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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my late mother Mavis Cleophas who passed away in December 2017, the one person who throughout my life never gave up on me and always believed in me even when the odds were stacked against me. You were always there for me. I love you and miss you always.

DECLARATION

I hereby confirm that the present thesis, '*Understanding White Privilege: Perspectives from South Africa's Western Cape Province*' is solely my own work. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any University. If any text passages or diagrams from books, papers, the Web or other sources have been copied or in any other way used, all references – including those found in electronic media – have been acknowledged and fully cited in the American Psychological Association (APA) referencing style.

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ABSTRACT

It has been 25 years since the demise of apartheid and yet white dominance still persists. With many significant changes visible as a result of the fall of apartheid, the country sadly remains racially divided. The black majority still lives in poverty while the white minority continue to hold their position of privilege and power. And while black people are trying to change the status quo, most white people are ignoring their role in the past while continuing to perpetuate their White Privilege as the gap between black and white widens. Not addressing the issues of the past, maintains the unearned privileges white people have, while the black community grows even more frustrated as the year's pass. With this in mind, this study explored a sample of "ordinary people" in the Western Cape Province, South Africa, and their experience and knowledge of the phenomenon known as "White Privilege". The goal was to develop a conceptual framework for understanding the specifics on how White Privilege functions and operates within the Western Cape and its impact on those who are excluded from perks related to White Privilege. This study confirmed the existence of White Privilege in the Western Cape. The impact of White Privilege on people of colour, and society at large, is where a small group of the research participants had different views. Some linked White Privilege directly to the continued oppression of people of colour, and the unfair position of privilege that white people occupy in society. Others viewed this Privilege as an unintended occurrence, which they should not be held accountable for. The critical point that all participants agreed on was that White Privilege in the Western Cape is a problem, and something that needs attention A.S.A.P.

Key Words: South Africa's Western Cape Province, White Privilege, racism, black people, white people, apartheid, inequality, South Africa, whiteness.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

> For those with White skin, power and privilege are birthrights that must be recognized and declined in order to reject and manage potential for racism. But . . . for our oppressors, racism is a disturbing, embarrassing and unsettling issue. Thus, for the most part at least, the issue of racism will remain taboo. Because critical dialogue, engaging issues of race and racism hold an "unspeakable" aura, the taboo is translated into discourses that deny difference and mute all things racial. Such strategies, be they deliberate or inadvertent, work to solidify oppressive power and privilege by preventing our ability to question our state of oppression or their state of privilege.
>
> (Dei, Karumanchery & Karumanchery-Luik, 2004: 99)

One of the most important victories for South African people has been the establishment of a representative democracy, especially given this country's history of oppression of black people, white domination, and the theft of indigenous peoples' land, and their right to live a life of dignity. South Africa has a constitutional democracy in which all organs of state are bound to act in conformity with the constitution (Suttner, 2014). The constitution partly states that:

> …Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law. Every person is therefore entitled to equal treatment by our courts. No one is above the law and all persons are impartially subject to the law. However, the conduct of the law or government (the executive) that differentiates between people or categories of people may be justified if it reasonably serves a legitimate governmental purpose.
>
> (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 2014)

Despite the spirit of equality captured in the Constitution, as well as South Africa's best efforts post 1994 to eradicate the gap between black people and white people, white South Africans are still enjoying similar privileges as under apartheid, while black South Africans are still suffering disadvantages, much like during the apartheid years. These unearned advantages that white people possess are widely referred to as "White Privilege" (McIntosh, 1988), which is the focus of this study. I am using Peggy McIntosh's "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack" (1988) as a point of departure to define and explore instances of "White Privilege".

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McIntosh (1988) argues that White Privilege is something that cannot be earned, but is rather given to white people based on their skin colour. According to Kirwan (2015), those who hold these privileges are conscious of them, but instead of facing them, they respond by being overly sensitive, extremely aware, or excessively tolerant toward non-whites. In a bid to make a contribution to the scholarly discourse surrounding this seemingly endless phenomenon, this research sought the perspectives and opinions of people in the Western Cape Province, South Africa, arising out of their lived experiences. But first, a historical background to White Privilege is explored, with a specific emphasis on the South African context.

1.1 Problem Statement

Racial inequality and racial injustice were inherent elements of global 19th and early 20th century colonialism. In South Africa, these phenomena were extended by the Apartheid policies of 1948 – 1990/1, with the first democratic elections held in 1994 during which White Privilege was legalised and entrenched. Despite laws protecting White Privilege having been re-written since 1994, the ideas and beliefs on which White Privilege was based have, however, not come to an end in South Africa. White Privilege in South Africa continues to exist, not only in relation to socio-economic privilege, but also in inter-racial behaviour, where "white" people often associate their racial profile with "superiority". And with mounting tension and countless political protests, the countries future stability is in danger. The transition to democracy came with an expectation of restoration, social justice and a dramatic improvement in the living conditions of people of colour. With these ideals not yet having been realised, it is to be expected that people are growing increasingly tired and frustrated, 25 years later (Terreblanche, 2002).

1.2 Rationale

The aim of this study is to explore the degree of awareness and the subjective experiences of ordinary people in the Western Cape Province, South Africa, in relation to the phenomenon of White Privilege. This would be done by investigating their lived experiences, with the goal of developing a conceptual framework to understand the specifics of White Privilege in the Western Cape. Furthermore, this study aims to provide a platform to the voiceless, to make their views audible, while at the same time allowing experts in the field to participate. The

ultimate goal and perceived outcome is to create awareness around the issue of White Privilege and its underlying effects, and how it impacts people of colour.

1.3 Research Questions

Based on the problem statement outlined above, the proposed research seeks to answer the following questions:

i) What are the lived experiences and views of the ordinary citizen, at all levels of society, in the Western Cape, on White Privilege? In addition, what are the views of those who are considered to be experts in the area of social justice?

ii) What measures have been taken by the Western Cape government to curtail the problem of White Privilege and redress inequality, since the fall of apartheid, and are they having the results they envisioned?

1.4 Objectives

The following objectives:

i) To develop a conceptual framework to understand the specifics of White Privilege in Cape Town.

ii) To establish what view ordinary citizens (i.e. professionals, academics, store clerks, unemployed persons, etc.), from all racial groups, have of White Privilege, including its meanings, consequences, and effects.

iii) To examine the measures being taken by the authorities to curtail the problems related to White Privilege.

1.5 Chapter Summary

As indicated in the aforementioned section, South Africa, with all its great achievements over the past 25 years, still has a long way to go. The issue of White Privilege has not helped the situation and has made the transition period less successful. Therefore, it was imperative that we look at the status quo within South Africa, and specifically the Western Cape, to establish whether White Privilege is partly responsible for the social, and political unrest currently experienced. This chapter also clearly stated what the research problem is and what the study looked at in order to establish whether the concerns raised are valid. The next 5 chapters will further unpack whether White Privilege is a non-issue or whether it is something we should pay close attention too, as we strive towards building a more inclusive and equal society.

Chapter 2 - The History of Racism and White Privilege in South Africa

2.1 Introduction

The following section provides a timeline of how White Privilege began and how it was reinvented and transferred from one group of white elites to the next. Regardless of how the reinvention occurred the emerging system had an all too common result. Racism and White Privilege would become more institutionalised and subtle, while black people suffered more and more under white rule. What started out as pure racism and discrimination, became less obvious, but more and more sinister. As we see later the system has since become invisible, while still functioning in the background. The scars and impact it has had on black people, however, remains visible.

2.2 Racism and White Privilege in South Africa

According to Worden (1994), the development of racism in South Africa started with European colonialism, in what was known as the scramble for Africa in the middle of the 19th century. According to the Dutch settlers, natives needed to become more civilized, and the settlers progressively took ownership of the land and enslaved its people. It is important to note that the systematised racial discrimination started as far back as 1652, when the Dutch first settled at the Cape. Therefore, when looking at South Africa's history over the past 350 years, we find that in every group conflict and war, a distinct pattern emerges.

During the period of European colonialism and imperialism, white colonial masters were almost always the victors, and indigenous people (Khoisan), the losers. The system used to achieve these goals had three approaches: firstly, they would create political and economic systems that would serve white colonist interests and placed them in a privileged position while excluding indigenous people; secondly, indigenous people were deprived of owning land, and having access to cattle and water; finally, slaves and indigenous people were given different forms of unfree and exploitable labour (unfree labour refers to people who are forced to work against their will, often with a threat of violence). This triple tread system was used successfully from the 1700's to the 20st century. It was easier for the white masters or landowning class to keep the land from indigenous people than it was to obtain labour and control it effectively. This was because land was abundant and easy to obtain for the white masters. It is important to understand the relationship between power, land and labour in South African history. The

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white colonists would have failed in colonising the Khoisan and the Africans if they lacked power and did not force their systems on them. It was this political, economic and military power of the white colonists that shaped the course of history in South Africa (Terreblanche, 2002).

By the early 1800's, the Khoisan were already conquered, and formed part of the British settler capitalist system in the Western Cape. White colonists then had to obtain new land and labour by defeating the Xhosa's in the Eastern Cape. This was not as easy, and took three bloody frontier wars, from 1834 to 1853, before they defeated the Xhosa's. It was around the same time that slavery was abolished in South Africa. However, white masters found new ways to continue the unfree labour system that was forced on the previously defeated Khoisan, and now the Xhosa's. By the time diamonds were discovered in 1867, and gold in 1886, forcing black people into the unfree labour market was a natural occurrence. The increased labour demands from the mines required more refinement of existing systems and methods used to force unfree labour from black people. These systems were formalised by legislation not long after this as South Africa was declared an independent state controlled by the dominant white Afrikaners (Terreblanche, 2002). This paved the way for the introduction of Apartheid.

Between the 19th and 20th century almost all agricultural land had been occupied, which made it impossible for all the white elite to be landowners. Agricultural land, which was considered to be economically unviable, was mainly owned by white Afrikaners, who when they lost their land, had to compete with the black wage-earning proletariat (lowest form of labour according to Marxism). This had major political consequences for South Africa. For the first time in its history, a white working class were established parallel with the unfree black labour. However, because the white working class were part of the elite and their political rights entrenched by the Act of Westminster of 1909, which declared South Africa a sovereign and independent state, it also allowed for white controlled South African parliament to pass labour laws to continue the oppression of black people as a subservient labour force. The white controlled South African state was able to openly oppress black people with the support of the colonial powers of the west (the west referring to the countries who participated in the colonisation of South Africa) (Terreblanche, 2002).

2.3 South Africa's journey from Slavery to Democracy

In 1652, slaves were mainly owned by the Dutch East Indian Company. Groups of around 20 Khoisan slaves became part of the white households. They followed a hierarchy based on the patriarchal system, with the male as head of the house and the slaves as their permanent children. Forced labour was part of the system. This continued up until slavery was abolished in 1838. Reinvention of slavery took on the form of "inboekelinge" (a system of indentured child labour), which meant that Khoisan people who live with their white masters were owned by them, until they were emancipated at age 25. Reinvention with the same objective as under slavery is how white people sustained their dominance and the oppression of black people. The inboekeling system was finally abolished in 1828, at the request of the humanitarian missionaries (Terreblanche, 2002).

The British settlers introduced their first version of black labour repression in South Africa in 1841. It was designed as a master and servant law, deliberately depriving black people of their economic independence, through frontier wars, land deprivation, anti-squatter and antivagrancy laws, and by destroying coloured settlements. Subsequently, the Native Land Act of 1913 prevented black and coloured people from farming on white owned farms or public land. Those who managed to start small farms were forced off their land through harsh laws, which made it impossible for them to succeed. These laws were eventually abolished in 1974. The Chamber of Mines (an employers association who was responsible for keeping labour cheap and plentiful while advancing the Apartheid regimes goals of impoverishing people of colour (SA History Online, 2019)) played a large role in depriving people of colour of land and the native reserves for over 60 years. They were also responsible for recruiting large numbers of foreign migrant workers from neighbouring African countries who were employed for far less money (Terreblanche, 2002).

Black labour repression decreased costs for white employers, while discriminatory measures created a system that would negatively affect black people while serving the interest of white people. Therefore, post 1948, the discriminatory measures were imposed to improve the socioeconomic position of the unemployed, which were mainly white Afrikaner workers. The period after 1948 introduced harsher discriminatory measures that entrenched their privileged position. Between 1952 and 1986, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd made sure that there was a comprehensive system of migrant labour for the manufacturing industries, but he also

introduced strict laws that would control this in the form of pass laws, bantu administration boards, and single sex living quarters. This is an attempt to continue excluding people of colour from the social, economic and political structures in society (Terreblanche, 2002).

The continued oppression of black people (especially Africans), growing unemployment, lack of education, and the increase in poor socio-economic conditions, forced people of colour to take a stand. The following section deals with the critical measures and events that ultimately lead to the fall of Apartheid and brought to an end 400 years of oppression, abuse and deprivation of black people, by the white English and Afrikaans people. While the next part introduces the struggle to freedom and democracy, it also provides a blueprint of the power of reinvention as white dominance took on the character of a subtler, but sinister, invisible system called "White Privilege" (Terreblanche, 2002).

During the period of Dutch colonisation, the Afrikaners maintained their group coherence through their language and religion. It was this unity that eventually gave them political power, with their deepest desires being realised, which was to take charge of different sectors of society, including the economy, politics, education, health etc. However, to achieve their goal they had to find a way to make white people the supreme group and deprive other groups of the same political and economic power (Worden, 1994). Whilst already living under severe and unfair rule, 1948 brought with it the start of an especially dark time for black people in South Africa. The National Party was voted into power, and Apartheid, with its inhumane policies, was officially born (Steyn, 2001: 179). The goal of Apartheid was to divide people along racial lines to ensure that white people remain the superior group. This was done by excluding people of colour from politics, labour markets, education, and good healthcare, amongst other things. Several laws were passed in an attempt to further subjugate black people under white rule, including: the Population Registration Act of 1950; the Groups Areas Act of 1950; the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1948; the Immorality Amendment Act of 1950; and the Separate Representation of Voters Act 1951. The Population Registration Act of 1950 demanded that people be registered according to their race, i.e., white, black, coloured, Indian or Asian. People were given different sets of rules based on their race. However, the overall purpose of all these laws was to secure White Privilege and deprive people of colour of similar privileges. The Groups Areas Act of 1950 physically separated whites from blacks in all spheres of society. The white government forcefully removed black people from areas that

white people wanted. These prime locations included areas close to city centres and along beaches (SA History Online, 2016).

The peaceful campaigns by black people were preceded by initiatives such as the defiance campaign in 1952, which saw thousands of black people refusing to abide by the unjust laws of Apartheid. They burned their passes, and occupied "whites only" spaces. This led to mass incarceration of black people. As the violence intensified, some people became reluctant to participate in politics. Resistance campaigns had to be reinvented to escape the Apartheid intelligence and law enforcement. This was primarily done by communicating through newspapers and hand delivered notes. Some white people, who were not in favour of Apartheid, acted as dual agents, helping the banned groups to sustain the pressure on the Apartheid government. These activities were occurring while surveillance by the security forces intensified. Police and other law enforcement agencies met peaceful protesters with violence. It was during this time (1955) that the Freedom Charter was drafted by various opposition parties like the ANC (African National Congress), UDF (United Democratic Front), and SACP (South African Communist Party). The Freedom Charter stood against white domination, declaring that, South Africa as a country belongs to all who live in it regardless of their race, creed, religion and any other identifying features, and therefore no one can govern this country without the vote and mandate of the people, and all who live in this country will enjoy the same rights regardless of their race, sex, religion… and Apartheid as we know it will be no more. (Worden, 1994).
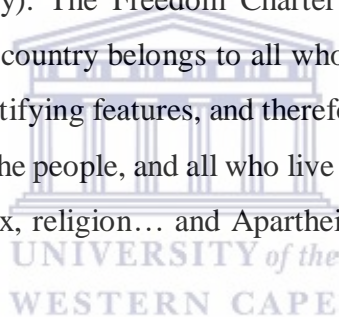
With continuous resistance from the ANC and other opposition groups, the National Party drafted the General Law Amendment Act, which gave law enforcement even more power. The next phase of Apartheid in 1960, was extremely violent. As opposition to the unjust laws (discussed earlier) grew more intense, the white government responded by beating, killing, detaining, raping and luring cadres to turn against the struggle in an attempt to reinforce their white supremacy. This as tensions grew among the National Party, the ANC and other opposition groups. During the same period the white government made it clear how far they would go to safeguard their privilege and superior position in society through a tragic event known as the Sharpeville Massacre. During a peaceful protest against the pass laws, the government shot and killed 69 black protesters and injured hundreds more. In another incident, known as the Soweto uprising, police opened fire with live ammunition killing dozens of students who were protesting against being taught in Afrikaans, the language of their oppressor.

