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The Impact of Racial Segregation in South Africa

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Abstract

The thesis of this essay is: Differentiation based on race can still exist after legal segregation has been abolished, where South Africa will be discussed as an example of legal segregation and the aftermath of it. The theoretical focus is on Bourdieu’s theory of Habitus. His theory refers to how the system that we live in reproduces inequality. I begin by discussing the history of South Africa in chapter three, focusing on colonization, segregation, the reality of apartheid and how the oppression of South Africans began with white European settlers. I then explain the pervasive impact of apartheid and how it has especially affected the black population of South Africa.

I come to the conclusion that differentiation based on race can still exist after legal segregation has been abolished as in the example of South Africa. The main outcome of my thesis is that Bourdieu’s theory of Habitus reflects the inequality that the black population still has to endure in South Africa.
Prologue

My first time in South Africa, in Cape Town, was an experience that I will never forget. I was shocked to see the division so vividly of white and black people, compared to what I had seen in other countries in Africa. Therefore I decided to educate myself on this matter and write my thesis based South Africa and race. This essay is my final assignment, for 12 credit points.

I want to give thanks to my family and friends for helping me focus. Special thanks to my supervisor Jón Gunnar Bernburg for helping me structure and giving me advice for my essay. Also thanks to my grandfather for reading over my essay and giving me helpful tips.
# Table of Contents

Abstract ........................................................................................................................................... 3  
Prologue ........................................................................................................................................... 4  
Table of Contents ............................................................................................................................ 5  
1 Introduction and definitions ........................................................................................................... 7  
2 Racial and ethnic segregation in history – a few examples ........................................................... 11  
  2.1 Religious segregation .................................................................................................................. 11  
  2.2 Colonial segregation .................................................................................................................. 11  
  2.3 Slavery and post-slavery USA .................................................................................................... 12  
  2.4 Nazi Germany ........................................................................................................................... 13  
  2.5 Rhodesia and South Africa ......................................................................................................... 13  
3 History of colonization of South Africa and the introduction of apartheid ................................. 15  
  3.1 Colonial beginnings .................................................................................................................... 15  
    3.1.1 European Settlers .................................................................................................................. 15  
    3.1.2 British entry .......................................................................................................................... 16  
    3.1.3 Ethnic intermingling and the emergence of new identities .................................................. 16  
    3.1.4 The discovery of diamonds and gold ..................................................................................... 17  
    3.1.5 Segregation and aftermath .................................................................................................. 19  
  3.2 The beginning of Apartheid ......................................................................................................... 20  
    3.2.1 The system and administration of apartheid ......................................................................... 22  
    3.2.2 Apartheid Legislation ........................................................................................................... 22  
    3.2.3 Black liberation movement and the process to majority rule ............................................. 24  
4 Post-apartheid South Africa ............................................................................................................ 29  
  4.1 Economic indicators ..................................................................................................................... 29  
    4.1.1 Income .................................................................................................................................. 30  
    4.1.2 Wealth and Poverty .............................................................................................................. 31  
    4.1.3 Employment .......................................................................................................................... 31  
  4.2 Social indicators ......................................................................................................................... 32  
    4.2.1 Education ............................................................................................................................. 32  
    4.2.2 Health .................................................................................................................................. 33  
    4.2.3 Housing ................................................................................................................................ 34  
    4.2.4 Personal safety ....................................................................................................................... 34  
  4.3 Politics and Governance .............................................................................................................. 35  
    4.3.1 Race/ethnicity based politics ............................................................................................... 35  
    4.3.2 Governance and corruption ................................................................................................. 35
5 Bourdieu’s theory and differentiation based on race ........................................ 36
6 Discussion- how well does Bordieu’s model fit? ............................................. 38
7 Conclusion ........................................................................................................ 40
References ........................................................................................................... 42
1 Introduction and definitions

In the history of human societies social differentiation has always played a role. Social differentiation refers, in sociology, to “the distinction made between social groups and persons on the basis of biological, physiological, and sociocultural factors, as sex, age, or ethnicity, resulting in the assignment of roles and status within a society” (social differentiation, n.d.). Individuals and groups have been assigned different roles and status within societies, based on a variety of things that define them, from physical abilities to fight in battles in early societies to the class based on differentiation of industrial societies, modern society. Differentiation has typically not been objective, in the sense of differentiation not influencing the general economic and social status of groups and individuals. In industrial societies, for example, different classes have enjoyed different economic and social status and benefits.

There are certain groups and individuals of differentiation that have enjoyed higher acceptance in societies than others. Differentiation based on ability, effort and achievement enjoys overall acceptance in our societies. However other groups and individuals of differentiation, which were accepted through much of history, such as differentiation based on race, sex or religion have increasingly been challenged and are now in many societies regarded as unacceptable, generally illegal and formally outlawed through international agreements, such as the UN Human rights declaration (Human Rights, n.d.) even though parts remain very much in place.

Pierre Bourdieu, one of the most influential sociologists of the 20th century, provided among other things insights into the ways power and social order are maintained over generations. His work, notably his theory of habitus, focused on the role of social relations as a factor independent of individual will: “what exist in the social world are relations – not interactions between agents or intersubjective ties between individuals, but objective relations which exist ‘independently of individual consciousness and will’” (Bourdieu, P. and L.J.D. Wacquant, 1992: 97). I consider these observations very relevant in understanding the dynamics of apartheid as an example of social differentiation.

Bordeau is known to be a harsh critic of the system of education, because he believed that the system was a reproduction of inequality. By looking at his theory about habitus it can be seen that there is a common pattern of inequality. Even though Bourdieu does
not specifically talk about groups of race and inequality it is still a good reference when discussing the impact of racial segregation and how it lives on after being formally demolished.

In this paper I will explore how race has been and can be used as a marker which enables differentiation and in its purest form, separation or segregation, between groups of people, primarily to promote and maintain inequality in economic and/ or social terms. I will use the example of South Africa and its history of apartheid to illustrate. I will also discuss the impact of differentiation based on race and how it can continue once the legal basis, apartheid, has been removed. I will therefore also refer, when appropriate, to the continuous cycle of inequality in South Africa through Bourdieu’s theory about Habitus. The main goal of my paper is to answer these two questions: Does racial division of inequality end after racial segregation has been abolished? Do differentiation groups based on race still have more advantage than other racial groups after racial segregation has been abolished?

My hypothesis is: Differentiation based on race still exists long after legal segregation has been abolished. My aim is to prove this hypothesis throughout the essay.

I will begin by defining a number of concepts. They are: inequality, race, ethnicity, segregation, apartheid, habitus and economic, cultural and social capital.

**Inequality** is, according to the United Nations, defined as “the state of not being equal, especially in status, rights, and opportunities. It is a concept which is very much at the heart of social justice theories” (Development Issues No. 1: Concepts of Inequality | Development Policy & Analysis Division, n.d.). An ongoing discussion in politics is the question of equality of opportunities versus equality of outcomes, meaning whether equality can be seen as being in place if all have reasonably equal opportunities or whether equality calls for the outcomes to be reasonably equal.

