



Re-defining white privilege: Students' perceptions of white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa.

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Declaration

I, Nombulelo Sharon Shezi, declare the following:

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my favourite niece, **Samkelisiwe Mkhize**. I hope this inspires you to keep dreaming. To my late uncle, **Gordon Ntandazo Mbhele**, the man who fuelled my love for literature. I hope this makes you proud. *Rest in Eternal Peace Mbhele, Mphemba, Godide, Ndlela kaSompisi.*

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Abstract

During the apartheid era, race was a barometer that determined what privilege an individual was privy. In order to ensure the maintenance of this privilege, segregation laws were introduced. Washrooms, beaches, transport, and other public amenities were allocated according to races, with white people getting quality facilities. Thus, white people enjoyed a multitude of benefits at the expense of black people (Africans, Coloureds & Indians). The 2016 Fees Must Fall movement spearheaded by South African university students introduced the controversial topic of white privilege. Due to the gruesome history of apartheid and the tension that still exists in South Africa's social fabric, this topic further divided South Africans into factions. For months on end, controversial topics regarding race, racism, and white monopoly were deliberated on all media platforms. This study is framed within theories of social constructionism and the empowerment theory. In order to examine how race is socially constructed in South Africa (SA) and the perceptions of race in post-apartheid South Africa, this study drew on two case studies by Bhana & Pattman, and Oakes and Misgun. Secondly, the empowerment theory highlights that it is through the political, economic, and social empowerment of the individual and communities that a society flourishes (Zimmerman, Israel, Schulz & Checkoway, 1992). Twenty-four interviews were conducted with students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College to determine how students perceive white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa. An additional hundred and two questionnaires were distributed via Google Forms to determine how individuals from different socio-economic contexts perceive white privilege, race and racism. This study discovered that despite the end of apartheid, many of apartheid's racialized patterns of privilege have persisted and 'race' continues to influence one's access to essential resources. This is despite the introduction of transformative policies aimed at redressing the colonial legacies.

Keywords

Apartheid, black people, colonialism, race, racism, social constructionism, whiteness, white privilege, white supremacy.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ANC - African National Congress

AsgiSA - Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South

B-BBEE - Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment

BLM - Black Lives Matter

CRT - Critical Race Theory

GEAR - Growth, Employment and Redistribution

GBV - Gender-Based Violence

LGBTQI+ - Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Queer & Intersex

KZN - KwaZulu-Natal

NGP - New Growth Path

NP - Nationalist Party

NPA - National Prosecuting Authority

RDP - Reconstruction and Development Programme

SAHRC - South African Human Rights Commission

SAIRR - South African Institute of Race Relations

SARB - South African Reconciliation Barometer

SMME - Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises

TVET - Technical Vocational Education and Training

UK - United Kingdom

UKZN - University of KwaZulu-Natal

UNRISD - United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Background to the Study

The Fees Must Fall¹ movement that was spearheaded by university students in South Africa in 2016 reintroduced South Africans to the topic of 'white privilege'. This topic garnered varying views and divided students across the country into factions as it raised issues of race, racism, white privilege, and white monopoly. In his African American study, Bennett (2012:1) maintains that the average underprivileged person of colour² is not afforded any privileges, hence cannot afford "seeing, experiencing, as well as living the manifestations of white privilege and are, therefore, more aware of its existence and consequences." Anti-racism educator, Robert Terry supplements this view by stating that, "Being white means not having to think about it". "Whiteness is the norm of our society. And so it is hard for us as white people to see how it is operating. People of colour see it all the time" (Wise, 2008:1). White privilege³ scholar, Tim White (2008:1) states that, 'whiteness' is not taught or discussed even at a social event. Instead, there is a taboo among white people in discussing whiteness and the power and privilege it carries. Similar sentiments are raised by Wise (2008) when he asked, "Is being white something we talk about with other white people? Like at a social event? Or at coffee hour at church? Or with our family around the dinner table?" (Wise, 2008:1). According to Bennett (2012:1), white privilege can be traced back to before the 1980s when the American forefathers drafted laws to legalize slavery. He further states that people of colour were regarded as property rather than people and were devoid of any rights allocated to the superior white race. This includes the right to vote in elections as well as the right to own property. Although the term white privilege was yet to be born, it can be stated that white privilege was tied to the legal system that oppressed the minorities (Bennett, 2012:1). American feminist and anti-racism activist, Peggy McIntosh argues that as a white person, she had privileges simply because of her skin colour. She further stated that most white people cannot acknowledge these

¹ A protest led by university students in South Africa that began in 2015. This protest initially fought against a lack of government funding for universities, financial exclusion, and free education. This movement also advocated for issues such as the outsourcing of educators in universities.

² The term people of colour is commonly used to refer to African American, Latino American, Asian American and other non-white persons.

³ In this study, white privilege refers to the notion that white people are still privileged even under the new political dispensation.

advantages as they are recipients of such advantages. This unbelief or failure to acknowledge white privilege further perpetuates institutional and intellectual white- superiority (McIntosh, 1988).

According to Wise (2008), the accumulated net worth of the average white family in America is twelve times the net worth of the average African American family and eight times that of the average Latino family. Wise (2008) further argues that according to the Department of Justice, on the study released in 2004, black and Latino males are three times more likely to have their cars stopped and searched for drugs compared to white males. This is perplexing because white males are four and half times more likely to actually have drugs with them when they are stopped (Wise, 2008:4).

Far-right ideas that condemn the rights of people of colour, Muslims, Jews and gays have become normalized in speech. This can be seen in the rise in Islamaphobia⁴, anti-semitic speech⁵ and hate crimes on people of colour. Especially in the wake of the recent horrific attacks of Christ Church mosques in New Zealand where lack of empathy and rebuke exercised by America and the White House can be observed (Jones, 2019). Racism in America was on the rise during an Oval Office meeting about immigration where President Donald Trump openly referred to El Salvador, Haiti, and other African countries as shitholes (Wolffe, 2018). The recent incidences of people such as Virginia governor Ralph Northam, the Republican secretary of state Michael Ertel and Attorney General Mark Herring admitting to wearing black face⁶ represents the current scope of racism in America (Guynn & Rhor, 2019). Black face was popular in the southern states where racism is still very much prevalent, especially in southern institutions (Merelli, 2019).

In 1997, an Australian newsletter published that the country was experiencing more racist incidents than ever. The newsletter stated that there was a rise in racist abuse in the playgrounds and streets of Australia's cities, and throughout the country, there was an increase in violence within rural areas reported. These incidents, which were fuelled by the country's potential changes to immigration policy, resulted in many Australians having to brace themselves whenever they had to go out in public (Dulwich Centre Publication, 1997:1). Reports of racist violence and ethnic violence increased drastically in the aftermath of the 2001 terror attacks in America as seen in the

⁴ The hatred, prejudice and fear against Islam or Muslims (Oxford Dictionary, 1920).

⁵ Prejudice towards Jews.

⁶ The use of black polish or paint on the face by a white person; this was used in the middle ages to portray black characters and mock black people.

attacks of mosques, including the horrific destruction of the mosque in Brisbane (Dunn, Gandhi, Burnley and Forrest, 2003:4). According to an opinion article published in *The Guardian*, the current scope of race relations has not improved. The writer, an Australian, stated that Australia is deplorably racist (Lattimore, 2018).

In the South African context, the end of apartheid marked the end of an era of explicit segregation and white supremacist order in South Africa. However, this did not mean the end of all forms of domination; rather, this era meant that white privilege would not operate in the same way as it previously did. It is important to understand that at a juridical level, it may seem as if white supremacy in South Africa has been knocked off balance. However, 'white power' and privilege is still very much alive in South Africa today. For example, the 2012 census revealed that the average income of a white household is seven times higher than the average income of a black family (Statistics South Africa, 2012 cited in Shabangu, 2012). "Whiteness in South Africa seems to possess almost magical powers, continuing to determine and mark privilege and, connectedly yet distinctively, desirability" (Ratele & Laubscher, 2010: 84).

American scholar argues that institutions within societies were intrinsically designed to provide as well as preserve white privilege. "Race permeates our politics. It alters electoral boundaries, shapes the disbursement of local, state, and federal funds, fuels the creation and collapse of political alliances, and twists the conduct of law enforcement" (Haney-López, 1994:3). Wildman (1996) cited in Christian (2002) points out that the invisibility of privilege strengthens the power it creates and maintains. The invisibility of privilege means that it cannot be dismantled, diminished, nor can it be examined properly. Steyn (2001) cited in Ratele & Laubscher (2010: 84) observed that, "Whites remain a powerful economic presence in South Africa and their influence on its future is likely to persist" as the bulk of the senior positions in prominent enterprises are still occupied by whites (Ratele & Laubscher, 2010: 84).

This subject became controversial when some privileged citizens of all races and mainstream media could not sympathize with those less privileged (Davids & Waghid, 2016). Black people in South Africa (Africans, Indians, and Coloureds) are confronted with the reality of inequality and oppression on a daily basis (Ferber, 2012: 65). The system still favours whites, hence the maintenance of 'white privilege'. Within this context, African black students maintained that the current system does not allow African black people easy access to basic resources, mainly

education (Baloyi & Isaacs, 2015). For example, the systemic underfunding of universities and technical vocational education, and training (TVET) colleges, constitutes a major obstacle to equality in accessing further education. This is due to insufficiency of government funding and the rising operational costs of universities and TVET colleges. These costs are shifted onto students in the form of fees, fee increases, as well as related costs pertaining to accommodation, transport, study materials, printing costs, internet use and food costs. Such costs creates barriers for students from the poor and middle-class families to access further education as well as to the completion of further studies by senior students' (The South African Human Rights Commission, 2018). Without education, poverty and unemployment statistics will continue to skyrocket in South Africa. "Education is one of the most powerful tools at government's disposal for the eradication of poverty and achievement of substantive equality" (Patrinós & Sosale, 2007 cited in The South African Human Rights Commission, 2018:51).

Research evidence shows that race does not stand alone as a systematic form of classifying and discriminating people within societies (Bond, 2007 cited in Accapadi, 2007). Multiple factors shape an individual's identity in their life, including race, social class, and sexual orientation. Based on the Statistics South Africa (2011), black women continue to struggle the most as they are still located at the bottom of social hierarchies (Mophosho, 2013). The historical differences instituted by apartheid are still evident in post-apartheid South Africa as black women continue to strive for economic, racial, and gender-based equality. Thus, inequality continues to manifest in patterns that prejudice the vulnerable individuals and groups based on their prescribed race, gender, and social class (The South African Human Rights Commission, 2018). For example, inequality among blacks has increased drastically and whites remain predominantly in the top 30% in terms of wealth, and thus continue to disproportionately own and manage the economy (Whitehead, 2003). Therefore, one of the objectives of this study is to explore the role that gender, and class play in post-apartheid South Africa, and whether race is the determining factor of being privileged, according to college students.

1.2. Statement of the Research Problem

The aim of this study is to gain extensive knowledge on how white privilege is perceived in post-apartheid South Africa, especially among students, in order to examine the current scope of race relation in South Africa. The aim of this research is not to place blame on one particular race, nor

is it to create divisions between races, but to explore the students' perspectives. Badat (2012) argued that, "freedom is not merely the chance to do as one pleases; neither is it merely the opportunity to choose between set alternatives. Freedom is, first of all, the chance to formulate the available choices, to argue over them and then, the opportunity to choose" (Badat, 2012:129). Freedom is creating an environment where students can openly discuss these controversial topics without the fear of reprisal and judgement. This study elicit participants' perspectives from different races, genders, and classes on the current understanding of white privilege. The study also establish if there is a parallel between the current literature on white privilege in South Africa and the general popular opinion among students on the subject. Therefore, this study is significant to interpret the narrative behind the meanings that different races use to define words such as race, racism, white privilege, and white monopoly.

Most studies on white privilege are based in America. This work has been monumental in providing the foundational understanding of white privilege, race, racism, gender, and class that this thesis is based on. There are several studies in South Africa that touch on white privilege, race and racism in South Africa that have been conducted. However, there are few studies that explored the students' perception of privilege, race and racism in post-apartheid South Africa. White privilege, race and racism cannot be understood only through the lens of American-centred analyses. There is indeed a significant need for more scientific enquiry representing the scope of white privilege, race, and racism in other countries, particularly developing countries.

In conclusion, South Africa has made great strides in restructuring the lives of people who were previously disadvantaged. However, white privilege and inequality remain prominent in the country (Van der Berg, 2002). This problem is especially evidenced in the sphere of higher education, which is a topic that still results in varying views dividing students' and societies into factions. Much work needs to be done in order to ensure equal distribution of wealth and income for the eradication of poverty and inequality, especially amongst black woman who are the most disadvantaged in South Africa. (The South African Human Rights Commission, 2018). Aforementioned the invisibility of white privilege exacerbates the power it creates, as this means that it cannot be dismantled, diminished, nor appropriately examined. (Christian, 2002). All in all, while this thesis seeks to investigate the students' perspective on white-privilege in post-apartheid South Africa, it will touch on topics such as race and racism in order to determine the racial

relations in post-apartheid South Africa. Also, to be explored is the role that gender, and class play in post-apartheid South Africa, and whether students identify race as the determining factor of being privileged.

1.3. Definition of Key terms

This study draws on several commonly used terms and concepts including white privilege, race, and racism. These terms have varying definitions depending on the context of a study. Therefore, to enhance the readers understanding of the terminology in this study, definitions have been attached below. The simplest of definitions have been chosen to ensure complete clarity throughout the entire thesis.

Apartheid: The word apartheid means separation, a system of segregation against Africans on the grounds of race that perpetuated racial and economic segregation (Mhlauli, Salani & Mokotedi, 2015: 205).

Bantu: A person, both of whose parents are or were members of an aboriginal tribe of Africa and shall include a person of mixed race living as a member of the ‘Bantu’ community or location, but shall not include any Bushman, Griqua, Hottentot or Koranna (James, 2016: 30).

Colonialism: A form of domination control by individuals or groups over territory and/or behaviour of other individuals or groups. It is also seen as a form of exploitation. Colonialism is the direct and overall domination of one country by another on the basis of state power being in the hands of a foreign power (for example, the direct and overall domination of Nigeria by Britain between 1900 and 1960) (Horvath, 1972: 46).

Black Economic Empowerment (BEE): An integrated and coherent socio-economic process that directly contributes to the economic transformation of South Africa and brings about significant increases in the number of black people who manage, own and control the country’s economy, as well as significant decreases in income inequalities (Department of Trade and Industry, South Africa, 2016: 7).

Race: A “specious classification of human beings created by European whites which assigns human worth and social status using white as the model of humanity and the height of human

achievement for the purpose of establishing and maintaining privilege and power” (Chisom, 1997: 30).

Racism: Any attitude, action, or inaction, which subordinates a person or group because of her/his race/color/ethnicity. Racism is the systemic mistreatment experienced by people of colour (Rogers, n.d.).

Reconstruction and Development Programme: “An integrated, social-economic framework that seeks to mobilize all people towards the country’s resources in order to reach the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future” (African National Congress, 2011: 165).

White people: People who both are or were members of a race who’s national and/or ethnical home is Europe. This includes Jews, Syrians, or anyone with the appearance of a white person pale skin and silky hair (James, 2016:30).

White privilege: An institutional rather than personal set of benefits granted to those people who, by race, resemble the people who dominate the powerful positions in institutions. One of the primary privileges is that of having greater access to power and resources than people of colour do. In other words, purely on the basis of skin colour, doors are open to us that are not open to other people (Kendall, 2002: 1).

White supremacy: “A political, economic, and cultural system in which whites overwhelmingly control power and material resources, conscious and unconscious ideas of white superiority and entitlement are widespread, and relations of white dominance and non-white subordination are daily re-enacted across a broad array of institutions and social settings” (Ansley, 1997: 592 cited in Rollock & Gilborn, 2011: 2).

1.4. Research Objectives

- To examine the students’ perspectives of white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa.
- To explore race relations, and the meaning of white privilege, in post-apartheid South Africa amongst UKZN students.
- To examine the extent to which black people are economically marginalized in post-apartheid South Africa through the eyes of the students.

- To examine the existence of systematic white privilege in the South African economy, and its economic development implications in post-apartheid South Africa.
- To analyze the extent to which race alone is still the main determinant of being privileged in post 1994 South Africa.

1.5. Research Questions

- What is the student's perspective on white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa?
- What is the current scope of race relations, and the definition of white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa?
- Are black South Africans economically marginalized in the era of democracy? How?
- What are the economic implications of white privilege in the lives of black South Africans, especially young people?
- Does the economic system in post-apartheid South Africa still reflect white privilege?
- Does race alone still play a prominent role in terms of access to resources?

1.6. Reflexivity

The nature of the study involves topics that may be considered sensitive as they may evoke experiences of racism amongst participants. This is because, for many black people, apartheid is a wound that has not healed especially to those who were directly affected by it. It is a topic that touches on factors such as race, racism, apartheid, and colonialism. It is, therefore, imperative that the researcher is sensitive and ethical towards the participants. In a study information letter, the participants were informed of the nature of the study and all that it entails. Furthermore, the participants were notified that it is within their rights to withdraw from the study as their participation was entirely voluntary.

1.7. Limitations of the Study

While there are several studies on race and racism in South Africa that have been conducted among university students, there are few studies that explored the students' perception of white privilege in the new South Africa. Therefore, this study had to rely on the work of scholars from abroad to gain a deeper understanding of this study topic. This study explored issues beyond white privilege.

Hence, issues related to inequality in South Africa and the intersection of race, class, and gender were further explored. Thus, the study is primarily based on the participants understanding of these topics. Should the participants understanding collected from the interviews be limited, this will not negatively affect the outcome of the study. This is because the study does not solely rely on the perspective of students, but it is also anchored by the use of existing literature on white privilege.

1.8. Chapter Organisation

This research dissertation contains six chapters.

Chapter I provides a brief introduction and background to the study. This chapter discusses the following subtopics: background to the research problem, the problem statement, the purpose of the study and the significance of the study. Furthermore, the chapter discusses research objectives; research questions; the key definitions of terms; reflexivity and lastly the limitations of the study.

Chapter II discusses the literature review. This chapter opens up by discussing colonialism, decolonialism and apartheid. Under this topic, the researcher also investigates the intersection of gender, class, and race in the South African context. The chapter further discusses the economic implications of white privilege that young black people are experiencing. While it also touches on topics such as colonialism, apartheid, race, and racism to determine the racial relations of South Africans, and the general meaning of being privileged, in post-apartheid South Africa.

Chapter III discusses the theoretical frameworks on which the study is anchored; the social construction of race and the empowerment framework. It is argued that race is socially constructed. This chapter therefore engages the issue of race as a means of categorizing people to perceive the students' understanding of white privilege, race, and racism in post-apartheid South Africa, as well as how such perceptions are constructed. The empowerment theory is used to explain how creating transformative policies can empower all South Africans, especially women who are the most disempowered persons' in South Africa.

Chapter IV on research methodology discusses how the study was conducted and the problems experienced during the data collection stage. This chapter further discusses how participants were sourced, and the data was collected and analyzed. The chapter includes the research design, the sampling strategies, snowballing and stratified random sampling, the methods of data collection and the analysis of the collected data.

Chapter V is the presentation and the discussion of results. This chapter presents the key findings collected during the data collection phase. This chapter focuses on answering the research questions and linking the findings to the research topic to determine the perspective of students regarding white privilege. This chapter interprets the data collected through graphs and presents in-depth discussions as the study uses both qualitative and quantitative techniques.

Chapter VI contains the researcher's reflection of the research's overall process and includes the researchers concluding remarks. This chapter also provides recommendations for any future research by critically discussing the studies strengths and weaknesses.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

While this chapter is primarily focused on the students' perspectives on white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa, it also engages with relevant topics such as apartheid and colonialism. This is to determine the economic development implications of apartheid that have carried over into post-1994 South Africa and examine the policy transitions South Africa adopted to redress such consequences. Exploring race and the existence of systematic white privilege using the lens of students is somewhat tricky. This is because both these notions are filled with vast intricacies that differ across racial groups. In the South African context, the Fees Must Fall movement of 2016 is an excellent example of this complexity, as the topic divided South African students into various factions. During these protests, some students argued that racism died in 1994 and that the South African constitution would never allow any form of systematic abuse. However, other students argued that there is still an underlying system that restricts black people (Africans, Indians, and Coloureds⁷) from gaining access to resources such as good quality education (Davids & Waghid, 2016). Therefore, colonialism and apartheid should be incorporated into the analysis. Furthermore, this chapter also explores the intersection of gender, class, and race in a South African context. Lastly, the chapter discusses topics such as race and racism to determine the racial relations of South Africans, and the general meaning of being privileged in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.2. Colonialism

The first Europeans to arrive in Africa were the Portuguese who arrived around 1500 and made contact on the western coast with the powerful Congo kingdom. As Portuguese trading and influence gradually increased, the Congo was conquered in 1665 (Thompson, 2001). However, that was just the beginning as European countries would continue to travel and settle into Africa countries (Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1974; Thompson, 2001). The year 1652 saw the Dutch settling into the Cape, now known as Cape Town in South Africa, to incorporate the Cape into the rapidly rising capitalistic economy (Magubane, 2001). The Dutch settled on the Cape on behalf of

⁷ A South African term used to refer to persons of mixed-race. Coloured people have ancestry from the Khoisan people, Bantu, Afrikaner whites and slaves imported from Madagascar, Malaysia, and Indonesia (Britannica, 2019).

the Dutch East India Company⁸ to stage a post for India-bound ships (Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1974). The British first captured the Cape from the Dutch in 1795 and reoccupied it in 1806 (Thompson, 2001). This was a part of their quest to seizing the continent of Africa as a whole (Biko & Stubbs, 1979; Magubane, 2001).

Colonialism⁹ began as a result of the changes that were taking place in the mode of production in Europe, the industrial revolution.¹⁰ This revolution was a quest for investment for capital accumulated during the period of slavery and the slave trade. Furthermore, European countries were in dire need of raw materials present in Africa (Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012: 9). In a nutshell, colonialism aimed to exploit the 'physical, human, and economic resources' of the colonised nation for the benefit of European countries (Birmingham, 1995: 1).

2.2.1. Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Africa

According to Acemoglu et al. (2007), cited in Huillery (2010), the main explanations on the deep roots of contemporary African underdevelopment can be credited to Europeans' influence during the colonial period. The partitioning of Africa crippled African societies' natural development, especially the economy (Birmingham, 1995: 1). This "scramble for Africa" was pioneered at the Berlin Conference between 1884 and 1885. In brief, this was the formal partitioning of Africa into spheres of influence, protectorates, colonies, and free-trade-areas (Papaioannou‡ & Michalopoulos‡, 2011). To maintain the direct control and occupation of African territories, colonialists devised a series of economic tactics, such as low wages and taxations (Magubane, 2001). If, for example, a man was married and working for the colonialist, what he received as wage could not maintain him and his extended family. Thus, the implication of the low salary paid to the African man was that his wife, children, or relatives would be compelled to join the colonial service to make ends meet (Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012: 9). This method compelled more Africans to enter the labour force (Magubane, 2001). As will be discussed, this method was further

⁸ Existed in 1600-1885, this English company was formed to partner with East, Southeast Asia, and India to facilitate trade, exploration, and colonization.

⁹ The process by which partial or total domination of a country is acquired by another.

¹⁰ Occurred between the 18-19th century this was the transition of European and American societies into industrialized urban societies. This era is characterized by the introduction of mass-producing methods of manufacturing machines and transportation.

exacerbated by the forceful land possessions, as it meant that the control that colonialist powers had over Africans would increase exponentially.

Colonial powers restricted African countries to ensure that the continent would not take to manufacturing. African countries were unequal partners with the West, especially in international trade and economics (Magubane, 2001; Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012; Settles, 1996). According to Farah & Mazongo (2011) cited in Bayeh (2015), colonial powers ensured that African countries only produced primary products, cash crops¹¹ and raw materials with more market value. In Tanganyika¹² for example, colonial authorities shifted the labour away from food production in attempt to create a surplus of a labour-intensive¹³ non-food cash crop, cotton. Colonial powers also promoted the production of minor crops of peanuts and sesame while reducing dietary staples such as millet and sorghum. This led to a shortage of food reserves, leading to chronic malnutrition and famine (Settles, 1996: 13). This restriction of African states confined the continent to the role of producing only primary goods or agricultural raw materials that were needed by the industries in Europe (Magubane, 2001; Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012). It also resulted in the continent relying on imported expensive foreign products. These imports were usually funded by what the countries gained from exporting their cheaper primary products. This, therefore, led to an unequal exchange of market products and trade deficit (Bayeh, 2015). The purpose of colonialism was not merely to exploit but also to send the profits produced from African labour and African resources back home to Europe. Thus, the development of Europe was at the expense of African states (Bayeh, 2015; Magubane, 2001; Rodney, 1974). Additionally, Bayeh (2015) states that the integration of Africa into the world's capitalistic economy with this trade deficit¹⁴, and the unequal exchange of market products, usually makes the continent the risk-taker.

According to Rodney (1974), after settlement, while European colonial employers exploited all workers, African workers were treated more crudely. Furthermore, colonial governments discriminated against the employment of Africans in senior categories. In circumstances where a white and a black person filled the same post, the white man was paid considerably more. For

¹¹ A crop produced for commercial use rather than to be used by the grower.

¹² Tanganyika is now referred to as Tanzania.

¹³ A process or industry that requires a lot of workers to produce goods and services.

¹⁴ The amount by which a country's imports exceeds that of its exports.

example, European civil servants in the Gold Coast¹⁵ received an average of £40 per month, with quarters and other privileges, while Africans received an average salary of £4. Wages paid to workers in North America and Europe were higher than of Africans who received the lowest possible salary (Rodney, 1974). Rodney (1974) further states that this unjust treatment was justified based on racial intolerance (Rodney, 1974).

Similarly, Magubane (2001: 3) states that white supremacy and racism are the expressions of the measures which European adventurers and colonisers reckoned necessary to colonise, expropriate, exploit, and rule the colonised states. As Rhodes (1877) cited in Alam, (2002: 3) stated, “I contend that we are the finest race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit, the better it is for the human race”. White colonial leaders, therefore, perceived themselves as superior to the rest of the world. This perceived superiority was enforced on social groups which they saw as inferior races. Thus, racism was intimately woven into colonialism as non-whites were systematically barred from membership to a ‘whites-only club’ founded on racial distinctions (Alam, 2002).

2.2.2. Colonial Land Dispossession

Before European settlement, the Cape was populated by small and spread-out communities of the Khoisan¹⁶ who possessed large herds of cattle. As the population of the European settlers increased in the region, they needed more land. The Dutch settlement also meant that they would need cattle to supply the incoming ships with meat (Cloete, 1992). The Dutch settler Jan Van Riebeeck then informed the Khoisan that they were required to move (Cloete, 1992). The Khoisan resisted Dutch intrusion in their lands, resulting in conflict between the Dutch, the San, and the Khoi. However, this resistance did not last long as the Khoisan were by far less equipped to offer any real armed resistance than the vast kingdoms of West Africa (Beinart & Dubow, 2003). The Khoi were enslaved by the Dutch, whereas the San were brutally treated, and their children were often taken as slaves (Wills, 1913 cited in Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1974). This was the first forced land relocation in what would become known as South Africa in 1910 (Cloete, 1992). Indigenous¹⁷

¹⁵ A name used to refer to a former British Colony in West Africa. The area now forms part of Ghana.

¹⁶ Khoisan, (also referred to as Boesmans, Bushmen by the Afrikaners) a catch-all term used for the indigenous people of South Africa the term combines the Khoikhoi (Khoi) and the Sānkhoen (San).

¹⁷ Originated from a particular place (synonyms include native, local, or aboriginal).

Khoisan people would continue to fall victims of land dispossessions at colonisers' hands (Beinart & Dubow, 2003).

According to Magubane (2001), Dutch physician Wouter Schouten viewed the Khoi¹⁸ as heathen and Ham's biblical descendants. Comparing their language was to the cackling of geese and the clucking of hens (Magubane, 2001). Schouten classed the Khoi people as outside of what would be classed as part of humanity. He referred to them as beasts that were not to be trusted as their way of living was inhumane and brutal. Magubane (2001) further states that the editor of Graham Town's Journal, Robert Godlonton, fuelled by his hatred for the Xhosa (or AmaXhosa) of South Africa¹⁹, spewed racial hurls, referring to them as barbarous savages (Magubane, 2001). These racist and deplorable perceptions about African people would propel colonial powers to divide, conquer, and oppress the people of what is now South Africa. The pursuit for more land led to what would become the "Kaffir Wars" of 1777-1879. It was also during this time that Godlonton and other imperialists called for the ruthless destruction of all Xhosa people (Magubane, 2001). In total, nine wars were fought, which led to the Xhosa people's ultimate defeat (Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1974). Upon their loss, the Xhosa people lost their independence, land, and cattle to British Colonial rulers (Oliver & Oliver, 2017).

According to Bundy (1979) cited in Modise & Mtshiselwa, (2013), Africans in the late 1850s were self-reliant, economically independent, and prosperous. Due to having access to land, they were rapidly becoming wealthy and economically independent (Modise & Mtshiselwa, 2013). Maylam (1986) reports that the competitiveness and resilience of Africans, specifically the AmaHlubi²⁰, deprived colonial powers of labour and created competitive conditions in the struggling economy of the late 1860s (Maylam, 1986). Thus, the competitiveness of the Nguni unsettled the white farmers (Maylam, 1986; Modise & Mtshiselwa, 2013). This self-reliance and economic prosperity led to black people refusing to work for white farmers as servants and labourers. These white farmers were unsettled as their perception of Africans was that of subservient, better suited as servants and labourers (Rugege, 2004). It is then not surprising that colonial authorities confiscated

¹⁸ The San and the Khoi are the two main groups that inhabited South Africa during the first century A.D.

¹⁹ Nguni (plural, *AbeNguni*) refers to communities living in the areas between the Drakensberg Mountains and the sea. AmaNguni are known to have consisted of AmaZulu, AmaXhosa, AmaThonga, AmaNdebele, and AmaSwati. The Nguni people speak isiXhosa, isiZulu, isiSwati, and isiNdebele.