These are just two of many similar incidents that occurred during Apartheid. With increased resistance and tension, the National Party then issued an official ban against the ANC and all other black opposition groups (Steyn, 2001).

The ANC and its partners originally wanted to lead a peaceful campaign, but after the Sharpeville Massacre they were forced to take up arms. This saw the birth of Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1961, which was the armed wing of the ANC, co-founded by Nelson Mandela. Its formation was specificaly tasked with fighting against the South African government (Worden, 1994). Not long after, around 1969, the Black Consciousness Movement was born under the leadership of Steve Biko. As a result of the work done by this movement, South Africa was placed under tighter international sanctions for its inhumane treatment of black people A year later in 1977, Steve Biko died while in police custody (Biko, 1978).

The next few years leading up to 1990, were particularly bloody, as the stand-off between the white National Party, the ANC, and the United Democratic Front (UDF) (fighting for the fall of apartheid and better living conditions for black people) intensified. But, as the resistance persisted and global pressure increased, worsening the economic situation, apartheid started coming to a slow end. An extremely tense Dakar Conference took place in Senegal in 1985, where leaders of the ANC, the National Party, as well as white business owners met to discuss the way forward for South Africa. It was here that the framework for an inclusive society was birthed (Gillomee, 1988). In 1988, official discussion began between Nelson Mandela and the ANC leadership to birth this society.

In 1991, with F. W. De Klerk elected as president of the National Party and the Republic of South Africa, apartheid was finally abolished and all opposition groups unbanned. In 1994, South Africa had its first democratic election where Nelson Mandela, then head of the ANC, was elected as the first black president. The ANC continues to govern 25 years after the dawn of democracy in South Africa (Steyn, 2001: 179).

While South Africa's peaceful transition to democracy may be seen as a good example of how to negotiate and avoid a civil war, many of the injustices of the past still remain. One of the most tragic race-related phenomena still present in society today is structural racism. This is a lingering white economic dominance that manifests as White Privilege. The White Privilege that was born from this racism re-enacted is what prevents most white people from

acknowledging that they have benefitted, at the expense of black people. This resistance of many white people, especially influential businessmen, to help restore society to one that is more equal, is what arguably contributes to maintaining the oppression and exploitation of the majority of black people in South Africa today (Terreblanche, 2002).

In 1978, Biko wrote that the white community at the time in South Africa was a homogeneous one, a community that sits and enjoys their privileged position, knowing that they do not deserve it, and then spend their energy on defending their position. Biko (1978:23) referred to white people who claimed to be on the side of black people as "a bunch of liberals" soothing their conscience and easing their feelings of guilt, while at the same time moving in white circles and enjoying the whites-only hotels, beaches, cinemas, and restaurants. "The white man's quest for power has led him to destroy with utter ruthlessness whatever has stood in his way. In an effort to divide the black world in terms of aspirations, the powers that be have evolved a philosophy that stratifies the black world and gives preferential treatment to certain groups" (Biko, 1978:66). These reflections of an anti-apartheid leader show how, during apartheid, White Privilege was developed, crafted and perpetuated during the many centuries of oppression.

Because "whiteness" (whiteness defined as a set of characteristics and experiences that are related to the white race and white skin[1]) was established under specific circumstances, it now has to constantly re-invent itself in order to maintain its power and privilege. This has to be done without drawing too much attention to the issue, while making sure that whiteness becomes the norm that informs all spheres and structures of society (McIntosh, 1988). As such, South Africa remains one of the most unequal countries in the world as reported by the World Bank (2015). According to Matthews (2015), a non-racist South Africa will only be possible once white people stop seeing themselves as superior and no longer take up a dominant position. McIntosch (1988) wrote that, as a white person, she was taught about racism, but was never made aware of its additional benefits in the form of "White Privilege". She had come to see White Privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets that she could count on cashing in each day, but she was also meant to remain oblivious to it.

2.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided an in-depth overview of South Africa's history as it relates to the struggle for power and the continued oppression of people of colour by white people. What started out

as an exploration of the seashores, resulted in the development of some of the cruellest treatment for native people. Although South Africa's history of oppression can be traced long before the 1600's, the last 400 years produced many cruel forms of oppression inflicted on people of colour.

This chapter provides us with a clear pattern of oppressive power transmitted from one generation of white people to the next. It also provides us with an account to explain the suffering of people of colour, and the reason behind their continued lack of power and privileges.

Chapter 3 - Literature Review on Racism and White Privilege

3.1 Introduction

To understand the concept of White Privilege, we have to first understand its origins and how it took on the current form. This begins with exploring the background and the events that lead to the ingenious development of this system. To do this correctly, we have to explore what occurred in the 1700's in America and every century after that in various countries. This will be done by exploring the views of various scholars from the USA. Only thereafter can we zoom in on the situation in South Africa's Western Cape Province.

3.2 The Origin and Subsequent Development of White Privilege

The following section refers mainly to the development of White Privilege as it relates to the United States of America. The purpose for this is to provide a timeline that will shed light on how White Privilege began and developed over the centuries into what we understand it to be today. The previous chapter provided us with an overview of how White Privilege initially reached the shores of South Africa, and the way it was entrenched in South African society through Apartheid. We will now explore the origin and systematic development of White Privilege before it reached South Africa.

The concept of White Privilege is not indigenous to South Africa in fact it is a term that was coined in the USA. This was not something that came about naturally. Buck (2001) explains that before Bacons Rebellion in the 1700's, African and European slaves were interacting in most forms of social relations, such as sex, marriage, having children, friendships, being neighbours etc. People were mostly divided by the tribe they belong to rather than their physical characteristics. It was only after Bacons Rebellion when the white elites put legislation and institutions in place, that people were segregated based on ethnicity. White people were then given great power to accrue wealth while black people were hindered from partaking in the processes leading to economic growth. In fact, black people were not allowed to go anywhere or do anything without the express permission of their master, and had to make use of a pass for identification (Bennett, 1975). This system was replicated in Apartheid South Africa.

According to Bennett (1975), the separation between black and white people was enforced by inflicting terror on both groups of people. Following the implementation of the aforementioned

legislation, White Privilege was birthed and maintained through repetition of dominance by the white elite, to ensure that it became natural. This is the system that persists to this day in the USA. White interest and whiteness were protected by economic, political and judicial systems. Whites were made to believe that they shared a common interest in maintaining the informal system of whiteness and the resultant white supremacy. White slaves under this system gained more privileges such as owning land and livestock (Bennett, 1975).

White people's privileges were further extended by laws, which ensured that they would occupy senior positions that gave them authority to rule over black people. A hundred years later when resources dried up, a special wage was introduced, where whites were given privileges such as special parking and special positions. White tradesmen were given superiority over regular workers and black people were not allowed to be taught, trained or to take up these elite positions, which further reinforced these White Privileges. With blacks well and truly oppressed, poor whites were told by the elites, that it could have been worse, at least you are white (Bennett, 1975).

Hilliard (1992) develops the concept further by defining racism as the over-arching concept from which White Privilege stems, as it encompasses economic, political, social, and cultural structures, actions, and beliefs that systematize and perpetuate an unequal distribution of privileges, resources, and power among white people and people of colour. Even if individual white people deny their privilege, and are not racist, they still generally benefit from this establishment.

According to Bonds and Inwood (2015), whiteness and White Privilege does not only hold certain interracial and social racist superiority, but also geographical superiority. They argue that White Privilege and white supremacy are used to perpetuate colonial dominance for future oppressive methods that would continue, even if formal systems cease to exist. Geographic studies of whiteness serve as an indicator to illustrate how the social construction of whiteness and privilege are perpetuated. While also exposing how racialization is used to determine the reflection of certain landscapes.

A range of racist practises has been used to continue the systematic and structural production of White Privilege across society. Bonds and Inwood (2015) suggest that White Privilege is a

milder form of white supremacy, which is used in previously colonised areas to perpetuate practices that reflect racist patterns disguised as an attempt to indicate anti-racism. Ultimately, these practices result in racialized landscapes that continue to favour whites and negatively impact people of colour.

According to Sullivan (2006), there is a difference between 'white supremacy' and 'White Privilege'. Sullivan (2006: 63) defines 'white supremacy' as "conscious, deliberate forms of white domination" and 'White Privilege' as "a constellation of physical and somatic habits formed through transaction with a racist world", these habits often being unconscious, but still having the effect of maintaining white domination. This distinction made by Sullivan (2006) serves to inform us that the two concepts are fundamentally different. Therefore, the approaches to dealing with these issues of White Privilege and white supremacy need to be different. Anti-racist strategies used against "white supremacy" will not necessarily work for the less explicit manifestations of white racism found in White Privilege.

A study by Pendler & Beverly (2015) argues that white people are wilfully ignoring the racist debate as an attempt to sustain their white dominance and privilege. To understand this concept more in-depth they looked at the underlying reasons why whites refuse to acknowledge the power and privilege of being white. The findings revealed that white people need to keep their inherit privileges hidden from their conscience to maintain their supremacy. Furthermore, it found that white people have been indoctrinated by contemporary society with principals of liberal democracy, which they swear to live by as it is based on equality. This is an attempt to soothe their conscience. However, they refuse to acknowledge the subtler experiences of people that contradict these democratic ideals. These experiences include denial of privilege, denial of supremacy, denial of the unearned nature of this benefit, and, most importantly, the denial of the necessity to examine supremacy (Pendler & Beverly, 2015). According to Sue (2006), the unwillingness of white Americans to acknowledge their unconscious biases, racial prejudices and racial oppression is a "conspiracy of silence", which is aimed at maintaining their White Privilege. Whiteness, according to them, needs to be made visible to deal with the societal structure by which things are measured to be normal, superior and legitimate.

According to Dei, Karumanchery and Karumanchery-Luik (2004), White Privilege has to be dealt with, along with whiteness, as it holds the power to continue oppression and to continue

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to perpetuate social control, while marginalising the voices of the ones being dominated. To address this matter on a deeper level, one has to look at how oppression is constructed: how power is accessed while denied to others; and how the lack of access to power and privilege effectively oppresses people (Dei, Karumanchery and Karumanchery-Luik, 2004). A big step towards understanding White Privilege, is understanding how this power is socially enacted.

Because White Privilege is entrenched within the daily norms and standards of society, it becomes difficult to get white people to recognise it. While at times they acknowledge the existence of oppression, they do so without acknowledging the relationship between such oppression and their privileges. Their unwillingness to recognise their complicity, is merely a display of their White Privilege, dictating the status quo. According to Wildman (1996), "the invisibility of privilege strengthens the power it creates and maintains". Keeping it invisible means we are unable to deal with it, which makes concealing it critical to its maintenance.

The argument and reasons why White Privilege is best left invisible is further substantiated by the description given by McIntosh (1988), which says that "White privilege is like an invisible weight-less knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, code-books, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear and blank checks." She further highlights how these privileges are perpetuated daily in society to benefit whites by being portrayed positively by the media, or by the safety of not being blocked to resources due to one's race, or having the responsibility to prepare one's children for the physical and mental suffering related to White Privilege.

White Privilege is the result of complex social, cultural, political and historical forces and contexts (see also Frankenberg, 1993; Roediger, 1994; Dyer, 1997). As pointed out by Foucault (1977), the chief function of disciplinary power is training that normalises the unfair interaction by those who dominate in social settings. White people have historically been placed in a superior position by enforcing their institutions, beliefs and values systems, worldviews and ideologies onto people of colour. Race was the perfect characteristic for the coloniser to use, as with one glance they knew everything about the person in front of them. It is this visibility that was created around what constitutes non-whiteness versus the invisibility of whiteness that makes it harder to oppose White Privilege.

According to Kendell (2002), there is no such thing as giving up one's privilege and living outside of the system. It is a matter of whether you are part of the system or challenging the system in order to bring forth positive change. Institutions provide these privileges and unless these institutions are transformed, White Privilege will continue to exist. Kendell says that it is much harder for white people to see that they have these privileges and that they hold this power. In contrast, it is brutally clear for those who do not have these privileges to see it. And while white people may go on with their daily lives not paying attention to the privileges that they have, the establishment of these privileges did not come subtly. It was developed and repeated for centuries with the intent and purpose to serve the agenda of the white elite at the expense of people of colour.

Kirwan (2015) wrote that it is hard for white people to fully understand White Privilege as they move with ease through the world. According to him, white people first have to understand the fundamentals of White Privilege and how it works before they can start working against this phenomenon and racism in general. According to McIntosh (1986), White Privilege is something that you are born into and may not necessarily be consciously aware of. But, according to Kovel (1988), those with the privilege know that they have it, but refuse to acknowledge it. If they did, they would have to acknowledge the freedoms that they enjoy from it, and take responsibility for their part in the on going social injustice and oppression of people of colour.
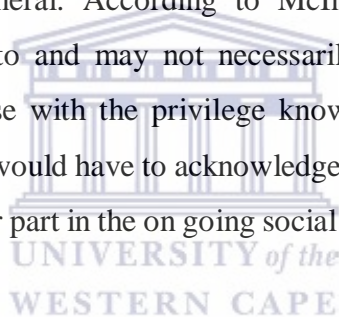
So far, this chapter provided us with the blueprint of how White Privilege has developed in the USA and is maintained in its country of origin. We can use this blueprint to assess whether White Privilege exists within any country. The first thing to look for is whether people at some stage were divided along racial lines and if that divide is still visible. Usually white people would have been removed from all social association with people of colour. This, in turn, will create a dominant white group who would adopt these processes, and they will perpetuate and transmit it from one generation to the next. To do this, it needs to be embedded within societal norms and standards, but can also be enforced by law.

Once embedded in the institutional framework of society it is easy to develop further legislation and policies that will ensure that white people remain in a position of privilege. This process is always at the expense of people of colour, and is usually accompanied by the systematic

exclusion of people of colour from the economic, political, social and cultural structures and institutions. Often the process is accompanied by violent acts, committed against people of colour to ensure they know their place. This system is further sustained by avoiding discussions on this issue. This denial of the existence of White Privilege serves as a default setting to restore and further embed privilege. When white people are forced to acknowledge the system, they do so without accepting responsibility and deflect 'blame', as 'it wasn't me'.

Another telling sign of White Privilege is to look at your current location. If you find that white people seem to dominate all spheres of society and you cannot explain why, then you are probably looking at White Privilege. This blueprint will now be applied to South Africa's Western Cape Province to ascertain whether, and to what extent, White Privilege is present here.

3.3 Understanding White Privilege in South Africa's Western Cape Province

There were several similarities between the brutality endured by black people in the USA during segregation and apartheid South Africa, which are now discussed. People of colour had to carry passes, and become the property of their masters. They were not allowed to enter certain areas without permission, and were unable to live where they wanted. They were also prevented by law to study and learn, partake in the economic system, and they were murdered, raped and evicted from their land. Recently, there has been an increase in racially charged incidents taking place in the Western Cape, and it is important to understand why. White Privilege has come up as a crucial aspect involved in many of these incidents. Therefore, this study will endeavour to research the opinions of both local people and experts in the field, which will help to inform us how White Privilege presents in our everyday society. Patterns that emerge from the research will allow us to have a well establish basis from which to assess whether White Privilege exists within the Western Cape Province.

