abilities to harm each other and control valued resources than they are to differences in values and beliefs (Stephan et al. 2009). From the literature search that was

conducted, there were indications that the intergroup threat theory has not been used in literary studies. Therefore, in using this theory, the present study is indeed a pioneering effort which contributes new knowledge to the discipline of literary studies.

2.10 Chapter summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature related to the topic under study. From this chapter, one learns that numerous studies conducted are on racial segregation and discrimination among various groups and mostly between African-Americans and white people. However, there is nothing much done on ethnic segregation and discrimination amongst black ethnic groups, an issue which created a gap that this study aimed to explore. The integrated or intergroup threat theory found its place and relevance for use in this study due to categories of realistic threat, symbolic threat, and intergroup anxiety it contains. Integrated or intergroup theory places an emphasis on the context of intergroup attitudes because the attitudes of people of different ethnic groups in societies vary depending on the relationships among such people. The next chapter presents the research methodology used to collect and analyse data.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology used to conduct this research. Creswell (2008) defines research methodology as the system of collecting data for a research project. The chapter gives a thorough explanation of why specific methods are used in this study. The qualitative literary approach is addressed to describe the purpose of the study. The population and sample used in this study are described, as well as the procedure and analysis. Lastly, research ethics that were followed in this study are also defined in this chapter.

3.2 Research design

According to Kothari (2004), a research design “is the arrangement of the conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure” (p. 31). A research design is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted. Kothari (2004) further explains it that, “research design constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data; thus, it includes an outline of what the researcher will do from writing the research problem to the final analysis of data” (p. 31).

This study adopted a qualitative literary research approach to explore the literary presentation of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination in the selected novels; *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit*

of *Xhai* (2008). Nahole (2016) expresses that “it is difficult to give a simple definition of qualitative design; however, many authors have attempted to define qualitative research design by looking at its features” (p. 41). Masson (2002, as cited by Nahole, 2016) identifies the following as features of qualitative research design:

First, qualitative research is interpretive. This means that qualitative research design is concerned with the understanding, experience and interpretation of the social world. Second, qualitative research methods of data collection “are both flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data are produced” (Masson, 2002, p. 3). This is opposed to the rigid and standardised methods of quantitative research where standard methods are designed for every study.

Lastly, qualitative data analysis methods are based on arguments and explanations aimed at understanding the complex and detailed nature of the social world within a given context. Creswell (2009) contends that “qualitative research design is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (p. 22). Based on this definition, a qualitative research design was appropriate for this study since the study is interpretive by nature.

Given the qualitative nature of the study, the study did not require fieldwork but is restricted to a desktop design. The study used primary data in the form of novels and these were critically analysed in order to understand the central phenomenon of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination. Kothari (2004) defines primary data as “those which are collected afresh and for the first time, and thus happen to be the original in character” (p. 95).

3.3 Population

Bhattacharjee (2012) defines a population as “all people or items (units of analysis) with the characteristics that one wishes to study” (p. 65). Similarly, Burns and Grove (2003) define a research population as “all the elements that meet the criteria for inclusion in a study” (p. 213). This means that the population is the entire group that represents the other parts that the researcher wishes to study. Goddard and Melville (2001) puts it simply that a population is any group that is the subject of research interest. Based on the foregoing definitions by Bhattacharjee (2012), Burns and Grove (2003), and Goddard and Melville (2001), the population for this study is the two novels by the two authors that share similar characteristics or themes of concern.

3.4 Sample

Research on a population is demanding, as one cannot study the entire population because of the feasibility and lengthy process, thus, it is crucial to select a sample. According to Kothari (2004), a sample refers to the selected respondents. In the same vein, Burns and Grove (2003) define sampling as “a process of selecting a group of people, events or behaviour with which to conduct the study” (p. 31). Moreover, Flick (2011) terms it as strategies for assuring that you have the ‘right’ cases in your study. Nahole (2016) clearly emphasises that usually a sample is drawn from a large population to represent such a population in a smaller size where a researcher stands in a better position to understand the circumstances surrounding the entire population.

In this study, based on the explanations above, the two novels, *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) formed up the sample. It is from these selected novels, themes were extracted and analysed. The sample was selected using purposive sampling because the selected novels share similar themes of concern. Purposive sampling is defined as “a method of sampling where the researcher deliberately chooses who to include in the study based on their ability to provide necessary data” (Burns & Grove, 2003, p. 31). Moreover, Kothari (2004) explains purposive sampling as non-probability sampling and describes it as a sampling procedure which does not afford any basis for estimating the probability that each item in the population is included in the sample.

Purposive sampling is also known as relevance sampling method used in qualitative research whereby the researcher “selects individuals and sites for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study” (Creswell, 2013, p. 300). Therefore, the selected novels under study were purposively selected as they share similar themes, which in turn would help to answer the objectives of the study.

3.5 Procedure

A close reading of the selected novels *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) was done by the researcher. The researcher explored the effects and causes of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination as experienced by the Masarwa people in the selected novels. The primary data was collected through reading the selected novels: *Maru* (1971) by Bessie Head and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) by Gasebalwe Seretse.

Kothari (2004) defines primary data as “those data which are collected or observed for the first time and always given in the form of raw materials and original character” (p. 32). The study used thematic analysis to analyse and explore the literary representation of ethnocentric segregation in the two selected novels; *Maru* and *The Pursuit of Xhai*. Ibrahim (2012) defines thematic analysis as “a type of qualitative analysis that is used to analyse classifications and present themes (patterns) that relate to the data” (p. 40). Ibrahim (2012) further explains that it is considered the most appropriate for any study that seeks to discover using interpretation and it allows the researcher to associate an analysis of the frequency of a theme with one of the whole content. Maguire and Delahunt (2017) term thematic analysis as the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data. They further complement that “the goal of a thematic analysis is to identify themes or patterns in the data that are important or interesting, and use these themes to address the research or say something about an issue” (p. 3353).

Through their definitions, all authors concentrate on the identification of patterns or themes in the text. This is an indication that by using thematic analysis, the themes have to be summarised and organised then later being interpreted in order to make sense of them. In this study, the selected novels under study were critically analysed to find themes and understand the necessary perspectives to be explored thus, the researcher particularly paid attention to themes of discrimination and segregation encountered by the Masarwa people as presented in the selected novels. The researcher took notes of all the crucial themes and characterisation in order to understand and evaluate the representation of segregation and discrimination toward the Masarwa people and the challenges they experienced in their communities. The researcher

considered the reviewed literature to supplement the analysis and at the same time link to the theory of integrated or intergroup threat theory.

3.6 Data analysis

Data analysis simply means the interpretation of the collected data in a study (Nahole, 2016). Resnik (2000, as cited by Liswaniso, 2016) explains data analysis as the process of systematically applying statistical and or logical techniques to describe and illustrate, condense and recap, and evaluate data. In addition, Nepolo (2017) outlines that “qualitative data analysis and interpretation consist of phases that occur in overlapping cycles, namely: data collection, and data analysis strategies” (p. 85). Data analysis in qualitative research consists of preparing and organising the data (a text data as transcripts, or image data in photographs), for analysis, then reducing the data into themes through a process of coding and condensing the codes, and finally representing the data in figures, tables or a discussion (Creswell, 2009).

The data that was collected from studying the two selected novels was analysed by using thematic analysis. The researcher particularly paid attention to themes of discrimination and segregation encountered by the Masarwa people as presented in the selected novels. The data was then interpreted under the framing of the integrated or intergroup threat theory. Finally, the findings would be taken from the interpretation and analysis to create discussions and conclusion.

3.7 Research ethics

According to Walton (2016), research ethics is specifically interested in the analysis of ethical issues that are raised when people are involved as participants in research. Walton (2016) states that there are three objectives in research ethics; which are as follow: The first objective is to protect human participants. The second objective is to ensure that research is conducted in a way that serves the interests of individuals, groups and or society as a whole. The third objective is to examine specific research activities and projects for their ethical soundness, looking at issues such as the management of risk, protection of confidentiality, and the process of informed consent.

The researcher would seek ethical clearance from the University of Namibia's ethics committee before conducting the research. The study would be based on fictional novels, therefore, no human participants would be involved. However, the researcher would not ridicule the writers of the selected works. Lastly, the researcher would attempt to be objective by analysing and reporting different perspectives and different findings as would be presented in the selected novels *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008).

3.8 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented the research methodology of this study which included aspects contained in methodology such as, research design, population, sample, procedure, data analysis and research ethics. Each aspect has been discussed in detail. The next chapter presents the discussion and exploration of the analysis of the selected novels and how ethnocentric

segregation and discrimination toward the Masarwa people and its causes and effects are portrayed in these selected novels.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the selected novels *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) are analysed and discussed based on the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 of this study and framed by integrated or intergroup threat theory. The summary of each novel is provided first before the analysis of the novels and sub-headings are used to focus precisely on different themes and the results will be presented point by point.

The researcher found it crucial to include the research objectives in this chapter to make them familiar to the readers and remind the readers in order for them to be able to follow the discussion. Therefore, the following remain the objectives of the study that serve as the pillars of this study, as the study entails to:

- explore the literary representations of the experiences that the Masarwa people encountered as presented in the selected novels;
- examine how the Masarwa people deal with prejudice and discrimination by the superior groups as presented in the selected novels; and
- evaluate the challenges experienced by the non-Masarwa people towards eradicating ethnic segregation as depicted in the selected novels.

4.2 *Maru* (1971) – summary

Maru is a love story that took place in the African village of Dilepe in Botswana. The narrative tells the story of Margaret, a Masarwa orphan girl, who is raised up by a missionary woman, Margaret Cadmore. Margaret (the orphan) is named after the missionary woman Margaret Cadmore. Her mother died the day she was born, thus, she ended up in the missionary's family, since Margaret Cadmore senior rescued or took her away from her mother's dead body. Margaret's (the orphan) tribe is looked down upon by others, and yet she overcomes adversity and begins teaching at a school in the village. Learners and some teachers including the principal discriminated her and shouted out nasty words at her, but all these did not demoralise her from executing her duty as a teacher.