²⁰ A South African nation (*much like the Zulu Kingdom*) with royal genealogy descending from the Northern parts of Africa. They settled in Natal until their land was confiscated by Britain.

the land and cattle of the Hlubi people (Modise & Mtshiselwa, 2013). Through this perception of Africans, colonisers would introduce a succession of Acts to ensure that black people would be impoverished (Modise & Mtshiselwa, 2013). This would be done through dispossession and prohibiting specific farming arrangements to eliminate self-sufficiency within black communities (Rugege, 2004). These Acts would also force black males to migrate, work at mines and white-owned farms to earn a living and become solely dependent on wage employment (Rugege, 2004; Modise & Mtshiselwa, 2013). White settlement, rooted in the superiority of the white race, led to the confiscation of land from indigenous communities of South Africa. The dispossession of the Khoisan of their land was the first occurrence (of land dispossession) in what became South Africa subsequent to white settlement. Black people lost their self-sufficiency, economic prosperity and, ultimately, their independence. Therefore, the negative racial perceptions and stereotypes accompanying the introduction of a series of Acts destroyed indigenous people's independence. Therefore, cheap labour and taxation further exacerbated this dependency, compelling them to be solely dependent on colonial employment.

2.2.3. The scope of South Africa before decolonisation

The discovery of minerals in South Africa had resulted in an influx of settlers into the country. This includes mostly British employers²¹. The Afrikaners²² (commonly referred to as Boers) were mostly farmers, the white labour force. This labour force had been migrated from Europe due to the rumours of gold and diamonds in the country (Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1974). This gold boom also exacerbated the conflict between the British and the Boers as the discovery of gold revived British interest in the Transvaal²³ (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). This conflict would continue well into 1902 when the British defeated the Boers and gained control over the provinces Transvaal²⁴ and the Orange Free State, now known as the Free State. Upon this defeat, Britain

²¹ Europeans who seized the Cape Colony from the Dutch in 1795.

²² The Southern African group that descended from the Dutch settlers in the 17th and 18th century, recognizable by their distinct language, culture, and faith. This group is also referred to as the *Voortrekkers*, *Trek Boers*, or the *Boers*. The trek Boers were mostly mixed-race as inter-racial relationships had occurred between the Khoikhoi and Dutch settlers.

²³ As per the first war between the British and the Boer (*Anglo-Boer War*) the Transvaal Colony was under the ruler ship of the Boer. [*The Anglo-Boer War (Anglo referring to English speaking) a series of wars fought between the British and the Boers*].

²⁴ Transvaal and the Orange Free State were the provinces of South Africa from the year 1910-1994. The Transvaal no longer exists as its territory is now a part of Gauteng, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, and North West.

formed the Union of South Africa, a unification of all four provinces, namely Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal, and the Cape (Ntloedibe, 1981).

2.2.4. The decolonisation process

In South Africa, the decolonisation process is rather hard to trace, as the country transitioned from colonisation into a period of higher gross violations of human right, apartheid. In 1910 the country gained semi-independence²⁵ from Britain through the unification of South Africa. According to Oliver & Oliver (2017), in 1910, South Africa was unified into four provinces, (aforementioned these provinces are Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal and the Cape). Of these polities, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were ruled by the Boers while the rest were under Britain's rulership (Ntloedibe, 1981; Oliver & Oliver, 2017). The union of 1910 placed the country's administrative responsibility into the hands of the white coalition government (Ntloedibe, 1981). South Africa's formal position as a Great Britain colony ended in 1931, giving South Africa full independence within the British Empire. This meant that all powers that the British had over South Africa were now abolished. However, the country was still an ally of Britain, even recognised the Queen as monarch, had a governor and answered to the Westminster parliament. Full decolonisation in South Africa did not occur until the country withdrew from the Commonwealth in 1961 to become a republic (Mashingaidze, 1981).

After the Second World War, the international community began to provide further attention to human rights, particularly in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (Saunders, 2017). This period gave rise to a multitude of African countries gaining independence from the colonial powers (Mashingaidze, 1981: 25). The first African state to become a sovereign state was Congo-Kinshasa, now referred to as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), followed in 1961 by Tanganyika (Tanzania). The year 1968, except for South Africa, saw most Southern African countries becoming independent, including Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Namibia, Angola and Mozambique (Mashingaidze, 1981).

In conclusion, decolonisation in South Africa did not mean independence as the country remained under apartheid. The law cemented the racist perceptions regarding different social groups of South Africans created during colonialism. Under these apartheid laws, black South Africans

²⁵ This means that both, the Britain and the Boers were in power. The Boers held the power in Transvaal and the Orange Free State while Britain ruled Natal and the Cape.

would face atrocious violations because of their skin colour. It is through this lens of blackness that the land issue in South Africa would continue to climax during the era of apartheid. This climax would occur through the creation and implementation of the homeland system²⁶ and racist urbanisation policies²⁷ (Modise & Mtshiselwa, 2013; Platzky & Walker, 1985). According to Ntloedibe (1981), under colonial laws, government structures and economic institutions²⁸ were deliberately designed to exploit the human and natural resources of the colonised countries. In South Africa, Southern Rhodesia²⁹ (Zimbabwe), Namibia and Angola for example, the land was expropriated, and the people were forcefully moved to reside in crowded and impoverished areas known as reserves/homelands/Bantustans (Ntloedibe, 1981). Between 1960-1983, these racist policies would forcibly remove approximately 3,5 million people, uprooting them from their homes (Duvenhage & Jankielsohn, 2018). It is under colonialism that the racist ideological foundations of racial prejudice and racial intolerance against Africans would be born. In South Africa, these foundations would feed into Apartheid. The division of the country, the racial oppression of black South Africans and the introduction of these land Acts were met with black resistance. This resistance led to the formation of liberation movements, hence the founding of the African National Congress (ANC)³⁰ in 1912 to fight against the racial oppression and perceptions against black South Africans (Mandela, 1964).

2.3. Apartheid

According to Wolpe (1995), there was continuity in the racist ideological foundations of apartheid. This meant that, although colonial reign had ended, racism and racial prejudices towards black people would continue. These perceptions of race would become legalised, and black South Africans (Africans, Coloureds, and Indians) would continue to suffer at the hands of white racist

²⁶ The separation of racial and ethnic groups into different geographical areas within South Africa. These laws were established by the government during apartheid to move black people in South Africa away from urban areas into homelands (native lands). For example, a person who was of Zulu origin would be moved to KwaZulu Natal.

²⁷ Policies that were created to ensure separate development in the country. This separation was based on skin colour and ethnicity

²⁸ Institutions are "rules, norms, and patterned behaviour that may or may not take the organizational form (Narayan, 2002: 2). Intuitions can be formal or informal. Formal: laws and rules in the state, private sector, and civil society organizations at the local, national, and international level. Informal: norms of inferior or superior status, expectations of bribes, informal restrictions placed on women inheriting property, or the cluster of practices on the treatment of widows (Narayan, 2002).

²⁹ Rhodesia is now named Zimbabwe.

³⁰ ANC stands for African National Congress, a national liberation movement and the ruling party of post-apartheid South Africa beginning from the year 1994.

leaders, due to their skin colour (Legassick, 1995; Wolpe, 1995). The South African government under apartheid was often referred to as a 'racial oligarchy'; this is where political power is electively vested in a small segment of society (Mhlauli et al., 2015).

According to Mhlauli et al. (2015), the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was enacted to suppress black people by creating an education system that would further render them as inferior politically, economically, and socially (Mhlauli et al., 2015). Bantu³¹ education sought to further separate white and black people in South Africa by moving institutions for advanced training into urban areas. Bantu schools focussed more on labour-intensive education with little to no emphasis on the learning of mathematics and sciences. The education system for Bantu people prepared them for menial jobs (Christie & Collins, 1982). Bantu Education, therefore, focussed on teaching subjects such as gardening, basket making, bricklaying and woodwork, to ensure that black people would remain labourers, and to ensure job security for white South Africans (Loram, 1969). This Act was further amended in 1965 to include separate education for Indians through the Indians' Education Act of 1965 and the Coloured Peoples' Education Act of 1963 (Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1974).

Gelb (2004) states that, during apartheid, the legislation limited black access to finance. This was achieved through the 1950 Group Areas Act (Gelb, 2004). The Group Areas Act was enacted in 1950 to promote the segregation of blacks and whites into separate residential areas. This law also meant that Africans were forced to live in slums and reserves such as Soweto³² and where they experienced a lot of poverty and suffering (Mhlauli et al., 2015). Black workers were forced to work in urban areas while living in designated townships outside of the urban areas (Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1974). Gelb (2004) further states that this Act explicitly restricted ownership by blacks to specified areas in cities and towns. This legislation would later reinforce regulations aimed at preventing black entrepreneurs from creating companies or partnerships, even in areas that were previously designated as 'black' areas (Gelb, 2004).

Similarly, Magubane (2001) argues that, through the use of cheap labour, white people began to maximise profits while the black people continued to spiral into poverty. This poverty was further

³¹ Abantu (or Bantu as commonly used by colonialists), is a Zulu word that means 'people'. The term was used to refer to black people.

³² A township that is located in the city of Johannesburg (Gauteng, South Africa).

perpetuated by enacting the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 (amended in 1959), which allowed the government to reserve certain types of jobs to persons of a 'specified' race. Black traders were only allowed to pursue small-scale retail operations in buildings they would rent from local authorities. This was done to ensure that these retail operations did not develop into large commercial enterprises (Magubane, 2001: 27).

According to Lodge (2011), the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act were conceded in 1953. These laws increased the severity of penalties (such as fines, imprisonment, and whippings) for people protesting against, or supporting the abolishment of a bill (Lodge, 2011). These laws also gave the government the power to announce rigorous States of Emergency³³ which continued sporadically until 1989 and resulted in anyone being detained without a hearing for up to six months. Lodge (2011) further states that the first state of emergency occurred in Sharpeville³⁴ in 1960 (Lodge, 2011). Sharpeville is a town that was built in the early 1940s to accommodate workers and migrants who worked in the steel and iron industry (Maylam, 2010). This state of emergency began when a large group of black people refused to carry their passes, lasting for 156 days, resulting in 69 people dead and 187 people wounded. This is an example of the extreme and horrendous effects that the government was willing to go through to maintain white privilege and white supremacy within the country. As thousands of black people either died in custody after experiencing horrific acts of torture; were sentenced to death; banished or imprisoned (Lodge, 2011; Maylam, 2010).

In essence, the introduction of these horrendous laws enacted by the apartheid government to divide racial groups institutionalised racial differentiation to ensure the segregation of racial groups in the country. To further ensure segregation between race groups, laws prohibiting sexual intercourse and marriage were also introduced. Washrooms, beaches, transport, and other public facilities were also delegated according to races, with white people getting quality facilities compared to non-whites. These laws were passed to ensure that white privilege in the country would continue, even if it were at the expense of black people. Therefore, white people would

³³ A state of emergency is a law that allows the government of a country to perform actions that would otherwise not be allowed in a typical setting. This state of emergency can be declared during a natural disaster, medical pandemic/ epidemic, civil unrest, or any other risky situation occurring.

³⁴ A township located to the west of Vereeniging, Gauteng South Africa.

continue to enjoy a multitude of benefits that were withheld from other racial groups in South Africa.

2.3.1. The socio-economic development implications of apartheid

According to Whitehead (2003), under the apartheid regime, race and class in South Africa almost wholly overlapped. This resulted from the apartheid government's efforts to establish a totalising system that would separate people into hierarchies and perpetuate unequal development between the racial groups. This system enforced numerous laws to give white people privileged access to superior education, desirable land, and better employment opportunities. While black people had substandard education and were reduced to positions of cheap semi-skilled and unskilled employment. More so, the negotiated transition to democracy ensured that white people would retain their property rights and wealth accumulated through apartheid legislature and policies. The ANC secured political and civil rights for all South Africans. Thus, post-apartheid South Africa is categorised as a country with an economic system primarily controlled by a white capitalist elite, and a political system controlled by the Black Nationalist elite. Also, while significant changes have occurred since apartheid, such as an emerging black middle class, poverty, wealth, and inequality, remain heavily racialised (Whitehead, 2003).

The system of apartheid gave birth to a vast number of economic development implications that had dire effects on the lives of black people. These implications include illiteracy, lack of resources, an increase in wage disparities, and extreme poverty amongst black people. The system of apartheid also increased the degree of distortion in the labour market in South Africa as wage rates differed between racial groups performing the same tasks (Thaver & Ekanayake, 2010). For example, historically, inequality and prejudice characterised South Africa's higher education system as, throughout the apartheid regime, quality and tertiary-level education had been limited to white students (Mophosho, 2013). Thus, when the new democratic government came into power in 1994, it inherited the economic and social legacies of the apartheid era (Gelb, 2004). The newly elected government was burdened by challenges such as racism, a declining economy, unskilled labourers, poor access to education and good quality healthcare (Thaver & Ekanayake, 2010). Additionally, post-apartheid South Africa has a critical shortage of skilled workers, especially among the black population (Ndhambi, 2015). This shortage can be attributed to an economy that

relies on exploiting cheap, predominantly black labour, and unemployment still poses a massive challenge in South Africa (Whitehead, 2003).

Van De Berg (2002: 2) states that, “South Africa is a country with a notoriously skewed distribution of income and consequently high poverty levels for an upper-middle-income developing country.”. Similarly, Leibbrandt, Finn & Wegner (2011: 2), quoted former president Mr Thabo Mbeki who stated that, “South Africa is a country of two nations. One of these nations is white, relatively prosperous [...] the second and larger nation of South Africa is black and poor”. Van De Berg (2002) further states that this legacy of apartheid still exists primarily in the highly skewed patterns of resource distribution, which continue to reinforce poverty and inequality (Van der Berg, 2002). This can be seen in the 2017/18 statistics compiled by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC). The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) Equality Report of 2017/18 surveyed to examine the poverty headcount using the population groups in South Africa. This included Africans, Coloureds, Indians/Asians, and whites (Caucasian). This survey found a disproportion in the prevalence of poverty among racial groups. For example, the poverty headcount of white people decreased from 1.4% to 1.0% between the years 2006 and 2015. The poverty headcount of black Africans declined from 76.8% to 62.4% in 2011 and escalated to 64.2% in 2015. Such findings suggest the persistent economic inequalities that manifest themselves along racial lines, and that there is a need for socio-economic transformation amongst all racial groups in South Africa, especially for the previously disadvantaged black communities, to ensure equal distribution of wealth, income and socio-economic goods and benefits. This includes housing, health care and education (The South African Human Rights Commission, 2018). Similarly, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development Report of 2018 states that race continues to be the primary predictor of poverty in South Africa. This report states that Africans are at the highest risk of being poor (World Bank, 2018).

According to the United Nations Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)³⁵, Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia have the most substantial proportion of poor people. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the disparity and inequality range from 6.3% in South Africa to 91.1% in South Sudan (United Nations

³⁵ This report calculates the percentage of the population that is multidimensionally poor. According to the UN multidimensionally poor means that poverty is defined not simply by income but also includes several other indicators. This includes poor health, quality of work and threat of violence.

Development Programme, 2019). The 2019 United Nations Development Programme MPI further states that 663 million of the 1.3 billion people identified as poor are children under the age of eighteen. Around 428 million are under the age of ten. Children bear the highest-burden and are considered as multi-dimensionally poor. This can be mostly seen in countries such as Burkina Faso, Chad, Niger, and South Sudan (United Nations Development Programme, 2019). According to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development Report of 2018 compiled by the World Bank, nearly half of the population in South Africa is considered chronically poor. From this, one can conclude that the historical differences established during the era of apartheid are still evident in post-apartheid South Africa. To successfully tackle these implications and address white privilege, the South African government has adopted a vast number of inclusive plans to provide a legislative framework that would transform the economy.

2.4 Political transitions in South Africa

According to the Department of Trade and Industry (2016), these new laws have been highly focussed on deracialising the South African economy and stimulate economic growth by addressing and redressing the injustice of apartheid. This includes policies such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (AsgiSA) and the New Growth Path (NGP) (Gelb, 2004).

The RDP policy framework was drawn up to develop an inclusive and unique approach to the history of South Africa (African National Congress, 1994 cited in the African National Congress, 2011). Affirmative action is a skills development programme that was established under the RDP policy to upgrade the skills of previously disadvantaged persons and redress gender and racial imbalances (Archibong & Adejumo, 2013). According to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development Report (2018), this Policy states that any company doing or planning to do business with the South African government must comply with Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE)³⁶ policies. These policies aimed to increase the number of black South Africans who either own or manage companies and reverse the economic implications black people faced during apartheid (World Bank, 2018). The RDP policy framework survived

³⁶ The use of 'black' people within this policy includes African, Coloured, Indian and Chinese people in South Africa.

less than two years after failing to deliver on some of its promises (Gelb, 2014). The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy was therefore published. This new policy was built on the previous plan's goals and was thus the amended version of the RDP. GEAR focussed on education as a strategy to promote economic growth and improved income distribution (Kearney & Odusola, 2011). Much like the RDP, GEAR also set out to prioritise the elimination of exploitation of black people, inequality, and the redistribution of wealth (Ndhambi, 2015). According to Weeks (1999), the policy was, however, rather ambitious, as it contained targets that were too bold for the South African economy (Heintz, 2003). GEAR produced mixed outcomes because, while the fiscal decline was impressive, the country did not meet most of its targets and failed in attracting any foreign direct investment (Kearney & Odusola, 2011).

According to Chagunda (2006), Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (AsgiSA) of 2006 aimed to improve policy implementation so that the policy would bring about the desired outcome. This would be done by focussing on the following challenges: lack of skilled and committed staff in the public service; lack of human resource to implement policies; inadequate financial resources and corruption and mismanagement of funds (Chagunda, 2006). According to Ndhambi (2015), South Africa has an acute shortage of skilled workers, especially among the black population. Therefore, the government introduced AsgiSA to improve unemployment and identify solutions for the skills shortage. This policy was later replaced by the National Development Plan, launched in 2011 (Ndhambi, 2015).

According to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (2018), the National Development Plan (NDP) is an economic policy framework that aims to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality in South Africa by 2030. Much like its predecessors, the RDP and GEAR, the NDP is also geared towards reducing inequality, improving education, and creating employment to stimulate economic growth in South Africa (World Bank, 2018). Under this policy is the National Action Plan to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and other related intolerance. This plan does not replace the existing laws South Africa has regarding race and racism; instead, it provides an inclusive policy framework that will combat racism and xenophobia in the country. This national plan also aims to promote human dignity and human rights by tackling racism, xenophobia and other racial intolerances which have been on the rise in the country (Republic of South Africa, 2019).

In conclusion, the NDP's successful implementation is vital in a country such as South Africa that is riddled with racial inequality and intolerance, especially towards foreigners. This is despite having a constitution that outlines and affirms the rights of all people, despite their race, creed, or sexuality. South Africans continue to fall victim to racial discrimination as a result of institutions that perpetuate white privilege.

2.5. Race, Racism & Race Relations

According to Yudell (2014), the term race was adopted into the sciences after scholars Louis LeClerc, and Comte Buffon began to see the variances that existed between people. However, it was the work of Swedish botanist Linnaeus that created the four classifications describing the existing differences of humans, namely: *Americanus*, *Asiaticus*, *Africanus*, and *Europeaeus* (Yudell, 2014). In their text 'Applied Eugenics' (1933 cited in Yudell, 2014: 4), eugenicists Paul Popenoe and Roswell Hill Johnson argued that the 'Negro'³⁷ race differed from the white race, mentally as well as physically, and thus may be said to be inferior when tested by the requirements of modern civilisation and progress. It was upon this perception of black people/ race that structures that perpetuate racism and racial prejudice would be built in America as well as across the globe (Popenoe & Johnson, 1933 cited in Yudell, 2014: 4). Chisom (1997) argues that race is the baseless classification of human beings created by Europeans /whites to assign human worth and social status. This unfounded classification was created using white as the model of humanity and the height of human achievement to establish and maintain privilege and power (Chisom, 1997). Similarly, Montague (1964) argues that the concept of race was created with the sole purpose of giving control to white people and legitimise their dominance over black people (Montague, 1964).

According to Kendall (2002: 3), history is filled with examples of the intentional construction of a systemic structure that grants privileges to white people while withholding these privileges from others. In the American context, he lists the numerous ways that people of colour³⁸ were systematically subjugated: White people, believing that it was their destiny to "own" the land, thus

³⁷ A derogatory term used to refer to black American during the slave era.

³⁸ The term people of colour is commonly used to refer to African American, Latino American, Asian American and other non-white persons.

forcibly removed the native people³⁹ who had lived there for centuries. The drafting of the U.S. Constitution, intentionally, confirmed the holding of black people⁴⁰ in America as slaves, as property (Kendall, 2002: 3). White people also withheld from African Americans⁴¹ the ability to read so that they could not reproduce any of their cultures, and function well in a literate society or change their economic status (Kendall, 2002). Additionally, Kendall (2002) states that one of the primary privileges is that of having greater access to power and resources than people of colour do; in other words, purely based on skin colour, doors are open to some, and not open to others (Kendall, 2002).

2.5.1. Racism & Race Relations

According to Liao et al. (2016), racism can be expressed in mainly two forms: blatant⁴² as well as subtle⁴³ racism. Liao et al. (2016) further state that subtle racism (e.g. racial profiling, lousy customer services) is rather difficult to discern, and other causes can easily justify the actions in question. Examples of subtle racism can also be observed in the global tragedies related to unfair law enforcement practices that have befallen black people (this includes Black British⁴⁴ people, Afro-Asians, Afro-Latin Americans & African Australians and African Americans). According to the government race disparity audit of the United Kingdom (UK) conducted between 2017 and 2018, black British people are ten times more likely to be stopped and searched by authorities than white people (Cabinet, 2018). The report also stated that, for every 1,000 black people, there were 31 stops and searches conducted, compared with just five searches for every 1,000 white people (Cabinet Office, 2018). From this, one can conclude that blackness in the UK is associated with criminality. According to Wise (2008), African American males are three times more likely than white males to have their vehicles stopped, and drug searched. This is despite evidence that

³⁹ Native Americans (commonly referred to as Native Indians) are the indigenous people that discovered America and lived there before they were conquered. Native Indians are made up of many groups such as Apache, Cherokee, Iroquois, and Comanche.

⁴⁰ In this thesis, black people refers to the skin based classification of Americans with total or partial ancestry from any black group in Africa, mostly made up descendants of slaves bought to America or Europe through slavery.

⁴¹ African American (also Black American) refers to Americans with African ancestry linked to them through slavery.

⁴² Racism, the traditional form is “hot, close, and direct components such as racial violence or racial slurs” (Liao, Hong & James Rounds, 2016: 239).

⁴³ Subtle racism is “cool, distant, and indirect (e.g., racial profiling, bad customer services)” (Liao, Hong & James Rounds, 2016: 239).

⁴⁴ This list includes the politically correct terms used to label people of significant African ancestry in the UK (Britain), Asia, South America & Australia.

white males are four and half times more likely to have drugs when stopped (Wise, 2008). These negative perceptions of black people outline a perceived link between blackness and crime that is deeply entrenched in the justice system. This link persists despite evidence that criminality is not determined by race. This, therefore, is a clear example of the current scope of racial relations in the world and the role of white privilege in vilifying black people.

According to an opinion article published in ABC News, the current scope of Australian race relations has not improved. The writer, an Australian, claims that race relations, race discrimination and racist violence remain a problem in Australia today. Migrant and indigenous people continue to face systematic, institutional, and structural forms of racial discrimination (McGlade, 2017). Similarly, according to Oxfam Australia, aboriginal⁴⁵ and Torres Strait Islander people continue to face challenges of low levels of education, high levels of incarceration, poor health and unacceptable housing and community conditions (Oxfam, 2019). Oxfam (2019) further states that the rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men, women and children incarcerated has doubled in the last decade. The death of a fourteen-year-old indigenous Australian Elijah Doughty is a prime example of the brutal treatment that indigenous people face in the country. The perpetrator, a white man, was found not guilty and sentenced to three years only, to be released on parole nineteen months later (Wahlquist, 2018). In conclusion, biases against aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders within the justice system continues, and have been a significant issue in the country. Based on the colour of their skin and their cultural background, indigenous Australians may face harsher sentences than white people in the country (Cunneen, 2018).

According to Hofmeyr & Govender (2015: 26), in the South African context, historical and structural legacies of apartheid have carried over into post-apartheid South Africa and thus reinforce old patterns of prejudice. “During 2016, many damaging racial comments were given persistent and splash coverage by the media, reinforcing perceptions that South Africa might yet descend into a racial war” (The SAIRR, 2017: 1). For example, a victim of a smash and grab robbery, Vicki Momberg, was caught on camera using the ‘K-word’⁴⁶. Other comments of black South Africans people inciting violence against white people surfaced. These comments called for

⁴⁵ People than inhabited a specified location before colonial rulers arrived (Synonyms include indigenous).

⁴⁶ “Kaffir” is an offensive term coined during the Apartheid era and used as a racial slur towards Black Bantu speaking people in South African.

whites to be 'poisoned and killed', and pleaded for 'the destruction of white people' (The New Age, 2016 cited in The SAIRR, 2017: 3). Hofmeyr & Govender (2015) state that such divisions between racial groups in this country are a result of post-apartheid South Africa's glossing over racism. This glossing over allows racism to continue to reproduce within generations, "...the country's reluctance to confront this in a forthright manner has caught up with it" (Hofmeyr & Govender, 2015: 17). These racial comments awakened many South Africans to the harsh reality that racism and racial prejudices still exist. Racism cannot be swept under the rug; it is very much alive and operating within societies of all races (The SAIRR, 2017).

However, South Africa is not the only country that has been facing a rise of racist incidences. In fact, according to Dunn et al. (2003), in the aftermath of the September 11 terror attacks in America, reports of racist and ethnic⁴⁷ violence⁴⁸ have increased drastically. This can be mostly seen in the bombings of mosques, including the horrific destruction of the mosque in Brisbane, Australia (Dunn et al., 2003). According to Pew Research Center, 65% of Americans feel that, since the election of President Trump, it has become common for people to express racist and racially insensitive views (Horowitz, Brown & Cox, 2019). Far-right ideas that condemn the rights of people of colour, Muslims, Jews, and gays have become normalised in speech. This can be seen in the rise in Islamophobia⁴⁹, anti-Semitic rhetoric⁵⁰, and hate crimes on people of colour (Wolffe, 2018). For example, President Trump launched his presidential campaign in 2016 with an address that labelled Mexicans as criminals and rapists. He further proposed a ban on all Muslims entering the United States (German Lopez, 2019). In the Oval Office meeting about immigration, President Donald Trump openly referred to El Salvador, Haiti, and other African countries as shitholes (Wolffe, 2018). These racist perceptions surrounding people of colour are not a new phenomenon. According to Williams (2005), from the colonial era to Jim Crow⁵¹, the very construction of race in America was achieved through the amplification of the rights of the citizen. This citizenship

⁴⁷ Ethnicity is the cultural practices of a particular/ community that sets them apart from another. These defining differences can be language, religion, style of dressing and history.

⁴⁸ Ethnic Violence is the tension that arises between different ethnicities. Unlike regular violence, this form of tension is motivated by ethnic hatred and the differences between two or more ethnic groups. Examples of ethnic violence include the Rwandan genocide of 1994 and the Holocaust.

⁴⁹ The hatred, prejudice and fear against Islam or Muslims (Oxford Dictionary, 1920).

⁵⁰ Prejudice towards Jews.

⁵¹ Repressive laws enacted in the southern United States during the late 19th and early 20th centuries to restrict the movement of black Americans and enforce racial segregation. Jim Crow laws include physical segregation of public facilities (transportation, parks, and schools) and the prohibition of interracial marriages.

was a privilege reserved only for Europeans. In fact, in 1866, Former American President Andrew Johnson stated, “this is a country for white men, and by God, as long as I am President, it shall be a government for white men” (Williams, 2003: 25 cited in Williams 2005). It is also these perceptions of people of colour in America that have led to the racial tragedies of Michael Brown⁵² in Ferguson, Missouri; Philando Castile⁵³ of Falcon Heights in Minnesota and Alton Sterling in Baton Rouge, Louisiana⁵⁴ (The Associated Press, 2017). Racial inequality and white privilege in America continues as the public engages with topics regarding police interactions with minorities, white privilege in Hollywood and institutional racism. There is, therefore, an urgent need for the world to address race relations and earnestly combat white supremacy.

2.6. Inter-sectionality of Race, Social Class and Gender

According to Bond (2007, cited in Accapadi, 2007), race does not stand alone as a systematic form of classifying and discriminating people within societies. Research shows that multiple factors shape people's lives. These factors include race, social class and sexual orientation. For example, women of colour often experience double discrimination, the combined effects of race and gender; they are discriminated as black people and as women as well (Bond, 2007 cited in Accapadi, 2007; Roysircar, 2016). While black African lesbians face discrimination based on their gender, race and sexual orientation, an unfortunate black African lesbian faces additional discrimination on the grounds of her socio-economic disadvantage (SAHRC Research brief on Gender and Equality in South Africa, 2017). The experiences of women of colour lesbian professionals are significantly different from those of white American women (Irazábal & Huertab, 2015; Roysircar, 2016). The issues affecting people of colour in the LGBTQ⁵⁵ community within the workplace range from subtle harassment, bullying and being forced to leave jobs (Switchboard & The Trust for

⁵²These unjust and racially biased killings are amongst the many incidents that have occurred in America. Unarmed American teen Michael Brown of Ferguson was shot dead by a police officer without any probable cause (The Associated Press, 2017).

⁵³ Philando, a black motorist, was murdered by an officer for allegedly pulling out a weapon on the officer. Philando had informed the officer that he was carrying a weapon and the incident was caught on tape by the girlfriend of Philando.

⁵⁴ Sterling was shot dead in 2016 when officers pinned him down outside the pavement of a convenient store selling CDs. This incident was also captured on video using a cell phone.

⁵⁵ LGBTQ refers to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer people.

Developing Communities, 2017). Unequal power relationships and patriarchy continue to operate and maintain gender hierarchies that perpetuate discrimination and racial prejudice.

Before 1994, South Africa was deeply divided, with extreme socio-economic disparities among all racial groups, and no equality before the law for black people (Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, 2014). However, poverty and socio-economic disadvantages intersect with race and gender, affecting black women excessively (South African Human Rights Commission, 2017). Data gathered by The South African Institute of Race Relations in 1993 statistics revealed that a vast majority of unemployed people were women across racial groups. White women, who were employed enjoyed more benefits, whereas Coloured women were not represented within the public sector. Black African women who were employed worked as domestic workers (SAIRR, 1993 cited in Archibong & Adejumo, 2013). Black African women in post-apartheid South Africa continue to struggle for economic and racial equality. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development Report of 2018 further states that the country also has a high concentration of low-income earners (the poor). These astounding poverty levels are consistently higher amongst female-headed households who are 10% more susceptible to slip into poverty and face more significant challenges of escaping poverty when compared to male-headed families (The World Bank, 2018). From this, one can conclude that women are still located at the bottom of social hierarchies, and race continues to be the determining factor of being privileged in South Africa.