**Race** is a complex and sensitive term to define and its definition has changed radically through time. Currently, it is defined as a “grouping of humans based on shared physical or social qualities” or as “a set of social relationships, which allow individuals and groups to be located, and various attributes or competencies assigned, on the basis of biologically grounded features” (Giddens and Sutton, 2013). It is therefore now, therefore, seen primarily as a “social construct” rather than a biological one. Due to its
association with a number of historical events, now normally seen as atrocities, including slavery, colonization, racial segregation and the genocide of the Nazi era, the term race has been widely discretided and in many places abolished.

However, for the purpose of exploring the justification/excuse behind apartheid, it is necessary to recall that race was previously seen as a biological trait, with physical indicators frequently assumed to be closely associated with cultural and intellectual traits. Through centuries in European societies and their colonies this definition of race was an important part of the justification of slavery and colonization. In that context, racialization or differential racialization is a useful term, which is used to describe a process by which understandings of race are used to classify individuals or groups of people (Giddens and Sutton, 2013). It is safe to say that while in the social sciences the term race has been redefined and to large degree taken out of use, it is still very much alive in society in general and still used to denote biological differences (Giddens and Sutton, 2013).

Instead of race, the term ethnicity is now frequently used in the social sciences to describe groups or individuals who share common characteristics and is anchored in social meaning. Ethnicity is used when members of a group are being distinguished from other groups of people. They are usually distinguished by religion, history, language and styles. But physical differences such as skin color are also used as a defining factor (Giddens and Sutton, 2013). Ethnic minority groups are often identified as disadvantaged, with lack of wealth, access to health care and education. Typically, these groups do not have the same opportunities as the dominant group.

Non-racial ethnic differentiation also plays a role. For example in the background of apartheid the „Afrikaaner“ speaking whites of Dutch background defined their identity very much in contrast to the English speaking whites in British colonial South Africa, building up in a major exodus (the Great Trek) from the Cape Colony up towards the highlands in the 1830s and later in the Boer War in early 20th century, in which the British army locked up a big part of the Afrikaaner population in „concentration camps“.

*Segregation* was in certain cases defined in relation to particular cases, for example: “Segregation: Racial discrimination as practiced in South Africa from 1910 to 1948. It legally separated races to the benefit of those of European descent and to the detriment
of those of African descent. Segregation policies affected the rights of Africans to own land, to live or travel where they chose, and to enjoy job security” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 18).

**Apartheid** was a particular form of segregation in South Africa. The apartheid, a state-enforced regime of racial segregation was in force from 1948 to 1994. The apartheid system separated people into four categories; white, black, colored and Asian. Those who were white were descendants of European immigrants, black people were native South African people, colored were those of mixed race and Asians were immigrants from China, Japan and other countries from Asia. People of white race were a minority in South Africa (about 13 percent), however they ruled over the non-white majority. In 1994 the apartheid system ended and they held the first free multiracial democratic election in South Africa (Giddens and Sutton, 2013).

**Habitus** is a mental filter that an individual has, to get a “sense of one’s place” in the world, where an individual belongs, where his place is. The habitus structures or controls an individual’s perception, experience and practice that are seen as a taken-for-granted by the world, it’s a commonsense appearance, a taken for granted point of view (Bourdieu 1990: 131). The habitus of an individual will be seen from his own interpretation of his actions and actions of others. Therefore, the habitus is not only a mental filter, the mind of an individual, but also body language (posture, gait and agility). Each individual lives in a social space, where your point of view is “determined by your position within a space that is structured by two “principles of differentiation”: economic and cultural capital” (Bourdieu 1994/1998: 6). **Economic capital** refers to all material resources, money. **Cultural capital** refers to all nonmaterial goods such as education, knowledge and verbal skills. **Social capital** refers to a network of contacts, connections that individuals have to secure or have an advance on one’s position in society (Appelrouth and Edles, 2016).
2 Racial and ethnic segregation in history – a few examples

There are many examples of segregation and they have come in different styles. One part of enabling segregation has to do with identification. Skin color and other such identification has been popular through history, as it is more easily carried out. It may for example be tempting to use the race identification when colonizing power is of a different ethnic background than those colonized.

2.1 Religious segregation

Segregation based on religion has a long history. One of the best known in Europe is the segregation of people of the jewish faith and culture. Since the 1st century (Classical era), under the Roman Empire, Jews lived in most countries of Europe and Middle East over centuries because they were forced out of Jerusalem, which was the beginning of the great ‘Diaspora’. They were subjected to legal separation in some and sometimes most countries (Starr, B., 2013). They were forced to live in their own areas, ‘ghettos’, and often chose to do so themselves, for safety and comfort. In christian medieval Europe (or middle ages) and into modernity, jews were subjected to specific limitations on their livelihoods, such as a ban on owning land in certain countries. Jews also became associated with particular racial stereotypes, such as a long nose, and cultural stertotypes, such as greed. The segregation of jews also helped to encourage resentment among those surrounding them, notably as Jewish communities turned out to be resourceful and innovative in economic terms. Such resentment was easily played on by authorities and political and economic actors (certain individuals, companies or a government) and Jews and their communities had to suffer series of mistreatment, or so called ‘pogroms’ which was a term used for all forms of violence against Jews (Ratzabi, H., n.d.).

2.2 Colonial segregation

European colonialism frequently used segregation as a management tool to manage large and densely populated areas with a small number of colonial officials and European settlers. It is for example estimated that around one hundred thousand Europeans lived in India at the height of colonial rule, controlling a population of between two and three hundred million. The Europeans did normally live and interact within their own ethnic group. Social and sexual contact with the ‘natives‘ was normally looked down on and could lead to social exclusion. The emergence of “Social Darwinism” in the late 19th
century was a further justification, tempered but also justified by the idea of the “white man’s burden”, the idea that white colonizers should care for their native subjects in a paternalistic manner (Social Darwinism, n.d.). The undertones of this view can be later seen in the arguments put forward for apartheid, for example by Prime Minister Verwoerd (see section 3.2.3).

A dramatic example of the consequences of colonial and religious segregation is the decision, at the end of British colonial rule in India, to split the country into two, India, dominated by a Hindu majority, and Pakistan, dominated by muslims. The subsequent migration of millions between the two countries resulted in mass killings and the death of more than one million people.

2.3 Slavery and post-slavery USA

The act of slavery in USA is also a case of segregation. It was a segregation in the extreme in the sense that slaves were the property of slave owners, not defined as full human beings and could be bought and sold as any other property. Individuals who were identified as black were subjected to the act of slavery, therefore slavery was solely based on race. The definition of black then became an important part of creating a legal background for slavery, finding its extreme in the years after the civil war when the claim that any one with “one drop of blood” of black origin should be defined as black.

After slavery was abolished through a civil war, with enormous human and material costs, slavery was formally abolished. The period that followed and lasted more or less a full century, was one of racial segregation, formalized in the southern USA, with separate schools, public facilities and businesses for white and black people (Katz-Fishman and Scott, 2002). While it was clear that former slaves lived in much worse conditions than the white population, the segregation was formally justified by the phrase: “separate but equal”. This concept was accepted by the Supreme Court as being constitutional, but in 1954 in the case of “Brown v. the Department of Education”, the Supreme Court found the context unconstitutional and segregation as well. I will come back to the length of this period when discussing the post-apartheid developments in South Africa.