Though she is looked down upon as a Bushman, her arrival in the village of Dilepe nonetheless causes a rift in the friendship between Maru, one of the village's chiefs and his friend Moleka, who seems to genuinely love Margaret. The love affair between Margaret and her two suitors comes to redefine the lives of everyone involved, thus, pitting love against racial and tribal prejudices. In addition, her skin colour was quite attractive and confusing and it made her look different from her fellow Masarwas.

4.3 *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) – summary

The Pursuit of Xhai is about the reactions of a conservation and traditional father to his discovery that his adolescent daughter is having a love affair with someone who is not acceptable to his family, clan and tribe. Xhai is a young Masarwa working as a servant to Sebeso, a powerful

Bangwato lord. Sebeso, a very ruthless Mongwato royal did not hide the fact that he held Masarwas, otherwise known as Sans, in contempt.

According to Sebeso, they were just good for nothing hewers of wood and drawers of water, mere servants of Bechuanaland's principal tribe, the Bangwato. Thus, Sebeso decides to call on his army or group of men to pursue Xhai and kill him. Hounded by his master, Xhai had no choice but to flee for his life. Furthermore, Xhai's decision to flee from the area gave him a good opportunity to reunite with his lovely girlfriend, since Sebeso punishes her by sending her to a remote village and this is where Xhai has fled to as well.

4.4 Literary representations of the experiences that the Masarwa people encountered in *Maru* and *The Pursuit of Xhai*

The novels under study show that the Masarwa people have encountered major sufferings by the superior ethnic group, such as insults, contempt and also many inhuman activities done to them. This is supported by the theory that frames this study as explained by Wagner (2008) that integrated threat theory focuses on the conditions that lead to perceptions of threat, which in turn have an impact on attitudes and behaviours. This section discusses the experiences encountered by Masarwa people as depicted in *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) and as framed by integrated or intergroup threat theory.

4.4.1 Derogating the Masarwa - A low filthy nation

The Masarwa people were never regarded as valuable people like other ethnic groups. In the novel *Maru*, they are seen as dirty and non-human by the superior groups. A times they were called bad names and compared to animals such as Zebras, lions and buffalos because these animals live in the Kalahari Desert where Bushmen live as well. In addition, such animals are labelled as weak creatures because “if you catch a zebra, you can walk up to it, forcefully opens its mouth and examine its teeth. The zebra is not supposed to mind because it is an animal” (Head, 1971, p. 6). This means that Masarwas are not expected to air their views but rather follow whatever their “superiors” are ordering them to do. Naturally, animals are often mistreated by people and they do not show any sort of denial act since they are inferior to human beings, therefore, the same treatment is the one given to the Masarwas because they are regarded as inferior. This shows dehumanisation of the Masarwas by the superior ethnic group. This is supported by Cosmides, Tobby and Kurzban (2003) who say that stigmatisation or a symbolic exclusion that allows a group of people to consider itself as superior by looking down on another group and setting up negative or bad stereotypes. With this comparison, Masarwas were also examined in the same way.

Masarwa as a tribe is believed to be defined by words like “kaffir” and “nigger”. Such terms were seen as equivalent to Masarwa people since they were never respected like other human beings. By definition, “kaffir” and “nigger” are contemptuous terms used to refer to a black or dark-skinned person. Therefore, this shows that the Masarwa people were never respected even though their skin colour is not really dark, their tribe is labelled to be defined by those words simply because of contempt. People like Margaret and Xhai’s skin colour is not dark at all, but

because they belong to the Masarwa tribe, they also seemed fit to be called “a kaffir” or “a nigger”. This as well is similar to the incident that happened in Ireland that is expressed by Michael (2015) that recent incidents including references to Ebola were used against black Europeans as well as African nationals and spitting was frequently used as a means of communicating disgust towards people of African descent.

In the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai*, Sebeso, a very ruthless Mongwato royal, compares Masarwa people to dogs. Sebeso never bears any respect to these people and believes that any single mistake one of them does to the royal people is a big shame, and such a Masarwa deserves to be killed; “...if you agree with me that your people are dogs, why do you allow your puppy to sleep with my daughter?” (Seretse, 2008, p. 3). Sebeso seems to be totally disturbed and disappointed by the situation at hand. He feels disrespected by the Xhanadu family who are Masarwas. Calling Xhai a puppy shows that Sebeso feels that Xhai is not human enough to sleep with his daughter. Culturally, a dog is looked at as a wicked, contemptible and unpleasant animal. And if one calls someone a dog that means such a person is basically dirty or inferior amongst other humans. Naturally, dogs eat nasty food, including faeces, and they do not have a pleasant place to sleep. Of course, Masarwas are inhabitants of the Kalahari Desert and they sleep in the bushes, thus, Sebeso calls Xhai as a puppy who sleeps with his daughter. Sebeso does not support the idea of a Masarwa having a love affair with a Batswanas they should stick to their own tribe.

Similarly, Kgori, a horse rider, supports Sebeso as he says “I have studied different kinds of animals and what I have realised is that every animal sticks to its kind” (Seretse, 2008, p. 3). This indicates that the Masarwas were regarded as animals and behave like animals, therefore, they must stick to their breed. The Batswanas did not want to have any close relationship with the Masarwas and they did not want to call them human beings like them at all. Furthermore, the Masarwa people normally live in the desert, since they are typical hunters and feed on animals’ flesh. This is one of the reasons the Batswanas compared and called them animals. The Tswanas believe that it is only animals that live in the desert but not human beings, thus, they label the Masarwas as animals. This is supported by Clifton (2011) that intergroup threat theory “places an emphasis on the context of intergroup attitudes because the relationship between threats and attitudes depend upon the specific groups being examined” (p. 12). This means that people of different ethnic groups act differently and their attitudes lead to unnecessary judgements and examinations towards others, especially the inferior. This is exactly what happened to the Masarwas in both selected novels. They are a group amongst other groups, but due to negative attitudes and threats from other ethnic groups, it brought disunion and disgrace.

The Masarwas’ flocking in to live with other tribes encourages prejudice, discrimination and inferiority since they are known as people from the sand dunes. This is another description that caused them to be looked at as “a low filthy nation” Head (1971, p. 6), which means that it is a tribe that was never respected and that they only fit to associate with either animals or just among themselves, but not with other tribes who are humans. This is stated by Sebeso in the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai* as he says “it makes me wonder, why is it that you people from the sand dunes like frolicking around with the daughters of your masters? This is a taboo” (Seretse,

2008, p. 3). This specifies that the Masarwa people should fear and respect the Bangwato people. Their place of origin made them look different from the rest of the tribes. Animals do not associate with people, that is why they are kept far from people. The dunes where the Masarwas originated from is an isolated place and they are not expected to feel free to associate with the Batswanas. Such type of threat is what realistic threat stipulates, according to Stephan and Stephan (2000), the perception of threat can lead to prejudice, regardless of whether or not the threat is real.

Moreover, Xhai the son of Xhanadu is believed to have committed an unpardonable sin for falling in love with Tshepo, Sebeso's daughter. This brings shame into Sebeso and the entire royal family for raising up a daughter who associates with a low-class person. The Masarwa people were always expected to respect the Bangwato people and beg for mercy in case they deserved punishment and partly praise them. Corenblum and Stephan (2001), as well as Stephan et al. (2009), demonstrated that lower power racial and ethnic groups perceive higher levels of threat from high power groups than high power groups perceive from low power groups.

In addition, this has happened between Xhanadu, Xhai's father, and Sebeso, the royal master, who believed that "Masarwa are dogs and they will remain dogs until Kingdom come" (Seretse, 2008, p. 2). Sebeso has used a derogatory language but more hurtful to show the Masarwas that they are lacking normal human qualities and no matter how they (Masarwa) may try to convince or impress them in any way, they will remain merely inferior or a low class forever. It signifies that through their entire lives they will be dehumanised and the brutalisation process from the

superior ethnic group will last longer. There will never be a time they will earn respect from the Tswanas since they belong to the animal kingdom that does not deserve any respect.

4.4.2 Untouchable to the local

When something cannot be touched it means it is disgusting, and it either causes harm or illness to someone; thus, people in most cases are very cautious about it. In Botswana, it is a norm for the Masarwa people to die as animals and rot in the bushes since they belong there. In the novel *Maru*, the author expresses how the Masarwa woman, the mother to Margaret, died after giving birth and none of the local people cared about burying her and save her baby, except Margaret Cadmore, the missionary woman. "... the woman who gave birth to a child on the outskirts of a remote village had the same thin, Masarwa ankle-length, loose shift dress which smelt strongly of urine and the smoke of outdoor fires. ... When no one wanted to bury a dead body, they called the missionaries; ..." (Head, 1971, p. 8). The physical appearance of the deceased resembles that of the Masarwas, and the smell she carries shifted the Batswanas farther away which makes them not to touch her, they rather called the missionaries to do it, because it is a part of the missionaries' occupation. One would also describe the Batswanas as heartless people because they did not even care to at least take the baby who was still alive to the hospital. For as long as it involves Masarwa characteristics, it does not require the Batswana's attention.

Margaret Cadmore made sure that the deceased is buried. She just wanted things to happen as fast as she planned, thus, "when the hospital supervisor rang up about who had died, apologetically added that she was an untouchable to the local people, she had the coffin carried

into the hospital while the grave was being dug in the churchyard” (Head, 1971, p. 8). It was a very difficult situation to handle since there was no place already where the Masarwa people are buried in the whole country. But this did not demoralise Margaret Cadmore, to move on with the burial process. She did not even consider the phrase “untouchable to the local” which the hospital supervisor mentioned, but forcefully made sure that the deceased’s body is kept in the public hospital mortuary to wait for its burial.