According to estimations compiled by Statistics South Africa (StatsSA), 21% of women aged 18 years and above have experienced physical violence by a partner and 6% of women have experienced sexual abuse by a partner (SAHRC Research Brief on Gender and Equality in South Africa, 2017; SAHRC Research Brief on Gender-Based Violence, 2018). Femicide⁵⁶ in South Africa is five times higher when compared to that of the global average (Moleko, 2019; Sibanda-Moyo, Khonje and Brobbey, 2017). These numbers represent cases that have been reported. Of these reports, only a select few are held accountable due to the failures of the criminal justice system (SAHRC Research brief on Gender and Equality in South Africa, 2017; SAHRC Research Brief on Gender-Based Violence, 2018). Furthermore, gender-based violence statistics are

⁵⁶ Femicide is a sex based hate crime where a male intentionally murders a female on account of her gender.

estimated to be higher in the poorest households (Sibanda-Moyo et al., 2017). Women continue to strive for economic, racial and gender-based equality (Archibong & Adejumo, 2013).

The 2018 Crime against Women in South Africa report compiled by Statistics South Africa investigated the patterns of attitudes of domestic violence across racial groups. This report concluded that black African men rank at the top with the highest percentage of individuals who found that it was acceptable for a man to hit a woman, followed by white women who ranked second and lastly black African women. This is despite the greater exposure to human rights, and liberal thinking white women have as compared to women of other racial groups in South Africa. This finding is essential as attitudes and beliefs are the key factors that constitute the high rates of crime and violence against women (Statistics South Africa, 2018). Black African women living in rural areas have to travel long distances to access courts or police stations to obtain legal assistance. Common racial perceptions would, therefore, conclude that due to the average white woman's exposure to resources and knowledge regarding human rights, her attitudes and beliefs would be completely different. However, gender-based violence does not discriminate; it affects anyone belonging to any race, age group, social class, gender, and religion. It is rooted in unequal power relations in patriarchy, sexism, and homophobia. Nevertheless, white women are still more privileged (Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2016; SAHRC Research Brief on Gender-Based Violence, 2018).

In conclusion, there is an urgent need to redress gender imbalances in the country, as well as educate every South African about these non-progressive attitudes and beliefs that work against combating gender-based violence (Archibong & Adejumo, 2013). Secondly, although gender-based violence does not discriminate and affects all persons of all races, white people, including women in South Africa still have the privilege of having greater exposure to institutions that promote human rights. In the African communities, there is still a greater need for exposure to resources such as courts, police stations and NGOs that provide counselling as well as rehabilitation, especially for those living in poverty-stricken communities and rural areas where patriarchal beliefs and attitudes and hierarchal gender relations perpetuate the cycle of abuse.

2.7. Conclusion

According to Hofmeyr & Govender (2015), the divisions between the racial groups in South Africa can be attributed to post-apartheid South African's glossing over racism. Hofmeyr & Govender

(2015) further state that this glossing over only allows racism to continue to reproduce within generations. In South Africa, the incidences of Vicki Momberg caught on camera hurling racial slurs have awakened South Africans to the harsh reality that racism and racial prejudices still exist in post-apartheid South Africa (The South African Human Rights Commission, 2018). These incidences show a steady rise of racial biases stemming from colonialism and apartheid (Legassick, 1995; The South African Human Rights Commission, 2018; Wolpe, 1995). The global incidences of prominent American leaders admitting to wearing blackface⁵⁷ represent the current scope of racism in America (Guynn & Rhor, 2019; Merelli, 2019). Blackface was popular in the southern states of America, where racism is still very much prevalent, especially in southern institutions (Merelli, 2019). These incidences also show that there is a perception of what being black entails. It seems that blackness, whether in South Africa, America, Australia, or Europe, is associated with subservience and, in some cases, being a black person means no justice. This can be seen in the cases of Australian Elijah, Michael Brown, Philando Castile and Alton Sterling (Rugege, 2004; The Associated Press, 2017; Wahlquist, 2018). Ultimately, these global incidences show that the great divide between racial groups exists globally. Looking at the current scope of race relations in the world, one can conclude that racism and white privilege are still prevalent in human societies. More work needs to be done to create an inclusive community that can function towards eliminating systematic structures that perpetuate white privilege and racism (The South African Human Rights Commission, 2018).

Under colonialism and apartheid, black South Africans were legally dispossessed of their land, oppressed, and systematically stripped of their fundamental human rights. This resulted in the economic disempowerment of black people as they were excluded from the representative government and many privileges enjoyed by white people in the country. This was done through enactment of various laws such as the Native Land Act, the Group Areas Act, Immorality Law, and the prohibition of mixed marriages act (Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1974; Mojapelo-Bakta, 2008; Ndangwa, 2016; Republic of South Africa, 2019). These laws thus served to preserve white privilege in the country. Since the demise of the colonialism and the apartheid regime, South Africa has implemented numerous policies aimed at combating white privilege, redressing the colonial legacy, and improving the lives of people affected by apartheid. These policies were created to

⁵⁷ The use of black polish or paint on the face by a white person, this was used in the middle ages to portray black characters and mock black people.

alleviate poverty, decrease unemployment and the inequality gap. These policies have, however, not been successful as poverty, unemployment and inequality are still on a rapid rise (Naidoo et al., 2014).

Furthermore, research shows that race continues to be the primary predictor of poverty in South Africa, with black Africans at the highest risk of being disadvantaged (World Bank, 2018). There is also an urgent need to redress the gender, class and racial imbalances born out of apartheid in the country as women in post-apartheid South Africa, and elsewhere, are still located at the bottom of social and economic hierarchies (Archibong & Adejumo, 2013). Race nevertheless continues to be the determining factor of being privileged in South Africa, with white people at the top tier of privilege, hence the intersectionality of race and class. (Archibong & Adejumo, 2013; The South African Human Rights Commission, 2018; World Bank, 2018). Therefore, race and white privilege are deeply embedded in the social fabric of all societies across the globe (Christian, 2002: 187). It has the power to alter electoral boundaries and twist the conduct of law enforcement (Haney-López, 1994). In conclusion, this chapter has discussed colonialism, apartheid, and the effects that these two incidences have had on post-apartheid South Africa. The section also explored the role that gender, race and class play in post-apartheid South Africa. The chapter incorporated the current state of race, racism, and race relations globally, drawing on case studies from countries such as the United States of America and Australia.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the theoretical frameworks that have been used in this study. According to Hill & Thomas (2000), researchers must state the theoretical orientation that guides the research to explicitly state the direction in which the findings will be interpreted. This is to enhance the readers' understanding as well as to provide credibility to the study (Hill & Thomas, 2000). This study is guided by the theories of social constructionism and the empowerment theory. Through social constructionism, race is understood as a socially constructed means of categorising people. This means that, as society evolves, how it views, understands, and defines race is also subject to change (Puttick, 2011). This chapter, therefore, engages with the issue of race as a socially constructed identity marker to categorise people, to explore the students' understanding of white privilege, race, and racism in post-apartheid South Africa, as well as how such perceptions are constructed.

The second framework, empowerment theory, as discussed in this chapter, highlights the position that it is through the political, economic, and social empowerment of the individual and communities that societies and the country as a whole flourish (Zimmerman, Israel, Schulz & Checkoway, 1992). As mentioned in the previous chapter, the notion of white privilege in South Africa and across the globe empowered white people at the expense of non-whites. For example, American scholar Kendall (2002) states that white people purposely withheld from African Americans the ability to read to hinder them functioning well in a literate society or changing their economic status (Kendall, 2002). Additionally, Montague (1964) argues that the concept of race was created to give control to white people (Montague, 1964). Therefore, it is essential to note that being privileged comes with being empowered.

Although the term 'empowerment' was first used in association with women's movements, is not limited to feminist movements. It also concerns a host of marginalised groups, discussing issues pertaining to race, class, and gender. This includes issues such as caste⁵⁸, disability and ethnicity

⁵⁸ A hereditary system of dividing people into different social classes. This can be seen in especially in Indian/Asian societies.

(Luttrell et al., 2009). The empowerment theory encourages the creation of transformative policies that would empower all South Africans irrespective of gender, creed, ethnic orientation, race, or class in the post-apartheid South Africa. While this chapter aims to discuss the empowerment theory through the lens of race, racism, and white privilege, it will also draw upon the role that gender and class play in theory.

3.2. Defining theoretical frameworks

The term theoretical framework comprises two words, namely, theory and framework. According to Heale & Noble (2019), a theory is the explanation of a concept or an abstract idea (Heale & Noble, 2019). Additionally, Neuman (1997) states that a theory is a model or framework that is used for observation and understanding of a phenomenon. Theories in research are used to make predictions that can guide researchers to ask questions beneficial to the study at hand (Kerlinger, 1986). The Macmillan English dictionary defines a framework as a set of ideas used when forming one's decisions and judgements (Macmillan English dictionary, 2002: 561). Theories, therefore, provide a foundation for the explanation of more complex phenomena, which are then situated within a theoretical framework. Theoretical frameworks are the blueprints of a research project as they shape what one sees and how they see it (Grant & Osanloo, 2014; Heale & Noble, 2019; Neuman, 1997).

Theoretical frameworks also deepen the essence of the study as they convince the reader that the nature of the study is not based on the personal instincts of the researcher (Adom, Hussein, & Joe, 2018). The overall purpose of a theoretical framework is to demonstrate the interaction and relationship between a set of concepts which, as a whole, describe a more complex phenomenon. Thus the theoretical framework in a research project is based on an existing theory in any particular field of inquiry that is related to, or reflects, the nature of the study (Heale & Noble, 2019). Theoretical frameworks are vital as they provide the foundation upon which research is constructed (Adom et al., 2018). Moreover, theoretical frameworks serve to inform the problem identified, the purpose and significance of the research, to showcase the relationship between existing knowledge (what is already known), and the research being undertaken (Heale & Noble, 2019). According to Adom et al. (2018), the theoretical framework of a study should resonate with all the aspects of the research process, ranging from the definition of the problem, literature review, research

methodology, discussion of the findings and the conclusions that are drawn (Adom et al., 2018: 438).

3.3. The Social Construction of Race

According to Haney-Lopez (1994), race must be understood through the lens of social constructionism as the formation of races is only through human interaction. Humans produce races and racial hierarchies; there is no outside abstract force that prescribes race. These prescribed races or hierarchies encompass such aspects as gender and class, which are integral to the social fabric of every society (Haney-López, 1994). Social constructionism argues that reality cannot be separated from the way that people make sense of it, how meaning is constructed. This meaning can be constructed through social, judicial, political, and scientific processes (Pincus, 2006). According to Puttick (2011: 9), social constructionism states that, due to the constant changes in how people communicate and engage with each other, the degree to which a term is prescribed meaning is also subject to changes (Puttick, 2011).

Similarly, Jorgenson & Phillips (2002) argue that knowledge is never fixed nor stable, but rather, it is continually produced and reproduced. Thus, social phenomena such as race, racism and white privilege are never closed-ended or total in their application (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2002; Puttick, 2011). This study engages with the issue of race as a socially constructed means of categorising people. This means that, as society evolves, how it views, understands, and defines white privilege/race might change as well (Puttick, 2011). The relevance of this theory is therefore to gain extensive knowledge on how meanings behind social constructs such as race, racism and white privilege are constructed, as well as to determine the racial landscape of South Africa.

3.3.1. Social Constructionism and the History of Race

According to Yudell (2014), the notion of 'race' has an extensive history and has undergone a vast number of changes. The way scientists think about race today is entirely different than during the wake of the Civil Rights Movement. Decades ago, black genetic inferiority was promoted as an argument against democratic social and economic policy. One or two centuries ago, scientific justifications were used to advocate for slavery, apartheid, and Jim Crow (Yudell, 2014). Michael Banton (1998), in his work titled the 'Idiom of Race', traces the historical background of race and the explanations that have been attached to the perceived racial differences. Banton (1998) states

that race as descent was a rather popular paradigm in explaining human society in the eighteenth century. The understanding of race was primarily based on the Old Testament of the Bible. Scholars during this era used the book of Genesis to trace back human genealogy and ascertain exactly when man was created. The story of Noah specifically was used to explain the 'inferiority of the black man' as Noah cursed his son Ham and his descendants, stating that they would be slaves to Shem and Japheth (Noah's other sons). Race as a human identifier was made famous by the work of the Swedish naturalist Linnaeus who believed that a new systematic means of studying race needed to be adopted (Banton, 1998). Cuvier (1769–1832) cited in Banton (1998) built upon this work by creating a typology that divided humans into three categories, namely: Caucasian, African and Mongolian. Race as subspecies takes its roots from the works of Charles Darwin, who believed in natural selection. Darwin argued that there were no permanent species in nature as adaption occurred continuously, changing the physical attributes of species (Yudell, 2014). From the above historical narrative, one can conclude that, as societies evolve, the perception of race is also subject to change. It is also within this context that social constructionism as a framework is applied in this study, to examine how students perceive the notion of race in the 21st century post-apartheid South Africa.

3.3.2. Socially Constructed Meanings

The notion of race has undergone several significant changes globally from Slavery, Colonialism, Apartheid, and the Civil Rights Movement. Nevertheless, there is still an underlying issue of racial prejudice and stereotypes that still exist in the world. People across the globe continue to face racial prejudices based on the colour of their skin (Pincus, 2006). According to Haney-Lopez (1994), race determines economic prospects and mediates every aspect of people's lives. Discriminatory practises can be observed in the manner in which race-conscious markets approve access to owning real estate and having access to insurance (Haney-López, 1994). For example, in America, research states that African Americans are more likely to be charged higher prices, interest rates and insurance prices when purchasing a car or a house. An investigation conducted by the National Fair Housing Alliance discovered that less qualified white applicants pay significantly fewer costs than African Americans (McKend, 2019). Furthermore, a white customer in a store is perceived as a proper customer. In contrast, African American customers are often viewed with suspicion and followed by employees and managers to ensure that they do not steal

(Pincus, 2006). These are only just a few examples of the socially constructed racial stereotypes that affect people across the globe.

In the context of South Africa, a country that has a gross history of racism and segregation, the understanding of race has also significantly changed. Twenty-five years after apartheid, the country has introduced a vast number of laws and policies aimed at creating an equitable, poly-ethnic⁵⁹ society that is free from any form of racism and oppression. The relevance of using this theory is to examine how people can socially construct the meaning of being privileged against/concerning socio-economic conditions under which black Africans in South Africa live. This theory is vital to understand how young people conceptualise the make-up of society, much like South Africa, which is diverse in terms of race, class, gender, and other determinants.

The Bhana & Pattman (2006) article titled 'Black boys with bad reputations' recounts how grade eleven pupils from different races perceived and constructed their racial identities. Bhana & Pattman (2006) interviewed students from four schools, a former white girl's school, a former white boy's school, a former Indian school, and Bafana which is an African black school in the township. Unlike the other schools which had students from all racial groups from relatively affluent families, the students from Bafana were the poorest and their school was not in the most excellent condition. When Bhana & Pattman interviewed students from Bafana and in the former Indian school, they conducted a construction exercise, asking the students to compare young people of different races. During this exercise, these researchers, Bhana & Pattman, noticed that most of the students compared Indians, Coloureds, and black Africans, completely negating the white students. When probing on why the negation, the researchers noticed that these students constructed white people as 'distant idealised figures', associating them with purity.

Furthermore, the researchers observed in the narratives of the students that being African black was often characterised by the perceived link between black African pupils and crime. Some black African students related stories of how the naughty Indian students bunked frequently and drank heavily. One student recounted that he was falsely accused of breaking into a house by the Indian perpetrators while another student in Bafana had his money stolen by delinquent Indian students while waiting for a taxi. Despite all these incidences, African black students were adamant that they were still labelled as the troublemakers and perceived to be most likely to turn to criminal

⁵⁹ The existence of two or more ethnicities within the same geographical location (i.e. school/ neighbourhood and country).

activities due to their socio-economic backgrounds and struggles. African black students complained that they were singled out for suspension when any wrongdoing occurred in the school. These students recounted that being African (black) automatically labelled them as delinquents and thus automatically gave them a bad reputation (Bhana & Pattman, 2006). Aforementioned social constructionism argues that reality cannot be separated from the way that people make sense of it, and how meaning is constructed (Pincus, 2006). From this context, one can, therefore, conclude that there exists a socially perceived link between being black African, being economically deprived and engaging in criminal activities.

In their study that examines how racial relations are negotiated in the beaches of Durban, Oakes and Misgun (2007) embarked on a two-week observational study. This study confirmed that spatial segregation⁶⁰ is still evident in post-apartheid South Africa. Despite being a historically 'white only' beach during the apartheid era, the study found that the South and Addington beaches were frequented by black South Africans and black African migrants. These beaches were constructed as being 'black spaces' and associated with being disorganised, dirty and unsafe. Moreover, some people attributed the sexual harassment incidences, crime and grime of South Beach and Addington explicitly to black South Africans, citing their personal experiences. North Beach was frequented by both black Africans and white South Africans. However, Oakes and Misgun (2007) observed that racial groups did not engage or interact with one another. White people did not even use the facilities, claiming that they were dirty and were not places that were fit for them (Oakes & Misgun, 2007: 123). In conversation with a coloured (mixed race between white and black African) man at North Beach, Oakes and Misgun observed the idolisation of whiteness and associating whiteness with superiority. The man was quoted stating that "white people are decent, they're good people, scientific people..." (Oakes & Misgun, 2007: 124).

Similarly, an Indian couple also stated that black Africans tended to come with their stuff, occupying all the space and leaving the premises dirty (Oakes & Misgun, 2007). Concerning this study, the social constructionism of race theory engages with the issue of race as a means of categorising people. From the above case studies, it can be deduced that, despite the erosion of

⁶⁰ The separation of two or more groups within a geographic area, the separation can be based on race, ethnicity, religion, or economic status.

colonialism and apartheid, there are still some underlying racial perceptions and stereotypes that exist in post-apartheid South Africa.

Furthermore, there seems to be a negative connotation attached to blackness in South Africa, despite being a country that is diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, class, and gender. Rob Pattman's study, referred to above, suggests that being black Africans automatically labelled students as delinquents. Also, due to their socio-economic struggles, they were perceived to be troublesome and more likely to turn to crime than students of other races (Bhana & Pattman, 2006). This perceived link between blackness and crime can also be seen in the study conducted by Oakes and Misgun (Misgun & Oakes, 2007). In this case study, North Beach was associated with whiteness which means relatively clean, quiet, and safe (Oakes & Misgun, 2007: 124), whereas South Beach and Addington were associated with being dirty, chaotic, less developed, and unsafe (Oakes & Misgun, 2007: 122). This perceived link between blackness and crime/ violence is not a new phenomenon. According to Steyn (2001) cited in Puttick (2011), the term 'swart gevaar'⁶¹ was coined during the apartheid era to portray the threat that black (African) men posed towards the white population. This construction of blackness, which was created to invoke irrational fear and prejudice, seems to have maintained its intrinsic power in the public imagination of white South Africans. As seen from the case studies above, the narrative of 'swart gevaar' may still hold sway in post-apartheid South Africa (Puttick, 2011).

A common thread of the idolisation of whiteness can also be observed in the two case studies referred to above (Bhana & Pattman, 2006; Misgun & Oakes, 2007). Whiteness and the power that it carries is the norm in societies and is frequently seen as the standpoint from which everyone else is perceived and understood (Carr, 2016; Puttick, 2011; Wise, 2008). It is the social hierarchy that grants people differential access to the economy, capital, and resources (Puttick, 2011). "Whiteness in South Africa seems to possess almost magical powers, continuing to determine and mark privilege and, connectedly yet distinctively, desirability", Ratele & Laubscher (2010: 84) observe.

This section of the study examined two case studies by Misgun and Oakes (2007) and Bhana & Pattman (2006) to provide a blueprint of the perceptions of race in post-apartheid South Africa.

⁶¹ Afrikaans for "*black danger*", a term coined during the apartheid era.

Both these case studies corroborate the standpoint of the social constructionist theory as they illuminate how people conceptualise South Africa, which is diverse in terms of race and social class. The relevance of using this theory was, therefore, to examine how the meaning of being privileged against/concerning the socio-economic conditions of black South Africans is socially constructed.

As earlier mentioned through the lens of social constructionism, reality cannot be separated from the way that people make sense of it, and how meaning is constructed (Pincus, 2006). Deducing from these case studies above, and the daily racially prejudice acts that occur globally, one can conclude that race is the determining factor of being privileged, especially in post-apartheid South Africa. The country has made many great strides, introducing laws and policies aimed at redressing the effects of apartheid to create an equitable South Africa free from racism and oppression. However, institutional racism is still inextricably linked to processes of social, political, and economic domination. Racism and white privilege is still prevalent and at work. The theory thus addresses the context of the study.

3.4. The Empowerment Theory

The second theory, empowerment, is a theory that is shared by many disciplines and arenas; thus, there is no one set definition of the concept (Zimmerman, 1984). Similarly, Narayan (2002) states that the term has different meanings within different economic, socio-cultural, and political contexts (Narayan, 2002). For example, empowerment can be defined as a political concept that involves a shared struggle against oppressive social relations. It can also be defined as the power to express and act on one's desires. Two completely different definitions stem from different origins and uses of the term (Luttrell, Quiroz, Scrutton & Bird, 2009). The empowerment framework is rooted in ensuring self-determination in people, whether at home, in communities or at work (Zimmerman et al., 1992). The theory suggests that an individual's success can be enhanced by empowering them to act within their authority to claim their rights (Naidoo, 2015). According to Mechanic (1991) cited in Zimmerman (2000), the empowerment theory can be better understood as an intentional process that enables individuals, through participation with others, to achieve their primary personal goals. This process allows individuals to learn the relationship between their goals and how to take the necessary measures to achieve them (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Zimmerman, 2000).

Additionally, Whitmore (1988) defines empowerment as a collaborative process through which people experience personal and social change that enables them to take action needed to achieve influence over organisations and institutions which affect their daily lives and the communities they inhabit (Whitmore, 1988: 13 cited in Hutchinson & Lord, 1993). The Cornell Empowerment Group (1989) cited in Zimmerman (2000), states that this process empowers those who lack an equal share of resources to gain greater access and control of resources. The Cornell Empowerment Group (1989) cited in Zimmerman (2000) further states that this process involves mutual respect, group participation and critical reflection (Zimmerman, 2000). Narayan (2002) defines empowerment as the expansion of freedom and choice. Narayan (2002) further states that this theory engages with increasing the authority and control that one has over the resources and decisions that affect them.

The theory also concerns a whole host of marginalised groups and encompasses a range of social disparities such as caste, disability, and ethnicity (Luttrell et al., 2009). For example, due to the growing influence of African Americans regarding political and social participation, the US civil rights movement was understood mainly in terms of racial empowerment (Calhoun-Brown, 1998 cited in Luttrell et al., 2009). Similarly, in Ecuador, ethnic minority movements have been analysed using the empowerment theory, to examine and emphasise the power that such movements have in shaping the political and social landscape of a state (Cervone, 1997 cited in Luttrell et al., 2009). Thus, this framework advocate for the political, economic, and social transformation of the individual as well as the community (Zimmerman et al., 1992). As previously mentioned, the purpose of this study is to gain extensive knowledge on how students perceive race, racism, and white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa. More so, this study is aimed at creating spaces that foster conversations about South Africa's state of social justice⁶² and diversity⁶³. This theory is therefore relevant to the study as it provides a forum for students to express their opinions concerning issues of privileges and empowerment in the 21st century South Africa.

⁶² Social justice is the manner in which human rights and equality are demonstrated to ensure a fair equitable society. This form of justice also pertains to privileges, the distribution of wealth and the distribution of resources.

⁶³ Diversity is based on the understanding that everyone is different. This difference can be on the account of race, gender, social class, disabilities, and political/religious beliefs.

3.4.1. Types of Empowerment

Economic empowerment seeks to ensure that people have the appropriate skills, capabilities and resources and sustainable incomes. This form of empowerment is also related to the individuals and society's capacity to contribute to, and benefit from, the economic activities of their community. This contribution must be in terms which recognise the value of the individual's contribution and makes it possible for them (individuals) to negotiate a fairer distribution of returns. Economic empowerment also engages with changing institutions and norms that hinder the economic participation of women, such as attitudes about childcare or the type of work that women should do (Pettit, 2012). Political empowerment is the ability of the individual to speak about, as well as speak for themselves, as per their right to engage in political processes (Pettit, 2012; Piron and Watkins, 2004 cited in Lutrell et al., 2009).

Political empowerment advocates for fairness in representation within political institutions and enhancement of voices of the least vocal in societies (especially women) to engage in making the decisions that affect their lives (Pettit, 2012). This results in the collective action that is needed for cumulative change and the empowerment of citizens to claim their rights and entitlements (Piron and Watkins, 2004 cited in Lutrell et al., 2009). Human and social empowerment is a multidimensional social process that is centred on creating dynamic societies where all people are respected and recognised, regardless of their race, gender, and class. This form of empowerment includes dismantling constricting gender biases and toxic masculinity in societies (Pettit, 2012). This is a process that fosters the capacity to instil in people that they may be able to act on issues that they define as necessary (Page and Czuba, 1999 cited in Lutrell et al., 2009).

Empowerment can also be understood by examining the concepts of power and powerlessness. According to the Cornell Empowerment Group (1989) cited in Hutchinson & Lord (1993), power is the capacity of certain persons and organisations to produce intended, foreseen and unforeseen effects on others. According to Pettit (2012), power is divided into two spheres, namely formal and informal. Formal power is understood as the visible, recognisable structures; this includes institutions that determine the laws and rules that define what is acceptable and what is not acceptable, and how those who break these laws are dealt with. Informal power can be understood as socialised norms, dialogues and cultural practices that are part of everyday life. This is where informal power relations are internalised from a young age through the process of socialisation

(Pettit, 2012). Alternatively, powerlessness can be viewed as an objective phenomenon, where people with little or no political and economic power lack the means to gain greater control and resources in their lives (Albee, 1981 cited in Hutchinson & Lord, 1993; Lutrell et al., 2009). Powerlessness ranges from economic inequities, oppressive control exercised by systems and other people or, ultimately, the presence of an internalised belief that change cannot occur. This belief results in apathy and unwillingness of the individual to fight for more control or influence (Lerner, 1986 cited in Hutchinson & Lord, 1993). Understanding power is also vital as it allows the individual and communities to conceptualise their societies as well as become actively involved in the creation and implementation of transformative policies that will foster upward mobility. Concerning this study, understanding power means understanding the actors, institutions, spaces, and levels where power operates. This can be done by observing power relations across all spheres of politics, economics, society, and culture. This is fundamental as it allows for the creation of policies that are effective as well as realistic, and it allows for policymakers to identify the obstacles that hinder implementation (Pettit, 2012). In conclusion, it is through understanding power that states can strive to restructure the reins of power and ultimately demolish institutions that perpetuate/ reinforce the awarding of resources purely based on skin colour.

3.4.3. Principles Central to the Empowerment Theory

The empowerment theory advocates for the community⁶⁴ empowerment, a process by which people gain control of the factors and decisions that can change their lives (Zimmerman, 2000). According to Zimmerman (2000), an empowered community is one that allows for an individual and interest groups to engage, participate, and become consciously involved in activities that improve the community. This community also has settings for citizens to be actively engaged in conversations that promote social and political change (Zimmerman, 2000). Zimmerman (2000) further states that empowered communities advocate for the opening up of democratic governmental systems that take into account the citizen's needs, attitudes and concerns (Zimmerman, 2000). According to Makinde (2005), for successful policy implementation, interest groups, including recipients, should be involved in the development and implementation. A participatory system, especially during the development phase, allows citizens to suggest necessary policy directions that might have a more significant impact on the community.

⁶⁴ In this thesis, community is not limited to the local but, can also refer to national or international.

Additionally, citizen participation strengthens the relationship between the people and the government (Makinde, 2005).

In broad terms, empowerment is the expansion of freedom of choice and action (World Bank, 2002). This means that the options of the underprivileged are limited by their lack of assets and by their powerlessness to negotiate better terms for themselves with formal and informal institutions. Therefore, empowerment can also be understood as the expansion of assets and capabilities to enable those disadvantaged to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives (World Bank, 2002). According to Naidoo (2015), when individuals within a society are disempowered, this has the potential to create a sense of helplessness. By virtue of being disempowered, the concept of white privilege in South Africa would, therefore, make the black African majority feel economically and financially disempowered to participate in the economic activities that would improve their standard of living.

Statistics South Africa (2017 cited in SAHRC, 2018), states that black African females, children younger than 17 years, persons living in the rural areas and those without education are the most affected by poverty. This is despite the introduction of social grants that reach more than 16 million South Africans, including children (Keeton, 2014). Approximately six per cent of the Indian/Asian population group and one per cent of White people are disadvantaged in South Africa. This disadvantage is in contrast to the 64 per cent of the black (African) South African people, and the 40 per cent of Coloureds that are poor in the country (The South African Human Rights Commission, 2018). Benn (1981: 2) cited in Bay (2007) further states that the social problem of poverty reflects the fundamental power relations in societies, that the poor are powerless (disempowered) by virtue of their socio-economic exclusion from the decision-making processes within communities.

Central to the empowerment theory is the education and the emancipation of people, an educationally empowered society can develop and flourish (Naidoo, 2015). According to Benn (1981) cited in Bay (2007), the causes of poverty lie in the institutional structures of societies, and not in the shortfalls of the poor. The theory of empowerment also supports this idea by stating that, school learners who have access to resources and equal opportunities are more equipped to succeed and progress (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995 cited in Naidoo, 2015). Furthermore, quality education has the power to enhance the probable earnings of the poor, thus improving the standard

of living and decreasing inequality (Kanbur, 1998 cited in Van De Berg, 2002). According to Makobela (2000) cited in Mophosho (2013), universities still perpetuate racial exclusion through institutional contradictions that subtly or covertly excludes black African students from being educationally empowered. This is done through the use of systematic and discriminatory practises, such as rising costs in light of a decrease in sources of funding, which results in many students being financially excluded (Mophosho, 2013). Despite having a constitution and policies that affirm the rights of all people, despite their race, creed, or sexuality. Many South Africans continue to fall victim to racial discrimination, poverty, unemployment, and inequality because of institutions that perpetuate white privilege rise (Naidoo et al., 2014). According to The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) (2018), the enjoyment of social goods such as health, education and housing are unequally distributed. This can be attributed to the lack of implementation of transformative policy initiatives (Mophosho, 2013).