Black people did achieve formal equality with whites in all parts of USA in the 1960s, finally achieving the right to vote and to use the same facilities as whites. It is however, generally accepted that until this day there is a significant difference in living conditions
and accusations of racial differentiation, including racial profiling by authorities, are still a reality today. There is a notable difference in income, owning property, education and life-expectancy between black and white Americans (Friedman, 2014).

2.4 Nazi Germany
The segregation and, ultimately, the genocide of Jews at the hands of German authorities during the Nazi era was an example of white supremacist ideology taken to its extremes. Jews were demonized for political purposes to create rationale for segregation, which ended in the genocide named holocaust. Jews were physically identical to other individuals of the European countries where the segregation took place and therefore had to be identified by other means, such as wearing a Jewish badge (large yellow star) (Martí and Fernández, 2013).

The example of Nazi Germany has a particular bearing on South Africa as certain Afrikaaner organizations took their ideas and symbols directly from Nazi propaganda (see section 3.2.3). It can also be noted that, while the holocaust was at a different level from other atrocities, the Nazi regime also segregated and discriminated against other groups, including the Roma, also known as Gypsies, of central Europe. Discrimination based on ethnicity against this group still continues in large parts of Europe.

2.5 Rhodesia and South Africa
The particular cases of racial segregation in Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, and in South Africa are notable in how recently they happened. With a starting point in colonial segregation the white leadership of these counties embarked on a post-colonial attempt at maintaining white supremacy at a time when such policies had become widely outlawed in international declarations.

A key part was an attempt to keep land ownership in white hands. In these countries more than three quarters of arable land, suitable for farming, was owned by white settlers. In South Africa the segregation was complicated by the need of white owned industries and mining to have access to cheap, black labour, while maintaining racial segregation, leading to complicated attempts at structures, even going as far as creating ‘independent’ homelands for black South Africans. In the following section I will go
further into the background and political administration of this very extreme case of segregation.
3 History of colonization of South Africa and the introduction of apartheid

3.1 Colonial beginnings

To understand the interests and motives behind the introduction of apartheid in South Africa 1948 it is important to remember its background in European colonization of the: “Racial discrimination did not begin in South African in 1948. Indeed, it can be traced back to the beginnings of Dutch colonization of the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 and the establishment thereafter of an economy based on the use of slaves imported from East Africa and Southeast Asia” (Clark, N. L. and Worger, W. H., 2011: 3). The territory of South Africa was originally colonized by Dutch but in time the British Empire became the colonial power and remained so until South Africa became fully independent in 1931, having been nominally independent as the Union of South Africa from 1910. The final split from Britain came in 1961 when South Africa became a republic. The introduction of apartheid in 1948 was a factor in the decision to leave the Commonwealth and establish a republic.

3.1.1 European Settlers

During the late 14th century Portuguese and Dutch ships used to travel along the southern African coast but European Settlement didn’t occur until 1652. At first the Dutch used the Cape of Good Hope as their base to resupply its ships with fresh meat and milk, which was obtained from the Khoi or Khoisan, a group of people native to southwestern Africa. The Dutch settlement was run by the Dutch East India Company, a commercial enterprise. Their ships travelled between Europe to Asia where they had their trading empire. The local Khoi objected to the trade that was offered to them because of poor terms. The company officials did not want to offer better terms and forced the Khoi off their land though frontier wars and replaced them with commercial farms run by European settlers, so it became a European colony. The European settlers used imported slaves as labor, some from West Africa but most from Mozambique, Madagascar, Malabar, Coromandel, Ceylon and the Malay archipelago (Clark and Worger, 2011).

The Dutch East India Company controlled the Cape for a century and a half. During that time new population groups started to form. It was common that the settlers from Europe procreated with Khoi women or slaves as European woman were not encouraged
to move to the Cape. The offspring of the new ‘mixed community’ were referred to as ‘Bastaards’ by the Company. From then on the language developed into a new Creole language combining Dutch with elements of Malay and colonial Portuguese. That language became the basis for Afrikaans. At that time inequality by race was already beginning to develop, the hierarchy was transformed by race, where Company employees and white European settlers were at the top and the ‘mixed’ racial groups with the slaves were at the bottom (Clark and Worger, 2011). Therefore the Cape was already known to be a racially divided society.

3.1.2 British entry
In 1795 the British entered South Africa because of their determination to cut Napoleon off from his Dutch overseas empire (Clark, and Worger, 2011). The French revolution, which lasted from 1789 to 1799, had their army invade the Dutch Republic. Britain, at that time was at war with France and had goals to occupy Dutch colonies in Asia, South Africa and the Caribbean (French Revolution, 2018). At the time British came to the Cape in South Africa to control the transportation of goods to Asia and seize Cape Colony from the Netherlands, they were not in favor of expanding European settlement (Clark and Worger, 2011). The British continued to import slaves, as the Dutch had, until 1807 when the British parliament forbade participation in the international trade of slaves. This decision radically changed the economic basis for the Cape Colony. The settlers, primarily Dutch Afrikaans speakers, collectively called “Boer” meaning farmer in Afrikaans, were not pleased with that decision and other policy decisions by the British colonial administration. A large portion of the Boer left British held territory for areas where they could still practice slavery and to obtain new land for themselves, this resettlement has been called the ‘Great Trek’ (Clark and Worger, 2011). From 1835 to 1840 about 20 percent of Boers left the Cape Colony in the ‘Great Trek’ and established their own two republics which were called the Orange Free State and the South African Republic. This event became defining for their collective national identity.

3.1.3 Ethnic intermingling and the emergence of new identities
With the Cape Colony being based on a blend of European settlers, native African people and a variety of people imported as slaves or indentured labor it was inevitable that
intermingling would take place and the ethnic composition of the colony would change. Two groups, in particular, became significant parts of the population and still are.

In the middle of the 1860s the term “Coloured” was born to refer to a population group that had emerged in the Cape “as a result of contact between Africans, Malaysians and Europeans” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 13). During apartheid Coloureds were subjected to most legal restrictions despite have a partial European heritage.

During the colonial times in South Africa Indians were brought to South Africa, by the British, to work in Natal as indentured servants on sugar plantations. India was at that time under British colonial rule. Although the Indians were supposed to return to India once their contracts were done, most of them decided to stay in Natal because of more economic opportunities than in India. A large population of Indians also lived in Transvaal but were prohibited to live in the Orange Free State. Later on during apartheid Indians became one of the racial category which was called “Asian”.

3.1.4 The discovery of diamonds and gold

The discovery of diamonds and gold in great quantities in Transvaal in the 1860s, an area settled by Boer settlers after the Trek, changed South African history. At that time the economy was mainly semi-subsistence rather than market-based (Clark and Worger, 2011). The British and Dutch settlers exported wine and wool from the Cape to European markets. In Natal, where the British settlers were located, sugar was exported. The items that were exported were not sufficient enough to produce much wealth nor did it attract new settlers to South Africa. However, the economy changed dramatically when diamonds and gold were discovered and the attraction to new settlers increased a lot. The discovery of gold and diamonds was seen as the beginning of South Africa’s industrial revolution and an event that would put it on a different track from many other colonies in Africa.