Furthermore, there were no protection measures put in place for the Masarwa pregnant women. In the novel, *The Pursuit of Xhai* Mma Xhanadu was almost made to work in the field by Sebeso until her last month of giving birth, luckily, Mma Sebeso rescued her. It is stated that “Mma Xhanadu remembered the time when she was heavily pregnant with Xhai. Sebeso had wanted her to work the fields until the birth of the baby, but Mma Sebeso would not hear of that. She made sure that Mma Xhanadu was released three months before the birth” (Seretse, 2008, p. 34). Even though men are regarded as protectors or women savers, it was not the case with the Masarwa people. They were never cared for by the local people since they were regarded as dogs and people of the Kalahari Desert. Sebeso could not see any need for a Masarwa woman to be given maternity leave since the Masarwas are mere servants and live a lifestyle of animals. He had no pity for Mma Xhanadu at all, if it was not for his generous wife Mma Sebeso, Mma Xhanadu was going to endure the suffering regardless of her situation.

In addition, when Margaret’s mother’s corpse was brought in the hospital, the hospital supervisor informed the staff of who the deceased was and apologetically communicated to the nurses that

she is untouchable to the local people, in other words, a Masarwa. Nurses were not happy to hear that they have to wash the body for the burial. The corpse was even placed on the floor because the Masarwas are not decent people. It is a taboo to treat the Masarwa people humanely. Therefore, “it was only when they washed the body that they exposed their prejudice, and the reason why the body was not on a stretcher but on the stone floor” (Head, 1971, p. 8). This shows that the Masarwas do not have a place in public hospitals because they are regarded as animals and lack normal human qualities. It even took time to wash the corpse as the nurses could not find a proper reason for washing a Masarwa corpse the same way they do to humans.

Furthermore, prejudice, as well as discrimination exposed by the nurses to the deceased body, to Margaret Cadmore senior was a pity to the Masarwa, as she narrates that “if they so hated even a dead body how much more did they hate those of this woman’s tribe who were still alive” (Head, 1971, p. 9)? It is a worrisome situation to Margaret Cadmore. Hating a corpse brought into her fear because it was her first time experiencing such brutal discrimination. This also frightened her into adopting her child. This situation reveals that there was no respect given to the Masarwas, whether dead or alive. They were completely regarded as animals only, but not human beings.

Similarly, in the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai*, Xhai and Tshepo’s relationship made the Sebeso family become the laughing stock of the whole village. Sharing a bed with a Masarwa seems disgusting and making love is horrible and the worst of all. It is regarded as a form of bestiality. Since Masarwas are regarded as animals, Sebeso feels that his daughter sleeps with an animal,

thus, he decided that the best way to punish Tshepo is to send her far away from where she would be out of reach. It was a huge embarrassment for a Masarwa to sleep with a daughter of the royal family. This is stated by Sebeso as he says “Xhai was a Masarwa, a serf who did not deserve to see the nakedness of a Mongwato girl” (Seretse, 1971, p. 11). This means that Tshepo has more value and sleeping with a Masarwa devalued her since Masarwas are nasty creatures who lack normal human qualities. Masarwas are animals and sleeping with a human (a Batswana) is a serious crime, therefore, Sebeso was disturbed and angered by the form of bestiality that occurred.

4.4.3 Victims of bullying

Bullying is the act of intimidating a weaker person to make them do something against their will. It is a very nasty practice and it can affect the victims psychologically, mentally, as well as physically. In both selected novels, the Masarwa people encountered bullying from the local ethnic groups. They were mistreated due to how they were perceived in the society. They were regarded as people of a poor tribe, half-humans and often compared to animals since they were believed to live in the bushes.

In the novel *Maru*, Margaret Cadmore junior only became aware that something was wrong with her relationship to the world when she started going to the mission school. At school, “she was slyly pinched under the seat, and no one wanted to sit next to her” (Head, 1971, p. 11). Even though Margaret’s fellow learners were young, they have this prejudice characters as well at a tender age. This indicates that the discrimination against the Masarwas is not only amongst the

elder Batswanas but also in their children. Masarwas were easy to be identified by anyone and bullying can also be done by any Batswana, regardless of the age group. Other learners were angry because Margaret had the protection of a white woman who was also their principal.

In addition, Margaret has endured many forms of inhumane treatments or threats by her fellow pupils. She was courageous and brave enough to pick herself up solely since she had no one of her tribe amongst her fellow learners to fight with the battle together, thus, “she had no weapons of words or personality, only a permanent silence and a face which revealed no emotion, except that now and then an abrupt tear would splash down out of one eye” (Head, 1971, p. 11). This could affect her emotionally and physically since she was alone and her opponents were a big group. Margaret, as an orphan who did not feel any motherly love of her biological mother might wish to have a biological parent to protect her, apart from her adopted mother. This is because what she goes through at school is beyond her age and she is the only Masarwa in the whole school. It is an emotional situation to the reader since situations of these nature lead to school drop-outs and suicidal impulses. However, Margaret stood firm and focused on her studies.

Occasionally, if Margaret’s peers caught her in some remote parts of the school buildings during the playtime hour, they would set up the wild agitating dance. They always asked this question “since when did a Bushy go to school?” (Head, 1971, p. 11). Even though they called her such, she proved much more intelligence than them all. They always felt that the Masarwas belonged to the Bush and they thought that they cannot study to pass any subject in school, but Margaret has proven them wrong. She made sure that as they were busy bullying them, she was busy

studying. Even if the Batswanas believed that the Masarwas are inferior and they do not fit to have any knowledge (education), it was never the case with Margaret Cadmore junior.

Furthermore, the school Principal, Mr Pete, also took part in bullying Margaret because she is a Masarwa amongst his staff. Since he did not want to act physically or directly to her, he used one of the schoolboys, a fourteen-year-old boy, to distract the lesson and to show disrespect to her. The class kept quiet when Margaret was doing the roll call. Later on, the coached boy rose his hand as he asks Margaret “since when is a Bushy a teacher” (Head, 1971, p. 34)? Another statement came in from the entire class repeatedly that “You are a Bushman ...” (Head, 1971, p. 34). Margaret is a teacher at a primary school where there are small children who are supposed to earn her respect at all times regardless of her tribe. However, in this case, the learners show disrespect and prejudice to her, which means learners are expecting to be taught by teachers of their own tribes but never a Masarwa. Discrimination towards the Masarwa people was common in educational institutions and organisations. This is very frustrating especially to Margaret as she wants to execute her duty as a teacher, but there is too much destruction and annoyance from her disrespectful learners.

Moreover, as a way of demoralising Margaret, the school principal came in to ask Margaret why she failed to control her class, but he literally knew where the chaos was coming from. Luckily, Dikeledi intervened and angrily informed the learners to stop what they were doing and respect their teacher, as she says “stop it! Stop it! I will smash you all to pieces! She is your teacher! She is your teacher!” (Head, 1971, p. 35). This shows that not everyone disliked the Masarwas,

people like Dikeledi was always on their side. She did not bear watching such a chaos in silence, thus, she acted. Since the principal wanted to expel Margaret from his school because she is a Masarwa, he decided to write a report claiming that “I found Margaret Cadmore an ineffective teacher. She is totally incapable of controlling her class” (Head, 1971, p. 35). The principal had no proof to present to the Director since he did not ask further from the learners about what really caused the chaos or even from the teacher herself. In fact, the issue here was not the ineffectiveness of the teacher, but the tribe of the teacher, which is Masarwa. Mr Pete did not want to have a Masarwa amongst his staff, therefore, he tried to find a way to expel Margaret by accusing her of being an ineffective teacher, which has never happened.

On the other hand, in the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai*, Xhai’s pursuit by the Bangwato people under the supervision of Sebeso is another way of bullying. Sebeso decided that Xhai has to be shot to death for defiling her daughter, as Sebeso stated “what I want us to do is to hunt for him” (Seretse, 2008, p. 12). What is making Xhai to be killed is the fact that he slept with Sebeso’s daughter who is not a Masarwa, therefore, Sebeso feels that Xhai has no respect and he again brought shame to Sebeso’s family, thus, Xhai deserves nothing, but death. Due to Sebeso’s rudeness and autocratic manners, he even decided to make Xhanadu, Xhai’s father, a part of the group that will go hunt for Xhai. Even though Xhanadu was an old man, this did not stop Sebeso from treating him the way he pleases. Sebeso uttered that “I will take Xhanadu along with the four sons of my Morotsi servant and that brings the total number of men to eighteen, that is, including us” (Seretse, 2008, p. 12). This means that Xhanadu is forcibly turned into a cannibalistic and vampiric humanoid – he has no rights. Xhanadu has no excuse to give to Sebeso for not going to hunt down her son like an animal but to go. Xhanadu experienced many

heartache threats from Sebeso and his son's actions on Sebeso's daughter has worsened everything.

In addition, the Masarwa's ill-treatment started with Xhanadu's father when he was a herd "boy" for Sebeso's father, Sekgomenyane. This means that there was no respect given to Xhanadu's father. Xhanadu's father was called a "herd boy", meaning that he is intellectually defined and his intellect will not mature beyond that of a boy. He was punished inevitably when he lost ten herds of cattle. As a form of punishment, "his hands were tied before him and he was dragged by a horse for miles and his grandchildren, including Xhanadu were forced to witness everything so that they never repeated the same mistake when they grow up" (Seretse, 2008, p. 13). This was a merciless act toward Sekgomenyane, just because he is a Masarwa. The idea of summoning his grandchildren to come, witness, is for them to know the journey ahead of them and to know it at a tender age and prepare themselves for it. Once more, it is also an indication that the Masarwa people will never be respected, even elderly ones can be disrespected by the young Batswanas. The threats and attitudes from the superior groups are harsh and terrible.