Under the well-contemplated and systematic architecture of Apartheid, people were divided along racial lines as "white" (European ancestry), "African" ("black"), "Coloured" (of mixed racial heritage), and "Indian" (descended from south Asian immigrants). The Apartheid government further engineered policies and systems, also known as "petty apartheid", that were enforced through laws and regulations, to segregate public spaces. This prohibited black people from having access to and securing the best agricultural and social spaces demarcated for white

people. Multicultural communities were destroyed and black and coloured people forcefully removed as these spaces were declared "whites-only" spaces. These spaces, nearly 25 years after the abolishment of Apartheid, remain in the hands of the white minority (Msimang, 2017).

In various societies across the world, white interest and "whiteness" historically have been protected by economic, political and judicial systems. This protection, driven by the goal to advance white interest through societal structures and systems, enforced the belief that members of this racial group shared a common interest. Undoubtedly, White Privilege is the result of complex social, cultural, political and historical forces and contexts (Frankenberg, 1993; Roediger, 1994; Dyer, 1997). As a result, we have places like the Western Cape province where the evidence of the Apartheid policies is still visible.

According to Polgreen (2012), for many tourists, the Western Cape province speaks of scenic landscapes, great wine, majestic mountains and seas. However, for black people, the province perhaps represents something very different. A Twitter post by Lindiwe Suttle, (a performing artist and singer) directed at Helen Zille (leader of the Democratic Alliance) speaks to that, saying that it does not matter how rich or famous you are in Cape Town, if you are black, you are always going to be a second-class citizen. The geographical divide between races is still clearly evident, with black people living on the outskirts of the city, and whites living in the city centre and the mountainside inner suburbs. A study on the availability of economic opportunities for black people in Cape Town, conducted by the University of Cape Town in December 2010, found that black people are almost always less successful than their white counterparts. A 21-year-old black student studying at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), Nokwanda Khanyile, after being asked if she will be staying in Cape Town once her studies are completed, replied, "No, Cape Town is racist. Everybody knows that".

Dlanga (2012) exposes how, in the Western Cape, there are stark material and symbolic inequalities that divide the province along racial lines. Research shows that, even with the policies developed and implemented by Government to address the issue of inequality, the material and economic imbalances between black and white people still remain (Dlanga, 2012; Vice, 2015; Wale, 2013). The high degree of unemployment in the country serves as just one reminder of this, as five times as many black people are unemployed, compared to white people (Statistics South Africa, 2017). Recent studies (Molefe, 2012; Roberts, 2013; Wale, 2013) also

found that middle-class white people constitute the social group that is least interested in redressing the inequalities of the past. The media and law enforcement form part of a large number of public institutions in which White Privilege is still evident. Some recent examples is how women's murder cases are conducted. The Reeva Steenkamp and Franziska Blochliger muder cases enjoyed massive media coverage, while black victims such as Sinoxolo Mafevuka, Zanele Mayila and Anelisa Dulase were barely mentioned.

Former president, Nelson Mandela, delivered a speech at a primary school in Johannesburg in 1999, where he reprimanded white people for perpetuating the system of White Privilege. The white minority, at that time, refused to share the country's resources with the previously disadvantaged majority. He further spoke to the lack of action by white people that kept Apartheid alive for more than 40 years. Under Apartheid, 61% of the white population had a matric qualification, in comparison to only 11% of black people. Also, 36% of black people lived in shacks, but no white people did. Furthermore, only 18% of black people had running water in their homes and 36% had electricity, compared to almost the entire white population. This inequality was also evident in wages. People were paid different amounts for doing the same job on grounds of their race. White nurses and teachers were paid significantly more than black people with the same qualification. Often, black people could not even secure a job in the profession for which they were qualified (Seekings & Nattras, 2001: 46).

There are claims by white people, in contemporary South Africa, that they are now victims of "reverse Apartheid". In fact, according to award-winning journalist Faatimah Hendriks (2016) of News24, white people go as far as to say that they are tired of hearing of Apartheid and the suffering of black people; that the latter group should just get over it and move on. According to Hendriks (2016), white people want you to believe that the time of them having all the opportunities and success came to an end with the fall of Apartheid and that the automatic claim to White Privilege, based solely on the colour of their skins, no longer applies.

The reality, according to Orakwe (2003), is the opposite. Black South Africans remain the poorest of the poor in South Africa, with only a small group of black elite having been established since 1994. It has, in recent times, become taboo to speak about and remember Apartheid. Affected people are told to "move on". The problem with moving on too fast according to Orakwe (2003), is that white people may forget how events, before and since

1994, have favoured them and they become complacent in the combined efforts to undo the structural flaws created under Apartheid rule, and that still persists today.

According to Sullivan (2006), there is a difference between 'white supremacy' and 'White Privilege'. She (2006: 63) defines 'white supremacy' as "conscious, deliberate forms of white domination" and 'White Privilege' as "a constellation of physical and somatic habits formed through transaction with a racist world". These habits are often unconscious, but still have the effect of maintaining white domination. This distinction made by Sullivan (2006) serves to inform us that the two concepts are fundamentally different and, therefore, the approach to dealing with these two issues also needs to be different. Anti-racist strategies used against "white supremacy" will not necessarily work for the less explicit manifestations of racism found in instances of White Privilege.

Vice (2015) supports Sullivan (2006) in describing White Privilege as a set of habits that have accumulated over many years of oppressing people of colour. Vice (2015) goes on to say that regardless of how these habits, which favour white people, came about it still requires an appropriate moral response. Given the difficulty of breaking entrenched habits, it will surely take more than a good argument and rational persuasion to bring forth lasting change. Vice (2015) notes that while it is no longer fashionable for whites to be openly racist, it is naive to think that all those who grew up in the Apartheid era have miraculously had a change of heart. Many "normal" white citizens grew up surrounded by, and possibly supported, the violence that took place routinely during the Apartheid era.

While South Africa had reason to be proud of averting a civil war in 1994, current racial tension might have also been averted if entrenched economic inequality was addressed back then (Msimang, 2017). This tension can be seen through protests over housing, unemployment, health services and facilities, education etc. that continues to negatively impact the lives of black people. Black people have reached their limits in waiting for their situation to change. According to Msimang (2017), the government even recognises that things are getting worse and worse, with around 60 protests taking place daily in South Africa. Meanwhile, many white people still enjoy the benefits of the undeserved privilege they gained under Apartheid, this situation being made worse by their nonchalant attitude and living in denial about the impact of their past actions (Msimang, 2017). Tensions have also shifted to blaming the democratic

government currently in power (i.e. the ANC) for negotiating deals that unfairly kept economic power in the hands of white people. Msimang (2017:34) points out how "today, South Africa appears to be just; it has a vibrant and thriving media, a court system to rival any in the world, and a constitution that is the envy of many nations. However, just like the old regime, the new South Africa has done a sterling job of maintaining the appearance of justice."

3.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter started with the history of the development of White Privilege. In America, segregation took on the form of brutal and inhumane treatment of people of colour. The focus of Apartheid in South Africa is more an effect of systemic development of racism and its related issues such as White Privilege. This chapter provided a pattern that is indicative of whether White Privilege is present within a specific context. When something as old as racism has been passed on from generation to generation, it leaves a trace of its existence. Research from the United States of America, highlights a thorough network of racism and White Privilege that is continuously reinvented and transmitted from generation to generation.

This same systematic oppression of people of colour is not just found within one specific country, but possibly stretches across the whole globe. An unfair and discriminatory system that has been entrenched in society's norms and standards, and in the socialisation of their children, all in an attempt to sustain white domination at the expense of people of colour. This research provides a blueprint for this thesis to use in assessing whether the Western Cape has been captured by racism and White Privilege. The next chapter will help us locate the research within a theoretical framework, which could guide us towards finding lasting solutions when dealing with White Privilege in South Africa's Western Cape province.

Chapter 4 - The Theoretical Framework

4.1 Introduction

It is important to draw on traditional and renowned theorists, such as Rawls and Habermas, to provide a platform from which to discuss the purpose of one's research. But it is also important to look at some nuanced interpretations of theories that could further or better explain the overall research findings. These include the Critical Whiteness Theory, Charles Mills' theorisation of the Racial Contract, and Robin DiAngelo's White Fragility Theory. Combining these theories during the research process will provide a more comprehensive picture to address the research objectives. This approach of using newer theories, coupled with more traditional theories, should lead to a better interpretation of research for other development studies.

This thesis will use as its base, Rawls' (1971) Theory of Justice, which is focused on the basic structure of society and how institutions function when distributing the fundamental rights and duties that determine the division of advantages. Rawls' theory has two fundamental principles. The first, which is prioritised over the second, states that people's equal right to liberties should be preserved in distribution of liberties. The second states that inequality should only be permitted if it benefits the least favoured in society (Rawls, 1971)[1].
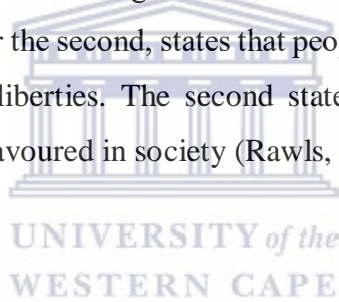
4.2 Rawls' Justice Theory

Rawls' theory (1971) uses philosophy to create knowledge. His principles of justice can be used to analyse qualitative research. He looks at and attempts to understand, for example, people's experience of a social justice issue, to provide guidance as to how consensus can be reached. Rawls' approach is designed in such a way that other researchers can apply his theory when dealing with similar issues (Creswell, 2013).

Rawls' theory considers a hypothetical situation where a society has the opportunity to start over; something he refers to as the "Original Position". He argues that in the "Original Position"; taking away all biases and social strategies, people would arrive at a social distribution that is fair and just. It is assumed that, in the "Original Position", people are oblivious to their social status, income, religion or natural endowments, a state that Rawls calls

the "veil of ignorance". According to Rawls (1971), rational and free people who are looking out for their own interest would, in an initial stage of equality, accept a fair and just agreement.

Rawls' theory could be a good stepping stone to initiate the type of dialogue and principles needed to affect lasting change in an area like the Western Cape. Given, that it would be possible for people to have freedom and then to engage with one another oblivious of their social status, income, religion or natural endowments, and free of any and all biases. Rawls' method of creating a more just and equal society doesn't seem likely given normal "real-life" conditions. I am however intrigued by the possibility of having a collective dialogue among rational people in which all parties opt to seek moral and just options that would benefit each person even the least in society to reach their full potential.

As with all theories, Rawls' (1971) theory has some grey areas. Counter arguments stem from fundamental issues related to, for example, Rawls' definition of what constitutes a "free" person, and his understanding of a "rational" person (Bentley, 1973:1073). There may also be other relevant theories that offer better frameworks than that of Rawls. Therefore, I will also be using Habermas' Deliberative Democracy Theory (Rostboll, 2001), and three applied theories as part of a complex framework to investigate the phenomenon of White Privilege.
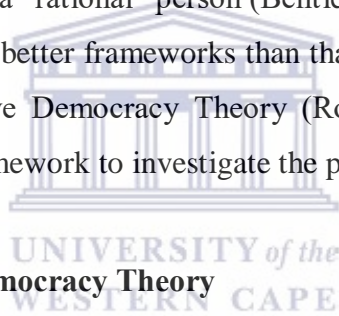
4.3 Habermas' Deliberative Democracy Theory

The core idea behind "Deliberative Democracy" is that democratic legitimacy is based on the public deliberation of citizens. With deliberation, citizens exchange arguments and consider different claims that are designed to secure the public good. People's preferences are not merely given to them, but are rather obtained through political processes, preferably by means of a public process of deliberation among free and equal citizens. The will of the people is not based merely on private and self-regarding expressions of preferences and interests; instead, citizens through this process of public deliberation, need to justify their political claims. Fundamentally, under deliberate democracy, citizens are accountable to one another for their political preferences and political decisions need to be rationally just (Rostboll, 2001). This is only possible if public deliberation takes place.

Deliberation is viewed as a critical part of Deliberative Democracy that foregoes the process of political decision-making. Furthermore, it brings with it the epistemic value of producing

just and legitimate outcomes. As mentioned earlier, all theories garner opposition. With Habermas, scholars argue about whether the final decision is indeed just, and whether it is made by the citizens or by the politicians. Habermas' Deliberative Democracy, if initiated and established correctly, and if deliberation occurs naturally among those considered to be free and rational, a fair and just society could exist. Albeit, this would be based on a set of very specific, significant and unusual requirements.

4.4 Critical Whiteness Theory

There are many definitions for what "whiteness" is. Broadly, it looks at cultural, historical and the sociological aspects as it relates to people who are considered to be white. A key focus of whiteness studies is to address the view that it is a social construct designed to discriminate against people of colour. While whiteness and White Privilege may operate as a natural transition of power, some may even argue that it is an innate structure. Others view it as a social construct, which has been adopted by people who made it a societal norm. It can also be described as a 'silently normative dominant identity position(s)', which allow whiteness to operate as the powerful tool by which all "otherness" is understood (Webb, 2006).

According to Dyer (2000), whiteness is not the absence of colour, but rather refers to a domineering power. This can only be stopped once it is put in its place and its rule is ended. Whiteness studies, like this dissertation, look at the creation of white identity and White Privilege insofar as it determined a person's status in society. White Privilege is a critical aspect discussed through this research as it emerged as an unfair system of awarding social, political and cultural benefits to people based on the colour of their skin.

Whiteness studies, within a South African context, have gained popularity over the past two decades. This has been made a critical matter of discussion as has now become a common topic of discussion across various forms of communication in South Africa. Webb (2006) holds that by investigating whiteness, one run the risk of inadvertently cementing its position of power and privilege even further. According to Frankenberg (2001), we live in a world that is shaped and structured according to race, whether it has a focus on the oppressed or on the privileged.

Understanding whiteness as a social construct is key to understanding whiteness for this dissertation. This includes whiteness as structural privilege and as invisible. Hilliard (1992)

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defines racism as "encompassing economic, political, social, and cultural structures, actions, and beliefs that systematize and perpetuate an unequal distribution of privileges, resources, and power among white people and people of colour". Regardless of whether individual white people deny this privilege, they still benefit from this integrated establishment.

Frankenberg (2001) further argues that whiteness is the relationship of dominance of white people over people of colour. This dominance occurs on an individual, interpersonal, cultural, and an institutional level. White Privilege is built into the constructs and norms of society, maintaining the comforts of white people. When these comforts are challenged, there is an uncomfortableness by white people and an awkward silence in which they try to restore their privilege by avoiding the subject. These silences are critical according to Mura (1999) and Picca and Feagin (2007), as it is part of the ideology of maintaining White Privilege. These silences are used as tools to make the experiences of racism by non-whites invalid, or to oppose the pleas from anti-racist whites, to change the status quo.

Challenging the way one interacts in racial dialogue and forgoing the necessity to be comfortable in all social settings is difficult. But, unless authentic conversation happens from an uncomfortable, but genuine, attempt to hear people's concerns, racial inequality will persist, and White Privilege will be maintained. According to Wildman (1996), the invisibility of privilege strengthens the power it creates and maintains. Keeping it invisible means we are unable to deal with it, which makes concealing it critical.

As pointed out by Foucault (1977) the chief function of disciplinary power is training that allows for normalising the unfair interaction by those who dominate in social settings. Whites have historically been placed in a superior position by enforcing their institutions, beliefs, values systems, worldviews and ideologies, as better than those of others. This, according to Samantha Vice (2003), is an attempt to keep the centrality by which white people maintain their dominance through institutional, rhetorical, and psychological strategies in tact. According to Knowles (2008), identities/boundaries can be set up in such a way that one contained the privileges that one had under previous inequalities in society. This can be made possible through, for example, policy making. This would take away the pressure of an individualistic approach that would draw more attention. This approach is reinforced by Melissa Steyn (2001) in *Whiteness Just Isn't What It Used To Be,* where she holds that white

South Africans engages in what is known as "white talk" to secure a position of superiority. This dominance becomes so normalised that white people often view it as "just the way things are".

Further exploration found that a range of racist practises was used to continue the systematic and structural production of White Privilege in the Western Cape. Bonds and Inwood (2015) suggest that White Privilege is a milder form of white supremacy. This approach is used in previously colonised areas to continue to perpetuate practices that reflect racist patterns disguised as an attempt to indicate anti-racism. However, it ultimately results in racialized landscapes that continue to favour whites and negatively impact non-whites.