In many ways this change had a very negative effect for the indigenous people of South Africa and would cause an even greater division between white and black, rich and poor, British and Boer. In order to keep the mining industries profitable the owners sought after cheap labor. To ensure sufficient labor, laws were passed, such as cash-based hut taxes, which directly or indirectly pushed farmers of their land and into paid labor. The African workers had no ability to bargain up their wages and had to work in dangerous
conditions. The British ensured in the 1870s and 1880s that the African workers had limited rights in the mines by confiscating “the bulk of the land and imposed cash taxation demands” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 14). As the land around the mines was sparsely populated, labor had to be sourced from far away, including other countries, leading to significant migration of African workers and the establishment of huge male-only settlements. The wives and children of the workers, left behind on farms, had to survive on the limited remittances sent back by the workers, which was barely enough for them to survive.

The discovery of diamonds and gold was also the main cause of the South African War, “the Boer War”, fought by the Boers and the British between 1899 and 1902 for the control of gold and diamonds. During the war the British were given direct orders from Lord Kitchener to remove civilians from their farms in rural areas of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State. They burned farm lands and moved the civilians into concentration camps, which was a “policy modelled on that adopted by the Spanish in Cuba in 1896-7” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 16). Boer men, women and children were placed in their own camps while African women and children were placed in other camps, African men were forced into the British army or to work in the mines. The conditions in the concentration camps were described as ‘methods of barbarism’ by the opposition politicians in Britain (Clark and Worger, 2011). 115,000 Africans were incarcerated during the war, 10 percent died, 110,000 Boers were incarcerated, 28,000 died and 94 percent of them were women and children. Alongside the Trek, the Boer War became a defining event for Afrikaaner identity and the basis for a sense of having been badly treated.

At the end of the war, a peace agreement was made, through the Vereeniging negotiations. In these negotiations it was decided that the two republics that were populated by the Boers would be incorporated into the British Empire, as colonies subject to the authority of King Edward VII. Therefore, the Boers lost their independence, but the British agreed to compensate Boer farmers for their property losses. In the negotiations there was one thing clear and accepted by both Boers and the British, that natives would not get any franchise although the natives were hoping for significant improvements in their economic and political situation (Clark and Worger, 2011).
During Alfred Milner’s time as governor of South African colonies, from 1902 to 1905, he encouraged immigration from Britain to South Africa to have a majority of white male voters. Milner decided to uphold the mining industry by seeking out new supplies of cheap workers because of the labor shortage. He agreed on terms to renew a so-called ‘Modus Vivendi’ agreement where thousands of Mozambicans annually were forced to migrate to work in the gold mines. Milner also imported 60,000 Chinese indentured laborers in 1904. They were one-third of the mines’ workforce. These men were paid even less than African mineworkers and were subjected to more strict forms of discipline and control (Clark and Worger, 2011). However when the “post-war reconstruction was completed alternative employment opportunities in railway and harbor building were coming to an end, Africans had to seek work in the mines and then at wages lower than had been paid in 1899” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 17). In light of these new results the Chinese workers were returned to their own country. The British wanted a lasting solution to the labor problem. Godfrey Lagden, Milner’s commissioner of native affairs in the Transvaal, allowed Africans to have the utility of some strictly limited amount of land where their families could live so that they could be treated as temporary migrants in the industrial workplaces. Lagden became chairman of the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC). Lagden and the SANAC were responsible for framing the key features of a segregationist policy (Clark and Worger, 2011). “While the SANAC report laid down general principles rather than specific legislation, these principles formed a foundation of racial discrimination upon which segregation and later apartheid were built” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 18).

3.1.5 Segregation and aftermath
As racial division increased through the 19th century and into the 20th, opposition among blacks started to form. Africans, Coloureds and Indians (Asians) did not want to accept the ideology of segregation, promoted by white politicians, which greatly limited their rights. Racial discrimination was not being stopped by the British, therefore new political bodies were formed. Amongst them were the South African Native Congress, established 1898, Native Vigilance Association, 1901, the African Political (later People’s) Organization (APO), 1902, the Transvaal Native Vigilance Association, 1902, Natal Native Congress, 1900, and the Natal Indian Congress, 1894 (Clark and Worger, 2011).
Between 1908 and 1909 white representatives from each of the four British colonies in southern Africa met at a national convention to establish a union. They decided to form a single power governed state “in which a simple majority would give any victorious party power to pass practically any legislation that it wished” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 20). The Union of South Africa was formed on 31 May 1910, with a commitment to segregation and to institutionalizing white supremacy on a national basis. “The central legislative, administrative and judicial bodies would be shared between the capitals of the Cape (Cape Town), the Transvaal, the pre-war South African Republic (Pretoria), and the Orange River Colony, the pre-war Free State (Bloemfontein), as a means to ensure that all whites felt involved in decision-making in the new state” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 21). This new union also meant that no Africans and barely any Coloureds nor Indians could vote.

The Native Land Act was passed in 1913 to allocate only about “7% of arable land to Africans and leave more fertile land for whites. This law incorporated territorial segregation into legislation for the first time since the Union in 1910” (The Native Land Act is passed, 2015). This was done because African farmers were increasing their agricultural production and successfully participating in the commercial sale of their crops in competition with white farmers. This was also done to force Africans more and more into work on white farms, in factories, and in the growing mining industry (Clark and Worger, 2011). Through such political and legislative initiatives the basis for apartheid was being put in place, well before its formal introduction.

3.2 The beginning of Apartheid
The Second World War (1939-1945) and South Africa’s participation in the war had a huge impact on the formation of the idea of apartheid,. Factories, typically located in urban areas, were expanded to produce military supplies, calling for more labour in the urban areas. During the war many people were being transported to cities from all over the country (Clark and Worger, 2011). Nearly half of the population in South Africa now lived in cities, which was a major change, and the economy was flourishing. However, there was growing competition for jobs between African and white workers, which white workers complained about. In addition to the attraction of jobs in the cities there was a serious drought in the countryside which lead to more people moving from rural areas to
the city to seek work and for the first time coloured Africans were outnumbering whites in the urban centers (Clark and Worger, 2011).

While white workers saw the problem mainly as competition from black workers, employers had another serious problem “because of the myriad legal restrictions limiting African entry and residence in the cities” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 38). According to the law, Africans needed proper documentation to enter cities. They were only allowed to “live in specially designated townships, or locations, controlled by the local municipality” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 38). During the war the government decided not to strongly follow these laws because of the overwhelming population flow in the cities and the economic growth. However, Africans were not provided with accommodation or services, therefore they were forced to find shelter and ‘squatter’ camps, “a collection of impromptu shacks without proper sanitation or running water” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 39), which emerged around the major industrial centers. The largest camps were near Johannesburg in Orlando, with more than 20,000 residents, which eventually became the basis for the township of Soweto. By the end of the war, for the first time in the country’s history, Africans constituted over 50 percent of the industrial workforce outside of the mining industry.