Sound policymaking is one of the strategic priorities adopted by the government on behalf of the public for the betterment of the population at large so that they may feel socio-economically empowered, including through access to education (Makinde, 2005). To improve policy implementation in the country, AsgiSA was introduced in 2006. This was because the challenge that the South African government was facing was not bad policymaking, but successful policy implementations (Chagunda, 2006). This policy (AsgiSA) was later replaced by NGP in 2010. NGP was targeted at creating twenty-five million jobs and reducing unemployment from 25% to 15% in the following ten years (Ndhambi, 2015). NGP was later replaced by the National Development Plan, launched in 2011 (Ndhambi, 2015). Much like its predecessors, the RDP and GEAR, the NDP is also geared towards reducing inequality, improving education, and creating employment opportunities to stimulate economic growth in South Africa (World Bank, 2018).

Makinde (2005) further states that, in developing countries, many policies tend to be over-ambitious. The primary objective of the RDP policy was to remove racial biases to address poverty and socio-economic inequalities the country inherited from the apartheid regime. Surviving less than two years, the implementation of the RDP failed as it needed resources and other complementary policy initiatives that were not yet in place (Heintz, 2003; Kearney & Odusola, 2011). Similarly, GEAR (Growth, Employment, and Redistribution) was considered ambitious, containing targets too bold for the South African economy (Heintz, 2003; Weeks, 1999).

Makinde (2005) states that the policymakers may assume that they know the needs of the target groups. As previously stated, for successful policy implementation, interest groups, including recipients, should be involved in the development and implementation. This means that effective communication between beneficiaries and the implementers of policy programmes must be enforced. This allows citizens to suggest necessary policy directions that might have a greater impact on the community and strengthens the relationship between citizens and the government (Makinde 2005). The empowerment theory advocates for the participation of individuals to create a platform for the transformation of human behaviour, the possibilities for the reform of discriminatory structures within society and, successively, the implementation of transformative policies (Naidoo, 2015).

In essence, the policy of a government should, therefore, be geared towards changing/improving the established patterns of old institutions to develop new models that better the lives of citizens (Makinde, 2005). This becomes problematic in a state where policymaking is based on loyalty (clientelism) rather than rational decision-making. In such cases, the formulation of public policy is skewed to the ruling elite, making it difficult for other stakeholders in society to take part in it (Pilane, 2015). Thus, the relevance of this theory is to emphasise how instrumental empowering people can be in the creation and implementation of transformative policies. These transformative policies would essentially empower all South Africans, especially women, children/youth and disabled people who are the most disempowered in South Africa. Statistically, women in South Africa continue to struggle for gender-based equality and economic empowerment (The South African Human Rights Commission, 2018). This framework can also be vital in examining South Africa's higher education sector, especially in light of the Fees Must Fall Movement, to dismantle negative racial perceptions/stereotypes and combat white privilege.

3.5. Conclusion

This section has presented the theoretical frameworks used to anchor this study, namely the social constructionism of race and the empowerment theory. Discussed under the social constructionism of race is how racial perceptions are constructed and perpetuated. This was done by drawing on two South African case studies to understand the different connotations attached to blackness and whiteness.

The empowerment theory discussed the country's need to create platforms and transformative policies that could foster political, economic, and social empowerment for all South Africans, especially women, children and those living with disabilities. Within this chapter, the policy transitions of the country have been discussed, highlighting the shortfalls of each policy.

As previously mentioned, the relevance of the empowerment theory is to emphasise how instrumental the individuals' participation is in the creation and implementation of transformative policies. It forms a significant part of the public policy programs. This section further discussed the role that the empowerment theory could play in creating spaces that allow for students to have the necessary conversations as well as openly discuss and argue over issues of empowerment concerning race, racism, and white privilege.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology that was employed for the study. This research was inspired by experiences of high school, attending a predominantly white school, with multiple incidents that some observers defined as ‘covert racism’. This included strict hair policy rules that favoured white students, and the banning of protective styles that promote hair growth and healthy hair for black African students. Students were also prohibited from speaking their home languages outside of class. Lastly, black African students were constantly reminded that they left schools in their neighbourhoods if they disagreed with a rule or policy that was being introduced. Most of the fellow white students, although these rules favoured them, still admitted that these instances were racist, and openly challenged the school leadership. All these issues sparked an interest in the scope of race and white privilege in the country. Upon attending university, my friend group consisted of a diverse group of people I attended high school with, as well as other students that I encountered during registration and orientation week. This group was incredibly diverse in terms of race, gender, and social class. The coverage of Fees Must Fall movement also played an important in sparking interest in white privilege and white supremacy, the terms that I only had a basic knowledge of. The heart-breaking stories of financial exclusions and historical debt generated interest in a study of this nature.

My vision in this study was to create a body of work that fully depicts the current scope of understanding of white privilege, and awareness of issues that affect black people in general in the country, from the perspectives of students from different races. Therefore, the study was created to inspire progressive dialogue between different race groups regarding issues of race, racism, and white privilege. As the discussion in the last section of this chapter will show, I was disappointed in the manner that this study was received, especially among white and Indian students. The manner was incredibly strenuous and discouraging. The purpose of this chapter is therefore, to provide a discussion of the research methods and the principles utilised during the data collection of this study. It will outline the twenty-four participants who participated in this study and the process in which data was collected and analysed. Lastly, this chapter outlines the thoughts and

the challenges that the researcher faced while collecting data for this study, and the researcher's efforts to mitigate them.

The objectives of the research and the questions it addressed are outlined in chapter one of this thesis. This study was conducted in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), and students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, were selected to be the participants. The University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) was founded in 2004 when the former University of Natal and University of Durban-Westville merged. The setting was deemed as ideal for research as the students' population represents all racial as well as socio-economic groups needed for the study to be a success. Moreover, the university provides an impressive background as it has recently experienced media coverage due to violent protests by students against economic exclusions and issues of historic debt. Therefore, within the province, the UKZN campus was appropriate as a location of the study, with students sampled as participants.

4.2. Qualitative and Quantitative Research

Qualitative research aims to understand, discover, and clarify the “situations, feelings, perceptions, attitudes, values, beliefs and experiences” of an individual or a group of people (Ranjit, 2011: 104). This form of research expresses data through words by probing into the beliefs and perceptions of the respondents. Data is gathered through interviews and focus groups. Quantitative research methods seek to confirm a hypothesis about phenomena; they test or confirm theories and assumptions. They are highly specific, well-structured, and rigid to ensure accuracy. This form of research method utilises tools such as surveys and questionnaires. It is also expressed through graphs, numbers, and tables. Quantitative methods use close-ended questions, whereas qualitative methods use open-ended questions. Close-ended questions are those that provide the respondent with two or more answers to select from; the respondent has to indicate a preference from 1-3/4, arranged in order of importance depending on the study. Open-ended questions are those that prompt the respondents to answer in their own words. The study design of quantitative is stable; the participant responses do not affect how & which questions are asked. It follows rigid direct steps and is subject to statistical assumptions and conditions (Ranjit, 2011). In qualitative research, some aspects of the study are flexible as participant responses affect how & which questions are asked. The study design is iterative as the researcher can adjust the research by incorporating what they have learned to improve the remainder of the study (Le, Lanthorn & Huang, 2019).

This study utilised a multi-sampling approach. This means that two sampling techniques, instead of one, were applied in this study. These are stratified random sampling as well as snowballing (chain sampling) (Davies, 2007). In terms of *Stratified Random Sampling*, the population is divided into subpopulations of similar elements, called *strata*. In this study, the population was divided according to race and gender to ensure equal representation among students. *Snowballing*, which is a non-probability sampling technique, is a method of sampling that relies on referrals. For example, one person recommends another whom they believe could be of value to what the research is centred on (Davies, 2007).

4.3. Data Collection Tools

As previously mentioned, this study utilised mixed methods (both qualitative and quantitative methods); therefore, the data were collected through unstructured interviews with key informants and survey questionnaires at UKZN, Howard College campus. The interviews were approximately twenty-two minutes to an hour-long, commencing during the first semester of 2020. A copy of the interview schedule used to conduct these interviews has been attached (see Appendix IX). Besides gathering information using primary methods such as interviews and distribution of questionnaires, to supplement the secondary data collected from published works, forms of research also included observation. Observation is a purposeful means of watching and listening to an interaction or phenomenon as it takes place. Observation is utilised when a researcher is interested in the behaviour of an individual or group than their perceptions. Interviewing is a method of collecting information from people through person-to-person interaction, whether face to face, telephonic or otherwise, between two or more individuals with a specific purpose to extract data from the respondent. There are two types of interviews, namely, structured and unstructured. In structured interviews, the researcher asks a set of questions, using the same wording and order of questions as specified in the interview schedule. Unstructured interviews allow the researcher to have complete freedom in the order of asking questions. This form of interviews also enables the researcher to probe further according to the respondents' answers. Lastly, a questionnaire is a list of questions written down. In a questionnaire, the respondents would, therefore, read the questions and choose a response from the set of answers provided (Ranjit, 2011).

This study utilised both unstructured interviews with key informants and a questionnaire. The questionnaire used in this study comprised a combination of both close and open-ended questions. As can be seen in Appendix X attached, the questionnaire was made up of three sections, namely sections A to C. Section A, which is for statistical purposes, probes the demographics of the participants. This includes the respondent's gender, level of education, race, and the social status of their family. This information is crucial as it depicts the particulars of the population; for example, the percentages of African people that answered the questionnaire compared to that of Indians. The racial demographics of participants that participated in the online study are attached below. Section B of the questionnaire comprised twelve true or false statements, and the respondents had to tick the one they agreed with. These statements pertained to race relations, white privilege, white monopoly capital, Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE), commonly referred to as BEE, and land distribution in the country. Much like the previous section, the second section was also for statistical purposes. The data gathered from these statements were tabulated. The last section covered more extended questions, which probed more in-depth into the respondents' understanding about race, racism, and white privilege in the country. Different from the first two sections, this section was not compulsory to answer. Participants could therefore skip a particular question they did not understand or did not wish to respond to. Respondents spent between twenty-five minutes to an hour to complete the questionnaire.

4.4. Data Collection Procedure

To successfully undertake this research, proper University protocol was followed. Approval from the Gatekeeper (Appendix I) was applied for and granted to the researcher. Upon approval, the researcher applied for ethical clearance. Ethical clearance was applied for in February 2019; this application was approved provisionally in April provided that specific changes were made. Upon administering these changes, the application was sent two days later; however, full approval was only received in October 2019. This was after many emails from the supervisor sent to the ethics committee enquiring about the delay and having to re-send the documents multiple times. This wait was too taxing as no fieldwork could commence during this time, so the whole year was spent in limbo. After receiving ethical clearance, the researcher began approaching students to conduct interviews. The research processes were then embarked upon as follows. It was requested that

interviews be in primarily in English and IsiZulu⁶⁵. IsiZulu is primarily spoken in KwaZulu -Natal province and is also a compulsory subject at the UKZN where this research was conducted. Consent forms (Appendix VI and VIII) were therefore provided in both languages to ensure that students fully understood the nature of the study.

4.4.1. The Interview Process

Conducting the interviews in the main library of the campus also eased the student's nerves as the library space is occupied by students, most of whom are their peers. This area becomes a safe space that reduces any fear a student might have of saying anything that might be regarded as controversial. Interviews were conducted in the library study room. This room provided the privacy that the study needed but still ensured that students felt safe enough to communicate with a stranger. The room was closed but purposely kept unlocked, this was to reassure students that their participation was voluntary and, should they want to quit, they could walk out.

Towards the end of March 2020, in the middle of fieldwork, South Africa and the rest of the world was exposed to the Corona Virus, a COVID19 pandemic that swept the world as a whole and led to thousands of people dying. Due to this pandemic, all non-essential entities were shut down; this includes the University of KwaZulu-Natal. As a result, interviewing key-respondents had to stall, and this time was used to transcribe interviews already conducted. Furthermore, interviews were conducted over the phone for those who were willing to partake. Interviewees remained anonymous as they had been sourced through referrals, so the interviewer only spoke to them through one phone call. This call was only recorded with the interviewee consent to be recorded. Interviewees were also aware that, if they did decline to be recorded, all information would then be written down. Most telephonic interviews during lockdown used note-taking as most of the participants refused to be recorded. Before recording, the interviewees were briefed about the aim and the outline of the study. This also allowed the participants' time to ask any particular questions they might have about the study. Telephonic interviews were, therefore, longer than face-to-face interviews. As with the face-to-face interviews, these participants were also allowed to skip a question if they were uncomfortable, or if they did not desire to answer it.

⁶⁵ A Nguni language spoken in Southern Africa, especially in KwaZulu Natal which is a province in South Africa.

4.4.1.2. Sampling Techniques.

Sourcing and conducting interviews with black African students began and ended within two weeks. In the first week, all six participants were approached for interviews to which they agreed. Recorded interviews began on the 25th of February and ended on the 3rd of March 2020. These participants were approached at random on campus, and those traced through referrals agreed to be interviewed instantly, showing great interest in the study. The researcher had approached two female students on campus a week before the 25th of February to participate in the study. The second black African woman referred the researcher to the third candidate, a black African female at her residence. The first black African male who consented to be interviewed referred the researcher to a former classmate who was vocal about race and racism issues. The third black African male was also sourced through referral. All six students (three males and three females) from this race category were interviewed without any challenges.

Finding white and Indian students to interview proved to be challenging, as some students were wary and outright dismissive regarding the topic. This wariness to discuss these topics is detrimental to the growth of the country as the failure or reluctance to engage with the subject of white privilege and race relations in South Africa further perpetuates the perceived institutional and intellectual white superiority (McIntosh, 1988). White students, as participants, were very wary in participating in a study on white privilege. When approached, most of them flat out refused to participate, often citing no reason but being disinterested in the study. Citing as a reason, one student claimed that he was tired of talking about racism when it ended so long ago. Another student questioned, “Why are black people so obsessed with race?” This question was a disturbing assumption about a study that is not even about racism or race relations per se, but the perception of white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa.

Additionally, what makes these sentiments even more disconcerting is that these individuals are young undergraduate students attending a university that is racially and culturally diverse. The institution also has a history of violent protests against economic exclusions and issues of historical debt, which affect their fellow black students. It is, therefore, probable that these individuals did not even listen to the scope of the study. Kendall (2002) states that, by virtue of being white, he can decide whether he is going to listen to others, to hear them, or not. McKaiser (2015) states that

white people are blind to their racism, thus justifying their ignorance by viewing black people as ‘race-obsessed’.

The belief that racism has ended is founded on the colour-blind racial ideology. This ideology minimises the lived experiences of those affected by racism and white privilege. Similarly, Kendall (2002) states that his white privilege allows him to silence others and discount their experiences. Unfortunately, ignoring white privilege is not a luxury that black people can afford, as they are confronted with it every single day. White people continue to have better access to quality education, health facilities and resources. In comparison, many black people are excluded from the economy and accessing basic resources (Booyesen, 2014; Hofmeyr & Govender, 2015; Seekings, 2008).

Post-1994 South Africa allowed young people in the country to attend multiracial schools, where they regularly interact with black students. Booyesen (2014) states that young people in South Africa claim that, unlike the older generation, they have stopped thinking along racial lines. This colour-blind ideology, which developed as South Africa transitioned into democracy, is referred to as the ‘rainbow nation’. It is an idealistic belief that conceptualises a free and equal nation that has eliminated the apartheid structures from its core. This outlook, however, glosses over the atrocities of apartheid and its structural effects, allowing racism to reproduce within generations (Booyesen, 2014; Hofmeyr & Govender, 2015; Seekings, 2008).

The referral sample method was momentous as finding one participant led to the needed breakthrough of obtaining the required white respondents. For example, my supervisor spoke to her white colleague, who referred me to her niece. These referrals aided me in sourcing other participants as the niece introduced me to her peer who introduced me to another her former classmate and so forth.

Additionally, during the interview process, black African participants were not overly invested in maintaining an image of being politically correct or racially sensitive. Black African students were open and transparent regarding their views, no matter how controversial they might be interpreted. The interviewer, being black, might have also played a significant role in this. Black African

students expressed gratitude in having a safe space⁶⁶ where they can discuss their opinions without judgement. This willingness to participate made the interview process relatively easy to conduct. White participants, on the other hand, paid careful attention to what they said, and how they said it, in order not to appear racist or overly critical of black people. Cotter et al (1982) call this the ‘race-of an interviewer effect’, in which case respondents become more ‘deferential’ or polite when the researcher is from a different race, interviewing them about another race other than their own. Phrases such as “you know better than I do about this” were sometimes used by white respondents. This carefulness is to be expected in the current era of ‘cancel culture’⁶⁷ where individuals can be publicly shamed due to their controversial racial views.

Of note, the process of sourcing respondents was also problematic among Indian students. Upon being approached to partake in the study, two Indian females agreed to be interviewed. A time was set for the next day at the library. However, after waiting for three hours with no show, the interviewer gave up. Even for telephonic interviews, another female Indian student agreed to be interviewed, and then ignored phone calls and messages on the set day of the interview. This happened several times until a black African female introduced me to her classmate, who introduced me to another Indian she travelled with, who introduced me to another female. This sourcing problem became more apparent and significant towards the end process of interviewing when the researcher was still searching for eligible Indian male respondents. The solution was found when a colleague of the researcher’s father, who has a son attending Howard College, spoke to his male Indian classmates. One of the two classmates agreed to the interview, and the other referred the researcher to another student who was willing to participate in the study. Therefore, the process of sourcing the last two male Indian participants took a substantial amount of time, thus holding up the entire research process.

A reluctance to participate was further observed among Coloured males. Coloured males were snappy when communicating with them, giving concise answers, and clamming up when asked to elaborate on something. This clamming up was mostly the case when interviewed about racially

⁶⁶ A free from bias environment (physical or metaphorical) where individuals or groups of people feel confident to discuss pertinent issues without fear of criticism, harassment, or marginalization.

⁶⁷ Also referred to as callout culture, this refers to the public boycott of a particular person who has said/ shared something questionable or controversial. It can also be defined as withdrawing support to a campaign or popular brand after they have done something offensive or controversial such as communicating homophobic or racially prejudice content. This normally happens on social media platforms.

controversial issues such as BEE and land ownership in the country. In contrast, Coloured females were receptive to participating in the study. These gender dynamics, noted by Oyinlade and Losen (2014) as a factor in data collection, were not experienced among black African and white students. Conversations with black African male students were, nevertheless, more comfortable to conduct, as they were willing to share their experiences and ideas. They elaborated and provided examples when asked to, sometimes even without being prompted.

White participants were only reluctant to participate when approached by the researcher's black peers or the researcher herself. Even when approached by her (the researcher's) peers, their classmates, white males were very unwilling to participate. A few refused while others feigned interest only to pull out in the last minute, claiming to be busy with schoolwork. It was only through referrals that white students, both males and females, were sourced for interviewing. Once one white person was sourced, sourcing the rest through referrals was effortless. When asked to elaborate, white male respondents were willing to go into greater detail and provide examples to explain what they were trying to communicate. A number of the participants shared incredibly personal stories. One male student, in particular, was very candid about the racist manner in which his Afrikaner parents viewed black people. The intersectionality of race and gender was, to some extent, then apparent during the interviewing process.

4.4.2. Questionnaires

The worldwide pandemic also meant that questionnaires could not be administered as the campus was only open to a select few to reduce the spread of the virus. It, therefore, became imperative that the questionnaire be administered online. This shifting form, from physically distributing a questionnaire to using online applications such as Google Forms⁶⁸, had to be applied for. This meant that the ethical clearance application had to be amended and sent to the ethics committee for approval. Ethical clearance was received on the 11th of November 2020. The questionnaire was immediately drafted on Google forms. The link was sent to peers from UKZN Howard College campus to disperse to other students they knew to ensure that only Howard students would

⁶⁸ A free online source for collecting data. The researcher drafts the questionnaire and sends a link to those persons to answer.

participate in the study. The distribution of responses according to race and gender is demonstrated in the bar graphs below.

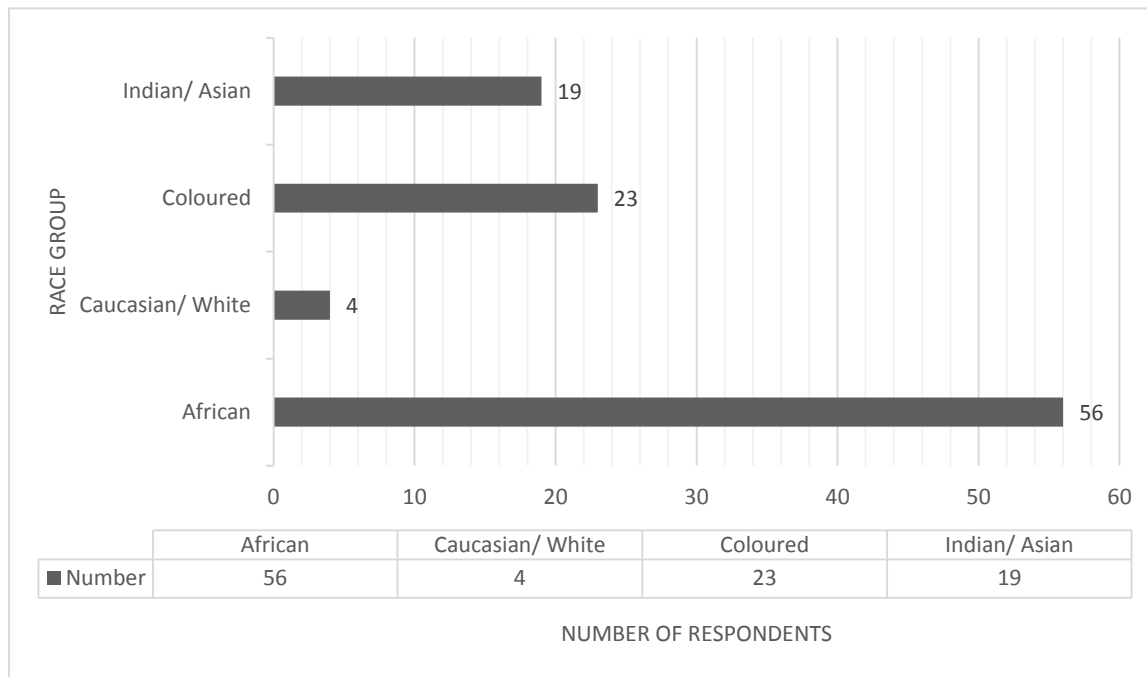


Figure 1: Bar Graph Showing the Racial Groups of Respondents in the Online Questionnaire.

As seen from the graph above (*figure 1*), a hundred and two students responded to the online questionnaire. Similar to the interview process, sourcing white participants was unbelievably hard. Of the white people that were approached to partake in the study, only four agreed to partake. Approximately twenty-five to thirty white students were approached to partake in this survey. Recently, a peer detailed how her white classmates claimed to be busy with assignments even though they were done with schoolwork. This response was disappointing to hear. The other students flat out refused, or were too busy to partake in the study. The majority of responses came from black African students (56, which is 55%), followed by Coloured students (23, which is 23%) and Indian students (19, which is 19%).

This is fair representation as black African students make up a large part of the student body, with a minority of white students (Murray, 2014). Of note, most of the Indian students approached for this study (questionnaire) were eager to partake in the study and even recommended it to their classmates. Some of the Indian students were sourced through the referral method by relying on the last two Indians who participated in the interviews. The rest of the Indian students were the

classmates of peers who also recruited their siblings and peers to partake in the study. The black African and Coloured students mostly responded to a link sent by the researcher and her peers on WhatsApp. This link was shared by the researcher's old classmates, friends, and siblings on their social media with students or people who have siblings studying at Howard College. In the first week of sending the link, twenty-five black African students had already completed the questionnaire. Twenty of them responded on the exact day the link was sent.

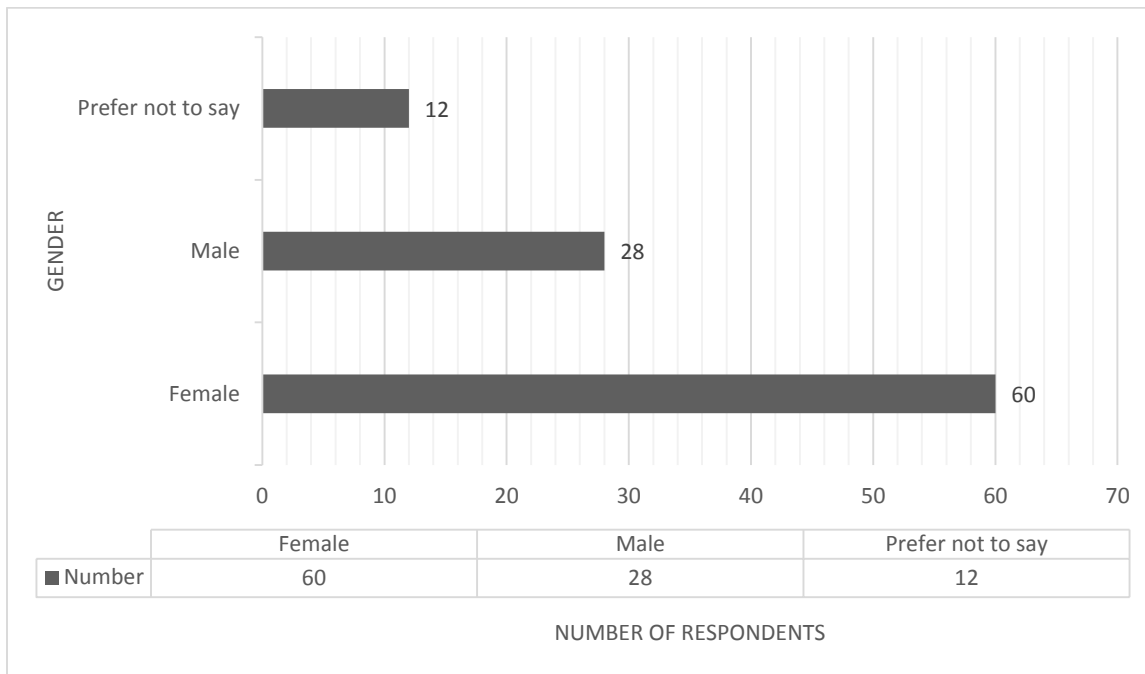


Figure 2: Bar Graph Showing the Gender of the Respondents on the Online Questionnaire.

The graph above (*figure 2*) illustrates the gender break down of the study respondents. Of the twenty-five that responded on the first day, fifteen were women, seven men and three preferred not to disclose their gender. The most responses received on the online questionnaire were from women. Women were more receptive to the study (60%); they took the initiative to share the link with their classmates and anybody else they knew who attended Howard College. Women also reported back to their peers (who reported back to the researcher) when they had finished the questionnaires. Men, on the other hand, were nonchalant about it; they had to be reminded to complete the questionnaire. Therefore, the study had high response rate from females than males.

4.5. Participants and Settings

As previously stated, this study aimed to explore the meaning of white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa amongst UKZN students. Respondents chosen were students at UKZN, Howard College Campus, who are above the age of eighteen and in all levels of study. The objective of this research was to interview individuals from all demographics, namely race, gender, age, and level of education, to ensure a fair representation of the views of all participants. The participants represented the different races in South Africa: Africans, whites, Coloureds, and Indians. There were six (6) respondents sampled for each race, divided into three males and three females per race group, thus equalling 24 respondents in total. Six respondents per racial group and gender ensured fair representation. Participants were recruited through referrals. The researcher also sought people at random by asking strangers on campus if they would be interested in taking part in the study. Moreover, only registered students at the university studying at Howard College Campus, over the age of eighteen, were considered as eligible to participate. Students who showed an interest in partaking and met the criteria were then presented with the participant consent form and the recording consent form (see Appendix V & VII).

The equal number of males and females was preferred to explore whether the intersection of gender and race would have any significant effect on the data collected. Furthermore, this study interviewed students from different social classes to examine the intersection of race and class. Of these two, the study found that a student's gender did not affect their understanding of race, racism, and white privilege. Issues such as gender-based violence and femicide were cited as the country's most prominent issues that affect all women across all racial groups. As will be seen in chapter 5, the study observed that the intersection of race and class had a significant effect on the results, as a student's socio-economic status affected their view on issues of white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa. For example, black students felt that, despite the end of apartheid, their skin colour and class still disqualified them from accessing basic resources. A student recounted how living in a predominantly black neighbourhood excludes him from resources that white people access. Of note, the study also uncovered issues of the misrepresentation of black (African, Coloured, and Indian) women in the media and society at large. This includes the perceptions and connotations of subservience, violence and being crazy attached to black women in the country. These perceptions are detrimental as the way society views blackness determines how black women are treated, and how they perceive themselves (Hooks, 1992 cited in Brooks & Herbert, 2006). Also,

there is no honour in the manner in which black women are imaged in the media as they do not enjoy the privilege of being represented in a positive, respectful manner.

Drawing from the literature, this study found that LGBTQI+ black women are marginalised on account of their race, sexual orientation, gender, and social class. In conclusion, while white women are marginalised and subjected to sexism, the rate at which they are affected is significantly less than that of black women in the country. Therefore, although some issues, e.g. gender, cut across racial lines, white women, to some extent, remain privileged. There is still a lot of work that needs to be done to redress racial and gender biases, and to empower all women in South Africa. These findings are interrogated and discussed in detail in chapter 5.

In the final analysis, conducting research among participants of different races posed a challenge in sourcing white and Indian participants who were disinclined to partake in the study. The pandemic further exacerbated this challenge. Covid-19 altered the research process as the methodology of the study had to be adapted and transferred to online platform. Consent to modify the methodology had to be applied for from the Human Social Science Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC). Nevertheless, extra effort was utilised to ensure that the study objectives were met. The referral method was crucial in sourcing these participants, as requesting assistance from the researcher's supervisor and father led to finding eligible persons that could partake in the study. Due to Covid-19, after March 2020, many face-to-face interviews were also conducted telephonically, and the questionnaire had to be administered online through Google forms.

4.6. Data Analysis

The study analysed data using the sequential exploratory method; this means that the priority was given to the qualitative data collection. The quantitative approach was integrated to test and expand on the qualitative findings (Ranjit, 2011). Quantitative data gathered from the questionnaires was used for statistical purposes to substantiate or refute the information collected through interviews. Furthermore, the quantitative method was incorporated into the study to investigate the diversion or similarity it may offer to the respondents' views when compared to the qualitative approach. This quantitative data was then presented in the form of tables and graphs. Thematic content analysis was used to analyse the data gathered from interviews as the researcher sought to give an account of each participant's understanding of white privilege, race, and racism. Thematic analysis was therefore considered as the best method as it prioritises the participant's voice.