4.5 Robin DiAngelo White Fragility Theory

"*Whiteness, like race may not be true – it's not a biological heritable characteristic that has roots in physiological structures or in genes or chromosomes. But it is real, in the sense that societies and rights and goods and resources and privileges have been built on its foundation. DiAngelo brilliantly names a whiteness that doesn't want to be named, disrobes a whiteness that dresses in camouflage as humanity, unmasks a whiteness that would rather hide in visible invisibility*" (Dyson, 2018).

Robin DiAngelo in her book titled *"White Fragility"* theorises how white people are socialised into a system of continual oppression of people of colour. This system is a deep rooted and difficult system to challenge. She provides insight into the function and daily perpetuation of white supremacy through whiteness, at the expense of people of colour. The framework provided by DiAngelo (2018), helps us to have a clearer understanding on why participants may have reacted in certain ways, whether it was consciously or unconsciously, which will contribute to the overall understanding of this dissertation. While this book was written from an American perspective, it relates well to the South African context, both for my research, and that of other researchers in the whiteness studies fraternity.

A key component in DiAngelo's theory is white fragility. White fragility occurs as a result of a lack of building racial stamina. To build racial stamina one needs to be constantly confronted with racial issues, something white people don't experience as often as people of colour, if ever. White people in South Africa also lack the racial stamina referred to by DiAngelo. White

fragility, according to DiAngelo, refers to the racial stress that even in the smallest amount can trigger feelings of anger, fear, guilt, argumentation, silence and withdrawal. The purpose of these responses is to restore the equilibrium, repel the challenge and to remain dominant in the racial hierarchy. While white fragility is triggered by anxiety and discomfort, it is birthed through superiority and entitlement. It should not be viewed as something weak as it is a powerful tool used to exercise control and protect White Privilege (DiAngelo, 2018).

White fragility responds to the unexamined pillars of whiteness, which informs the beliefs of white people. Beliefs that only bad people are racist, and that by individualising their experiences, they exempt themselves from being judged as a group who are similarly socialised. The aforementioned unexamined pillars are often reinforced through media, culture, education etc. When these beliefs have successfully been rooted in white people's mentality, it becomes almost impossible for them to associate with anything implicating them as culpable in racial issues; because it is only bad people who are racist, and they are not bad people. Accepting any such information would mean that, as an individual, they would accept their culpability. Instead, their initial response is that they have been falsely accused. This framework by DiAngelo provides insight into the frustration people of colour experience, especially from open-minded white people who don't think they are racist (DiAngelo, 2018).

Often when trying to have an open conversation with white people about racism and its related consequences of white supremacy and White Privilege, white fragility emerges. This means that one is met with silence, defensiveness, argumentation, certitude and pushback. This type of response halts any possibility of learning how they should engage with people of colour. The media, portraying people of colour as villains, does not help these reactions. In addition, there is a social divide amongst schools and in living spaces, and a constant depiction of whiteness as being the ultimate ideal. People of colour object to White Privilege and racism is often met with statements from white people such as "I was taught to treat all people the same" and "if we can only respect each other". These responses don't help people of colour; it only invalidates their concerns and protects white interests (DiAngelo, 2018).

We make sense of the world around us through our cultural lenses. Ideologies that white people globally ascribed to is 1) individualism (that they are unique and stand apart from others) and 2) objectivity (it is possible to be free of all biases). These ideologies, according to DiAngelo,

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make difficult for white people to explore the collective aspects of white experience. For example, as an individual I do not have to accept responsibility for what happened under Apartheid because it was others who committed these despicable crimes, even though I benefited from it. It is impossible to understand nuanced forms of racism and oppression if you do not explore patterns of group behaviour, and their effects on individuals (DiAngelo, 2018).

A critical aspect of being white is to understand that even if you were poor and had a difficult life, you never had to experience racism to the same extent as people of colour. Being white is always better than being a person of colour. White Privilege and white supremacy is difficult to address because when a group's prejudices and discrimination has the ability to transform and assimilate with the legal authority and institutional control of a country, it starts operating independently of individual actors. According to Kauanui (2016), it is important to understand racism not as an event but as a structure. A structure that is rarely spoken about, or completely ignored, as in the Western Cape, due to its ability to continuously reproduce White Privilege. This system is reinforced in society through ideologies sustained by means of media, textbooks, advertising, words, phrases, speeches, religion, etc. from as early as birth (DiAngelo, 2018).

DiAngelo argues that people of colour also hold prejudices against white people and discriminate against them, but they lack the social and institutional power to turn it into racism; therefore, the impact is only temporary. However, white people hold the institutional and social positions in society to fuse their racial ideas with laws, policies, practices and other norms in society. While many white people argue that racism is in the past, it continues to exist in every institution across society for many people of colour, with White Privilege as the driver. This racism operates as a network, which consistently creates advantages for white people (DiAngelo, 2018).

4.6 Mills' Racial Contract Theory

To further enhance the theory discussed by Robin DiAngelo, it is important to consider Charles Mills' theory', "The Racial Contract". It speaks of a racial contract designed to promote whiteness over other races. According to Mills, and referenced by DiAngelo, white supremacy is the unnamed political system on which the modern world rests. This system is often kept invisible while it operates in the background. Mills further argues that it is important to understand racism as a political system, one used to sustain the social, economic and political

privileging of one group over another. The racial contract Mills is referring to is described as a set of formal/informal agreements between white people in which black people are deemed different and of inferior status. The key focus of the racial contract is to ensure that white people remain in a dominant position (Mills, 2007).

Mills' is of the opinion that all white people are beneficiaries of the contract even though they are not all signatories. The contract should be seen as only between white people because black people can never be party to or give consent to the contract. The contract is designed to continuously reproduce the status quo, securing White Privilege and making sure that black people remain subordinate. The lack of transparency in the contract is no coincidence; it is a critical part of the design to maintain white domination (Mills, 2007).

The most important part of the contract according to Mills is its economic dimension, as the ultimate function is exploitation. Material exploitation serve to maintain White Privilege, as resources and benefits have been passed on from generation to generation shaping the world the way we know it today. Therefore, white people, the descendants of European colonisers, continue to benefit from the racial contract. We live in a world that is largely defined by race, and the question is whether we understand that race forms a critical part of how we address the issue of racism, white supremacy and White Privilege, to move beyond our past and create a sustainable and more inclusive society (Mills, 2007).
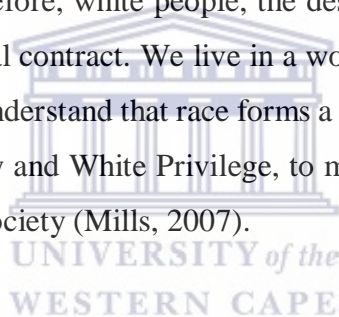
4.7 Chapter Summary

Throughout this thesis I will be using this complex theoretical framework, which consists of the two classical scholars and some applied scholars. The classical scholars are Rawls and Habermas. Rawls explains how White Privilege can be understood in terms of social justice or injustice. Habermas describes how, through deliberative democracy and discussion, we can address the issues related to White Privilege. The applied scholars help to locate to research within society and the behaviour, by specific groups. The theories of DiAngelo, Mills, and that of Critical Whiteness Theory, exposes the individual behaviour and group dynamics that one need to assess to establish whether White Privilege is present in an environment, and to what extent.

A complex theoretical framework that one can apply in different contexts across the world, to establish whether White Privilege is present. It allows you to interrogate certain learned

behaviours of white people by creating a platform for deep and honest dialogue. Paramount to these general aspects is the more personal and individual challenges that these theorists pose to the people receiving the unfair and unearned privilege. Here one finds various tasks that require individuals to actively make certain decisions. Decisions such as forming part of the solution to White Privilege, regardless of the uncomfortable position it might place them in, or what they may lose if they choose to actively oppose White Privilege.

The classic theorists bring this whole framework together. Rawls highlights the importance of making sure that social justice is upheld. This is critical especially in a society like South Africa, and the Western Cape, with its history of large-scale injustices committed against people of colour. Therefore, Habermas' deliberative processes are important to include as we create awareness with "right to know" campaigns, through the media, debates etc. This should in fact form part of political party processes, to understand how to deal with these complex issues. That, in essence, is deliberation in action.

Chapter 5 - Research Methodology

5.1   Introduction

This study was placed within a qualitative methodological framework. Qualitative methods provide personal descriptive and in-depth accounts of phenomena in the world (Winter, 2000). Qualitative research simplifies data, without compromising complexities and contexts (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

This study looked at the phenomenon of White Privilege, what it is, how it is experienced, and how it affects people in South Africa's Western Cape Province. The qualitative form of inquiry is appropriate and beneficial when the primary aim of the study is to tap into the insider's perspective, and the research is primarily focused on understanding and describing, rather than explaining and predicting human behaviour (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The findings therefore, were not arrived at by statistical procedures or quantification, but by the exploration of experiences of the participants.

5.2   Research Design

The research design was exploratory in nature. The use of exploratory research made it possible for us to conduct and clarify the nature of our study. It allowed us to define a subject that has limited amount of research. Exploratory studies are a valuable means of finding out what is happening, get new insight, ask questions, and to assess phenomena in a new light. It is useful if the researcher wishes to clarify the underlying social problem. Exploratory research examines the contributing factors, to arrive at an appropriate description of the existing situation (Brink & Wood, 1998:283-286). Exploratory studies look for ideas, patterns, and themes (Creswell, 2014). This exploratory research looked at various themes, which was gathered from the data collected during the interview process.

5.3   Research Setting and Participants

This study was conducted in the Western Cape. Approximately 12 participants were recruited. These participants comprise of ordinary citizens (professionals, academics, store clerks, the unemployed, from all race groups etc.) as well as leaders (political, social and community) who work in the area of social justice. Purposive sampling was used for this study as it allowed the

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researcher to enlist participants whom are both knowledgeable on the subject matter and able to reflect and share their experiences (Bernard, 2002).

The study also used Snowball sampling. This is defined as a technique for finding research subjects, and is done by one subject giving the researcher the name of another subject. There were several characteristics needed: the participant lived in the Western Cape, was older than 25 years of age, and they needed to be up-to-date with current issues in South Africa (Vogt, 1999). This is one of the most informal and easy methods to employ, specifically if the study is of an explorative, qualitative and descriptive nature (Hendricks, Blanken & Adriaans, 1992). Preferably, participants should have been born and raised in South Africa. The leaders, in the sphere of social justice, could reside in areas outside of the Western Cape, but still must have lived in South Africa.

5.4   Research Procedure

A proposal was written and submitted to the University of Western Cape's Research Ethics Committee for ethical approval. Once ethical clearance was received the process of data collection commenced. Prior to the data collection, an information sheet (**Appendix A**) was forwarded to prospective participants with the purpose, significance, and ethical aspects of the study. The information sheet described what was expected from them if they agreed to participate. Participants who expressed an interest in participating were presented with a consent form (**Appendix B**), and the interview was scheduled at a time and place most convenient for them. A total of 12 semi-structured individual interviews were conducted. Participants were asked questions on whether they had been or are affected by White Privilege, and whether government was doing enough to address issues of racism and White Privilege in the Western Cape. Once the interview was conducted voice recordings, were transcribed using smart transcription. After transcription, themes were drawn from the data using thematic analysis.

5.5   Data collection

In this study, semi-structured interviews were used to obtain the relevant data needed to reach our aims and objectives. Individual interviews took place via a medium best suited to the participant. The interview was subdivided into two sections. Section One (**Appendix C**) was a biographical information sheet, which included both demographic and career information.

Section Two (**Appendix D**) was the interview, which focused on questions related to the investigation of the phenomenon of White Privilege. Sessions took approximately an hour to complete. To facilitate the transcription process, each interview was audio recorded with the permission of the participants. The interviews took place between November 2018 and February 2019, and a total of 12 interviews were conducted until saturation was met.

The participants were asked to freely give their opinions and express their experiences as people living in the Western Cape. Some of the advantages of semi-structured interviews are that it allows free interaction between the participant and the interviewer, while ensuring that a core list of questions can be asked, for analytical purposes. However, preparing semistructured interviews can be quite time consuming, and doesn't allow the researcher a lot of flexibility (Hardmon, Hodgkin & Fresle, 2004).

5.6   Data Analysis

The framework used for data analysis was thematic analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) define thematic analysis as, "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data". Creswell (2014) states that thematic analysis is a process for encoding qualitative information and drawing attention to organisation within the data, creating a rich and detailed description of the data collected. The encoding requires a specific "code" which could be a list of themes, and complex model of themes, indicators qualifications that are causally related, or something between these forms (Boyatzis, 1998).

Themes were established through preliminary analysis and then scrutinised once the data became saturated, and an extensive view of the topic was achieved. Each theme, once contextualised, was placed in a specific file. Braun and Clarke (2006) discuss five major steps that made up the levels of analysis. These are i) data organisation and reduction, ii) thematic analysis, iii) coding, iv) interpretation, and v) conclusion drawing. Throughout the entire data analysis, care was taken to ensure that the categories reflect and fit that data rather than forcing the data to fit within the categories using the constant comparison method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This type of analysis was made possible with Grounded theory. Grounded theory is the progressive identification and integration of categories of meaning from collected data. This involves both the process of category identification and integration (as method) and its product (as theory). It provides us with guidelines on how to identify categories, make links between

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categories, and establish relationships between them. Grounded theory is the final step in the process, and it provides us with an explanatory framework with which to understand the phenomenon being explored. Researchers use these key strategies, such as constant comparative analysis, theoretical sampling and theoretical coding, to identify, refine and integrate categories and to develop theory (Charmaz, 2006).

Thick Description

One of the most important concepts recently added to qualitative research has been "thick description". According to Geertz (1973), in ethnography, it is important to establish rapport, select informants, transcribe texts, take genealogies, map fields, and keep a diary etc. However, it is not this that defines the enterprise, rather it is the intellectual effort.

Geertz' (1973) "thick description" was later further expanded on by Norman K. Denzin, who added that it was more than just recording what a person is doing. According to Denzin, "it presents detail, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships that join persons to one another. Thick description evokes emotionality and self-feelings. It inserts history into experience. It establishes the significance of an experience, or the sequence of events, for the person or persons in question. In thick description, the voices, feelings, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard" (Denzin, 1989:83).

As a result of Denzin' interpretation, the use of "thick description" as an anthropological construct in ethnography (and particularly in participant observation) could then be transferred wider audience of qualitative researchers in sociology, psychology, education and qualitative approaches, such as phenomenology and grounded theory. Thick description provides a clear picture of the individuals and groups within the context of their culture and the setting in which they live, while exploring the underlying meanings of cultural members. In contrast, "thin description" provides a superficial account and does not explore the underlying meanings of cultural members. (Holloway, 1997:154). According to Ponterotto & Grieger (2007), without "thick description", written reports of research will lack credibility and resonance with the research community, the research participants themselves, and with the wider audience of readers for whom the report is intended".

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5.7   Rigor

The use of credibility, conformability and dependability needs to be considered to establish trustworthiness in a qualitative study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Credibility is regarded as one of the most important criterion in qualitative research and presents an accurate description or interpretation of human experience, so that people whom have shared that experience would immediately recognise the descriptions. Credibility was obtained through the continued engagement with the participants, as the interviews and focus groups that were conducted were in-depth. It is a judgement of the trustworthiness of a piece of research (Angen, 2000).

Dependability is associated with the consistency of the findings and is closely linked to credibility, as the demonstration of the former ensures the latter (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Conformability can be obtained by providing objective findings as the result of the ideas and experiences of the participants, and not the preferences of the researcher (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Dependability and conformability were achieved by making use of an audit trail (Morrow, 2005). The audit trail kept track of all the records and activities used for this project, and was monitored the supervisor.

5.8   Ethics

It is imperative that the researcher protects the rights and well being of the participants in the study. As mentioned by Babbie and Mouton (2001), the core ethical principles that will be adhered to throughout the study include trustworthiness, responsibility, integrity, justice, confidentiality, anonymity, informed consent, and the respect for human rights and dignity. Therefore, permission was applied for and granted from University of Western Cape's Research Ethics Committee and ethical clearance was given for the proposed study.

