



DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

PROJECT TITLE: A Qualitative Exploration of Blackness among Black South African University Students

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ABSTRACT

Since the fall of Apartheid, the new mandate of the democratic South African government has been to provide equal quality education for all and to desegregate the education system in South Africa. The desegregation of tertiary education afforded Black students the opportunity to navigate different campuses with vast institutional origins and cultures.

This qualitative study aimed to explore Black students' experiences of Blackness while navigating two university campuses in the Western Cape. Drawing upon Black Consciousness and Double Consciousness as the theoretical frameworks, this study examined the experiences and perceptions of Blackness of 20 Black male and female students from two Universities in the Western Cape Province. The aim was to gauge the participants' sense and understanding of Blackness and how it is shaped and reshaped as they navigate the university space.

First, the findings revealed that that Black students exhibited racial pride and ascribed positive traits to Blackness. The students were proud to be Black and asserted that Black people had a good work ethic. Students reported that being Black afforded them an opportunity to change their socio-economic circumstances and improve their communities.

Second, Black students who navigated historically White neighbourhoods, schools and university experienced South Africa as untransformed and unequal. On the other hand, Black students who navigated historically Black neighbourhoods, who went to historically Black schools and who attended a majority Black University viewed South Africa as a Rainbow Nation. Black students who attended a historically White university had a heightened sense of Blackness and experienced marginalisation within the university context compared to the Black students who went to a majority Black university

Third, universities are not neutral spaces and their historical origins characterise their institutional cultures and the academy. Black students who attended the university founded during colonialism reported that the campus had colonial symbolism and the culture of the university favoured White students. The students reported that the curriculum was Eurocentric and needed to be decolonized.

Fourth, Blackness is shaped and reshaped differently on university campuses. Students who went to a majority Black university expressed they were in the majority and the university was a comfortable environment. Black students at both universities experienced racial

discrimination and alienation from White and/or Coloured academic staff. Despite progressive policies, this study revealed that much more work need still needs to be done to right the wrongs of the past.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter defines Blackness and discusses the origins of Blackness during colonialism and Apartheid. This chapter also discusses how institutions of higher learning were segregated during Apartheid and the various policies put in place post 1994 in order to desegregate higher education. This background offers a historical background regarding the rationale and significance of the study which are also discussed in this chapter. This chapter provides research questions, research objectives and the clarification of terms used in the study.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Frantz Fanon (1952) defines Blackness as a construct created for the psychological enslavement of Black people during the process of colonial expansion. Steve Biko (1969) also recognised Blackness as an identity constructed by the Apartheid regime that depicts Black people as inherently lacking of humanity and reason. During the 1970s Biko's Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) redefined Blackness as something positive that should be honoured and celebrated. The BCM's re-imagination of Blackness as a positive state of being was a direct response to the racist construction of Blackness and the institutionalisation of racism under Apartheid. It is therefore important to understand Blackness as a sense of identity that evolves and shifts as it is negotiated in different times and spaces. This study examined the concept of Blackness as it is experienced by Black youth in contemporary South African universities. The aim was to understand how this group's sense of identity is shaped and reshaped by the university environment and the impact thereof on their developmental well being.

During the Apartheid era, institutions of higher learning in South Africa were segregated according to race. The National Party institutionalised the policy of 'separate development' by creating different departments for Native, Indian, Coloured and White people to administer social services separately. Verwoerd (1961) argued:

Therefore at a very early stage I indicated that our moral basis was that we were trying to give everyone his full rights for his own people...I tried to emphasise clearly again this

morning, and I do not propose to go into it again, that our idea of four kinds of parallel groups of authority eventually, is that you then actually follow a method whereby the one racial group will not permanently rule the other, but that every racial group will be given self-rule of its own people, in an area of its own, where possible.

According to Verwoerd, the policy sought to eliminate White dominance and foster self-determination. This included education, so the result was having separate universities for Indian, African, White and Coloured people. The purpose of this separate development was to “consolidate White identity and the economic, social and cultural domination” in South Africa (Reddy, 2004: 9). The implications of such institutionalised racism resulted in a further imbalance of power, and in Black people being purposefully relegated to unskilled labour (Reddy, 2004). The legacy of Apartheid as it pertains to higher education means that South Africa currently faces the challenge of a racially fragmented higher education system (Badat, 1999).

Since the first democratic elections of 1994, policies such as the Higher Education White Paper (1995) have been implemented. The National Commission on Higher Education (1996) was established with the goal of making higher education equal and accessible to all in South Africa. The Higher Education White Paper aimed to restructure higher education into a single nationally coordinated and consolidated system as opposed to one defined by segregation according to race. It also suggested that higher education contributes to and supports social transformation (Reddy, 2004). The National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) was formed to advise the Minister of Education on restructuring higher education. It sought to provide all institutions of higher learning with equal resources and redress historical inequalities by ensuring representativeness of all races in higher education. However, regardless of these efforts for transformation at a national and institutional level, the legacy of racial segregation still exists.

Blackness is a social construct which takes different forms when it is lived in different spaces, such as the university. The purpose of this study was to explore the ways in which Blackness shifts, evolves and is redefined as Black students navigate the university space as well as the meanings they attach to it. The university space makes the study of Blackness

unique in two ways. First, because university spaces are loaded with historical meaning and this has important implications for how Black students navigate their identity in these spaces. Second, the time when a student is in university is usually the time of that person's critical transition into adulthood. This makes it important to study how spaces with historical meaning shape how young adults negotiate Blackness and how it shapes their identities. Moreover, if universities enact policies that show their management are serious about redress and making Black students feel welcomed on campuses, it is useful to examine how Black students navigate the campus space with an identity that has historical meaning, and results of such examination should inform university transformation policies.

1.3 RATIONALE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

To accompany the policies in place, there has been much research on social transformation and the high level of dropout rates amongst Black South African students in universities. However, there remains a need for research that prioritises the narratives of Black South African students. In addition, there is little critical understanding of how identity formation and the university space intersect with socially-constructed Blackness. This study will offer an opportunity to document Black students' experiences of their identity, whether imposed or held, and link their experiences to the broader debate of social transformation in universities.

This study provides a critical lens into Black students' experiences within university settings and assesses whether Blackness as a historical racial construct negatively affects their university experience. Furthermore, the study sought to comprehend the forms of cultural capital Blackness can offer students which would make their university career easier. It is imperative to assess if and how a historically exclusive site of knowledge production like the university can be hostile to certain people who hold particular identities. Lastly, even though Blackness is a historical construct designed for the exclusion of certain populations, this study seeks to understand how Black students find new and positive meanings to ascribe Blackness to. The findings of the proposed study will bring new insight to new interventions for social transformations in higher education which will be able speak directly to Black students' experiences.

1.4 RESEARCH TOPIC

A Qualitative Exploration of the Experiences of Blackness among Black South African University Students.

1.5 MAIN RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- How do Black students define themselves in terms of race?
- What is their understanding, or lack thereof, of their Blackness?
- What meanings do Black students attach to their Blackness?
- In what significant ways does the concept of Blackness matter or not matter in their lives?
- In what significant ways is their sense of Blackness shaped and reshaped by their university environment?
- How do Black students negotiate their way through the university environment?

1.6 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

- To gauge whether Black students define themselves in terms of race
- To determine Black students' understanding, or lack thereof, of their Blackness
- To explore the meanings Black students attach to their Blackness
- To ascertain the significant ways in which the concept of Blackness matters or does not matter in their lives
- To examine the significant ways in which the university environment shapes and reshapes Black students' sense of Blackness
- To understand the ways in which Black students negotiate their way through the university environment

1.7 MAIN ASSUMPTIONS

This study explored experiences of Blackness among Black South African University students. Therefore, the main assumption is that there is a unique way in which Black students

experience the university space which is worthy of research. Taking into consideration the various policies in education which were deeply rooted in exclusionary practices under Apartheid, it was assumed that the policies implemented post 1994 had not comprehensively eradicated the legacies of Apartheid in higher education.

1.8 CLARIFICATION OF TERMS

Blackness: Black racial socialisation that incorporates norms and attitudes about racial pride, cultural awareness, racism awareness, spiritual coping, familial caretaking, individual advancement, and egalitarianism (Nunnally, 2010).

Black students: Students of African descent registered at institutions of higher learning.

Identity: Identity is a combination of self-concept and self-esteem with both the acumen of personal development and an awareness of group membership, expectations, social responsibilities, and privileges (Spencer, 1988).

Youth: In South Africa, the term youth refers to people between the ages of 14 and 35 (Mathoho and Ranchod, 2006).

Race: A social construction based on similar and different physical characteristics (Puttick, 2011).

Racism: Racism refers to a host of practices, beliefs, social relations and phenomena that work to reproduce a racial hierarchy and social structure that yields superiority and privilege for some, and discrimination and oppression for others (Cole, 2015).

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

To understand the unique challenges faced by higher education today, one needs to trace the ideological factors that shaped higher education to before and during Apartheid. This chapter explores the history of racial segregation in education and their ideological underpinnings. The chapter also discusses the legacy of inequality in higher education, the current policies,

2.2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.2.1 Race and Racial categorisation in South Africa

Frantz Fanon (1952) describes Blackness as a White construct that seeks to portray Black people as subhuman or inferior. In South Africa, the belief that Black people were inferior or subhuman existed before the institutionalisation of Apartheid. Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2010) describes racialisation as a system that organised people according to hierarchy that was depended on binaries such a primitive versus civilised or developed versus underdeveloped. At the top of the hierarchy were White people. Their way of life were seen as civilised and developed.

Historical archives and published writing of colonialist also reiterate the arguments of Fanon and Ndlovu-Gatsheni. People like Cecil Rhodes and Olive Schreiner wrote extensively about the role of Black people in the colony. Cecil Rhodes theorised greatly about the subhuman nature of Black people in South Africa. One of the most famous quotations from Rhodes is “I prefer land to niggers...the natives are like children. They are emerging from barbarism and one should kill as many niggers as possible” (Rhodes in Adebajo, 2010: 218). Rhodes articulates the very same idea that Frantz Fanon alludes to, that Blackness is barbaric and subhuman.

Even though other colonialists like Olive Schreiner critiqued Rhodes’s brutality against African people and was an advocate for the rights of White women, she too could not escape her socialisation within the British Empire. For example, she critiqued how Rhodes treated Africans, yet also described Hottentots as people incapable of bearing intelligence (First & Scott, nd). This portrays the general sentiment in English Victorian society that Africans were

lesser beings. Moreover, this belief is also evident when she writes about the 'Native Question', when she describes Black people as cogs in a political machine whose purpose is to enrich the colonial political elite. She argued that racial unity that might ensure that Africans served their true purpose as “great material” must thus have been “wisely handled” if the political elite was to advance (Schreiner, 1896). Again, this proves that even according to a colonialist known to be highly liberal, racialisation of Black people as either inferior or as objects was prevalent in the colony. The construction of Blackness as inferior continued under Afrikaner nationalism and with the implementation of Apartheid. Apartheid was institutionalised when the National Party won the elections in 1948. Apartheid was a legal form of governance introduced in 1948 by the National Party for 'separate development' of all races. Institutionalisation of separate development means that the National Party put multiple laws in place from 1948 to 1988 to achieve and maintain Apartheid. The basic components were racial segregation, separate development and the preservation of Afrikaner nationalism (Robert, 1994). Apartheid architects argued that this separate social, political and economic development of all racial groups served each group's specific cultural needs (Wizarat, 1980). The architects of Apartheid viewed race as a social construct with social, cultural and economic dimensions. These dimensions were all premised on the emphasised notion of irreconcilable differences, hence the need for separate development. (Posel, 2001). Under Apartheid, the South African population was divided into four racial categories, namely: African (Black), Coloured, Indian and White. In 1950, the Population Registration Act stated that every citizen had to be registered into one of the four official racial categories (White, Indian, Coloured and African). Apartheid constructed and micro-managed how people internalised and navigated race. Based on an ideology of a social hierarchy, Apartheid legislated which public amenities different groups used (as per the Separate Amenities Act), and lived (as per the Group Areas Act). The government set up different departments that would deal with people according to their race (Roberts, 1994). The racial categories were not just a way to organise South African society. They carried meaning. Racial categories were founded on a racial hierarchy. In the context of South Africa, racialisation created a hierarchy where Whites were at the top of civilisation, followed by Indians, then Coloured people, and Black people were at the bottom (Gordon,2008). At the bottom of civilisation, Africans were believed to be inferior and their

purpose to serve White society. Steve Biko (1969) also recognises that Blackness is something that has been constructed by the White apartheid regime as something inherently lacking of humanity and reason. The concept of the African as Black has been a deliberate socialisation and preparation of the Black race for subservient roles in the fabric of White society. Prominent political figures under Apartheid theorised greatly about the inferiority of Black people. In 1948, D. F. Malan asserted ,

Mr. Speaker, today South Africa belongs to us. Where we shall be introducing legislation to implement our policy which we call Apartheid-the separation between the races. Races will live and travel separately. Education will be separate for all groups at all levels. Native reserves will become Black homelands. Work fitting for the White man will be reserved for him and him alone. Apartheid rests on three unarguable foundations - Afrikaner Experience - OUR experience, Scientific Proof that the White man is a superior being, and Biblical Witness. Apartheid represents divine will. (Malan in Werner, nd)

Racial categorisation was also used as the fundamental principle for allocating resources and opportunities, determining geographical allocation, planning and development and boundaries of social interaction. Race became the variable that organised South African society and was a huge determining factor to accessing resources. The exercise of mass racial classification and differentiation became the foundation for future segregationist and discriminatory laws such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, the Immorality Act of 1949, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953, and the Bantu Education Act of 1953, amongst many others. These laws legalised separate living areas, the separate use of public amenities according to race and the complete forbiddance of social interaction across racial lines (Posel, 2001). Racial categorisation in South Africa also saw the introduction of a racialised and unequal education.

2.2.2 Basic Education under Apartheid

In pre-Apartheid South Africa, the schooling system played a huge part in the socialisation of slaves. Early schooling initiatives by the Dutch East India Company were modelled in a way that psychologically prepared the slave to serve their masters more efficiently. Slaves were

required to unlearn everything about their previous communities and acquire a Dutch worldview and adopt the Christian religion. In effect, the education system served as a re-socialising tool for slaves into their new identities as subordinate subjects (Soudien, 2013). Even though schools were initially integrated; later, children of colonialists were separated. In these schools, the children of colonialists were groomed for control. They were taught how to reproduce and reinforce European civilisation and culture in Africa. This laid the foundations for Apartheid policies and the structure of education in the 20th century (Soudien, 2012).

During Apartheid, the National Party instituted the policy of separate development within the education system by creating separate departments for all the racial groups. The outcome was nineteen racially and ethnically defined departments of lower and higher education. White education was controlled by the White House of Assembly, Indian education by the Indian House of Delegates, and Coloured education by the Coloured House of Representatives. Urban African education was controlled by the Department of Education and Training, and rural African ethnically separate departments were controlled by 'homeland' educational systems. Each racially divided department functioned as a separate educational bureaucracy, with its own regulations, laws, modes of operation, staff, contracts and history (Carrim, 1998).

From the 1950s the education system in South Africa took the same shape as other Apartheid policies. In 1953, the Bantu Education Act was passed into law, which stated that different races were not allowed to study at the same school. It also prohibited the instruction of Mathematics and Science in the Black education system (Poutiainen, 2009). In his justification of the Bantu Education Act in 1953, Hendrik Verwoerd went on to say,

There is no place for [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice?" This clearly articulates two sentiments that the Black people are inferior not deserving of an education high standards. Secondly, that educating Black people is a waste because they are destined to the world of slave labour.

The state transformed the Bantu Education curriculum of the African people to teach African people to accept allocated roles of obedience, identification with rural culture, and piety (Soudien, 2012). Moreover, the White education system had the highest state expenditure,

resources and infrastructure. The Black education system was not properly resourced, often with no textbooks and limited teachers with no or minimal qualifications (OECD, 2008). For many South Africans, basic elements of education were left out of the curriculum and only English and Afrikaans were officially recognised. During Apartheid, the quality of an educator's training was determined by their race. Teacher training opportunities were unequal, and Black teachers received inferior training. Black teachers were only required to have grade 10 and two years of further study, as opposed to a White teacher who had to have a minimum of three years' education at a college or university. Therefore, most Black teachers were unqualified or underqualified, and the few that were qualified were thinly spread across the homelands (Poutiainen, 2009: 29).

2. 2.3 Apartheid Legacies in schools

With the advent of the new South African democracy, the government embarked on a plan to desegregate South African high schools. Since 1996, every South African has the right to a basic education as laid out in the 1996 Bill of Rights, which is contained in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Republic of South Africa, 1996a). The State is constitutionally obligated to make education available and accessible to all South Africans. Policies that advance desegregation have been put in place to ensure equality and quality of education for all South Africans (Crouch, 2004). However, the Apartheid legacy of unequal spending and unequal infrastructure has led to structural inequalities after democracy. During Apartheid, the state “was paying more than 20 times per capita for White education as for Blacks” (McKeever, 2016:119). High schools in townships struggle with poor infrastructure whereas schools in the suburbs are far more resourced (Roberts, 1994).

With the political regime change in 1994, one of the State’s mandates was to desegregate schools and ensure they were multicultural. With the exception of some resistance from a few White schools, the process went smoothly enough, without much trauma being experienced (Jansen, 2004). However, the transition has not come without its challenges. Jansen (2004:2) writes,

“There is a formidable research literature showing that in South African schools, the grouping of children, the dominant assessment practices, the learner preferences of the

teacher, the display of cultural symbols, the organisation of religious symbols, the scope of awards and rewards, and the decisions of 'who teaches what' are all organised in ways that show preference based on race”

Many South African students who attend previously White schools still struggle with feeling alienated or unable to relate to the school cultures. Moreover, McKeever (2016: 128) argues,

[T]he respondent's level of educational achievement related to the occupation of their parents, but also the quality of that education. This holds even after controlling for age, gender, and growing up in an urban area. Other research has shown that the level of education of caregivers and economic resources of the home are major predictors of educational success in South Africa...

Black student success in school is not only dependent on their competency and hard work. They might not succeed at school because of the level of education of their parents. This means, Black students whose parents grew up under Apartheid and were taught Bantu education also influences how young people acquire an education in South Africa. The legacy of inequality and discrimination inherited from racist Apartheid policies has an adverse effect for Black South Africans who are navigating the education system today.

2.2.4 Higher Education during Apartheid and the legacy of Apartheid

In the same year of the enactment of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the Apartheid government also enacted laws to segregate institutions of higher learning. Institutions of higher were segregated according to the stipulated races in compliance with the Extension of Universities Act of 1959. The government established the Commission on Coloured Education, and also passed the Coloured Persons Act (No. 47 of 1963) and the Indian Education Act (No. 61 of 1965) which formalised the segregation of the education system (Soudien, 2012). In 1967, the National Party implemented the National Education Policy Act where separate tertiary institutions were established for Blacks, Coloured and Indians. The introduction of the 1984 constitution further entrenched divisions in education in South Africa. By the beginning

of 1985, 19 universities were exclusive to Whites, two were exclusive to Indians, two were exclusive to Coloureds and six were exclusive for Africans (Bunting, 2006). The African universities were divided into Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho universities in order for Africans to be further divided into their supposed respective tribes within the Bantustans (Tabata, nd). The term Bantustans refers to the areas where Black people were relegated to during the policy of separate development. Moreover, Black universities (African, Indian and Coloured) were not set up for academic reasons, however they were set up in order to produce a Black middle class who would work with the system to further entrench Apartheid (Badat, 2011).

Despite the fact that measures have been taken towards redress, the legacy of Apartheid is still evident, particularly because inequality exists along the lines of race even within higher education institutions. As discussed previously, higher education was instrumental in the realisation of Apartheid and racial inequality (Bunting, 2006). The segregation in higher education has resulted in low levels of enrolment into university by Black students and the unequal allocation of resources in previously White universities and Black universities. In 1948, Black university students made up only 4.6 percent of university enrolments. In the 1960s the numbers increased, but this was mainly to facilitate the creation of a Black middle class that would administrate Apartheid policies of separate development (Badat, 2011).

This objective of sculpting a Black middle class to support the Apartheid system had direct consequences for the resources allocated for the Black universities. Black universities were poorly funded and often academics at Black universities taught with old materials passed down from White institutions. This was in stark contrast to the White universities, which were well funded. This disparity in resource allocation based on the ideological mandate of apartheid has shaped the institutional cultures of previously White and Black universities (Bunting, 2006). Another legacy of Apartheid has been the low levels of access to higher education, which is still a prevalent problem in the Black community as a result of decades of exclusion. Diversity and difference in higher education are powerful wellsprings of institutional vitality and institutional development. The legacy of apartheid, however, has been the exact opposite. It created a pattern of unjust social inclusion and exclusion and the subordination of particular social groups. In 1993, only 9 per cent of people in higher education were Black, as opposed to 70 per cent of White people. Admissions policies in institutions of

higher learning, particularly previously White universities, have had to make drastic changes regarding their policies. These formerly predominantly White institutions have had to open their doors to Black students who were legally unauthorised to attend these institutions during apartheid (Badat, 2011).

Due to the legacy of Bantu education, there was a huge gap between high school learners' accomplishments from previously disadvantaged schools and the intellectual demands of higher education programmes. The result of ongoing schooling deficiencies associated with historically disadvantaged social groups means that even today, considerable numbers of students are underprepared with respect to the academic skills required for optimal participation and performance in higher education. Many Black students struggle because several institutions of higher learning instruct in English or Afrikaans, thus creating a language barrier as most Black students use English and/or Afrikaans as third or second languages behind their native tongues. These disparities have necessitated the development of academic programmes and the restructuring of higher education in order to respond to the challenges brought about by Apartheid (Badat, 2011). With the ushering in of a new democracy, many policies have been put in place in order to rectify the wrongs of the past. Efforts have been made to include the Black population into national planning in the education system and for redresses to be implemented according to historical advantage and disadvantage. With the establishment of the new ministry, several laws were put in place in order to transform tertiary education. Two of the most influential pieces of legislation are the Education and Training White Paper and the National Plan for Higher Education (Moja and Cloete, 1996). The Education and Training White Paper outlined the macro principles of education and the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) (Carrim, 1998). The National Plan for Higher Education implemented frameworks that identify the strategic interventions necessary for the transformation of higher education. Both these policies form part of the national agenda to transform higher education.

2.2.5 Youth Identity Formation

The study of identity as an evolutionary process is a key part of the social sciences. Within this, the study of youth identity development is a key component. What is an identity? According to

Marcia (1980), the identity comprises an internal, self-constructed, dynamic organisation of drives, abilities, beliefs, and individual histories. In essence, identity formation refers to the psychological, physical, social and spiritual domains of an individual (Tsang et al, 2012).

Erik Erikson, one of the foremost scholars in identity development, posits that identity can be examined at the ego, personal and social levels. The human being goes through various psychological challenges at different stages in their life. Each phase is defined by specific psychosocial crises beginning from infancy, early childhood, childhood, puberty, adolescence, early adulthood, middle adulthood and late adulthood. The resolution of the crises in each phase allows the individual to move on to the next stage (Erikson, 1968). Adolescence is a stage within identity development that is characterised by psychological and physical developments that occur rapidly and challenge the adolescent's ability to cope. During adolescence, individuals experience a set of identity crises that force them to re-define their personal characteristics, their views about themselves, how others view them, and the purposes of their lives (Tsang et al, 2012).

A successful negotiation of adolescence results in a positive sense of identity that can facilitate future development. However, an unsuccessful navigation of adolescence can result in identity confusion. How young people experience adolescence as part of their development is crucial as it sets the foundation for the rest of their life journey (Erikson, 1968). As a phase, adolescence is divided into four identity statuses or "outcomes of identity formation" and two dimensions which influence identity formation. Marcia's methodology for describing the process of ego identity formation is "divided into two developmental tasks: (a) exploration of occupational, ideological, political and sex role options, or domains, in adult life; and (b) commitment of belief or action in each of these areas" (Yoder, 2000:96). The four identity statuses are identity diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and identity achievement. The two dimensions which influence adolescent identity formation are exploration and commitment (Marcia, 1980). These processes are most observable in moments of crisis or the decision-making period.

Identity diffusion refers to individuals who have not begun the process of actively questioning adult roles and values in the various domains of adolescent life. In identity

diffusion, there has not been any commitment made regarding any particular vocation, ideology or life path.

Foreclosure refers to individuals who have made commitments to occupational and ideological positions, but not as a result of their exploration and choosing. Instead, these commitments come from their parents' decisions.

Moratorium refers to individuals who have made occupational and ideological commitments but who are also struggling with reconciling their identity.

Lastly, Identity achievement refers to individuals who have faced a decision-making period and have made their occupational choice and ideological commitments (Marcia, 1980). These are known as identity crises. Of all of these development stages, the identity achievement is considered to be the strongest in identity formation. Erikson recognises that one cannot separate personal growth and the external environment (Erikson, 1968). Even though certain scholars of identity theory acknowledge that identity formation is a socially embedded process, the theory tends to focus on the internal psychological development. Yoder (2000) insists that if we wish to understand youth identity formation, it becomes imperative to examine the external socio-historical factors that can hinder the process of internal development.

As such, study of identity development must take into account the external social factors that limit identity development. These are called identity development barriers. This means that when one examines identity development amongst adolescents it is imperative to be cognisant of the young person's context. Identities are often negotiated or defined in relation to others or how one perceives the self in relation to others. In a study done amongst second generation Guatemalans and Salvadorans living in the United States, their ethnicity in relation to what is considered the 'norm' was a huge part of their identity formation. Their constant awareness of their ethnic "otherness" was also evident in the Latino community. Mexican Americans were the first immigrant communities in cities like Los Angeles therefore when some central Americans like the Guatemalans and Salvadorans settled in the Latino communities they experienced discrimination and ridicule from Mexican Americans.

Some of the countries the Central Americans came from were reputed to be violent and poverty-ridden which engendered feelings of embarrassment on the part of Central Americans

and reluctance to claim their nationalities. Some individuals in these communities opted to keep their pre-immigration nationalities hidden, or adopted a general Latino identity. It is evident that the negative experiences in relation to their identity coming from the external environment caused some respondents in this study to deny their ethnic identity. This demonstrates how the external world plays a huge role in identity formation (Chinchilla and Hamilton, 2013).

Imposed expectations due to one's racial identity can also be a factor that causes adolescents to experience conflict and discomfort within their identity. In a study done amongst inner city African American students' experiences of race, some expressed the need to balance the navigation of two cultures, the Black and White culture. Respondents also communicated their discomfort in having to "act proper" or "White" when in a multicultural context like at school, as opposed to their home environment. One participant felt she needed to "act ghetto" when she was with her African-American friends in order not to appear to be a "goody-goody-two-shoes". The respondents expressed that this constant changing of one's self according to context was stressful and resulted in feeling inauthentic in both the home and the school environment (Gullan et al, 2001). A study done in the United States showed that a majority of Black students experienced difficulty acclimatising and "fitting in" to the university environment because of their racial identity. This suggests that racial identity is one the factors that actually hinders Black students to adjusting to campus life. They felt that their campus experiences negatively heightened their racial self-consciousness. Because identity operates within contesting ideas about the self, racial identity of Black students exists within contesting ideas about Blackness. This means that Black students battle with external negative ideas about Blackness which are historical and this results in Black students feeling discriminated against (Hartmann & Fisher, 1995) and disoriented within a given environment.

Blackness is an identity that carries historical meaning and is an ideologically loaded term. In the university space, Blackness is negotiated by Black students alongside hurtful and negative constructions and this affects how Black students navigate and thrive in university. Black students have been reported to struggle with racial stereotypes on campus which affects how they experience and perform their identity. Exposure to a climate of prejudice and discrimination in the classroom and on campus has gained attention as the main factor

accounting for differences in withdrawal behaviour between minorities and non-minorities in the United States (Cabrera et al, 1999). Black students experienced racial stereotypes about Blackness and this resulted in alienation on campus. Racial stereotyping has been named as an element that leads to alienation.

In a study that examined the experiences of Black students attending a Canadian institution, Hamilton and Shang (nd) found that some Black students expressed a negative university experience, as they were treated negatively because of their race. In a study conducted at Southwest Missouri State University, it was reflected that race plays a major role in students' ability to make new friendships. Some Black students expressed an inclination to "hang with their own" based on the desire for social acceptance by their peers. Moreover, Black students were hesitant to make new friends based on their distrust of White students and their desire to avoid the possibility of being victimised by racial prejudice (Hartmann & Fisher, 1995). On this particular university campus, for many Black students, social interaction was guided by their fear of racial prejudice. Even though racial exclusion and racism informed how some students experienced Blackness, there were certain communal spaces in university that Black students could express their Blackness. Students in the study emphasised the necessity of a strong Black community on campus. These same students also felt a sense of shared identity with other Black students of West Indian origin. Belonging to this larger Black student group was a huge part of one student's being able to find herself during the transitional phase of university (Hamilton & Shang, nd).

In the South African context, racial categorisation inherited from Apartheid is a huge factor that influences youth identity formation. Ideas about race and racial differences are still deeply embedded in society. Posel (2001, 67) believes that, "if ideas of race and racial difference are indeed as deeply embedded in the social fabric as this paper suggests, then it will require deliberate and strategic interventions from the state to refashion social relations." However, this has not been the case. The South African government still uses these racial categorisations on official documents and this greatly informs identities today. Universities also use the same racial categories (as per government mandate) on official documents when dealing with students, especially when it is for transformation purposes.

Even though racial categorisation is greatly embedded in the South African consciousness, other social factors shape how young people develop their identities. Public discourse is particularly harsh on the youth when it comes to issues such as teen pregnancy, HIV, crime and unemployment. Identity theory states that identity development doesn't exist in a vacuum but that social barriers can hinder identity development. It can be argued that social problems faced by South Africa influence the identity development of young people negatively (Steyn et al, 2010). These social problems may shape how young Black youths develop their identities.

2. 2. 6 Socialisation of Black Adolescents

Socio-historical

One cannot study Blackness amongst young people without understanding how a young person's socio-historical context impacts the formation of their identity. Even though Erikson (1968) recognises that one cannot separate personal growth and the external environment, some scholars have criticised his model. Some scholars are critical of the fact that the theory tends to focus on the internal psychological development.

In the context of South African, socialisation and meanings attached to race stem from colonisation and Apartheid. In South Africa, race and Blackness as a racial category is a social construct which was created to serve a particular purpose in the building of European empires in South Africa (Martin, 1996). These social constructions and inequalities may shape how young Black youths develop their identities. In contemporary South Africa, ideas about race and racial differences are still deeply embedded in society. Mattes (2002) asserts, "In divided societies like South Africa people identify more readily with one of its ethnic, racial or religious components than with the society as a whole". This sense of surety about one's racial identity is also a legacy of Apartheid that sought to clearly demarcate people along racial lines. Race has become an integral part of young people's understanding of their identity in South Africa (Posel, 2001:50). Therefore, in South Africa, Apartheid and history shape how young people identify or think about Blackness.

Parents

Studies in America have concluded that young people are socialised about ethnicity and race by a number of different factors. Parents, caregivers and adults in a young person's life influences how young people think about race (Priest et al, 2014:142). However, various arguments have been put forward stating that parents are the primary influencer around the social norms and values of young people (Glass & Bengston, 1986).