Thematic analysis can be defined as the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). These themes or patterns allow the researcher to extract essential quotations gathered from the interviews to easily make comparisons between different or similar opinions that students, in this case, had regarding the topic at hand (Watt, 2007). When the data gathered from interviews were transcribed, coding was applied. Coding is a process that unpacks large amounts of qualitative data that can be easily interpreted and analysed. Coding, therefore, reduces the data into smaller portions of meaning. Coding is highlighting interesting, common or outlier sections of the text, and developing shorthand quotes or codes to describe their content. The participant's understanding or notions of white privilege, race, and racism, no matter how misinformed or accurate, was the crux of the study. However, these preconceived themes did not automatically translate into codes. Therefore, no pre-set codes were used, but codes were continually being developed and modified throughout the process of data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Braun & Clarke, 2013). Furthermore, the researcher was interested in addressing specific research questions; this meant that theoretical thematic analysis was utilised to analyse the dataset.

The researcher thoroughly read the transcripts to search for any similarity, and to see if anything of interest jumped out. Only that which was relevant to the study or captured something of interest was coded, and not every piece of text. Then the researcher sorted and coded what was said by participants into themes. These themes, patterns and trends were then recorded into a list to determine which themes were common amongst participants. The outliers were also recorded down for analysis. The analysis gathered from the quantitative data was then qualitatively built into the discussions of race, racism, and white privilege, to ensure that the data collection methods used complement each other. It was only then that the analysis was related to the study at hand (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Braun & Clarke, 2013). Nevertheless, the findings presented in the next chapter are in no way representing the whole picture of the theme under study, the chapter is an analysis of, and concludes from, the data collected.

4.7. Ethical Considerations

Care was taken to ensure that participants were fully aware of the nature of the study. Participants were required to complete a set of consent forms (see Appendix V-VIII). In keeping with standard requirements, participants received a brief description on the nature of the study and precisely what

participation would involve (Appendix V). Assurance that participation was voluntary, and that the participant has the right to withdraw at any point in time, without fear of prejudice, coercion, or negative repercussions, was provided (Waldrop, 2004). As previously mentioned, these documents were also offered in IsiZulu (Appendix VI and VII), which is a compulsory module as per the university rule. The language is also widely spoken in KwaZulu-Natal by millions of people in the province. Also, these consent forms asked only for the participant's signature, and the date of the interview, but no names or surnames were required.

As per Covid protocol, the university was closed, this meant that the interview process had to proceed via phone calls. Shifting to phone calls also meant that the participant consent form and the recording consent form could not be physically administered to students. The consent forms had to be clarified to the participant on the phone, explaining in detail the aim of the research and the process, before the interview via text message or phone call. To ensure that participants fully understood the scope of the study, they had free reign to ask as many questions as they desired, and then to participate if they chose to. Participants were also made aware that consenting to be interviewed did not mean that they were forced to partake in the study. Furthermore, participants were made aware that, should they decline to be recorded, note taking would be utilised. Participation in the research study was entirely voluntary. This was done to ensure that the study still adhered to standard requirements of the university, and that the research was conducted ethically.

Covid-19 also made it more problematic as the researcher had to conduct some interviews via phone calls with the participants; this made it harder to maintain anonymity. As a result, it was impossible to ensure complete anonymity, as the researcher was privy to the identity and contact numbers of the participants. The researcher was careful to clear her call list after every phone call to solve this problem. During the transcribing process, the anonymity of the participants was prioritised; this means that no identifiers⁶⁹ were asked to maintain confidentiality. If a participant mentioned an identifier during the interview, the place or name was replaced with the following sign ---. The researcher used the participant's racial group, gender, and the order at which the participant was interviewed. For example, a white female who was interviewed second would then be WW2; the first Coloured male would be CM1; the last black African male would be BM3; the

⁶⁹. This can be defined as all identifying names (such as the names of people, participants, and places).

second Indian female would be IF2; the third white male would be WM3; and the first black African female would be BF1.

Following the University of KwaZulu-Natal Research Ethics Policy, the research data should be securely stored in the school in which the project is based, to ensure the safety and integrity of the data set. The school in which this data will be stored is School of Social Sciences. The research policy further states that this responsibility rests with the Head of School in collaboration with the researcher and supervisor. The school will retain the data for five years after the publication date. After the completion of the five years, should there be no publications based on the data set, it will be destroyed.

4.8. Conclusion

This section opened up by discussing the research design and the data collection procedures used to undertake the study. A detailed outline of the study's participants was also discussed; the data analysis followed this. The challenges faced during the study were also enclosed within this chapter. Lastly, the chapter discussed the ethical considerations of the study.

Chapter Five: Presentation & Discussion of Results

5.1. Introduction

This chapter engages with different perspectives on the current understanding of white privilege, to establish whether there is a parallel between the literature on white privilege in South Africa and the general popular opinion among students on the subject. This chapter will, therefore, provide an account of the principal findings of this thesis. Using thematic content analysis, the chapter interprets data collected during interviews. This data is supplemented by data gathered from questionnaires to refute or support the findings of the study. Finally, an outline of the major themes and subthemes emerging from the data collected is underlined and discussed, representing the UKZN, Howard College Campus students' perceptions regarding white privilege, race, and racism.

The chapter is divided into the following themes:

- i) An introduction to how students perceive white privilege in post-1994 South Africa.
- ii) The current state of race relations in post-apartheid South Africa, and how 'race' and racism in contemporary society are impacting the socio-economic living of ordinary South Africans.
- iii) The third section draws on topical issues such as land and BEE to analyze the economic development implications of apartheid that have carried over into post-apartheid South Africa.
- iv) Lastly, the intersectionality of race, class and gender, and the extent to which women of different races in the country are marginalized.

Based on research findings, in examining the students' perception of white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa, this chapter concludes that white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa is not a rhetoric, it is real, and it exists. Furthermore, across all racial groups, this study found that despite the abolishment of apartheid, many of apartheid's racialized patterns of privilege have persisted. These findings are corroborated by literature, and the data gathered from questionnaires. Secondly, in exploring race relations amongst UKZN students, this chapter found that race relations in the post-1994 have improved significantly, especially when examined from the lens of

students. Contrarily, questionnaire findings found that 69% of students stated that race relations had worsened since 1994. These students also maintained that blatant racism had lessened in the country, and covert racism was occurring. Concerning the economic implications of apartheid that have carried over, this study concludes that race continues to influence one's access to basic resources. The intersection of race, class and gender section draws on the experiences of poor black women to illustrate how the privilege attached to race, class and gender has not been fully reversed.

5.2. Defining white privilege and the students' perceptions of white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa

This study's objective was to gain extensive knowledge on how students perceive white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa. Fuelled by the Fees Must Fall movement's discourse, this study sought the students' perceptions of white privilege to create a body of work representing the current understanding of white privilege, race, and racism in the country. Out of twenty-four participants, only one struggled to define white privilege, stating that he honestly does not know. As he said, *"I think it's the status of white people who are wealthy, right? I'm not sure"* (BM1: 2020). When further probed on his perspective of white privilege, he responded as follows, *"...I have a feeling that it exists"* (BM1: 2020). It is probable that he had heard of the term white privilege, but did not have a clear understanding of it. This response was interesting to note, especially by a black African student, as most studies on white privilege suggest that the failure and inability to perceive white privilege is a white people's problem. According to Carr (2016), whiteness and white privilege are terms that have been traditionally overlooked and not universally accepted by white people. These terms are often met with contestation, especially in countries that claim to be "post-racial," and thus free from racial discord. These include countries such as Australia, America, Canada, and the United States of America.

Out of all participants interviewed, only two students engaged with the topic of white privilege as a concept that no longer exists. Both of these participants were Indian. When questioned on his perspective on post-apartheid South Africa, the Indian male said, *"26 years post-apartheid, not much white privilege is left"* (IM3: 2020). When further probed about his perspective, he stated, *"same as I said before, not much privilege left"* (IM3: 2020). It is probable that the student was

referring to the end of the blatant racism of apartheid in 1994, which was twenty-six years ago. As he responded when asked to define apartheid, “*apartheid is the minority rule that ended 26 years ago, we have had a democratic government for 26 years*” (IM3: 2020).

Other students believe that, due to apartheid, the notion of white privilege has remained etched on people’s minds. One of the respondents said, “*we all have this belief that white people are better, and it is passed down to our children*” (CF1: 2020). Historically, whiteness has always been considered the norm, the centre, thus rendering it invisible, typically to white people (DuBois, 1903 cited in Bush, 2004). As the respondent further stated, “*...an automatic thing that is passed down due to apartheid and white people being of upper-class. We all have this belief that white people are better and it is passed down to our children*” (CF1: 2020). Racial hierarchies and stereotypes are not a new phenomenon, but the superficial link of whiteness and superiority can be traced back to as early as the 6th century. During this century, blackness was associated with sin, omens, the devil and evil. Ethiopians were associated with the devil or demons (Snowden, 1893 cited in Yudell, 2014). European scholar Buffon stated that the natural state of humanity was derived from Europeans, whom he saw as people that produced the most handsome and beautiful men. As previously mentioned, it was the work of Swedish botanist Linnaeus (1758) who classified humanity into *Americanus*, *Asiaticus*, *Africanus*, and *Europeaeus*, revolutionizing the concept of race. Examining behavioural characteristics, Linnaeus believed that African people were cunning, lazy, governed by impulse rather than law, and women were without shame, lactating profusely. It was upon these perceptions of black people and race that Europeans would colonize the world to rid them of their inferiority (Yudell, 2014: 4).

More so, the race classifications of Swedish botanist Linnaeus and his racist perceptions of black people continue to shape how black people across the globe are perceived, and see themselves. As a student stated, “*for centuries, we have existed in a world where Black people were seen as less than and forced into subservience towards those of European descent. Those ideas continue to colour how a lot white people think and see other races. Even though overt racism has somewhat diminished, the idea of what a ‘black person’ is in the eyes of some people still exists*” (BM3: 2020). Likewise, another student stated, “*...in sociology class; a lecturer taught us that long ago, scientists thought white people’s DNA was better than that of African and Asian people. Which is so weird because white people still treat us like we are idiots when they speak to us*” (IF3: 2020).

According to Pyke (2010), scholars who study the psychological effects of colonialism on the oppressed define the responses of respondents above as a ‘colonized mentality’, in which the colonized internalizes the colonizer's bad judgements. This mentality has dire effects on the self-esteem of the oppressed (Oelofsen, 2015). Additionally, Dascal (2007) states that the colonization of the mind is a form of brainwashing, in which the colonizer subtly manipulates victims into discarding their own ‘primitive’ beliefs in favour of white cultures and values (Kgatla, 2018). This colonization results in the oppressed internalizing the belief that they are inferior to the colonizing race and, therefore, pliable to the colonizer's manipulation and exploitation (Kgatla, 2018). Likewise, South African anti-apartheid activist, Steve Biko, argued that colonialism and apartheid left many black people with an inferiority complex. He further argued that it is crucial to analyze the repercussions that “race” classifications under apartheid had on the South African society, to deal with these classifications' social and psychological repercussions (Biko, 2004 cited in Oelofsen, 2015; Republic of South Africa, 2019). Founded by Steve Biko in the early 1970s, The Black Consciousness philosophy championed the psychological liberation and emancipation of black people. Biko urged that, black people to define themselves. He stated that, ‘the greatest weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the minds of those whom they oppress’ (Biko 2004: 80 cited in Kgatla, 2018).

These effects of colonialism and apartheid on how people learnt to think about themselves and others, cannot be eliminated through political transitions. As one of the respondents said, “...*the system of apartheid is still in black people. Like, we haven't really recovered from that. We still think a white person is ubasi [isiZulu term meaning boss], even though we have jobs we still feel like we're working for the white people*” (BF1: 2020). Despite the end of apartheid, South Africa today is still shaped by its history of oppression. This oppression was rationalized by outdated racial hierarchies and biological stereotypes, and had dire effects on black people's likelihood of thriving (Kgatla, 2018).

Additionally, the colonial and apartheid ‘race classifications’ still impact on the current youth in South Africa. The economic position of an individual has a direct impact on their ability to lead a flourishing life, as one’s economic situation determines their access to quality education, medical care, and nutrition. Some of these legacies of apartheid are acknowledged by some white students. As one student stated, “*white privilege is so prevalent that it takes really high levels of wealth in*

a black person's family to live a similar lifestyle and have similar opportunities as middle to high-income white families have" (WM1: 2020). Therefore, it is not just a mentally or psychologically embedded phenomenon among non-whites, it is a socio-economic practical experience that some whites acknowledge to be existing. As a result, in many black African households, parents cannot provide financially stable livelihoods due to their impoverished state, which can be linked to their non-white constructed identity under apartheid. In line with this evidence, another respondent stated, *"due to the fact that white people have had previous advantages, such as cheaper land, better education and so forth, they are in a better position to be successful... It is more difficult to become successful without any resources than it is if you are born with all opportunities"* (IM1: 2020). The structural racial inequalities in South Africa would persist post-1994 and, as a result, the average black persons' chances of thriving are far less than that of the average white person (Oelofsen, 2015).

Although the United States and South Africa are different in many ways, both countries have undergone gross violations of human rights and legalized oppression towards people of colour/black people. In America, this included slavery, Jim Crow and the public lynching of people of colour (Guess, 2006; Williams, 2005). Apartheid in South Africa was legally structured according to race, with one race deemed superior to others (Beinart & Dubow, 2003; Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012). Racist policies were introduced to ensure segregation between racial groups, giving preferential treatment to white people and prohibiting sexual intercourse and marriage between race groups. These race-based violations upheld whiteness, even at the expense of black people (Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1974; Mojapelo-Bakta, 2008; Nayoo, 2016).

The end of apartheid saw a continuation of these perceptions of whiteness. In chapter three, this study examined two case studies by Misgun and Oakes (2007), and Bhana & Pattman (2006), to provide a blueprint of the perceptions of race in post-apartheid South Africa. Examining Durban's Beachfront's racial dynamics, Misgun and Oakes (2007) found that, despite the end of colonialism and apartheid, there still exists an association of whiteness with superiority. Similarly, Bhana & Pattman (2006), interviewing scholars from four different schools, observed an idolization of whiteness amongst students. As a student stated, *"I feel like I always have to be good, like I have to behave a certain way so white people like me, so they consider me as one of them. I'm starting*

to think they really did a number on us, like no matter how far we go we will always have to feel like we have to measure to them or be accepted by them. And that's like not okay" (IF3: 2020).

Likewise, America has recently experienced many protests against the unjust murders and treatment of people of colour at police officials' hands (Maggos, 2019). The justice system's failure to protect and serve all citizens prolongs the perception of white as better, thus ensuring the continuance of white privilege globally. Speaking on racism, a student stated, *"racism is this idea that one race is superior to another. It's mostly white people treating black people unfairly... It's also kind of like how black people in the world are being killed by white police officers and the law isn't doing anything about it"* (IF3: 2020). In South Africa, these perceptions have thus persisted, despite the end of the colonial reign and the apartheid era.

Social media and the internet have also become outlets for racist talk in the country, with racial conflicts occurring between races. These conflicts may contain rhetoric that has the potential to provoke racial hatred and violence. The disparities that exist between racial groups in the country also sustain racial perceptions and attitudes. White people still own a large proportion of the country's wealth and have greater access to resources than black people, thus enforcing their supposed superiority (Republic of South Africa, 2019). As a student stated, *"...there are still systematic forces that create barriers and protect white people in wealthy positions. Be it is not necessarily laws of the land, but informal agreements and norms of the way things are done, in ways that favour those who happen to be white, in fact, those who have more money"* (WM2: 2020).

Hofmeyr & Govender (2015) state that the historical and structural legacies of apartheid have carried over into post-apartheid South Africa. They further state that the divisions between racial groups in the country can be attributed to post-apartheid South Africa's glossing over racism, allowing racism to continue to reproduce within generations (Hofmeyr & Govender, 2015; The SAIRR, 2017). Similarly, Makhanya (2018) cited in Republic of South Africa (2019) states that the country has not done enough practical work to build a non-racial country. Correspondingly, Meyer and Finchilescu (2006: 77) cited in Ratele & Laubscher (2010) state that the hierarchical racial stratification inherited from colonialism and apartheid remains unwavering. These hierarchies continue to reinforce white privilege (Phillips & Lowery, 2018; Ratele & Laubscher, 2010).

As a benefactor of white privilege, WM3 stated that privilege must be understood from more than a wealth driven perspective. As he stated, *“I don’t think you can speak about white privilege in South Africa without speaking about money, but that one’s sort of obvious because white people are unquestionably better off financially than black people in South Africa. So, I’m trying to give examples of everything that’s not money on how whites benefit from privilege”* (WM3: 2020). While white privilege may be understood from a wealth perspective, it demonstrates itself in both material and socio-cultural contexts. Material refers to the physical forces such as the distribution of goods and services, immigration policies, the division of labour and other institutional ways which perpetuate white privilege in societies. Socio-cultural refers to the societal practises, thinking patterns and behaviours that strengthen white privilege. This factor can be perpetuated through invisible forms that are generally outside of conscious awareness of white people such as racial profiling. With police brutality incidents broadcasted continuously across the globe, the narrow-minded beliefs of American white police officers have led to countless tragedies. This includes the deaths of Michael Brown, Trayvon Martin, Tamir Rice, Eric Garner, Laquan McDonald and Freddie Gray (Liao et al., 2016; Seabrook & Wyatt-Nichol, 2016).

WM3 (2020) further detailed many opportunities that being white has afforded him. This includes: living in an affluent neighbourhood, attending good English speaking schools, making him proficient in expressing himself in assignments and tests, having access to career advice and participating in white sports with excellent facilities. *“...all the networks I’m exposed to as a white person have tangibly benefited me in how my life has panned out”*, he said. Studies show that apartheid in South Africa was deliberately structured to privilege white people, a system from which white people are still benefitting. The apartheid system was created to ensure the continuation of white supremacy and tighten their social, political, and economic control (Mhlauli, Salani & Mokotedi, 2015). Similarly, Verwey & Quayle (2012) stated that, the National Party came to power with a new vision of South Africa, which would be built solely around a hierarchy that had Afrikaners and white people's identity in general at the core. In line with this argument, a student had the following remarks:

“I’m going on a tangent here, but if I can maybe give you an example of how weird Afrikaner culture was about looking out for Afrikaans interests. There used to be this thing called Broederbond or Brotherbond, and it was like this sort of preferential class

of treatment that would be given to Afrikaans people. So if you look at a whole lot of legacy, Afrikaans companies in South Africa like Sanlam and Naspers before it merged with Tencent or whatever you could not become executive management in a company before unless you were a part of the Broederbond, unless you were in the tight Afrikaans circles. Afrikaans fathers used to want their daughters to marry guys that were setting up to go into Broederbond. So, I guess why I bring it up is that it was a whole system put in place to solidify Afrikaans power with Broederbond. So, apartheid, I would say it was a system to solidify white power in the country, particularly Afrikaans power in South Africa between the '40s and '94. I would say officially that's when it existed, but apartheid is still here in 2020. I don't think Apartheid really left South Africa, it's just not as explicit, and I guess you could argue it's more explicit because of law, but it's still pervasive. Is that a good enough answer for you, I'm not sure" (WM3: 2020).

Peggy McIntosh (1988) detailed many ways in which white people experience privilege as a result of their race. She understands white privilege as an invisible knapsack filled with assets she can cash in on every day. This includes how a white person can go shopping without fear of harassment from store detectives, or how the images on her television or newspaper represent her race group in a positive manner (McIntosh, 1988). As one of the respondents said, *"white privilege is also not facing backhanded racism or hatred in an everyday setting"* (WM1: 2020). In defining white privilege post-1994, another student said, *"...the ability to access help, resources, or experiences in a way that people of colour⁷⁰ cannot, and to be treated humanely with no hatred or bias towards white people. Whether it be access to quality education, job interviews, no family members living in poverty or even having more lenient disciplinary actions taken against you by authorities"* (WM1:2020).

Results from questionnaires corroborate these views. Of 102 students who responded to the questionnaire, 96 agreed that white people have white privilege. A total of 26 (25%) students agreed that white privilege is a rhetoric that is not always real, while 76 (75%) students disagreed respectively. This questionnaire also engaged students in learning their opinions on whether white

⁷⁰ Respondents continuously used the term people of colour instead of using black people.

privilege in the new South Africa is systematic. A total of 80 (78%) students agreed with this statement, while 22 (22%) disagreed. These findings are displayed in the graph below (*figure 1*).

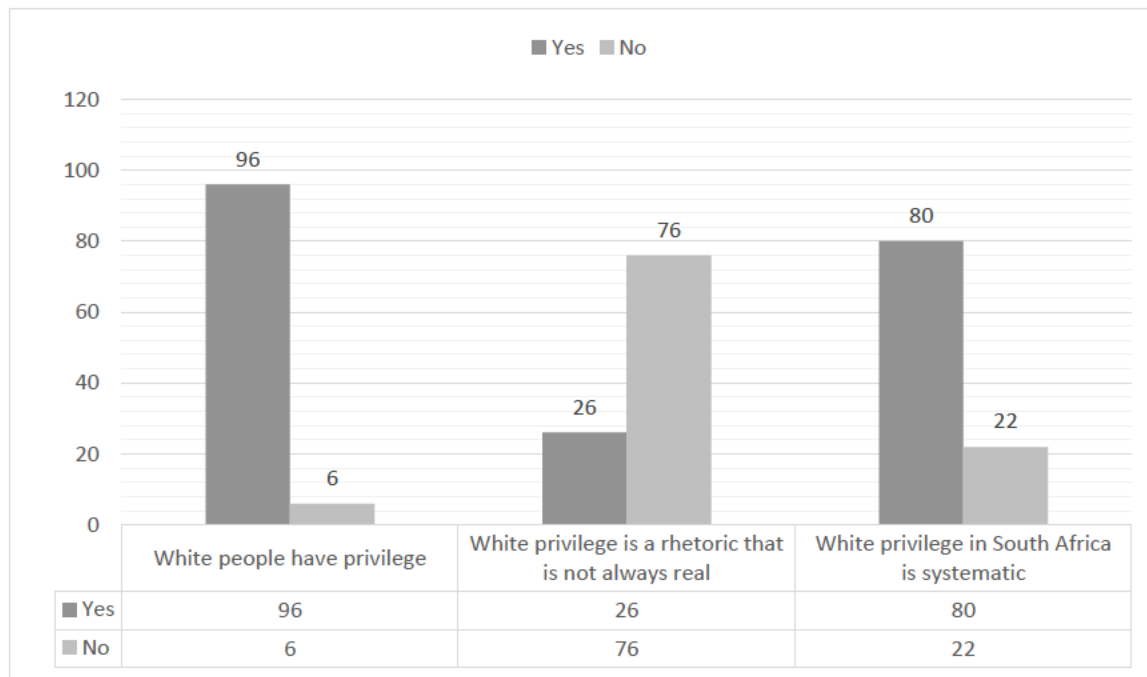


Figure 2: Bar Graph showing the responses gathered from the online questionnaire.

From these findings, it can be concluded that, while a small percentage of students may perceive white privilege as rhetoric that is not always real, the majority believe that white privilege is real, and it exists. As a student stated, “*white privilege exists. You are more likely to receive preferential treatment or the benefit of doubt if you are a white person in South Africa*” (BM3: 2020). These findings also suggest that there are institutions that perpetuate and maintain white privilege. In line with this evidence, a respondent stated the following:

“...white privilege only exists because like prominent white people with power control the means of production in the world and like it’s not a South African problem but a global problem. For example, why can a white person call the police because a black child is selling water on the side of the road? What about many people that die due to racial profiling?” (IF3: 2020).

It is probable that some students do not understand what is meant by ‘systematic’. As can be seen in the next quotations, *“I would say that since apartheid was a system, the system is still in place but, since you are asking in the new South Africa, we don’t have a system such as the apartheid system. I wouldn’t say it’s a system”* (BF1: 2020). Another Coloured female student stated, *“Hhayi⁷¹, I don’t know”* (CF3: 2020). An Indian male stated, *“no comment”* (IM3: 2020). Similarly, a Coloured male responded by stating, *“can we skip that question, I don’t know”* (CM1: 2020).

After questioning students regarding their perception of white privilege post-1994, this study probed whether these students felt that white students would share a similar view. Varying answers were received with some students agreeing and stating the following, *“I think white or black students are aware that this exists and that it affects them in various degrees. White students are becoming more conscious of the discrepancies that exist in society with regards to how they are perceived in comparison with those of other races”* (BM3: 2020). Echoing this statement, another student stated, *“yes, I think so. White people nowadays are a lot more informed than they used to be. I think as a white person, you’d have to be really ignorant to not know about white privilege”* (CF2: 2020). Likewise, a white student stated the following,

“no, I think it’s very different. I think you’ll find that older white people struggle with the term a lot more. I think that people that have been educated at university, particularly your more liberal universities, have a slightly better understanding of the term and what it means even if my definition sucked, the understanding, and the sense of it. So, yeah, I definitely don’t think that my answer is representative of all white people” (WW1: 2020).

Students who felt that their fellow white students would disagree with their perception of white privilege stated the following:

“I don’t think so because they (white people) feel that now that black students are able to go universities, able to travel as much as they can, we are able to do what they

⁷¹ A South African expression that technically means no. However, the term can also be used to express surprise/shock, depending on the tone of the speaker. In this instance, the speaker was using the term to say no.

actually can do. But, as a black person, I understand that it is at a different level. Like you can do the travelling, be at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, but most of them [white people] are self-payers, and black students are funded, you get what I'm saying? So, I think they [white people] will look at it as how they just see it going around. We, black students, have free education, everyone is getting educated, but we are still the poor, we still have poorer black families we left back in the farms or in the locations. They don't have that" (BF1: 2020).

A white student echoed the following statement, *"it's just that I don't think white people know it. I think white people think it's just cash, and that's why, when they see black people working alongside them at Liberty or at an advertising agency in Cape Town, they think that everything is fine now, if we are working the same jobs what restitutions do I have to give or what privilege do I have to account for if there is a black person working the same job as you?"* (WM3: 2020). Likewise, another student stated the following, *"I don't think so"* (BF3: 2020). When asked why she thought they would not share a similar view, she responded as follows, *"because they don't have to go through what we go through, so they won't understand why we say the things that we say"* (BF3: 2020).

Of note, one student agreed and disagreed, stating the following, *"well there's two different types of white students. There's one that might share the same view, and there's one that might not share the same view as me. In the context of one that would share the same view, I do think they would understand what I'm trying to say when it comes to what I'm explaining, the situation of white kids not having to go to school first before getting work"* (BF2: 2020).

Upon receiving this answer, BF2 was further asked if she felt that white students understand white privilege. She responded by saying that her fellow white classmates might not define the term as a black person would. In her response, she expressed the following:

"Because once you say it's white privilege, they are not going to process it in that way, they are going to find a better way to put it rather than white privilege. They are going to try find a way to justify it in a better way other than white privilege. For example, they can say that it's not white privilege, but it is work that was built by their forefathers but, us as black people instead of seeing it as that, we're going to see it as white

privilege. They are not going to understand the concept; most of them don't understand the concept of white privilege."

Contrary to the quote above, white students were aware of the privilege afforded to them on the basis of being white, as a student stated:

"I'd say I'm very cognizant of where I sit in society. I went to a good school; my parents afford to send me to university. I have done two unpaid internships which obviously is not accessible to some people unless you have the means to live in the holidays without earning any cash. It was easy for me to get access to good quality work clothes for interviews, same with my sister, even now the biggest thing she complains about is how expensive formal work attire is. If she is complaining about it, and we're from the privileged background in South Africa, I can only imagine what it is like for other economic groups. We're able to go on holidays once a year. My sister and I both got cars in our second year of university" (WM3: 2020).

Similarly, a white female student stated the following, *"white privilege is something; I don't need another person to tell me that I have white privilege, I know"* (WW1: 2020).

This study further engaged students in investigating whether there is truth in the perceived link between black people and their laziness or inability to succeed. Data gathered from the online found that 36 (35%) students agreed with this statement, while 68 (67%) students disagreed. These findings are demonstrated in the pie chart (*figure 2*) below.

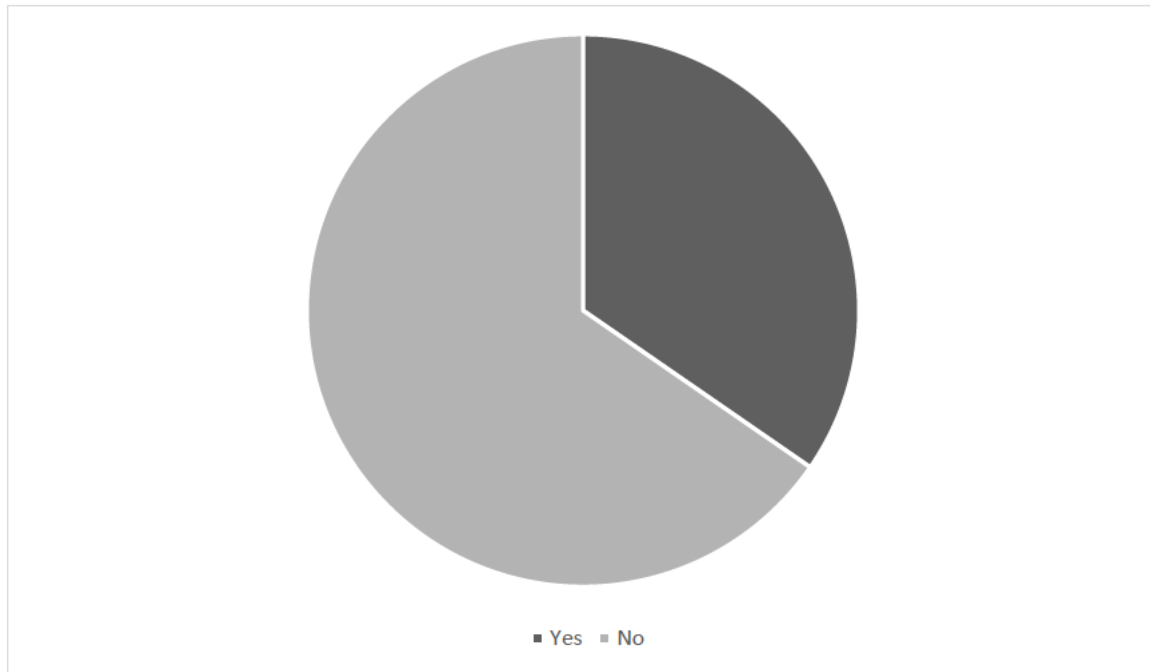


Figure 3: Pie chart showing the students responses to the perceived link between black people and their laziness or inability to succeed.