Participation in this study was voluntary, willing participants were informed of the aims and objectives of the study, and gave their written consent. Informed consent is a critical part of any research study. Informed consent was granted by participants once all the information about the study and their involvement had been provided to them in a way that was easily understandable (Bulger, 2002) (**Appendix A**).

Participation rights include not being obligated to reply to any question that the participants are not comfortable in answering. Participants may withdraw from the research process at any time without consequence. Confidentiality was ensured by keeping information safely stored. Only

the researcher involved with the study and supervisor had direct access to the raw data obtained from the interviews. The participants are allowed access to any particular publications that the individuals were involved in. Counselling was made available to all participants if there appeared to be any concern or problem. This was pre-arranged with clinical psychologists at the University of the Western Cape. However, no participants appeared to need to use the help provided.

5.9   Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a hallmark of excellent qualitative research, and it entails the ability and willingness of researchers to acknowledge and take account of the many ways they themselves influence research findings (Sandelowski & Barroso, 2002). As researchers we were cognizant of the fact that we were addressing a sensitive topic. We consider a sensitive topic because there are still people who deny the existence of White Privilege, and a group who are negatively affected by it. We also considered the personal opinions and multidimensional views of various racial groups in the Western Cape. We remained mindful of the fact that we need to be respectful towards all participants regardless of their stature in society.

5.10   Significance

This study will contribute to the gap in literature, focusing on subjective experiences and challenges of dealing with the issue of White Privilege within a South African context, in the Western Cape. There is a relatively restricted scope of knowledge regarding the issue of White Privilege, i.e. the affect and impact on people living in the Western Cape. It is for this reason that this thesis is of critical importance, as it would address an issue that has been at the centre of many problems related to racism that is experienced daily by people in the Western Cape. This study is important because once awareness is raised and interventions are in place to address the inequality perpetuated through White Privilege, the transformation process can begin.

5.11 Chapter Summary

A qualitative research approach was used to for the purpose of analysing and unpacking the interviews that were conducted during this research. The research was able to draw pertinent and important themes from the interviews that were conducted through this exploratory study. The methodological approach provided in-depth meaning, as it links with the broader theoretical framework. The next chapter will focus on the research findings.

Chapter 6 - Interpretative Analysis of Qualitative Interviews

6.1 Introduction

The following section deals with the interpretation of the qualitative interviews conducted with the 12 participants listed below. As mentioned in the methodology we used thematic analysis as it allows for the researcher to identify, analyse and report on patterns within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It was important to seek a representative sample to enhance the quality of the information gathered during the interviews. As indicated by the demographic information provided in the table below, this task was successfully accomplished. The two methods enlisted during the selection of the sample included: purposive sampling, which allowed for people with knowledge about the topic to engage; and Snowballing, which helped by allowing those interviewed to refer others that might make a positive contribution to the study (Bernard, 2002).

The findings are discussed below, starting with the demographic information of the research participants. The final step in the process was applying grounded theory, as it provided an explanatory framework with which to understand the phenomenon being explored. It also helped to identify, refine and integrate categories, as well as to develop theory, by using key strategies such as constant comparative analysis, theoretical sampling and theoretical coding (Charmaz, 2006).
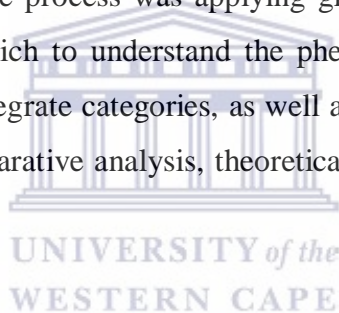
6.2 Demographic Information

The table below provides us with general background information of the research participants**.**

Table (1)

	Gender	**Race**	**Occupation**	**Where do you live?**	**Would you consider yourself as being previously disadvantaged?**
1	Female	White	Lecturer	Gauteng	No
2	Female	White	Director	Western Cape	Yes
3	Male	Coloured	Director	Western Cape	Yes
4	Female	White	Clinical Psychologist	Western Cape	No
5	Male	White	Director	Western Cape	No
6	Male	White	Academic	Western Cape	No
7	Male	Coloured	Clinical Psychologist	Western Cape	Yes
8	Female	White	Social Justice Activist	Western Cape	No
9	Male	Black	University Employee	Western Cape	Yes
10	Female	Black	Media/ Academic	Western Cape	Yes
11	Female	Black	Student	Western Cape	Yes
12	Female	White	Student	Western Cape	No

6.3 Thematic Analysis

I drew themes from my interviews which were based on the five theories, discussed previously in chapter four. Some of the major findings were the different ways in which the phenomenon of White Privilege is experienced and understood by the different race groups. Some of the themes emerging from the research were lack of dignity for black people, white guilt, scepticism of black ability, denialism, and inequality. Education also emerged as an important

theme; many participants viewed this as a vehicle to liberating people of colour and undoing the impact of White Privilege and racism. These are explained further below.

6.3.1 Research Themes

The table below breaks down the important themes and sub-themes, which emerged from the interviews. These themes are discussed in more detail below, using "thick description" to analyse the themes. It is important to review whether the research conducted had dealt with the objectives set out in the research proposal. Therefore, accompanied with the findings below, are the objectives.

Table of Research Themes:

Table (2)

| Major Themes	Sub-themes
Education	o Scepticism of black ability o Resources and opportunities
Equality	o Respect o Dignity
The existence of White Privilege	o The culture that feeds it o "Unconsciously playing the game" o Control of… o Denialism & white guilt
Perceptions of White Privilege	o Violence o Trauma o Shame
Curtailing the prevalence of White Privilege	o Black demands o Listening to stories o Change o Hope for the future

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6.4 Research Findings

Objective 1

To develop a conceptual framework to understand the specifics of White Privilege in the Western Cape.

The existence of White Privilege

Many white people refuse to accept that White Privilege exists. This is a huge problem as it limits the dialogue we need to have in order to address this issue. While almost every participant confirmed the existence of White Privilege in the Western Cape, there remains a large group within the white community who refuse to accept that they have been given an easier journey in life, or at least would admit it publicly. White people continually deny the existence of White Privilege, and it appears to trouble many. Many also refuse to acknowledge it and are, therefore, employing one of the main defence mechanism for White Privilege: denialism. Lisa Marcelle Hold (News24) wrote that white people's unwillingness to acknowledge that they have White Privilege, continues to infuriate and anger black people. Discussed below are the themes related to avoiding and denying the existence of White Privilege by white people.
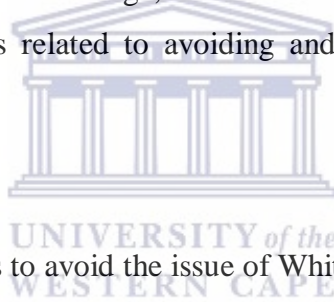
Denialism/Guilt

Denialism is one of the first steps to avoid the issue of White Privilege, when trying to have a conversation with a white person. There is a fear of being linked to anything that suggests that white people benefitted from a system established under apartheid, which inflicted severe pain and hurt on people of colour. One can understand how this could be difficult to do, especially if white people run the risk of losing their unearned privileges. However, it has been 25 years, and black people are tired of waiting. While they have not yet turned on white people, it is only a matter of time before they are likely to do so. Therefore, it has become critical for white people to acknowledge White Privilege, and to start finding ways to engage with these issues.

Denialism, participants suggested, serves as a tool to safe keep the unfair privilege afforded white people. White people have, however, refused to acknowledge the subtler experiences of black people, which contradict the democratic ideals they live by. These ideals include "denial of privilege, denial of supremacy, denial of the unearned nature of this benefit, and, most importantly, the denial of the necessity to examine supremacy" (Pendler & Beverly, 2015).

According to Sue (2006), the unwillingness of white people to acknowledge their unconscious biases, racial prejudices and racial oppression is a "conspiracy of silence" which is aimed at maintaining the White Privileges they obtained for being white.

White people deny White Privilege because they think that because they had hardships in their lives they are not beneficiaries of White Privilege. They often make the argument, "I didn't grow up in a rich family and my life was difficult". I am then left to explain that they had financial issues but were not having life changing issues as a result of the colour of their skin. I think it's difficult for them to acknowledge that they are in a better position because of the colour of their skin. White Privilege is a difficult thing to see if you do not acknowledge what it is. If white people are not made aware exactly what White Privilege entails, specifically in their daily lives, they just going to move on as if it is normal. (Participant 12)

The problem is if you continue denying the existence and impact of White Privilege you run the risk of losing your privilege all together. The quest at this point for retribution is a call for dialogue, but it won't be that for long, as majority black people remain trapped in poverty.

One has to deny [White Privilege] in order to live the life you are currently living. If you do relinquish your denialism it means that you will have to accept and live with your culpability in the status quo. It would mean that instead of driving past the person of colour, standing at the robot thinking that he got there because of his/her own choices, you now realise that the only reason you are in the car looking through your window at this person, is because of the colour of your skin and the opportunities it had provided you. If you give up your White Privilege, you might be able to see that, given the same opportunities afforded you as a result of your skin colour, she/he might not be your nanny, domestic worker, or your gardener. I think it is unhealthy, as I do believe that a lot of white people suffer from white guilt to the point where it incapacitates them that they can't do anything. The best way forward is to deal with those meaningless guilty feelings and to become part of the solution; otherwise you continue to be part of the problem. (Participant 10)

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Control

Participants highlighted why it is so difficult to deal with and eradicate White Privilege, because of control. Control referring to the economic and social power, which remains in the hands of white people. They often control the narrative and tend to guide processes even in the media. Most of the participants shared similar views of how White Privilege functions, while a small minority had a different opinion. One participant noted that even when you start your own business as a person of colour its more often than not at the mercy of a white person. According to Dei, Karumanchery and Karumanchery-Luik (2004), to deal with White Privilege one has to deal with whiteness as it holds the power, which continues to oppress and perpetuate social control while marginalising the voices of those being dominated.

Herein lies the problem, that this is not as much about the unearned privileges as it is about power. White people are the minority group in the Western Cape, and yet they hold the social, economic and political power. It is this hold on power that they have had for the last few centuries, and which they continue to use to manipulate the system to favour them. Even with South Africa being a democracy, and having had a black government that has been in political power for the last 25 years, things remain the same. White Privilege is so deeply entrenched in our society and institutions, that white people don't need the numbers, as long as they control and hold economic, social and political power in the Western Cape.

Historically, under Apartheid, white people were considered the superior race and were given privileges according to that enforced belief. This was seen in companies like Transnet, Spoornet, and others, where poor whites were given superior positions, even if they had an inferior qualification to their black counterparts. White people were privileged by the laws, as well as the justice system, which allowed them to accumulate wealth in various sectors. I would go as far as to say that White Privilege was protected and maintained through the sunset clauses negotiated under Codesa. White people continue to draw privilege from the pain and suffering of others. (Participant 7)

It refers to the way that race has been used particularly by white populations to gain control of resources over time. Whether it was the USA, Australia or South Africa, the same thing applies. With that control they continue to enjoy a disproportionate share of the resources. (participant 6)

Essentially it means that the fact that you have a white skin brings with it a higher level of response, both from other white people and non-white people. It's a universal phenomenon that feeds into the fact that if there is a special privilege/dispensation for white people, then by implication there is another dispensation for people who [are] not white. So it is this hierarchical thing that permeates society. (participant 3)

White people often take control of the narrative and topics of these discussions, to stay in control and to avoid the issue of White Privilege. Probing will not help, as more often than not they have a list of responses ready to counter any arguments. Robin DiAngelo (2018) describes this as "white fragility". By controlling the social spaces, white people insure that they will rarely be confronted by their past.

It affords a movement in space, literally, even in social space[s]. This, as society is still largely segregated along racial line[s], nothing has really changed. White Privilege also assumes a kind of group identity and when I speak, it almost speaks to the group. As a group, we have never been confronted with a sign that says the owner reserves the right to access for a specific group and space being limited. It calls for an intense awareness and consciousness even though it might be painful, but the space that I occupy did not just happen, it was well orchestrated. (Participant 4)

"The culture that feeds the thing" Unconsciously playing the game[2]

Participants were questioned on whether they were recently impacted by White Privilege, and asked to give an example of how they have experienced White Privilege. Many alarmingly drew on examples that were as recent as 2019, and could give examples that covered their whole adult existence. Various scholars are of the opinion that the phenomenon of "whiteness" has been used as a basis for the racial stratification of society (Foucault, 1977; Roediger, 1994;

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[2] *"Unconsciously playing the game"* was a term referred to by participant 3. It speaks of instances where white people accept the unfair advantages without questioning it, even though it might be unconscious acceptance. This still contributes to the problem. For example, when a black superior goes to lunch with their white subordinate, the waiter proceeds to focus all their attention on the white subordinate because it is not possible for the black person to be the dominant person in the working relationship. In this way, based on the colour of their skin, the white person is given preferential treatment.

Dyer, 1997). Historically, in various societies across the world, white interest and "whiteness" have always been protected by economic, political and judicial systems. This protection, driven by the goal to advance white interest by societal structures and systems, enforced the belief that members of this social group shared a common interest and in the process maintaining whiteness and White Privilege. Undoubtedly, White Privilege is the result of complex social, cultural, political and historical forces and contexts (Frankenberg, 1993; Roediger, 1994; Dyer, 1997).

As a person of colour I am affected and impacted by White Privilege. I am an academic and just to give you an example: when I and a white colleague of mine have to present a paper, my white colleague will be accepted as speaking the truth, this while I will be seen first as a black woman, then my competency would be questioned, and the questions would also be linked to how I am dressed, how I speak etc., something my white colleague would not have to worry about. Going to a wine farm I have to think about how I dress and how I look as to not bring unnecessary attention to myself this while it is accepted as normal for white people to be in all these spaces regardless of how they look. (Participant 10)

The revelation by participant 12 of how police allowed her to protest during Fees Must Fall protests without being confronted while her black counterparts were beaten, arrested and shot at, should be enough to explain to any reasonable person how White Privilege functions and favours white people.

One of the most profound moments of White Privilege for me was during the Fees Must Fall protests, I had participated in the protests. During one such protest we were retreating while the police were firing rubber bullets at us, I then realised that my White Privilege could shield me in this moment and it was confirmed to my disappointment. When I turned towards the police and went to help my friends who got shot, police ignored me and didn't arrest me or shoot at me because I was white, it was a very difficult but powerful and eye opening moment for me. The police were targeting people of colour while walking past me. Every day I have to consciously think of how I am going to use my White Privilege in a way where it will positively affect the lives of people of colour. (Participant 12)

The following examples further speak to this culture of white superiority and Privilege. As it is clearly visible how in all spheres of society the system has been set up to accommodate white people. For example, white people live in the best areas, have access to the best education, recreation facilities, economic and job opportunities, etc. What makes it even worse is that people of colour have been taught to believe that white skin is the key to their success. Something we can link to the lack in quality service people of colour receives versus their white counterparts. It should be shocking that one's own people would treat one as undeserving and white people as deserving, given our history, but it's not. People of colour were trained for hundreds of years to transmit and perpetuate these beliefs and behaviour. From generation to generation, white people have been transferring wealth, assets, and power, while people of colour were transferring fear, skewed loyalty, white dependence, and white attributes as markers of success, amongst other things. We still see this when a person of colour has something associated with white people, the responses from other people of colour is that, "you think you are white now". Everything we encounter in society, even the most insignificant things such as the colour of a bandaid, has deep rooted significance. This is to insure that people colour never forget that everything related to whiteness is better.