By 1948 this new economic reality created an opportunity for the National Party (NP), which had its base among Afrikaaner speaking whites, appealing to new insecurities among the white population and promising a well-structured, formalized solution. They misleadingly accused the ruling United Party (UP) of promoting integration and began introducing ‘the only safe solution’ which was apartheid to protect the white race in South Africa.

In 1948 a new NP government was elected by white South African voters. Interestingly, “although the UP won a significant majority of the popular vote, the NP won a majority of the seats in parliament because of a constitutional provision that provided greater representation in rural than in urban areas” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 45). Apartheid was, therefore, introduced on the back of some white votes carrying more weight than others.

The National Party (NP) formed its own government under its leader D.F. Malan, one of the architects of apartheid. Many people thought of apartheid only as “an intensified
form of segregation” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 37), which meant the continuing of racial discrimination. But, the NP ideologues, wanted a more structured and definite solution, one that would separate the races in all aspects of life, except when the needs of the white minority called for black workers in mines, industry or as domestic servants. As part of this they banned mixed marriages between the four races; whites, Africans, Asians and Coloured, reserved jobs only for whites and banned black trade unions, to take a few examples.

3.2.1 The system and administration of apartheid
Apartheid, the state-enforced regime of racial segregation, was in force in South Africa from 1948 to 1994. The apartheid system separated people into four categories; white, black, colored and Asian, as described earlier. The system was based on people in the four categories living separately and the three non-white categories primarily working for whites, in mines, factories and businesses and in their homes, with strict limitations on the rights of blacks, coloreds and Asians to be outside their own areas when not working. Much of apartheid legislation then dealt with creating mechanisms to enforce this segregation.

3.2.2 Apartheid Legislation
One of the main focuses of the NP was apartheid legislation, which was law by race: “Key to all legislation was the fact that people resident within South Africa would enjoy different rights and privileges based on their race” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 49). In 1950 the first piece of legislation that was passed was called the Population Registration Act, all residents of South Africa were to be classified as ‘White’, ‘Coloured’ or ‘Native’ (later called ‘Bantu’) people and later ‘Asians’ in 1959. Everyone had to have passes or documents to enter ‘white’ areas, which was named Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act under the Native Laws Amendment Act, 1952. The terms of the Native Laws Amendment Act said that African women and men could not remain in an urban area for longer than 72 hours without a special permit stating that they were legally employed. “The Act stated that no African, male or female, who had not been born in an urban area could live there unless s/he had lived there continuously for 15 years or worked for the same employer for 10 years” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 50). Every African had to have with them “a ‘reference book’, which included an individual’s photograph,
address, marital status, employment record, list of taxes paid, influx control endorsements, and rural district where officially resident” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 50). This was done in order for the government to control the African population.

The government continued to pass many laws that were in favor of whites during apartheid. Before Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd became prime minister (1958), he introduced the grand apartheid solution, which entailed of physically removing Africans out of all white areas in 1956. Although a government commission known as the Tomlinson Commission had told the government that it would be impossible to move the whole of the African population to the areas that were set aside for them, because it wouldn’t be able to support more than two-thirds of the population, they did not listen. The government denied the fact they would have to purchase more land for the African population in order to move them (Clark and Worger, 2011).

A new solution to formalize the apartheid segregation was introduced, when a new state was formed by Verwoerd’s government. This new state, which was only recognized as a state by South Africa, was called Transkei. Transkei was set to be the first of ten homelands (also called Bantustans) for African people, or Bantu (natives). The new state was declared independent, however “it relied entirely on the South African government for its budget and the training of it police force” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 65). The government made it look like a state where black people would be free, independent, however it was only deception of freedom for the Africans (Davenport, 1987).

The creation of the homelands gave the government a formal basis to remove black people from areas which were attractive to whites. The government argued that this was for the benefit of the ‘natives’, a ‘slum clearance’ (Clark and Worger, 2011). The forced removals were justified by the Group Areas Act, where urban and rural areas in South Africa were divided into zones, where only a single racial group could live. All others, mainly blacks and Coloured, had to move. “The removal of Coloureds from District Six in Cape Town is probably the best known” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 70), while people were protesting against their removal they were physically forced to move out of the District. During three decades of apartheid, 3.5 million Africans were removed from ‘white’ areas. The process was referred, by the government, as ‘erasing black spots’ (Davenport, 1987: 544).
The African population in South Africa, without the homelands, declined drastically during apartheid, despite the high birthrate. In 1976 the number of registered blacks were 18.5 million, a year later the number dropped to an estimation of 15.7 million people. There was no rise, of Africans, until after 1982 (Clark and Worger, 2011). In contrast to the decrease of Africans the number of new ‘citizens’ in each homeland, that was created for Africans, grew every year because of the forced movement of Africans. KwaNdebele, one of the homelands, was reported to have 32,000 ‘citizens’ in 1970. In 1980 it was reported to be 465,000 ‘citizens’. From 1960 to 1980 the total black population in homelands rose from 4.4 million, 39.8 percent of the total black population, to 11 million, 53.1 percent (Clark and Worger, 2011). Overcrowding in housing for Africans became a major problem in homelands due to poverty, which was recorded to be 80 percent of the population in the homelands (Clark and Worger, 2011). The smallest figure for one homeland, Bophuthatswana, in 1980 was the population of 29 per square kilometer and the largest recorded for another homeland, Qwaqwa, was 298 per square kilometer. If compared to the ‘white’ areas, in the Cape the population was of 2 per square kilometer and in the Transvaal 11 per square kilometer.

3.2.3 Black liberation movement and the process to majority rule
During the segregation years, before apartheid, blacks, Coloureds and Asian groups had started protesting and fighting for equal rights, with the earliest organizations started around 1900. The introduction of apartheid led to more protests, both violent and peaceful, because of extreme oppression felt by the minority, blacks. It is notable here to mention how the government in 1950 justified the use of apartheid and can it be traced back to the tone of the emergence of a “white man’s burden”, as I mentioned in the beginning of my essay. Hendrik Verwoerd, the minister of native affairs in the first National Party government, explained apartheid for African members of the Native Representative Council: “Any word can be poisoned by attaching a false meaning to it. That has happened to this word. The Bantu have been made to believe that it means oppression, or even that the Native territories are to be taken away from them. In reality, however, exactly the opposite its intended with the policy of apartheid” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 138). Verwoerd says, in his speech, that Bantu and Europeans cannot live together in communities because there would always be conflict and competition.
In 1949 the African National Congress (ANC), one of the largest organizations for south africans, adopted a ‘Programme of Action’ to challenge the NP’s plans for apartheid. A new generation of more radical leaders took over, with James Moroka elected as the new president of the ANC and three young members of ANC’s youth organizations, the Congress Youth League, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela became part of the leadership (Clark and Worger, 2011). These three soon became the real leaders. In time Mandela became first among them.