Howard (1985:141) argued that some Black parents socialised their children about racial pride, self-development or racial barrier messages and this constructed various meanings of Blackness. Racial pride messaging encouraged unity, teachings about heritage and good feelings about Blackness. Self-development messages encouraged individual excellence and positive character traits. Racial barrier messages emphasised racial inequalities and how to cope under structural racism. Depending on the message or combination of messaging, young people construct different meanings of Blackness. Parents who speak to their children about Blackness viewed this action as preparation regarding the structural limitations of being Black in the world (Peters, 1985).

Either students were told that they need to work twice as hard as their counterparts, or they were taught that Blackness was a disadvantage. They were further taught that the world is prejudiced towards Black people, that the narrative of Blackness involves constant struggle, and that they have to work hard (Lalonde et al, 2008:130). Similarly to Lalonde et al, Peters (2002) found that, "African American parents emphasise such socialization concerns as self-esteem, survival, education, self-respect, lack of fair treatment from Whites" (Peters, M. F. (2002).

For some Black parents, part of the socialisation of young people included discussions about race. However, for some Black parents, socialisation excluded conversations about race. Those Black parents may have avoided speaking about race for fear that their children might become hateful or bitter towards other races. Also, some Black parents feel that racism no longer exists (Thornton et al, 1990).

Other External influences

Conversations with parents are not the only way young people are socialised about race. Other

factors such as geographical location, socio-economic circumstances, social context and experiences of discrimination also socialise young people about race (Priest et al, 2014: 144). For example, Black students in university might battle with external negative prejudices about Blackness. As a result of White supremacy, some Black students feel discriminated against and disoriented within a given environment (Hartmann & Fisher, 1995: 116).

Media outlets also communicate certain messages to young people about race and Blackness. Moreover, “actions and words of characters on television influence the way we all understand issues of race and racial identities” (Abor, 2009: 2). In her book, *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, bell hooks (1992) critiques racist media representation of Blackness. In her opinion, Black people experience an influx of negative representation,

The "we" evoked here is all of us, Black people/people of color, who are daily bombarded by a powerful colonizing Whiteness that seduces us away from ourselves that negates that there is beauty to be found in any form of Blackness that is not imitation Whiteness.

The public space is filled with subliminal or overt racist and negative depiction of Blackness that reinforce and reinscribe White supremacy. Similarly to hooks, Tomaselli (1983) observes that Black people tended to be portrayed as savages who threaten White civilisation in South African cinema. Young people constantly consume media in which they are also “bombarded daily” by racist representations of Blackness.

2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this study, the experiences of navigating Blackness within the University space among Black South African students was examined through the lens of two theories, namely: Steve Biko’s Black Consciousness and W.E.B Du Bois’s Double Consciousness. Together, these theories make up the theoretical framework for this study.

Each of the theories are outlined and the characteristics of the models explained below, followed by a description of the interplay between these two as they were used in this study.

2.3.1 Steve Biko and Black Consciousness

During the 1960's, the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) sought to challenge racist constructions of Blackness and assert Black humanity. The movement emerged after the ban of the ANC and the PAC during a time where political resistance was almost non-existent in South Africa (Ranuga, 1986:182). At the height of brutal repression by the Apartheid Government, Black Consciousness offered a bold voice and a desire for Black liberation. Black Consciousness also created a new language to conceptualise, articulate and express Blackness. This new Black identity was embodied and associated with rebellion against oppression (Mngxitama et al, 2008:5). As Biko (1969: 49) puts it, "Black people--- real Black people---are those who manage to hold their heads high in defiance rather than willingly surrender their souls to the White man."

Therefore, liberating South Africa entailed first liberating the Black psyche from an inferiority complex resulting from centuries of oppression. Biko believed that the liberation movements of the time only dealt with the physical conditions of Blackness and did not deal with the psyche of Black people. The psychological emancipation afore mentioned could be achieved through ownership of one's Blackness, Black pride and the subversion of negative historical constructions of Blackness as sub-human (Biko, 1969).

It is important to note that the construction of Black people as subhuman or inferior was not arbitrary but deliberate in order to justify the oppression of Black people. Apartheid racist laws that restricted Black people, poor living conditions, poor pay, slave labour and poor education formed part of the institutional racism that oppressed Black people at the time (Biko, 1969). The institutionalised racism Biko alludes to, More (2012) defines as the historical, social, political and religious processes and practices that have forced Black people to internalise their identity as sub-human. For Biko, Apartheid was twofold because it institutionalized the oppression of Black people and psychologically oppressed so Black people do not feel empowered to revolt against their oppression.

Therefore, if Black inferiority was used as a justification to oppress Black people, by extension, psychological emancipation came as a solution to institutionalised racism under Apartheid. Biko insisted that self-consciousness was a means to an end and the end being Black liberation,

Blacks are out to completely transform the system and to make of it what they wish. Such a major undertaking can only be realised in an atmosphere where people are convinced of the truth inherent in their stand. Liberation therefore, is of paramount importance in the concept of Black Consciousness, for we cannot be conscious of ourselves and yet remain in bondage. We want to attain the envisioned self which is a free self. (p. 50)

It would not be enough for Black people to be consciousness, the consciousness served as an apparatus for Black liberation. When one defined themselves as Black and expressed racial pride they subvert an identity which was used for their psychological enslavement. Moreover, when one realizes they are not inferior then they uprising and transform the system that oppress and relegate them to the margins.

Moreover, the identity Black was redefined as a positive response to the Apartheid term “non White”. Black included Indian, Coloured and African (Mngxitama et al, 2008). The liberation of the Black psyche also meant resisting Apartheid racial categories. Apartheid used the tactic of ‘divide and conquer’ in order to suppress the South African community. The division of the population to the four races, and the further division of the African communities into tribes in the Bantustans meant that further segregation occurred. Blackness according to Steve Biko contained the ambition to unite various people of colour so that they could defeat the common enemy of the apartheid government. In this way, the Black Consciousness Movement was an effective opposition to the government's divide-and-conquer strategy. For Biko, solidarity amongst people of colour based on a common aspiration for liberation (as opposed to racial distrust) was another characteristic of Blackness.

In addition, the BCM sought to subvert these divisions by taking a political stance that the term 'Black' was inclusive of Africans, Coloureds and Indians. Biko (1969) maintained that, being Black was not a matter of pigmentation but a reflection of one's mental attitude. Even though Biko articulates Blackness beyond pigmentation, he does make a distinction between Black people and Non-Whites. For Biko, Black people who aspired to assimilate into Whiteness or served in the Apartheid government were Non-Whites.

The Black Consciousness Movement provided South Africa a historical shift regarding how people internalized and made sense of their Black identity. Therefore, Black Consciousness becomes relevant as a theoretical framework as this study explored Blackness amongst Black university students.

2.3.2 W. E. B. Du Bois and Double Consciousness

At the turn of the twentieth century, W. E. B. Du Bois lived in segregated America and subsequently wrote about the African American experience of a dual consciousness (Allen, 1992). This duality of consciousness came to be known as Double Consciousness. In his essay *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois (1903) describes the Double Consciousness as a feeling that one's identity is divided into several parts that are fragmented and difficult to unify. This duality results in a fragmented self shaped by the internalisation of anti-Black attitudes due to negative perceptions upheld by the White world.

In his essay, Du Bois (1903) deconstructs 'the veil' that haunts African Americans from their birth until death. This veil refers to the duality of the African American identity. Black people in the United States held two irreconcilable identities, as Africans and also as Americans. He writes,

the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world...One ever feels his twoness, —an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife, —this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. (pg.3)

Du Bois contended that from birth, African Americans struggle to reconcile their two identities in order to embody a healthy wholesome self. This duality or double consciousness is caused by 'the second sight' or the 'veil' which is an externally imposed understanding of one's self through the eyes of the White world (1903). For African Americans, the veil imposed a negated self-consciousness, or the measurement of themselves through by standards of the

White world (Allen, 1992). That is to say, African Americans experience Blackness through the external White racist gaze (Moore, 2005).

Therefore, Double Consciousness can be understood as the internalisation of one's identity from an external (negative) perspective of one's oppressor. Double Consciousness refers to 'the second sight' which is externally imposed from the White world view that portrays African people as savages who need civilising. Du Bois asserts that the duality experienced by African Americans resulted in self-alienation (Double Consciousness) and an incoherent identity (Allen, 1992: 264). African Americans existed in "a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world" (Du Bois, 1903:3).

The internalised racist gaze meant that African Americans used White racist ideals from a society that oppressed them, as the benchmark for their humanity (Green, nd: 2). Double Consciousness therefore becomes in conflict with one's wholeness (true self-consciousness) and results in a Eurocentric worldview (Moore, 2005:757). This results in internalisation of anti-Black attitudes. These anti-Black attitudes came in the form of low self-confidence and a "morbid sense of personality" which alludes to an unhealthy mental state (Du Bois, 1969:51).

Similarly to Biko, Du Bois believed that an awareness of how colonisation and racism affected the Black psyche, Black people could undo the mental conflict caused by Double Consciousness. Freedom from Double Consciousness also meant a knowledge of oneself, self-respect as a Black person, self-realization of both African and American identities and self-acceptance (Du Bois, 1903).

Du Bois believed that the disunity and attainment of a self-conscious manhood could be undone through African American people educating themselves about the rich cultures, economic advancement, inventions and civilisations which existed in Africa before colonisation (Horne & Young 2001). Du Bois also believed that an elite group African Americans called the Talented Tenth (Black intelligentsia) needed to do the task of educating African Americans on internalised racist ideals (Allen, 1992).

2.3.3 Black Consciousness and Double Consciousness as a theoretical framework

This study uses Black Consciousness and Double Consciousness as a theoretical framework. Both theories discuss how living in an anti-Black society results in the internalisation of negative beliefs about Blackness. Biko (1969: 102) asserts that living in an unequal Apartheid society that affords White people an unfair advantage causes Black people to believe that they are inferior. This results in what he terms as the “empty shell”. Although Du Bois's theory of Double Consciousness comes from a different context, he also asserts that Black people in United States are socialised in an anti-Black society and this results in what he terms “the veil”.

Moreover, these two theories also discuss the need for psychological liberation of the Black psyche from racism. Biko believed that Black Consciousness and Black pride were integral parts part of that psychological liberation. Similarly, Du Bois also asserted that the history of African people was distorted and portrayed as barbaric, therefore, African Americans needed to be educated about the positive side of African civilisation, respect and accept who they are. Apartheid has played a role in constructing Blackness as an inferior identity. This study explored young people’s experiences of Blackness in post-Apartheid South Africa. As such, these two theories were relevant in exploring Blackness.

3.3 POLICY AND LEGISLATION

After the fall of the Apartheid regime, the new democratic government had the task of setting up a centralised ministry for education. The new government inherited a segregated and unequal system of education (Reddy, 2004). Therefore, more inclusive institutional cultures that embrace language and cultural diversity among staff and students have to be built so that ‘all our people feel at home in higher education’ (Asmal & James, 2003:12). Access to higher education has become a national policy mandate directed at previously disadvantaged groups (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007).

Several laws were put in place in order to transform tertiary education so that it no longer reflected institutional racism in higher education. Two of the most influential pieces of legislation are the Education and Training White Paper and the National plan for Higher Education.

2.3.1 Education and Training White Paper

In 1994 and 1995, the Education and Training White Paper was published and it outlined the macro principles of education and the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) (Carrim, 1998). The term “White paper” indicates that this policy was part of the first steps in the process of transforming education under the national Reconstruction and Development Programme in the newly elected Government for National Unity. The Education and Training White Paper stated that higher education should be transformed in order to negate exclusionary practices and segregated education system institutionalised under Apartheid. The new education system needed to reflect the new democratic South Africa (DoE, 1995).

Taking this into consideration, the White Paper makes reference to the South African constitution and human rights as the basis for transformation. The White Paper asserts that as per the constitution, education is a basic human right. This means that all citizens have the right to access high quality education and training. The policy commits to desegregating education and integrating those previously excluded from the education system such as poor children, illiterate women, those with disabilities, rural, squatter and communities have been affected by violence (DoE, 1995). The policy commits to centering the learners in their educational endeavours and responding to the educational needs of learners:

The overarching goal of policy must be to enable all individuals to value, have access to, and succeed in lifelong education and training of good quality. Educational and management processes must therefore put the learners first, recognising and building on their knowledge and experience, and responding to their needs. (DoE, 1995)

This means, the ministry commits to responding to the educational needs of individuals from early childhood development right through to higher education. The educational needs also included restructuring the budget of the education system in order meet the new financial requirements the new education system. The paper also stipulated the curriculum of various educational institutions would be reviewed and a standardized national qualification (National Qualification Framework) would be implemented by the South African Qualification Association. Educational institution’s governing bodies needed to be representative and adhere to democratic processes and principles.

In terms of higher education, the policy required institutions of higher learning to be representative of the broader South African population and “are compelled to grapple with the consequences of poor secondary education among an increasing proportion of the students they admit”. Therefore, transformation required that the philosophy that prevailed at higher education institutions in the past needed to be replaced with a new democratic culture directed at actively undoing race-based separation of Apartheid (Akoojee and Nkomo, 2007).

The ministry commits to respecting the universities autonomy however also state that they have the responsibility to assess institutions of higher learning regarding transformation and how it might be assisted to improve (DoE, 1995).

2.3.2 National Plan for Higher Education

Since 1994, many tertiary institutions, especially those previously White, have gotten on board with transformation. Policies have been put in place to in order to have universities that are inclusive to the broader South African population (Akoojee and Nkomo, 2007). In 2001 the National Plan for Higher Education (NPHE) was founded with the intention of implementing a framework that identifies strategic interventions necessary for the transformation of higher education. The NPHE set out an agenda for greater access to Black students to institutions of higher education and successful completion of the Black students' academic careers. The policy set out different ways to achieve this, which included Academic Development programmes and Financial Aid schemes in order to assist with the fulfilment of this mandate (DoE, 2001).

The NPHE set out to transform higher education in five different ways, first the policy sought to producing graduates that would aid the social and economic development of South Africa. Second, to achieve equity in the South African higher education system through increased participation rates in academia and improve staff equity. Third, achieving diversity in the South African higher education system especially diversifying field of studies and programmes. Fourth, sustaining and promoting postgraduate research as well as increasing Masters and Doctoral graduate outputs. Lastly, restructuring the institutional landscape of the higher education system (DoE, 2001).

This study will improve the existing legislation by offering an assessment of how Black students are adjusting in higher education, how Black students' engagement with their identity

informs their navigation of university campuses, and how a serious engagement with the Black identity can inform the betterment of transformation policies which seek to help Black students adjust and thrive in higher education. By engaging with how Black students navigate their racial identity, it will be possible to find out which spaces make Black students feel safe and aid in their adjustment into university. This then aids the national mandate for higher education to provide accessible institutions for higher education. By also examining how Blackness evolves in university spaces, this study provides a unique way to adjust policies in a way that meets the evolutionary process of Black youth identities.

However, even though the policies seeks to foster equal and access and non-discriminatory practices in higher education, there is still much work to be done. As Badat (2011) asserts, the idea of democracy and equal access is not enough to eradicate social and economic patterns of exclusion. Even though new policies have been have been formulated, deep-rooted structural inequalities still remain. Asmal and James (2003:12) also points out that the gap between the constitutional mandate and social reality 'is still wide'. Moreover, the policies have been introduced into a field still marked by previous discourses and practices still embedded in apartheid ways of being (Walker, 2006).

Moreover, the policies speak broadly about transformation and does not address race. The policies uses vague language about righting the "legacies of the past" and "past evils and conflicts". The injustices of the past included the systematic exclusion and repression of people according to race. By extension, Black people were structurally excluded in the education system because of their race. Therefore, meaningful redress and policies by the state must take Blackness very seriously.

The Fees Must Fall movement is another example where policies have failed to meet the needs of Black students. The movement comprised of students protesting the structural exclusion of Black students in universities due to expensive fees. Government policies state, "the overarching goal of policy must be to enable all individuals to value, have access to, and succeed in lifelong education and training of good quality". Therefore, "responding to their [students] needs" comprises in responding to the lack of adequate funding for Black students who are unable to access and education.

2.5 CONCLUSION

Any research that explores Blackness in South Africa has to examine the historical origins and the evolution of Blackness. Therefore this chapter examined the historical origins of the race and specifically Blackness in colonial and Apartheid South Africa. This chapter discussed the process of socialization and using Erikson's Youth Identity Formation model, this chapter discussed how young people form their identity. In this chapter, Black Consciousness and Double Consciousness are uncovered as the theoretical framework that inform this study. Lastly, this research discusses Apartheid policies pertaining to education and critically engages the new policies that were meant to undo the legacies of Apartheid in the education system. This chapter provided the historical and current context in which the research is conducted, the next chapter accounts for the methodological framework of the study.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This study formed part of a larger mixed method project housed within the Department of Social Development at the University of Cape Town, and was funded by the National Research Foundation. The three year longitudinal study employed both quantitative and qualitative methods to examine race, class, and gender differences in transition to adulthood among a sample of university students in the Western Cape. The goal was to examine how significant contextual background experiences inform young people's navigation of personal change as they transition to adulthood. The study used James Cote's (2002) Identity Capital model to understand identity formation among young people within the context of resources they have access to, by virtue of their social standing on the one hand, and how they acquire these resources as they negotiate their lives in different social settings (Cote, 1997). The study, presented in this thesis that examined the experiences of Blackness among university students, formed part of the qualitative component of the larger mixed method study on Identity Capital acquisition among university students. The researcher, worked with the Principal Investigator (who is also served as her thesis supervisor) as a research assistant on the project. The researcher's study formed part of the qualitative component of the larger mixed method study, focusing on the Black students in the larger sample.

In the sections that follow, the researcher presents a description of the a) the qualitative research design employed in the study, b) details on the study population and sampling characteristics, techniques and procedure c) the data collection approach used, d) and data analysis technique used.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The qualitative research design that informed this study is based on the critical feminist paradigm. Critical feminist approach to research is well known for its criticism of scientific research methodologies' insistence of objectivity. Feminist research methodologies place great importance in embodied knowledge, and pay close attention to epistemology, positionality and

power (Ackerly and True, 2008). Epistemology refers to the nature of how knowledge is arranged and prioritised. The knowledge that deals with racial identity tends to be gender-blind and heteronormative (Pereira, n.d). Heteronormativity refers to the belief that people fall into two gendered binaries of male and female. In addition, it assumes that the only legitimate sexual orientation is between men and women (Gray, 2011). When using a feminist research methodology, it becomes important to be vigilant about who is silenced in any discourses and problematise any such silencing (Ackerly and True, 2008:695). Positionality has to do with how researchers are located within power. When engaging with how the Black identity is experienced in the university space, this research will be sensitive to issues of positionality and how power is exercised between the researcher and the respondents (Ackerly and True, 2008:694).

3.3 POPULATION AND SAMPLING

3.3.1 Study Population and Sample

The total sample of the larger mixed method study was drawn from a target population of 10000 (2500 students from each institution) students enrolled at four Universities located in the Western Cape Province in the first semester of 2015. A representative sample of 600 first year male and female students between the ages of 17 and 25, from various socioeconomic racial (Black, White, Coloured and Indian) backgrounds were selected in the larger mixed method study. At the time of the study, the students were enrolled at two Universities in the Western Cape, namely: University One and University Two¹

For the purpose of the study reported in the thesis, a sample of twenty Black students was selected from the larger sample. This was done through the use of non-probability sampling. In non-probability sampling, the researchers uses his or her judgment to select respondents to be included in the study based on their knowledge of the purpose of the study (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). The type of non-probability sampling used was purposive sampling technique. Here, the researcher will carefully select those individuals whom they believe would yield information on the particular phenomena from their own experiences of it (Berg, 2001). Given

¹ These are Pseudonyms used to secure the anonymity of the institutions

that the purpose of this study was to examine Blackness navigation within the university space, the researcher selected Black students.

The respondents were among a sample of 600 students who participated in a survey from the broader mixed method study from University One and University Two. In the survey, there was a section where students indicated if they would like to participate in the second qualitative phase of the study. The researcher selected all the questionnaires filled in by Black students, contained contact details and had indicated an interested in participating in the second qualitative phase of the study. The researcher contacted the students by phone and email and made arrangements to conduct the interviews at a time the respondents deemed convenient. Before each interview, the researcher asked the respondents to sign a written consent form indicating their voluntary participation.

3.4. DATA COLLECTION

3.4.1 Data Collection Approach

In-depth individual interviews were used to collect the data. An in-depth individual interview is a method of qualitative research in which the researcher asks open-ended questions orally and records the respondent's' answers. These can be done face-to-face or via the phone. For this study, the researcher conducted face-to-face interviews. One of the advantages of conducting this type of interview is that, with the interviewer on site, it is easier for the respondent to be able to ask questions and clarify some of the terms they might not have understood on their own (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). The presence of the interviewer also decreases the number of "I don't know" answers, as the interviewer will be able to probe for the answers and, in this way, rich data can be collected. The presence of the researcher proved to be beneficial as the researcher was available to clarify any confusion that the respondents had about the questions. Furthermore, in-depth interviews are less structured, which makes them different from survey interviews (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). The interviewer must be fully familiar with the subject and potential questions, and plan so that things proceed smoothly and naturally. The researcher understood the subject and studied the interview schedule to ensure that the interviews ran smoothly, which they did.

3.4.2 Data Collection Instrument

A semi-structured interview schedule was developed to use as a guide to the interviews. A semi-structured interview schedule is a set of predetermined questions that can be used as an appropriate instrument to engage the respondents (De Vos et al., 2011). The schedule had open ended questions organised under significant themes of the study. The objective was to solicit personal background information, experiences, feelings, knowledge, and interpretations of the students with regards to issues of Blackness and Blackness within the university space.

3.4.3 Data Collection Procedure

The data collection was conducted at the height of student protests and during a time when university campuses were closed. Therefore, the interviews were conducted in diverse spaces off both university campuses which the respondents indicated afforded them comfortability. The interviews were private and were approximately an hour and 30 minutes. The interviews were conducted in English and isiXhosa. They interviews were recorded with a digital voice recorder or a cellphone. Follow up telephonic interviews were also conducted when the researcher needed additional information or clarification such as occupation of their parents, their academic courses and clarification of colloquial terms.

3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis is “the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data” (De Vos et al., 2011:333). The data collected were analysed using the adaptation of Tesch’s method (1990 as cited in De Vos, 2011). The process used comprised the following steps.

Step 1: the researcher transcribed all the twenty interviews from the digital recorder verbatim. The researcher then read through each of the transcriptions twice.

Step 2: The researcher picked one of the interviews. It can be for example the most interesting one or the shortest one. The researcher asked herself what the interview was about and what the underlying meaning was. She began to make notes and thoughts in margin.

Step 3: The researcher repeated step two for several respondents and made a list of all topics that came up. Similar topics were clustered together. The topics were organised into columns with headings that represent major topics, unique topics and leftovers.

Step 4: The researcher took the list back to the data in the fourth step. The topics were abbreviated as codes and were written next to narratives. This was helpful in organising the scheme and see the new categories that emerged.

Step 5: The researcher found the most descriptive words for her topics and turned them into categories. It was helpful to reduce the list of categories by grouping them together and see if they relate to each other or not.

Step 6: A final decision was made on the abbreviation for all categories in order to alphabetize the codes.

Step 7: The data material belonging to each category was put together to start with the analysis. The focus was to content each category as it was important to have the research questions in mind, in order to delete irrelevant data.

Step 8: After this, a framework of analysis was developed using the themes and categories that emerged from this process. In the discussion in the next chapter, the researcher has linked the themes from the interviews with findings discussed in the literature review and then used actual quotations from the transcriptions to substantiate the claims.

3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As a researcher, it is important to ensure that care is taken to deal with respondents in a respectful manner. Research is guided by ethical principles to ensure that no harm comes to the respondents of a research project (De Vos, et al 2011). From the beginning the researcher made sure that ethical considerations would be incorporated in the process of conducting this research. Ethical clearance was granted by the ethics committee from the Department of Social Development of the University of Cape Town. The following ethical considerations were incorporated into the research:

No harm to participants: Harm to respondents may include both physical and emotional harm. The researcher had foreseen that there might be some emotional harm to the participants. The

research questions touched on the sensitive issue of unemployment among the youth, which may have triggered some feelings such as anger, depression and despair. During the interviews, the respondents were assured that they could withdraw at any point if they felt uncomfortable to continue with the interview and that they had the right not to answer questions that they did not want to answer. None of the respondents displayed emotional problems during the interview process.

Informed consent: Accurate and complete information about the research, its purpose and process were given to respondents so that they could give informed consent. Where clarification was required, the researcher provided the information. To accompany this information, a consent form with information about the research was given to each of the respondents, and they were all asked to give written consent to take part in the study, which they all did.

Confidentiality: For this study, the respondents were asked to use pseudonyms to maintain their anonymity during the interview process. At the start of each interview, the researcher asked the respondent to provide a pseudonym they would like to be used during the interview. The respondents were assured that the interviews were confidential and that their responses would be presented under these pseudonyms during the write-up process. The researcher conducted the interviews off campus in a safe space that would compromise the respondents anonymity.

No deception of the participants: The respondents were given sufficient information about the researcher, her background, and location and research objectives.

Co-operation with other stakeholders: Full ethical clearance was granted by the Department of Social Development at the University of Cape Town before this research was conducted. The respondents were informed that the research was for the completion of the researcher's Master's Degree and that all information gathered would only be shared in a report and with a supervisor from the university without disclosing their names. Furthermore, the researcher's

supervisor is the principal researcher of the larger mixed method study. She was therefore aware of the research project and was supportive of the researcher's work.

3.7 POSITIONALITY

This research is located within a feminist paradigm thus, the researcher was sensitive to issues of positionality and power between the researcher and the respondents. Positionality interrogates where the researcher locates themselves and how they are located by others within systems of power. The position of a 'researcher' creates an unequal paradigm between researchers and respondent (Ackerly and True, 2008:694). The researcher was aware of their positionality and this awareness ensured the researcher is constantly aware of potential exploitative practices or violent behaviour between her and the respondents. The researcher shared greatly about her working class background and her experiences as a Black student and how they influenced her navigation of university. This assisted in bridging the impersonal and extractive nature of research and resulted in a mutual sharing of experiences. The researcher's ability to speak isiXhosa also afforded the participants the ability to speak their first languages. This is significant as some of the respondents struggled to articulate themselves in English. The English language was their second language.

In relation to the topic, the researcher positionality as a Black person and as a Black student afforded the researcher insight into the respondents' experiences. The researcher was able to empathize and relate to the respondents' experiences of racial discrimination, racial stereotypes and alienation. The researcher's positionality and shared lived experiences with the respondents motivated the researcher to capture the narratives of the respondents accurately and with integrity. The researcher's positionality as a Black person, a Black student and her connection to the research topic sometimes negatively impacted the researcher. At times, the researcher had to relive her unpleasant past experiences and this resulted in emotional distress. The researcher sought counselling services in order to deal with the emotional distress experienced as a result of the research.

3.8 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The universities in the study are huge, with various campuses across Cape Town, however the study only focused on one campus for each university. The study only focused on the Cape Town campus for University Two and Upper campus for University One. The study does not include the experiences of students from the other campuses for University One and Two. This is one of the limitations of the study. During the interviews with the respondents, conversation about Blackness were sometimes overshadowed by conversations about race. Race and Blackness as a racial construct were very intertwined during the interviews.

**CHAPTER FOUR:
FINDINGS ON RACIALISATION**

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents findings from in-depth individual interviews conducted with twenty Black respondents from two universities in the Western Cape on their experiences of racialization. The chapter will present the demographic profile of the twenty respondents. After this, an in-depth presentation of respondents' racial social socialization, perceptions and experiences of Blackness.

4.2 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of University One Respondents

Variable	Number	Percentage
Age		²
15-20	6	60%
21-25	4	40%
Gender		
Male	6	60%
Female	4	40%
Race		
Black/African	10	100%
Payment of Tuition		
Loan	1	10%
NSFAS	2	20%
Scholarship	1	10%
Parents	6	60%
Degree (Faculty)		

² University One and University Two have been used to replace the universities' real names.

* Respondents' names were replaced with pseudonyms

Humanities	3	30%
Commerce	5	50%
Engineering	1	10%
Architecture	1	10%
Year of Study		
Second Year	8	80%
Third Year	2	20%
Community Characteristics		
Historically White Suburb	8	80%
Township	2	20%
Family Structure		
Nuclear	4	40%
Single Mother	3	30%
Single Father	1	10%
Parents Divorced	2	20%
Parents' Occupation		
Healthcare	3	30%
Education	3	30%
Domestic Worker	1	10%
Law enforcement	1	10%
Engineering	1	10%
Commerce	1	10%

Table 1 presents the demographic profile of the respondents from University One. More than half of the respondents were youth between the ages 15-20 (60%). More than half of the respondents identified as male (60%) while four identified as female (40%). When the respondents were asked how they defined themselves in terms of race, all respondents said they

were Black/African. When asked whether other people viewed them as Black, 80% said yes while the other 20% said other people usually think they are Coloured, Indian or White. The 20% of the respondents who said they were perceived as Coloured or Indian suggested that this was because of their light skin tone, curly hair and light brown eyes. One respondent stated that people perceived her as White because she attended a majority White private school, her mannerisms were White and she mostly had White friends. More than half (60%) of the respondents' tuition is paid by their parents and others were on NSFAS, had taken a loan or were studying on a scholarship. NSFAS is the National Student Financial Aid Scheme, which is funded by the government, which pays for tuition, accommodation, food and study materials. NSFAS is a loan and has to be paid back once a student is working (nsfas.org.za). Fifty per cent of the respondents were studying towards a Commerce degree (50%), thirty per cent of the respondents were studying Humanities, ten per cent were in Architecture and ten per cent were in Engineering. The majority of the respondents (80%) were in second year, while 20% were in their third year of their studies at the time of the interviews. The majority of the respondents lived in residential areas that were previously reserved for White people and commonly known as suburbs (80%). Out of the ten respondents, 40% came from a nuclear family and the others had come from single parent homes or their parents are divorced. Three of the ten respondents' parents were employed in the Education sector (30%), three respondents' parents were employed in the Health sector (30%) and the other participants' parents were unemployed (10%), in Law Enforcement (10%), Engineering (10%) and Commerce (10%).