If I want to go live in Camps Bay as an African person it would be very difficult. The reason for this is that the world operates on a free market system, and those who are able to climb the ladder of success would need the resources, but as I have mentioned, due to the historical impact on people of colour in SA, white people still dominate these so called affluent areas. This as the economic power, resources and opportunities are mainly located in spaces where they operate. The white people make up less than 10% of the South African population and yet they control almost 80% of the economy; they control business, spaces of influence and even the media. (Participant 9)

So I am at the grocery store paying for my stuff and there is a white person in front of me at the tills. That person gets a warm hearty greeting and I will be lucky if I even get a look. And so it might be unconscious for this cashier but they are buying into this concept of White Privilege. Alternatively, somebody else comes in after me but then gets assisted first. So without thinking they then step forward and accept the help. So it is both sides: on the one side its people with oppressed minds who think that white people are better, even if it is subconsciously, and it's on the other side, of white people who do not even question that there was someone ahead of

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them. [These are] some simple examples but it also plays itself out in deep-rooted ways. In organisations you have a minority of white people and yet they almost always call the shots. (Participant 3)

Being trusted as a witness or authority, and not having your authority questioned or undermined, because you are white. (Participant 1)

It's all in the small things. Sometimes it's an arrogance you see in white people, especially the Afrikaners that might even be subconsciously, acting as if they are just taking what is rightfully theirs. It's something that is in them. (Participant 2)

Objective 2

To establish what view ordinary citizens (i.e. professionals, academics, store clerks, unemployed persons, etc.) have of White Privilege, its meanings, consequences, and effects.

Perceptions of White Privilege

It was a fairly easy process to establish whether White Privilege exists and how it functions. However, understanding its impact through various participant responses was somewhat different. Some participants, claiming to be liberal, displayed tendencies linked to white fragility, which according to Robin DiAngelo (2018), serve as a defence mechanism to protect their white interests. The following responses are a reflection on what participants said when asked why the majority of people of colour remain disadvantaged and why do white people remain in a position of dominance. In general, all participants agreed that Apartheid was wrong and a crime against humanity, as was declared by the United Nations. But the justification of why some are entitled to the spoils of this gross injustice varied, ironically or not, according to race.

Trauma

Trauma is probably one of the most critical issues related to our past that needs urgent attention. While interviewing two clinical psychologists, it became apparent that psychological services remain something people of colour have little access to due to high rates charged by psychologists, or they see it as taboo or even witchcraft. Again the fraternity responsible with dealing with these matters are predominantly occupied by white people who have set up

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lucrative private practices that charges exorbitant fees, thereby excluding people of colour from accessing their services. While there have been many calls for change, often by the Health Professionals Council of South Africa, who is the governing body for the field of psychology, the number of psychologists taking the board exam every year remain largely white. This, unfortunately, is not due to a lack of candidates, but rather due to a gatekeeping system that still favours white people. Meyer & Finchilescu (2006) found that the racial stratification system transmitted from colonialism and Apartheid still remains intact. These deep rooted psychological scars from colonialism and Apartheid, which stripped people of colour of their dignity, identity, culture and being human, needs urgent attention.

I don't think that people of colour had much say to be in the position that they are in. I know the narrative of it has been 20 years, and I was not part of Apartheid. There is a level of trauma that has not been dealt with from Apartheid. For example, by trotting a certain path over and over, it becomes easy to follow after some time and while white people have had these paths to follow, people of colour have not had opportunities to create similar paths. White people often make the argument that "they" need to get over it and move on and just work hard. I question how one move[s] on and become[s] empowered and autonomous when everything around you was designed to make you be ashamed of your identity. (Participant 4)

How do you achieve this goal of moving on, when the people who are largely responsible for helping people of colour, cannot relate to those who are in dire need? How do we expect people of colour to heal when again they need a white person to help them? White people who refuse to work in townships and gang infested areas, where the demand is most pressing largest. This shouldn't be that difficult as, for example, at the University of the Western Cape, more than 1500 students set out to major in psychology in their undergraduate years, in the hope of becoming psychologists. This number is later reduced to around 60 students for Psychology Honours, before they can enter into their final two years to become psychologists. It is, unfortunately, here that the gatekeeping system emerges, as they often select white students at the expense of black students. It seems the transmission of this unfounded theory that white is better knows no boundaries as even black professionals, who should be advocating for their own people, remain true to the propaganda transferred from generation to generation by often supporting the selection of white people ahead of people of colour.

There is this thing that White Privilege say that white people deserves more and deserves better. We can disagree but this is what it means. What makes this more confusing is the fact that it continues and increases, because inequality increased; even though we have a black government. It doesn't make sense. A big contributor is internalised oppression, self-hate amongst black people. People get angry when you speak about self-hate but just look at our society, and I am using the word black generically. We are destroying ourselves. Playing into the hands of the people that say that we are less. Another thing is that we sometimes act as if we are less than [others], and it knows no boundaries, whether you are a CEO or a basic employee. You look at some black people who made it but still need to suck up to the white people. This whole idea that white is better remains, you don't have to say it but it is there. (Participant 3).

South Africa is one of the few countries in the world that has endured prolonged political violence, as well as high rates of criminal violence, domestic abuse and accidental injury. This has left the country with a large number of trauma survivors in our society. One nationally representative survey reported that 75% of respondents had experienced a traumatic event in their lifetime, while over half had experienced multiple traumas (Kaminer & Eagle, 2001). Although political violence is no longer a common feature of South African society, many have survived the political violence that characterised the Apartheid era. During the Apartheid years, the South African state consistently denied or minimised rates of state-perpetrated violence. It was only as the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) process unfolded in the mid-1990s that the levels of political violence, to which South Africans had been exposed, truly became clear (Kaminer & Eagle, 2001). According to one clinical psychologist I interviewed (in her professional opinion) much of the violence and trauma experienced by people of colour is perpetuated by the same group due to unresolved issues related to the injustices committed under Apartheid.

Post 94' I think there were this idea of bringing everyone together as an idealised rainbow nation and everything being fine which moved away from dealing with the trauma. However, the rainbow nation instead of confronting the trauma developed a way to avoid, supress and deny the trauma. This modelled a type of behaviour that said it was okay not to deal with issues that are deeply affecting and hurting people. This is related to fear that goes with white guilt, which goes hand in hand with White Privilege. There is a lot of white people who might have

guilt about what they did to people of colour but when they confront what they did, they shift the table and make the trauma about what they feel, which speaks to their White Privilege. This brings forth a type of silencing again. The high levels of violence we have in our society says to me that we have deep levels of some trauma affecting the way violence are enacted which is probably connected to past trauma. (Participant 4)

Participant 6 spoke about what it would take to undo the trauma and poverty that has occurred amongst people of colour over the many centuries. While what he said makes sense, it is almost impossible to achieve due to the continued moral decay within society.

Recent studies at UCT show how intergenerational poverty will affect you, for example when your parents were poor and it is transmitted to you. In order to eliminate poverty, you need 25 years of things going right, in order for a family to change their situation. What happens to your family around you who is also poor will also affect you. So the probability of having 25 years of things going right is slim. Yes, we cannot blame Apartheid for everything but once you have created poverty, it takes a long time for it to go away. It takes a broad approach across society to deal with such trauma and poverty. It lies in the structural poverty that Apartheid caused. I think a lot of people think of the petty nature of Apartheid, which is things like not being allowed on the beach, but that was the insult of Apartheid. But the fundamental structural issues underlying Apartheid is the real issue. Issues, which came from the colonial period and persisted for longer under Apartheid in SA. (Participant 6)

Equality

In contrast to black poverty and questioned ability, lies white excellence and success. This provided an opportunity to question participants on why they believe white people are so successful and continue to dominate the economic spaces in South Africa. Various studies on this topic have produced the following results: Meyer & Finchilescu (2006) found that almost all non-whites still see white South Africans as the dominant group; another study by Green, Sonn & Matsebula (2007), found that the economic power remains with white people. Stevens (2007) added to the conversation that with white dominance comes privilege. In an equal society, all people are supposed to enjoy the same access to opportunities, which was hopefully the case when they were growing up in the world. However, what we have found in most countries is there has been a system developed which deprived black people while favouring

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white people. This begs the question, once the system is established, how do we undo the system in order to bring forth a more equal society? While participants had different views on this, apart from highlighting the obvious (i.e. education), some responded in a manner that would safeguard their White Privilege.

I think the biggest problem we have is how we measure disadvantage. We would measure it to what white people have currently. So for example you take two families, same amount of people, same jobs, same neighbourhoods, but are they equal? No because under Apartheid the white people family were given the opportunity to accumulate wealth and, hence, their quality of life is much better and their future secured. The black family on the other hand have to use their current accumulation of economic power to buy a home, and a car and send their children to school etc. This with no historic wealth or safety net to secure their future. And even when the black family's parents may [have] obtained a house, it would be of such low value that it wouldn't help them become economically empowered. Hence black people are, more often than not, trying to catch up with their white counterparts. Catching up is difficult and sometimes some black people do catch up but that does not mean that they are not still disadvantaged by their background. Even with schools there is an historic relationship with good schools that have policies that if your parents went to that school or their parents then your child will automatically have access, black people don't have this. (Participant 10)

Historically we, white people, have taken ownership of things that we did not necessarily acquire in a rightful way. So I don't think that white people necessarily deserve what they have acquired because a lot has been acquired by taking and by assuming ownership of things that we felt entitled to by virtues of framing a group of people in a certain way. (Participant 4)

In an ideal world equality would be great, but to get to equality we need equity. Equity means taking certain people a few steps ahead of others. It might seem unfair but in order to address the issues of the past I think we should have a time of unfairness in order to make society more equal and fair. A time where people of colour are given a boost while white people stay back. While equity often feels unfair, in our context it would be to deal with the unfairness of the past. Yes, white people will be complaining, as they are doing already, 'like we can't get any jobs', even though they can by the way. (Participant 12)

Human Dignity

When looking at inequality it is important to look at the impact it might have had on the lives and dignity of people, with the focus on their experience of oppression. Within the South African context, many believe that Apartheid has damaged the human spirit, which has resulted in the on going social ills such as violence, crime, addictions, joblessness, educational failure, poor physical and mental health, senses of social inferiority, and economic deprivation (Swartz, Hamilton, Harding, & De Lannoy, 2012). The words "human dignity" were often mentioned during interviews. This highlights the importance of it, especially in relation to how people navigate their way through the world they live in. One definition of human dignity is that it is '*an individual or group's sense of self-respect and self-worth, physical and psychological integrity, and empowerment* (Hawthorne, 2011).

Therefore, dignity needs to be understood at both an individual level and group level. Therefore, what do we need to feel empowered, have self-worth, self-respect and possess physical and psychological integrity? The politicians suggest that this entails good sanitation, quality housing, a safe environment, good education, equal opportunities, good infrastructure, access to food, and security etc. This is not seen in communities in the Western Cape. People of colour largely occupy spaces which are overcrowded, lack infrastructure, lack access to good nutrition, security, good education, and other opportunities etc. While the government under democracy has done things to attempt to restore human dignity, there is still a lack. Some participants highlighted the importance of restoring human dignity.

We all deserve the same. It is changing though, because there is a black middle class who has more money who is coming up. Hopefully it is changing slowly. It is, hopefully, also changing for some people in the squatter camps. I don't think it is a matter of deserving, its more an awareness that you have inherited more and it is time to share it, like the Bosman's have done here in Wellington. Yes, it was easier for white people. Getting a good education was a given and things were better for us and that was unfair. I don't think that the white middle class still have the White Privilege. (Participant 2)

Participant 5 also touched on something that is common within society. There are many that have come from working class families that have had to work hard for what they have. These people specifically are difficult to convince that they were given an unfair advantage over

people of colour. There is no denying their hard work, but if this becomes the measurement of success, it means that black people live in poverty because they are/were not hard working. Again, this is not plausible as some of the most hardworking jobs available continue to be done by people of colour, largely due to again unfair processes related to White Privilege.

As a Christian I would say no one deserves anything. In human terms I think people deserve what they worked for, and I think that white people are people who worked hard and therefore deserve what they have. As a racial group I don't think that white people deserve more than any other group because that was Apartheid, and I think we have passed that. I hope we not going the Malema route, which is because you are black you deserve more and will get more, because that would be institutionalise reverse discrimination. I don't think that privilege is static in the Western Cape. From a human perspective all people deserve what they have because they worked hard for it and didn't crook, and were not corrupt. People shouldn't be privileged because of their race, whether white or black. (Participant 5)

Participant 7 touched on how difficult it would be to provide human dignity for all and what some of the obstacles are which prevents us from achieving this. What strikes me in her response is how with all the change experienced in South Africa, post 1994, the most basic needs of black people remain connected to the will of white people. What I interpret this to say is that political power will provide great policies, but without economic empowerment, such policies mean nothing.

Well we call it old money. White people were given privileges beyond just their racial classification. They also had economic, educational and healthcare superiority over others. This included access to opportunities and better infrastructure. I recall a very successful dairy farmer from Bishop Lavis, whose business was taken away from him, and so there are many stories of others who lost their farms and property under Apartheid. However, even if you return that now, white people have been set up with decades of accumulated wealth so they will be fine. For example, they say this is a good time for entrepreneurship, but who funds the black people's projects, dreams and ideas? In most cases its white people because they hold the economic power in South Africa. (Participant 7)

Introspection

During the research process participants were quite comfortable when discussing various issues that were abstract in relation to their immediate comfort. However, the question that garnered some pauses and time to think by some participants was the question that dealt with participant's own privilege and position in society. Here participants were confronted with their own reality, how they navigate society and how they think others may view them in society.

The unjust power that whites had in South Africa has been removed, but their personal changes that need to happen are the most difficult. We need to work on our contribution to the problem. Because of the peculiarities of the SA situation, personal, inward-directed project should be cultivated with humility and in (a certain kind of) silence (Vice, 2005). Some of the most common responses from participants on why white people refuse to engage with what happened in the past were their culpability, their fear of being judged and ostracised by their own community, and their fear of losing their privilege, amongst other things. Black people are becoming impatient with their white counterparts, and at a basic level, they are calling for dialogue and deliberation on how they can work together.

I consider myself a privileged person living in the Western Cape. Cape Town was not my first choice; I was often teased that Cape Town is the southernmost point of Europe. More often I feel angry about having this White Privilege. My wife often has to listen to me getting annoyed at the way White Privilege is perpetuated. If this does not change, then things are just going to get uglier. (Participant 6)

I am white and grew up with the privileges of Apartheid, some of which I still enjoy. (participant 1)

This question divided the group of participants largely by race. While white participants acknowledged their privilege, black participants noted why they were not privileged. Interesting is how some successful professionals who are black made some interesting arguments of why they even with their success remain disadvantaged.

I consider myself to be privileged because I am considered to be part of the middle class, but I don't consider myself to be privileged as a black person. This as I am constantly discriminated

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against due to my race and the same goes for my gender. Being a black middle class person in the Western Cape you find yourself being the only black person in the room, and sometimes in restaurants you can't even enjoy yourself because you then become the focal point in that space as people try to figure out if you are a celebrity or a politician, or a famous person's child, trying to explain to themselves why you are in the same space as them, breathing the same air as them and having the ability to afford being there. (Participant 10)

I own a 1000 square feet property in the Eastern Cape if I were to sell it I would live on the periphery of the elite suburbs of the Western Cape. Yes, maybe according to government criteria I would be considered upper class but due to monopoly capital I am not able to operate effectively in a system in the Western Cape that favours white people. Therefore, I operate as an ordinary middle class person in the Western Cape not being able to fully realise my talents. (Participant 9)

The Western Cape is one of the worse areas in South Africa in terms of dealing with White Privilege and the scars, which have left our people psychologically damaged, are still present. (Participant 11)

The following response by participant 5 is an indication of how participants share different views on how they are impacted by White Privilege and how we should deal with it. It further shows how even those who claim to be liberal like participant 5, still consciously or unconsciously continue to provide arguments that would in essence safe keep the ideals of White Privilege.

I wouldn't fight with the idea that white people are more privileged. I would rather ask how can we fix it? And where I disagree with Julius Malema is that when you take the wealth away from 9% of the population you will only help 9 % of the population and 80% will still be left poor. I say take the cake, each keep their share, we grow the cake and give whites a smaller share, relatively overtime it will even itself out. Yes, I am privileged. There is a backlash towards White Privilege, sometimes correct sometimes not. Good luck or fortune come to those who work hard. There is a link between hard work and privilege and I think that is missing in the debate on White Privilege. (Participant 5)

Objective 3

Examining the measures taken by the authorities to curtail problems related to White Privilege.