Furthermore, Mma Xhanadu was insulted a times by Morwadi, who feels that Mma Xhanadu thinks she is somebody that her boy started sleeping with Bangwato girls. Morwadi also believes that Mma Xhanadu did not raise Xhai well and stated that they are just dogs and should really know their place. As she stated "it is obvious that you did not raise him well Mma Xhanadu, or else he would not have done what he did. You people are just dogs and you should really know your place" (Seretse, 2008, p. 29). Morwadi, just like any Batswana, also puts an emphasis on

Masarwa being dogs and should know their place. This indicates that no one needs them amongst other ethnic groups. Morwadi feels that Xhai was not taught about distancing himself from the Mongwato girls, otherwise, he could not do it. It is crucial for the Masarwa parents to teach their children with whom they should associate themselves.

Furthermore, a group of Bangwato women came to Mma Xhanadu's house to teach her a lesson for beating Morwadi, even though Morwadi was the one who insulted Mma Xhanadu. She was beaten to death until she lost consciousness. One woman shouted "you people need to be taught a lesson. The way you have beaten Morwadi today, you will soon subdue Bangwato" (Seretse, 2008, p. 29). The Bangwato women took revenge against Mma Xhanadu for beating Morwadi. Even though Mma Xhanadu beat Morwadi out of anger and frustration of Morwadi's insults, it caused all the Masarwas to become the victims of savagery. The Tswanas are actually worse – they are savages since Mma Xhanadu was later thrown on the bush fence and her hut was set alight. After this incident, the group of women continued running wild, beating up the Masarwa servants and burning up their homes. It was actually a brutal incident to all the Masarwas in the area since the Batswana were extremely merciless that even children echoed that the Masarwas should be killed; "death to Mosarwa, death to the dogs" shouted Morwadi's niece (Seretse, 2008, p. 30). This indicates that the Masarwas were to be killed as animals as a way of teaching them a lesson of knowing their place and to learn to associate themselves with their fellow Masarwas only.

4.4.4 Masarwas as subservient entities

Many merciless activities were done by the superior ethnic groups towards the Masarwa people. Age was nothing but just a mere word, it does not matter how young or old they are, the approach from the superior ethnic groups was equally inhumane.

Most importantly, the Masarwas were once prominent people, they were potentate in the past. Xhai was once told by his grandmother about their history, and he shared it with his cousin Gotse that “we used to be the Kings of the Kalahari Desert before the Bakgalagadi came. They enslaved our people but they were later enslaved by the Batswanas themselves; that’s why we have Masarwa slaves and Bakgalagadi slaves” (Seretse, 2008, p. 16). It is as well supported by Mhlahlo (2002) who claims that the irony of the discrimination against the Masarwas is that they are the original inhabitants of the land and yet on the basis of their racial and tribal identities, have been relegated to servile second class citizenry by their respective “conquerors”. This alone shows that the Masarwas portray leadership qualities as well and it is only colonialism that changed their lifestyle. Both novels disclose that the Masarwas were treated as slaves since they were never regarded as “normal” human beings. In *Maru*, they were looked down at, mocked and spat on. Their racial oppression and natural undefined hatred brought many challenges. Even though the Basarwas or Masarwas were the original owners of the land, they were regarded as the conquered tribe that was turned or made to assume the traditional role of slaves and outcasts, defeated, driven like donkeys and made into objects to be laughed at, even by kids. Maru stated that “... I still own the Masarwas as slaves” (Head, 1971, p. 46). It indicates that there was nothing else a Masarwa can be apart from being a slave in the eyes of Batswanas. Masarwa is

completely a tribe of slaves and they know it, and regard it as normal, because they have never lived a luxurious life after they were taken away as leaders of their own land.

In the novel *Maru*, both Maru and Moleka own substantial numbers of the Masarwa slaves, who tend their cattle and provide service within their households. The Masarwas were never allowed to sit on chairs but rather on the floor because they are regarded as inferior and belong to the animals' group, and obviously, animals do not sit on chairs. Maru revealed it that "all my one hundred thousand cattle and fifty cattle posts are maintained by the Masarwas; they sleep on the ground, near outdoor fires. Their only blanket is the fire" (Head, 1971, p. 46). This shows slavery since even if they seem to do a lot of work of looking after thousands of cattle, there is no respect and appreciation shown to them. Their sleeping place remains the same, and no blankets were given to them even during winter. For Maru, fire alone was enough. All the housemaids were Masarwas, they were never allowed a chance to go to school, except for the fortunate Margaret Cadmore junior who was sent to school by her namesake. At one point, Maru was not happy with the way Margaret was being treated, that she was given a bed by Moleka. He felt that she also deserves to be treated equally as her fellow Masarwas, regardless of her career. This is supported by Ncube (2001) that Margaret attended school with people outside her race, despite her achievements she was still marginalised. The Masarwas were not expected to go to school, because animals do not learn. However, even if the Batswanas felt so, no one of their ethnic group could compete with Margaret in school. She is a Masarwa, yet more intelligent than all of the Batswana children from primary school until the tertiary institution. Besides her outstanding performance, she was still marginalised which is the painful situation that shows slavery.

In addition, Maru felt that if the Masarwas who work for him hear about the bed that was given to Margaret, they will also demand for beds to sleep on, which he does not support. He sent for the bed to be recovered, “what will they do when they hear that a certain Masarwa in my village is treated as an equal of the Batswanas and given a bed from my office? Will they not want beds too, where do I find all those beds, overnight? I want the bed you loaned to the Masarwa teacher returned, immediately” (Head, 1971, p. 46). Even though Margaret was a teacher of their children, who really deserves some respect, her tribe spoiled the benefits any other teacher deserves. Maru, therefore, wants all the Masarwas to be treated equally regardless of their literacy rate. For as long as there is “Masarwa” term involved such a person must remain a slave.

Moreover, in the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai*, Xhanadu at his old age was a servant of one of the most prosperous cattle barons in Ngwato country, Sebeso. Sebeso has never hidden that he held the Masarwas in contempt. He felt that they were just good at collecting firewood and fetching water and just mere servants for Bechuanaland’s principal tribe. It is stated that “Xhanadu had nothing to show for years of servitude in Sebeso’s household except scars left by his master’s whip” (Seretse, 2008, p. 1). This is a clear indication that apart from him being a cattle herder, he also went through severe beatings by Sebeso. This was too severe for an elder like Xhanadu, he already endures suffering as a cattle herder at his age, and at the same time, he is beaten for losing any single cattle of his master. There was no a time of appreciation rendered to him as his master always targeted times for blunders to punish him severely.

Procedurally, a worker has to be paid monthly or weekly, depending on the agreement between the employer and an employee. For Xhanadu, he was never paid a salary. He was given “a threadbare coat that he had received many summers ago as payment from Sebeso, worn over tattered khaki trousers and shirt, but it could never keep the cold away from his old bones” (Seretse, 2008, p. 1). It is a pity for one to work without being paid and it is slavery since Xhanadu expected to receive a salary as payment but it never happened. He still remained unable to assist his family financially because he was never paid at all. During his stay at the cattle post, he suffered from hunger since Sebeso rarely brings him food, fortunately, “he was surviving on hand-outs from fellow Basarwa servants who had good masters” (Seretse, 2008, p. 1). There were also some good Tswanas who cared for the Masarwas, just like Dikeledi, who took care of Margaret although they were still slaves. They were provided with food to eat, unlike Sebeso who never cared at all.

The Masarwas were severely oppressed because they were regarded as mere dogs. They were punished and beaten up for losing any cattle, “one day, Bohutsana lost ten herds of cattle. For that, punishment was inevitable. His hands were tied before him and he was dragged by a horse for miles...” (Seretse, 2008, p. 13), and the little ones also made aware of the inevitable punishment, as a warning for them not to repeat the same mistake when they become servants. This shows that the Masarwas went through hardship as well as a horrible life. It is frightening and emotional for the children to be shown such terrible incidents done to their elders. This could instil bad thoughts in their minds and they might also not respect their elders since no one respects them.

4.5 How the Masarwa people dealt with prejudice and discrimination by the superior ethnic groups

Due to brutal treatments of insults, prejudice, bullying, et cetera, done to the Masarwa people by the superior ethnic groups, the Masarwas were smart enough to think of the best ways to deal with prejudice and discrimination against them. They thought of the best ideas to avoid such inhumane treatments and at least to show the Batswana people that they are also human beings like them, and not animals as they (Batswanas) perceive them. In both novels, various actions were done by the Masarwa people in order to avoid regular ill-treatments by the superior ethnic groups. Apart from the actions done, their natural beauty is also another positive impact that helped or saved them from being treated harshly, but at least attracted some of the superior ethnic groups' individuals.

4.5.1 Identity, self-definition and cultural pride

In Africa, culture is an important aspect amongst others. A person without culture can be compared to a tree without roots. It is culture that defines who people are and where they come from. Cultural customs and moral values pave for us ways for a better living standard. Those who are well-raised culturally always respect and maintain their culture and are always proud of their cultures and tribes. This is what happens to the Masarwa people as presented in the selected novels. They are proud of their culture and tradition, as well as their tribe.

In the novel *Maru*, Margaret was always free and proud to mention that she is a Masarwa. She did not worry about how people will look at her afterwards when they learn about her tribe. She

has high pride (she was always free to mention that she is a Masarwa whenever she is asked) of her culture and accepted that nothing will change her from being a Masarwa. She explained thoroughly to everyone who asked her about her tribe that “No ... Margaret Cadmore was the name of my teacher. She was a white woman from England. I am a Masarwa” (Head, 1971, p. 16). This is the same explanation Margaret gave to Dikeledi when she asked her about her background. She could have posed off as a coloured but like Kunta Kinte in African American fiction, she defines herself according to her tribe, fully aware of the consequences.