Table 2: Demographic Characteristics of University Two Respondents

Variable	Number	Percentage
Age		
15-20	5	50%
21-25	5	50%
Gender		
Male	5	50%

Female	5	50%
Race		
Black/African	10	100%
Payment of Tuition		
NSFAS	7	70%
Scholarship	2	20%
Parents	1	10%
Degree (Faculty)		
Commerce	9	90%
Engineering	1	10%
Year of Study		
Second Year	7	70%
Third Year	3	30%
Community Characteristics		
Historically White Suburb	1	10%
Township	4	40%
Rural	2	20%
Peri-urban	3	30%
Family Structure		
Nuclear	4	40%
Single Mother	5	50%
Extended Family	1	10%
Parents' Occupation		
Nurse	2	20%
Engineer	1	10%
Unemployed	3	30%

Informal labour	3	30%
Teacher	1	10%

Table 2 presents the demographic profile of the respondents from University Two. Half of the respondents were youth between the ages 15-20 (50%) and the other half were aged 21-25 (50%). Half of the respondents (50%) identified as male and the other half (50%) as female . When asked how they defined themselves in terms of race, all respondents said they were Black/African. When asked whether other people viewed them as Black, 80% said yes and the other 20% said other people usually think they are Coloured or African National/Somali. The 20% of the respondents who said they were perceived as Coloured suggested that this was because of their light skin tone and light brown eyes. One respondent stated that people perceived him as Somali because his hair was curly. The majority of the respondents were on a NSFAS loan (70%), two were on a scholarship (20%) and one had their tuition was paid by their parents (10%). The majority of the respondents were studying towards a Commerce degree (90%) and one respondent was studying Engineering (10%). Seven of the respondents were in the third year of their studies (70%). The majority of the respondents came from townships and peri-urban areas in South Africa. Out of the ten respondents, five were raised by single mothers (50%) and four came from nuclear families (40%). One respondent grew up with extended family (10%). Three of the ten respondents' parents did informal labour (30%), three of the respondents' parents were unemployed (30%) and the rest of the parents were a teacher (10%), nurses (20%) or an engineer (10%).

4.3. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Table 3: Framework of Analysis

THEME	CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY
4.3.1 Family Racial Socialisation	4.3.1.1 No conversation	From Black communities, therefore there is no need for conversation about race. No racial differentiation.
	4.3.1.2 Verbal	Sibling conversation Parents

		Media
4.3.2 Community Context (Home of Origin)	4.3.2.1 University One: Historically White neighbourhoods	Majority live in suburbs Heightened awareness of Blackness Racial discrimination in the neighbourhood
	4.3.2.2 University Two: Historically Black neighbourhoods	Majority live in Townships, rural or peri-urban areas. Little or no awareness of Blackness. Blackness as the norm.
4.3.3 Perceptions of race	4.3.3.1 Apartheid	Race social construct Tool to divide and oppress
4.3.4 Feelings about being Black	4.3.4.1 Racial Pride	No negative feelings about being Black Strong and Hardworking Culture and tradition Opportunities to change the past and change Black people's lives
	4.3.4.2 The challenges of being Black	Cultural expectations and obligations Loss of culture and African languages

4.3.5 Perceptions of Blackness	4.3.5.1 Internalisation of Blackness 4.3.5.2 External ascription of race 4.3.5.3 External messages about Blackness	Blackness self-identified People impose race Viewed as not Black due t Media representation Beauty
4.3.6 Experiences of Blackness	4.3.6.1 Negative Stereotypes 4.3.6.2 Blackness as a disadvantage	Criminalisation Racial discrimination Black pain Black Tax Structural racism
5.2 Transition to High school and Blackness	5.2.1 Blackness negatively influenced University One students' experiences in high school 5.2.2 Blackness did negatively influence University Two students	Majority in Former Model C Schools and inequalities. Assimilation into Eurocentric school culture. Discrimination according to race and class Majority in Historically Black school No experiences of racism
5.3 Experiences of Blackness on campus	5.3.8.1 University One discriminates against Black students 5.3.8.2 University Two a	History of the university Institutional violence and language Accents Favouritism Racial stereotypes Class privileges and advantages Social mobility and class Most students belong to societies Societies speak about Blackness Pressure to study courses that ensure employment History of the university

	welcoming environment for all races	Not the first option of study Black is the norm/Rainbow nation Social environment Most students did not belong to societies Politics and social capital First or second generation to attend university
5.4 Blackness and Academia	5.4.1 University One: Blackness is a disadvantage in Academia 5.4.2 University Two: Blackness only a disadvantage when in contact with White or Coloured academics	Curriculum does not talk about race or Blackness and Eurocentric Alienation and Discrimination by academics Black academics viewed as inferior Curriculum and class discussions about race or Blackness Alienation and unable to connect with White and Coloured academics Unfair mark allocation to Black students by White and Coloured academics
5.5 Student movements	5.5.1 University One: Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall shaped their Black identity 5.5.2 University Two: Fees Must Fall did not shape their Blackness	Racial awareness and Black pride Awareness of injustices No conversations about Blackness Protest inconvenienced and affected students badly

Table 3 above presents the framework of analysis based on the data generated from the in-depth individual interviews conducted with twenty Black university respondents. The main objectives of this study were: To gauge Black respondents definitions of themselves in terms of race, to determine Black respondents' understanding or lack thereof of their Blackness, to explore the meanings Black respondents attach to their Blackness, to ascertain the significant ways in which the concept of Blackness matters or does not matter in their lives, to examine the significant ways in which the university environment shapes and reshapes Black

respondents' sense of Blackness, and to understand the ways in which Black respondents negotiate their way through the university environment. Major themes were identified, which assisted in ordering the categories and subcategories which subsequently emerged.

4.3.1 Family Racial Socialisation

4.3.1.1 No conversation

A majority of the respondents reported that their parents did not have any conversations with them about race. Moreover, most of the respondents also reported that their parents did not speak or teach them anything about Blackness. Some youth reported that their parents never spoke about race or Blackness because they did not differentiate or isolate themselves from other races but viewed all races as human. These respondents reported that they grew up in neighbourhoods where a majority of the residents were Black, and that therefore, there was no need to speak about the meaning of being Black, as Blackness was the norm.

*There was nothing much about being Black because from where we were, it was not a place whereby there was a lot of White people or Coloured people. It was just a Black society...There is nothing deep about being Black that they told me because they knew I already saw it on the streets that, ok, we are Black (*Yanga, male, 20, University Two).*

*To be honest, we never really spoke about racial issues. I always went to school where there was a very small Black population, I think since I was young. We never really spoke about it. So I just acted like the rest of my friends; we all sort of acting the same...And now, in terms of like, with protests and stuff. They still haven't... all they said to me is like 'don't do anything dangerous'. But they don't say how they really feel about anything about any racial issues because they don't like to talk about that (*Susan, female, 21, University One).*

*We never shared about being Black or White. We never said that because you are Black so these are the certain things that you need to do because you in front of White people or Coloured people. We never differentiated ourselves. We are just human beings (*Ayanda, female, 20, University Two).*

*Most things I have had to figure out while I am here. We didn't talk about racism but we talked about things that happened at work but it was not a sit down where they tell me about racism. I think the reason is most of the time I was at boarding school so we did not talk the most stuff I had to figure out here. (*Banele, male, 20, University One)*

Most of the respondents in the study had not had any conversations about Blackness with their parents. Respondents who came from predominantly Black neighbourhoods attributed this to the fact that Blackness is the norm. However, even though the respondents' parents never spoke about race, there are very distinct differences as to why the parents did not speak about race. In Yanga's household, they did not speak about Blackness because he was already immersed within a Black society. For Susan, her silence is within a context where she is a minority and has assimilated into a colour blind South Africa and acted like the rest of her friends. She further expressed that she purposefully dissociated with the Black popular culture. The reason why Yanga's parents did not speak to him about race are not the same reasons why Susan's parents did not speak to her about race and these are influenced by respective social environments.

On the surface, Susan might seem like she assimilated easily with her White friends, however, later during the interview she spoke about how she actively dissociated herself with Black popular culture and how she wished she had White features. She explains, "I used to wanna be like this blond, White girl. And I wanted to get blue contact lenses when I was in high school and like lighten my skin". Even though she might think she had assimilated into a colour blind space, her desire for White features suggests that she experienced Double Consciousness.

Yanga's narrative demonstrates that socialization about race does not have to be verbal and that socialization can also be informed by the environment and nonverbal experiences. Racial socialization can be experiential and this was demonstrated by Yanga seeing Blackness lived "on the streets" rather than something to be discussed in formal verbal conversations. Like Biko (1969) asserts, Blackness exists as a White social construct with the aim to differentiate and subjugate. Therefore, Blackness exists in relation to Whiteness. When Yanga grew up in a Black community, he would have had less interaction with racist White people as compared to Susan and less likely to experience Double Consciousness. This suggests that Black neighbourhoods are safer spaces for young Black people to be comfortable with their Blackness.

Ayanda and Yanga are both from historically Black neighbourhoods and yet Ayanda expressed different reasons as to why her parents did not speak about race. For Ayanda, her parents did not talk about race because they as a family did not “differentiate” and “isolate” themselves from other races. The use of words like ‘isolation’ and ‘differentiation’ insinuates that conversations about Blackness within her family would be a form of racial discrimination. On the other hand, Banele expressed that his parents never spoke about race; however, they spoke about racism. This means that even though his parents never sat him down and spoke about race or what it means to be Black, he picked up certain cues about Blackness and racial discrimination through listening to his parents experiences of racism. Again, this demonstrates that the process of racial socialization does not have to be intentional in the form of a ‘sit-down’ conversation—importantly, racial socialization happens through other means such as listening to others’ narratives, participating in informal conversations, witnessing events, and everyday experiences. Parallels can be drawn between Banele’s and Yanga’s narratives because, even though they both did not recount formal conversations about race, they articulate that they have been confronted by race in other ways.

Majority of the respondents were socialised outside of the home about race and identity. The respondents reported that they had received messages about being Black from the media or were in the process of learning about Blackness through students movements in university. Studies in the United States have concluded that young people are socialised about ethnicity and race by a number of different factors. Peers, teachers, neighbourhoods and school contexts also influenced how a young person navigates race (Priest et al, 2014:142). For example, for Khethi, even though her family never said much about race, television played a critical role in informing her about race and Blackness. Through watching documentaries about Apartheid, she learnt that Black people experienced segregation and racial discrimination. Her external messages about Blackness were through the media's historical representation of Apartheid.

4.3.1.2 Verbal

15% of the respondents reported that their parents or siblings had spoken to them about race and the meaning of Blackness. Of this 15%, two-thirds of the respondents were from University One, lived in previously White suburbs and attended former Model C schools. The

remaining third of those respondents were from University Two, lived in a Black and Coloured peri-urban suburb and went to a Black and Coloured school. These respondents reported that their parents and siblings had warned them about racial inequalities, or that they were taught to be proud about being Black. Moreover, these young people were told that they were different and that they needed to work much harder than their counterparts because they are Black.

*My mom and dad always used to tell me that you are different from your classmates, and because you are different and considered lesser you need to work twice as hard. She always used to make this example that those [White] kids parents are probably C.E.O's of their companies so if they fail then their parents would just employ them. You don't have that so what you need to do is work hard. (*Sarah, female, 20, University One)*

*He always points out the different power dynamics. He is always like, if you are Black and working in a company, it is highly likely that the [White] boss will promote the daughter or the son first before you. Even though you are more qualified...He speaks on so many things but he is more angry (*Vuyo, male, 21, University One)*

*Considering the fact that my mom didn't want me to go to a Black school, my dad said... when you come into my house, you leave your English outside. I think I was basically taught that you always have to remember who you are....I think most importantly I was taught to be proud. And it is such a difficult place to be Black in, in the Northern Cape. De Aar. Because there is a lot of Coloureds and a lot of Whites and most of the people speak Afrikaans. So it's quite difficult staying true to your Blackness (*Phati, female, 22, University One).*

The dominant messages communicated to respondents whose parents spoke about Blackness focused on hardship and inequality. This means that these respondents' socialisation about their identity was shaped around struggle and hardship. Moreover, Biko's definition of Blackness also asserts that Blackness is more than pigmentation, in that Blackness also involves the experience of hardships and inequality. Sarah and Vuyo are taught that they will be looked over for less qualified White counterparts. They are taught that the world views them as inferior due to racial inequalities and power dynamics. The power dynamics the respondents speak about reflect an awareness of White hegemony. Like Fanon argues, Blackness is constructed as inferior in relation to Whiteness that is positioned as superior. Whiteness is hegemonic and it is so insidious that Sarah's parents and Vuyo's brother do not even have to

name it. The respondents are socialized about White hegemony and the external perception of Blackness as inferior from a young age. This means that they grew up with Double Consciousness by seeing themselves through the eyes of a world that views them as inferior.

White people's hegemony within the South African economy was recognized by participants. Both Sarah and Vuyo refer to racial inequality in the workplace. Due to this hegemony, the respondents are most likely to be employed by White people and have White managers hence they speak about being looked over for employment and promotions in favour of lesser qualified White people. Sarah and Vuyo also speak about their White peers having a parent or a connection in the workplace that enables them to get promotions even though they might be more qualified. This reflects how colonial and Apartheid legacies still exist today. Historically, Black people were economically dispossessed and marginalized while White people advanced. Most of the respondents' parents did not own businesses (most worked for government, informal sector or were unemployed) and some did not have a tertiary education. For those who had a tertiary education, most were the first or only one with the qualification in their families. This reflects how Black youth do not have the social capital nor the intergenerational family connections as their White counterparts.

Respondents such as Phati were taught to be proud and unashamed of being Black. Phati articulated that De Aar is a difficult place to be Black due the high population of White and Coloured people. She speaks about the hegemonic language being Afrikaans and how this made it difficult to navigate her Blackness in that space. Her father taught her about Black pride and to remember who she was. Even though De Aar is multicultural, Afrikaans exists as the hegemony and therefore Phati's father created ground rules that she has to speak isiXhosa at home. Her father's assertion that she leaves English outside is loaded. English is associated with Whiteness. Therefore, essentially what her father is saying that their intimate space (the home) is where Blackness is embraced. This demonstrates how Black families resist the problematic notion of multiculturalism where Black people are expected to assimilate to White hegemony instead of the space actually diversifying (Biko 1969).

These respondents reported that their parents taught them to embrace their hair and their Black skin. Another respondent Lebo expresses that her father instilled in her that she was beautiful and that her hair was beautiful too. These sentiments are similar values to the values

of Black Consciousness which encouraged racial pride among Black people (Biko, 1969). Many Black people had been socialised to hate every aspect of Black aesthetics under Apartheid, so black consciousness movements like 'Black Is Beautiful' in the United States have been influential in subverting White supremacist ideas that Black hair is inferior to White people's hair (Hargro, 2011:15).

4.3.2 Community Context (Home of Origin)

4.3.2.1 University One: Historically White neighbourhoods

Eight (80%) of the respondents from University One came from historically White suburbs and two respondents (20%) came from historically Black areas. Because a majority of the students in University One live in historically White communities, this suggests that the majority of the students in the study from University One are middle class. Moreover, 60% of the parents of University One in the study were paying for their education.

Respondents who lived in historically White suburbs reported incidences of racism or racial stereotyping in their neighbourhoods. In contrast, respondents who grew up in a township did not report incidences of racism or racial stereotyping in their communities.

Like we moved in 1993. And it was like a lot of Afrikaans neighbours and some English neighbours as well. We were the first people of colour on the street. And there is like twenty houses on the street. And we were the first people of colour in the neighbourhood so people were very hesitant at first. They still think the same things. Like even my mom would answer the intercom and they would be like 'can we please speak to the owner of the house?' and my mom would be like 'I am the owner of the house'. And they would be like 'no, you know, don't lie to us. We know you're just the helper'. Oh my word, she still experiences that. Like in 2016! (Susan, female, 21, University One)

I remember me and my brothers were playing soccer in the backyard then my brother shoot the ball and it went into my neighbour's house. I don't know that guy, but he was angry because I had to go to his house to ask for the ball and stuff. He was angry, he said my previous neighbours was more respectful than you guys (Banele, gender, age, University One).

The area where I stay in [Soshanguve] Pretoria it is quiet, racism it's not a big thing, gender issues, everything there is not as big or there is not much awareness about it. (Itumeleng, male, 20, University Two).

Because as I told you in the beginning, because I grew up in a Black community. No one in my life called me a kaffir, there was no White person who was racist in my life. When I came to University One then I saw what is going on. Then I picked up from that. (Anathi, male, 24)

After 1994, South Africa went through a process of geographic desegregation where Black middle class people with social mobility could move into previously White areas (Horn & Ngcobo, 2003). The past two decades subsequently saw the moving of Black middle class families into previously White-only neighbourhoods; racist stereotypes such as a “lack of social behaviour” and “noise making” have prevailed in these contexts (Jurgens, nd:266). For Susan, who grew up in an Afrikaans neighbourhood in the West Rand of Johannesburg, her parents were the first Black people to live on their street when they moved there in 1993. When they first moved in, the neighbours were hostile and unfriendly. Apartheid instilled that different races need to live separately therefore when Black people started moving into historically White neighbourhoods, as Susan has indicated, the reception was hostile. Banele also experienced the same hostility when his neighbour was angry that their ball had fell into his yard. Banele also continues to narrate how the neighbour banned his children from playing with his younger brothers. The assertion that his previous (presumably White) neighbours were more respectful insinuates that there is a moral conduct in the neighbourhood that Banele’s family violated. This speaks to Jurgens (nd) assertion that Black people are associated with a lack of social behaviours. The respondents grew up in hostile environments where they were unwelcomed and consequently they struggled with a sense of belonging.

The disbelief that Susan’s mother owned their home in the West Rand also speaks volumes about society's stereotypes of Black women in historically White neighbourhoods. Susan’s neighbours believed that Susan’s mom could only be a domestic worker and not the owner of a home in a White neighbourhood. This is informed by racialized and gendered roles of servitude that have been placed on Black people in White neighbourhoods—historically, Black men were employed as gardeners and Black women were employed as domestic workers. This means that Susan grows up in an environment where people who are same race and gender as her are assumed to be servants in White households.

All the respondents who grew up in a township reported no incidences of racial

discrimination. Most of the respondents who were from historically White suburbs and lived in boarding schools most of the year reported hardly interacted with the community or experienced racism because they were rarely at home. Itumeleng lives in a township called Soshanguve in Pretoria and his experiences are vastly different from Banele or Susan. He grew up with little awareness of race and his sense of Blackness was heightened when he moved to Cape Town. Itumeleng was less likely to experience Double Consciousness in Soshanguve as it is a Black neighbourhood where people are less likely to be discriminated against because they are Black. Anathi grew up in Philippi which is Black neighbourhood in Cape Town and had never experienced any racial slurs. This is not coincidental—it is linked to the fact that he grew up amongst majority Black people. This suggests that respondents who lived in areas with a majority of Black people were socialized differently into racial awareness as compared to respondents who grew up in majority White areas because of their different environments.

4.3.2.2 University Two: Historically Black Neighbourhoods

A majority (90%) of the respondents in University Two lived in historically Black areas such as a township, small towns outside the city, and rural areas. Only 1 respondent (10%) indicated that they had come from a historically White suburb. 60% of the respondents reported that their parents were either unemployed (30%) or worked in the informal sector (30%), and the remaining students' parents were nurses and teachers (40%). Seven (70%) of the respondents were on a NSFAS loan, two (20%) were on scholarships and one (10%) had their fees paid by family. This means that most of the respondents from University Two came from struggling families. There is a stark difference in the socio-economic backgrounds of the respondents from University One (80% from historically White suburbs) and University Two (90% from historically Black areas).

Most of the respondents reported that their sense of awareness of racism and the meaning of being Black came once they moved to Cape Town to study. One student who came from a peri-urban area however did report that while growing up, they wondered why White people dominated businesses in their town.

*Most people don't care about Blackness. They don't care about those sort of things for as long as we live in a democracy...but some of the educated ones experience it in the working world with White people. Maybe when they get discriminated against. (*Khanya, male, 21, University Two)*

*I lived in an area where race didn't matter. Like I said to you, I don't remember hearing any comments about being Black or what what. I think it's because of the area that I left in there was no race issue or whatever. (*Nomsa, female, 19, University Two)*

Black students who lived in historically Black areas reported having experienced minimal racial micro aggressions as opposed to their counterparts who live in historically White neighbourhoods. For the students growing up in historically Black areas, Blackness was the norm as Black people constituted a majority of their communities. Khanya reported that he did not perceive any racial issues in his neighbourhood and that race did not seem to matter. Khanya comes from a township and therefore majority of the people are Black. This was the same finding amongst the respondents in University One. Khanya's assertions seem to allude to the fact people in his home environment do not care about race however when Black people leave the home environment and are in contact with White people (in the work place or elsewhere) that is when they experience racism and a heightened sense of awareness about their Blackness. Again, this demonstrates how Blackness is navigated differently in majority Black spaces like Khanya's neighbourhood and White spaces.

4.3.3 Perceptions of race

4.3.3.1 Apartheid

This study seeks to understand Black students' understanding of their Blackness and this means understanding the origins of race and how Blackness was located within the social constructs of race. When asked about the origins of race, most respondents stated that it was a social construct created by White people during Apartheid.

*We lived as Black people as certain clans but we learnt to live amongst each other regardless of our differences. But then the White man needed to have those levels so that they can then say which one is the supreme race. So I think it comes from...White people identifying and classifying this is an Indian, this is a Red Indian, this is a Black person then you want to know who is the best. Who is equipped the most in this evolutionary chain (*Thabo, male, 20, University One).*

I can only say what I have heard, read and learnt. Some guy decided to...he was probably White, and he saw brown skin people and then created the whole White and Black thing. And said Black is inferior based on what he considered civilisation (Vuyo, male, 20, University One).

I would like to think from the Apartheid regime, you know? The days where you had to look at a person and say this one is Black and this one is White. I don't know about Coloured people. But then, ja, I think it started from there. From classifying people and say that you do not enter this place if you are Black. Do not enter this place if you are White. But in history it was more based on Black people rather than White people. White people lived their lives and Black people had to suffer for them to live their life which is so absurd (Ayanda, female, 20, University Two)

Moreover, most of the respondents understood race as a social construct with no biological basis. Respondents identified race as a tool for differentiating White people from Black people. The purpose of the differentiation of the races was used to as a tool to deny Black people resources and oppress Black people. The respondents discuss the same sentiments expressed by Biko, that Blackness was a tool utilised to oppress Black people, and to advantage White people.

Thabo expressed ideas about pre-colonial Africa where there was no race but people lived according to clans. He spoke about harmony where the clans were able to co-exist despite their differences. According to him, this existed until the White man created a hierarchy or “levels” in order to classify who is the supreme race. This demonstrates a historic understanding of race as a social construct created by White people. Like Thabo, Vuyo expressed similar sentiments about race not only being a social construct but a social construct that was based on a hierarchy. Moreover, the purpose of that hierarchy is linked to “who is equipped” or civilised. The respondents link the hierarchy of civilisation to who gets to rule. The respondents understanding of the function of race is accurate as Biko (1969) also speaks about the Apartheid regime’s justification of their rule based on White superiority. This can be seen in education policies like Bantu Education where Black people were given inferior education. Ayanda also spoke about classification and links the classification to the various discriminatory policies implemented under Apartheid. Her understanding of race demonstrates an understanding that the purpose of Black domination was to maintain White power. The maintenance of White domination or prosperity was dependant on Black domination. She was explicit that the discriminatory policies were implemented for Black people and not White people. She made reference to the policies of where people can go and the Public Amenities Act of 1953.

4.3.4 Feelings about being Black

4.3.4.1 Racial Pride

No negative feelings of being Black

A great number of students articulated a love for their Blackness and had no negative feelings about being Black. When asked about how they feel being Black, most respondents expressed positive feelings about themselves and other Black people. The respondents linked this to the increase in positive messages about Blackness, particularly those about hair and beauty. The increase in visibility of Black athletes, Black students graduating and Black people achieving success was another contributing factor to respondents' positive feelings about Blackness. Other Black respondents reported that they loved being Black because of their culture. Other respondents did not mention any external influences and felt "good" or "loved" being Black.

No, actually. I wouldn't want to change my race, of being Black. And even my complexion, even my hair now. Because I feel like that is what has given me more power. And it gives me a story to tell. And that is who I am. And I think like even the world is currently accepting and we are changing and making Black the new thing. We are ruling in fact, even with our complexion. Even on social media, there is Black Girls are Magic. All those things. There is so much hype about being Black and being acceptable. I mean we are getting our thing, or we are getting our own rights. So for me, I wouldn't want to change being Black for any reason (Lilly, female, 20, University Two).

There is this whole movement on being Black and people are being proud to be Black. Or Black excellence thing on social media – about people posting about Black people who graduated from university when they came from difficult circumstances. Or like, it could be Olympics or the gymnastic in America, you know. So people are trying to push towards trying to be more positive about being Black. Because I think for a long time, Black people felt shamed for what they were and now it is all about showing off your culture, showing off your heritage. More people are braiding their hair, dreading their hair than just getting a weave, you know (Susan, female, 21, University One).

I actually really like being Black. That is why I say I'm comfortable in my own skin and I have learnt to accept everything about it. This is not the apartheid era now where everything was complicated and confusing. Now I don't want to change to another race. Never. I enjoy being Black but if people who cannot accept me for

who I am then let them. It is their problem it is not my problem. (Ayanda, female, 20, University Two)

Social media has also played a huge role in raising Black people's consciousness about race and their Blackness. It is important to note that respondents such as Lilly and Susan use words such as "now", "learnt", "currently accepting", "more positive" when they talk about Blackness. These indicate that they were not born accepting or feeling proud of being Black but, due to the external environment, gradually shifted towards self-acceptance. Ayanda makes reference to a past that was complicated and confusing, and Susan also makes reference to Black people being shamed for being Black. For them, historically, Blackness was either a confusing space or a negative space.

Susan and Lilly also attribute their self-acceptance and pride to the shift in the discourse about Blackness and beauty. This is a gendered layer that demonstrates various ways White supremacy has affected Black women and their perceptions about beauty. They referenced accepting their hair and skin, mentioning movements like Black Girl Magic and Black Excellence which exist as resistance to past characteristics of Blackness as ugly and inferior. Therefore, the respondents had to unlearn an inferiority complex pertaining to their physical appearances and learn to embrace their dark skin and their hair. The research findings also indicate that movements like Black Girl Magic and Susan's and Lilly's narratives demonstrate that there is a gendered element to characterisation of Black people as ugly. Compared to their female counterparts, male respondents hardly spoke about insecurities due to their physical appearance. Again this speaks to how gender influences the Black experience. The nuanced ways in which gender informs the respondents' experiences illustrate how Black Consciousness and Double Consciousness are limited and unable to fully capturing the diversity of the Black experience.

The respondents reported seeing Black role models in the Olympics and being influenced positively by other stories of success. Seeing Black beauty being celebrated on social media also encouraged respondents to love themselves and their cultural heritage. Social media and discourses around 'Black Excellence' have also played a role in seeing Blackness as a positive thing. Black Excellence is a Twitter hashtag that gained prominence by celebrating

Black people who showed great expertise in their fields. Susan also believes that people are hardworking and talented and are able to graduate from university even though they come from difficult circumstances. This suggests that success stories of Black people graduating and achieving success on social media have influenced how Black students navigate university. Here, racial pride is linked to success or excellence which is seen as the result of hard work.

The positive influence that social media has had on the respondents' perceptions of Blackness illustrates the evolution of Black Consciousness and how it has moved from highly politicised spaces like political movements (Black Consciousness in the 1960s) to young people's phones now that technology has evolved. Now young Black people can access politicisation and acquire Black Consciousness and racial pride on social networks.

Strong and Hardworking

When the respondents were asked the meaning of being Black, they asserted that Black people are strong and work hard. Young people responded that throughout different eras, Black people have been resilient and undefeated. The respondents also reported that, as compared to White people who are often privileged, Black people were resourceful and had to learn to be independent very early in life.

My parents always told me that when you are being Black, you are always the underdog. So being Black sort of makes you work harder in any space. It doesn't matter who is around you, you kinda have been conditioned to work to the best of your capabilities. Like with me, I don't need anyone telling me work hard or here are some extra lessons to be better your position, I know what is at stake...So that is a good thing because it makes you a strong person. It makes you a better person. (Sarah, female, 20, University One)

There is this attitude, there is this thing that, you are not going to kill us. So we persevere. We keep on moving forward. We keep on going. We forgive things... we try and fix things but we are going and going. So I think that is it. Pain and perseverance. (Thabo, male, 20, University One)

It is because you learn to be independent. Being Black is nice you learn to be independent because other races everything gets handed to them on a silver platter so now a child cannot wash the clothes or wash the dishes, has a car and can drive but other Black people have cars and can try but still know how to take care of themselves. So being Black teaches you to be independent. (Ayanda, female, 20, University Two)

Respondents reported that being a Black person means that one is resilient, works hard and is independent. This hard work ethic is attributed to the fact that Black people enter spaces that deem them inferior, and therefore they need to prove their worth. Some students reported that Black people worked hard because they were not privileged as compared to White people, and therefore they had to work hard and be independent. Due to the various structural obstacles that Black people face, parents try and prepare their children by instilling a good work ethic. This has become one of the characteristics that people associate with their identity. The narrative of working hard is not unique to Sarah's process of socialisation. Sarah and Ayanda discuss inequalities that exist and the different realities that different races have to navigate. Ayanda discusses the minimal resources that Black young people have compared to the other White youth who get more resources with relative ease. This speaks to the inequality that still exists in South Africa today. The inequality manifests in access or a lack of access to resources. Sarah also discusses being an "underdog". This means that Black people exist in a system that is unequal and Black youth start the race at the far back compared to their peers.

This inequality means that Black youth have to work way harder than their peers and learn independence. There is a difference regarding how this independence is learnt. For Sarah, it is socialized into her by her parents however for Ayanda, it is learned through observing inequalities around her. This means that sometimes, Black youth are not taught about racial inequality but have to assess the environment and adapt instinctively. Thabo's narrative provides a historical context for these inequalities and it's origins. For him, Black people had to survive death and pain. Through his constant references to White supremacy and racism in the interview, the death and pain he links to colonialism and Apartheid. He views Black people as survivors and strong because throughout their historical trauma, they forgave the injustices of the past.

This means that the respondents do not think Black people are inherently strong or it is a natural characteristic however one that has been learnt through various era's of brutality under White supremacy. The world is prejudiced against Black people, and the narrative of Blackness as a constant struggle and having to work hard is a very common narrative taught to Black

youth (Lalonde et al, 2008:130). The respondents' narratives reiterate Lalonde's sentiments that Black youth are socialized to be strong and hard working.

Opportunities to change the past and change Black people's lives

Some of the respondents reported that being a Black person gave them the opportunity to be a better person and to change the world. Some respondents reported that the situation for Black people had changed, and that for this reason, they could effect change.

*I feel like I am privileged. I feel like I am better than the past. To be honest with you, my parents are coming from a very disadvantaged background. When I go to the Eastern Cape...Ok there is electricity now but we are very poor. I come from a very very poor family. I feel like things have changed and there is Black empowerment. I feel like I have been empowered. (*Anathi, male, 24, University One)*

*[We are] a generation that will lead people. A generation that will change different lives in this country. Because I was born here, I came here for a reason and that is why I said with God everything is because of him. (*Themba, male, 25, University Two)*

The positive feeling is that I see people coming from the township and then they move up from townships to the suburbs. So I see that they are actually like growing from where they were to the next level where they go to the suburbs. They take steps bit by bit. You see Black people growing up to be who they want to be. (Sizwe, male, 20, University Two).

Most respondents reported that their positive feelings about being Black came from their ability to change their economic circumstances as well as being able to change the lives of other Black people struggling in their communities. The respondents always make reference to history and use words like "the past", "change", "next level" and "move up". There is a mobility that is linked to Blackness that was not afforded in the historical landscape of Black people.