Curtailing the prevalence of White Privilege Government Policies

Participants had mix reactions when it came to evaluating the systems put in place by government to address issues related to racism, White Privilege and the past. While some view the problem as a societal problem, others blamed the lack of transformation and growth squarely on the shoulders of government. This doesn't necessarily help with finding a lasting solution to this problem, and it did not stop participants from trying. Dlanga (2012) in his work titled: '*Why we still talk about Race and Apartheid'* speaks on how the changes made in South Africa served only the needs of some people post-Apartheid; the majority of white people still enjoy all or most of the privileges associated with Apartheid. In contrast, the majority of black people still suffer under the same created cycles of poverty and oppression. According to Wildman (1996), the fact that the law has not made provision for language, legislation, and doctrine, to address unfairness related to White Privilege, makes it very difficult to address matters of the systemic unfairness. When whiteness is named and placed within the argument, it forces white people to recognise their involvement in racism.

While the government has made some in-roads; I think the Affirmative Action policy should have a sunset clause in it, as it can't go on forever. (Participant 5)

White privilege means that white people are at an advantage when it comes to resources and opportunities, this is regardless of policies and programmes that have been implemented post 1994 under democracy. (Participant 9)

I believe that the systems that have been put in place [are] not working. I question, for example, with the land issue, why [has] the land not yet been redistributed, because it should have been done a long time ago. Similarly, the economic power should have been transferred to the black majority and not being controlled by the white minority. I am of the opinion that the majority of the economy should be in the hands of people of colour. We are in Africa, and it doesn't make sense that Africa's economy is still in the hands of white people. It seems like people are still worried about offending the white people, but this is not helping the situation in South Africa. (Participant 12)

What is highlighted by participant 5's response below is how complex the issue of White Privilege is, but more important[ly] is the question of how we [can] narrow the gap between poor black people and white people. The contrast between white participant's responses on this matter and that of black participants was significant. While black people are looking at systems and policies that will accelerate the process, white people are looking at a slower process that won't affect their economic situation, and that will not disturb their position of privilege. It is impossible to satisfy all parties involved and the hope is that government will make a concerted effort to address the concerns of black people first.

The framework of redress is equality relative to whites, and the socio-economic rights like education, housing health care, etc. Employment Equity, Black Eeconomic Empowerment, and Affirmative Action regulations, few right thinking white people would have had a problem with these in principal. I think government [has] succeeded in the public sector to create a black middle class… By the way I think the DA have benefitted from the black middle class in the urban areas because they then said we are fed up with the lack of services. I have some criticism towards government on how it was implemented. The philosophical difference in society is that people say we need to level the playing field, equality of opportunities while others say equality of outcomes. Some people say after 25 years we are not equal. So whites should start at the 100 m 90 m Indians, 50 m coloureds, blacks 40 m? I do not believe that this would solve the problem. (Participant 5)

Employment Equity and BEE policies are some of which I am aware of; these policies were designed to give people of colour more employment opportunities. However, as the bulk of resources are still within the public sector, people do not have to adhere to these policies, especially if they sell to their white counterparts instead of working with government. Therefore, I would say that these transformational policies are not as effective as they could be, but they have made some minimal changes in our society. (Participant 9)

Resources & Opportunities

Speaking in South Africa's parliament in 1998 in the debate on the report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, (then-Deputy) President Thabo Mbeki argued that, "material conditions …have divided our country into two nations, the one black, the other, white. …[the latter] is relatively prosperous and has ready access to a developed economic, physical,

educational, communication and other infrastructure… The second, and larger, nation of South Africa is black and poor, [and] lives under conditions of a grossly underdeveloped infrastructure… Neither are we becoming one nation… Unlike the German people [after unification in 1990] we have not made the extra effort to generate the material resources. We have to invest to change the condition of the black poor more rapidly than is possible if we depend[ed] solely on severely limited public funds, whose volume is governed by the need to maintain certain macroeconomic balances, and the impact of a growing economy" (Mbeki, 1998). The Gini coefficient is the measure of income inequality, ranging from 0 to 1, with 0 representing a perfectly equal society and 1 representing a perfectly unequal society'. The latest update indicates that. At 0.63, South Africa has the highest Gini coefficient internationally, and it has worsened since 1994, despite a decline in poverty (World Bank, 2015). Participants agreed with these findings and reported that things had not changed much since 1994.

We can't have a country where you get opportunities based on the colour of your skin, we have to start looking at other criteria. White people [are] given precedence, they are prioritised within South African society, as well as by the global society. This means that white people are always given the best opportunities and in every situation can be assured of having the benefit of the doubt. How can we close the gap when people refuse to acknowledge that the gap exists? We can close the gap through education, by creating more opportunities for people of colour and prioritising people of colour for employment, which we are supposed to do but we aren't. Many companies in South Africa [are] nowhere near transformed, especially companies in the Western Cape. The well-paying jobs with security and benefits are given to white people, while the rest of the black mass[es] get the jobs that nobody [else] wants to do, jobs without security, without benefits and that [don't] nearly pay enough. (Participant 10)

Creating opportunities and exposing black people to things that will help them participate in the economic system, which they for so long have been denied access too, will be a good start. Participant 6 suggested that exposing black students to other countries, through travel, helps broaden their understanding of how other countries deal with similar issues as they have to deal with daily. It further helps them to come up with new and innovative ideas to combat the issues of racism and White Privilege in the Western Cape. The only thing with this is that black people again have to do the work, while white people are not expected to put in the same efforts.

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What I have found worked very well is when, for example, our students get the opportunity to travel to other countries and they can experience that not all countries are as divided as South Africa. So exposure to other cultures is good. A colleague from Ghana said that she didn't know that she was black until she came to South Africa. Because not everyone can travel, maybe if we had interventions, which exposed people to what is normal in other countries, we might stop focussing on how abnormal we are. (Participant 6)

We must find a way to make sure that when we start running the economic race, when we get to the starting line, we need to try and be more equal than we were. The only way to do that is through education and the bad state of our education ha[s] to be blamed on government. It's interesting there [are] not enough black students who want to be teachers coming through the ranks, in proportion to the black population, versus white, and coloured students, [which is] disproportionate to black people. If you want to speak in racial terms, the black population don't produce the teachers, but I don't think they understand enough that the education system is their empowerment, even Mandela said that. (Participant 5)

As mentioned before, White Privilege is a complex issue and therefore needs to be dealt with differently compared to, for example, racism. This is what participant 3 dealt with when he discussed the different levels at which we need to tackle the issues when dealing with White Privilege.

You will have to deal with it at different levels. At an adult level the best that you can hope for is disrupting their thinking and creating awareness. Possibly the best way to change the system is to embed it in the way we educate. Education need[s] to play a critical role here. We don't even need a new subject. We can use Life Orientation and have conversations in a meaningful way. If children hear that they are all equal and no one is better than them, then at some point they are going to start believing it. Some may take longer than others. This should be the fundamental message of education: dignity and worth of people, and that skin colour is incidental. (Participant 3)

Black Demands

Dlanga (2012), states that white guilt is unacceptable as a response to the pleas of black people for justice. Equally unacceptable is the belief that white people are colour blind and that BEE is reversed Apartheid. Dlanga highlights that, despite the efforts by government in the democratic South Africa to redress past inequalities, the stark reality on the ground is that race is still the main divider of people into different classes. Kendell (2000) says that it is much harder for white people to see these privileges that they have, and that they hold this power. In contrast, it is brutally clear for those who do not have these privileges and power to see it. He says white people first have to understand the basics of White Privilege; what it is and how it works. They need to actively work against the racism that White Privilege forms a critical component in.

I think that all citizens should go for some form of unconscious bias training. I think there should be a diversity curriculum and it should be a compulsory module, like maths and language, so when you do not complete the module, you fail. If we don't curb this behaviour and bias while people are young, it's going to be difficult to get them to unlearn this behaviour when they are older. Teaching children [when they are] young will give them the awareness to treat all people equally and allow all people to enjoy their space and individuality. (Participant 10)
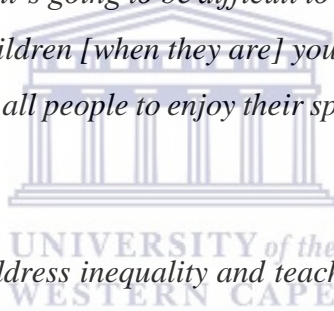
My job as a white person is to address inequality and teach other white people, in my circles and around me, about their White Privilege, and how they should be behaving in relation to people of colour, in order to address White Privilege. Also, we should avail ourselves to be part of conversations, and go into uncomfortable spaces and conversation[s] in order to become more informed and to contribute to the demise of White Privilege by denying ourselves the perks that come from it. (Participant 12)

Black participants made some good suggestions/demands, which, if implemented, could have a significant impact on how we address White Privilege. These suggestions/demands need to be made part of our dialogue and discussions to be realised. Whether it is at conferences, workshops, social gatherings, or political debates, we have to talk about it. This is critical to establish a way forward where people of colour are not just told that they are equal, but can actually see and feel that they truly are.

I made the example how private companies who [don't] do business with government don't have to adhere to policies. So, if [the] government operates in this space and monitor[s] it, businesses will be forced to conform to the state. You could incentivise people who operate in this space. [The] government should take up a greater position in development because business is developmental in nature. Then I would address the issue of corruption, as it impedes the possible progress that could have been made with issues such as White Privilege. Nepotism is another aspect that needs addressing, as that will ensure that the best people will be allocated positions, not just those who are affiliated to you by means of ideology, family religious or political beliefs. (Participant 9)

We need to be focussed on personal development for one. We also need to establish organisations focussed on empowering people, and not constantly focus on organisations that essentially deal with and work on the basis of all the negative things that impact our society, for example, centres for abuse etc. (Participant 11)

Listening to Stories

This is one of the most important things discussed in the research. Listening to people's stories holds a powerful ability to restore people's dignity. Telling your story will provide a platform for people to learn and garner understanding about the culture of others. It will help with dispelling ignorant views and stereotypes. Storytelling also has the ability to bring people closer together.

According to Vice (2005), white South Africans, should engage with other voices. They should read the literature of the oppressed and actively listen to non-white voices. She views this as an opportunity for white people to learn from and obtain a better understanding of how to engage with people of colour. She further argues that this only applies to social and nonpolitical occasions. Her opinion is that white people should refrain from giving their opinion on how people of colour should run South Africa.

We should continue with the NGO projects. More importantly, people should start listening to each other, [and] be given a platform to tell their stories. We have given people that opportunity, where they [have] told their stories about being forcefully removed from their

homes. Creating a space where someone who did not have an opportunity to develop, to grow

their talent. Give people opportunities that help them restore their dignity. (Participant 2)

When we have dialogue it is important to speak freely, be open and direct. Yes, these are difficult topics to discuss, but we cannot run from it anymore. We cannot risk not having our concerns understood by minimising our deep-rooted hurt and trauma. Talking serves to heal our internal scars. Therefore, we should not shy away from opportunities to engage with each other.

I think we need more dialogue around these issues. And we need to stop sugar coating the issues and deal with it head on, and then we might see significant change. It's time for us, as a country, to start dealing with this thing called White Privilege. We find a lot of white people and black [people] are scared of addressing the issue. We have to take ownership of the part we play, whether we believe it was our ancestors who are responsible [or not], we still have to own our part. (Participant 7)

Fear/Silence

It is fear that drives white people to find various ways and methods to avoid addressing the issue of White Privilege. A fear that is common in everyday society, which at times comes across as arrogance and a sense of white people enacting their entitlement. Frakenberg (2001) said that White Privilege is built into the constructs and norms of society, maintaining the comforts of whites. When these comforts are challenged, there is an uncomfortableness by whites, and an awkward silence in which they try to restore their privilege by avoiding the subject. Fear limits people's ability to be rational. Therefore, we need to be free of fear to have a better understanding of the complex nature of White Privilege and how it affects people of colour.

When I think of a relationship with someone that you really love and then having to be confronted by the fact that you have harmed that person, how one can get so violent and defensive when confronted? Being held accountable for something brings forth defensive emotions, which you maybe consciously did not mean to happen. Even with the born frees, from a psychological perspective, it brings forth a sense of fear, what it means to be part of a group of people with a history of such structural violence, and breaking up families and dehumanising

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a group of people. There is a shared fear of engaging with the issues that exist, an annihilatory fear, of a civil war that will come. (Participant 4)

Acknowledging your White Privilege should not serve as something disempowering to white people, which leave[s] them fearful and incapable of forming part of the solution. (Participant 12)

Hope for the Future

The following theme looked at participant's outlook on the future. Participants provided various concerns and possibilities that might serve to restore equality within society. The most common response was that things will have to change. The majority of the participants said that if things don't change, civil war might occur. Others noted how things should change to provide more opportunities for people of colour. The participants further noted that White Privilege needs to end immediately. There cannot exist a situation where white people continue to dominate in a country and a province that is occupied by majority black people.

We have to get to a point where the level of service that you are going to get is not determined by the colour of your skin. Africans shouldn't have to explain why they are in Africa, especially to people who [don't] even consider themselves African. I don't think Europeans have to explain their presence in Europe, and yet here it happens. The best way forward is to deal with those meaningless guilty feelings, and to become part of the solution; otherwise you continue to be part of the problem. White people need to accept their White Privilege as a reality and start using [it] for good by paying for people of colour's education, getting them into "those" places, and finding opportunities they know is only for white people. This while, at the same time, actively trying to destroy White Privilege. It is not good enough to use your White Privilege for good while maintaining the system, in this way you are only giving of the crumbs from your table [and], maintaining the status quo. Therefore, you have to actively form part of the solution to destroy White Privilege at all costs. (Participant 10)

Things will only improve if white people take a more active role in ending the unfair system of White Privilege. Furthermore, white people need to find ways to restore the dignity of people of colour by giving back, and helping them to become economically active. Not as their saviour,

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but as their partner and compatriot. White people cannot continue to deny their privilege and remain oblivious, as that will not end well.

Firstly, we need white people to acknowledge their role in creating the social ills that people of colour are experiencing. Then we need to come to the table and lent a hand in fixing the problem without complaining about every little thing. This may sound harsh, but if white people refuse to play their part then people of colour should just take what belongs to them. I believe that if white people do not change their behaviour, it will end in revolt from people of colour. (Participant 12)

Some participants again exposed their inability to acknowledge how White Privilege and racism remains a generational curse. This again highlights the importance of actively engaging with the complex issues of racism and White Privilege. If white people do not educate themselves, they will remain oblivious and deny that which is obvious to all people of colour.

I don't think that it is fair to say that people who [were] born in 2003 benefitted from Apartheid. I would say that those who had an advantage under Apartheid should plough back to the people, to help them change their situations and get out of the poverty trap. People who are disadvantaged shouldn't get stuck on defining themselves according to White Privilege, because it will only serve as something to blame for their situation. (Participant 5)

A lot of the privileges afforded me in my life has definitely also been as a result of my skin colour. We need to get back to having a mutual respect for each other. In the end we are largely the same and want the same things regardless of our skin colour. There was a time when skin colour did not matter and hopefully we can get back to that time. (Participant 2)

I share participant 3's view that the outcomes and recommendations that are derived from this research should serve to benefit society. The hope is that this research will create a platform for discussion and dialogue, on how we should move forward in society. Based on this research, we can confirm that White Privilege exists in the Western Cape. Therefore, the way forward is dialogue. There are no more grounds for denialism, and the hope is that more and more white people will join the conversation around ending racism and White Privilege.