Furthermore, even if Dikeledi warned Margaret not to mention that she is a Masarwa to anyone else, Margaret objected the idea. She expressed that she is not ashamed of being a Masarwa and she even showed Dikeledi the sketch of her dead mother that was done by her teacher, as a way to show clarity and confirm to Dikeledi that she is a pure Masarwa. Similarly, the school principal, Mr Pete, has also asked the same question as Dikeledi. Margaret answered freely that she is a Masarwa, but not a coloured as they thought. This shocked the principal as he did not expect to have a Masarwa among his staff Besides, he was scared to be blamed of admitting a Masarwa at school, though tribe or totem was not a part of the admission requirements. From this incident with Pete and Margaret’s inconsistency upon her real ethnic identity, the reader can conclude that self-definition is a critical tool for confronting ethnic prejudice and division.

In the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai*, the Masarwa people were also proud of their tribe. The Masarwa people knew that they were mere servants of their masters (the Bangwato) and they (Masarwas) respected their servants so much. The Masarwas believed that they are (Bushmen)

and inferior to the Bangwato tribe. They were known almost to everyone, thus, they had no reason for hiding their characters and personalities. The Masarwas always humbled themselves and admitted that they were going to remain poor since the Bangwato and other Batswanas are more powerful than them and Batswanas will take over everything. They were dignified despite the derogation and dehumanisation.

In a conversation of Xhai and his cousin Gontse, Xhai said "... I have realised that this independence thing is not for us Basarwas. Yes, Bangwatos and other Batswanas are going to be richer and more powerful while our people will lose everything" (Seretse, 2008, p. 15). This indicates that the Masarwas were never valued, even though they were the famous tribe and the rulers of the land before. Despite all these, they were proud of their culture and tribe regardless of all these bad talks from the superior groups. The Masarwas also realised that the ill-treatment by the Batswanas will never stop, therefore, it was high time for them (Masarwa) to act powerfully in order to eradicate prejudice and dehumanisation against them.

4.5.2 Masarwas as endowed with intelligence and natural beauty

The Masarwas are presented as gifted as well as beautiful people. They are smart enough to think of the next move, even though most of them did not attend formal education, they are given natural talents to do some activities diligently. The luckiest one, Margaret, who went to school excelled very well and always scored brilliant grades. Moreover, their natural beauty, especially their skin colour and the body shape have attracted most of the Bangwato youth. The Batswanas fell in love with the Masarwas because they are cute and handsome.

In the novel *Maru* Margaret Cadmore was the best learner in school, “Margaret Cadmore had produced a brilliant student, whose name, identical to hers, was always at the top of the list of passes” (Head, 1971, p. 12). Even though she is a Masarwa who went through challenges of bullying and insults by her fellows, she never failed, she always scored as the top learner. When she passed college, she only had A symbols, and this is the reason she was immediately admitted as a school teacher at Dilepe. Her intelligence and good performance somehow defeated the prejudice that she is labelled as a mere Masarwa. Of course, Mhlahlo (2002) states that Margaret’s qualification proves that education and not social or racial background can, without prejudice, give one an opportunity and identity to show personal potential.

Margaret’s intelligence also saved her; “... the brilliance was based entirely on social isolation and lack of communication with others, except through books, was too painful for young Margaret ever to mention” (Head, 1971, p. 12). This indicates that books saved her from peer pressure and other social affairs of the world since she lives in a world of isolation and lack of communication with others. She had no friends to talk to or play with at school because she is a “Bushman”. In addition, she knows how to draw and enjoys drawing sketches and painting them. Margaret is multi-talented and this shows intellectual endowment which is a real threat to the Batswanas, since realistic threat’s one-way focus is broader, encompassing any threat to the welfare of the group or its member (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). This is supported by Seingier (1997) that Margaret’s determination of keeping her real identity as a Masarwa prevented her from going insane.

Furthermore, during Margaret's stay at the teacher training college, her fellow students could not really tell that she is a Masarwa. The regular appearance of her namesake and the unashamed public kisses on the cheeks, which shows that she can be modern and not just a "bushy"; "she had been mistaken by the students for another variant of the word (Bushman)" (Head, 1971, p. 13). Margaret's colour is totally different from that of her people, thus, her fellow students were always in confusion. They also thought that she could be a child of a white and African couple, since "such children also bore the complexion of members of the Bushmen tribe" (Head, 1971, p. 13). It was really difficult for students to figure out Margaret's tribe because Margaret appears as a coloured and not a Masarwa.

Moreover, upon her arrival in a remote inland village of Dilepe, people were confused by her skin colour. Her perfect English accent and manners did not apparently fit her looks. According to Dikeledi's observation, "not one thing about her fitted another and she looked half like a Chinese and half like God knows what" (Head, 1971, p. 16). This forced Dikeledi to ask her specifically if her father is a white man since her name is not familiar to her. Because Margaret is a proud Masarwa, she gave all the information, that she is indeed a Masarwa. Dikeledi thought she is a coloured (a child of mixed marriages). Similarly, Mr Pete, the school principal also felt the same way as Dikeledi, he did not figure out the Masarwa character in her at first, but only after she asked her. By being regarded or passing on as a coloured, especially in post-apartheid Botswana, she could have been elevated and worshipped, but she chose not to sell her identity for a living, and tell the truth and face the consequences.

Margaret Cadmore junior's beauty even broke the friendship between Moleka and Maru. Akindes (2004, as cited in Masenya, 2017) states that xenophobia is the fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers and it is "embodied in discriminatory attitudes and behaviours, and often culminates in violence, abuses of all types, and exhibitions of hatred" (p. 82). Moleka was the first one to fall in love with Margaret but later Maru got jealous and forcefully took over to win Margaret's heart. It is like they are actually "fighting over her". – She is a treasured trophy to be won and this happens despite their awareness of her ethnic identity, so they both can see how magical her physical endowments are. The Masarwa character is completely forgotten, beauty took over and confused Maru and Moleka. Equally so, Margaret's drawing talent mesmerised Maru so much. The sketches that Margaret drew impressed Maru so much after Dikeledi showed them to him. Maru sent for another sketch and warned Dikeledi not to disclose that she was taking it to him, thus, Dikeledi lied to Margaret that she needs another sketch because she lost the one she received previously. Margaret is so magical that she can draw wonderful and attractive pictures. She is really a "super" woman whom every man would want to marry because of her artistic work. By looking at Margaret's drawing delights, that brings closeness and intimacy, as it did to Maru.

More, Xhai, the protagonist in the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai*, attracted many girls in Serowe. He is a very tall and handsome Mosarwa boy. He has a well-defined body and even-toned light skin and this appearance made every girl in Serowe, including the daughters of Bangwato royals, "fall hopelessly in love with him" (Seretse, 2008, p. 4). The physical appearance attracted the Serowe girls and forget that Xhai is a Masarwa. Every Serowe girl was trying to impress Xhai with whatever they could to win his heart. There were also fights between girls in the village of

Serowe over Xhai, "...there were fights or rumours of fights among girls in the village of Serowe over Xhai, a mere Mosarwa boy" (Seretse, 2008, p. 4). The girls were trying their luck as they were all attracted by the Masarwa boy. One also wonders how come the Tswana girls are attracted by a Masarwa boy? Are there no boys of their ethnic group? It can also be that they are the one who tempted or aroused Xhai to fall in love with a girl of their ethnic group, even though he knew that it is very dangerous. Anyway, the fights only came to an end when Xhai fell in love with Tshepo, the beautiful daughter of the proud royal Sebeso. Tshepo even told Xhai that "he was a better lover than Ngwato boys" (Seretse, 2008, p. 4). This can put much confidence and pride in Xhai, that despite his tribe, has defeated the Ngwato boys in attracting even the girls of their tribe.

Furthermore, the Masarwas have survival skills to escape danger and their own way of running. During the running process, "they always communicated with Mother Earth. They looked for signs on the ground, in the sky and even in the air. They were always in touch with nature" (Seretse, 2008, p. 11). So, they are actually talented, favoured and magical in escaping dangers. It is actually an inborn talent that they all have since most of them did not attend formal education. It is their inborn knowledge that they apply and it has really worked for them. Such skills are the one that helped Xhai to run far away and never got caught by Sebeso's gang of pursuing him. Xhai was also lucky since among the group that pursued him was his father, who diligently informed Sebeso that Xhai is dead, but he made sure he sent Gontse to take food to Xhai and inform him of what has transpired.

The inclusion of Xhanadu in the group of pursuing Xhai was a mistake that Sebeso made. Xhai was even happy to hear about it from Gontse, as he says "... I am happy that my father is among those who are going to hunt for me" (Seretse, 2008, p. 15). The father-son bond proves how civilised they are, how they are actually the superior tribe or ethnic group that shows human affection and qualities of togetherness and prudence. This shows that Xhai will be communicating with his father in a hidden or magical way as part of their talent and this will help him to flee as fast as possible, and on the other hand, it is an obstacle to Sebeso's team since they will hardly catch him. In addition, this also shows their wit, trickery and intellect. This is because they are able to outwit the so-called "better or superior" by communicating without the awareness of Sebeso and the rest of the team.

4.5.3 Self-defence against the superior

Furthermore, in pursuit of the research objective that seeks to examine how the Masarwas dealt with prejudice and discrimination by the superior group, it is critical to show how the Masarwas devised self-confidence. This is particularly evident in both novels through how the Masarwas started being reluctant to obey to the Batswanas' instructions and fighting back.

One way of self-defence was through physical confrontation. In the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai*, Mma Xhanadu was angered by the insults from Morwadi, who felt that the Masarwas are just dogs and they should really know their place. This led Mma Xhanadu to attack Morwadi with punches. The beating of Morwadi by Mma Xhanadu brought chaos in the area, that a group of Mongwato women was established to destroy all the Masarwa homesteads. This havoc disturbed

the Masarwa youth. They also decided to organise themselves under the leadership of Xhai Xhai to fight back the Bangwato women. They were armed with catapults and knobkerries and they decided that they would try to disperse the women by firing them with stone “missiles”. This taught the Batswanas that the Masarwas are not weak at all, they can also fight back. It also frightened the Batswanas and many stopped threatening the Masarwas as they normally do. The Masarwas have shown them that they are also humans and can be violent just like them (the Batswanas).