Contrary to dominant discourses about the Apartheid legacy, history has afforded the respondent's a sense of a fresh start and new opportunities. Young people feel positive about being Black due to what Anathi terms as "Black empowerment". For Anathi, he recognises that he comes from a poor family however is hopeful that his future will yield different results. For Sizwe, his positive feeling about being Black is linked to Black people's ability to change their material conditions. This could be linked to the fact that the respondents are in university and

in the process of acquiring a tertiary qualification. Most of the respondents articulated that their families their parents were proud that university as they could change the family poor circumstance. Their families link the process of acquiring a degree to socioeconomic mobility. This could influence young people's feelings about Blackness as empowerment. An education means Black people are able to move out of the poverty of the township to the middle class privileges afforded by life in the suburbs.

Respondents articulated that the new South Africa allowed them to change their economic circumstances and escape their poor backgrounds. Linked to this, respondents also articulated that this afforded them the opportunity to change their communities and the country for the better. The use of words such as "change lives", "take steps bit by bit" and "growing" not only makes reference to a past that discriminated against Black people, however it also makes reference to the fact that Black people have not reached their full potential. There are some improvements and change that needs to happen to better the lives of Black South Africans. Anathi explains that even though there is electricity now in the Eastern Cape, they are still poor. Interestingly, the respondents do not seem to think that the State should play a role in this change and have taken it upon themselves to create this change in the Black community.

4.3.4.2 The challenges of being Black

Cultural obligations

For some respondents, Blackness as identity also encompasses engaging with cultural traditions. Respondents expressed negative feeling about the cultural obligations that they were expected to express. Initiation into manhood and the expectations of what it means to be a Black man caused some respondents to have negative feeling about being Black. Other cultural practices that were not of any significance to the respondents also resulted in negative feelings about being Black.

When you are turning 18 or 19 years you go to initiation school and then when you come back you are expected to become a man. You will be expected to face all the responsibilities that a man has to face and sometimes you are not in the right position to face them. Sometimes the finances you are expected to do ABC and D

*while you are still young. But they don't see that. They don't see you as a young person after initiation, they see you as a man. (*Thando, male, 24, University Two)*

I don't know if it is just Sotho's but when your dad dies, there is a ceremony that needs to be done in order to...in Sotho they call it utlusa gotsana, meaning they remove the orphan...Ja. So I didn't do it back then and just now, like a month ago, my mom told me that it is something that I had to do. So I was like oh ok, we can do it. They kill an animal and then that is just how it goes. And then when I went home she was like um part of the ceremony is cutting your hair. Like bald. And I was like, no you know because hair just such an important thing to me. And then eventually I felt like there is nothing I can do about it. But I feel like if I was a certain age then I would have said no. I feel like I have rights. I feel like I am past 18. You can't make me do it but then I went ahead and I did it anyway. (Refentse, female, 20, University One)

Culture and traditions play a very vital role in the socialisation of young people and in their identity formation. For some respondents, negative feelings about being Black stemmed from cultural obligations enforced on them. Even though the respondents felt proud of being Black, cultural obligations shaped their Blackness in a negative way. Thando speaks about the sudden shift from boyhood to manhood that happens after a male is goes to initiation school or Ulwaluko. Ulwaluko (initiation school) is the rite of passage that boys go through in order to become men in the Xhosa culture. Growing up, boys are taught at home that this is the only legitimate rite of passage to manhood (Ntozini & Abdullahi, 2016:3). Thando explained in the interview that he is proud to be Black however he struggles with the responsibilities imposed on him after due to his manhood. The first thing one needs to note is the gendered nature of Thando's internal conflict. His narrative reveals that men are seen as the providers in his family or the Xhosa perception of manhood. However, this is a challenge as he is still in university and does not have a proper income. In a study conducted at Fort Hare University, Ntozini and Abdullahi (2016) conclude that Ulwaluko goes beyond the biological, in that it also moulds social behaviour. Imposed expectations due to one's racial identity can also be a factor that causes adolescents to experience conflict and discomfort within their identity (Gullan et al, 2001). This is demonstrated by Thando's internal conflict about how his manhood is linked to financial provider.

Like Thando, Refentse did not having any negative feelings about being Black however she struggled with cultural traditions which were imposed on her. Refentse had to observe a

Sesotho traditional ceremony that required her to cut her hair and her eyebrows. She did not feel comfortable observing the ceremony as she would have to return to university with no hair. She speaks about the fact that University One and Cape Town are not friendly spaces that accommodate different cultures. She would be uncomfortable navigating the space after the ceremony. However, she was not given a choice and was coerced into participating even though she was resistant. This means that for her, culture or Blackness can be a violence space of coercion and a lack of consent. This speaks to two points, first Refentse seems to navigate two different worlds that cannot reconcile. Her cultural practices cannot spill over into the university life. These describes the duality that DuBois talks about in his writing about Double Consciousness.

Secondly, this speaks to how culture and Blackness are intertwined. Both when Thando and Refentse were asked whether they sometimes have negative feelings about being Black, they spoke about culture. Thando's experience of Blackness is informed by cultural practices that inform his manhood. This illustrates the intersection of Blackness, culture and gender. Refentse also provides insight into how culture informs experiences of Blackness. It is imperative to note that both respondents' present narratives about the intersection of culture and Blackness yet both their experiences are vastly different. The intersection of culture and Blackness for Xhosa respondent was vastly different compared to the experience of a Sesotho respondent. The nuanced ways the Xhosa culture and Sesotho culture affect each respondent differently further illustrate the diversity within Blackness. Their narratives illustrate that Black Consciousness and Double Consciousness are limited as they are unable to capture other intersecting identities like gender and culture that inform the Black identity.

Loss of culture and African languages

Some respondents felt that the loss of cultural values contributed to their negative feelings about being Black. Respondents felt that Black people lose their culture and adopt foreign cultures, which in turn affects Black people negatively. The loss of African languages also contributed to negative feelings about Blackness.

I am of Tswana heritage and in my generation, I can already see how it is fading. My roots, I am failing to uphold my roots and embrace them to the best of my ability. Yes

*we try to an extent but it would be nice if we could keep it because I have cousins in Botswana who are close to my grandmother in Botswana so she [teaches them] actually while they are growing up. And me being this side we live in a very diverse community it gets diluted a lot along the way because even the way I speak, my seTswana and my mom's seTswana are two different things...And then when I look at the next generation which is my brother and them, he is only turning 9, he speak English and Afrikaans mostly and cannot pronounce some words in seTswana but he can speak every other word in English and Afrikaans. So the parts we need to embrace is the language most importantly. (*Lebo, female, 21, University One)*

I noticed that this heritage day, when someone asked me about my Black Phedi people, and I was like 'huh'? You know and I was like, people actually google this and I asked my parents where do Phedi people come from...My dad is very into history especially about our family and he is trying to push that in me now, because he sees how it actually is really important. Because we all just get so obsessed with learning, get a job, make money and you forget like, of the deepness of your heritage. So it's become more important to me recently because I do want to know and I will be able to tell my children. So this person fought this war here and this what they did and this is why we do this. (Susan, female, 21, University One)

You even see in summer the things that women wear, they are short. It is the things that they see over there which conflicts with our culture. When you are a woman you have to show respect. You don't wear things that will show your body...being a Black woman you must respect your body (Khanya, male, 21, University Two)

The ability to uphold cultural roots and preserve African languages plays a huge part in how respondents felt about being Black. Therefore, the loss of cultural heritage and the ability to speak one's mother tongue resulted in young people feeling guilty, a failure or a sense of loss. Lebo discusses her main challenge about being Black as the loss of heritage which is closely connected to African languages. Her maternal side of the family are from Botswana and she is South African living in a historically White neighbourhood. Her family lives far from Botswana and therefore she is unable to articulate herself as eloquently as her mother in Setswana. For her, this means that failure to uphold her roots and heritage and by extension her Blackness. She asserts that her family live in a diverse community and views this as the cause for the lack of culture. She makes an observation about the intergenerational gap in her family

from her mom who speaks fluent Setswana and her brother who can hardly speak their home language. For Lebo, it is evident that there is a link between diversity and a dilution of culture and African languages. As previously discussed, diverse spaces can often mean Black people have to assimilate. If the space was diverse, as Lebo asserts, then it would be a space where she and her brother do not lose their heritage and their home language is celebrated and allowed to flourish. Moreover, her brother's struggle to speak Sesotho demonstrates the level of assimilation into a hierarchy of languages. In this case, at top of the hierarchy is English and Afrikaans. English and Afrikaans were the only two official languages during Apartheid, by extension these two languages is associated with Whiteness or White people. Once more, Whiteness as demonstrated within the hierarchy of language remains the hegemony where Black people have to assimilate into in order to create 'diverse' spaces.

For Susan, the challenge is about knowledge of her origins and passing on the knowledge to future generations. Someone asked her about her origins and this made her realize she did not know where her Pedi people come from. This means that she had little engagement with her historical origins prior to the question. It becomes imperative to analyse what it means for a young person not to know where her people come from nor think about it unless an external question was asked. The reason why Susan has never engaged with her origins means that the information is either not readily available or is not mainstream. Precolonial African histories have been erase and contested due to colonial anthropological texts which recorded African cultures from a biased point of view. Fanon (1961) writes that one of the functions of colonialism was to distort, disfigure and destroy the colonized history. This has been the case in South Africa as well hence you find narratives like that of Susan. Susan also articulates that people are very focused on finding a job and do not focus on also learning about their roots. Therefore, she is learning more about her heritage in order to pass on to her children to ensure that her roots are passed on from generation to generation. Even though Lebo and Susan do not locate their loss of heritage within historical contexts like colonialism, they recognise a disconnect from their cultural origins. Again, this illustrates that culture can be integral part of the Black identity. This demonstrates the limited ways that Double Consciousness (as a theory conceptualised in the United States) is limited and is unable to capture how African cultures and languages inform the respondents' Black identity.

Khanya views the adoption of American clothing and Black women wearing short clothes as a loss of culture. For him, Black women wearing short and revealing clothes is evidence that Black women are losing their cultural values. He associates Blackness as respectability and respect. Therefore, when Black women wear short clothes that are influenced by American culture or short clothes then they disrespect Black cultures. His views demonstrate his gendered expectations of Black women and how they should practice culture. For example, his complaint about the revealing nature and the length of clothes is not directed to Black men but specifically at Black women. This means that Blackness can also be accompanied by gendered expectations. It is important to note that the young people's negative feeling or challenges about Blackness are not linked to the inferiority of Black people however their lack of exposure or loss of culture. This also exhibits high levels of racial pride.

4.3.5 Perceptions of Blackness

4.3.5.1 Internalisation of Blackness

When asked what race the respondents identified with, 100% of the 20 respondents reported that they were Black and African. Some of the respondent also asserted that even though they were Black, this was not the only identity they held. Some student also reported that their Blackness was determined by their experiences. One student reported that he identified as Black because of the society he lived in.

Race, I am Black. African. I am Black and nothing else ja... Yes. I identify with the Black people in every way. (Thabo, male, 20, University One)

In terms of race, Ok I am Black. I am Black. I would like to put it this way, basically I'm a mosaic of my ... okay I am Black but I am a mosaic. I wouldn't say I base my race on just being Black. It is more like experience. (Xola, male, 19, University One)

Because of society differentiated us, like ja, so I would define myself as a Black person. Yes as a Black person. (Thando, male, 24, University Two)

Thabo belongs to a Pan-Africanist movement and this informs his identity. Therefore, Blackness and being African is a very important component of his life. When he states that he is Black and “nothing else” this alludes that he does not come from an interracial family. He

also claims and identifies with Blackness not as an imposed identity but an chosen identity that relates to the community of Black people.

Even though all of the young people identified as Black, some of the respondents complicated their identification of Blackness. This means that even though the respondents identified as Black, they also recognised that they comprised other identities. Like Biko, Xola also believes that race is more than just “pigmentation” but encompasses one's life experiences. For Xola, Blackness is intertwined with other identities like his gender and sexuality as a queer student. Like Biko, Xola and other respondents articulated that Blackness was more than just pigmentation. Blackness was the unique experiences, the hardships, physical features (hair) and culture.

One's racial identity is both an internalised identity and an externally imposed concept. Thando's identification of being Black is very linked to how South Africa is a highly racialised society. His Blackness is informed by the society that differentiates him from other races. Unlike Xola and Thabo, Thando's identification of Blackness is externally influenced by a highly racialised society. Mattes (2002) asserts, in divided societies like South Africa people are more likely to identify with their ethnicity, race or religion than rather than society as a whole. Therefore, one's relationship with their identity is always in relation to how an external person makes meaning of their identity (Chincilla and Hamilton, 2013).

4.3.5.2 External ascription of race

75% of the respondents responded that when people looked at them, they saw a Black person. However, 25% of the respondents asserted that when other people looked at them or saw how they behaved, they thought that they were a person of another race. Some respondents thought that other people see and ascribe race to a person.

I would say people see in colour. Like people see you as Black. Like in Matric I remember I wrote this..it was an oral to presentation in front of a class on how when you look at me or when you see any person, don't look at them as just Black or White. (Xola, male, 19, University One)

When people look at me? It depends who is looking at me...Coloured? Maybe the hair and stuff but ja. Those are the people that mock me. Like the hair. Indian hair. But I am really really Black. Both parents are Black. My mom is light skin is from

my mom and the curly hair is from my dad. That is the only thing. (Thabo, male, 20, University One)

So many people told me that you are the Whitest Black person I have ever met in my life. So basically, that was the identity of every Black girl in that school, to them they would see us as more White than the Black man on the street. I think my high school friends that I haven't seen would see me as that [White]. (Sarah, female, 20, University One)

In terms of that, some people confuse me as a coloured because of my... light skin. Until I speak with them and then they realise that no I'm not coloured, I'm actually Xhosa (Thando, male, 24, University Two)

As mentioned before, it is evident that one's relationship with their identity is always modified in relation to how an external person makes meaning of their identity (Soudien, 2012). Xola reports that South African society view people only according to race as opposed to seeing human beings. This means, if people categorise you before engaging with your humanity, an important part of ascribing race is based on physical characteristics.

Thando and Thabo's narrative demonstrates that race can be ascribed according to hair, skin tone or the colour of one's eyes. Interestingly, respondents who stated they were viewed as Coloured or Indian tended to be light in complexion or had curly hair. For example, Thando also has experienced situations where individuals who meet him for the first time think that he is Coloured because he has light skin. However, when they hear his accent, they realise that he is Black. This speaks to the complex ways in which people construct their identities and how such identities are affected by externally imposed ideas, in how other people combine certain characteristics (skin tone, hair and accent) to determine race. During the Apartheid era, Government officials would put a pencil through a person's hair and depending on whether the pencil fell out, they would determine a person's race. If the pencil didn't fall out, then this would mean that one's hair was coarse and that person would be thus determined to be Black (Powe, 2009). Again, this is a legacy of racial classification in South Africa that used methods like the "pencil test" to determine one's race. The respondents' narratives also demonstrate that race is indeed a social construct and people do not fit neatly into racial categories. Even though racial categories are rigid, people are diverse and some people do not fit into race.

Another factor that determined racialisation was behaviour and class mobility. Sarah's experience of racialisation prove that race is not only attributed to physical appearances but also to socioeconomic mobility. For most of her high school career, because of her assimilation to the White culture at her private school, she was viewed as a White person within a physical Black body. It is only in university that her sense of Blackness became strong. This is different to Thabo, Thando and Xola's experience of external racialisation. Even though Sarah's skin tone was dark and had 'typically Black' features, her ability to assimilate into a White environment and certain behaviours she was considered as White. Therefore, race is also ascribed according to certain behaviours and ability to adapt in an environment. The myriad and nuanced ways that respondents narrate how the outside world illustrate the complex ways in which race is ascribed. For example, some respondents were not viewed as Black due to various physical appearances. Moreover, Sarah was assigned a different race due to her socio-economic background and how well she had assimilated to Whiteness in high school. These narratives demonstrate the complicated ways Blackness is navigated in South Africa.

4.3.5.3 External messages about Blackness

In addition to external ascriptions of race, respondents responded that other than other people's ascriptions of race, other factors such as salons, media, and location all formed part of the nonverbal ways in which young people in my study made sense of their Blackness.

I think my hair is like coarse, like an Afro and I never liked it when I was a kid. I was surrounded by my cousins and they could straighten their hair and it was long. Even when I went to the salon to try and relax it, they would complain that your hair is so much...I think TV... media played a role in telling me I am Black and that is what you are supposed to be when you are Black. Because I used to watch TV and maybe you noticed this race thing that is going on. And there are jokes about being Black and especially from America. And that affected what is normal to us also...Like we are watching the apartheid movies and then you realise 'oh, there is the colour, there is the White people and they did to us in fact. They are the boer and they did that to us. And then you grow up that ok, I don't have the privilege that you have because, ok, you did this to our people. (Lilly, female, 20, University Two)

Ok, I know. They [media] like to say that we [Black] think Whites are racist. That we don't think out of the box like we are so lazy. Oh and ja we are rude. Why I am saying this is because [Julius]Malema, ok some people believe that he is intelligent, but ...they like to put it like he is so rude in the way he says he wants things then

people are like he is so rude and must not be listened to. (Khethi, female, 22, University Two)

The respondents reported that their perception of Blackness was also influenced by messages they received about Blackness within their respective environments. The messages that Lilly received in her environment were linked to her physical appearances. Earlier, she mentioned that she is proud to be Black and no longer has bad feelings about her complexion. In this narrative, she reports that she has struggled with her hair due to its coarse nature. Her school insisted that girls put chemicals in their hair to straighten it out so that they are neat for school. Silky straight and contained hair is linked to neatness therefore Black girls were asked to adhere to this standard. The assumption is that Black hair is dirty and unruly as opposed to straight silky hair. Silky hair is linked to hegemonic White beauty standards and Black hair is considered inferior. Lilly was mocked that her Afro looked like a lion's mane. Again, one can see the characterisation of Blackness as ugly, dirty and undesirable to a point where a young Black girls hair is compared to an animal. Moreover, these messages were also conveyed by a hair stylist in her community who shamed her for having hair that was difficult to straighten out. The dominant discourse here is that Blackness is ugly and need to fixed (straightened out). Both Lilly and Khethi were reported that they received messaged about Blackness from the media. Lilly reveals that her messages were communicated through American television where jokes are made at the expense of Black people. She also received messages about how Black people are supposed to behave from American television. This means that media and in Lilly's case, American television has played a role in perceptions about Blackness. Negative stereotypes and socialisation about Black can also come from imported television. This means that the characterisation of Blackness as inferior is not limited to South Africa but evident in American media.

In Khethi's narrative, messages about how Black people entailed laziness, rudeness, lack of creativity and silencing. Black people are considered racist when they talk about race in public. Julius Malema is a controversial political figure in South Africa who is candid about race, racism and State corruption (Raborife et al, 2017). Due to the manner in which he articulated his political ideas, he is considered rude. Therefore, Khethi notices that people say

he must be ignored because even though he is intelligent, his approach is brash. This speaks to the tone policing and the silencing of Black people who speak about racism and structural racism publically.

Young people's geographical location, socio-economic circumstances, social context and experiences of discrimination also socialise young people about race (Priest et al, 2014: 144). Some respondents articulated that part of their socialisation about Blackness came from external messages from their social contexts. Some respondents' socialisation, like Lilly, around Blackness were negative subliminal messages in public spaces like the salon. Moreover, some respondents reported that the stereotypes about Black people were part of the messages they received about Blackness. Findings from the respondents indicated that for many female respondents, socialisation about Blackness was about hair. Lilly had negative feelings about being Black as a little girl, because when she went to the salon to straighten her hair, the hairdressers shamed her for having very coarse hair. This resulted in an internalised self-loathing for her hair which was a negative symbol of her Blackness. Generally, Black hair is not considered beautiful, therefore, from a young age young women go through the process of straightening their hair. (Hargro, 2011:8). This is the process of 'straightening' Lilly refers to. Interestingly, the socialisation of Black hair as something undesirable is very gendered. This means the insistence of Black hair conforming to Eurocentric standards is mostly expected of Black women (Thomas, 2013:3).

Media representation of Black people on television and film also communicate messages about being Black. For Lilly, American television communicated messages about behaviour in weddings, funerals and through jokes about Black people in comedy shows. Moreover, "actions and words of characters on television influence the way we all understand issues of race and racial identities" (Ehrmann, 2010: 2). In her paper tracking down racism in South African cinema, Tomaselli (1983) observes that Black people tended to be portrayed as savages who threaten White civilisation. Television also plays a huge role in the racialisation of Black young people. Subliminal or overt racist and negative depiction of Blackness influences young people about their identities. The public space is filled with images that "reinforce and reinscribe White supremacy" (hooks, 1992:1).

4.3.6 Experiences of Blackness

4.3.6.1 Negative Stereotypes

Criminalisation

Respondents reported that they were criminalised because of their race. Respondents reported that they were viewed as thieves or robbers. Some students said that when they walk into shops or malls, they would take out their wallets in order to prove that they were not going to steal. Other students felt that they were viewed as criminals when they walked in White neighbourhoods.

When you see a Black person, you are thinking of crime and bad things...For example when you are walking in Waterfront and you are a group of four Black guys going to watch movies. If you come across a group of White women and maybe they were holding their bag, you will see they are trying to protect their bags or maybe their wallets as if we are there to rob them, so they make us feel like we are bad people. (Thando, male, 24, University Two)

I am constantly thinking what should my next outfit be just so that I am not perceived as a person who is about to rob you. Should I wear my cap backwards because if I wear it like this because people might see and think I am about to rob them and walk across the street or walk the other way or let me just turn back. (Xola, male, 19 University One)

There are a lot of stereotypes, especially in the area where I live. Sometimes just walking into...maybe coming into my apartment...you get somebody opening the door and because you are Black they are so sceptical...do you live here or are you an intruder? You know, those types of things. When I need to open the door for someone I don't look and say are you an intruder but like it has to happen to me and all those type of things. It is very disturbing. (Itumeleng, male, 20, University One)

I think a difficult thing about being a Black South African is that you have to sort of change your identity, not change your identity but you have to adapt very quickly to different spaces and that is difficult. How I hold myself in spaces like Cavendish, when I walk with my White friends it is perfectly ok. I am one of them, not one of them but no one is going to look at me weird but when I'm walking alone I always make sure, and it is something that is so involuntary like I don't even think about it anymore, but when I'm walking by myself people look at you like what is your agenda. And it is very unfair but when I walk into a shop I like to have my wallet out to - to make sure that I have the intention of buying because it is a very well perception that as soon as Black people walk in that they will steal. They will commit a crime. (Sarah, female, 20, University One)

The respondents' experience of being Black was the constant criminalisation in public spaces. Sarah felt the need to carry her wallet in her hand when entering shops to prove that she was not a shoplifter. When she navigates certain spaces she is aware of the negative way she is perceived as a Black person. This demonstrates Double Consciousness. Moreover, spaces such as Cavendish demonstrate that certain spaces criminalise Black people. When Sarah is walking in the mall with her White friends, she is not considered a criminal. This means that White people are not considered criminals in the space and therefore her association with White people renders her not a criminal. However, when she is not with her White friends, she goes back to being criminalised. Therefore, when she navigates the space she has to prove that she is not a criminal and intends to buy with acts such as taking out her purse. This means, there are spaces where White people navigate with relative ease as opposed to the radically different experience that Black people experience.

Interestingly, most of the respondents who spoke about criminalisation were male students. This suggests that the criminalisation of Black respondents was also gendered. Xola and Itumeleng live in predominantly White neighbourhoods and when they are walking around, they feel that White people become fearful the respondents might rob them of their belongings. For Xola, certain clothing like a cap or a hoodie when worn by Black men become signifiers to White people in his that he is a criminal. Clothing plays a huge role in how Black men are viewed as criminals as demonstrated by Trayvon Martin's death. A policeman killed Martin because he thought Martin was a criminal because he was wearing a hoodie (Fung, 2012). This means that clothes are a huge factor that determines how White people in his neighbourhood that determine how people interact with Black men. Part of Xola's experience as a Black person entails making conscious decisions about wearing clothes that do not stereotype him as a criminal.

For Thando, his very existence (without any particular clothing) rendered him a criminal. Xola and Anele particularly mention that White women were usually the one feeling threatened. This also speaks to the gendered nature in which their Black manhood threatens White women. Sarah is considered a thief however Xola and Thando are a direct threat to White women's safety. During Apartheid, Black people were characterised as dangerous and

White neighbourhoods were filled with signs “Swaart gevaar” or “Beware of the native”. These were based on characterisation of Black people as violent and out to harm White people (Diakano, 2011). Through these narratives, it is evident that Black youth still experience the remnants of Swaart gevaar.

The criminalisation of Black people as thieves is not a phenomenon unique to South Africa. Many theorists in the US have written about the phenomenon of Consumer Racial Profiling. This refers to the subtle ways in which different races are treated in public spaces or commerce. Most of the time, people of colour experience unequal treatment compared to White customers. People of colour often experience “subtle and covert forms of mistreatment when engaging in commercial transactions” (Brewster et al, 2014:3).

The media have also played a huge role in the racial profiling of young Black male bodies as criminal, especially in movies. The frequency of young Black males in handcuffs on street corners and the general portrayal of Black males as criminals have created a society which subconsciously links Black men with criminal activity (Welch, 2007:281).

4.3.6.2 Blackness as a disadvantage

Blackness is also a disadvantage to students because they felt that they were treated differently in because of their skin colour. Respondent asserted that their race was a disadvantage because Black people are behind or do not have opportunities. Many young people in South Africa, while born into a democratic South Africa, still feel the remnants of Apartheid.

I remember I went to this other interview. I applied for this other promotion job so I went to this other interview. Ok, it went well first and then they called me again so I went. There were other two Coloureds and they started speaking Afrikaans and I didn't understand so I spoke to our trainer and I told her I didn't understand but she didn't really care. Found out that those two were called...but I was excluded because I am Black. (Nomsa, female, 19, University Two)

Like okay, some guys, like okay I come from Soweto, I have some guys who just like to stay at the corner of the street and stuff, if you see people at the corner of the street you think those people are lazy. But you don't actually know. They've been trying to get job opportunities. That's why, you cannot say someone is a cleaner at UCT, she just wanted to be a cleaner, no it's because they didn't have opportunities the same as you to get an education and stuff. (Banele, male, 20, University One)

I feel like I'm at a great disadvantage because of my Blackness... I'm a bit behind these umm... young, White counterparts in terms of I still have a duty like to take on my family, to inspire my community, to make difference. So I feel like there's more for me to go back and plough back than moving forward, you know?That's how I feel as a Black South African, that you'll move up, and then you'll have to go back and fix, fix, and fix. (Thabo, male, 20, University One)

Even though some students reported that being Black was an opportunity for them to grow and achieve better than the previous generations, many experienced Blackness as a disadvantage. Respondents felt that no matter how hard one tries, because of Apartheid, they will always be two steps behind, compared with White students. Thabo expressed as a Black young person in South Africa, he was disadvantaged compared to his White counterparts due to the requirement for him to go back to his community and fix things. He reported that no matter how much success he achieved, he would be always held back due to the responsibility to 'fix' things. For Thabo, his young counterparts did not share the same burden to go back to their White communities and fix things. Apartheid legacies in White communities are not the same as in Black communities. Apartheid systematically excluded and oppressed Black communities and as the respondents have mentioned previously, Apartheid did this in order to afford White people an advantage and privileges. Thabo asserts that White students do not have to go back to their communities because their communities are privileged. Thabo's need to also 'fix' his community also speaks to the inequality that still exist in South Africa and the lack of transformation to date. Ultimately Thabo obligation to 'fix' means that as a Black young person he needs to undo the legacies of Apartheid even though that is the responsibility of the State.

Nomsa reports that she is disadvantaged because opportunities are withheld from her because she is Black. Nomsa had applied for a promotion job and attended a group interview with Coloured counterparts. She felt disadvantaged because as a Black person, she could not express herself in Afrikaans. Even though the group interview was multiracial, Afrikaans was used to exclude her from participating to the best of her ability in the recruitment process. Some Black people are not fluent in both English and Afrikaans or are not fluent in both languages. Therefore, when people use a language that not accessible to all races in a group

process, people who do not speak it are at a disadvantage. This means that language can also be used to disadvantage Black people in the workplace and various other opportunities.

Banele reported that people in his community are viewed as lazy however they are disadvantaged due to a lack of job opportunities. He argues that young people do look for job opportunities however resort to hanging out in street corners due to the inability to find job opportunities. Banele also explains that Black people who work as cleaners had other ambitions however due to the lack of quality education, they are relegated to low paying jobs.. Education policies such as Bantu education were systematic ways to marginalise Black people. Banele's narrative reiterate that this proponent of Apartheid policy has affected Black people to date.

Racial discrimination

Race and Blackness greatly determine how respondents were treated in public spaces and certain institutions. Therefore, this means that the young people's race is a huge determinant of the racial discrimination they faced. Most of the respondents' experiences of Blackness was of racial discrimination and unequal treatment.

If you notice at Pick 'n Pay when you go buy something and there are different races, White people and Coloured people, then you notice the service that cashiers give you compared to a White person queuing in front of you or behind you is not the same. So they treat them more special than Blacks. (Khanya, male, 21, University Two)

Maybe when it comes to favour...especially in a Cape Town community where you go to Camps Bay in a restaurant and you want to sit close so you can see the view then they tell you it is reserved. So sometimes because I have noticed that if I was White I would have gotten the table right there to enjoy the view also. Sometimes it make it's like, if I was White this would have happened. And even if it was short notice it would have happen. (Lebo, female, 21, University One)

Because I do notice like, it does, race makes a difference, like even in the clothing you wear and the way people treat you. Like if you are Black, I don't know, there is always a bit of an offishness. That I've noticed. I don't know on campus between different races. There is a bit of hesitation when it comes to interacting with Black people. Mmh, I mean like when you order lunch, like in some places, you go there and they will just look at you with a straight face. Then if it is a White person or a Coloured person or an Indian person, they are more friendly like 'hey, hello'. (Susan, female, 21, University One)

Being Black determined how people treated Black youth in predominantly White neighbourhoods, campus or other public spaces like restaurants. Spaces like shopping malls or convenience stores provided the respondents with bad services or unequal treatment compared to other races. For example, Khanya felt that other races were treated better than Black people at grocery stores. He generally felt that he was treated differently and as inferior because he was Black. He reported that White people were treated more special than Black and Coloured people. On the other hand, Susan felt that all other races (White, Indian and Coloured) people were given better service. This speaks to the hierarchy that accompanies the race as a construct. Even Black people serving the respondents were more inclined to offer White people a better service. This means that other Black people have internalised racial hierarchies and treat other Black people unfairly. On a broader scale, this means that little has changed psychologically to reverse perceptions that White people are superior and Black people are inferior. From the respondents' narrative, one has a sense that the hierarchical nature of race still exists.

Black Pain

Some respondents described their experience of Blackness as being in constant emotional pain or hardship. Some respondents' experience of being Black amounted to what they termed as "Black pain". This Black pain was attributed to racial discrimination and their experiences of Blackness as a disadvantage as well as the painful history of South Africa. The pain was also exacerbated by the silencing of Black people's pain and experiences.