I would like to see research like this produce more than just knowledge. I would like it to have a life after its original meaning. I want to see research like this to benefit society we live in. How can we use this research to become an integral part of the debate and the search for an answer? If the research can come up with practical tools that can be shared with government to inform policy and recommendations, [and] that can be shared with organisation[s] working in the field… [It should be] shared with people from all walks of life. (Participant 3)

6.5 **Chapter Summary**

Chapter six provided the answers to the research questions set out at the beginning of this thesis. Participants provided an honest and informed opinion of how they experienced White Privilege on a day-to-day basis, and how they are affected by it. They shared insights that have contributed significantly to this field of research. Furthermore, they also provided areas of concern that need attention and others that need further dialogue and consideration. It was easy to analyse their views within the theoretical framework, which allowed for an in-depth understanding of their lived experiences. The lived experiences and views, expressed by participants, will now be discussed in the final chapter, while also making some recommendations on the way forward.
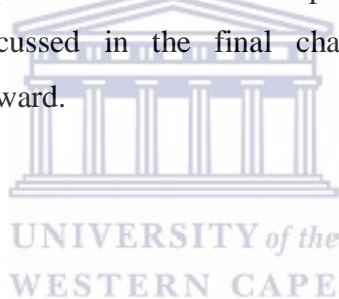
Chapter 7

7.1 Conclusion and Recommendations

White Privilege, as has been noted throughout this research, is a complex issue. It functions in the background and is an invisible concept to many. Mostly invisible to those who refuse to acknowledge it, which makes it difficult to deal with. It is embedded within all spheres of society, every institution, and almost all social structures. And while those who are negatively impacted by White Privilege are ready to eradicate it, its beneficiaries are largely uninterested. This research set out to find reasons for why this lack of engagement by white people exists. The continued call by people of colour is for white people to rethink their position and join the conversation. This research was also an attempt to find lasting solutions that will secure a better future for all people in the Western Cape. While the call has largely fallen on deaf ears; one possible negative outcome from this research, and which came up in the research, is the mention of a civil war breaking out. According to some, this is seen as the only solution, if white people refuse to come to the table. Classical theorists guide us towards a clear message; we have to demand that social justice is upheld in the face of injustice (Rawls, 1971). In addition, Habermas deliberative democracy urges us to continue creating awareness in an attempt to change the status quo (Rostbol, 2001).

Regardless of how daunting and unsettling these topics may be to discuss for white people, the time has come to have those conversations. Racism will largely remain taboo if these difficult discussions are not had. The inability to critically engage in dialogue around these issues has muted discussions for far too long, and this serves only to sustain oppressive power and privilege. It reinforces the system while people of colour are left frustrated and continually oppressed. What a brilliant strategy to remain in power, by simply refuting and denying that one possesses such oppressive powers (Dei, Karumanchery & Karumanchery-Luik, 2004). Furthermore, with White Privilege comes racism and white supremacy. These topics are still taboo in many circles in society. Regardless of the challenges posed, 12 participants across racial lines were interviewed and faced these questions. This chapter highlights the most critical findings, and possible specific solutions for the Western Cape.

South Africa's history is often forgotten, minimised or skewed among certain groups of people, and more commonly, this is done among white people. Worldwide, white people have

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generally been in a dominant position, always at the expense of black people and other minority groups, and South Africa is no different. As indicated by Mills (2007), while not all white people were part of the violence committed against people of colour, they were all beneficiaries from it, and the majority do not actively complain about it. The horror stories that people of colour can recite may even sound unbelievable. Stories that insured that society today are left with people who are broken, and lack self-esteem, as the trauma of the past (Apartheid) still haunts them.

This system of White Privilege is a well-orchestrated, institutional and psychological system that has denied people of colour the ability to self-actualise and make a good human existence. A system that continues to deny them healing by keeping black people uneducated and marginalised. We have heard from all over the world that Apartheid was despicable, and yet there was no moment in the history of South Africa where a mass repentance by white people was offered to black people. The TRC (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) was, in essence, a public relations exercise that lacked the true depth, empathy and retribution factor needed to restore the trust, belief, and dignity amongst other things for people of colour. Terms such as "the rainbow nation", and South Africa being the land of "milk and honey", (terms coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu to describe post-apartheid South Africa) also failed to bring equality, as it turned out to be a deal brokered to benefit white people and a small group of new black elites.

It has become almost impossible to locate people who voted and supported the Apartheid government. While white people are of the opinion that people of colour should just move on "as it has been 25 years", they still continue to gain from this past, and this will last for decades longer if things don't change. And while they transitioned with ease, and remain oblivious to the struggle of being black in the Western Cape, we look at disgust at events and concepts like the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), and the "rainbow nation" that has shifted the focus from the real issue. Real people lost their lives fighting for a just and equal society. These include the youths who marched in the Soweto uprising, the Sharpeville massacre, the Women's march in 1956, and struggle heroes like Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Chris Hani, Steve Biko, and Hector Pieterson, to name and commemorate a few.

While Apartheid was horrible and one wouldn't want to revisit it constantly, it has become clear that, 25 years into democracy, the ghost of Apartheid still lingers. Apartheid itself has gone (and will hopefully never return again), but the White Privilege left behind might even be more dangerous. Racism is a common thread to global stability. However, in the Western Cape there is a more sinister component that has resulted from racism that is maintaining Apartheidlike behaviour today. This is White Privilege, the invisible and undeniable system that functions independent of any individual actors, and continue to oppress people of colour, while protecting the privileges of white people.

Why is it so difficult for white people to see what is so clearly evident to everyone else? Some participants suggested that it is the fear of losing their dominant and comfortable position in society. This concurs with the Critical Whiteness theory. However, to understand and deal with this problem it needs to be interrogated. There is an impact in society where white people manoeuvre through society with ease, while people of colour are not afforded the same privilege. Robin DiAngelo (2018) says that white people are unable to interrogate their whiteness and what it provides them, as they are socialised to belief that racism and everything related to it is bad and is committed by bad people. Therefore, because they are not bad people they are absolved from any culpability as it relates to the oppression of people of colour.

There is one way in which white people acknowledge their whiteness, and this is when they complain about how unfair the current democratic system has been to them. They fail to see how 25 years of minor discomfort does not trump the centuries of oppression, theft of land, murder, abuse, rape, and economic oppression which black people endured and still suffer from. Keeping whiteness invisible by denying its power won't help much longer, as black people have become more restless in the Western Cape, waiting for things to change. This is evident by the countless protests seen weekly. It might not be on the doorstep of white people yet, but it is coming. Hopefully, by making White Privilege more visible through this research, and highlighting the tools used to maintain it, we may finally uproot and end it.

Denialism, even in its lowest form, serves only to sustain White Privilege, again at the expense of people of colour. Denialism is just part of the problem, individually a lot of white people still deals with the guilt of Apartheid. A constant reminder of this is that the vast majority of black people still suffer from systems implemented under Apartheid rule. Being oblivious and

ignorant of this reality does not help the situation, and consequences may be dire. The system of White Privilege that is present, in almost every aspect of society, will have to be deconstructed and dissolved, in order to economically and socially empower people of colour and redress the past.

In order to deconstruct White Privilege, white people need to accept that they are the recipients of this system. They will have to actively and consciously deny themselves. They need to engage with their fellow white people at social gatherings and enlighten them to this critical junction we have reached in building our nation's future. They need to start listening to the stories of people of colour without shame and guilt. They need to find ways to engage with black people and to help them to get out of the economic rut that is mainly as a result of Apartheid. For example, white people could pay for black children's, school and university fees, help provide housing, take them on holidays, pay for their groceries etc. Some have started doing this already but not enough people are making an effort. If this is not done, the privileges they are fighting so desperately to hold on to will be lost, either by mutual agreement or by force. The black participants felt strongly that without dialogue, this issue will, at some point, be resolved through violence.

The issue of land serves as just one example of how people have grown tired of waiting for things to change in the Western Cape. Black people started occupying farms in the Western Cape, putting up shacks as a message to government that they are tired of waiting for the land to be returned. White people in response to this have on various social media, and other media platforms, responded by saying things like, if "they" take the land they will lose everything; or black people cannot survive without white people. Another common argument is that those who lived here when settlers came were nomads and were travelling around, and therefore had not taken ownership of the land. This is an attempt to justify the illegal dispossession of the land from the Khoisan and the Xhosa's, amongst others. Such statements no longer scare black people. While the land dispossession by white people included rape, mass murder, psychological abuse etc., many black people, remain true to their heritage of being peaceful, by merely requesting dialogue and reparation. This is a small price to pay for the injustices of the past. But if we do not have genuine and authentic conversations, even at the cost of being a little uncomfortable, then racial inequality will remain, White Privilege will be maintained and frustration will escalate.

Kendell suggests that as a starting point for white people, they first have to understand the basics of White Privilege, i.e. what it is and how it works. Then they have to work against the racism that White Privilege forms a critical part of. According to him, white people are in no way better than black people, they are just given more privilege as a result of their skin colour. He says that the issue of White Privilege and systemic white supremacy is one of the most painful realities to deal with. White people should ask themselves, how they are participating in, and maintaining White Privilege and how they can form part of the solution, instead of pleading ignorance and contributing to the system that is destroying societies across the world.

This is where Habermas' deliberate democracy plays a crucial role. In order to achieve the outcomes necessary for the Western Cape to be more inclusive and for White Privilege to be eradicated, we need deliberation. A time for large scale engagement among all people, in order to move forward. A time of discussion and robust deliberation as we find alternatives to White Privilege and racism that will not just work towards undoing the injustices of the past but will also secure the future for our children. Deliberative democracy also requires various spaces and platforms to be utilised. Media need to play their part, as well as political parties, community organisations, social groups and all others within society. These robust discussions if done from a genuine need for change by people who seek justice and the greater good for all; people who are committed to the process of being accountable to their fellow citizens, then lasting change might be inevitable.

I agree with Vice (2005) that we are yet to have an open, honest and sincere conversation on race in South Africa. This was confirmed by majority of the participants that I interviewed, across races. This research set out to see if White Privilege existed, and it found that it does. The second objective was to understand how it functions. This research found that White Privilege is an invisible system operating at an institutional and societal level, with the sole purpose of advancing white interests at the expense of black people.

The final objective was to investigate whether the government is doing enough to curtail the impact of racism and White Privilege on the people of the Western Cape, and South Africa at large. Here the findings were not as clear-cut as with the previous two objectives. While some participants felt that government was doing their best, others felt they have yet to engage in a

meaningful way with policies that would bring the changes needed. Participants were of the opinion that policies, such as BEE (Black Economic Empowerment) and AA (Affirmative Action), lack oversight, implementation strategies, and buy in from corporate and private companies, who are not forced to deal with government.

Private companies, which are majority white owned, have and can easily manipulate the systems already in place through corruption. Therefore, we need those in power to be held accountable during elections and other processes. To interrogate whether they still hold the interests of the greater good of society as fundamental or wether their own personal gains has overtaken the cries of the masses. It was fortunately not all negative, as some participants provided some plausible ideas that could possibly transform the landscape of the Western Cape to represent a more equal and just society. I would like to conclude by reiterating participant 12's comments on how she/he thinks a more equal society can be created.

In an ideal world equality would be great, but to get to equality we need equity. Equity means taking certain people a few steps ahead of others. It might seem unfair but in order to address the issues of the past I think we should have a time of unfairness in order to make society more equal and fair. A time where people of colour are given a boost while white people stay back. While equity often feels unfair, in our context, it would be to deal with the unfairness of the past. (Participant 12)
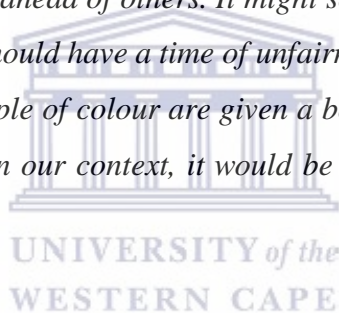
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(Appendix A)

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INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW INFORMATION SHEET

Project Title: *Understanding White Privilege: Perspectives from South Africa's Western Cape Province.*

What is this study about?

This is a research study conducted by Edwin Cleophas, in South Africa's Western Cape Province and I am inviting you to participate in this research project. The purpose of this study is to explore the concept of White Privilege in the Western Cape Province in South Africa. And to obtain a deeper understanding of white privilege and how it functions in society, and will focus on the subjective experiences of ordinary citizens as well as renowned activists in the social justice arena.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

You will be asked to complete both a biographical sheet and individual interview lasting approximately one and a half hours. The interview will be tape recorded/video recorded to assist with data analysis and the format of the interview will consist of open-ended questions.

It further relates to the subjective experiences of ordinary citizens as well as renowned activists in the social justice arena in relation to the concept of White Privilege in the Western Cape Province in South Africa.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

The researchers undertake to protect your identity and the nature of your identity and the nature of your contribution. To ensure anonymity, the information you provide will be totally private; no names will be used so anonymity is ensured. Your name will not be reflected on the questionnaire or in the individual interview. We will keep your personal information confidential, by having it locked and having it stored in an appropriately safe facility. If we write a report or article about this project, your identity will be protected.

What are the risks of this research?

All human interactions and talking about self or others carry some amount of risks. We will nevertheless minimise such risks and act promptly to assist you if you experience any discomfort, psychological or otherwise during the process of your participation in this study. Where necessary, an appropriate referral will be made to a suitable professional for further assistance or intervention.

What are the benefits of this research?

Due to the scarcity of similar research conducted within a South African context, this study will provide a foundation from which other research can build upon. We hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through an improved understanding of the challenges facing South Africa with regards to the phenomenon of White Privilege. Furthermore, this study could add insight into the existing policies concerning race relation in South Africa.

**Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?**

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

Every effort will be made to ensure that all risks are minimised, however if you are negatively affected by the interview, information will be provided to you, to seek counselling.

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by Edwin Cleophas, from the Institute of Social Development at the University of the Western Cape. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact:
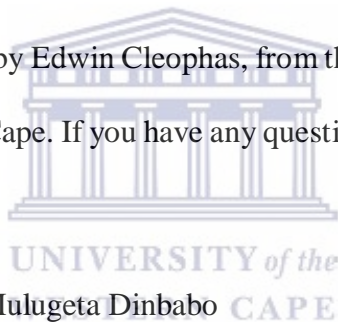
Head of Department: Professor Mulugeta Dinbabo

Dean of the Faculty of EMS:

Prof Michelle Esau

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This research project has received ethical approval from the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape, Tel. 021 959 2988, Email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

(Appendix B)

University of the Western Cape

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<u>INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM</u>

Project Title: *Understanding White Privilege: Perspectives from South Africa's Western Cape Province.*

The study has been described to me in language that I understand. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand what my participation will involve and I agree to participate of my own choice and free will. I understand that my identity will not be disclosed to anyone. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and without fear of negative consequences or loss of benefits.

_____ I agree to be audiotaped/videotaped during my participation in this study. _____

I do not agree to being audiotaped/videotaped during my participation in this study

Participant's name……………………….

Participant's signature………………………….   Date………………………

This research project has received ethical approval from the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape, Tel. 021 959 2988, Email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

(Appendix C)

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION SHEET

SECTION ONE: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1) Which race do you belong to?

_____

_____ **2)**

Where were you born?

_____

_____ **3)**

Which province do you reside in?

_____

_____ **4)**

What is your occupation?

_____

_____ **5)**

Would you consider yourself as previously disadvantaged?

_____

_____

(Appendix D)

SECTION TWO: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Have you ever heard of the phenomenon called White Privilege? If so what have you heard?

_____

_____

2. What does White Privilege mean according to your understanding?

_____

_____

3. Can you give me an example of White Privilege?

_____

_____

4. Are you in any way affected by White Privilege?

_____

_____

5. Do you know of any systems put in place by government to deal with issues related to White Privilege and racism? And if so are those systems effective?

_____

_____

6. Do you feel government is doing enough?

_____

_____

7. What would you change if given the opportunity?

_____

_____

8. Why do you think there are so many black people who are considered previously disadvantaged and remain largely disadvantaged?

_____

_____

9. Do you think white people deserve everything they have and that people of colour deserve to be in the position that they are? And if so why do you think white people are more often than not in a better position than people of colour?

_____

_____

10. Do you think Apartheid was wrong and how should we restore the gap that was created between white people and people of colour in terms of wealth, health, education, land etc.?

_____

_____

11. Do you consider yourself to be a privileged person in South Africa and why?

_____

_____

12. If White Privilege is a reality and it is accepted as meaning that white people is getting an unfair and unearned advantage over people of colour, would you want it to stop and why?

_____

_____

13. Is there anything else you would like to add?

_____

_____