They advocated that it was a time ‘for mass action along the lines of Gandhi’s non-violent protests in India, which he had first tried in Durban in South Africa, and the 1946 passive resistance campaign’ (Mandela, 1994: 113-14). In 1952 the ANC and the SAIC, South African Indian Congress, organized a ‘Defiance Campaign’ in order to discontinue apartheid laws. There were mass rallies and thousands of people refused to go to work. During the campaign 8500 people were arrested and most of the ANC leaders were banned, including Nelson Mandela, however the ANC membership grew from 7000 people to 100,000 by the end of the year (Clark and Worger, 2011). Although most of the opponents of Apartheid were either blacks, Coloured or Indian, there was also a group of whites who were opposed to the ideology of Apartheid, the Congress of Democrats. In 1955 about 3,000 representatives met near Soweto in a Congress of the People. “They represented African (the ANC), white (the Congress of Democrats), Indian (the SAIC) and Coloured (the Coloured People’s Congress) political organizations and the multiracial South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU)” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 60). The congress was held in opposition of Apartheid and called for a new future of South Africa, where all races were treated equally. It was being held to represent a non-racial society.

However on the day of the meeting the police came and recorded all the names because of suspicion of treason being committed. In the following year, activists and group leaders were arrested (156 people), and thus began the infamous Treason Trial, where these people were tried for treason from 1957 to 1961. All the defendants were found not guilty (Clark and Worger, 2011: 61).

In 1956, the government passed the Riotous Assemblies Act (No. 17), to outlaw all public gatherings that might cause ‘feelings of hostility between Whites and Blacks’ and to prohibit any ‘banned’ persons from attending public meetings (Clark and Worger,
2011: 61). However the act did not stop Africans from organising rallies, protests, bus boycotts or other sorts of activism, often focused on racial registration and pass laws.

During the 1950s, enforcement of various apartheid laws resulted in approximately 500,000 pass-laws arrests annually, in the listing of more than 600 people as communists, in the banning of nearly 350 people, and in the banishment of more than 150 individuals (Clark and Worger, 2011).

In 1960 Africans assembled outside police stations without their passes to challenge the police to arrest them, this resulted in 69 deaths of Africans, were policemen shot them in the back. Later that same year a peaceful march of 30,000 Africans took place on the House of Parliament in Cape Town. 18,000 demonstrators were arrested. The ANC and the PAC (Pan-Africanist Congress) were outlawed.

At that time Nelson Mandela, with other members of the ANC, decided that the ANC would adopt a policy of violent opposition and not a peaceful one, which was his opinion before. In his speech he said: “without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy” (Mandela, 1994: 164).

That lead to underground organizations by the ANC and the PAC, where sabotage against the government was being planned. Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), which was the militant wing of the ANC, targeted places such as police stations and power plants. The militant wing of the PAC, Poqo, organized more violent acts where African chiefs and headmen, who were believed to be collaborating with the government, were targeted and killed. The apartheid government responded very forcefully and the beginnings of the police state, which apartheid turned into, can be seen at this time.

John Vorster, the minister of justice, and General Hendrik J. van den Bergh, the security branch of the police, were the head organizers of the apartheid government’s fight against the ANC and others. Both of them were former members of the Ossewabrandwag, a pro-Nazi group, who were interned during the Second World War for Nazi activities. They used an excess of security legislation to shut down the resistance. An extreme new law was set into legislation, called the General Laws Amendment Act of 1963. With this new legislation, the police was empowered “to detain people for 90 days without charging them and without allowing them access to a lawyer. At the end of that
period, the police could re-arrest and re-detain them for a further 90 days, and continue doing so for an indefinite number of times” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 63).

The Rivonia Trial, which was held in 1963, following the arrest of seventeen ANC leaders on charges of treason, including Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu (part of the Umkhonto leaders), was a milestone. Eight of the leaders were sent to prison for life, including Mandela (initially on Robben Island), and most remained incarcerated until the end of the 1980s (Clark and Worger, 2011).

By 1964 the police had succeeded in crushing most resistance. The success of shutting down the resistance, the ANC and the PAC, led to John Vorster becoming prime minister of South Africa in 1966, following the assassination of former prime minister, Verwoerd, by a Coloured parliamentary messenger.

In the late 1960s a movement called Black Consciousness was formed by a student leader called Stephen Biko. Black Consciousness was a political philosophy that was formed in response to the implementation of apartheid. Here the term ‘black’ was used to include Africans, Indians and Coloureds (Clark and Worger, 2011). South African students also formed SASO, South African Student’s Organization in order to form protests, strikes and rallies. These organizations were influenced by the Black Power movement in the United States. In the 1970s students were also greatly influenced by the end of Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique, in 1974 (Clark and Worger, 2011).

In the 1970s protests spread to younger people and became more deadly. Mass protests by students in Soweto, beginning in June 1976, spread throughout the country and resulted in hundreds of deaths. “Protests began in reaction to apartheid educational policies but grew to embrace a wide range of economic and social issues” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 39). The South African government dealt with the process with extreme force and repression. Their reaction brought apartheid to the world’s attention, possibly for the first time. The killing of Biko also caused protests, in 1977, where he was being held in custody. He was died after being severely beaten during interrogation.

P.W. Botha, the state president of South Africa from 1984 to 1989, started to form a strategy or the so called ‘Total Strategy’ in the 1970s before he was state president (being prime minister before) to execute the prime leaders of the ANC and anti-apartheid
activists, who were in hiding outside of South Africa, and also those who were still in South Africa. However it was not publicly stated that way, it was said to be a “military strategy to protect the country from perceived external and internal threats” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 88). It was later on justified to be for increased control of the government by security and military officers in the SSC, state security council. With the South African government, South African Police and SADF, the South African Defense Force, were 30-40 assassinations and also many failed attempts, abductions and thousands more deaths as a result of raids (Clark and Worger, 2011). The most public and notorious assassination of that time, in 1982, was the killing of Ruth First in Mozambique by a letter bomb which was mailed by Craig Williamson who was a member of the South African police. Ruth First was a known anti-apartheid activist.

Botha sought to create peace and security with the total strategy, but failed to do so. In 1983 the government formed a new constitution that would divide the parliament into three racial constitute bodies: whites, Coloureds and Asians. However the black population was ignored to having any part in political participation. It was argued that they already had their ‘independence’ in their homelands, that was created for the black population.

In the 1980s apartheid had become a part of international discussions and Nelson Mandela had become an international celebrity. International investors were increasingly pressured to withdraw their investments from South Africa and trade sanctions were beginning to bite. The growing unemployment among blacks, unrest in the townships and the exodus of whites convinced a new generation of apartheid leaders that a change was necessary. With the election of F.W. De Klerk as president in 1989 things started to change and changed quickly (Clark and Worger, 2011).

In 1990 Nelson Mandela was released from prison after 28 years and immediately became the leader of a transition alongside De Klerk. The ban on ANC was lifted and negotiations for multiracial democracy started. Mandela and De Klerk were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their work. Finally, in 1994 the first multiracial elections were held, Nelson Mandela was elected president and ANC received more than two thirds of the votes for the legislature. Apartheid was formally finished (Clark and Worger, 2011).
4 Post-apartheid South Africa

About 24 years have passed since apartheid ended. ANC has ruled the country ever since. The fourth president from ANC, Cyril Ramaphosa, has just taken power. In this section I want to explore what changes have happened and what is different today. Therefore I will discuss selected economic and social indicators, politics and governance.