The pain is perpetuated by the fact that we are not allowed to feel. We don't have time to feel this pain. We have to work harder to make our economic better. We don't have time to realise where did this discrimination come from. We don't have time to sort of sit down and discuss about it. So I think that the fact that our experiences are being so discounted is so painful. It feels like people don't believe that what happened to us happened to us...people are telling us we need to get over it. (Sarah, female, 20, University One)

It [PASMA] educates us more about our pain. As a political thing, it's position, is that, it is Pan-Africanist. Africa before anything else so White people are not part of Africa. They are Europeans so it positions us at that point. It makes you see, how the White people what they have done to you... Pain. They [PASMA] always associate Blackness with pain. That is the space where we talk about our pain. That is the

space where we talk about how [Cecil] Rhodes was a problem. That is the space where we talk about how fees are a problem. It is only around Black pain. (Thabo, male, 20, University One)

When I go to the PAC, my mom is PAC, they say as Black people we have Black pain...Black pain means that as a Black person you are expected to repay your parents the money they educated you with. The money they raised and cared for you with. (Anathi, male, 24, University One)

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is a political organization launched in 1959 which resisted against the Apartheid government (pac.org.za). The Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA) is the student organization which organizes in various university campuses. The respondents from University One who politically associated with these organisations expressed how these organisations educated them about the pain of Black and the origins of that Black pain. Thabo, was educated that Black pain is a political position that is drawn from a Pan-Africanist ideology. The origins of Black pain are as a result of various actions by White people throughout history like Cecil Rhodes. PASMA also locates Black pain to the contemporary struggles of Black young people like financial exclusion at universities. Thabo also mentions that Blackness is associated with pain. Anathi has also been educated about Black pain from PAC political structures. He reports that the PAC describe Black pain as the obligation to pay back your parents for educating you. This means that political formations like PAC play a role in educating young people and contextualising the struggles young people face today as a result of colonial and Apartheid legacies. PAC educates Thabo about history and provides Thabo with the language to articulate the disadvantages he experiences as a Black youth in South Africa.

Thabo's experience of Black pain is attributed to the current material conditions of Black people as a result of colonialism and Apartheid, however, Sarah experiences Black pain because she is silenced when she speaks about the legacies of colonialism and Apartheid. For Sarah, the silencing of historical injustices came in the form denial about past injustices from White people and the insistence to get over past injustices. This resulted in Sarah feeling like her personal struggles as a result colonialism and Apartheid are untrue. The insistence of Black

people to get over the past is the result of perceptions that post-1994 Black people do not struggle with racial discrimination or painful narratives about their histories.

For Sarah, Black pain is caused by events that happened under Apartheid and how they affected people in her family. She speaks about her late grandfather who passed away after getting a chronic illness as a result of dangerous working conditions in the mines. It angered and saddened her that Black people had to experience such because of the colour of their skin. This is an important and painful part of Sara's history and whenever a White person tells her to get over it, they negate and dismiss an integral part of her family history. This means that some of the respondents' experiences of Blackness results in constant pain due to the erasure of their history or the dismissal of their realities (inequality, disadvantage and discrimination).

Black Tax

Some respondents experience huge amounts of pressure to go back and improve the living conditions of their families. Respondents who come from poor backgrounds also feel Black tax. Even though some respondents, like Lilly and Khethi, expressed hard work and a drive to succeed as positive attribute of being Black, they also admitted that is sometimes it has its negative effects.

Black tax is coming to make it...you need to work so hard just to have a good living due to all the people you left at home. All those people you have to put on. Your families, your cousins and all those people who are still in so much by poverty and everything. (Itumeleng, male, 20, University One)

Each and every Black person comes from poverty and we push ourselves so that we can change the situation at home. You want to make a difference. You want to change the way things are...Yho. It is stressful because it also stresses me sometimes. I think, will I make it or not you see? Because I know there are certain people who depend on me. I have to change my Mom's life. The pressure it too high. Now we must work for our families unlike if we were fortunate maybe we wouldn't care. We would want more power to leave a legacy for our children. We wouldn't start start from scratch. Sometimes it is not guaranteed that we will all make it then that impact you because you think, what if I don't make it. Then you doubt yourself. (Khethi, female, 22, University Two)

When you fail, you are not just failing yourself. You are failing everyone. So even when you are in that tough position, that puts more pressure on you, now that I am going to back to the Township, now I am going to go back to the rurals and I am the

only one that made it....So it is tiring. That is why you have people who are depressed in varsity. That is why you have people that are suicidal and seeing psychologists because this weight that we have as Black people is so much. It is tiring. It is draining. (Thabo, male, 20, University One)

Most of the respondents previously reported that part of their positive feelings about Blackness was associated with their ability to move up in the world and take their families and communities up with them. However, upon further conversation, most of the respondents admitted that Black Tax comes with anxiety and depression. As mentioned before, young people carry the responsibility to take their communities out of poverty. As Khethi reports, every Black family comes from poverty and therefore when a young person get a qualification, they need to change that situation. Itumeleng further explains that this responsibility extends to your parents and your extended family such as cousins and other members who are still living in poverty. Khethi expresses that this responsibility comes with anxiety as she needs to start from nothing unlike her counterparts from other races. The anxiety also is exacerbated because she is not sure that she will make it. She is not sure whether she will pass and get her qualification and the job she wants. A job will mean she has an income and therefore can change her mother's situation. It is important to explore what Khethi means when she reports that she has anxiety that she might not 'make it'. Khethi navigates the world with anxiety that she might not get a job and improve her situation. This means that as a Black young person, part of her experience is an anxiety that she might not have job opportunities. Therefore, South Africa is not a land of equal opportunity for all young Black people and that some Black youth live an anxiety that they might be an unemployment statistic.

For Thabo and Khethi, these expectations are stressful and tiring and may lead to mental health problems. Thabo has observed many Black youth in varsity struggle with mental health issues due to the pressure to take their families out of poverty. He reports that some young people at University One are stressed, drained and suicidal due to the heavy weight and huge expectations to save their families from poverty. Khethi expresses that she does struggle with depression as well due to this pressure coupled with academic work. Again, poverty in Black communities exists as a result of Apartheid legacies and the lack of the rapid transformation of the current government. Post-1994, the gap between the rich and poor has widened. These

narratives reiterate the previous finding that Black young people are tasked with changing Apartheid legacies and responsibilities of the current State. This has dire consequences to the emotional and psychological well being of some Black youth.

Black tax refers to the various invisible economic hurdles young Black graduates have to navigate in South Africa (Cawe in Pypers, 2016). Ratlebjane (2015) also refers to Black tax as the extra money Black professionals are socially expected to give to their extended families. For example, Sarah's father is a lecturer at the University of KwaZulu Natal and lectures part-time at UCT and their family makes a decent living. He, however, comes from a poor family of eleven children and has to provide for his siblings and their children. Ayanda also articulates a similar sentiment, her parents are excited about her going to university so that she can help out financially with her younger siblings. Lilly also articulates the same pressure to make it in order so that she can build her mother a house and buy a car in order to show that she has made it. This means that part of the Black experience is a responsibility to take one's family out of poverty.

Structural racism

Some of the respondents reported that Black people were purposefully excluded due to their race. The exclusion they articulated related to the systems and structures which made it very difficult for Black people to progress.

*I want to better the lives of Black South Africans because what I see is that not many Blacks get successful in South Africa. And it is only because they are Black. So what it means for me, I just want to help the Blacks...Because they always get excluded because they are Black. (*Nomsa, female, 19, University Two)*

You are going to stay in that spot for a very long time. When you come to [University One], you realise that maybe the township was designed so that only few of us can come out and see what is happening and not go back because now outside the feeling I have is like, I am not going back to the township. (Thabo, male, 20, University One)

I think that White people are fine but the horrible thing about them is that some of them don't acknowledge that the system works in their favour so when they don't acknowledge that the system works in a favour and are not willing to change. I think they need to understand the times have changed and things are different and then need to adjust. They need to accommodate more Black people. Not just more Black people but everyone. Not this fake equality but it need to be real. They need to acknowledge

that the system works in their favour and they have certain privileges. (Sarah, female, 20, University One)

We thought we won over democracy when we got rid of apartheid but the policies that were put in place they still had Whiteness in them. Especially, is it Codesa, when that was formed many of the apartheid ministers had an input it. It is like the ANC wasn't prepared for our economic democracy. They were just like we want to be able to vote and when they got that they forgot to think about how are we going to get our wealth back. (Lebo, female, 21, University One)

For the respondents, their experience of Blackness was influenced by a society that had placed systems that that make it hard for them to progress in life. Some of the students like Sarah make reference to the 'system'. The system they refer to is structural racism. Structural racism refers to the ideologies, practices, political processes and institutions that operate at a macro-level to marginalise individuals within a society based on their racial or ethnic identity (Viruell-Fuentes et al, 2012). Apartheid is an example of structural racism due to the various policies implemented to exclude and marginalise Black people from social, political and economic processes of South Africa. Therefore, if it widely acknowledged that Apartheid legacies still exists in South Africa, this means that structural marginalisation and exclusion also exist. Nomsa expresses a sentiment that proves this. Nomsa reports that not many Black people get successful in South Africa and that is linked to their Blackness as opposed to laziness or because they do not take opportunities afforded them. This means that Blackness is a racial barrier standing in the way of some Black youth and success.

Sarah also expresses the same sentiment as Nomsa regarding discrimination and equality. Nomsa articulates that Black people are excluded because of their race and Sarah articulates that White people are privileged because the system works in their favour. Sarah expands on Nomsa's articulation of Black people being excluded when she reports that White people need to adjust and accommodate Black people. This assumes that there are barriers which keep Black people (and other people of colour) out in the system therefore the need to change and accommodate Black people. Sarah also offers a solution to end structural racism or the 'system'. For her, when White people acknowledge their privilege within the system, this results in an awareness to transform the system. This transformation, she asserts, will be achieved through accommodating Black people into various structures.

Thabo also expresses similar sentiment about structural racism in South Africa when he refers to the legacy of the Group Areas Act and the marginalisation of Black people throughout history. He reports the townships in South Africa are designed for a few Black people to come out and the majority are left behind in poverty. Only a few manage to escape the cycle of poverty. This he links to structural racism. A system that is purposefully designed to keep Black people in a cycle of poverty.

Again, even though there were no laws that formally excluded respondents, however similarities can be drawn from the respondent's articulation of structural racism to Biko's (1969) understanding of structural racism in South Africa. For example, Biko (1969) articulates that political power would not be enough to transform the lives of Black South African and therefore radical transformation would need to encompass the economy as well. Lebo also expresses similar sentiments. Like Biko, Lebo asserts that there was no real transformation in South Africa as the ANC only took political power and not return the wealth of Black people. Lebo speaks about new policies that had Whiteness in them. This she attributes to Apartheid administrators that influenced new policies in democratic South Africa. Lebo equates Whiteness to racism as she her references to Whiteness relate to Apartheid. Therefore, Lebo regards current policies in democratic South Africa to be influenced by Apartheid administrators therefore unable to transform structural racism.

4.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented findings from the qualitative interviews conducted with twenty Black male and female university students on Black students' understanding and internalisation of Blackness. This chapter explored the respondents' understanding of Blackness as a White supremacist social construction used to oppress Black people. This chapter also explored the different meanings that respondents attached to Blackness, such as being hard-working and the perseverance of Black people. This chapter further explored whether race and Blackness mattered in their lives and the different ways in which Blackness disadvantaged them.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS ON EXPERIENCES OF BLACKNESS IN EDUCATION

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents findings from in-depth individual interviews conducted with twenty Black respondents from two universities in the Western Cape on their experiences of Blackness while navigating the education system. The chapter will present findings on how Blackness influenced the Black respondents' high school career. After this, the chapter presents findings on respondents' experiences of Blackness in the university context. Lastly, this chapter presents findings on how recent student movements have impacted Black respondents' perceptions on Blackness.

5.2 TRANSITION TO HIGH SCHOOL AND BLACKNESS

5.2.1 Blackness negatively influenced University One students

Majority in Former Model C Schools and inequalities in school

Most of the respondents (80%) who attended University One attended former Model C schools. 10% attended township schools and 10% attended Black boarding schools in rural areas. The respondents who went to former Model C schools reported that they had to assimilate into an existing school culture and school regulations. Some of the respondents reported that there were inequalities between former Model C schools, rural schools, and township schools. Respondents said that former Model C schools were well-resourced compared to the other schools.

I go to a good school, a Model C school so it is developed and it has got infrastructure and then my church is in a classroom in a township. You get to see the difference. Our kids are actually learning in this kind of environment where the windows are broken, the toilets are not working and on our way there, there are potholes everywhere. Some places don't have streets even today. Travelling back and forth between the middle class suburbs and the townships, you get to see how things have turned out (Vuyo, male, 21)

I remember when I was at school in Philippi, Black, White and international students

from University One they come to our township schools and tell us about University One and help us. They try to empower students who are coming from disadvantaged backgrounds (Anathi, male, 24)

You cannot compare someone who is in my boarding school then to someone who was at Michaelhouse...Because they have all these resources. Libraries and transport. There were people in my boarding school who had to travel by foot for 30 kilometres to go to school. You arrive in school and you're tired and you cannot even concentrate and then you wanna just say no they just lazy? (Banele, male, 20)

Respondents reported that the education system in South Africa is unequal and that former Model C schools were well-resourced or more advanced compared to the township and rural schools that had less resources. Vuyo attends church in a township in Johannesburg. The church is held in a classroom at one of the townships schools. Vuyo discusses how living in a suburb, attending a former Model C school and then attending church in the township has made him aware of the poor conditions in the township. He reports that his school was more developed and had more infrastructure than the township school. The township school had broken windows, no sanitation and the roads to the school had potholes. Vuyo expressed surprise that Black students who attend schools in the township learn in such bad conditions. He expresses that there is a huge difference between his reality (a developed school) and the under resourced schools in the township. This means that, within a university context, Vuyo will have an advantage compared to another Black student who went to a township school. Anathi attended a township school in Philippi and expressed that his school was under resourced and they had students from University One brought in to help them with their academics after school.

Banele also expresses the same sentiment. He attended a Black boarding school in Matatiele that did not have advanced resources, libraries and transport systems. Banele also recognised the additional structural socio-economic limitations for those Black students home environments, such as housing and a lack of food. For example, Banele reported that in addition to rural schools being underdeveloped, Black students at his school had to walk long distances on foot to get school and often had no food.

The conditions of high schools in South Africa are a reflection of unequal spending on education and racial segregation under Apartheid law (Roberts, 1991). The White schools

under Apartheid had the highest state expenditure, resources and infrastructure. The Black education system was not properly resourced, often had no textbooks and had limited teachers with no or minimal qualification (OECD, 2008). In the advent of the new South African democracy, the government embarked on a plan to desegregate South African high schools and undo the legacy of Apartheid (Jansen, 2004). However, the legacy of unequal spending and infrastructure has led to structural inequalities (Roberts, 1991). It would be unfair to only attribute poor school infrastructure to Apartheid, the current government has also lacked accelerating transformation in the education system post democracy. Moreover, the differences between Vuyo, Banele and Anathi's experiences in basic education also demonstrates that the certain Black youth have been able to benefit from the legacies of Apartheid in the education system of South Africa. For example, Vuyo narrative demonstrates that Black youth with class privileges obtain Model C schools enjoy advanced infrastructure and abundant resources.

Assimilation into Eurocentric school culture

Respondents who went to multiracial schools reported that the institutional culture at their schools were White or Eurocentric. Respondents expressed the lack of diversity within their school environment. Some of the respondents stated that they experienced the environment as oppressive.

In high school...if you were the 'Better Black kid' then you would be made Head Boy. I think that they were afraid that if a Black kid who is woke, who sees what is happening in this environment is oppressive, I think they were afraid that that Black kid would be influence the other Black kids. I think they were afraid that those Black kids were going to run the school down. The traditions and everything they have built (Vuyo, male, 21)

*The one thing that I really hated about *Drakensberg, and why I would never send my child to *Drakensberg, was the lack of culture...And so they never really emphasised or acknowledge race or culture. It was just pretty much like here is a White upbringing and we'll make sure that you try and fit in into the standard of what the school set for you...We used to be the White Black kids. The ones they could control. The ones they could take home. The ones that wouldn't ask when are you going to give us back the land. (Sarah, female, 20)*

High school is another place that influences young people's experiences of Blackness. Vuyo and Sarah both expressed sentiments about educators at their school seeking to exercise control over Black students. The Black students who followed the rules without questioning them,

Vuyo labelled as the ‘Better Blacks’. Those students easily assimilated into the school culture. These students were also rewarded for compliance into the existing school cultures by being placed in leadership positions. The respondents characterise their school cultures as White. Vuyo reported that educators at his school were afraid of Black students who were ‘woke’ or politically conscious. Black student who were woke would challenge White hegemonic school culture or “run the school down” by destroying all the White traditions that were built prior racial integration.

Sarah expresses a lack of culture at her high school and that the school encouraged colour blindness. This meant that her high school did not acknowledge race or culture. Sarah and her fellow Black schoolmates were required to fit into a White culture and upbringing therefore essentially resulting in them being labelled “White Black kids”. This means that the Black students at the school were isolated from their cultural background and forced to assimilate into Whiteness. Black culture was actively socialised out of them in order for them to assimilate into Whiteness. This means that White hegemony in Model C schools creates an unsafe environment for Black pride or self-acceptance as a Blackness.

Before Black respondents reach university, the high school environment has shaped Black students to assimilate into White institutional cultures. In his chapter *Education as Freedom*, Rick Turner (1980) also argues that schools in Africa were founded on colonial principles that favoured European civilisation. This means that schools, colleges, churches and universities in Africa are sites for reproduction of coloniality (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2010). Due to the colonial nature of how education and schools were organised in colonial South Africa, White schools tend to hold onto colonial traditions or lack cultural diversity. Many South African students who attend previously White schools still struggle with feeling alienated or unable to relate to the school cultures (McKeever, 2016: 128).

Discrimination according to race and class

Respondents also reported that Black student were discriminated because of their race or class differences. Respondents who reported racial discrimination referred to the high school institutions as being opposed to learners. Respondents who reported that Black students who were discriminated according to class were discriminated against by their peers.

I saw how they treated the Black people with stronger accents at my school, how they were so mean to them, how they disregarded them and basically just ignored them. And I saw that. And with me, I can see like my skin colour and theirs are the same. But my family do not have accents so I would see that person as part of my community...It didn't matter what you sounded like, everyone was nice to you. But in high school it was such a big fact (Susan, female, 21)

The first time I was realised I was Black was when I didn't get my full colours. Absolutely. That is when I realised...That hit home. I worked very hard in athletics and became captain. I think that they also saw that I am not a better Black. I am not a house nigger. I am not going to suck up to you. I am not going to twang for you. I am not going to be the kind of Black you want me to be. I think when they saw that then I didn't get the colours. That is when I realised...there is racism here. Racism is alive. There is a system of oppression (Vuyo, male, 21)

*It started at out as a rumour but our Xhosa teacher pretty much confirmed it. In this democracy *Drakensburg had to take Black students and couldn't discriminate against Black students but now they can decide how many they take. So there is the one percent per grade of students that they take. They do take a lot more coloured students and Indian students (Sarah, female, 20)*

I went an Afrikaans high school and basically all correspondence was in Afrikaans. It was bilingual – Afrikaans and English but mostly everything was in Afrikaans, what they taught in class...I felt they valued my White classmates more than they did with me (Xola, male, 19)

This means that race and class determined how the Black respondents were treated in high school. Regarding class, Susan explained that her school did not discriminate against Black students who had a strong accent but her peers discriminated such students. A strong accent means a Black person who does not speak English with a Model C accent. Black students who spoke with a Model C accent predominantly went to Model C schools. In order to go to a Model C school you have to be come from a relatively well-off family. This means that Black students who do not have a Model C White accent were mostly students from the townships or a rural area and not well off. Susan expresses that both her and the other Black students were Black but because of the other students accent (linked to their socio-economic background) they were ostracised. Susan was accepted because she was well-off and had a White accent. The inability to assimilate into Whiteness (in this case because of a White accent) resulted in social exclusion.

Moreover, some high schools racially discriminated against Black students who challenged White institutional cultures and showed Black attitudes. Vuyo was victimised and unfairly treated at his school because he refused to assimilate into his White school culture. He reports that he refused to be a 'house nigger', or 'twang' (colloquial for a White accent) or assimilate. He expresses that he refused to be who they (educators) wanted him to be. And the person who they wanted him to be was one that upholds White hegemonic cultures at the school. This had negative consequences and he subsequently experienced discrimination. In Matric, he did not get his full colours which is a badge of honour for sportsmanship. As a captain, he was entitled to the award however he reported that he was looked over due to his refusal to assimilate into to the hegemonic school culture.

Systematic exclusionary language policies are also meted out against Black students at some former Model C schools. For example, Xola reported two issues at his high school, first he felt his White schoolmates were more valued than him. The treatment and the hostile environment from Afrikaans White students and the favouritism at his school resulted in him feeling undervalued as a Black student. Secondly, the more subtle discrimination is the issue of language as a tool for discrimination. Previously, when Nomsa expressed her experiences of Blackness as a disadvantage, she invoked the issue of language utilised as a way to disadvantage her in a job interview. This also applies to Xola's experience in high school. Xola's high school was an English and Afrikaans medium school however they did not teach in English. Most Black people are not fluent enough to learn in Afrikaans. Therefore, this systematically excludes or keeps Black students at a small populace at the school without having to outright discriminate. This can also be observed at Susan's school with their Black admissions quota. In the democratic South Africa, schools have been desegregated however because certain schools would like to keep Black student numbers low, they create barriers like only accepting 1 percent of Black students per grade.

With the political regime change in 1994, one of the State's mandate was to desegregate schools. However, the transition has not come without its challenges. Jansen (2004:2) writes,

There is a formidable research literature showing that in South African schools, the grouping of children, the dominant assessment practices, the learner preferences of the teacher, the display of cultural symbols, the organisation of religious symbols, the

scope of awards and rewards, and the decisions of 'who teaches what' are all organised in ways that show preference based on race”

Indeed, some of my students who went to previously White only schools speak about unequal treatment and the “display of cultural symbols” that favoured White students and alienated them as Black students.

The narratives of the respondents in this study revealed that Black students still experience discrimination due to their race in previously former Model C schools. Moreover, it demonstrates that some former Model C schools are committed to maintaining White hegemonic schools cultures instead of embracing and integrating different cultures and creating more multicultural school cultures. The narratives from Sarah and Vuyo also demonstrate that Black students are coerced into accepting White standards and socialised to accept White cultural values. When a young Black person rebels and asserts their Blackness, they are punished. This communicates to Black young people is that Whiteness is superior and must be adopted and Blackness is an identity that must be punished out of a student. Punishing a Black student for asserting their Blackness and being proud to be Black communicates that Blackness is something undesirable and bad.

5.2.2 Blackness did not negatively influence University Two students

Majority in Historically Black School

90% of the students at University Two went to historically Black schools, Catholic schools or schools with only people of Colour (Black, Indian and Coloured). 10% of the respondents reported they went to a White school. Majority of these students reported that they had no awareness of race or experienced racial discrimination.

It depends on the location most of the hostel. like our school, it was a Roman Catholic school so they were many races. There were Black people and Coloured people. There were no White people and we were a little bit of Indians... They were not focused on whether you are Black or White because they were Roman Catholic so what they were focused on being Roman Catholic. And not whether you are Black or White. There was just introducing Roman Catholic religion. The school was mostly about their system. It was the same thing for everyone. (Yanga, male, 20)

No. As I said, this race thing is not an issue for me. I think it is because I grew up and people didn't treat me differently because I'm Black. There was never an issue` about

*race. Even at school, and in primary school because it was a *mixed school so there was never really anything about you being Black or come sit this side because you are Black. No (Nomsa, female, 19)*

It was really tough hey because of the previous school that I went to in King [William's Town]. It was sort of like a coloured school then I got a scholarship for rugby in Port Elizabeth so I had to study at Alexandra High School. It was White. You could literally count the Black people from grade 8 to matric. I can tell you there was not more than hundred Black people from grade 8 to matric. So there about 20 Black people per grade so it was really White. To be honest at the end of the day I had to adapt to the environment from where I was coming from because I was coming from a very very different environment. It is a good school full of White people and it is very White. Things were different. At the end of the day I had to accept where I am because I came here to study on a scholarship and finish it and leave. (Themba, male, 25)

The respondents who went to historically Black high schools did not report any incidences of racism or feeling isolated within the institutional cultures at their schools. Yanga attended a Roman Catholic school with only people of colour. The school emphasised religious values and did not speak about race or hold hegemonic White institutional cultures. The institutional culture was the Catholic religion and the church. The school upheld their religious values however also accepted students from other denominations and religions. Yanga reported that all students were treated equally. Nomsa attended a school where there were only people of colour (or a mixed school) and did not report experiencing racism or isolation. She did not report she felt alienated at the school nor felt pressured to assimilate into different cultural values.

The one (10%) respondent who went to a White school expressed difficulty in acclimatising to the White culture. He expressed difficulty navigating the school because his cultural background was different to the school culture he described as White. Themba got into the school due to a scholarship and therefore chose to assimilate in order to finish and leave the school. Juxtaposed with Yanga and Nomsa's experiences, Themba's experience of high school is far less welcoming. When you compare Themba's experiences to Sarah and Vuyo, one observes that Whiteness is common denominator that causes discomfort. Therefore, this means White hegemony causes discomfort or alienates Black students from their Blackness. This can also be observed as Black students navigate from high school into the university context.

5.3 EXPERIENCES OF BLACKNESS ON UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES

5.3.1 *University One discriminates against Black students*

History of University One

University One was founded in 1829 as the South African College, a high school for White boys. The College developed into a university during the period of 1880 to 1900, with increased funding that came from private sources and the government (University of Cape Town, 2017). Even though the university retells the history as a neutral institution with no political involvement, there is evidence that demonstrates that University One was not neutral.

During the height of the “native question”, University One also contributed to the debate and saw itself as part of the solution to exercise power over Africans. Ntsebeza (2012: 3) writes, “According to Gordon, the university publicly announced the establishment of the School of African Life and Languages at the height of the Parliamentary debate on the Native Affairs Bill which created a permanent advisory Native Affairs Commission. University One saw a role for itself in providing resources in the formulation and implementation of the 'Native policy’”. Moreover, Lalu (2011) reiterates Ntsebeza's statements that the University was not apolitical, but indirectly participated in the subjugation of African people:

The native question aligned knowledge projects with the demands of administering native populations. The Milner Commission of Inquiry (1903 to 1905) was perhaps the first to call for scientific studies of natives of South Africa. The call for the study of the natives had several consequences, not least that the study of human subjects would be indispensable to the modes of government in these far reaches of the empire.

In 1921, University One established the school of African life and languages. The University announced that “the establishment of the school now provides the necessary correlation between university work and preparation for native administration”. The colonial state was very involved in the planning and funding a school for the African studies as a "colonial strategy of ruling over the indigenous people” (Lalu, 2011). In adherence to Apartheid laws, University One is an institution that was designated for White people only and adhered to Apartheid Laws of segregation.

Institutional violence and Language

When asked about their experiences as a Black student at University One, a majority of the respondents expressed experiences of institutional violence. Students felt that the colonial architecture and the names of the buildings made them feel depressed. Other respondents articulated that the use of the English language in the institution even though South Africa was an African country was violent. Other respondents also spoke about the university being a space where they became aware of their Blackness or experienced a heightened sense of Blackness.

Immediately when you get out of a Jammie you just feel depressed...you also see the Whiteness around...In a country where White people constitute not more than 20 percent but in that university they are more than 80 percent. It's also around the name of the buildings. You have, but at least Rhodes fell, but you have Jameson hall. But I dunno, Max Price said they gonna change...since we are calling for the building names to be changed...they said they are going to change to Chris Hani. But why only change the new science [building]? It's just a word, it's not offensive. People want to change the names from people who came and oppressed. People like Jameson. I dunno, it's just the space around you. And then you see like the architecture of the buildings. The design of the buildings. Everything is European.(Banele, male, 20)

In a country where less than, okay I don't want to lie but less than twenty five percent speak English as a first language, I think it is unfair that they would make English the primary teaching method. (Sarah, female, 20)

Language was a factor that made respondents feel that the institution discriminated against or disadvantaged them. Anathi went to a township school and was doing English as a second additional language, which means that he was taught English in the instructional medium of isiXhosa. He felt that the English he was doing in high school was inferior to the English that people speak or communicate with when teaching at university. He feels that students who were taught in English were more advantaged than him. This ties into what Sarah discussed around how the English language as the only medium of instruction at the university disadvantages Black students or renders them unable to communicate in tutorials and lectures.

For Sarah, the demographics of the country makes it unacceptable for the English language to be the only medium of instruction at University One. She explains that less than twenty five percent of the South African population speaks English and would like to see a diversity of language at the university. Previously, the issue of language as a systemic way to

exclude Black people was discussed earlier in this research. English is a language that is not indigenous to Africa and therefore is associated with White people. Therefore, Sarah challenges English a White hegemonic language that is prioritised over other African languages at the university. English is part of the institutional violence and systematic exclusion of Black people who might not be fluent in English and therefore unable to access the university. A student's command of the English language determines whether they will fit into the culture of University One and whether they will do well in their academics. Students who did not have a good command of the English language struggled with their academics and were more likely to face academic exclusion.

Some respondents expressed an alienation to the institution and a heightened sense of awareness that they were Black due to the dominance of what they name as Whiteness. The names of the building and the refusal of the university to remove the names of colonialists made some respondents feel unwelcomed. Banele expressed when he arrives on campus he feels depressed due to the Whiteness and the colonial symbolism. According to him, White students dominate as they are 80 percent of the student population. The physical dominance of White bodies and the colonial symbolism results in discomfort. He struggles with the names of the building too. He asserts that the names of the buildings celebrate people who oppressed Black people in history like Cecil Rhodes. He reports that the university is strategically renaming building that are neutral (like the Science Building) but not buildings like Jameson Hall that are named after colonialists. This demonstrates a strategic move to seem like the university is transforming however still upholding on to colonial symbolism. Buildings are important because Black students have to navigate them especially for lectures and tutorials. Therefore, Black students navigate their academic life in spaces they experience as violent which leads to students like Banele experiencing depression.

In a study done at University One about the adjustment of Black students at the previously White institution, it was found that Black students who studied in a second language struggled to adjust to the university environment (Sennet et al, 2010). As Badat (2011) argues, higher education has prioritised two languages in South Africa, English and Afrikaans. The language barrier also greatly shapes the experience of Black students in higher education.

The institutional culture is another factor that contributes to young Black people having difficulty adjusting at historically White universities. During Apartheid, over 60% of Black students that were allowed by the government to attend UCT found the space unwelcoming and alienating (Sennet et al, 2010). Even today, many students struggle with integrating into the university culture because they were unable to communicate properly in English. On the other hand, White students were deemed to behave freely and comfortably on campus (Moodley, n.d:21). Twenty three years after Apartheid, Banele still experiences similar feelings of alienation expressed by over 60% percent Black students who attended the university during Apartheid.

Racist and classist resident allocations at University One

Some respondents reported that residence are allocated according to race and class. The respondents felt that allocations perpetuated racial segregation at the university. Different races were allocated their own residences. Moreover, Black middle class respondents were integrated into White residences because of their class privilege.