Similarly, regarding this perception, varying answers were received across racial groups during the interview process. The study found that, while there are stumbling blocks hindering black South Africans, there is also a population of black people who use race as an excuse. As one of the Coloured respondents said, *“I think to an extent, because there are black people who are working hard out there to represent black people properly, but then, there are other people who, when someone comes up to you with a debate, they end with that oh no [it’s] white privilege, that’s why white people are successful”* (CF1: 2020). Another black African male also concurred, *“yes, they sometimes do, not all of them. There are some people who are, if I could say so, are of a lower class, even nowadays they think they are poor because of the white people who took all of their belongings and resources”* (BM2: 2020). Interestingly, another Coloured female student stated that, while she disagreed with the statement, she believed that black people give up easily. *“...Yes being Black means that you have to work ten times harder than most for the bare minimum, but you can’t just give up, you have to try”* (CF3: 2020). These statements by black people were interesting as they showed that, as much as black people may believe that they are victims, they also try to be objective and look at this statement from different angles.

Some black South African (black African) respondents also maintained that black people in South Africa have been brainwashed into believing that, no matter how hard they work, the country's system will favour white people over them. As one of them stated, “...*I feel, in black people, it has been drilled that, no matter how hard they work, for example, if they were to go into an interview with a white person, chances of them taken for that job are slim even if they are very much qualified for that job*” (BF2: 2020). This narrative was mostly uttered by black African and Coloured students, whereas white students were adamant that this was not the case. “*No, I do not. I think white people say that it's definitely a narrative I have heard before... So, I don't think it's just an excuse*”, one white female student said (WW1: 2020).

Arguably, another female Coloured student stated that she wished that she had the opportunities that are afforded to white people. “*I wish I had all the opportunities white people have just for being white. Living in the neighbourhood I live in; you clearly see that, despite the good schools we all went to, the sports we played and the activities we did, all the white kids are still living better lives*”, she said (CF2: 2020). Another Indian female student stated, “*I disagree with that because I feel that, even if you can say they are lazy and they are not working, it's not because they don't want to...*” (IF1: 2020). Similarly, another student stated the following:

“That's a common misconception that the issues that affect most black people are because they are lazy. Most people would not willingly choose to suffer when it is in their power to better themselves, let alone an entire racial group. It shows wilful ignorance on the part of those who choose to perpetuate this stereotype” (BM3: 2020).

He further stated, “*it angers me when someone who knows nothing about you, disregards the challenges in your life and unilaterally labels you as lazy*” (BM3: 2020). Likewise, regarding blackness and laziness, another student stated the following:

“Hell no, I think that's just an excuse they give to black people when they complain about the way things are in the world. But they don't take into account that for years white people have made their money, 'old money, from exploiting us. Like they always forget to tell us that Indians were promised a lot of incentives to work as indentured workers and they didn't even get fair wages. Like they were treated like slaves even though slavery was quote-on-quote-off over. They were trying to escape poverty in

their countries, only to be treated like trash. It's just so frustrating to me because laziness isn't a black trait, it's a people thing. The world is like so unfair on black people, and that just isn't right" (IF3: 2020).

According to Devine & Elliot (1995), a high percentage of white Americans identified laziness, low intellect, and lack of education as qualities associated with African Americans. These stereotypes can shape how qualified black people are evaluated in the workplace or when applying for employment (Lawton, 2000). Similarly, Knowles et al (2014) discuss how numerous Americans continue to view the workplace as equal, despite the evidence of systematic flaws in selection processes. These Americans contend that black people need to try harder to be as successful as white people.

To admit that white privilege exists is to admit that some of the achievements and opportunities white people have received are due to skin colour, rather than talent and hard work. Meritocracy assumes that all opportunities presented to people are based on individual merit and hard work, rather than inherited status. It is founded on the belief that everyone has an equal opportunity for success, irrespective of race or gender. It is easier to believe in meritocracy than to admit that the systems in place discriminate against black people, hindering them from accessing certain resources and securing some positions reserved for white people (Knowles et al., 2014).

Phillips & Lowery (2018) maintain that this invisibility of white privilege makes it difficult to dismantle. In their work titled 'Herd Invisibility: The Psychology of Racial Privilege', Phillips & Lowery (2018) state that white privilege in its nature is not inherently invisible, preferably white people do not address the concept of privilege. This failure to address it, therefore, protects the privileges of individuals and the system. This is in line with what another respondent said, when he stated that, "*white privilege refers to the preference given to white individuals across all spheres or sectors and industries. It is the white people's never-ending need to deny that every single form of injustice that people of colour suffer is because of racism*" (CM1: 2020).

Exploring race and the existence of systematic white privilege using the lens of students is somewhat tricky. As seen in the Fees Must Fall Movement in 2016, these notions are filled with vast intricacies that differ across racial groups. Seeking to illustrate how Howard College students perceive and conceptualize white privilege, the study concludes as follows. One student struggled

to define white privilege; his language suggested that he did not have a clear understanding while he had heard of the term. Two students engaged with white privilege as a concept that no longer exists. In examining the language used by these two students, the study concluded that their understanding of white privilege was tied to apartheid. This means that, when South Africa became a democratic country, white privilege suddenly disappeared. The rest of the students maintained that white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa is alive and is still unchecked in human societies. These students were able to recognize the systematic problems that perpetuate white privilege in the country, and how white privilege continues to be the main factor determining the resources and opportunities available to some and not to others.

More so, this section concludes that the invisibility of white privilege upholds its power and keeps white people at the top of the racial hierarchy. This study examined Phillips & Lowery's (2018) work and found that white privilege is not invisible; it is the failure of white people to address it. This failure protects their privilege, thus ensuring that white privilege continues to benefit them. The role of meritocracy in preserving white privilege is an example of this, as to believe in white privilege is to admit that some of the successes and victories of white people are due to skin colour and not merit (Knowles et al., 2014). Additionally, white privilege can no longer continue to be understood purely from a wealth perspective. The attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of white people towards black people preserve white privilege and racist talk (Seabrook & Wyatt-Nichol, 2016). Lastly, regarding blackness and laziness, some black African students stated that it had been drilled into them that no matter how much they work, white people will still receive preferential treatment.

5.3. The current scope of race relations in post-apartheid South Africa

This study engaged with students to determine the scope of race relations in the country post-1994. The majority of the students interviewed in this study unanimously agreed that the country had significantly improved race relations since apartheid. However, they also stated that there was still much work to be done to eliminate racial stereotypes and perceptions amongst racial groups. A white male respondent stated the following, “... so, I think there has definitely been tangible racial progress, but obviously, anyone can tell you it hasn't been enough, and I think the question now that we have been trying to answer since 1994 is what will make it enough” (WM3: 2020). Similarly, another student stated, “due to apartheid, I think they have improved in the sense that

we all have the same rights, we're able to enter certain areas, and we have opportunities” (CF1, 2020).

The 2017 SAIRR field survey asked respondents their opinions on whether race relations had improved, stayed the same or worsened since 1994. The survey results indicate that 55% of the respondents believed that they had improved, while 27% felt they had stayed the same, and 13% stated that they thought relations had worsened (Potgieter, 2017). Additionally, the South African Reconciliation Barometer Survey (SARB) Report found that one in every three South Africans believes that race relations have improved since 1994. The SARB study further discovered that 38.3% respondents stated that race relations had stayed the same, while 29.4% believed they had worsened (Potgieter, 2017). In this study survey, out of the 102 students, 70 students (69%) felt that race relations had worsened, while 32 (31%) stated that they had improved. These figures are demonstrated in the pie chart (*figure 3*) below.

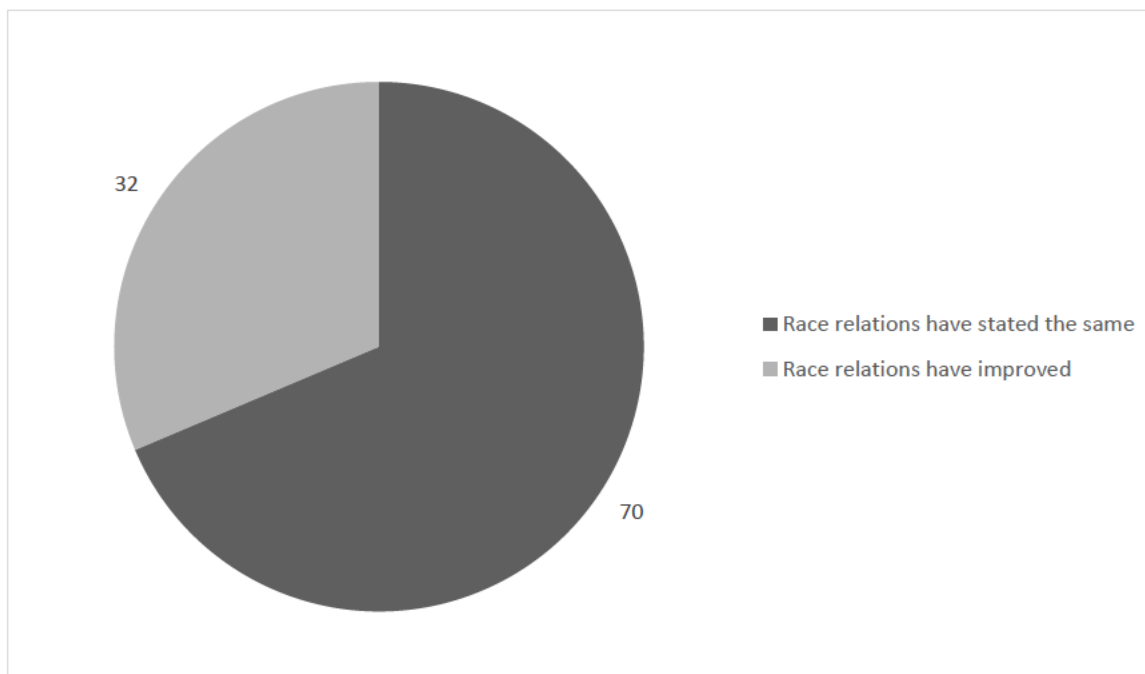


Figure 4: Pie chart showing the respondents view of race relations post-1994.

The year 1994 marked the beginning of a new era in the country, where South Africa would continue striving towards banishing the racial discrimination perpetrated during apartheid and redress the colonial legacy (Gelb, 2004). The year 1994 is considered as the most crucial period

for improving race relations in the country. These findings are damning, considering that it has been 26 years since South Africa became a democratic country. These findings suggest that progress is remarkably slow and that there is an urgent need to address and improve race relations in the country (Potgieter, 2017).

Hofmeyr & Govender (2015: 17) state that the defining feature of apartheid was legalized race-based discrimination. The skin colour had the power to determine "where you lived, where you worked, where you socialized, who you loved and, ultimately, where you died". This defining feature has persisted beyond the abolishment of racist apartheid laws. Studies have indicated that a barrier hindering people from making friends outside of their racial group is the distrust that racial groups have for each other. The National Reconciliation, Race Relations, and Social Inclusion briefing paper (2015) found that 67.3% of their respondents indicated that they have little to no trust in people belonging to other racial groups. This distrust poses a problem in achieving social cohesion⁷² amongst racial groups (Hofmeyr & Govender, 2015).

When questioned if she or anyone close to her has ever experienced racism, a white female student stated, *"there's a lot of examples, people crossing the road when seeing a black man on the street, clutching their purse"* (WW1: 2020). Another student stated the following, *"...on the basis of their skin colour being white, they gain more privileges. Like how in my old high school, white kids were treated with dignity, whereas Indian and African students had such a hard time, if something was stolen, teachers naturally assumed it was the black girls. If there was noise, teachers would kind of like assume it was them because 'all black people are noisy'. It's things like that really..."* (IF3: 2020). Similarly, a Coloured male student stated, *"I went to predominantly white schools growing up, so most of my friends were white. I was almost always made fun of based off stereotypes about Coloured people"* (CM1: 2020). He further stated that the typical stereotypes he received were related to the perceived link between being Coloured and being violent, stating that, *"the typical ones about all Coloured people being violent and into gang stuff"* (CM1: 2020). These quotations suggest that being black carries connotations such as a perceived link to criminality.

This perceived link between blackness and violence can be traced back to the apartheid era. The South African term *'swart gevaar'*, translated to *black danger*, was used during the apartheid era

⁷² The level at which people in a society are connected and united.

to portray black people as dangerous and violent (Magubane, 2001; Puttick, 2011). The quotations above suggest that the perception of African and Coloured men as dangerous, perpetuated during the apartheid era, is still prevalent in the society. Similarly, in America, African American people's image as "brutal, animalistic, sexual, savages" was created as a ploy to make white people feel better about slavery. This stereotype of African Americans as savage has led to many white people, whether consciously or unconsciously, fearing and mistrusting African Americans (Kaufman, 2001: 32). This characterization of African Americans as savages also perpetuates black people's image as thieves and white people as civilized. This explains how a white person can walk into a store and is respectfully perceived by clerks as a person that will not steal anything (Kaufman, 2001). Much like in the South African terms, this mistrust of black people persist; it persist despite the end of slavery.

American studies show that children are aware of race and its implications by the time they are in crèche (kindergarten). These studies further show that both white and black children in crèche attach positive connotations to whiteness and negative connotations to blackness (Kendall, 1983 cited in Law, 1999).

According to Sniderman et al (1991), while blatant racism has lessened globally, this does not mean that it has completely disappeared. Also, a more procedural and indirect form of racism has emerged. This form of racism would have more power as it does not appear to be racist (Sniderman et al, 1991: 423). Likewise, Liao et al (2016) state that this subtle form of racism is hard to perceive as it is often difficult to discern, and can be easily justified by other apparent causes. Likewise, the South African activist Steve Biko (1979) observed that a new form of racism had emerged, one that was not only on an individual basis but also institutionalized, to make it look like the South African way of life (Biko & Stubbs, 1979: 88). Accordingly, one student stated that:

“Overt racism has diminished somewhat since democracy. There are still cases of it that occurs, but overall the relations between races has improved. It is the subtle racism that continues to plague South Africa. Also, older generations are prone to believing in racial stereotypes rather than young people. Younger people are more likely to encounter people of other races and tend to disregard the misconceptions like ‘Black people are lazy’ and so forth.” (BM3: 2020).

Similarly, when asked if she had experienced racism, another student stated the following,

“Well, if you had asked me this long ago, I probably would have said no, but now I can look back and see that I experienced it so many times and didn’t know. Like in high school --- which was like mostly a white people school, they made us feel like we were privileged to be there even though we were like paying the same school fees as other girls. We were always being told we should have stuck to schools in our neighbourhoods if we complained about anything. But African students had it harder, this one time during a bus strike, they came late, so the deputy principal walked in our class and told all the black students who lived in Umlazi or Lamontville to stand up. When this one girl --- didn’t stand up, she was shouted at so bad. When she said, she didn’t live there, the deputy didn’t even believe her until a white girl told her they were neighbours, and moments like that always happened, we just didn’t take them seriously” (IF3: 2020).

This subtle racism can be observed in the unfair manner that police officials interact with minorities, and how black people are followed around by security or employees in department stores. In America, racial profiling incidences have become so prevalent that black parents are forced to educate children in pre-school on how to deal with the daily acts of racism they will experience, so they do not lose their lives (Law, 1999). “A person crosses the street to avoid walking next to a group of young black men. A person calls 911 to report the presence of a person of colour who is otherwise behaving lawfully. A police officer shoots an unarmed person of colour because he feared for his life. A jury finds a person of colour guilty of a violent crime despite scant evidence” (Collins, 2018: 2). Similarly, a student stated, “...white people aren’t profiled by police as often, they aren’t looked at suspiciously in shops only because of their skin colour. White people do not fear that their skin colour holds them back from being treated equally in society” (WW2: 2020). These perceptions of blackness are examples of the role that white privilege plays in vilifying black people.

To examine race relations of South Africa post-1994, this study also raked through the controversial social media posts that have made the news. While these publicized controversial posts do not represent all South Africans' general opinion, they are examples of how hostile cases of intergroup relations may sometimes be. This includes Penny Sparrow's incidences who equated black beachgoers to “monkeys” on a Facebook post, and Ben Sasanof who commented that “must

have smelt like the inside of Zuma's asshole" on a picture of a crowded beach (The SAIRR, 2017: 1). Incensed by the Penny Sparrow incident, Velaphi Khumalo, a sports promoter at the Gauteng Department of Sport, Arts, Culture and Recreation, posted on Facebook that he wanted to cleanse the country of white people like Hitler did with the Jews (Brink & Mulder, 2017). In March 2017, Esethu Hasane, the media and communications manager of the Department of Sport and Recreation, tweeted that "Only Western Cape still has dry dams. Please God, we have black people there, choose another way of punishing white people" (Brink & Mulder, 2017: 16). These are just a few examples indicating that there is still some work that needs to be done to improve race relations in the country.

As previously stated, most of the students agreed that race relations had improved, stating the following, *"I think they have improved"* (BM1: 2020). However, four students disagreed, stating, *"in my opinion, I'm going to say that we have been made to believe that they have improved in order for the country to carry on functioning, but in reality, if you look at it properly, I don't think they have improved"* (BF2: 2020). Similarly, another student stated the following:

"I think it is in a condition right now that is way worse than many people in South Africa would like to admit. There is, however, a greater empowerment of people of colour to speak out and stand up for themselves to show the rest of the country that things are still very much unequal and that, although in many cases there may not be blatant racism, that there is widespread covert racism as a part of the institutionalized racism in South Africa. Therefore, I think that it is on the road to improving with the younger generations, such as people at my age, that are empowering young people of colour, and the white people are starting to acknowledge their inherent racism that they have shown to others without realizing" (WW2: 2020).

Likewise, Horowitz (1991) states that South Africa has one of the most extreme intergroup relations cases. Intergroup relations refers to the relationship that exists between different social groups. This includes ethnic, religious, and racial groups (Bornman, 2011). As previously stated in chapter two, citing the racial injustices of Michael Brown, Alton Sterling and Australian Elijah Doughty, racial profiling incidents have become prevalent across the globe. In the cases of Michael Brown and Alton Sterling, the perpetrators, white police officers, were not criminally charged for the unjust murder of the black individuals. The perpetrator of the murder of Elijah Doughty, a

white man, was found not guilty and sentenced to three years and released on parole nineteen months later. Therefore, these incidences indicate the failure of the justice system in ensuring justice for all its citizens, thus maintaining white privilege across the globe (The Associated Press, 2017; Wahlquist, 2018).

Similarly, speaking on racism, a student stated the following, *“I was speaking to my old high school friends recently and I think she said something along the lines of how everywhere, where in the world there is white people, black people are treated like trash, and that’s so unfair”* (IF3: 2020). This quote indicates that race relations, race discrimination, and racist violence remain a problem worldwide.

Wertheim (2014) revealed how institutional structures maintain segregation in institutions of higher learning. She draws on the university's language policies and the dorm options available to students, to explain how these structures maintain racial separation amongst students in one South African university. Previously an Afrikaner institution, this university is currently a dual language institution offering courses in English and Afrikaans. This allows students to choose which classes they prefer to attend. Wertheim found that Afrikaner students choose to study in their language, which is Afrikaans, instead of taking classes with other students (Wertheim, 2014).

Cross-racial integration, which is the interactions of people across racial groups, has increased significantly in post-apartheid South Africa. This form of integration is vital as it can decrease racial prejudice between racial groups, especially in the following settings; interracial friendships, interracial dating, participating in diverse student organizations and living in a diverse residential areas (Byrd, 2014). Through exposure to black African people, an Afrikaner WM3 found them intelligent and capable. This exposure destabilized black students' generalization as unintelligent and incompetent. He stated, *“...and I don’t think we must overlook the significance of that. Like in the university now, most of the students who were better than me in my class were completely competent black students who have had much more difficult lives than me, which gives me a lot of respect for them”* (WM3: 2020). When people do not have first-hand experience interactions with people from other racial groups, they are more likely to rely on generalizations and racial stereotypes (Byrd, 2014). WM3 who was raised by staunch Afrikaner parents further stated, *“...even just being in group settings in the university where you are forced to work with black students, ...I mean, where I can tangibly see that these are normal people. ...but this is something*

I don't think my parents had" (WM3: 2020). His first-hand experience interactions with black African people allowed him to unlearn the racial stereotypes enforced by his upbringing.

Learning institutions are still grappling with racism and white privilege. Speaking on racism, a student stated, *"I had a teacher tell me not to approach her desk while I was asking her something for her assistance, yet she had no issue with a white student doing the same"* (BM3: 2020). He further stated that, *"it was very disconcerting as a pre-teen to have someone of authority disregard your right to receive the same education and treatment in the classroom as other students"* (BM3: 2020). When the interviewer probed deeper, the male respondent stated, *"I am very sure it would not have happened if I was white"* (BM3: 2020). Likewise, when questioned whether she had ever experienced racism, another Coloured female student stated, *"It was on campus with my friend, and we were walking to class when a white man who was having a conversation with another white man proceeded to say, 'there are so many kaffirs walking around here'"* (CF2: 2020). It was disturbing to hear that this man dared to use such a racial slur so casually. The white man's statement shows entitlement and arrogance as if black people should not be at the university. Of note, according to this study, this was the only student who has experienced a racist incident on campus.

Post-1994 has allowed young people to have greater interactions with each other, a luxury that the older generation could not have. Young people attend multiracial schools, play sports and recreational activities, and live in neighbourhoods where they can regularly interact with students from other race groups. These interactions have a greater capacity to reduce any racial preconceptions that people might have towards other race groups (Booyesen, 2014; Byrd, 2014). As demonstrated in the following quote, *"the younger generations have unlearned a lot of subtle racist tendencies that their elders have demonstrated"* (IM2: 2020). Similarly, another student stated, *"...old white people in South Africa will never not be racist because they have never grown up with black people"* (WM3: 2020).

Wertheim's study (2014), based on her interviews with white students, reveals that some white students acknowledge that, due to apartheid, white privilege has educationally and intellectually disadvantaged their fellow black classmates. For example, black African students lack proficiency due to various institutions' inability to provide education and necessary skills before college

(Wertheim, 2014). Indeed, comparing public and private schools in South Africa, the National Action Plan (2019) found that most public schools lacked facilities and resources. This was found as a challenge affecting the quality of the education that learners receive.

More so, structural obstacles such as a students' socio-economic status still gate-keep black people from accessing higher education (Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1974; Christie & Collins, 1982; Loram, 1969; Republic of South Africa, 2019). As discussed in chapter 1, higher learning institutions' systematic underfunding shifts costs onto students, thus barring students from the poor and middle-class families from accessing further education and furthering their studying (The South African Human Rights Commission, 2018). Therefore, denying the existence of white privilege is to deny that there is an underlying system that restricts black people in South Africa from gaining resources such as quality education (Davids & Waghid, 2016). It is to deny the normative and invisible forms of racism that exist post-1994. As an Indian female student stated, *“white privilege in South Africa exists, and it cannot be ignored, it’s everywhere.”* (IF3: 2020).

This study also found that, while the legacy of colonialism and apartheid has affected racial groups' relations, it has also affected relations within racial groups. Commonly referred to as intragroup relations or dynamics, this refers to interactions of persons belonging to the same social group (Bornman, 2011). Blackness in South Africa is an inclusive term with many images; this includes African, Coloured, and Asian (Indian & Chinese). For example, IF1 stated that, as an Indian, it was easier for her to make friends within her racial group. She stated that the shared history of oppression plays a significant role in the relations of Indian, black African and Coloured people. In her response, she stated the following, *“we have more likes or more like things that we can be able to communicate about but whereas, ok let’s say like our grannies say, they are eighty-something, I feel like a Coloured, Black and an Indian granny would have more to communicate more about the past. Whereas a white person didn’t experience the struggle that the other three racial groups experienced as women”* (IF1: 2020). As a result, she deduces that this shared history strengthens the relations that exist within black people.

Living in a predominantly white neighbourhood as a darker skin toned Coloured female, a student recounted that she is continuously racially profiled. She stated, *“when my siblings and I went for shopping at our local stores last week, I noticed when I separated from them inside the store to go get something on my own, the security guard kept following me around the aisles inside the store,*

and there were tons of other people inside the store” (CF3: 2020). CF3 further stated that she realized she was being followed due to her race when she noticed a barefoot, homeless white man roaming the store without security. “I realized the guard was treating me differently because of my skin tone. And he was black too, so that made me even angrier because if anyone would steal it’s definitely the white man and not me” (CF3: 2020). Considering the socio-economic status of the 'homeless white man' and CF3 who resides in this affluent neighbourhood, logic would dictate that the homeless white man would be more likely to steal from the local store. However, due to the colour of her skin, CF3 was racially profiled as a thief.

The black African security profiling the respondent (CF3) is of interest to this study as it sheds light on the intricacies of intragroup race relationships. According to Brown (2000), the hierarchical racial classifications enacted during colonial and apartheid eras affect how people envision themselves and relate to those outside of their group. Studying the dynamics between black African and Coloured people, Brown (2000) found that Coloured people served as an intermediate between white and black African people during the apartheid era. This allowed some Coloureds to occupy a higher status position and improve their standard of living. However, this also divided the Coloured and black African people. Speaking about these complex intragroup dynamics between black African and Coloured people in the country, a student stated the following:

“Also, as Black people, we really hate each other, especially if you’ve been in Cape Town. People always talk about how it’s racist. But there, Coloured people would rather treat White people better than they do to Africans, which I hate. It doesn’t make sense to me. Shouldn’t I care about my black friends more? White people don’t care about us; they don’t, so why do we fight for them to accept us so much? I don’t get it. Black people have always supported me more than White people ever will” (CF3: 2020).

This hierarchical separation between black African and Coloured people was further exacerbated by introducing the Group Areas Act and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and laws that ensured that Coloured and black African people would be further divided (Brown, 2000). Brown (2000) states that being mixed-race people, not entirely white but not entirely black either, Coloured people are sometimes torn about where they fit in. This is in line with what was

expressed by the student when she stated that, *“when I’m with my black friends, I’m too white to be with them, but when I’m with my white friends, I’m too black to be with them. So in a sense, it’s like I can’t fight for a certain race, I can’t be a part of a community. I have to be in the middle of everything. I feel displaced racially”* (CF1: 2020). These intragroup complexities reveal how people in the same social group relate to each other. It also provides a background of how South Africa's segmentation is due to the colonial and apartheid legacy.

While race relations have improved significantly since pre-1994, some barriers and biases hinder people from veering outside their racial groups more often. One of the respondents said, *“well to me personally, well I have white friends, but very few, and not like close relationships. Whereas like, well that’s my opinion with a black person, I can have a relationship and be friends.”* *“...in the country that we are in, it is easier for an Indian person to relate with a black person than it is for an Indian person to relate to the white person”* (IF1: 2020). Similarly, Wertheim (2014) observed how students tended to stick to their racial groups instead of veering out and interacting with other races. Therefore, while blackness is an all-embracing term in South Africa, such quotations show that, within blackness, there are still Indians and Coloureds. This also means that the racial segregationist laws of apartheid are still operating currently, causing conflict and division between black people. These segregation laws divided black people, to separate and ostracize black African people and ensure that white people would maintain their dominance over them. Intragroup division, therefore, maintains the white supremacist ideas (Brown, 2000).

In conclusion, majority of the students interviewed in this study agreed that the country has made significant improvement in race relations since the end of apartheid. However, they also stated that there was still much work to eliminate racial stereotypes and perceptions amongst racial groups. Some students maintained that the older generation would always be racist, as they have not had interactions with black people. These students also maintained that blatant racism has lessened in the country, and covert racism was occurring. These findings were corroborated by literature (Booyesen, 2014; Byrd, 2014; Wertheim, 2014). Of interest, only one student experienced a racist incident on campus. However, institutions of higher learning are still grappling with race and racism issues in the country.

In essence, due to the history of racism and segregation that South Africa has experienced, there are still racist perceptions about black people in post-apartheid South Africa. For example, being

associated with crime and gangsterism, which can be traced back to the apartheid era. These perceptions of blackness are examples of the role that white privilege plays in vilifying black people. Drawing from the experiences of CF3, a Coloured female, who was profiled in her neighbourhood by a black African security guard, this study also discussed intragroup dynamics. As previously stated, Coloured people served as an intermediate between black and white people, thus allowing them to improve their standard of living. Apartheid did not just settle black and white people; it separated everyone, thus causing the intragroup conflicts. This study concludes that the separateness of apartheid has a significant effect on relations between and within racial groups in the country. More so, the intricacies of intragroup race relationships between black Africans and Coloured people sustain white supremacy values, as it places a higher value on racial classifications and hierarchies of apartheid, thus perpetuating white privilege.

5.4. The economic development implications of apartheid

The system of apartheid gave birth to immeasurable economic development implications that had dire effects on black people's lives in South Africa. This included a lack of resources, unskilled labourers, wage disparities across racial groups and extreme poverty among black people. These socio-economic dynamics carried over into post-apartheid South Africa (Gelb, 2004; Thaver & Ekanayake, 2010). One of the white female students said, *“I believe that there needs to be retribution for the wrongs of apartheid so that white South Africans can admit the mistakes of their ancestors and the benefits that they have reaped”* (WW2, 2020). The Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) was created to reverse the economic disparities black people faced during the era of apartheid by increasing the number of black South Africans that own or manage companies (African National Congress 1994 cited in the African National Congress, 2011; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2018). This study therefore engaged with students to discover whether BEE has successfully redistributed economic resources. Again, responses varied, with some students agreeing that the policy had redistributed wealth and resources to those previously disadvantaged. As a student stated, *“yes, it has”* (CF2: 2020). Likewise, another respondent stated, *“Yes, because I see a lot of black people’s lives improving and starting successful business. There is an improvement”* (BM1: 2020).

Additionally, a small percentage of students stated that, while the policy had redistributed some wealth, it had not reached its full potential. As a student indicated, *“yes, but not as much as it*

should. It can do better” (CM1: 2020). Another student disagreed, stating that the policy had not succeeded, but still stated that the policy had redistributed resources to some black people. He stated, *“no... it's improved the lives of black people but not by much, just a little”* (BM2: 2020). Only one student was uncertain regarding this question, stating, *“I'm not sure honestly”* (BF3: 2020). It is probable that she did not wish to answer the question as she reiterated her statement for all questions regarding BEE. The rest of the students felt that the policy had failed in redistributing resources to black people. Based on this evidence, one can conclude that, despite the abolishment of apartheid, the economy remains racialized. More so, race continues to influence one's access to basic resources, thus privileging white people.