In many ways post-apartheid has been successful. Mandela’s promise that whites would have nothing to fear was mostly fulfilled, even though there were cases of attacks on white farmers and the crime rate became very high for a while. The white minority has been allowed to keep its property and still largely enjoys a high quality of life. It remains segregated in its own communities.

Black people are still much poorer than whites but are much better off than during apartheid. A growing number of black people are now middle class and a small group has become rich. ANC has dominated politics since 1994, with a big majority in congress. All presidents, Mandela, Mbeki, Zuma and now Ramaphosa, have come from ANC. During the time of Zuma as president, corruption scandals have become a major issue and the popularity of ANC has fallen. The opposition Democratic Party has increased its support, particularly in the Western Cape province, where there are many coloreds and whites. It now rules Cape Town and the capital city Pretoria, plus a few other cities. ANC still dominates in rural areas. In early 2018 ANC forced Zuma to resign as President and congress elected Cyril Ramaphosa instead. He is seen as the best chance for ANC to win the next election, which is now for the first time not certain.

4.1 Economic indicators

According to the UN Human Development Report (table 10) South Africa is the richest country in Sub-Saharan Africa, with a gross domestic product of $ 12,390 per capita in 2015 (Jahan, 2016), after correcting for purchasing power. For comparison, in Mozambique, South Africa’s neighbor, the same number is $ 1,116, less than 10% of South Africa’s income. Since 1994 the growth rate has been around 2.9% on average. Population growth has been between 1.5 and 2% per year, but has fallen recently, according to the UN Human Development Report. Economic growth per person has, therefore, only been around 1 to 2% per year, which is too little to reduce poverty fast.
Inequality in South Africa is very high. According to the World Bank the Gini Index for South Africa, which measures inequality, is 0.63 and the highest in the world. In Iceland it is around 0.25 (GINI index (World Bank estimate), n.d.). According to Human Development Reports, in 2015, South Africa has the highest Palma ratio in the world, 7.1. This means that the richest 10% of the population get 7 times as much of the national income cake as the poorest 40%. In Iceland this ratio is around 1. It is also estimated that 10% of the population own between 90 and 95% of all property (Human Development Reports, n.d.). The inequality is changing very slowly. Calculations by the Pew Research Center, 2013, indicate that during the time Nelson Mandela was president income among black people grew more slowly than among other whites, Asians and Coloureds (DeSilver, 2013).

The latest survey of “Living Conditions of Households in South Africa”, published by Statistics South Africa, shows that total income among white households is five times as high as among black people, in 2015, (300,000 rand against 70,000 rand) (Lehohla, 2017). The difference is even bigger when it comes to income from capital, where whites earn on average 20 times more than black South Africans. According to the report the income gap has narrowed since 2011 when whites earned almost six times as much as black South Africans.

4.1.1 Income
According to the report: Overcoming Poverty and Inequality in South Africa, published in 2018, poverty in South Africa has fallen since 1994, however it still remains high for an upper middle-income country at 18.8 percent, 2015. Wage inequality is also very high (Sulla, Victor; Zikhali, Precious, 2018). The report shows that the number of workers with high paid jobs is low and the number of workers with low paid jobs is a large portion of the working population, who are employed. Racial factors are key in this factor because only about 10 percent of the working population in South Africa are white South Africans and nearly three-quarters of the entire labor force are black Africans. White South Africans earn three times the average wage of black Africans. Coloured Africans, in the working population, are about 11 percent and Indians about 3 percent. The report shows that Black Africans are at the bottom of the average wages by groups, then Coloured, Indians and at the top are White Africans. The unemployment rate is officially 28 percent.
of Africans and compared to whites, 5 percent of the white population is unemployment (Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger, 2012).

4.1.2 Wealth and Poverty
The report, Overcoming Poverty and Inequality in South Africa, also indicates that wealth inequality is high in South Africa, even higher than consumption inequality, and has been continuing to grow. The top 10 percent richest in South Africa account for 71 percent share of household wealth. However, the bottom 60 percent account for 7 percent of the net wealth. If wealth inequality is compared to income inequality, it is clear that wealth inequality is much larger. The report shows that “the bottom 50 percent of households account for only 8 percent of incomes, 5 percent of asset values, and 4 percent of net wealth. The top 10 percent of households account for 55 percent of households incomes, about 69 percent of total household asset values, and 71 percent of household net wealth” (Sulla, Victor; Zikhali, Precious, 2018). This numbers clearly shows high wealth inequality in South Africa. The inequality between the rich and the poor is staggering, richer households in the country are almost 10 times wealthier than poor households (Sulla, Victor; Zikhali, Precious, 2018).

Black South Africans are the vast majority of the population who live in poverty. There are 27 million black people living in poverty, or 63 percent of the 43 million population. There is a small but growing population of white South Africans that live in poverty. There are roughly around 4.5 million white South Africans and 42,000 of them living in poverty, or 0.9 percent. Although levels of white poverty has been rising since end of apartheid, there is a far more greater rise in levels of black poverty (Withnall, 2016).

4.1.3 Employment
The main challenges that South Africa is facing today in the labor market is high unemployment. According to the report, South Africa Economic Update, unemployment is mostly among unskilled and young people. The report tells that “the official unemployment rate fell from 27.7 percent in the third quarter of 2017 to 26.7 percent in the fourth quarter. However, this decrease conceals a large exit in the labor force, with the participation rate dropping from 59.9 percent to 58.8 percent between the third and fourth quarters” (Dessus, Sebastien C.; Hanusch, Marek., 2018). In 2017 21,000 people
lost their job, the number of employed people therefore declined. In addition 503,000 people were recorded to be economically inactive.

4.2 Social indicators
To measure changes in social indicators in South Africa, I will look at education, health, housing conditions and personal safety.

4.2.1 Education
According to South Africa Department of Basic Education, South Africa has the most developed educational system in Africa. “The country of over 50 million has nearly universal primary education, with approximately four million students attending 6,304 secondary schools, a Gross Enrollment Ratio of 91% and over 800,000 students in one of the country’s 23 universities” (McKeever, M., 2017). The level of education in South Africa, compared to other countries in Africa, is quite high and particularly regarding the proportion of students who make it to secondary school. However, the distribution within the country is extremely uneven. Researchers, like Patience Mususa at the Nordic Africa Institute, point out that the educational system still reflects the legacy of apartheid era discrimination. In order to do well at higher education levels in South Africa, it is better to get the primary education at private schools. However, the poorer part of the population cannot afford to send their children to private schools, which makes it harder for them to do well at university in the future (Student protests in South Africa reflect the unequal society, 2015).

According to the report, Overcoming Poverty and Inequality in South Africa, educational outcomes are uneven across consumption expenditure groups, in favor of rich households. The proportion of the population older than 25 with primary school education, by decile, 2015, showed that in the top 10 consumption decile there were 35,4 percentage more people who had completed primary school than the bottom 10 percent. Among the poor, who were older than 25, there were 53,4 percent who had completed primary school and among the non-poor there were 72,9 percent individuals who had completed primary school (Sulla, Victor; Zikhali, Precious, 2018).