*I didn't want to believe when I first heard that there are certain reses that definitely allocate according to race but now I think it is also class. If you go to *College House, it's actually a lot of college boys coming from prestigious boys schools. If you go to *Koketso and *Davis, a lot of young Black males are very mixed. There are some guys from prestigious high schools but there are a lot more from poor backgrounds, maybe even coming from the village. If you go to Jan, it is all the rich boys and maybe a few guys from poor backgrounds. It is very clear that when they allocate here, they allocate according to something. Whether it is race or class or what school you went to or where you are from. That is very clear. (Vuyo, male, 21)*

*I feel like the way it is designed, Davis is supposed to be a Black residence because when you go to a res like *Jan it is mostly Whites and a few Black spots so I feel like Davis is supposed to be like that. Koketso, when you go to Koketso, historical they were a White res...I don't know why it [Davis] is structured like that. They keep on saying there are policies but we know it is structured in a way that a lot of Black people from the township are here. (Thabo, male, 20)*

The respondents articulated that racial and class segregation was institutionalised by University One. Vuyo observed that certain residences such as *College House are reserved for students who came from prestigious backgrounds. Thabo also observed the same trend, residences such as *Jan were mostly White students and a few Black students. Thabo and Vuyo's res, *Davis

has a high demographic of Black people who come from the township and rural areas. The Black students that were put in *Davis were known by students from other residences as students who lived in the 'township'. As Davis is male residence, female students were also discouraged to date the male student at the res. This demonstrates that the students from the residence known as the township were stereotyped and ostracised. The connotation here is that poor students (who will be majority Black) that exist in spaces like Davis are socially ostracised due to institutionalised racist and class practices mentioned above.

Race and class are interlinked and majority of people who attend privileged schools are White people (and a minority rich Black students). Therefore, if residences such as College House have a majority of students from prestigious schools, then this means majority of the students are White. This maintains the racial and class hierarchies as well as segregation on campus. The respondents' narrative reveal that even though the institution might claim it promotes diversity, institutional practices mentioned above prove contrary.

Accents

A majority of the respondents indicated that a student's command of the English language increased their chance of doing well academically and their accent afforded them social mobility. Respondents who did not have a good command of the English language or spoke with a particular accent struggled with their academics and were more likely to face academic exclusion. Furthermore, many respondents struggle with integrating into the university culture because they are unable to communicate properly in English or were ostracised by other students.

At university you have people from all sorts of background and you would get into tuts or group activities where people would say I don't want to get that guy because he is not intelligent. You go speak to that person and it is because they don't have an accent or they come from a rural area. So the poorer you are, the less intelligent you are. The less English you speak the less intelligent you are. You are destined for failure. (Sarah, female, 20)

I came to university and we would be in a group like a multiracial group and let's say two Indians, five White people, me. I am always like the only person. And a bunch of people came to say hi and no one said hi to me and the first time that happened I was like what... And it was like so painful. Like I completely – this was like 'what', so then I used to speak with like a British accent because the moment

you spoke with a British one, they wanted to talk to you. So now you are foreign. (Susan, female, 21)

You have to have a Model C accent. A White accent. For me, I cannot get a girlfriend. It is hard for me to get a girlfriend. In order for me to get those who come from upper class, I have to have an accent, you see? Firstly I don't speak English properly. I do speak English properly but when I do, I become nervous and feel like people judge me because I come from a township school. (Anathi, male, 24)

Some respondents reported that the accent with which one spoke determined how people viewed their intelligence or whether others interacted with them. Therefore, some Black students needed to alter part of their Black identity in order to fit in. Anathi comes from a township school in Philippi and learnt English as a second additional language. This means that even though he can communicate in English because he did not go to a former Model C school, he does not speak with a White accent. He also does not have the right accent that women on campus find attractive and therefore is viewed as undesirable. For Black people, a White accent is obtained through access to a former Model C schools and this requires a Black person to have certain socio-economic mobility. Therefore, Black people who are found desirable have a White accent and by extension are well off. Anathi also expresses that he due to having the wrong accent, he navigates with an anxiety of facing judgement or viewed as unintelligent. Sarah confirms Anathi's narrative about accents and social mobility on campus. She observed that Black students who did not have a former Model C school accent were ostracised and viewed as unintelligent. Even in academic settings, Black students who had a 'Black accent' found it difficult to find peers to work with. Other students thought they were intellectually inferior therefore would compromise the quality of the group work and their marks. This means that accent, as Sarah also confirms, can affect Black students negatively and therefore "destined to for failure".

Susan comes from an upper class background and faced marginalisation from acquaintances because she was Black. She would be completely ignored and her existence unacknowledged in a multiracial social gatherings because of her race. Therefore, she changed her former Model C accent for a British accent in order to appear as a foreign Black person. After she changed her accent, Susan noticed that she became interesting to the people who had previously ignored her. Again, this proves one's accent determines whether a young person is

accepted or marginalised at University One. Very important observations and links are to be made about Anathi, Susan and Sarah's narratives. It has been established that former Model C schools uphold White institutional values and therefore a former Model C school accent forms part of that value system. The assumption that a former Model C school or a White accent equals superior intellect and that a 'Black accent' equals inferiority demonstrated racist notions of White superiority. Moreover, Susan's narrative also demonstrates that Blackness, or specifically some South African Black students are marginalised regardless of their class. Therefore, they need to adopt another type of Blackness that is European in order to be accepted.

Previously, this research findings discussed how English is prioritised at University One and how this resulted in an institutional culture which valued Whiteness. The issue of accents is another way in which White hegemony is maintained and Blackness is marginalised at the university. If the institution embraced and taught in African languages, English would cease to be the hegemonic language. This means that a White English accent would cease to be hegemonic and a yardstick of intelligence. If Black students like Anathi could speak their own languages, the pressure to sound 'White' would not be part of their university experience. Therefore, some Black student would not navigate campus with anxiety about how they speak nor feel inferior.

Bourdieu (1986:47) describes cultural capital as capital someone is born into due to their social standing or the ability to assimilate into a culture. Some Black respondents like Anathi did not have the cultural capital such as a White accent in order to navigate the university with ease.

Favouritism

A majority of the respondents reported that the institutional culture at University One favours White students, and that significant traditional ceremonies of Black people were disregarded. Cultural activities that White people participated in were accommodated more, with an instance of an academic deadline being moved.

In first year, Rocking the Daisies was this weekend, that Monday we came back we had a test scheduled. The power of the White community managed to move that test date to a date where it disadvantaged most of the Black students. (Lebo, female, 21)

If you look at University One and there events for predominantly White people like Rocking the Daisies, let's not lie because last week when they were saying they are cancelling classes for the whole week, the weekend was Rocking the Daisies. Even last year, I don't know whether I am mistaken, but last year there was a holiday for Rocking the Daisies at University One. Even my course there was an essay then there was Rocking the Daisies then the head tutor said we are going to extend the extension for the essay since most people over the weekend won't be able to do their work since they are going to Rocking the Daisies. Why can't you extend for when I am going to my ceremony in the Eastern Cape? That is when you saw that are some racial undertones. (Banele, male, 20)

In production we don't do set theory. It is more practical but the times when I feel the complexities of being Black is when we team up because usually we pitch ideas that we wanna do and half of the time rather majority of the time it is White people's ideas that are chosen. At first I used to think it was only me but then I started speaking to other Black students in the class. Ironically we were all female. So we decided from now on we can choose among each other. It is quite heart breaking, not heart breaking, but it is unfair. When you pitch an idea and you feel it is something you are passionate about and then you end up working with something has to do with the ...sharks, one about the Fynbos forest, another one was about astronomy and stuff like that. All the other hard hitting ones none of them got chosen. (Refentse, female, 20)

Academic calendars are moved due for White students to attend music festivals like Rocking the Daisies. Rocking the Daisies is a weekend musical festival attended by mostly White students at University One. Respondents reported that when this festival takes place, lecturers and tutors move the academic programme in order to accommodate White respondents. Lebo reports that White students at University One hold a certain power in the university that other students do not enjoy. In her first year, a test was moved to a later date because of the festival and the later date disadvantaged most of the Black students. This means that as a Black student, her academics were compromised and she was put at a disadvantage in order for White students to party without bad consequences in their academic life. This also means that White students academic progress was prioritised (the extensions of deadline) over Black students.

On the other hand, Black students are met with resistance when they have to go back home to observe important traditional ceremonies or are ill. Banele had to go to the Eastern

Cape during the semester in order to observe a traditional ceremony that in honour of his ancestors. His White tutor refused to pardon him as he deem this was an valid excuse to miss university. The White tutors assertion that the ceremony was not a legitimate excuse to miss university betray their prejudice regarding African cultures. Lebo also spoke about her friend who had failed the course because she had been in hospital and was not able to make the academic requirements to write exams. She adds that she doesn't know of a White person who has received the same treatment. It is important to note here that the circumstances where Black students are met with resistance when they take time off do not inconvenience the schedule of tests not disadvantages other students.

Refentse studies film production and she also reported that she experienced discrimination because she was Black at the university. At first she thought that she was the only person who noticed favouritism. When Black students pitched ideas in her film production class, White students' ideas were always prioritized. She reported how White students pitched ideas about insignificant subjects like flowers and sharks whereas Black students wanted to make films that addressed patriarchy and critical social issues on campus however their ideas were not chosen. When she spoke to other Black students in her class they also felt the same way. Refentse felt that the favouritism was due to the fact that they were Black. The underlying message is that White ideas are better and should be prioritised compared to those that come from Black students.

Therefore, the institutions favour White culture and White students and alienate Black students. Lebo refers to the power of Whiteness that exists at University One which she links to the institutions prioritising White students recreational activities even if they affect Black students academics negatively. Again, this speaks to White hegemony and racial inequalities at University One.

Racial stereotypes

Majority of respondent reported that they experienced or have seen other Black people stereotyped because they are Black. Respondents reported that Black people are viewed as unintelligent, inferior, barbaric or on financial aid.

For me the one I have the most problem is barbarism. When you are looked as just people who want to disrupt everything. I think that is the bad one. Like if you protest then you are barbaric and if you don't protest then you are a good Black person. (Banele, male, 20)

Oh they say that Black people are at University One on financial aid ja. I can say that. They are at University One because they are paid for by NSFAS. They say majority of Black South Africans are at University One because they are paid for by NSFAS. That is the stereotype. (Anathi,24,male)

They obviously think we are inferior. They obviously think we are small in size. I'm pretty sure low key some of them think we were meant to work for them. Low key, I think every White person thinks that and it goes back to the fact that if you are a White kid when you wake up in the morning you probably gonna have a Black maid cleaning up after you. You gonna get in your car and go to the garage and have a Black petrol attendant and go to a restaurant and you gonna have a Black waitress. So Black people in their world are people who serve them. Maybe they don't say but subconsciously think that Black people are meant to serve them. (Vuyo, male, 21)

There is a belief that all the Black people got in because of their race. Or Black people probably got in with lower grades. That the majority of them are poor and on financial aid or come from townships. (Susan, female,21)

Banele reports that the student protests on campus have resulted in racial stereotypes about Black students being barbaric. Black students who did not protest against the discriminatory practices on campuses and assimilated in the university culture were considered as good Black people. Susan also reported Black students who protested were characterised as violent. Here, historical constructions of Blackness as barbaric and violent can be observed.

Anathi also reported that there is a stereotype that all Black students are on financial aid at University One. Susan also discussed the characterisation of Black people as poor, from the township or on financial aid. For Susan, Black people are grouped as homogenous group who come from the same poor area instead of a diverse community of people who come from different backgrounds. It is interesting that Anathi and Susan reported this as a negative stereotype. This means that there are negative connotations about being Black and poor or being on financial aid at the university.

Vuyo reported that some of the negative racial stereotypes on campus were that Black people are inferior. It is important to point out that perceptions about Black inferiority exists in

comparison to White superiority. Vuyo reported that he thought White students on campus think that Black people are meant to serve White people. Vuyo explains that this mindset is reinforced by various jobs that place Black people as servants and White people as the ones who are being served. The belief that Black people are only good enough in roles of servitude influenced many policies during colonialism and Apartheid. This means that Black youth like Vuyo are still affected by racist beliefs about Black people that existed as far back as colonialism. Most importantly, this means that these negative stereotypes exist within the university space and affect how some Black students navigate university.

Susan reports that there are beliefs that Black students were accepted at the university because they were Black. There is a perception that Black students have low marks however are accepted for transformation purposes. The assumption here is that Black people are not intellectually competent and do not have the intellectual capacity to achieve good grades that secures a place at the university. These stereotypes also form part of the racial microaggressions that Black students have to navigate at the university.

Black students have been reported to struggle with racial stereotypes on campus around the world. This affects how they experience and perform their identity. Exposure to a climate of prejudice and discrimination in the classroom and on campus has gained attention as the main factor accounting for differences in withdrawal behaviour between minorities and non-minorities in the United States (Cabrera et al, 1999). Black students experienced racial stereotypes about Blackness and this resulted in alienation on campus. Racial stereotyping has been named as an element that leads to alienation.

Class privilege and advantages

Some respondents felt that being Black at University One disadvantaged them academically because they could not afford some course materials. Some respondents felt that the materials required at the university were beyond their financial means and that this put them at a disadvantage amongst their peers. Some respondents reported that because they are Black, they lacked connections in the industries they were studying towards than their White counterparts who had family networks that allowed them to advance.

Advantage here is based on exposure. I feel like we are not exposed to mechatronics system we are not exposed to electrical engineering. We are quite behind as Black

people. We don't have our uncles owning these things. Even though my uncle would work at a electrical engineering company he will never invite me because now he will have to first ask his boss for me to come and see. He doesn't have that freedom to show me. (Thabo, male, 20)

I think a lot of Black kids go through this as well, when we need materials, because I was also speaking to my friend Mbalentle about this, we always feel guilty to ask for money. Even though we know we need this. It is for school. We are not partying with this money. We are not playing. We need this for school...in order for us to excel we need this money but we still feel guilty. So I do feel like being Black is bit of a disadvantage. I felt I was not as experienced because I was not exposed to the same resources that they had...I felt like I was a step behind them. That I had to work a little bit harder just to level it up (Vuyo, male, 21)

Some Black respondents at University One do not have the socio-economic resources to compete with their White or rich Black counterparts. Therefore, while Blackness disadvantaged one, one's socio-economic circumstances also hindered academic success. Vuyo disclosed that majority of Black students struggle through academia due to their inability to afford certain materials required by their courses. Vuyo's parents pay for his education and therefore he feels guilty to ask for additional material required for his architectural courses. He discloses that this disadvantages him and other Black students at the university. For example, Refentse also felt disadvantaged because her White counterparts could access film equipment more easily than her and her Black counterparts. This means that Black students at University One navigate their academic courses struggling to afford materials that will ensure their academic success. This means that some Black students might not finish their degrees not because they were not coping with academics but because they did not have the necessary resources.

Social mobility and industry networks also affected how Black respondents navigate university. Thabo explained that he felt disadvantaged because he and most Black people lack exposure to the mechatronics industry. No one in his family or community works in this mechatronics. He adds that even though his uncle works in the engineering industry, he is an employee, therefore Thabo is unable to access the space like he could if his uncle was the owner. Thabo reports that advantage in university is also based on exposure. Some White students have the social capital to access the industries they are studying towards as they have

family members or networks in their field of study. Black students do not have the multigenerational social networks and capital that affords them access and exposure. Therefore, they do not navigate the university space at an unequal footing compared to their White peers.

Social mobility and class

Respondents reported that class gave students social mobility as opposed to race on campus. Such respondents thought that Black, Coloured, Indian and White students who were rich were the ones who navigated campus with ease.

Again my first thought was maybe White but then personally I don't see it like that. I think the cool kids are the people that look cool on campus. I think those are the cool kids...The iphones, the nice sneakers, the weaves, the nice clothes, the cars ja I would say those are the cool kids. Those ones stick together (Refentse, female, 20)

The middle class kids, so they dress American... American, what's in. What Chris Brown is wearing, someone would wear today. What Kanye takes out tomorrow, someone would wear. You understand? That type... They all dress the same. That's another messed up thing is that, with being cool, you all look the same. There's no unique. You're not unique. The girls all look the same, same thing... You know? So, what was in? What is in now? Those White Adidas, three stripe tekkies with... you know, the guys jeans and the funny... that hairstyle where you just leave the hair here, you know? (Thabo, male, 20)

I mean, I guess people would say that it's like White culture is more valued on campus but I actually see it as, it's more money. The upper-class are valued. Because now the upper-class is more racially diverse even if White people are the majority. There is more of a mix, there is more of rich Coloured people, there is rich Indian people, there is rich Black people. Especially on campus. So I feel like it is more the upper-class valued on campus. (Susan, female, 21)

Class determined a student's mobility or lack of mobility at University One. The popular students were students who wore expensive clothes imported from America, students who wore expensive weaves, expensive phones and drove nice cars. These material possessions were associated with being 'cool' and therefore a trendsetter. Thabo also asserts that it is a homogenous group that have the same dress sense or look the same. Susan also believes that people who enjoy social mobility on campus are not just White people but rich Coloured, Indian and Black people. This demonstrates why Anathi and Susan spoke about poverty and being on financial aid as a negative stereotype on campus. If students who are able to afford

expensive material possessions enjoy social mobility, than those who cannot afford remain on the margins. This means that Black students navigate the campuses with relative ease. This finding is significant as it demonstrates that Black students are not a homogenous group. This finding is also significant as it demonstrates that not all Black students feel marginalised in the university space. Class plays a huge role in how Black students navigate and are accepted in the university space.

However, it is important to discuss the racial demographics in broader South Africa when one presents narratives about class mobility at University One. Class and race are very interlinked in South Africa. Like Susan reports, the community of rich students is diverse however White people are still in the majority of the income bracket at University One. Within the broader South African context, Southall (2016:17) argues that the various assertion of a growing Black middle class do not take into consideration the ‘new’ middle class are either the political elite or those employed in corporates but not own the means of production. He asserts, “Blacks may have taken over the state, and may now largely control the parastatals, yet Whites (via national and multinational corporations) continue to dominate the economy”. Moreover, the widening of inequality in South African democracy means race and class are interconnected in South Africa. This means at University One, White students and a minority of rich Black, Indian and Coloured students manoeuvre the university with ease. Lastly, previous discussions about language, colonial White symbolism and accents which reinforce White hegemony on campus prove that even though Black students who are rich might enjoy social mobility that mobility is also contingent on them assimilating into Whiteness.

Societies

Respondents from University One were active in student’s societies on campus. Some of them were in leadership positions or had recently stepped down from leadership in the societies. Majority of the student societies either facilitated conversations about Blackness or students were having conversations among themselves within the societies.

Absolutely. That is why I joined the society. That is the whole trademark because the industry that we are part of is very unfair. It is all about creating... we talk about how unfair the investment and security industry is and how to create more awareness about injustices. We have a lot of women and a lot of Black professionals that comes speak to us about how to make sure that you implement policies in the workplace that will

benefit you and if you feel discriminated against how to handle that. I think that is something that they don't teach us in our Faculty because majority are White and don't go through that. Then you don't have that. They don't need that and ABSIP is amazing in providing us with that (Sarah, female, 20)

When we have events I always bring this point out that I've just ... because I MC events a lot, I always bring this point up and say it [Hip Hop] was used as a tool for Black kids to speak their minds even now this is what we should do. We should use this music as a way to say positive things that we do as young Black people, all the beautiful things we have right now (Vuyo, male, 21)

I am in Investment Society. Their vision is just to teach us more about investing, it was... to expose us more to the world of investing. So, the... most of the things that they spoke about was investing. And, they don't go deeper in how... now, as Black people, in investing... how it is as Black people. We don't have that financial muscle, we just keep on investing. All these beautiful things, trust funds... all these things, but... we still have so far to go, so much to do until we get to that point of investing. (Thabo, male, 20)

For EDU SOC I was in the exec they also talk a lot about race because the main objective of EDU SOC was to shorten the gap, giving access to Black students who come from disadvantaged schools. They try to close that gap by giving them an opportunity to come University One and getting them in contact with the right SMEs and companies, educating them about what is happening and all these issues and make them coexist in University One and make them understand and take that back to their communities. Being part of EDU SOC was the best move I made since coming to UCT. I learnt a lot about gender, about Blackness and everything. (Itumeleng, male, 20)

The respondents felt that the societies were a safe space to talk about Blackness and the inequalities Black people face in the respective industries they were studying towards. For example, Sarah speaks belongs to student investment society called ABSIP. In the society, she learns about the racial and gender inequalities and injustices that Black people face in the investment industry. She is also is educated about the different ways she can fight those injustices once she is in the industry. This means that Sarah, enters the workplace with a clear understanding that she is not equal to her White counterparts. This is the same racial socialisation she received from her parents growing up. Growing up she was told that her White counterparts will be privileged and favored. This means Sarah receives multiple messages about racial inequalities as preparation to navigate the world and the workplace. For Sarah, the fact that her department, which is White, does not speak about racial inequalities prove to her that White people do not experience racial injustices. It is important to observe

that some Black students, like Sarah, navigate university with an anxiety about racial injustices that exist in the industries they are studying towards. This further illustrates that even though South Africa has obtained democracy, the workplace still needs to be transformed.

Some societies educated and encouraged conversations about the meaning of Blackness and experiences of Blackness. For example, Itumeleng generally does not feel represented or welcomed on campus as he is viewed as a “threat” to the status quo. However, he feels EDU SOC provides a safe space to talk about issues such as gender and Blackness. Thabo is part of PASMA and he reported that the society was the safest to talk about Blackness and “Black pain”. Previously Thabo also explained that in PASMA, they discuss the current injustices and inequalities Black students face on campus. Vuyo is part of the Hip Hop society on campus and expressed that he was intentional about bringing Black consciousness into the society. He educated members about the history of Hip Hop and how it was used as a tool for resistance. He also saw Hip Hop as an avenue to spread messages about Blackness. It is no coincidence that young people gravitate towards societies that speak about Blackness and racial injustices. University One is a difficult environment to navigate as a Black student as one perpetually exist on the margins especially if they are unable to assimilate into Whiteness. Black students gravitate towards spaces where they are not marginalized and where they can express their difficulties navigating the university. This means that societies are little communities where they can talk about Blackness and find belonging.

Pressure to study courses that ensure employment

Respondents stated that their parents were happy that they were university and that they were encouraged to study courses that will ensure employability. Respondents were either the first generation to attend university or the second generation. This means that they were either the first to attend university in their families or that their parents were the first to obtain a tertiary institution qualification.

Okay so I have a very beautiful family. I love my family to bits. I wouldn't trade it for anything. My mom is very supportive. Although my sister were sceptical at first, they still are because they are like what are you doing, everything single time we get together it is like what are you doing? How is it? Are you gonna get work? I'm like yes I am because I've set out a plan. I would say I have a very beautiful family life. It is the greatest thing in my life (Xola, male, 19)

It was an option but it wasn't the first option because I wanted to do Drama but my parents convinced me to first do a B. Com [Accounting] and if still want to do it I will enrol at AFDA afterwards.... think it is that whole security thing, the entertainment industry...you can't be certain about the future and there might be ups and downs. (Lebo, female, 21)

Coming from a lot Black families, education is the one thing that will take you out of any situation that you find yourself in. My parents are very pro education. They like what I study because they know that in the commerce industry there is a lot of opportunities for me and a lot of financial prospects so they are very supportive of what I am studying. (Sarah, female, 20)

Some respondents at University One were discouraged in pursuing their true passion in order to have a degree that will ensure a livelihood. For example, Lebo wanted to study drama however she was encouraged to go to university and get a 'good' degree first. A commerce degree is viewed as financially secure and will be able to offer Lebo financial security as opposed to the Arts. Sarah's parents also expressed the same sentiments as Lebo's parents. She is studying for a career in commerce in order for her to have a secure financial future. An education is viewed as the key to take Black people out of poverty therefore a degree ensures financial stability. Historical exclusion from education, certain industries and the material hardships faced by Black people inform these perceptions about education. On the other hand, this means that some Black students, like Lebo, might be discouraged to pursue their passion in order to secure their financial futures. Even though Xola reports that his family is supportive, he also explained that initially his family did not approve of his Music degree. From Lebo's narrative, one can deduce that some Black students are in university pursuing a degree they are not passionate in order to be able to get a job that will ensure financial security.

5.3..2 University Two a welcoming environment for all races

History of University Two

University Two Cape Town campus was founded under British colonial administration in 1920 and offered various technical courses. Through rigorous political lobbying, the Technikons Act was passed in 1976 and the name of the institution changed in order for the institution to offer degrees. The lobbying was due to, "a growing shortage of skilled, high level personnel to meet the needs of commerce and industry led to the adoption of the Advanced Technikon Act of

1967” (d’Almaine et al, nd). Consistent with Apartheid segregation policies, the institution was only allowed to enrol White students. Towards the end of Apartheid, the institution started to let Black students register in 1987 (Cape Peninsula University of Technology, 2017).

As part of the national mandate to desegregate institutions of higher learning at the advent of democracy, University Two Cape Town was merged with a previously Coloured Technikon in 2005 (Cape Peninsula University of Technology, 2017). Whereas University One was founded in 1829, University Two was founded only in 2005. It is a relatively new university. University One was founded in during colonialism and University Two was founded well after the consolidation of democratic South Africa.

Blackness as the norm at University Two (Cape Town Campus)

The institutional culture and symbolism at University Two are characterised by efforts of the democratic government to desegregate education. This impacts how Black students experience Blackness at University Two. Respondents reported that Blackness was the norm at the university and they felt comfortable at the university.

Because there are a lot of other Black students. So to some extent you're like, at least there are a lot of us. Maybe if you went to another university where you feel like you're the only Black person. So I'm comfortable because I know there are a lot of Black people like me. (Phati, female, 22)

Because there are a lot of students were Black here so.... actually I think University Two is turning into a Black school now. The way that I look at it. It is turning into a Black school now. There are a lot of Black people and I meet a lot of Black people from Knysna. (Ayanda, female, 20)

Yha it's population in terms, and also in terms of leadership students, the leadership, you'll find Blacks and then you go to, to, the SRC's, you will find it's Blacks there, so we dominate the SRC, we dominate (Thando, male, 24)

Respondents reported that Black people were the majority at University Two, followed by Coloured people and then by a few White people. Phati expressed that her comfort was informed by the fact that University Two was a majority Black university. If she was in a university environment where she was the minority then she might be uncomfortable. Ayanda agrees that majority of the students at University Two are majority Black students. Thando also

expressed that not only are Black people in the majority however they are also in leadership structures like the Student Representative Council (SRC). Parallels can be made about the respondents from University Two's high school experience and the university experience. Most of the students from University Two went to schools where Black people were the majority and reported that they had a good high school experience. Transitioning into a majority Black university also afforded that comfortability.

Their experiences are vastly different to Anathi at University One who transitioned from a majority Black school in the township to a historically White university. Anathi experienced marginalisation and navigated stereotypes whereas students like Phati felt comfortable. This means that University Two is a safe space for Black students transitioning from historically Black high schools. Most respondents reported that the demographics of the university allowed a sense of comfort and they did not have a heightened sense of awareness of their Blackness navigating the university. Much like University Two, in most Universities of Technologies in South Africa, Black students are the majority (Merrill, 2001:124).

Not the first option

Some respondents reported that University Two was not their first choice of study, yet because of poor marks or lack of access to application forms to university, they had to settle for University Two.

I didn't choose University Two, it was because my friend was studying here so it was easy for me to access University Two. He brought forms for me to sign. When you are living in P.E or those places in the Eastern Cape sometimes it is hard for you to get forms to apply...we don't have internet access that side to do online applications. (Thando, male, 24)

I had no choice. Actually I wanted to study at UP, University of Pretoria but due to technical difficulties I ended up at University Two....Financial problems ja. And um, most probably I would say my marks also. (Sizwe, male, 20)

I wanted to study at UWC but I did my application online and was accepted for this other course but I didn't want to just take anything. I never applied to University Two , I only came to University Two late. In February. UWC told me I was accepted for arts and I did not want to do that because I did not apply for that. I don't know how I got that. I did it online. Everything was already full so I came to University Two. (Nomsa, female, 19)

Respondents reported that they would rather have gone to other universities, yet because of structural limitations and low marks, they ended up studying at University Two. There is a sense that respondents would rather be in another institution. For example, Lilly reported that she wanted to attend University One instead of University Two. Nomsa also expressed that University Two was not her first option of study as she had applied to the University of Western Cape (UWC). She had not even applied to University Two and only arrived late in February because she was not allocated a place for the course she wished to study at UWC.

Sizwe could not study at the university of his choice because he couldn't afford the fees and he had low marks. Sizwe wanted to study at the University of Pretoria (UP) however due to low marks and financial difficulties, he was only able to study at University Two. UP is a historically White university and therefore entrance requirements are strict and higher than University Two. This means that Sizwe was not able to access entry to the historically White university (with more resources) due to low marks. This means that entrance requirement results in some young Black people unable to study at the institutions of their choice.

Thando did not choose to study at University Two however, he did not have the social capital and resources needed to explore the option of different universities. Thando expressed that he did not have internet to research about different universities while growing up in a township in Port Elizabeth. Therefore, the lack of exposure and resources meant that Thando applied to University Two because his friend studied there and would be able to give him application forms when he came back home. This means that some Black youth lack the resources to explore and access different universities. Online application for some Black students is not accessible due to limited resources.

University Two as a Rainbow Nation

In comparison to University One and the difficult ways Black respondents assert that they navigate Blackness, respondents at University Two felt represented and navigated the space with relative ease. Whereas University One respondents felt that the institutional culture, the colonial symbolism and interpersonal racism alienated them, most respondents felt that University Two was a rainbow nation. Respondents also reported that there were no racial prejudices amongst them at University Two.

University Two is a Rainbow Nation just like South Africa. There are also people who are not South African and the people of South Africa who are the rainbow nation. But the people who dominate are Black people. (Khanya, male, 21)

I think that everyone gets the respect that they deserve or treatment they deserve because when I looked into the management, the management is not just Black or all White people. Even amongst the students, it's Xhosa etc. If you want to isolate yourself, then you are going to feel lost because you isolated yourself. (Yanga, male, 20)

It is a diverse one. It is very diverse. There are a lot of different people so it is a normal university for me. I cannot say how University Two is and I cannot point out the specific parts about University Two because I don't know what another university is like so I wouldn't know what it is that you want to know. So for me but for me it is a normal place. (Ayanda, female, 20)

My opinions matter. When I say something no one says, this one is stupid or something like that. It is not like that. I guess it is ok and we are treated the same. That is why I say to you when I see a White person or an Indian person I don't get shocked. I just look at them. There is nothing I can say about them that is bad. (Khethi, female, 22)

The respondents also felt that the institutional culture and values on campus were not alienating towards them. University Two has many different campuses, namely the Mowbray campus, Bellville Campus, Granger Bay, Sarepta, the Nursing school, and the Cape Town campus. The respondents specifically articulated that their experiences were specific to the Cape Town campus. In most universities of Technology, Black students are the majority (d'Almaine et al, nd). Previously, the respondents reported that they had no heightened awareness of being Black at University Two as Blackness was, as Ayanda puts it, the norm. More importantly, another factor that made the respondents navigate campus easier, was the equal treatment afforded to all students. Yanga's observation is that everyone is treated equally and given the respect they deserve. An individual who isolates themselves, does so because of choice and not because they are excluded. Khethi asserts that she has not had bad experiences with White or Indian students and everyone's opinions matter at University Two. When she speak up, her ideas are not dismissed as stupid. This is a major contrast to the Black respondents at University One who expressed Black students were treated unfairly and were perceived to be intellectually inferior.