In addition, the day the Mongwato women attacked Mma Xhanadu with sticks, while some others set the hut, the shacks and the thorny bush fence to fire, was when the Xhai Xhai youth group taught them a lesson. The Mongwato women were beaten with stones and later they decided to flee for their lives. Xhai Xhai, the leader of the group, “swooped up his shaken and bleeding great-aunt and fled the scene ...” (Seretse, 2008, p. 35). The rest of the Masarwa youth remained to fight off the women who had remained. The youth did all these as a way of defence to protect their natives from these brutal killings by the Mongwato women.

In the same vein, Xhai fled from his village to Shoshong village to hide from the fatality of Sebeso and his team. This migration saved his life because Sebeso and his team failed to hunt him. Xhai managed to meet Tshepo again in Shoshong since that is where Tshepo was sent to by her parents. Tshepo and Xhai’s wish of staying together and maintain their love affair was finally fulfilled. Therefore, Tshepo’s parents failed to separate the two (Xhai and Tshepo). They decided

to break the rule of no love affair between a Masarwa and a Batswana; their plan was fulfilled and they lived as happy as they wanted.

In the novel *Maru*, the school principal, Mr Pete, seemingly coached one boy, a school learner in Margaret's class to distract her lesson in order to show disrespect toward her. The boy asked Margaret "since when is a Bushy a teacher?" (Head, 1971, p. 34). Margaret stood upright with wide-open eyes and she was not shaken at all by the unruly behaviours of her learners towards her. Margaret portrayed that she is not passive or weak but a strong woman who can stand solely firm and defeat her perpetrators without uttering any single word. Even though Mr Pete, the school principal attempted to organise bullying activities against Margaret at school, these did not put any fear into her. She again presented as indeed a strong woman. This is in the same line with Ncube's (2001) explanation that "Head depicted Margaret as an active character, who endures suffering and pain with an intention to prove the Batswanas that even "Bushy" could enter closed doors" (p. 58). She even thought of heart-breaking ways of dealing with her ill-mannered learners, as she told Dikeledi that "before you came in, I thought I had a stick in my hands and was breaking their necks" (Head, 1971, p. 36). This means she was very upset with what her learners were doing to her.

4.6 Challenges experienced by the non-Masarwa people towards eradicating ethnic segregation and discrimination

The issue of ethnic segregation and discrimination has been opposed by some members of the superior ethnic groups in Southern Africa, especially in Botswana, where the two selected novels

Maru (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) are set. There are a few individuals who are against the way the Masarwa people were treated (discriminated) and they have tried to stand on their ground to protect the inferior Masarwa people. This caused hatred between them and their fellow Batswanas, especially the missionary woman Margaret Cadmore, Dikeledi, Moleka, who were later joined by Maru, in the novel *Maru* as well as Tshepo, Mr Sykes, and Mma Sebeso in the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai*.

4.6.1 Romance between Masarwa and superiors

It is known as a taboo for a Masarwa to have sexual liaisons with a Mongwato or Batswana (Seretse, 2008). Seretse (2008) stated that it is referred to as the “ultimate unpardonable sin” and brings shame to the superior ethnic group(s) in general, and to the family in particular. This act was never in favour of some Batswanas as they felt that the Masarwas were also human beings like them and they (Masarwas) never belong to the animal kingdom at all.

In the novel *Maru*, Margaret’s presence in the village somehow changed the village. This started when the two young men, Maru and Moleka, friends since childhood, who will become chiefs of their villages, are the most affected. Even though Moleka is loved by Dikeledi, he has fallen in love with Margaret, although he hardly knows her. Moleka wanted to marry Margaret, but when the truth of her background was revealed, he was fearful of going against the prejudice in his village. Moleka was scared to face the shame and blame from his fellow Batswanas for marrying Margaret, a Masarwa. There was no one known who married a Masarwa before, and Moleka was ashamed to be the first man to marry a Masarwa.

Maru also falls in love with Margaret and uses his friend's hesitance in pursuing her to his advantage. Even though he sent people to take away a bed from Margaret after it was revealed that she is a Bushman, he used his sister Dikeledi to commission sketches, which he keeps for himself. The marriage of Maru and Margaret brought up changes in the society which is kind of Maru's aim, thus, Maru sees a chance in a marriage with Margaret to change the prejudices and racial divisions among the people in Botswana. Ncube (2001) supported this by stating that Maru crossed the boundaries with the aim to honour the Masarwa community since he saw the natural beauty of a Masarwa woman outside his racial territory. To add on, since he will be a chief soon, he felt that it was his responsibility to break away from the chains of colonialism and bring in a new day for his people. Margaret as well got a chance to associate with the Batswanas who have been their enemies ever since. It is also an open door for other Batswana men who love the Masarwas but had fear to reveal it.

Nevertheless, in the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai*, Tshepo, the daughter to the Ngwato royal, Sebeso, fell in love with Xhai, the Masarwa boy. This incident disappointed Tshepo's father so much. Due to the strong bond of love between Tshepo and Xhai, Sebeso's idea did not work to separate the two. Shoshong village where Tshepo was sent, is also where Xhai fled to and they met several times on their way to Shoshong. From this incident of Xhai and Tshepo fighting for their love regardless of the ethnicity differences, the reader can conclude that genuine love comes from the hearts of both partners. Further, love is hard to be broken up by a third party, regardless of the challenges and obstacles. No matter how tough the struggle can be, the partners will always find courage together to hinder the challenges and proceed with their love journey.

Thus, all the plans set to divide Tshepo and Xhai failed because they decided on their own to work hand in hand and fight prejudice and discrimination among the ethnic groups.

Furthermore, Xhai had always a positive thought about his girlfriend, Tshepo. When his cousin Gontse told him about Sebeso's trip to pursue him and that Sebeso wants Xhai dead, he told Gontse that, "if it so happens that I die, I want you to tell Tshepo that I love her so much and that she is the only woman that I will ever love" (Seretse, 2008, p. 17). This indicates the sign of true love between the two, regardless of the different ethnic groups they belong to. Tshepo, on the other hand, loves her Masarwa boyfriend and is always defensive of him when other people were disadvantaging him. She was free to defend him even in front of Salefoma, as she says "... Xhai is not a useless Masarwa. He is a hard worker who also happened to be far better looking than you ape" (Seretse, 2008, p. 25). This shows that Tshepo was truly in love with Xhai and she never allowed any nasty words uttered against him. This is also a clear indication that the Masarwas are also human beings like other people since they can show affection to people of different ethnic groups.

Similarly, when Mma Salefoma started assaulting Tshepo with a whip, Xhai hurriedly came out of his hiding place to come rescue his woman, Tshepo. That day they even slept together sharing love stories and exchanging love words of thoughts and feelings toward each other, which shows that the Masarwas are also normal human beings. Tshepo has showed much love and care to Xhai. She makes sure Xhai was safe and never wanted him to be caught by her father and his team. She uttered to Xhai that "wake up my love. You have to continue with your fleeing lest

you get caught by thugs” (Seretse, 2008, p. 27). This stipulates that Tshepo was against her father’s decision against Xhai and she was furious about it. As a caring woman, she also gave Xhai a few rands and told him to follow her to Shoshong and besides, Tshepo warned Xhai to be careful on how he spends the money. All these wise words of encouragement show that Xhai and Tshepo are truly in love and different ethnicity is not a barrier at all.

4.6.2 Sympathetic defence by the superiors

Observing an inhumane behaviour for a couple of years may shake one’s heart and instil in them thoughts of acting fiercely in order to terminate the unruly situation. There are certain individuals in the selected novels who were on a full swing, armed in action, to protect the poor Masarwas and eradicate discrimination and segregation amongst ethnic groups. They felt that people should be treated equally regardless of their culture or ethnic groups. They do not believe in contempt and superiority nor injustice and prejudice.

Margaret Cadmore is a woman who never supported discrimination. It is stated in the novel *Maru* that she felt that the Batswanas were too rough and careless about others, “these are not decent people” (Head, 1971, p. 8). It started when she found a Masarwa woman dead after giving birth. She took action to take the corpse to the hospital and ordered the nurses to wash it and prepare it for burial. She literally forced them to do it. This brought many questions into her such as “if they so hated even a dead body how much did they hate those of this woman’s tribe who were still alive?” (Head, 1971, p. 9). It surprised her as she has never come across such heartless people in her life. If it was not for her, the deceased body would not have been taken care of and

no one would even care to bury it even without cleaning. It is because of Margaret's generosity that the baby survived, otherwise Margaret junior could have died of hunger since the mother died already and this occurred because of tribalism and prejudice against the Masarwas.

Margaret Cadmore named the adopted child after her. She protected this child from all the evil deeds from other children and any Batswana who may want to beat, bully or insult her for being a Masarwa. Even though the relationship between her and the woman was never that of a child and its mother, but a semi-servant, she used to be given things that servants do not usually get, such as "kisses on the cheeks and toes at bedtime, a bedtime stories" et cetera (Head, 1971, p. 10), just to mention a few. This signifies indulgence. Margaret Cadmore did not mistreat her namesake even though she knows she is a Masarwa breed. Margaret junior was cared for and shown love just like any human being.