The use of BEE for personal use hinders black people's empowerment in the country and damages the small and medium enterprises, instead of assisting them. Tenderpreneurship, gross nepotism, fraud and mismanagement have, therefore, had crippling effects on the intended purpose of the BEE in South Africa (Shava, 2016). Likewise, questioned on BB-BEE's effectiveness in redistributing resources to black people, a student touched on the role of corruption in BEE's failure. She stated the following:

“Corrupt people are giving tenders to their friends instead of using businesses that are qualified. Some people are being bribed for tenders, and they don't even do a good job. It's one thing to bribe for a tender but to not actually do the work is so wrong and a waste of taxpayers' money. At least do a good job” (CF3: 2020).

Corruption has played a significant role in the slow progress of BB-BEE policies. This is due to companies' incentives, such as favourable tax gains and the opportunity to conduct business with the government, companies may elect a black African person into an executive position or a board member as a shadow, thus rigging the system (Shava, 2016). In line with this argument, a respondent stated, *“...instead of hiring many People of Colour (POC) grads, they'll just make one Person of Colour (POC) a head of department, which still leaves millions of POC without jobs or opportunities to prove themselves”* (IM1: 2020). Despite being managers, these employees often do not have decision-making power, as control still lies in their white employers' hands. This practice manipulates the system, gaining BEE incentives, and thus maintaining white power and privilege (Shava, 2016).

Responses gathered from students also paint a vivid picture of a state that is riddled with white privilege. For example, speaking on whether being white places one in a position of benefit, one student stated, *“you rarely find white unemployed people in South Africa and, even in the workplace, you will find that if a white person and a person of colour are both in the same position, but the white person’s salary is so much higher”* (CF3: 2020). Similarly, another student stated, *“...most white people I went to high school with didn’t even go to varsity but they somehow managed to have like prominent jobs in like big private companies. How is that even possible? Something doesn’t add up”* (IF3: 2020). Apartheid was racially exclusive, denying black people access to economic and political rights. On the basis of skin colour, black people were barred from acquiring certain positions. During the transition to democracy, Affirmative Action was deemed as a tool necessary to build the economy and meet the basic needs of the black people in the country (African National Congress, 1994 cited in the African National Congress, 2011; Ndhambi, 2015).

According to Archibong & Adejumo (2013), Affirmative Action is a skills development programme that was established under the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Policy) policy to upgrade the skills of previously disadvantaged persons, to redress gender and racial imbalances. Etched in the constitution, this policy aims to address poverty and socio-economic inequalities inherited from the apartheid regime. Speaking on this policy, a student stated, *“post-apartheid affirmative action in my view has only helped a small proportion of black people to gain such wealth as to not be affected by white privilege all the time, but for the most part, people of colour in South Africa are still put under extra pressure to do more and prove themselves as equals to white people in South Africa”* (WM1: 2020). From the above quotations, it can be concluded that this policy has not been fully implemented in a manner that promotes equality in the workplace and employment selection processes. More so, race continues to be the primary determinant of privilege in the country, using hiring methods that intentionally discriminate against black persons from being employed (Crosby, Iyer & Sincharoen, 2006; Law, 1999;).

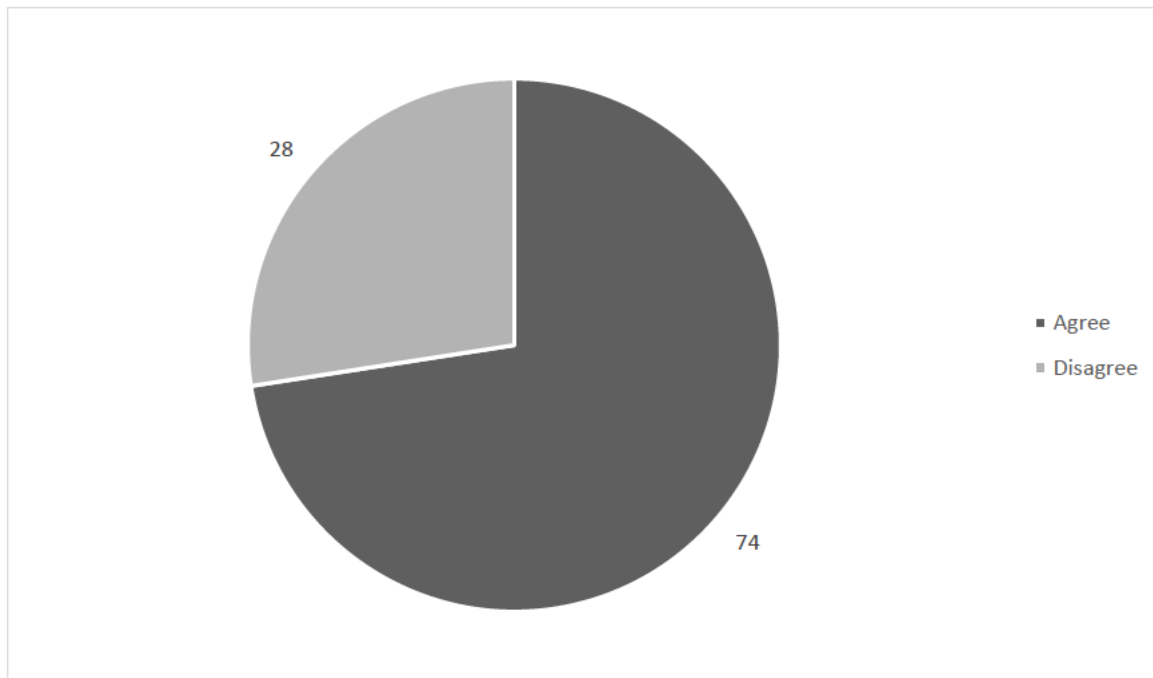


Figure 5: The respondents' opinion on whether other factors such as corruption destroy South Africa and not racism

Data gathered from the questionnaire shows that 74 (73%) students believed that corruption, not racism, destroys South Africa, while 28 (28%) disagreed with this statement. These figures are communicated in the pie chart above (*Figure 4*). These figures are damning as they paint a vivid picture of a state that is riddled with corruption. Studies show that corruption, cronyism, and poor governance have exacerbated inequality post-1994. These figures also indicate the central role of corruption in the country's economic growth lag. Corruption decreases economic growth and is positively correlated with income inequality. Politicians siphoning of public resources to establish foreign bank robs the country of essential resources and results in a misallocation of state funds and resources. This corruption is intensified by cronyism, clientelism (loyalty) and nepotism (favouritism), as the hiring of family or peers can lead to mismanagement and waste of public resources and state funds. Corruption and unscrupulous employment practise hurt the poor and the most vulnerable in society, robbing them of vital resources and services (Gyimah-Brempong, 2001; Keeley, 2015; Kyriacou: 2020; Pilane, 2015). However, as damning as these figures are, it is important to note that institutions that maintain and perpetuate racism and white privilege do not

cease to exist due to the presence of corruption. In fact, the presence of corruption would exacerbate the inequality created by the racist systems of colonialism and apartheid.

In the course of research among UKZN students, one of the raised questions was if participants thought all South African citizens deserved equitable access to land. The response was a resounding yes from all participants. As one of the white female students indicated, *“access, yes. Because, I think everybody needs to live somewhere, so everybody deserves access to land to live on”* (WW1: 2020). Likewise, the Constitution of the Republic South Africa Act (1996) states that South Africa belongs to all who live in it. This means that all the people of the country deserve access to some form of land to live in. Additionally, most of the students were adamant that the country's spatial geography maintains white privilege. Speaking on white privilege, a student stated the following:

“White privilege in South Africa is widespread and an intrinsic part of our history. In post-apartheid South Africa, there is still a great segregation of people of different races in terms of places of residence that shows the long-lasting effects of apartheid. White people are privileged because of the way that their ancestors benefitted from the apartheid system. This gave them greater connections and wealth that allowed their own children to then have access to the private schooling that then lead to these children going to universities, allowing the cycle of white prosperity and wealth to continue. These white people now have the educative advantage that would give them better work opportunities” (WW2: 2020).

Additionally, while segregation land laws have been abolished, certain areas in the country remain white, and these areas experience better service delivery. When asked if race plays a prominent role in accessing resources, a student answered, *“...communities because of apartheid having people live separately, a lot of white communities are definitely wealthier, more developed if I can use that word, and I don't think there has been too much that's done to try and rectify that”* (WW3: 2020). Similarly, another stated, *“being Black means that you are likely to live in a township where service delivery is sometimes terrible, jobs are few and internet is expensive, data from mobile companies [is expensive]. It's frustrating, but one accepts that these are things most black people face”* (BM3: 2020). Similarly, discussing why he believed white privilege to be institutional, a

student stated, “...that’s why the services you receive depend on where you live, or why people have to travel long distances to get a better education” (IM2: 2020). Likewise, another student stated, “well if look at the suburbs⁷³, everything is on time and they have those resources, whereas when you look at a rural area or township, you rarely have those things and, also in schools, you rarely ever see the same opportunities as a school that is in the suburb area” (CF1: 2020).

As one of the direct economic implications of colonialism and apartheid, spatial development⁷⁴ plays a crucial role in perpetuating poverty and inequality. South African cities and towns' geography remain highly racialized, with little to no inter-racial contact (Hofmeyr & Govender, 2015; Seekings, 2008). In line with this, a student stated,

“... one's location is based, is often based on their race as people were segregated during apartheid. White areas had access to better resources due to more funding, and white children inherit their parents’ homes and lives, and pass it on to their dependents and so forth. Whereas people of colour, and more especially black areas, were given minimal resources which their children may inherit and so on” (IF2: 2020).

A report compiled by the World Bank (2018) states that South Africa is the most unequal and unevenly developed country (Turok, 2018; World Bank, 2018). Turok (2018) states that wealth and poverty sit side-by-side within every South African city and town. Upscale suburbs are contrasted with underdeveloped townships and shacks settlements (Turok, 2018). This can be observed in the case of Sandton, located in the economic hub of South Africa, Johannesburg. Sandton, which houses exclusive luxury homes and various headquarters of exclusive corporations, is located near Alexandria, an overpopulated township that is extremely underprivileged and grossly underdeveloped. As a student stated:

“White privilege is still very prominent in South Africa even after apartheid. Many white people have access to better schooling and facilities based on the fact that they live in better and more developed areas, closer to adequate resources and amenities. Apartheid ensured that white areas had the most adequate resources and facilities

⁷³ Colloquial word meaning suburban.

⁷⁴ Spatial development refers to the methods used to direct the development of a specific area.

which were well maintained and in the most accessible surrounding areas” (IF2: 2020).

IF2 further stated, *“...apartheid ensured that white areas were given the better resources and facilities, which can still be found in these areas today. And those white people have left their homes to their white children who will benefit from those advantages too” (IF2: 2020).* Similarly speaking on white privilege and land, another student stated, *“some people have made such wealth from their previous privilege that generations from now won’t even need to work hard to be wealthy. From wine farms to most desired property, it’s all because they are people with white privilege and were given the opportunity to acquire it” (IM1: 2020).* While this spatial inequality⁷⁵ results from the geographic segregation of races and ethnicities during apartheid, research also shows that the country must redress its policy outlining spatial planning. The little advancement in spatial geography since the end of apartheid is primarily due to the inappropriate policy framing and the ill manner in which municipalities implement spatial legislature (Charman et al., 2017).

Additionally, geographical divisions continue despite constitutional rights, legislation, institutional structures, and the many projects created to foster social justice and rural development (Turok, 2018). Furthermore, research states that most Black African people in the country live in areas far from urban centres and jobs (Todes and Turok, 2017 cited in David et al., 2018). Correspondingly, a student stated, *“a lot of the poor communities are black communities, and the very wealthy communities are predominantly white” (WW3: 2020).* Turok (2018) states that this is due to the government’s response to combating spatial inequalities being inconsistent. This inconsistency results in the immense frustration and suffering of people who are always forced to endure overcrowded, unsanitary, and unsafe living conditions (Turok, 2018). As can be observed in the ever-increasing number of social protests and land invasions in the country, it has become commonplace in the country to witness people, mostly black and poor, rise with frustration and disappointment at their living conditions, which have become untenable (Hofmeyr & Govender, 2015; Turok, 2018). Geographical segregation still exists in societies; white people still live segregated lives in a white-dominated neighbourhood, work and go to white-dominated schools that enforce white interests and perspectives. This segregation maintains racial stereotypes. White

⁷⁵ Spatial inequality can be defined as the unequal distribution of resources and services across different locations. This includes services such as quality healthcare and sanitation services (regular refuse collection).

people are less likely to receive any authentic information regarding race, racism, and white privilege in the white-dominated environments they reside (Robin, 2011).

Furthermore, one's geographical location has the power to determine how much they pay on their car premiums and possessions in their household insurance (Faber & Friedline, 2018). With the country's spatial geography as segregated as it is, it can therefore be concluded that most black African people are paying hefty amounts for these necessities, thus perpetuating white privilege. A respondent had the following to say regarding this issue:

“I think a lot of financial access in South Africa is algorithmically determined based on things which are proxy for race. What I mean by that is, if you apply for a home loan or vehicle financing from Absa or FNB, a lot of the factors that they use, to determine whether you get the loan, because of South Africa’s reality and history that proceeded that a lot of those are proxies for race. So, if there is a black person exactly as me who works the same job, but they live in a different area like a traditionally black area, a lot of proxies like that will make them less likely, based on those algorithms to be issued a loan which I think it is something that people don’t speak much about” (WM3: 2020).

Discrimination in lending can occur whenever the terms of a transaction are affected by the participant's characteristics that are not relevant to the transaction (Agarwal, Li & Mielnicki, 2003). For example, banks have been accused of red-line financing real estate, not granting loans for properties located in certain areas (Agarwal et al., 2003; Haney-López, 1994). In America, the financial system is flawed, and racially discriminatory practices hindering persons of colour from participating in today's economy were exposed. The New America reports investigating the racialised costs of banking found that segregation significantly shapes banking costs. The report compared the average checking account costs and fees across all racial groups to white people, and found that black people pay \$190.09 higher, Asians pay \$25.53, and Latinos pay \$262.09 higher (Faber & Friedline, 2018). This reinforces the notion that the world does award resources based on skin colour.

In conclusion, this section opened up by questioning students on BEE's effectiveness. A small percentage of students indicated that, while the policy has redistributed some wealth, it has not

reached its full potential. Of note, only one student was uncertain regarding this question. The rest of the students felt that the policy has failed in redistributing resources to black people. This study then discussed land possession in post-apartheid South Africa. Students were questioned if all South African citizens deserved equitable access to land, the answer was a unanimous yes from all participants. In discussing land, this study also found that geographic segregation still exists despite the repeal of apartheid segregation laws. This segregation maintains racial stereotypes, as separated individuals are less likely to receive authentic information on other racial groups (Robin, 2011). Also, poor communities bare the price of ineffective spatial policy implementation. The government's failure to ensure proper spatial and rural development policies maintains the racist structural geography of apartheid South Africa. This study also found that spatial geography can determine the amount a person pays for their car premiums and possessions in their household insurance (Faber & Friedline, 2018). Considering the spatial geography in South Africa, it can be concluded that the majority of black African people are paying hefty amounts for these necessities, therefore maintaining white privilege.

5.5 The Inter-sectionality of Race, Social Class and Gender

This study engaged with students on whether women in the country are equally marginalised. A majority of students stated that, although all women are marginalised, the extent is not the same. A thorough discussion of the results is provided below.

5.5.1. Gender and Privileging

Speaking on how marginalisation against women can be eliminated, this response was received: *“Access to education, skills and resources. Better monitoring against discrimination in workplace against women and better enforcement of laws and judicial systems to better prosecute offenders”* (BM3: 2020). South African women continue to occupy lower positions within workplaces, while men mainly occupy senior and decision-making positions (Bosch, 2015; Geldenhuys, 2011; Segalo, 2015). These jobs are often characterised by deplorable working conditions, low pay, no sense of job security, and limited opportunities to climb the corporate ladder (Geldenhuys, 2011). This is despite the many laws and regulations aimed at addressing inequalities between men and women that have been enacted in South Africa. Thus, women's emancipation cannot occur as gender inequality continues to cripple and render them invisible (Segalo, 2015).

Asked if women are equally marginalised, a black African female student stated, *“no they are not. In our days, women have access to many job opportunities, even opportunities that were only for men, but there are now women working in those positions”* (BM2: 2020). Quotas in the South African government were introduced to increase women's representation in publicly elected or appointed institutions such as governments, parliaments, and local councils. While the country has seen a flattering rise in women elected in parliament, ranking third in Africa and tenth globally, studies show that the number of women in top-level parliament structures is still relatively low (Strachan, 2015). Another student stated, *“I think black women are definitely marginalised the most. I think the common norm now, which is to hire or favour black women in hiring processes, is definitely justified”* (WM2: 2020). South Africa has introduced many initiatives and legislations to support women post-apartheid (Geldenhuys, 2011). However, high unemployment rates are still evident for women, and these high rates are likely to persist. South African women continue to strive for economic, racial and gender-based equality (Archibong & Adejumo, 2013).

In essence, gender plays a major role in privileging. Across all races, women are discriminated against on account of being women. Additionally, gender disparities are still high in South Africa's labour market; unemployment is significantly higher for women than men (StatsSA, 2019 cited in Plagerson & Mthembu, 2019). Therefore, gender discrimination is still a prominent issue in South Africa.

5.5.2. Gender and Class

Examining the intersection of race, class and gender, this study engaged with students to determine whether class and gender play a role in the distribution of resources. Studies indicate that class plays a crucial role in the distribution of resources; however, class intersects with gender to ensure that poor women are excluded from accessing essential resources (Accapadi, 2007). One of the students stated, *“class and gender do play a significant role in the distribution of resources. These resources are mainly held by a minority, white men privileges in South Africa are more likely to be passed onto other ‘whites’, most likely men”* (BM3: 2020).

When questioned whether women in the country are equally marginalised, a respondent stated, *“I don't think so, they face the same issues to a certain extent. For example, domestic violence, most*

women face it and rape” (BF3: 2020). While Gender-based Violence affects people from all aspects of life despite their age, gender, race, class and creed, the statistics are estimated to be higher in the poorest households (Sibanda-Moyo et al., 2017). As previously mentioned in chapter three, gender-based violence statistics are higher for persons living in poverty-stricken communities and rural areas. Furthermore, gender-based violence statistics are higher in slum communities where poverty and gang violence fester. Spaces with low-quality unsanitary facilities, un-policed spaces and secluded spaces also may trigger violence against women (Mcilwaine, 2013). In line with this finding, a student stated, *“all women are marginalised, but women of colour are more prone to discrimination and crimes being done to them”* (IM2: 2020). This is due to a shortage of proximity infrastructures such as courts, police stations and psychologists/psychiatrists that provide counselling for those affected by Gender-based Violence in these communities. Additionally, poor women are more vulnerable to violence, as they cannot remove themselves from the situation due to their socio-economic status (Mcilwaine, 2013; Sibanda-Moyo et al., 2017). By virtue of their gender and social class, women are subject to severe sexual violence and discrimination.

5.5.3. Gender and Race

Accapadi (2007) states that societal norms allow white women to switch between identities, giving them the ability to choose to be a woman or be white. For example, a white woman can display a behaviour without this behaviour reflecting on all white women. Women of colour do not have this option; she cannot separate her racial identity and womanhood (Bond, 2007 cited in Accapadi, 2007; Roysircar, 2016). More so, if she is discriminated, she experiences the combined effects of race and gender (Bond, 2007 cited in Accapadi, 2007; Roysircar, 2016). Speaking on the marginalisation of women in the country, a student stated, *“...White women are put on pedestals. Even though women, in general, are treated unfairly by men, white_women are by far the least affected by the prejudices experienced by women”* (IM1: 2020). In their studies examining the general representation of women in the news, Lubiano (1992) and Painter (1992), found that black women are stereotyped into the following categories: the sexually promiscuous black woman, the Mammie⁷⁶, the welfare recipient and the overachiever who emasculates the black males in her life

⁷⁶ (Also referred to as *Mammy*). An American term used to refer to a woman (mostly a black woman) employed by a white family as a nurse or maid.

(Meyers, 2004). This misrepresentation can also be seen in the objectification of black women's bodies for men's pleasure in music videos (Jones, 1994 cited in Brooks & Herbert, 2006). Jones & Norwood (2017) challenged the stereotypic "*Angry Black Woman*" to combat the dehumanisation that black women experience daily.

When this study examined the circumstances in which black women would be stereotyped, it found that, in most occasions, the term is used to deflect attention away from the assailant and project the blame to the target, blaming them for their victimisation (Jones & Norwood, 2017; Meyers, 2004). This negative representation of African American women in the media has been criticised by many contemporary academics (Brooks & Herbert, 2006). Therefore, there is no honour in how black women are represented in the media, as they do not enjoy the privilege of being represented in a positive, respectful manner.

Additionally, the media plays a crucial role in how social identities are constructed and maintained. According to Frisby (2019), colourism is a demonstrated bias toward lighter skin tones. In America, it can be traced back to slavery times when slave owners gave preferential treatment to slaves with lighter skin complexions. During this time, slave owners were known to treat light-skinned slaves as family members, forcing themselves upon them, resulting in biracial, light-skin children (Brooks & Herbert, 2006; Frisby, 2019). Similarly, author bell hooks⁷⁷ (1994) states that the traits defining a female as beautiful and desirable continue to be understood from the lens of the racist white imagination and in the colonised black mind-set (hooks, 1994: 301 cited in Brooks & Herbert, 2006). In the twenty-first century, this bias affects women worldwide, especially countries with a history of colonisation. When asked if she has ever been a victim of racism, a student answered, "*I am a coloured woman. A coloured woman who also happens to have a darker skin tone, whereas my siblings are more on the lighter side and we live in a predominantly white area*" (CF3: 2020). This prejudice towards darker skin toned women has also led to the oversaturation of skin-lightening and whitening creams in the billion-dollar beauty industry (Ridder, 2020). As a student stated, "*...colourism among Indian people is so bad, you'll get so many nicknames just for having dark skin. I know so many Indians who used things like turmeric powder to look lighter cause of like the bullying they experienced, even from family members...*" (IF3: 2020).

⁷⁷ The author deliberately uses lower case letters to write her name.

Colourism is born as a result of racism and white supremacy. White supremacy is an intentional process by which white hegemonies overwhelmingly control structures, policies, decision-making, and systems, imposing them on black people. These structures, policies and systems serve to uphold their white superiority, mostly to the detriment of other people (Ansley, 1997 cited in Rollock & Gilborn, 2011; Gabriel, 2007). Eurocentric beauty standards perpetuated during slavery and colonial periods, which serve white people, continue to define beauty among black people. As a result, many African countries continue to be affected by colonialist skin colour beliefs, which consider light-skinned women as more beautiful and desirable.

Additionally, as a result of their skin tone, dark-skinned black people face harsher and longer prison sentences than light skin individuals (Gabriel, 2007; Norwood, 2015). The preferential treatment of biracial and light skin over dark skin persons in print and media has also led to a rise in the use of whitening and lightening creams among darker skin individuals. Therefore, this upholds white supremacy values, placing a higher value on white skin colour and thus perpetuating white privilege. More so, colourism ensures that black women who are already marginalised because of their race and gender, are further marginalised as per their dark skin (Gabriel, 2007; Norwood, 2015).

Speaking on the effectiveness of BEE, a black female respondent stated, *“I’d say it did to a certain extent, as I said it did create opportunities but, not that good. But, it is better than being a maid or a gardener, so for black people, that’s an achievement, going out of a certain place and moving to another which is seen as an improvement”* (BF1: 2020). Historically, white women have always enjoyed better working conditions than black women. As previously mentioned, the South African Institute of Race Relations report compiled in 1993 found that, while the highest rates of the unemployed were women, white women who were employed enjoyed better working conditions with benefits. Indian, Coloured and African women were employed in unskilled jobs (SAIRR, 1993 cited in Archibong & Adejumo, 2013). In line with this evidence, a student stated, *“for example, white women during apartheid were not given equal work employment, but still enjoyed the rights to dignity and respect whereas black women were deprived of these basic rights due to a racist system which will take centuries to undo”* (IF2: 2020). Another student had this to say:

“I don’t think they are equally marginalised. Which isn’t to say that white women aren’t discriminated against in the workplace, like I’ve done internships in companies where men are horrific, they make sexist jokes and women put up with that. I hear from my sister how she has to put up with sexist jokes all day. But, I think it’s nonsensical to think that my sister feels the same oppression you do being a black woman or any black people in this country. Even the least oppressed black women will still be more oppressed than a white woman might be. It’s acutely more felt by black people” (WM3: 2020).

Therefore, while all women are discriminated against across racial lines, black (African, Coloured, Indian and Chinese) women still struggle with the double standard of being women and black. Additionally, while white women in the country are marginalised and subject to discrimination, the rate at which they are affected is significantly less than that of black women. This can be attributed to their race, which still grants white women privileges, and thus preserve white privilege.

5.5.4. Race and Class

Examining the intersection of gender, race and class among students, results showed that a student's gender did not affect their understanding of race, racism, and white privilege. However, the intersection of race and class was a factor; a student's socio-economic status affected their view on white privilege issues in post-apartheid South Africa. For example, black African students felt that, despite the end of apartheid, their skin colour informed their social class and still disqualified them from accessing basic resources. Recounting how living in a predominantly black neighbourhood excludes him from resources that white people receive, BM2 stated, *“...where I live, the nearest cable connection point to connect for internet is a km away, waste management and refuse collection is unpredictable. These are issues that my friends in white communities don’t have to endure”* (BM3: 2020). In South Africa, the laws enacted by the apartheid system, placed numerous restrictions on black people, perpetuating unequal development between the racial groups and systematically placing black people into the underclass/poor category (Magubane, 2001; Thaver & Ekanayake, 2010; Whitehead, 2003). Therefore, the words of BM3 suggest that race and class still play a significant role in privileging, thus maintaining white privilege.

Discussing the role of class and race in widening the inequality gap, another student stated:

“They say the economy usually makes the rich become richer and the poor become poorer because when you have money, it is easier for you access a lot of things and this is not just a South African thing it is an international thing. When you have money, it is easier for you to access a lot of things whereas when you don’t have money, usually when you don’t have money, you are the last option for a lot of things, in everything, in society” (BF2: 2020).

Shaheen (2011) states that inequality is the reason why the rich are getting richer. Likewise, Keeley (2015) maintains that the wealthiest 10% of the population in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)⁷⁸ earn ten times more than the poorest countries in the world. Similarly, Shava (2016) states that most black African South Africans are yet to tap into and reap the opportunities available within BB-BEE policy. This exacerbates the disparity between the rich and the poor, and widens the inequality gaps in the country.

Similarly, another student stated, *“...the wealth distribution aims of BEE have not been met, which I think is due to corruption in government and the lack of overall accountability for the distribution of money and resources in many sectors”* (WW2: 2020). Additionally, in response to a question on the effectiveness of BEE in redistributing resources, a student stated that, while the policy had empowered black people, it also widened the inequality gap in the country. As she stated, *“...they also created a gap in black class because now people in the low class are poorer and people in the middle class are now regarded as upper-class”* (CF1: 2020).

The implementation of B-BBEE has therefore been highly criticised as benefitting the black elite. Instead of empowering the previously disadvantaged, only a small percentage of people are rising in the business world due to their business expertise, connections, or corruption (Mbeki, 2016 cited in Shava, 2016). This evidence is consistent with the remarks of one respondent who stated, *“there has been redistribution to a certain extent but is it only for a certain amount of people”* (BF2: 2020). Another student responded as follows, *“BEE has produced a small elite black class, or ‘Tenderpreneurs’, who benefit from major deals that are often questionable at the best and illegal*

⁷⁸ OECD is made up of 37 countries, such as Australia, Belgium, Canada, Germany, Japan. and the United States of America.

at the worst. These deals often don't improve the lives of communities they service" (BM3: 2020). Speaking on the role of social class in privileging, a student stated, *"...social status also plays a major role. The higher up you are on the social ladder, the wealthier you get. People who are at the working class barely get opportunities or access to resources, and they are the ones that need it"* (CF3: 2020).

Based on these sentiments, it can be concluded that race alone is not the only determinant of privilege in the country, but social class also plays a significant role. By virtue of being middle class and white, one is more likely to have greater access to resources and opportunities than a poor black person would not have. On the other hand, BEE, which was created to reverse black people's economic disempowerment, has exacerbated inequality, benefitting the black elite instead of all black people. The failure to implement BEE hinders black people from participating in economic activities that would improve their standard of living. In a country such as South Africa where white people already have greater access to economic power and resources than black people, this failure further magnifies inequality between races. As a result, many black people remain disadvantaged, and the system continues to privilege white people.

5.5.5. Race, Gender and Class

Interestingly, most of the interviewees were also able to draw upon the intersection of gender, class, and race in perpetuating inequality in post-apartheid South Africa. When questioned if all women are equally marginalised, a student stated, *"...white women have it easier and us Indian people do as well to some extent, especially if you live in a good neighbourhood. I think its white men, white women and then us [Indian people], depending on your social status. You have access to resources that others don't have; service delivery is good even during strikes sometimes. It's a different kind of life"* (IF3: 2020). As previously mentioned, poverty and socio-economic disadvantages intersect with race and gender, this affects black women in the country disproportionately (South African Human Rights Commission, 2017). Plagerson & Mthembu (2019) state that women in the country make up a large proportion of the poor, mainly black women residing in rural areas (StatsSA, 2018). Aforementioned post-1994 research shows that poverty and inequality levels are still astoundingly high, especially in black female-headed homes

that experience considerably more challenges of escaping poverty than male-headed families (The World Bank, 2018).

Though privileged as per their racial group, white women are also marginalised due to archaic patriarchal systems, occasionally occupying the role of the oppressor and the oppressed. These systems perpetuate white male hegemonic ideas, excluding women from gaining certain resources based on their sex. Additionally, numerous intersectionality studies have shown that white males, no matter their social class, hold a higher privilege level. This privilege naturally produces benefits for white males, allowing them to gain numerous advantages over women. Moreover, while white women may face some exclusion, studies show that they still benefit due to their race and class (Etchells et al, 2017; McIntosh, 1988). Therefore, while white women in the country are marginalised, as per their gender, the rate at which they are affected is significantly less than that of black women. As a student stated, “...*white women were always treated better because of their race. They may not be equal to white men, but they are surely not as marginalised as black people, let alone black women*” (IF2: 2020).