Khanya thought the campus was representative of South Africa, a 'Rainbow Nation'. The Rainbow Nation was coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and symbolized racial unity and diversity. Tutu describes the Rainbow Nation, "They are smiling, they are walking taller...they have suddenly discovered that they are all South Africans...they discovered that they were compatriots" (Tutu, 2006: 257). In line with Tutu's assertions, Khanya reported that the campus was racially diverse and the students existed harmoniously even though Black people were the majority. Yanga also asserted that even management is racially diverse. This is a sharp contrast to Banele's experience of University One. Banele explained that White people were a minority in the country however were majority at University One and this showed a lack of diversity at his university.

It is important make a very significant comparison between University One and University Two relationship with power and hegemony. At University One, respondents make constant reference to Whiteness as a hegemonic structure that marginalises their Blackness. Students at University Two do not make reference to Whiteness or institutional structures that cause them emotional distress. This means that a university's institutional culture and treatment is closely linked to Black students experiences of comfort or discomfort. It is possible for a university to have a great Black student population however, if the institutional culture is racist then Black students could still feel alienated even when they are in the majority. The comfort respondents felt within the university environment was contingent on both numbers and equality on campus. This demonstrates the importance of transforming racist institutional cultures and equal treatment of all students in university. Representation and equality are important components that determine whether Black students navigate the university environment with or without racial microaggressions.

Social Environment

Respondents reported that students at their university were social and loved to have fun. Respondents reported that students in politics arranged various events where students could get together and party. Students reported that the most popular events were the bashes and the Mr and Miss University Two modelling competition.

We are known as those girls partying and you know, stuff like that. So most people, I wouldn't say, I'm not but they question me and say 'are you really from University

Two?’ I get that thing that University Two students are supposed to be this way. So if you are not like that then you’re like ‘how did you end up not being like that?’? (Lilly, female, 20)

*When I first arrived, I heard that in all the universities in the Western Cape that University Two is well known for it’s bashes and drinking. *HWC is well known for sleeping with each other. University One is famous for the fact that they kill themselves when they fail. Then *Vredendal is famous for being Boers...all the events that happened at University Two like Ms University Two and the bashes, management gives students the money in order for them to organise those events. (Khanya, male, 20)*

University Two people love to have fun, they like parties ja. We love parties, we love having fun. It is just that we need to pass but ja we love having and we love exciting things. (Thando, male, 24)

Respondents from University Two described their campus as a fun environment and expressed that the students were sociable. Student leaders at the institution facilitated a social environment by organising 'bashes' every quarter for the student body. Khanya reported that the university management makes funds available to students so that they can organise fun events for students to socialise and have fun. The fact that the university funds and supports these social events reveal that the university promotes a social environment. One could also argue that this is also part of the institutional culture of University Two. Thando and other respondents asserted that the students enjoy the events as they love to have fun and party. There is a carefree way in which the students at University Two navigate campus. This means that socialising and fun formed part of the university experience of Black students at University Two. Again, this is extreme opposite of the experiences narrated by Black students at University One. Respondents like Lily who did not identify with the social culture at University Two did not express feeling isolated or marginalised. Their lack of participation was a personal choice.

However, the social environment at University Two is also reported to affect their academic work. Lilly expressed that her peers at University Two would rather go to Long street and party as opposed to her friends from University One who were disciplined. Thando also alludes to Lilly assertion when he says, “it is just that we need to pass”. This insinuates that social environment does affect the students’ academics.

Most respondents did not belong to societies

50% of the respondents did not belong to any societies or sports clubs on campus. 30% belonged to sport clubs (rugby and soccer) and 20% belonged to student political formations. All of the respondents who belonged to a student formation reported that these formations did not speak about race or Blackness.

No we don't talk about it. I think the problem is that, White people when you start talking about racism they start feeling offended. You cannot debate with them. They just get angry. So raising that topic I don't think it would be a good thing. That is why every Black person tries to avoid that topic of racism in front of White people (Sizwe, male, 20)

The thing is, we are fine with rugby because we always make it a joke. You know how rugby players are. So like 'Hey, come here you White boy'. We joke about it. We play about it (Themba, male, 25)

They always talk about things they need to do. Before the protest, they said they had to go to Langa because the ANC was addressing people there and things like that but not about Blackness...Nothing about race. SASCO has coloured and Indian people so they don't talk about race. (Kheti, female, 22)

Most of the respondents were not active in student societies and were comfortable in their own spaces. The 50% who belonged to some student formation, whether it was sports or political, asserted that these communities did not speak about race or Blackness. Sizwe avoided talking about race due the way White people react when race is brought up. According to Sizwe, White people get angry when you talk about race. And therefore he avoids talking about race to White people about race. Banele, Thabo, Vuyo and other respondents from University One also expressed they avoid speaking about race to White people. Themba plays rugby and reported that there were no conversations about race or Blackness in his rugby team. The only references made about race were through lighthearted jokes. When he says, “you know how rugby players are”, he connotes that passing jokes about race is part of the rugby culture. Even though Sizwe also plays rugby, he avoids speaking about race for different reasons to Themba. Kheti belongs to SASCO and her society also does not speak about race or Blackness. SASCO is an ANC affiliated youth organisation, and as Kheti asserted, most of their activities supported ANC events taking place around Cape Town. She also asserts that SASCO also has Coloured and Indian members therefore they do not talk about race.

Most of the respondents did not belong to student formations which is a big contrast with respondents at University One. These respondents were involved in students societies that spoke about race or Blackness however respondents at University Two did not feel pressure to be in a student community or were satisfied being on their own. Their university experience was positive and they navigated the university easily therefore they did not need to find spaces to discuss their marginalisation on campus or find belonging.

Politics and social capital

Respondents at University Two expressed that the students who were popular on campus were the students' leadership structures and political parties like SASCO and PASMA. The respondents reported this was because these students represented them well in management and fought for change at the university.

We have these political parties like your PASMA's et cetera. All those people and leadership, they are the ones that I like because they are always everywhere...when we need things, their voices do all the things for us. even if we have problems they take care of that (Nomsa, female, 19)

Politicians. It is because their movement is felt. They do something and get everyone's attention. They could do things for people or bad things for people. Yes. They get all the attention. I think politicians are the ones who have an influence on campus. (Yanga, male, 20)

I know in the beginning of the year, I know they are popular for getting people on campus [interrupted] At the beginning of the year, the SRC manages to put people back to school that is why I know they are popular. There are times when students want to cool off so they organise for people to go around Cape Town. Tours for Freshers and everything. So I think that is why they are popular. (Sizwe, male, 20)

Respondents expressed student leaders and student political formations were popular and were influential on campus. Politicians were popular because of two factors, first they were the ones who management tasked to facilitate social events on campus. Sizwe reports that when students need to 'cool off' they organise social events for students on campus. Previously, respondents asserted that the university is a social environment and students love to party. Therefore, student leaders are the ones who provide the students with the events and by extension, shape the institutional culture.

Nomsa, Yanga and Sizwe assert that they represent the student body well when they are in office. For example, Sizwe revealed that at the beginning of the year, the SRC ensures that students who are excluded are registered back into the university. Khethi reports that the SRC's are easily accessible and visible and when students voice their needs, they ensure those needs are met. This results in social mobility and popularity on campus.

This finding is relevant as it illustrates a connection between the popularity of student leaders and their activism in the university. Majority of the students at University Two are Black, this means that the popularity of student leaders is amongst majority Black students. The reason for their popularity is because the Black students feel well represented by the student leadership. By extension, this means Black students are well represented and their needs are met as they arise on campus. This makes navigating campus as a Black student at University Two very different to the negative experiences expressed by Black students at University One.

Parents happy that students are in university

Respondents from University Two expressed that their families were proud and very happy that they were in university. A majority of the respondents were the first to attend university in their families. Some of the respondents were the first in their families to even complete high school. Respondents also reported that their parents were happy that they would be obtaining their qualification as this would improve their socio-economic circumstances.

Basically I am the first one to, to go to university, so my mom is pretty excited, aah, when she found out I've passed my matric and I'm going to go to a tertiary institution so, she, I think everyone at home is looking at me because of, I'm here studying and when I get my diploma or degree, at least there will be someone who will be getting a better job, better income, with a qualification so I think they are really excited. (Thando, male, 24)

They're proud. My cousin was the first to going to university in our family and then us so they are proud. They are like "yes, this is it". We have opportunities to get into University. Unlike back in the day. So yes they are very proud. (Khethi, female, 22)

My sister dropped out because of financial reasons back in the days. And I am the first one so there is that pride and also the pressure at the same time of being there and having to finish the whole thing because the other one never finished it, so, ja. (Phati, female, 22)

Respondents also reported that their parents were happy that they would be obtaining a tertiary qualification, as this would ensure a better income in the family. Everyone in Thando's family is happy that he will get a qualification as he is the first to attend a tertiary institution in his family. He also revealed that everyone is looking at him to start earning a decent income in order to help out in the family. Therefore, when he get an qualification and earns an income, the family is looking at him to provide.

Thando and other respondents like Phati were the first generation to attend university or obtain a qualification. This means that they have less social capital navigating the university space. If no one has attended university before them, they do not have people in the family who could guide them through challenges they will encounter along their university journey. This is also part of the complex ways in which Black youth navigate the university space. If the respondents are the first to attend university in their families, this means that there are is a generation (or more) in their family that did not have access to higher education post-1994. Pathi's narrative provides one of the reasons why she will be the first one to obtain a tertiary education. Her older sister had been accepted into a university however was excluded due to a lack of finance.

There are positive factors that come with the respondents being the first to attend university. The respondents reported that their parents express pride and excitement that they are the first or second to obtaining a tertiary education. For Khethi, her obtainment of a degree fills her family with pride as it indicates that times have changed from systemic exclusionary practices under Apartheid. The excitement and pride is unique and different to whose parents and ancestors have obtained university degrees.

5.4 BLACKNESS AND ACADEMIA

5.4.1 University One: Blackness is a disadvantage in Academia

Curriculum does not talk about race or Blackness and is Eurocentric

When asked about whether their curriculum taught anything about Blackness or whether it dealt with race, most of the respondents said no. Some of the respondents reported that their

curriculum focused on White knowledge or was Eurocentric. Some respondents articulated that some of their modules exhibited anti-Black undertones.

The syllabus is not teaching us what we need to hear. It is teaching us about European things. And it is not like it is wrong but if you teach us European architecture then we are going to end up doing European architecture. I would say those beliefs are very skewed in their direction rather than ours...Like I said, I came to do architecture because I want to improve the lives of Black people. No one is teaching us that. No one is teaching us how architecture specifically perpetuated Apartheid. Of how cities were designed to separate people and were designed to benefit the one race and not the other. (Vuyo, male, 20,)

When you read the textbook you can just see that this things is just anti-Black. There is this economics book when we study in first year..what is this Economics book? I forgot but it is an economics textbook. The author is Phillip Moss. You can see the way the guy wrote the book. This guy is like, no minimum wages...We are getting taught about capitalism. The thing that badly affected Black people. We are not taught about socialism and the things that can actually help Black people. (Banele, male, 20)

Respondents like Vuyo and Banele articulate a sense of alienation from the curriculum as Black students. Respondents do not feel represented or that the curriculum portrays the disadvantages and marginalisation of Black people adequately. Vuyo reported that the curriculum he was taught in the architecture faculty dealt with European architecture and this was not inclusive of Black learners. Vuyo stated that if he is only exposed to European architecture then he would end up replicating European architecture. He asserts that the education system is skewed towards European belief systems rather than Black people. He is explicit that this is not what he wants to learn. He is studying architecture in order to improve the conditions of Black people. Therefore, if the education system does not speak to the realities of Black people, it cannot teach him to improve the lives of Black people. Banele also raises the point that the commerce faculty only teaches about capitalism. He argues that capitalism was an economic system that was used to oppress Black people. For example, discussions about the minimum wage in the classroom causes discomfort to both Banele and Sarah. According to them, it does not contextualize why Black people are poor and earn minimum wage. In the commerce faculty, Banele wants to learn about other systems like socialism and systems that can help improve the lives of Black people.

Another point Vuyo raises, is the inability of the curriculum to contextualise Black people's history and the injustices of Apartheid. He views architecture as one of the tools used to segregate cities according to race and would like the curriculum to address how Apartheid disadvantaged Black people. Banele asserts that the books he is expected to read are anti-Black.

The respondents further prove that White hegemony also exists in academia at University One. Vuyo expressed a desire to learn about knowledge that encompasses his beliefs as a Black person. Moreover, the respondents' narratives reveal that their curriculum does not talk about the past injustices that have led to present inequalities. The respondents in the study always refer to the 'past' when they articulated their current realities. For example, Vuyo indicated that some of the activities that White lecturers gave him triggered the trauma caused by Apartheid. One lecturer gave the class an assignment where the students had to design a building in an assigned area. The discourse he found discomfoting was the casual way people were talking about demolishing communities. Even though it was a class exercise, the exercise invoked the sadness and trauma of forced removals during Apartheid. This means that academics need to be mindful and sensitive about the activities they assign to students. These finding demonstrate that the respondents are battling with the legacies of Apartheid and the injustices that occurred and the university space can triggered trauma.

Coloniality and White hegemony are pervasive in universities spaces. Coloniality refers to the "long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labour, intersubjective relations and knowledge production" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007: 243). Coloniality is centred on hierarchical notions of race that place Whiteness at the top (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). Therefore, White ethics and knowledge are privileged in the academy (Senokoane, 2015). Consequently, coloniality is pervasive in the production of knowledge in university and the dissemination of knowledge in the classroom. This means that Black students like Vuyo, Banele and Sarah are unlikely to relate or be represented in the curriculum.

The respondents' experiences of epistemic violence within the academy informs their demand for a decolonized education at University One. As the academy evolves, numerous literature by Black academics has emerged demanding the academy to undergo a process of

decolonization. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013:11) argues that, “endogenous and indigenous knowledges have been pushed to margins of society”. This is evident in Vuyo’s narrative that unpacks how his architecture courses insivilise African indigenous architecture. Despite government efforts to transform higher education, coloniality still exists in universities and continues to alienate young people from the curriculum.

Alienation and Discrimination by White academics

Respondents reported that they were unable to connect with White academics and staff and that they experienced racial bias. Respondents felt that they could relate to academic staff that were Black. Language, accents and cultural differences became a barrier that made it difficult for students to approach lecturers.

I don’t do a lot of consulting either but I’d prefer to have a Black tutor to a White one because it just creates an easier space to ask questions, whereas maybe the White one might look down on me for asking a stupid question. The Black one I’d feel more freely to say I actually don’t understand this concept just go over through it again. Maybe it is the same with Black lecturers I rather consult with Black lecturer maybe more patient than a White one. (Lebo, female, 21)

It’s simple one plus one. It is not even complicated. It is kinda like, majority of the lecturers are White. My White teachers will only speak to the people that are closer to Whiteness. So it just makes more sense, one plus one. You are White. I can speak to you better because you are White. I can communicate with you better because you are White. It is also the..whatever perceptions they have about Black people. Can you speak good English? Should I speak slower? So there will definitely be a different in the way a White lecturer speaks to a White students compared to how they speak to a Black student (Vuyo, male, 21)

Let’s say today, today I went to Upper with my girlfriend. She’s a tutor in comp. What’s happening now is there are people that are having private lessons, [White] lecturers... sacrifice their time to go there and help them [White students]. You understand? When you go there, it’s White people. They are getting access to these things, that’s this advantage that I’m talking about. You know? The White academics, they grew up in that... system that favoured White people. So they don’t know how to then help a Black person. So they are biased and will always be towards White people, And I feel like they were just told like... Okay, you can keep behaving the same way. Just... Just know that there are now Black people here. (Thabo, male, 20)

The respondents experienced Blackness as a disadvantage because they felt that academic staff

had preconceived ideas about their intelligence and Blackness. Lebo reports that she does not go regularly to privately consult with White lecturers. She is afraid that a lecturer might look down on her or might think she is stupid. She prefers Black lecturers and Black tutors and feels safer to ask questions without the fear of coming across as stupid. This means that respondents navigated their university career less freely than their White counterparts who the respondents reported connected better with academics and were favoured because of their race. Lebo's fears about being viewed as stupid do not exist in isolation. The general stereotypes about Black intellectual inferiority that respondents reported exists on campus have created a Double Consciousness that comes out when she has to interact with White academics and tutors.

Vuyo explains that one's race and cultural background plays a role in how a lecturer interacts with a student and vice versa. He asserts that academics who are the same race are more likely to connect with students who are the same race. By extension, he reports that White lectures are more likely to communicate and connect with White students. Lebo's narrative confirms Vuyo's point, she feels much more comfortable connecting with a Black lecturer and tutor as opposed to White academics. Essentially, Lebo feels alienated from White lecturers. This also linked to the favoritism respondents expressed happens in the classroom. Earlier, this research's findings revealed that Rocking the Daisies is a predominantly White musica festival inconveniences Black students academically. This favouritism can also be linked to the fact that White academics and tutors have an awareness of the festival and culturally understand the importance of it to White students and therefore can make the necessary concessions.

Thabo speaks about how Black students are excluded from extra classes that are organised by White lectures. White students are able to get an advantage in class because they attend private lessons organised by White academic staff for White students. Thabo views this actions as part of a broader structural system that advantages White people. For Thabo, White lecturers grew up in the same system and therefore perpetuate the inequalities in the classroom environment. He expressed the system in itself had not transformed however Black people were added into the system. Within the university setting, this means that being Black is a disadvantage as Black students are integrated into a system that favours White people and there has not been real integration. This also results in discriminatory practices in academia.

Black academics

When asked about how Black academics were treated in their institution, the respondents reported that the few Black academics that were there, were discriminated against by some students and were deemed inferior to their White counterparts. Black academics were viewed as less qualified or not taken very seriously.

Respect is not really there especially from the White students. In first year it was a Black group and the respect was there because she was like she is Mama, an older woman teaching us. In second year in an Eco's course, the one lecturer was African and to an extent had an accent but you could still hear him but then you could tell that there is fidgeting going around and it is slightly more than normal. It is not just a pen moving but it is actual people talking while the lecturer is talking. To an extent, I don't think the Black lecturers are respected as the White ones. (Lebo, female, 21)

When people complain, they will not complain to the White lectures but they will complain to Tom. As soon as Tom gives us a tut then people will start complaining and say but Tom, come on Tom. This tut, come on Tom you are giving us too much work. And Tom will say how come you guys don't say this when HATOAT, HATOAT is History And Theory of Architecture, when HATOAT takes up your time you are free to do the work. You make time for HATOAT but when I am telling you this (ES is probably the most important subject in Architecture), he is like when I give you this ES tut it is a problem but with them, with the other lecturers it is not. So yeah, they are definitely treated differently. (Vuyo, male, 21)

Respondents indicated that Black academics were not as respected as their White counterparts. The students who undermined the Black academics were mostly White students. Lebo reported that one Black academic who taught her experienced disrespect because of her race. White students would speak loudly while she is teaching the class. She also observed that the other Black students in class engaged the lecturer from a place of respect and viewed her as 'Mama'. Therefore, from cultural perspective, they respected her as a parent. However, the White students behaved the opposite and showed her less respect compared to White lecturers. This speaks to constructions of Black inferiority and White superiority. Even though a Black lecturer can be an expert in a particular field, their race disqualifies and renders them inferior to the point where a White student with no degree feel they can talk while she is teaching.

Vuyo reported that he had a Black lecturer, Tom, who taught one of the most important courses in architecture. His course had more credits than other courses however White students expected him to give them a lighter workload. However, Vuyo felt that the workload the lecturer gave was fair, and that there were other White lecturers whose courses had fewer credits, yet gave larger workloads. The respondent reported that students didn't complain to White lecturers, yet that they would complain about a reasonable workload to the Black lecturer. The above narratives demonstrate that both students and academics experience stereotypes about Blackness as inferior at University One. This experience is not limited to University One or South Africa.

In the United States, Black academics who teach at previously White universities experience institutional racism and micro aggression in the academy. Black academics experience micro aggression through subtle indignities whether verbal or behavioural from colleagues and students (Louis et al, 2016). In Britain, Black academics experience micro aggression in the classroom. For example, White students may utter racist sentiments or constantly challenge the Black academic's authority (Sian, 2017). The legacy of colonialism and the segregated education system during Apartheid has also made the university space challenging for Black academics in South Africa. Most universities in South Africa are systematically and structurally White. This means that Black academics also experience overt and subtle forms of racism (Senokoane, 2015). Therefore, the respondents' narratives from University One support the cross continental experiences of racism toward Black academics in universities.

5.4.2 University Two: Blackness a disadvantage in academia

Curriculum and class discussions about race or Blackness

Respondents at University Two reported that that the curriculum spoke about race or Blackness, or that they had had conversations in class with lecturers. Moreover, some respondents also reported they did not see the need for the curriculum to talk about Blackness.

Diversity in first year. They taught us a lot about that. About diversity and not being biased. They actually did a lot but I didn't like that model because I didn't see the use of it because it was just going to lectures and listening and then come exam time we didn't know where to write. (Ayanda, female, 20)

Yes it does talk about it. I get to study about the Blacks and the rights of Black people....Industrial relations.... is one of the models that I am doing. They talk about when you are in the work environment and the rights of what you have to do. You can not be chase away at a certain time. Something like that. (Themba, male, 22)

No the curriculum is ok for me like this because it is accounting. What can they tell us about Blackness in accounting? They will just tell me to step up because only a few people are accountants so try and increase the number of accountants. (Khanya, male, 21)

Only one respondent at the university articulated that he would like the curriculum to be in his home language. Other respondents were happy about the curriculum. The class environment and academics at University Two were reported to either teach or speak about race, Blackness or racial inequality. Themba also studied Blackness and the rights of Black people in the workplace for his Industrial relations module.

In first year, Ayanda studied diversity studies and learnt about diversity and racial bias. She did not find it useful and she struggled studying for exams as the classes had been very casual and conversational. Khanya does not see the need for conversations about Blackness and race in accounting. Khanya sees accounting as a neutral subject that deals with numbers and calculation. Even though Khanya's modules do not talk about Blackness however they do address the unfair representation of Black accountants in the industry. It is important to note that respondents from University Two engage in conversations that prepare them for inequalities and injustices in their prospective industries either in the classroom or most importantly, in the curriculum. This is a major contrast to the experiences of respondents from University One. The respondents from University One only accessed these discussions in student societies or Humanities courses however at University Two, diverse faculties and lecturers speak about race and Black representation.

Alienation and Discrimination by White and Coloured academics

Even though Black respondents called University Two a rainbow nation, respondents reported that they felt discrimination in the classroom. Respondents felt alienated or unable to connect with White and Coloured academics. Respondents at University Two experienced

discrimination from both White and Coloured lectures. White and Coloured lecturers privileged students of their own race. This included how they allocated grades. Respondents experienced what they felt to be unpleasant attitudes or academics hesitating to help or support them because they were Black. Respondents also reported that Black lecturers treat Black fairly and are more supportive to struggling respondents as compared to his White lecturers.

Last year there was a Black group, that actually upset me a lot last year that did a great presentation. It was so unexpected of them because they are just that group...so they just rise from nowhere and the whole class was super impressed. Clapping and cheering. They did everything right. There was a prize to be won and then the lecturer had said the criteria was based on the presentation but then when she was about to announce the winner, she said she was looking at consistency. (Phati, female, 22)

I study with Coloured students in class and if they suggest something then everything has to go their way. Which is when I ask why don't you hear our views and just agree with them instead of listening to all of us. (Khethi, female, 22)

I would say the Black ones treat us very fair. Let us say you are struggling in class and then I am the clever one but we are both Black, if he sees me doing well he will let me be me but he would assist you. To push you so that you can get through the exams but with the White ones, if they see people struggling then they will let you struggle. They won't assist...but the Black ones treat everyone equally. (Sizwe, male, 20)

If you are on campus, you sometimes feel less of yourself when you are attending lectures or are approaching a lecturer. You find that this guy or this lady has an attitude towards you but when a White person comes and asks a question or when a White person says I couldn't submit an assignment...that guy will be given a chance to redo that assessment. Then you find out when you try and redo the assessment or trying to explain yourself, you are being rejected. (Thando, male, 24)

Phati expressed anger as a result of an incident of discrimination against Black students in her class. Her class was given a group activity to present in class and the best presentation would win a prize. One group that consisted of Black students presented the best quality of work did not win because the lecturer (Coloured) changed the criteria. This resulted in a group with Coloured people winning the prize. For Phati, this is evidence of racial discrimination as the students worked hard and produced the best work however were looked over because they

were Black.

Sizwe also noticed favouritism in his department. Sizwe studied chemical engineering, and a laboratory rule instituted that students would have to complete community service if they entered the lab without closed shoes. However, when White students broke the rules, they were not given community service whereas the Black students would be punished. In classes, Sizwe also reported that Black lecturers were helpful and fair to everyone however, White lectures let Black students struggle. Thando also observed that White lecturers favoured White students and discriminated against Black students. When Thando spoke to a White lecturer he was met with a bad attitude. However, he also observed that when a White student went to ask questions, they are treated better than him. White students were given second chances to submit assignments however he as a Black student would be denied such opportunities. Thando expresses a sense of alienation and reports that White lecturers have a bad attitude. Thando uses the words, “you feel less of yourself” to describe the feeling he experiences when in the classroom or approaching a White lecturer. This is the same feeling that Lebo described when she spoke about White lecturers at University One.

This means that respondents from both universities navigated a large portion of their academic careers with White lecturers they felt a lack of connection to or felt lecturers treated them unfairly because they were Black. It is important to note that it is not only White lectures at University Two but also Coloured lectures, respondents reported to discriminate against Black students. It is also important to make a note that respondents reported that Coloured people also hold power at University Two and also discriminate against Black students. Khethi also observed that in the classroom, Coloured students’ ideas were valued more than Black students by the (Coloured) lecturer. This is very different to University One where White people are reported to hold power and were reported to most likely discriminate.

It imperative to point out that even though the institutional culture at University Two is a rainbow nation, the classroom is not. Due to the parallels that can be drawn from Lebo, Thabo, Vuyo’s and Phati, Sizwe, Khethi and Thando, the conclusion is that Blackness remains a disadvantage to the respondents at both University One and University Two.

5.5 STUDENT MOVEMENTS

Youths today are often viewed as either disinterested in political affairs or socially deviant (Mathoho and Ranchod, 2006). This is a huge shift from the politically conscious and radical youth produced by the Black Consciousness Movement which challenged apartheid policies and produced prominent activists such as Steve Biko. However, recent movements like Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall have changed perceptions that young people are disinterested in political affairs. Recent student movements that have sprung up in different university campuses have shaped greatly how students understand Blackness. Movements like Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall have shaped and reshaped how students view themselves as Black and their understanding of what Blackness entails.

5.5.1 University One: Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall shaped Blackness

When asked how student movements like Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall have shaped their understanding of Blackness, all of the respondents reported that student movements had shaped their identity in positive ways and reshaped their understanding of what Blackness is.

Racial awareness and Black Consciousness

Respondents reported that students movements have made them aware about race and their Black identity. Respondents reported the movements have been a space of belonging, education about different experiences of Blackness and were a source of political awareness.

I think being Black on campus, I am grateful to be Black, especially in times like this that allow us to move into spaces people can't see. And it allows me to understand people more. I'm sure that a lot of people don't feel safe, even Black people now, because of the protests because it's actually like I can move into those places, I can see, I can be part of that narrative...Ja. Ja because I like I said earlier, you wonder like, is part of being Black always struggling? Like I said I have never taken a taxi before I came to Cape Town. And I thought part of being Black is taking taxis, living far out of the city, having to work hard to earn such a little amount of money. Like, you know, that bringing many questions, like what is it to be Black? Must it always be associated with struggle? If you are rich, are you no longer Black? Like, so it's really brought up a lot of issues for me (Susan, female, 21)

I think for me it is movements like that that resulted in me being – I don't wanna say woke – but woke. It is movements like that that made me politically aware of things that are happening...I think for me it is something that doesn't actively happen in my

head it is when I'm in conversation with someone else that I find myself taking a certain stand that I realise I'm more awake than I was when I was in high school. (Refentse, female, 20)

Most of the respondents come from previously White high schools and the student movements have helped them realise that their high schools were racist. The student movements also helped them articulate their feelings of racial discrimination and institutional racism within the high school and university context. Refentse asserted that student movement had awakened her political consciousness around issues on campus and in South Africa. She reports something very significant, she states that political awareness does not actively happened in hear head. She further states that she is more awake than in high school. The term awake or woke is antonym for lull, asleep or stifled. This means that Refentse used to navigate the world with minimal consciousness about issues of injustices around her. She attributes this to the fact that she has lived a “privileged” life compared to other Black students on campus. This new awakening has also afforded Refentse the ability to take new political stances about issues around her.

Like Refentse, the student movement have exposed Susan to different experiences, specifically the socio-economic struggles other Black students face on campus. She enjoyed being on campus during the protests as the movement allowed her to navigate spaces she previously could not access and this allowed her to be part of a broader narrative on campus about Blackness. The student movement exposed her to students who come from poor backgrounds and this makes her aware that she is economically privileged. For example, she reports that she has never taken public transport in her life. The narratives expressed about Black pain within the movement forced her to question whether identifying with Blackness is contingent on suffering. The student movements have brought about internal conflict and issues about being Black and well-off. She problematizes the narrative that Blackness equates suffering as this implies that she is not Black.

Student movements have also shaped how young people view their Blackness. Xola also asserted that after the protests, for the first time in his life he started to view himself and other Black people as beautiful. The respondent reported that the movements have shifted the campus and made them feel more welcomed. For some of the respondents, the movement

became a place of education and connecting with Blackness. Banele articulated a deep desire to immerse himself in Black culture and Black spaces ever since his participation in the movement.

Awareness of injustices and inspires change

Respondents reported that the student movements made them aware of the injustices that exist in South Africa. Student movements also enabled them to make sense of their experiences of racism in White spaces. Students articulated that the student movements had inspired them to be agents of change and to demand equality in the university.

When they see a Black person they see a threat... I feel they are problematising us for asking questions and demanding what we deserve. Demanding equality. Demanding to be able to exist and not co-exist. To exist in this space and not come here and try to fit in. (Itumeleng, male, 20)

It makes me see how Black people are still oppressed till this day. How we are still in Apartheid. I mean let us not lie, under Apartheid Black people would not allowed to come to Cape Town and to come to the University One. But even now, we are still excluded from coming by means of tuition. You get excluded...we are still in Apartheid even now. (Banele, male, 20)

Respondents realised, while they were at university, that South Africa is not equal. This means that respondents had navigated their whole lives little awareness of racial discrimination and structural racism in South Africa. The student movements have afforded young people a psychological awakening of injustices and inequality. Banele reports that the student movements have enable him to realise that Black people are still oppressed. He questions why Black people are still living under the same conditions they lived in under Apartheid. He makes a distinction between being told one can access something but then systematically denied access. For him, higher education is an example of such systemic exclusion. Under Apartheid Black people were excluded based on various discriminatory laws however, now he argues that they are systematically excluded due to their inability to pay for high fees. For Banele, post-1994 South Africa is the same as Apartheid. Itumeleng asserts that the students are demanding equality which reiterates Banele's point that the respondents navigate an unequal society and university campus.