Furthermore, since Margaret Cadmore senior was the principal at the mission school where Margaret Cadmore junior was schooling, she made sure that no harm was done to her. Of course, this was the time Margaret Cadmore junior realised that "something was wrong with her relationship to the world" (Head, 1971, p. 11). This means that Margaret starts to observe the discrimination and prejudice towards her, a situation that she does not go through at home but very common at school. She was called names such as "a Bushy" and she later realised that there were no other learners of her tribe except for her. All these thoughts made Margaret Cadmore junior to realise that she is different from others and her tribe is not loved by many. There was a time a couple of students were expelled from school because they were found "dancing away in

savage glee” (Head, 1971, p. 11) by the principal Margaret Cadmore. Margaret Cadmore senior has never tolerated bullying activities, thus, she was always involved in placing order and discipline at school and punish whoever harm others in any way. Margaret Cadmore senior made sure there is no bullying taking place around the school premises, thus, learners who attempted to bully Margaret junior were dealt with by the principal.

In addition, this type of bullying upset her so much, that she felt that “no one by shouting, screaming or spitting could un-Bushman her” (Head, 1971, p. 12). Margaret Cadmore senior believes that whatever form of bullying learners may do to her namesake, it will never change Margaret junior from being a “bushman”. She felt that it is only learning that will lead to eradicating such behaviour. Thus, in the end, she produced a brilliant student who was always at the top of the list of passes. It is the social isolation and lack of communication with others that led to such an outstanding performance since Margaret’s full attention was just solely in books. Peer pressure and other distracting social activities did not find a room in her heart, because Margaret junior was ever alone since at school there is no other people of her tribe, she was ever victimised.

Apart from Margaret Cadmore, Dikeledi, a teacher at Dilepe School has also played a role in protecting Margaret, since they became close friends. Thus, Seingier (1997) believes that “Margaret and Dikeledi have both two different, even opposed, attitudes and personalities and this is probably what helps to cement their friendship” (Head, 1971, p. 34). Firstly, she is the first one to warn Margaret not to ever mention to anyone else that she is a Masarwa. She added that if

Margaret hides the truth, people will simply assume that she is coloured. Their friendship just developed in a period of two days. Dikeledi has been on Margaret's side all the time since she knew the behaviour of his fellow teachers. She came to her rescue when one of the learners called her "a Bushy teacher", as instigated by the school principal, Mr Pete. She was the only teacher who tried to find out the truth behind the disrespect of learners toward Ms Cadmore.

Dikeledi angrily shouted to the learners and told them to always show respect to her "stop it! Stop it! I'll smash you all to pieces! She is your teacher! She is your teacher!" (Head, 1971, p. 35). Dikeledi tried to calm the situation and truly showed her disappointment to the learners. She did not want learners to disrespect their teacher, regardless of her tribe that is dishonoured by many. Therefore, amongst all the teachers at school, not even the principal, it was only Dikeledi who felt bad about the situation, which denotes benevolence and goodness.

Moreover, Mma Sebeso, in the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai*, is a generous woman who always cared for the poor. Even though she is a wife to the royal, Sebeso, and their family became the laughing stock after their daughter fell in love with Xhai, the Masarwa boy, she never took revenge against the Masarwa people, especially Mma Xhanadu, Xhai's mother in particular. When the Bangwato women beat Mma Xhanadu and set her hut on fire, she accommodated her in their homestead. Mma Sebeso did not even listen to the unbearable advice from Morwadi who wanted Mma Sebeso to stop serving a Masarwa, "look here Morwadi, I am not serving anyone here and if you are here to cause any trouble you better leave" (Seretse, 2008, p. 49). Mma Sebeso refused to listen to her fellows' ideas. She followed her heart and did what she felt was

right on her own. This shows that she was ready to face the battle that Sebeso might cause if he found Mma Xhanadu in their homestead. She had no fear for Sebeso to find Mma Xhanadu in his house when her son wronged to their family, all Mma Sebeso wanted is protection for the Masarwas.

In addition, Mma Xhanadu had hope that Mma Sebeso will accommodate her for the night since she had been the only one to lend an ear when she cried. Her generosity toward Mma Xhanadu started when Mma Xhanadu was heavily pregnant with Xhai. “Sebeso had wanted her to work in the fields until the birth of the baby, but Mma Sebeso made sure that Mma Xhanadu was released three months before the birth” (Seretse, 2008, p. 34). Mma Xhanadu had no doubt of going to kneel on Mma Sebeso’s face because Mma Sebeso has shown Mma Xhanadu so much kindness sometimes ago, even in the presence of Sebeso, Mma Sebeso’s heartless husband. In addition, Mma Sebeso helped Mma Xhanadu with the baby clothes and blankets when needed. These assistances are the one that motivated Mma Xhanadu to go and seek help from Mma Sebeso.

Accommodating Mma Xhanadu in Sebeso’s house brought fear in Mma Sebeso’s heart, since she knew that “she had really risked having a stable family by accommodating the elderly Mosarwa at her home” (Seretse, 2008, p. 39). Even though it was such, Mma Sebeso showed bravery and was kind enough not to reveal her state of fear to Mma Xhanadu, but she tolerated the situation at hand. Furthermore, some Bangwato people such as Morwadi came to discourage Mma Sebeso from accommodating Mma Xhanadu. She stated fake assumptions that “the reasons why rain is scarce nowadays is because of what is happening in the world today” (Seretse, 2008,

p. 49). This did not shake Mma Sebeso in any way, Mma Sebeso ignored Morwadi's words because she believes that Morwadi has never favoured the Masarwas, and all Morwadi wants is to see the Masarwas suffering, which Mma Sebeso refuse to allow. Any sort of discouragement brought to Mma Sebeso's face was kicked far away, since Mma Sebeso never disrespected anyone. She treats people equally and more importantly, Mma Sebeso does not hold grudges against others, instead, she accepts what happens, forgives and forgets.

Similarly, Mr Sykes, the honorary leader of the Mafetsakgang regiment tried to keep the peace amongst black people. The war situation that broke up between the Bangwato women and Basarwa youths upsets him so much. He uttered to himself that "black people will remain savages no matter what we do to try to civilise them" (Seretse, 2008, p. 35). This indicated that he was upset by the situation. People of the same ethnic group and race fighting each other was not a good idea to him. Mr Sykes thought of an idea on how to put these types of fight to an end. Firstly, he decided to preach a fiery sermon at his church and secondly sent members of the regiment to the western end of the village to arrest the Bangwato women and the Basarwa youths. These two actions have calmed the cold war that broke up between the Bangwato women and the Basarwa youth, and no further fights were reported. This stipulates that Mr Sykewanted unity amongst the black people because he believes that they are one.

4.6.3 Chapter summary

The Masarwa people have gone through severe threats and discrimination by the superior ethnic groups. There was no respect given to them, even the elders were looked down upon as mere

servants just like their children. They were compared to animals always and discourteous words such as “dogs”, “kaffir” were used to refer to them. Those who managed to be educated like Margaret Cadmore, whom one may feel deserve respect like the Batswanas, was never paid any single respect, not even from her learners at school. Through reading these two novels *Maru* (1971) and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008), a reader is able to judge whether the Masarwas were happy with the discrimination and segregation they experienced from the superior ethnic groups and how they overcome it. Is it worth for people of the same race or ethnicity to colonise each other? It was, thus, the priority of this study for the researcher to explore the challenges of discrimination and ethnic segregation experienced by the Masarwas and how they overcome them as represented in Head’s *Maru* and Seretse’s *The Pursuit of Xhai*.

Head and Seretse wrote these novels respectively in order to reveal how their people were treated during those days. This information might not be known by the Masarwas present today, but the more they read these novels, they will learn what was done wrong to their people and educate each other. Their people in the past were submissive to their royals because they had fear of threats, rejection, or embarrassment, thus, they admitted to doing even wrong things they were told to do. This is supported by Stephan and Stephan (2000) who state that “people feel personally threatened in intergroup interactions because they are concerned about the outcomes for the self, such as being embarrassed, rejected, or ridiculed” (p. 26). Thus, the Masarwa people had no say in decision making, unless they find a way forward without the awareness of the superior groups.

This chapter explored the literary representations of experiences that the Masarwa people encountered as presented in the two novels; Bessie Head's *Maru* (1971) and Gasebalwe Seretse's *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008). This chapter also examined how the Masarwa people dealt with prejudice and discrimination by the superior ethnic groups. However, it is noteworthy that although the Masarwa people portrayed as victims of bullying, slavery and so forth, the analysis has proven how the Masarwas featured prominently in the struggle as makers of history in eradicating ethnic segregation and discrimination in the society. The results of the study were also presented in this chapter by examining how the Masarwa people dealt with prejudice and discrimination by the superior ethnic groups, whereby the Masarwas are portrayed in the novels as people with a strong cultural pride, they are never ashamed of mentioning that they are Masarwas, as well as individuals with natural beauty and intelligence. The findings about self-defence over the superior were also presented. Lastly, the chapter also evaluated the challenges experienced by the non-Masarwa people towards eradicating ethnic segregation as depicted in the novels, *Maru* and *The Pursuit of Xhai*. The final chapter provides the conclusions and recommendations, as well as the idea of how the study has contributed to the body of knowledge.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the study was carried out to explore the literary representation of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination in Bessie Head's *Maru* and Gasebalwe Seretse's *The Pursuit of Xhai*, respectively. The study developed out of the researcher's curiosity about the nature of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination against the Masarwa people by their fellow black ethnic groups. It was conducted by examining the representations of their experiences in literary (novels) works, seeking to interrogate hatred and prejudice from the black non-Masarwa people which led to discrimination and segregation between them. This was done to clear the doubt of bravery and intelligence as characters given to the Masarwas, as opposed to them being viewed only as inferior and ruthless human beings.

This study sought to elucidate the portrayal of the Masarwa people in literary works or texts and real life. It was conducted in order to revise the idea of the Masarwa people as inferior, filthy, untouchable beings, but rather present the Masarwa people as people of quality characters as they are represented in the literary works (novels) under study. This study, therefore, intended to explore the literary representation of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination among black African ethnic groups as presented in *Maru* (1971) by Bessie Head and *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008) by Gasebalwe Seretse.