Examining gender and privileging, this study concludes that, all women, across racial groups, are marginalised. Despite the quotas to redress gender imbalances, women in the country still occupy lower positions within workplaces, while men mainly occupy senior and decision-making positions (Bosch, 2015; Geldenhuys, 2011; Segalo, 2015).

Concerning the intersection of race and class, this study concludes that gender-based violence continues to plague women in South Africa, especially those living in poverty and rural areas. In essence, while all women are affected by these crimes, black women bear the brunt, especially those living in poverty-stricken and rural areas, who are poor and underprivileged. There is an urgent need to redress gender imbalances and improve infrastructure responsible for ensuring justice for crimes such as femicide, gender-based violence and human trafficking. Furthermore, in discussing the intersection of gender and race, this study drew on the misrepresentation of black women in the media and society to show that there is no honour in how black women are represented in the media.

In essence, this study found that, while gender does not affect the student's perception of race, racism and white privilege, the intersection of race and class did as a student's socio-economic

status affected their view on white privilege issues in post-apartheid South Africa. As per their socio-economic status and race, students felt that they were excluded from accessing certain resources. Lastly, the intersection of race, class and gender drew on black women's experiences to discuss how the rate at which black women as a lower class are marginalised more than white women. These findings illustrate that the privileges attached to race, class and gender have not been fully reversed. Therefore, while white people in general enjoy the privilege of being white, the study shows that the intersectionality of race, class and gender should be acknowledged when analysing the dynamics of privileging.

5.6 Conclusion.

The findings of this study recount how students conceptualise white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa. This chapter opened up by discussing how students perceive and conceptualise white privilege in South Africa. Varying answers were received; however, most students felt that white privilege is real and did not disappear when South Africa became a democratic country. As previously mentioned, these students were able to recognise the systematic problems that perpetuate white privilege in the country and how white privilege continues to be the main factor that determines the resources and opportunities available to some and not to others. The findings of the online questionnaire corroborated these findings.

The theoretical frameworks chapter (chapter 3), in the context of the social construction of race, provided a backdrop on understanding how the society uses race to categorise people. Drawing on two case studies, the chapter discussed the connotations of blackness to whiteness. Similarly, in this analysis, the study found that, despite the end of the colonialism and apartheid in South Africa, blackness still carries negative connotations. Recounting their experiences with racism, students also stated that while the country has evolved since apartheid, more work is needed to improve race relations in the country. To show that colonialism and apartheid are the root causes of the tense race relations in the country, this study substantiated the data collected with the literature on recent racially driven incidents in South Africa and the United States of America. These countries both have similar racial oppressions: apartheid and Jim Crow. The study found similar negative connotations that are attached to blackness and an idolisation of whiteness. These underlying racist perceptions of blackness exist, despite the South African people's race, class, and gender diversity.

Studying the economic implications of apartheid, this study found that townships in the country are grossly underdeveloped and spatial segregation continues to perpetuate white privilege, poverty, and inequality. This is due to South African cities and towns' geography, which remains highly racialised with little to no inter-racial contact between persons. Furthermore, this geography means that discrimination in lending practises will continue to affect black people. Living in underdeveloped townships, infested with a crime, means higher fees when applying for car and home insurance.

Lastly, the study also explored the intersection of race, class, and gender. It concluded that, although all women are marginalised, black women are more marginalised than white women. Additionally, studies conducted in the country found that black women are more affected by poverty and inequality than white women. Furthermore, black women continue to strive for gender and racial equality. The media's role is crucial in misrepresenting black women and determining how blackness is seen and understood. This includes the misrepresentation of Coloured women as loud and violent and black African women as subservient. This study found that the media also plays a prominent role in setting standards of beauty. These standards are often understood from the colonialism's perspective, thus glorifying light skin toned black people. Colourism in South Africa led to whitening creams' oversaturation in beauty supply stores and household items such as turmeric being used as skin-lightening agents.

This chapter has presented the principal findings of the study. Using qualitative and quantitative techniques, data was collected, analysed, and organised into themes that illustrate how students conceptualise white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa. The following themes were discussed; the student's perception of white privilege in post-apartheid; the current scope of race relations in post-apartheid South Africa; the intersection of race, class, and gender. These findings were corroborated with existing literature on white privilege in South Africa. Lastly, this study discussed the economic development implications of apartheid that have carried over into post-apartheid South Africa.

Chapter VI: Reflections & Recommendations

6.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the study's final remarks and the researcher's reflections regarding the entire research process. The chapter opens up by discussing the researcher's reflection. Finally, it will conclude by making recommendations that may be useful in future research projects similar to this study.

6.2. Reflections

When interviewed, black African participants were not overly invested in maintaining the image of not being racially insensitive or politically correct. The interviewer, being a black African, might have also played a significant role in this. For instance, after conducting interviews, many black African participants felt appreciative to have a safe space to share their feelings without being criticised for being too sensitive. Bonilla-Silva (2006) cited in Puttick (2011) states that black people are seen as disruptive to the status quo and are often denounced by white people for "playing the 'race' card", illegitimately demanding unnecessary racial compensations and crying racism whenever they are criticised by whites (Puttick, 2011). Similarly, McKaiser (2015) states that white people who are blind to their racism, rationalise their ignorance by viewing black people as 'race-obsessed' (McKaiser, 2015).

On the other hand, white participants paid careful attention to what they said and how they said it, to not appear racist or overly critical of black people. This is to be expected in the wake of the Black Lives Matter Movement that has swept across the globe and exposed white people to the racial atrocities that black people face, and in the wake of cancel culture. However, it is perfectly normal for an individual to want to present themselves in a positive light, especially regarding issues of race and racism, especially if the interviewer is black (Puttick, 2011). Cotter et al. (1982) conducted a study to determine the effect the interviewer's race during telephonic interviews on the responses received. This study concluded that the interviewer's race has little to no effect on questions that are non-racial. Furthermore, this study found that the race of the interviewer affects some and not all racial questions. Lastly, regarding racial questions in which the interviewer was of a different race, the responses gathered differed from those gathered by someone of a similar race group (Cotter et al., 1982).

In a study similar to this one conducted by Puttick (2011) among first-year students at the University of Johannesburg, Puttick concluded that participants endeavoured to align their ‘colour-blind’ ideologies with that of the Rainbow Nation⁷⁹ due to the current socio-cultural context of South Africa, where being racist carries detrimental social connotations (Puttick, 2011). This can be seen in the 2018 three year prison sentencing of Vicki Momberg, who repeatedly hurled racial slurs at police officers in 2016. Similarly, Penny Sparrow, who was convicted of hate speech, was dragged to the Equality Court which ordered her to pay R150 000 to the Oliver & Adelaide Tambo Foundation. She was then referred to the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) for a criminal prosecution, and the authority fined her R5 000 or 12 months imprisonment (Brink & Mulder, 2017). The detrimental social connotations have also been exacerbated by the current era of ‘cancel culture’, and the role social media has played in outing racist acts by people or corporations worldwide. Famous brands such as Gucci, celebrities such as musician R. Kelly, and comedian Kevin Hart are just a few of the people who have been cancelled by social media for various reasons.

As a result, this carefulness is expected in the current era of public shaming people due to their controversial racial views. Additionally, while this carefulness did not affect the study’s accuracy, it is suggested for future research that the study uses interviewers belonging to other racial groups to ensure even greater accuracy.

6.3. Major Findings of the Study

The findings of this study recounted how students perceived and conceptualised white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa. Data gathered from both interviews, and online questions, stated that white privilege is the main factor determining the resources and opportunities available to some and not others. The study also examined the students’ perceptions on the current state of race relations in post-apartheid South Africa. Majority of the students stated that the country’s race relations had significantly improved since the end of apartheid. Contrarily, some students stated that not much work has been done to improve race relations in South Africa post-1994. These findings were substantiated by the online questionnaire’s findings, where 69% of the students

⁷⁹ The term ‘rainbow nation’ was made famous by former president Nelson Mandela, was coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. This term was coined to capture the unique diversity that the country has in terms of “race, tribe, creed, language, and landscapes” (Oliver & Oliver, 2017: 6).

stated that race relations had worsened since 1994. Students also stated that, while incidents of blatant racism declined, covert racism was on the rise. Literature states that this form of racism is harder to perceive. Lastly, the study also discussed the perceived link between blackness and crime. Aforementioned, these racist perceptions of black people are examples of the role that white privilege plays in vilifying black people.

On the economic implications of apartheid, this study concluded that, despite the repeal of apartheid law, South African cities and towns' geography remains highly racialised. Furthermore, townships in the country are grossly underdeveloped. This can be attributed to the country's spatial segregation, which continues to perpetuate white privilege, poverty, and inequality. These townships rarely experience reasonable service delivery, whereas white areas experience better service delivery. Therefore, race continues to influence one's access to basic resources. In exploring the intersection of race, class and gender, students were asked if all women were equally marginalised. This study found that while all women are marginalised, black women are more marginalised than white women. This is also apparent regarding gender-based violence, as literature states that, while all women are affected by it, black women, especially those in poverty-stricken areas, bear the brunt. These findings were corroborated with literature, studies conducted in the country found that black women are affected by poverty and inequality at a higher rate than white women.

6.4. Recommendations and Directions for Future Research

This section of the chapter provides recommendations and direction for future research. These recommendations will be discussed in light of the data collected and the findings from the analyses discussed in the previous chapter. This will also be used to provide answers to the research questions for this study.

6.4.1. Recommendations

The recommendations are organised according to the themes from the previous chapters. The following themes were discussed; the student's perception of white privilege in post-apartheid; the current scope of race relations in post-apartheid South Africa; the economic development implications of apartheid that have carried over into post-apartheid South Africa. Lastly, the previous chapter discussed the intersection of race, class, and gender.

6.4.1.1. The student's perception of white privilege in post-apartheid.

In examining the students' perspectives of white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa, this study found that only one student struggled to define white privilege, while two students engaged with the term white privilege as a concept that diminished along with apartheid. The rest of the students were able to define and demonstrate an understanding of the term.

Therefore, this study recommends that more work needs to be done to educate students on white privilege in South Africa and the normative and invisible forms of racism post-1994. More so, there is a need for more dialogues between different races about the subject or even a system that is more open to such discourses. The invisibility of white privilege upholds its power and keeps white people at the top of the racial hierarchy. Therefore, more work needs to be done to eliminate the systematic structures that maintain white privilege (Phillips & Lowery, 2018).

6.4.1.2. The current scope of race relations in post-apartheid South Africa

In exploring race relations and the meaning of white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa amongst UKZN students, this study found that, while race relations have improved significantly since pre-1994, some barriers and biases still hinder people from veering outside their racial groups. This is despite the repeal of segregationist apartheid laws and policies. Evidence gathered from the online questionnaire stated that 68% of the respondents believed that race relations have worsened. This study drew from similar surveys conducted by the SAIRR and SARB to substantiate or refute this evidence. Engaging with literature, this study found that progress in improving race relations is extremely slow. The study concludes by recommending that much work needs to be done to rectify these numbers and improve race relations in the country.

6.4.1.3. The economic development implications of apartheid that have carried over into post-apartheid South Africa.

In examining the existence of systematic white privilege in the South African economy, and its economic development implications in post-apartheid South Africa, this study concludes that more work needs to be done to ensure that the loopholes that allow people to rig the BEE system are rectified. To ensure that the policy caters to the intended people, fraudulent and corruptive practices must be appropriately investigated and dealt with (Gyimah-Brempong, 2001; Keeley, 2015; Kyriacou: 2020; Pilane, 2015). The government must ensure proper spatial and rural development policies, as poor communities bear the price of ineffective policy implementation.

More so, failure to do so maintains the racist white supremacy structural geography of apartheid South Africa.

6.4.1.4. The intersection of race, class, and gender.

Lastly, this study engaged with students on the intersectionality of race, class and gender, and the extent to which women of different races in the country are marginalized. As previously mentioned, most of the students stated that, although all women are marginalized, the extent is not the same. After carrying out this research, this study found that the privileges attached to race, class and gender have not been fully reversed. These findings were corroborated by existing literature conducted in the country. This literature found that black women are more affected by poverty and inequality than white women. Aforementioned, while all women are affected by gender-based violence, black women, especially those living in poverty-stricken and rural areas, who are poor and underprivileged, bear the brunt.

Once more, this study suggests an urgent need for government to address existing gender imbalances in the country. As the introduction of quotas has not rectified the astoundingly high unemployment rates among women in the country (Archibong & Adejumo, 2013). This chapter also recommends that government improve the infrastructure that is responsible for ensuring justice for crimes such as femicide, gender-based violence and human trafficking. This includes rehabilitation centres that provide counselling, courts, and police stations.

6.4.2. Direction for Future Research

Firstly, it is suggested that this sample be drawn from all the University of KwaZulu-Natal campuses (Edgewood, Nelson Mandela Medical School, Pietermaritzburg, and Westville). This would provide a better and more inclusive understanding of how individuals from different socio-economic contexts perceive white privilege, race, and racism. The study going nation-wide into a broader range of tertiary institutions would also be interesting to explore. The economic hub of South Africa is Johannesburg, a city that has Sandton, which houses the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) and various headquarters of multinational corporations. Sandton is also located near Alexandria, the former houses of apartheid struggle heroes are located here, but the township is also overpopulated, extremely underprivileged and grossly underdeveloped. It would be interesting to ascertain how the dichotomy of wealth and poverty sitting side-by-side affects a student's perception of white privilege.

Secondly, in a society where being Coloured is both a culture and an identity, it would be interesting to explore how this conceptualises the meanings of ‘blackness’ and ‘whiteness’ post-1994. Therefore, it is suggested that future studies delve deeper into how the racialised identities of Coloureds may affect their perception of white privilege and race in post-apartheid South Africa. Future students may also consider asking questions that include how the teaching material and information they receive from classes and media outlets (TV, radio, newspapers) shapes their understanding of white privilege, race, and racism.

Lastly, it may be interesting to not only conduct individual interviews but also to include focus groups. The theoretical framework that anchored the study, the social construction of race, understands race as a socially constructed means of categorising people (Puttick, 2011). This theory was used to learn how meanings behind concepts such as race, racism and white privilege were constructed. Therefore, the inter-racial mixing of focus groups may yield insight into how meaning is constructed and negotiated.

6.4. Chapter Summary

This chapter opened by outlining the researchers' reflections of the entire study process. When interviewed, the researcher noted that black African participants were not overly invested in being racially sensitive or politically correct. In contrast, white participants paid careful attention to what they said and how they said it to not appear racist or overly critical of black people. While this did not affect the study's accuracy, the researcher suggested that the study uses interviewers from different racial groups for future research to ensure greater accuracy. The chapter then proceeded to outline a summary of the main findings. Drawing upon these findings, the chapter then discussed the recommendations of the study. Recommendations such as a need for government to improve the spatial geography of the country to eliminate the systematic structures that maintain white privilege was discussed within this section. Lastly, this chapter concluded by proposing various directions that may be useful to students looking to address a similar research topic.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Gatekeeper Permission



1 February 2019

Ms Nombulelo Sharon Shezi (SN 213509263)
School of Social Sciences
College of Humanities
Howard College Campus
UKZN
Email: leloshezi@gmail.com

Dear Ms Shezi

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Gatekeeper's permission is hereby granted for you to conduct research at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) towards your postgraduate studies, provided Ethical clearance has been obtained. We note the title of your research project is:

"Re-defining white privilege: the student's perceptions of white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa (SA)."

It is noted that you will be constituting your sample by handing out questionnaires and/or conducting interviews with students on the Howard College campus.

Please ensure that the following appears on your notice/questionnaire:

- Ethical clearance number;
- Research title and details of the research, the researcher and the supervisor;
- Consent form is attached to the notice/questionnaire and to be signed by user before he/she fills in questionnaire;
- gatekeepers approval by the Registrar.

You are not authorized to contact staff and students using 'Microsoft Outlook' address book. Identity numbers and email addresses of individuals are not a matter of public record and are protected according to Section 14 of the South African Constitution, as well as the Protection of Public Information Act. For the release of such information over to yourself for research purposes, the University of KwaZulu-Natal will need express consent from the relevant data subjects. Data collected must be treated with due confidentiality and anonymity.

Yours sincerely


MR SS MOKOENA
REGISTRAR






Office of the Registrar

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban, South Africa

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 8005/2206 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 7824/2204 Email: registrar@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za



Founding Campuses:  Edgewood  Howard College  Medical School  Pietermaritzburg  Westville

Appendix II: Ethical Clearance Certificate HSS/0204/019M



16 October 2019

Ms Nombulelo Sharon Shezi (213509263)
School of Social Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Shezi,

Protocol reference number : HSS/0204/019M

Project title: Re-defining White privilege : The student's perceptions of white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa (SA)

Approval Notification – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

With regards to your response received on 16 September 2019 to our letter of 05 April 2019, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 1 year from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Dr Rosemary Sibanda (Chair)

/ms

Cc Supervisor: Dr N Cele
cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Maheshvari Naidu
cc School Administrator: Ms Nonhlanhla Radebe

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Rosemary Sibanda (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3567/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: xmbap@ukzn.ac.za / snwmanom@ukzn.ac.za / mohunip@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za



1910 - 2010
100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

Founding Campuses: Edgewood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville

Appendix III: Amended Ethical Clearance



13 November 2020

Ms Nombulelo Sharon Shezi (213509263)
School of Social Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Shezi,

Protocol reference number : HSS/0204/019M

Project title: Re-defining White privilege : The student's perceptions of white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa (SA)

Approval Notification – Amendment Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application and request for an amendment received on 05 October 2020 has now been approved as follows:

- Change research methodology

Any alterations to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form; Title of the Project, Location of the Study must be reviewed and approved through an amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

All research conducted during the COVID-19 period must adhere to the national and UKZN guidelines.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol.

Yours faithfully



Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/dd

Cc Supervisor: Dr N Cele

cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Maheshvari Naidu

cc School Administrator: Ms Nonhlanhla Radebe

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
UKZN Research Ethics Office Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Tel: +27 31 260 8350 / 4557 / 3587

Website: <http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics/>

Founding Campuses:  Edgewood  Howard College  Medical School  Pietermaritzburg  Westville

INSPIRING GREATNESS

Appendix IV: Ethical Clearance Recertification



13 November 2020

Ms Nombulelo Sharon Shezi (213509263)
School of Social Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Shezi,

Protocol reference number : HSS/0204/019M

Project title: Re-defining White privilege : The student's perceptions of white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa (SA)

Approval Notification – Recertification Application

Your request for Recertification dated 05 October 2020 was received.

This letter confirms that you have been granted Recertification Approval for a period of one year from the date of this letter. This approval is based strictly on the research protocol submitted and approved in 2019.

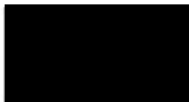
Any alteration s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. Please quote the above reference number for all queries relating to this study.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years

All research conducted during the COVID-19 period must adhere to the national and UKZN guidelines.

HSSREC is registered with the South African National Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040).

Yours sincerely,








Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/dd

Cc Supervisor: Dr N Cele
cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Maheshvari Naidu
cc School Administrator: Ms Nonhlanhla Radebe

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
UKZN Research Ethics Office Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
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Founding Campuses:  Edgewood  Howard College  Medical School  Pietermaritzburg  Westville

INSPIRING GREATNESS

Appendix V: Participant Consent Form

I hereby state that I have consented to being interviewed for this research. I am aware that by participating in this interview should there be a question I am not comfortable answering I am not forced to answer it. I have been made fully aware of the nature of the research and I have been assured that my anonymity will be fully ensured. I am aware that my anonymised interview could be selected for publication should this research be published. I have not been forced nor bribed to take part in this research study and am fully aware that should I change my mind I can withdraw without facing any negative consequences for doing so.

Interviews will take place in a tutorial room that will be specifically booked using the proper university protocols. University states that a tutorial venue may be organised by the Student Representative Council (SRC) on behalf of the researcher free of charge. Each interview will last between 45 minutes and an hour, depending on how long the participant takes to answer the questions on the interview schedule. The interviews will be recorded to ensure the accuracy of the transcribed transcript.

Signature of participant:

Date:/...../ 20.....

Appendix VI: Participant Consent Form - IsiZulu

Ngisho ukuthi mina (igama) ngiye ngavuma ukuxoxwa ngalolu cwaningo. Ngityaqaphela ukuthi ngokuhlanganyela kule ngxoxo uma kube khona umbuzo engingakhululekile ngawo angikuphoqelekile ukuwuphendula. Ngitye ngyaqaphela ngokugcwele uhlobo locwaningo futhi ngiqinisekisiwe ukuthi ukungaziwa kwami kuzoqinisekiswa ngokugcwele. Ngityaqaphela ukuthi ingxoxo yami engaziwa ingakhethwa ukuze ishicilelwe uma lolu cwaningo luzoshicilelwa. Angikuphoqelelwa noma ngigxilile ukuba ngihlanganyele kulolu cwaningo lokucwaninga futhi ngiyazi ngokugcwele ukuthi uma ngishintsha ingqondo yami ngingakwazi ukuhoxisa ngaphandle kokubhekana nemiphumela emibi ngokwenza kanjalo.

Isiginesha somhlanganyeli:

Usuku:/...../20.....

Appendix VII: Recording Consent Form

This contract stipulates that I ----- (signature) am fully aware the interviewer will use a tape recorder during the interview. I hereby state that by signing this contract I grant the interviewer permission to use this device as long as he/she ensures my anonymity as during the interview sensitive issues may be divulged.

Signature of participant:

Date: .../...../ 20.....

Appendix VIII: Recording Consent Form - IsiZulu

Le nkontileka ithi mina ----- (isignesha) ngiyazi ngokugcwele ukuthi lowo owenza ucwaningo uzosebenzisa i-audiotape noma enye idivayisi yokurekhoda ngesikhathi sokuxoxisana. Ngisho ukuthi ngokusayina le nkontileka nginikeza imvume yombuzo wokusebenzisa le divayisi uma nje eqinisekisa ukuthi ngingaziwa.

Isignesha somhlanganyeli:

Usuku:/...../20.....

Appendix IX: Interview Schedule

Opening:

My name is Nombulelo Sharon Shezi, a Masters student at the University of KwaZulu Natal. I am doing my research and would therefore like to ask you some questions regarding your understanding of racism and white privilege. I hope to use the information I gather from you to gain a better understanding of these racially controversial topics as well as to provide a definition that everyone can understand.

Body:

Transition: I will begin by asking you demographic questions about yourself, these are just strictly for statistical purposes.

How old are you?

What racial group do you fall under?

Do you have a small or large family?

- a. How many siblings do you have?
- b. Do any of your siblings work?
- c. Please describe the socio-economic status of your family.

What year are you studying?

- a. Are any of your siblings studying?
- b. Who is paying for your schooling?

Transition: for the next set of questions I would like you to provide the most definition of the words according to your own understanding. Please know that there is no right or wrong answer, nor am I looking for a textbook definition.

What is your understanding of?

- Apartheid
- Racism
- White privilege

Transition: Having gathered your definitions of the above, I would like to ask you questions pertaining to South Africa's race relations.

Having defined the above words especially apartheid, do you believe that racial relations in South Africa have improved or worsened?

- If you could please elaborate on why you would think this is so.

Transition: Now that I have gathered that information, I would like to probe more about your experiences regarding race and racism.

Have you or someone close to you ever been a victim of racism? Please elaborate on this.

- How did this situation make you/ the victim feel?
- Do you think this situation would have happened to you if you were black/white?

Transition: that concludes our section of race and racism, the next set of questions are based on white privilege in South Africa.

What is your perspective on white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa?

- Do you think it exists?
- I am wondering why you feel like that.
- Do you think that white/black students would share similar views?
- How do you think black/white students understand white privilege?

Is white privilege in the new South Africa systematic?

- That is an interesting outlook, please elaborate your answer.

According to your own opinion do black people use white privilege as an excuse for their laziness and inability to be successful?

- Please motivate your answer and provide examples where you can.
- How do you feel about this as a black/white man/woman?

Do you think that being white places one in a position of benefit?

- If you could please explain why you would think this the case.
- How do you feel about this as a black/white man?

- How do you feel about this as a black/white woman?

Does race alone play a prominent role in accessing resources?

- How do you feel about this as a black/ white man?
- How do you feel about this as a black/white woman?

Transition: thank you for answering those questions. We will now move on to questions regarding topical issues in South Africa.

Has BEE successfully redistributed economic opportunities to black people?

- If you could please elaborate on why you have this view.
- How do you feel about this as a black/white man/woman?

Has BEE created a new elite black class who enjoy the benefits of what was previously afforded whites?

- Please elaborate your answer.
- How do you feel about this as a black/white person?

With equal distribution of resources and access to relevant skills, do you believe that the system in South Africa is capable of creating more black elite with privileges?

- Please motivate your answer.
- If possible could you expound on how this can be achieved?

Do you think that South African citizens deserve access to the land stolen from them?

- Please motivate your answer.

According to your own opinion do you think this land must be handed back to rightful owners without compensation?

- Please could you elaborate on why you think so.
- How does this make you feel as a black/white man/woman?

Are South African women of all races are equally marginalised?

- Please motivate your answer.
- How do you think this problem could be solved?

Does class and gender play a role in the distribution of resources?

- Please provide examples where applicable.

Closing:

It has been a pleasure interviewing you, I thank you for taking part of this research.

- Before we conclude, I would just like to ask you if there is anything you would like to add to what you have said?
- With that being said, I would like to summarise everything you have spoken during this interview to make sure I did not misinterpret nor misrepresent you.

I should have all the information I need. Would it be alright to call you should I have any more questions? Thanks again .Appendix X: Questionnaire

Section A: Demographics of Participant. Please tick the box relevant to you.

This section of the research is for statistical purposes and will remain private.

Gender:

Female	
Male	

Level of Education

First year	
Second year	
Third year	
Honours student	
Masters/ PhD student	

Race:

Black	
Caucasian	
Coloured	

Indian	
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Please tick the box that applies to you in terms of you or your family's social status

Below bread and butter line	
Barely making ends meet	
Middle income	
Above middle income	
Wealthy	

Section B

Below is a series of common statements used by people, tick the one you think to be true.

NB. There's no right or wrong answer!!!! Once again this part of the questionnaire is for statistical purposes.

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>
Race relations in South Africa have worsened.		
White South Africans have white privilege.		
Land without compensation is a good thing because white people benefitted more under apartheid.		
White privilege in the new South Africa in a systematic.		
White privilege is just a public rhetoric that is not always real.		
The new South Africa has provided opportunities for white youth to interact with other races and view white privilege differently.		
South African women of all races are equally vulnerable.		
Race alone in South Africa is no longer the only social determinant.		
Black people use white privilege as an excuse for their laziness and inability to be successful.		
Corruption destroys South Africa, not racism.		
BEE created a new class of black people who also enjoy what used to be 'white privilege'.		
With skills and equal distribution of resources, the system in South Africa is capable of creating more black elite with privileges.		

Section C

Have you ever been a victim of racism? (If yes please elaborate)

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What is the state of race relations in South Africa? Is it getting better or worsening?

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According to your understanding, what is white privilege? (There is no right or wrong answer)

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What is your perspective on white privilege in post-apartheid South Africa?

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Is white privilege in the new South Africa systematic?

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According to your own opinion do black people use white privilege as an excuse for their laziness and inability to be successful?

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Do you think that being white places one in a position of benefit? Defend your answer.

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Does race alone play a prominent role in accessing resources?

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Has BEE successfully redistributed economic opportunities to black people?

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Has BEE created a new elite black class who enjoy the benefits of what was previously afforded whites?

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With equal distribution of resources and access to relevant skills do you believe that the system in South Africa is capable of creating more black elite with privileges?

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Do you think that citizens deserve equitable access to the land?

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According to your own discretion do you think that land must be handed back to rightful owners without compensation? Why do you think that?

Are South African women of all races are equally marginalised?

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Does class and gender play a role in the distribution of resources?

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Thank you for taking part, it is greatly appreciated.

Appendix X: Editor's Report



Reg. No.: 2005/ 031803/08

Date: 02 February 2021

To whom it may concern;

Subject: Editing Report of a Masters Thesis for Ms. Nombulelo Sharon Shezi

This letter serves to confirm that I have edited the Masters Thesis for Ms. Nombulelo Sharon Shezi, Student Number: 213509263 from the 28th of January 2021 to the 2nd of February 2021. In her thesis, few issues that relates to language, style, punctuations, spelling, grammar, formatting, font, labelling and structure of sections were thoroughly checked and corrected where necessary as displayed on the table below.

Report of editing, copy-editing, proof-editing, and proofreading conducted:

Service	Editing	Copy-editing	Proof-editing	Proofreading
Heavy content re-writing	N	N	Y	Y
Re-writing for style, clarity and tone	N	N	Y	Y
Implementing a style	N	N	Y	Y
Implementing formatting	Y	Y	Y	Y
Querying facts	N	N	Y	Y
Cross-checking in-text references to illustrations	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cross-checking in-text references with bibliography	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ensuring consistency of formatting	Y	Y	Y	Y
Spelling	N	N	Y	Y
Punctuation	Y	Y	Y	Y
Grammar	Y	Y	Y	Y
Logical connection and coherence	N	N	Y	Y

Please do not hesitate to contact me on the details below should you require further information or have any queries regarding the editing of Ms. Shezi's Thesis.

Yours faithfully



Dr. Zethembe Mseleku (PhD: Public Policy-UKZN)
Post-Doc Researcher – UKZN
Researcher Coordinator - AVRI

African Vision Research Institute (AVRI)
172 Umbilo Road, Durban, 4001 South Africa
Email: mseleku111@gmail.com, Phone: + 27 72 0305 524 / + 27 78 9843 392

Appendix XI: Turnitin Report

MA thesis in Public Policy			
ORIGINALITY REPORT			
13%	10%	4%	7%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS
PRIMARY SOURCES			
1	wiredspace.wits.ac.za Internet Source	1%	
2	Submitted to University of KwaZulu-Natal Student Paper	1%	
3	researchspace.ukzn.ac.za Internet Source	1%	
4	hdl.handle.net Internet Source	1%	
5	uir.unisa.ac.za Internet Source	<1%	
6	www.sahrc.org.za Internet Source	<1%	
7	www.1decada4.es Internet Source	<1%	
8	Submitted to University of Pretoria Student Paper	<1%	
9	Submitted to University of Zululand Student Paper	<1%	