Moreover, Itumeleng's narrative also suggests that Black students on campus are expected to assimilate. His insistence that Black students demand a right to exist reveals that his experience on campus is that of erasure. Itumeleng expresses as desire to exist and be seen instead of trying to fit into an existing (White) culture. Due to the colonial origins of University One, the institutional culture is Eurocentric and reinforces White hegemony. The students' experiences of University One provide further evidence of this and therefore Itumeleng argues that Black students who are in the movement are viewed as a threat when they demand equality and to exist. This means, if the institutional culture at University One is White hegemony, then student movements threaten that White hegemonic power.

The defiant nature of the student movements mirrors Steve Biko's articulation of Black Consciousness as defiance to the systems. Even though racial exclusion and racism informed how some respondents experienced Blackness, there are certain communal spaces in university that Black students can express their Blackness. Recent student movement have given respondents a sense of belonging and pride in their Blackness.

4.5.2 University Two: Fees Must Fall did not shape their Blackness

Protest inconvenienced and Affected students badly

Student movements have not shaped or reshaped how respondents navigated their Blackness. The movements at University Two focused on fees and were reported not to teach Black Consciousness. Respondents at University Two reported that the protests had inconvenienced them and affected their academics negatively.

I know that it has an impact, I don't want to say it is wasting time but it drains me even though it being done for me and future generations....You know when you want to finish your studies quickly? Some of us don't have a lot of time. You want to succeed and then be done with school. (Khethi, female, 22)

It has affected us because now we are not going to write, we are going to write in January and you know in January we're supposed to be relaxing with family and taking holiday trips but now you have to study. There is a lot that happens at University Two and that is why I say, for instance last year after Fees Must Fall started most of the students there failed during December exams and most of the students were excluded. When you come to think about it now it is affecting us. For instance we are going to

write exams in January and then we don't know what to study because we have not heard anything. (Themba, male, 25)

They have not affected how I view myself as a Black person. They affect us academically....They are for a good cause but they come with consequences. Fees Must Fall started last year and affected us academically. We could write in December and were told we were going to write in January. (Khanya, male, 21)

Respondents at University Two acknowledged the importance of the Fees Must Fall movement however most reported that they had not changed their perceptions of themselves and Blackness. Khethi acknowledges that the movements had an impact on campus and that the cause would benefit future generations. Personally, the activity on campus made her feel emotionally drained because she needed to finish university and find a job with urgency. This is linked to the expectations to change her family situation once she obtains a degree. Therefore, the student movement and class disruptions delayed that dream. Khanya also agrees that the movements affected students badly at University Two. The reason why the protest affected the students badly was attributed to the disruption of the semester that resulted in exams having to be written the next year. For the Themba, the constant delayed exams resulted in many student failing the semester. He expands that as a result, students failed the exams and many students were academically excluded. The irony is that student movements were lobbying against the exclusion of students however the prolonged protests resulted in some students experiencing what the student movements were fighting against. It would be unfair to only attribute the negative impacts to only the student movement. As Themba mentions, their departments did not consolidate the syllabus with the students nor communicate effectively about exams.

Student movements at University Two only organised around fees because Blackness is navigated differently at the university. Respondents reported that Blackness is the norm and therefore the movements spoke to the socio-economic urgencies of the young people. Black Consciousness, Black pride and marginalisation were not a priority compared to University One. It is imperative to take seriously the socio-economic differences at University One and University Two. Most of the respondents from University Two came from middle class upbringings and had their fees paid by their parents whereas majority of the respondents from

the other university were on financial aid because they came from poor communities. For example, Ayanda's parents are both unemployed, Sizwe's parent is an unemployed single mother and Khethi's Mother is a domestic worker. This informs and explains the reason why students' free education was a priority at University Two.

5.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented findings from the qualitative interviews conducted with twenty Black male and female university students on Black students' experiences within the education system. This chapter explored the different ways in which young people navigated being Black at a historically White university (University One) and at University Two, which was founded during democracy. This chapter explored how Blackness influenced the respondents' ability or inability to integrate within the university. This chapter also presented findings of Black respondents' negative experiences in academia such as alienation and discrimination by Coloured and White lecturers. Lastly, this chapter explored how recent student movements shaped and reshaped the respondents' experiences of Blackness.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This study aimed to provide a critical lens into Black students' experiences of Blackness in a university setting, and to determine whether Blackness as a historical racial construct negatively affected their university experience. The last chapter discussed the various findings that provide insight regarding how Black students navigate university. Therefore, this chapter provides a discussion based on the research findings. Referencing the research findings, this chapter will highlight the contribution of this study in understanding the Black identity and the contribution in the broader discussion about transformation in tertiary education. Moreover, this chapter will also provide recommendations to universities and the State regarding the various ways to accelerate transformation in higher education.

6.2. MAIN CONCLUSIONS

6.2.1 Origins of race and understandings of Blackness

One cannot study Blackness amongst young people without understanding how a young person's context impacts the formation of their identity. It is therefore important to explain the process and the barriers a young person faces in identity formation. Marcia (1980) understood the identity to comprise an internal, self-constructed, dynamic organisation of drives, abilities, beliefs, and individual histories. Within the South African context, it is important to understand the origins of race or "individual histories" as Marcia (1980) puts it, before one explores Blackness. Black students understand race as a social construct. For the Black students, race was a social construct created under Apartheid as a tool to differentiate and oppress Black people. Black students understood race as a hierarchy that places Black people at the bottom (inferior) in order to justify their oppression.

The respondents' understanding of the historical origins of Blackness correlates with Fanon's (1952) and Biko's (1969) understanding of Blackness. Fanon argues that Blackness is a White construct that seeks to portray Blackness as inhuman and barbaric. Biko also states that

Blackness as a social construct under Apartheid portrayed Black people as inferior and was used to subjugate Black people.

Most respondents had a clear understanding of race, however, the respondents had had no conversations about race or Blackness at home. Their parents did not speak about race or Blackness. Black students understand race yet assert that they had no education about race at home. If respondents have a clear understanding of race and easily identify themselves as Black, the research findings proves that Black students receive information about race and Blackness outside the home.

Most respondents who lived in historically Black neighbourhoods reported that their parents did not need to speak about race or Blackness because Blackness was the norm. Most respondents who live in historically White areas also had never had conversations about race or Blackness with their parents. These finding reflect that Black parents do not feel the need to talk about race in South Africa. Moreover, Black parents do not deem it necessary to speak about Blackness and the challenges students will face because of their race. It is possible that Black parents think that because Apartheid is over, younger generations do not face discrimination.

Respondents who lived in historically Black areas also had no experiences of racial discrimination, nor a heightened sense of race or Blackness. Their experiences were different to some of the respondents who lived in historically White areas. Black students who lived in historically White neighbourhoods reported incidences of racism and a heightened awareness of Blackness. Where one grows up and lives also shapes their Blackness. These findings reflect that it is easier and safer to navigate Blackness in historically Black neighbourhoods where Black people are typically in the majority.

6.2.2 The significance of Blackness in their lives

This study sought to understand the significant ways in which the concept of Blackness matters or does not matter in Black student's lives. There is a significant distinction to be made regarding Black students personal views about race (race does not matter) and their experiences of racism (race matters). This distinction informs the significance of Blackness in the respondents' lives. The research demonstrated that race did not matter in their lives. Respondents believed people should not be judged because of their race. However, they

simultaneously asserted that race (Blackness to be specific) does matter in their lives because of the racial discrimination they experienced in their lives. Respondents responded that Blackness was a disadvantage and that they had experienced racial discrimination in South Africa.

The findings show that respondents do not hold racial prejudice nor do they believe people should be judged (negatively) because of their race. The respondent's personal beliefs about racial unity illustrated their vision for a unified South Africa under a rainbow nation. This was informed by their caution of South Africans to repeat the wrongs of the past.

Findings reflect that even though race did not matter in the respondents lives, Blackness was significant in their lives. The reason why Blackness was significant was attributed to the racial discrimination they experienced while navigating South Africa. Respondents face inequality, criminalisation, stereotyping and structural exclusion in South Africa. This means that although South Africa portrays itself to be a democracy, young people born a significant number of years after Apartheid still experience racism. Many young people in South Africa, while born into a democratic South Africa, still feel the remnants of Apartheid (Norgaard, 2015). Findings reflect that the significance of Blackness in the respondent's life enable them to make sense of and locate historical injustices and the basis of their discrimination.

A study in the United States found that while battling external negative prejudices about Blackness as a result of White supremacy, Black students feel discriminated and disoriented within a given environment (Hartmann & Fisher, 1995). On the contrary, this study reveals that even though the respondents reported that they face discrimination because they're Black, they showed no signs of disorientation. The respondents had a clear understanding of race, they didn't articulate Blackness as inferior however they emphasized that the personal significance of Blackness was linked to their experiences of discrimination. The findings reflect that even though the respondents aspire towards a non-racial South Africa, current injustices and racial discrimination were some of the factors that hindered that reality.

6.2.3 The limitations of Black Consciousness and Double Consciousness

Limitations of Black Consciousness

During the era of Biko, the call of Black Consciousness was the awareness of the origins of Blackness and Black pride. Black Consciousness sought to subvert the subconscious and

internalized belief that Black people are inferior. The research findings showed that Black students were aware of the origins of race. As demonstrated in the previous discussion about Blackness, respondents are also aware that Blackness was used as a tool to oppress Black people. Unlike in the 1960's, this research demonstrates that Black students have racial pride. Most respondents asserted that being Black is a positive experience and Black people have positive attributes. Respondents reported that Black people are intelligent, hardworking and persevering. The findings show that the acquiring of Blackness and the meaning attached to Blackness has evolved from the time of Black Consciousness.

Compared to the era of the Black Consciousness Movement, the acquisition of Blackness, Black pride and political conscientisation has evolved formal political spaces. Even though some of the respondents engaged with political spaces such as Fees Must Fall Movement and political organizations, respondents were also politicised through various social media platforms. The internet, hashtags and positive representations of Black 'excellence' in the media influenced respondents' perceptions of Blackness and also fostered Black pride. The acquisition of Blackness and the representation of Blackness has extended to virtual spaces and this influences how Blackness is experienced. The diverse physical, virtual and multimedia dispensation of Blackness and Black Consciousness allow contesting and diverse experiences of Blackness.

These contesting and diverse experiences of Blackness and Black Consciousness allow other intersecting identities such as gender, culture, class, and sexuality inform current experiences and conceptions of Blackness. Gqola (2013) and other scholars have critiqued the sexism and limitations of the Black Conscious Movement as it centred the Black heterosexual man. The centering of Black manhood in the Black Consciousness Movement means that Black Consciousness is limited and cannot capture the diverse, complex and contesting identities within the Black experience.

Limitations of Double Consciousness

Similarly, Double Consciousness was proved to be limited and unable to capture the respondent's diverse experiences of Blackness. This study illustrates that the Black consciousness operates on multiple levels. The respondents' experiences of Blackness was determined by class and socio-economic mobility. Respondents' experiences were shaped by

their neighbourhoods. Blackness was experienced differently by respondents who lived in historically Black areas compared to those who lived in historically Black areas. Culture and cultural practices also played a role in how respondents conceptualized Blackness and experienced Blackness. Even within the intersection of Blackness and culture, further complexities were observed depending on whether a respondent identified as Xhosa or Sotho. Most importantly, this research was conducted in post-apartheid South Africa and Black Consciousness and Double Consciousness were unable to capture the evolution of the Black experience under the 'Rainbow Nation'.

Cognitive Dissonance

Respondents have to negotiate their painful experiences of structural and interpersonal racism in South Africa around imposed national discourses of equality and freedom. For example, respondents from University Two articulated South Africa is a Rainbow Nation and everyone is equal. However, deeper into the discussions respondents would report that they are not treated equally. This reveals that respondents live in the aspirational (which is a Rainbow nation) instead of the unfortunate reality of an equal and racist South Africa.

The respondents use cognitive dissonance in order to cope navigating South Africa with their Black identity. Cognitive Dissonance is a theory coined by social psychologist Leon Festinger in 1957. It refers to a person need to establish consistency between one's disposition and one cognitions. One of the most common characteristics of cognitive dissonance is denial or rejecting something too discomfoting to accept, asserting contradictory or false things as true, using words that are true to convey false assertions and spin (Festinger, 1957).

The idea of the Rainbow Nation, as introduced by Tutu (2206), is an imposed ideology that undermines Black South Africans' daily experiences of racism and anti-Black violence in order to partake in a national discourse that does not reflect reality (Houston, 2011). The dominant discourse after Apartheid, through mechanisms like the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, was around forgiving the hurt of Apartheid. The ideology of a Rainbow Nation and social cohesion has socialised young people to be hesitant or scared to be honest about racism and the historical racial socialisation before democratic South Africa (Gallagher, 2002: 303). It is no surprise that respondents suffered a cognitive dissonance.

Understandably, Double Consciousness is located in a different context (United States) and therefore is unable to capture the complexities of Blackness in South Africa. Equally, it is understandable that Black Consciousness rose as a response to Apartheid and White supremacy and therefore Blackness was a focal point of understanding the Black experience. However, this study proves that theories about Blackness are to be married with theories such as Intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991) which account for the multi-layered embodiment of Blackness.

6.2.4 Experiences of Blackness in Higher Education

Historical origins of the Universities and the navigation of Blackness

This research examined the significant ways in which the university environment shapes and reshapes Black students' sense of Blackness. The findings reflect that Blackness was navigated differently in University One and University Two. The findings reveal that institutional histories played a huge role in how respondents navigated Blackness on their campuses. University One was founded in 1829 and was funded by Cecil Rhodes and the British colonial government, whereas University Two was founded only in 2005 and is a relatively new university. University One was founded during colonialism and the institutional culture is White and has colonial symbolism. On the other hand, University Two was founded during democracy and specifically because the ANC government sought to desegregate institutions of higher learning. Some respondents reported that colonial symbols like the Cecil Rhodes statue and Jameson Hall caused them to navigate the university space with unease. University One's history and colonial origins alienated Black students from the university environment as opposed to the students from University Two who navigated campus with no sense of awareness of their Blackness. These findings illustrate that campuses with colonial origins and were previously reserved for only White students are unwelcoming to Black students.

Marginalisation vs Norm

Respondents from University One reported that the university space made them aware of the limitations of their Blackness and reshaped their Blackness in significant ways. Respondents from University One experienced classism, institutional racism and interpersonal racism.

Compared to the students from University One, students from the other university expressed that they were in the majority and experienced a sense of comfort.

Research findings reflect that respondents from University One experience negative stereotyping, White hegemonic culture, institutional violence and unequal treatment. A study done in the United States showed that a majority of Black students experienced difficulty acclimatising and fitting into a historically White university environment because of their racial identity. This means that racial identity is one of the factors that actually hinders Black students adjusting to campus life. They felt that their campus experiences negatively heightened their racial self-consciousness. Because identity operates within contesting ideas about the self, racial identity of Black students exists within contesting ideas about Blackness. This means that Black students battle with external negative ideas about Blackness which are historical and this results in Black students feeling discriminated against and disoriented within a given environment (Hartmann & Fisher, 1995).

Findings reflected that respondents who attended University Two reported that they had no awareness of being Black while navigating the university space, felt equal to other races and did not experience racial stereotyping. University Two respondents also reported that students from their schools were very sociable and loved to have fun. This is a stark difference compared to the negative experiences of marginalisation and unbelonging within the university environment exhibited by University One respondents. Findings reflect that Black respondents from University Two navigated their Blackness with greater ease than respondents from University One. Therefore, the university founded during democracy and had majority Black students was a safer space for Black respondents. As a result, respondents from University One tended to be active in students societies which dealt with Blackness or racism. This is where they found belonging in an alienating campus. This alienation extended into academia and the classroom.

Academic unfair treatment and discrimination of Black students

Respondents from both universities reported that they experienced discrimination and disconnected from academic staff. The research demonstrates that students from University

One experienced discrimination from White academics whereas students from the University Two expressed that they experienced discrimination from both Coloured and White lecturers. This means that even though University Two had a majority of Black students and the environment was comfortable for Black students, academically they were still disadvantaged. Findings demonstrate that both institutions, lecturers or tutors did not treat respondents fairly as they treated students who were White or Coloured. This finding is significant to the study as it reveals that Black respondents experience discrimination in the classroom because they are Black. Therefore, Blackness is a disadvantage in academia whether Black youth attend a more inclusive university like University Two.

This study reveals that there is a significant difference between the way in which the respondents experience and respond to the curriculum taught at respective institutions. University Two students did not articulate any discontent regarding the curriculum taught at the university. However, students from University One articulated the need to include Afrocentric education in the curriculum and decolonize the curriculum.

Black tax

Findings display that there are positives and advantages of being Black in the university space. Majority of the students navigate the university space with pressure to finish university in order to take their families out of poverty or relieve their parents of their financial load. Some termed this as “Black tax”. At face value, this pressure could be interpreted as a negative factor however respondents reported that the pressure was positive. When it came to academics, the pressure motivated the respondents to focus and work harder. Some respondents also reported that they also had to set an example in their communities and were source of pride in their families.

6.2.4.3 Student movements’ influence on Blackness

Over the past three years, student movements like Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall have problematised social cohesion in an untransformed South Africa. They have been a form of politicisation about Blackness and structural racism for many young people around the country using decolonization or decoloniality. The extent of the shift depended on the university context.

For example, at University One, the student movements have shaped and reshaped Black students understanding of Blackness. On the other hand, at University Two, respondents reported that the protests had affected them negatively.

Respondents from University One are in close proximity to Whiteness and experience marginalisation, therefore student movement focuses on Black Consciousness, awareness about structural inequalities in South Africa and fees. However, the respondents from University Two articulated that student movements had disadvantaged them and affected their academics badly. At University Two, the student movement did not shape their understanding of Blackness and only focused on fees. Respondents reported that they felt well represented their representatives and that their voices were heard at the management level of the university. The university environment at University Two made students feel welcomed and equal and therefore student movements at the university did not have to do the groundwork of articulating Black marginalisation. Moreover, respondents from University Two reported that their student leaders were robust and passionate about change. Again, this speaks to the different way in which the student protests did not need to forefront Blackness and marginalisation as much as the protests at University One.

6.3 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

The last section comprehensively discussed and interpreted the various findings of the research. This section presents the various contributions and insights this research added into existing knowledge about Blackness among South African Black university students. The three contributions discussed are the deeper insights into how Black students navigate Blackness, contextual understanding of student movements in South African campuses and the unique comparative way this research explores the experiences of Black students from one university founded under colonialism and one university founded during democratic South Africa.

6.3.1 Highlights the complexities and contestation within Blackness

This study sought to explore the perceptions, experiences and experiences of Blackness among university students in post-colonial South Africa. Thus, this study explored the respondents understanding of the origins of Blackness, their perceptions of Blackness, their socio-economic

backgrounds and their various experiences of Blackness. The findings of this study uncovered that Blackness is not universal however it is a complex multi-layered identity. This study highlighted the need to examine the Black identity along other theories which account for the various marginal identities that exist alongside Blackness.

6.3.2 Blackness Deeper insight into how Black university students navigate Blackness

This study explored the experiences of Black students in university in South Africa. The university space is considered a neutral space, however various histories of universities, the legacy of Apartheid segregation, and recent student movements contribute to how students navigate the university space. The university space is loaded with meaning and impacts whether Black students feel welcomed or marginalised in the space. This study provides the rich narratives and necessary insights to how young people navigate Blackness in university. There is vast literature about how Black students navigate basic education (see Jansen, 2004), yet there has been little insight into how Black students navigate institutions of higher learning. This study provides deeper insight regarding how the Black identity impacts Black youth's navigation of the university space.

6.3.3 Contextual understanding of Fees Must Fall and Rhodes Must Fall

Furthermore, there is no literature that evaluates the impact that recent politicised student movements have had on Black students understanding of Blackness in university. This study also provides a context to the recent Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall movement. The vast and in-depth narratives about the negative experiences and difficulties of navigating historically White universities contextualised the call for decolonisation at University One. The difficult circumstances and poor circumstances Black students come from also contextualise the recent calls for free education in both universities.

6.3. Comparative analysis of two universities

This study compared and contrasted the experiences of Black students in a historically White institution founded under colonialism and a university founded after Apartheid. By comparing and contrasting these universities, this study discovered that Black students who navigated the

historically White university experienced marginalisation due to their Blackness. The university campus which had a majority of Black students afforded the respondents relative ease and comfort in the university space. This becomes relevant in informing government and university policies about transformation. Transformation policies cannot use a blanket approach, but must be sensitive to the histories of the universities.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Taking into consideration the myriad challenges faced by Black students while navigating the university space, this section makes recommendations to universities regarding the various ways they can foster meaningful transformation in higher education. Based on the findings, the recommendations seek to advise universities with regards to the different ways they can make campuses and academia accessible to Black students. These include diversity training for academic staff, institutionalized Black spaces where Black students can meet and the transformation of institutional cultures and symbolism which honour colonialism.

6.4.2 Diversity Training for Academic staff

The study reveals that students from both Universities One and Two experienced racial discrimination from academic staff. Therefore, the researcher recommends that University One, University Two and other universities across South Africa need to institutionalise diversity training for academics who teach different races. Such training would need to sensitise academics about racial prejudice, race and racism. This will ensure that academics are able to handle racial diversity and will then learn how to create a safe space for everyone.

6.4.3 Institutionalised Black spaces

Conversations with the respondents from University One provided insight into where Black students found belonging and acceptance. Even though Black students felt marginalised at the university, Black students were active and found belonging in student societies or political organisations that spoke about race and Blackness. Universities therefore need to afford Black students with Black spaces that allow Black people to speak about Blackness and find belonging in an otherwise alienating environment.

6.4.4 Transform University Cultures and Symbolism

It is not enough for historically White universities to accept Black students into the university space. The space, the staff and the institutional cultures of the university must transform. Symbolism within the university like paintings, names of buildings and statues of must reflect the diversity of the people of South Africa. As it is, most of the symbolism within these universities are White and are of historical figures who oppressed Black people.

6.5 CONCLUSION

This study sought to understand experiences of Blackness among Black South African University students. This brought to light the evolution of Blackness as a social construct from the 1960's till post-Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall in South Africa. Fanon and Biko defined Blackness as a social construct that asserted Blackness as inferior in order to subjugate Black people under White supremacy. This study found that Black students understand the origins of Blackness, but that they had not internalised historical social constructions about Blackness. The young people exhibited racial pride and positive outlook on Blackness.

Moreover, this study explored how Blackness as a racial identity influenced how they navigated the university environment. The respondents from the historically White institution expressed feelings of marginalisation, negative stereotyping, discrimination and alienation within the institution. They reported that the institution favoured Whiteness and alienated them from their Black identity. Respondents from University Two, which was founded during democracy, reported that Black people were in the majority at their university, and that they felt represented and comfortable in the university environment. The students reported that their university was known to be social and that they had no heightened sense of Blackness and did not feel discriminated against. Student movements like Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall had significantly shaped and reshaped respondents understanding of Blackness at the historically White university, but affected the students from University Two badly in terms of academics. Respondents from both universities reported discrimination and alienation from White and/or Coloured academics and staff. These findings confirm existing literature done mostly in the United States about the marginalisation of Black students in historically White university campuses because they are Black.

This study contributed rich narratives about Black students' experiences of Blackness, especially within the university context. This study is significant as provides in-depth insight into the challenges that young people articulate in recent student movements and university protests. This study is also significant as it explores how Blackness has evolved from the era of Steve Biko to the era of Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall. The study had two limitations. One of the limitations of the study is that the study was done at universities with multiple campuses, but that the study was limited to the experience to only one campus at each university. Another limitation was that during conversations with respondents, conversations about Blackness got intertwined with race, even though the research was not about race but about Blackness.

Three areas have been identified as key areas to extend on and enrich the work of this study. More research needs to explore experiences of Blackness in historically White institutions throughout the country. Taking into consideration the limitations of this study, more research needs to be conducted which explores Blackness on all campuses of University One and Two. Taking into consideration the respondents' experiences of discrimination and alienation in the classroom, more research needs to be conducted which explores in depth Black students' experiences of discrimination due to their Blackness in academia.

In conclusion, the internalisation of Blackness as inferior has evolved and Black respondents ascribe positive attributes to Blackness. However, Blackness still remains a struggle and cause for racial discrimination in South Africa today. Great work has been done to desegregate education in South Africa and erase Apartheid legacies, however this study shows that more policies need to be put in place to ensure that Blackness does not remain disadvantageous to Black young people on campuses in post-Apartheid South Africa.

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APPENDIX 1: Semi-Structured Interview Guide

A Qualitative Exploration of Blackness among Black South African University Students

Background Information

Tell me about yourself?

How old are you?

How do you define yourself in terms of race?

Do other people define you as the same race that you define yourself?

How do you define yourself in terms of gender?

Do other people define you as the same gender that you define yourself?

How do you pay for your education?

What do you study?

Why did you choose to study what you studied?

Where do you study?

What year of your studies are you in?

How did you end up studying there?

How do you pay for your studies?

 Loan?

 Financial Aid?

 Scholarship?

 Parents?

 Savings?

 Part-time work?

Family Background Characteristics

Tell me about your living situation?

Who do you live with? (note – ask about fatherhood if it doesn't come up)

How long have you lived with them?

What is the highest qualification completed by your mother/father?

What does your mother/father do for a living?

How many dependents do your parents have to provide for?

Have you ever lived with your mother/father (absent from home)? If so, when was this?

What is your family life like?

1. What does your family think about you going to University?
2. What does your family think about your programme of study?

Family Racial Socialization

Read: We learn things from our families in different ways. Sometimes we are taught through verbal expression, sometimes through observing or other ways.

Growing up, did your parents talk to you about racial issues?

If so, What type of messages did they tell you about being Black?

Is there anything that you were taught non-verbally about racial issues?

If so, what types of messages did you learn about being Black?

How have these messages informed your perceptions, expressions and experiences as a Black young person?

Were you taught anything at home or in your community about how to behave as a Black person?

What does it mean to be Black in your community or neighbourhood?

Components of racial identity

Where do you think the idea of race comes from?

Do you think race matters? i.e. do you think people should be judged by race?

Do you think that race matters in your life? If yes, how?

Some people believe and say that Black people tend to place more emphasis in having a good time than hard work, what do you think about that statement?

Do you sometimes have negative feelings about being Black? Why? Why not?

If I were to ask you to tell me about the history of Black people in South Africa, what would you tell me?

What does it mean to be a Black young person in South Africa?

How important is it or not to you to know about Black history in South Africa?

Do you think the history of Black people in this country had any impact in your life? If yes, in what ways? If no, why not?

Do you think being Black is a positive experience? If yes, in what ways, if no why?

Do you believe that you because you are Black you have strengths? If so, what?

Do you believe that you because you are Black you have weaknesses? If so, what?

How do you feel about White people? Do you hate them? Why? Why not?

How do you feel about Black people in general? Do you feel joy and excitement in Black surroundings?

Do you feel a social pressure to be Blacker than you are? Why? Why not?

Read – Different Black people have different beliefs.

There are those Black people who believe in having Black pride, taking the land back and other forms of independence (can say – like culture, economics and politics).

Other Black people believe in the rainbow nation, and an identity that includes other racial groups. What do you think? (Do you believe in either or both of these things? Do you believe something else?)

Do you feel that certain aspects of the Black experience apply to you and not others? If yes, which aspects of the Black experience do not apply to you and which one do?

As a Black person, do you feel comfortable where you are in terms of your identity on campus?

Community Characteristics

Where did you grow up?

How would you describe the neighborhood you grew up in?

1. Racial composition, housing type?
2. What has been your experience of being Black where you grew up?
3. What does your community believe/think about being Black.
4. How does living in your community affect your racial beliefs?

Where do you live now? (prompt – rez, off campus, with family – only ask if different from where grew up)

How would you describe the neighborhood you live in?

1. Racial composition, housing type?
2. What has been your experience of being Black where you live now?
3. What does you're the community where you live now think of being Black? How does living in your community affect your racial beliefs?

Contextual Experiences of Race (Campus)

Do you ever feel lonely on campus? Why or why not?

What are the dominant values or beliefs on campus (prompt - How would you describe the culture on campus?)

Can you relate to these values and beliefs? If so, how? If not, why?

As a Black person, are you included in these values and beliefs? How or how not (please explain)

Which identities are valued most on campus and why?

Which racial groups are valued most on campus and why?

What are some of the good or bad stereotypes attributed to people who identify being Black on campus?

How does it feel being a Black person on campus?

How do you feel about other racial groups on campus? (Please elaborate). Do you trust them? Why? Why not?

How do you think people of other racial groups on campus feel about you?

Do other people from different races feel the same way on campus?

How has being Black shaped your life on campus?

What kind of things, other than skin color, set you apart from other racial groups on campus?

Do you think race makes a difference in how Black people are treated on campus? Can you give me an example?

Do you think Black people are treated the same way that other racial groups on campus? Can you explain?

Do you belong to any societies on campus?

If yes, which ones?

What motivated you to join?

What are the benefits to you?

Do you hold any leadership positions?

Do you feel a sense of belonging in these societies?

Do these societies talk about race?

What is your experience of being Black within this society?

If you are not a member of any societies, why have you not joined?

Do you belong to any sports clubs on campus?

If yes, which ones?

What motivated you to join?

What are the benefits to you?

Do you hold any leadership positions?

Have you won any accolades?

Do you feel a sense of belonging in these sports clubs?

What is your experience of being Black within this society?

Do these societies talk about race?

If you are not a member of any sports clubs, why have you not joined?

Student Movements

These past years have seen new movements on campus. What do you think about #Rhodesmustfall and #feesmustfall?

Have they shaped about how you think about race and Blackness? How or how not?

Is there a difference between how people on campus and people in your community view Blackness?

Is there a difference in how you act on campus and in your community?

How do you feel about Black people in general? Do you feel joy and excitement in Black surroundings?

Do you feel a social pressure to be Blacker than you are? Why? Why not?

Academia

Do you have any Black lecturers?

How do you relate to the curriculum you are taught?

What does it feel like to be Black in your lectures? (prompts – what are the emotions? What are the thoughts? How does it feel in your body / where in your body?)

(If living on campus) – What does it feel like to be Black in your residence? (prompts – what are the emotions? What are the thoughts? How does it feel in your body / where in your body?)

Do you think being on campus has made you see yourself differently as a Black person?

If yes, how so?

Does being Black help you in any way socially and academically?

Does being Black hinder you in any way socially or academically?

Do you ever identify as something other than Black in certain spaces? If so, in which spaces?

Closing Questions

Other than skin colour, what else makes you Black?

What kind of things do you do to express your Blackness?

Is there something else you would like to add?

Is there a question you would like to revisit?

Do you have any questions for me as the interviewer?

APPENDIX 2: Consent Form



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT RECEIPT OF PAYMENT

I the undersigned, hereby confirm that I have received the cash payment of R30.00 for participating in the study on youth identity and university life in South Africa

Printed Name of Respondent

Signature of Respondent

Place (City)

Date & Time