The major objectives of the study were to explore the literary representations of the experiences that the Masarwa people encountered as presented in the selected novels; to examine how the Masarwa people dealt with prejudice and discrimination by the superior group as presented in the selected novels and to evaluate the challenges experienced by the non-Masarwa people towards eradicating ethnic segregation as depicted in the selected novels.

The intergroup or integrated threat theory was the theoretical framework employed in this qualitative desktop study which used content analysis as a method to analyse the two literary works. This chapter, therefore, gives a summary of the findings and recommendations that are critical in illustrating how the study paves the way for a new perception regarding the Masarwa's depictions and portrayal in literature. It is divided into two sections which are conclusion and findings, and recommendations.

5.2 Conclusion and findings

This section presents the conclusions and findings of this study. The study brings forward a different perspective of the Masarwa's representation as opposed to how they are portrayed in their societies. The Masarwa people in Head and Seretse's novels do not appear as inferior only, but the authors have presented a wide range of traits that would qualify them as brave, intelligent and naturally gifted individuals in the society.

In many cases, the Masarwa were criticised, threatened and regarded as a low filthy nation and inferior to all. At times they were also called bad names and compared to animals. Despite all these inhumane acts towards them, they were smart enough to think of the best ways to deal with prejudice and discrimination against them. In both novels *Maru* and *The Pursuit of Xhai*, the Masarwa people have shown their cultural pride. They were not ashamed of mentioning or revealing their tribe even if it was looked down on by other ethnic groups. In the novel *Maru*, Margaret was always free and proud to mention that she is a Masarwa and did not worry about how people would look at her afterwards when they get to know about her tribe. Similarly, in the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai*, the Masarwa people believed that they are Masarwas (Bushmen) and inferior to the Bangwato tribe and others. They were known to almost everyone, thus, they had no reason for hiding their Masarwa characters and personalities.

Furthermore, though the Masarwa people were regarded as a low filthy nation and untouchable to the nation, their beauty (natural look) and intelligence saved them. They are smart enough to think of the next move; most of them did not attend formal education, but they are given natural talents to do some activities diligently. Margaret Cadmore, in *Maru*, was ever the best learner in school. Even though she is a Masarwa who went through challenges of bullying and insults by her fellows, she never failed and she always scored as the top learner. Her intelligence and outstanding performance defeated the prejudice that she is labelled as a mere Masarwa. Comparably, the majority of the Masarwa tribe were not educated, they have natural talents or gifts of survival skills to escape danger. They also have their own way or style of running. They always communicated with Mother Earth. They looked for signs on the ground, in the sky and

even in the air. It is then these skills that helped Xhai run far away and never got caught by Sebeso's gang of pursuing him.

Apart from that, the Masarwa's natural beauty attracted majority of other ethnic groups. Margaret's skin colour confused and attracted many. Most people could not really tell that she is a Masarwa. The regular appearance of her namesake and the unashamed public kisses on the cheeks, she has been mistaken by the students for another variant of the word (Bushman). Upon her arrival in a remote inland village of Dilepe, people were confused by her skin colour. Her perfect English accent and manners as well did not apparently fit her looks. Mr Pete, the school principal also did not figure out the Masarwa character in her at first, but only after she asked her.

In addition, even though the Masarwa people were just regarded as mere servants of their masters; and it was also a taboo for them to have love relationships with other Batswanas, things later changed. Their beautiful look made some of the non-Masarwas break the rule and build love affairs with the beautiful Masarwas. In the novel *Maru*, Margaret Cadmore junior's beauty even broke the relationship between Moleka and Maru. Moleka was the first one to fall in love with Margaret but later Maru got jealous and forcefully took over to win Margaret's heart. Likewise, Xhai, in the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai*, attracted many girls in Serowe. His well-defined body and even-toned light skin, and his appearance made every girl in Serowe, including the daughters of Bangwato royals to fall hopelessly in love with him.

In many occasions, the Masarwa people were bullied and enslaved by the non-Masarwa people. The situation became bitter that they (Masarwas) decided to resist all the prejudices and discrimination by acting and fighting back. They felt that the Batswanas were not fair at all since they wanted to keep them as mere slaves and insulted them always as they pleased, so they started to respond back. In the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai*, Mma Xhanadu was angered by the insults from Morwadi, who felt that Masarwa are just dogs and they should really know their place; therefore, this led Mma Xhanadu to attack Morwadi with punches. Similarly, the Xhai youth group have beaten up the Mongwato women who attacked Mma Xhanadu with sticks, while some others set the hut, the shacks and the thorny bush fence to fire.

The Masarwa people were strong enough to stand firm in order to overcome bullying actions done against them. They made sure that they stick to their plans and aims. Margaret stood up firm, right with wide-open eyes; she was not shaken at all by the unruly behaviours of her learners towards her. Even though Mr Pete, the school principal, attempted to organise bullying activities against Margaret at school, these did not put any fear into her. Comparably, Xhai fled from his village to Shoshong village to hide from the fatality of Sebeso and his team. This relocation saved his life because Sebeso and his team failed to hunt him. He also managed to meet up with his lovely girlfriend, Tshepo, again in Shoshong since it is where Tshepo was sent to by her parents. Their wish of staying together and maintain their love affair was finally fulfilled.

The issue of ethnic segregation and discrimination has been opposed by some members of the superior ethnic groups in Southern Africa, especially in Botswana, where the two novels *Maru* and *The Pursuit of Xhai* are grounded. The two authors seem to be against it because they decided to put in writing as a way of giving out their messages about it. In both novels, there are individuals who were against the way the Masarwa people were treated and they tried to stand on their grounds to protect the inferior Masarwa people.

It is known as a taboo for a Masarwa to have sexual liaisons with a Mongwato or Batswana. But as a way of eradicating discrimination and segregation, this act was never in favour of some Batswanas. They felt that the Masarwa people were also human beings just like them and never belong to the animal kingdom. In *Maru*, due to a rift with Maru's friend caused by his (Maru) actions, he sees a chance in marriage with Margaret to change the prejudices and racial divisions among the people in Botswana. Tshepo, in *The Pursuit of Xhai* fell in love with Xhai, the Masarwa boy. Even though it is regarded as a shame to the royal family, and despite the relocation of Tshepo from Mongwato to Shoshong, this did not separate the two (Tshepo and Xhai). Since Xhai also fled to the same village, Tshepo later escaped from her uncle's house to stay with Xhai forever. All these were done as ways of eradicating prejudice, ethnic segregation and discrimination among the ethnic groups.

There are certain individuals in the selected novels who were on a full swing, armed in action to protect the poor Masarwas and evaluate discrimination and segregation among ethnic groups. They felt that people should be treated equally regardless of their culture or ethnic groups.

Margaret Cadmore is the woman who never supported discrimination. When she found a Masarwa woman dead after giving birth, she took an action to take the corpse to the hospital and ordered the nurses to wash it and prepare it for burial. She named the adopted child after her and protected this child from all evil deeds from other children and any Batswana who may want to beat, bully or insult her for being a Masarwa.

In addition, Ms Dikeledi, a teacher at Dilepe School, has also played a role in protecting Margaret, since they became friends. She came to her rescue when one of the learners instigated by the principal called Margaret a Bushy teacher. She was the only teacher at school who tried to find out the truth behind the disrespect of learners toward Ms Margaret Cadmore. Mma Sebeso in the novel *The Pursuit of Xhai* is a generous woman who always cared for the poor. When the Bangwato women beat Mma Xhanadu and set her hut on fire, she accommodated her in their homestead. She has been assisting her ever since, thus, Mma Xhanadu trusted her so much. Likewise, Mr Sykes, the honorary leader of the Mafetsakgang regiment tried to find ways to keep peace among the black people.

5.3 Contribution to knowledge

The researcher recognised the need to explore the themes of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination amongst the black ethnic groups, one that is scarce and has not been explored much, especially in Namibia. Firstly, this thesis is an eye-opener to the Namibian academic writers to find ways to further interrogate the issue of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination as it needs a deeper analysis that one is able to understand further. Secondly,

many academic writers cited in this thesis have presented segregation and discrimination between black and white people, mostly in America and most cases people from different nations. However, this thesis attempts to reveal the discrimination and segregation among black ethnic groups (black against blacks) of the same nation.

In literature, the ancient time researchers depicted the Masarwa people as inferior, but it does not necessarily have to stay as such, as the world is changing. This study has given a new way of viewing the Masarwa people because literature does not only depict them as sufferers or slaves but also as brave and courageous beings. Finally, the study sensitises the readers, especially Namibians, about the controversial issue of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination. This study constructs that the Masarwa people are equally important as any other tribe in Southern Africa. They must be respected and valued as any other human beings as they can do every work and join any career like other people.; Therefore, bullying, enslaving and calling them nasty names are sensitive actions that can ruin peace and unity among people of the same nation.

5.4 Recommendations

This study revealed that the Masarwa people are not as passive as portrayed by other ethnic groups in the literary works. It brings out that they have essential characteristics of bravery and intelligence that are worth noting. It is therefore against this background that the researcher reckons it necessary to further interrogate the issue of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination in order to extend the understanding regarding these themes. The researcher, therefore, recommends further research on the following areas:

- Analyse how the Namibian writers have portrayed ethnocentric segregation and discrimination in literary genres.
- Comparative studies on the inferiority of ethnic groups and experiences in novels from different African countries.
- Ethnocentric segregation and discrimination in European countries compared to African countries, any shared experiences.
- Finally, further research should be conducted in other genres of African literature to explore the themes of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination in Africa.

5.5 Chapter summary

This chapter concludes that the study was carried out to explore the literary representation of ethnocentric segregation and discrimination in Bessie Head's *Maru* (1971) and Gasebalwe Seretse's *The Pursuit of Xhai* (2008), respectively. It presented the findings and conclusion that the researcher drew up as explored in this chapter. The chapter also presented the aspects that the researcher feels can add to the contribution to knowledge. Lastly, the recommendations for further research are presented.

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