During apartheid, schools were separated by racial classification. It was more mandatory for whites to attend school than it was for non-whites. The academic level for
whites were far more advanced than for non-whites. Also funding from government expenditures to non-white schools were only a fraction from what was given to white schools, however that did change over time, by 1989 the ratio dropped to 4 (white education) to 1 (black education), which was 20 to 1 in 1946 (McKeever, 2017). In 1996, after the apartheid, “the median educational level for Africans was only some primary school, with nearly one quarter having no education at all. In contrast, the median level for Whites was a complete high school education, with nearly one quarter having some postsecondary education” (McKeever, 2017).

4.2.2 Health
Access to health can be seen by measuring the distance of the nearest hospital. According to the report, the distance shows that the rich are the closest to hospitals while the poor are the furthest, therefore the rich have better access to hospitals. “For the poorest decile, 33.8 percent lived at least 20 kilometers away from a hospital, 27 percentage points higher than the proportion among the richest decile. Consistent with this, poor individuals lived farther away from a hospital compared to the non-poor” (Sulla, Victor; Zikhali, Precious, 2018: 23).

The biggest health threat in South Africa is said to be HIV/Aids, where the infection rate has grown enormously from 1990 to 2007. According to UNAIDS in 2008 5.7 million people were reported to have HIV/Aids, more than any other country in the world (Clark and Worger, 2011). Those who are most affected are women and children, where “in 2008, 33 percent of women aged 25-29 tested positive, compared with 15.7 percent among men in the same age range” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 130). “The apartheid migrant labor system with its constant movement of people throughout southern Africa, has led to the whole region, not just South Africa, having the highest rates of infection in the world” (Clark and Worger, 2011: 130). According to the world health organization, in 2016, the estimated number of people living with HIV in South Africa were 7.1 million people, where the number of women (15+ in age) was estimated to be 4.1 million. The estimated number of children dying due to HIV is 110.000 and the estimated number of children newly infected with HIV is 12.000 (World Health Organization, 2017). South Africa continues, from 2016, to have the largest HIV epidemic in the world, where 19 percent of the global number of people living with HIV (South Africa, 2018).
4.2.3 Housing
Housing conditions, according to the report, Overcoming Poverty and Inequality in South Africa, shows that the poor tend to live in overcrowded housing. It is a good indicator of poverty because overcrowded conditions are linked to worsening of health and education outcomes. In 2015 it was reported that about 39 percent of the population was defined as being overcrowded, while the poor had an overcrowding headcount rate of 60.8 percent. The non-poor had an overcrowding headcount rate of 23.6 percent (Sulla, Victor; Zikhali, Precious, 2018: 22).

4.2.4 Personal safety
South Africa has high levels of violence. The murder rate in South Africa in 2017 was 34.1 per 100,000 people, compared to 12.5 in Africa in general and 3 in Europe (UNODC). The Eastern Cape province had the highest recording of murders, 55.9 per 100,000 people. In 2016/17 52.1 people were murdered every day, on average (FACTSHEET: South Africa's crime statistics for 2016/17., 2017).

The country has a high rate of recorded rapes and according to UNODC the world’s highest, at 80 per 100,000 people. In 2017 an average of 109.1 rapes were recorded each day. According to the police in 2015/16 41,503 rapes were recorded and in 2016/17 it dropped down to a recording of 39,828 rapes. However, the exact statistics of the rate of rape are not known because not every incident is reported to the police. It is estimated that the number of rapes reported each year is “at least nine times lower than the actual number” (Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger, 2012).

The rate of rape is said to be very high because of the masculine culture that was created during the country’s mineral wealth and then continued during apartheid. “The gold and mining industry was heavily reliant on the superexploitation of African male migrant laborers” (Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger, 2012: 15). The supply of black labor for the mines was ensured by a series of taxes and also because of the desire to raise lobola, a custom where the bridegroom’s family pays the bride’s family before the marriage with cattle or cash, for marriage (lobola, n.d.). The creation of homelands during apartheid, the first being Transkei given independence 1976, in gender terms was described as being “patchwork of patriarchies” (Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger, 2012: 15) of Belinda Bozzoli. Traditional authority was formed in rural areas, where chiefs were in
charge. In urban areas there was as well a formation of patriarchal authority through extended and nuclear families. The Eastern Cape has the highest rape rate (FACTSHEET, 2017).

Common assault and robbery has both decreased, where common assault decreased from 301.1 per 100,000 people to 280.2 in 2016/17 and robbery decreased from 98.4 per 100,000 people to 95.7 in 2016/17 (FACTSHEET, 2017).

4.3 Politics and Governance

4.3.1 Race/ethnicity based politics
Politics in South Africa is largely governed by race, with ANC dominating among the black population, where it normally gets more than 2/3 of the votes, while the Democratic Party dominates among other ethnic groups. The Democratic Party has, however, increased its support among black South Africans in recent elections. With minority groups relatively big in places like Cape Town, the Democratic Party has been able to take political control locally in a few major urban centers. ANC, however, is by far the biggest and most important political party. All post-Apartheid presidents have also been the leader of ANC.

4.3.2 Governance and corruption
According to the 2017 Ibrahim Index of African Governance, South Africa is rated number 6 out of 54 countries. Its trend for the last 10 years is rated as downward but upward for the last 5 years. Its governance ratings do not differ much from those of a typical poor African country.

As mentioned before, president Zuma participated in a lot of activities that were criticized as political corruption. According to the BBC news Zuma was charged with 16 counts of corruption, which involved money laundering, racketeering and fraud. He is accused of accepting 783 illegal payments and is also accused of raping a family friend in 2015 but was acquitted of charges a year later. He was forced to resign in 2018 because of corruption. His resignation is seen as an indicator that the legal system is functioning and not corrupt. There was also pressure in Parliament for him to resign, even from within his party.
5 Bourdieu’s theory and differentiation based on race

When seeking explanations of the dynamics of apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa, Bourdieu’s theories seem to fit well. His theory, including his concept of habitus, seeks to explain the legitimation of reproduction of inequality and a continuation of segregation long after it has been formally abolished.

Bourdieu says that the habitus is a state of mind where individuals or groups know their place in the world. Different groups have different access to economic and cultural capital. Individuals and groups live by the habitus they acquire and therefore they are more likely to only surround themselves with individuals and groups that have a similar habitus. Bourdieu says that this continuous cycle is the legitimation and “reproduction of a stratified social order that advantages some groups while disadvantages others” (Appelrouth and Edles: 423).

Bourdieu takes a view, influenced by Marx, on economic capital, with an emphasis on class-based forms of dominance. Economic capital is the root of all capitals and is also most related to the access of power. The more wealth a person has, the less a person has to worry about necessary daily concerns, the person does not have to worry about physical survival. Bourdieu provides an important extension, through an emphasis on cultural capital, including things like skills, tastes, posture, clothing, mannerisms, material belongings and credentials. With economic capital a person can acquire cultural capital, where the person has a chance to become “worldly”. Economic capital can also be inherited from generation to generation. By acquiring economic capital and cultural capital, you can also acquire social capital. With social capital a person will be able to move up in the social latter and in politics. The social capital is most cases only in a confined social space and therefore it serves to reproduce existing relations of domination (Appelrouth and Edles, 2016). This combination of economic and cultural capital, providing social capital, can be seen as a strong factor in explaining the continued power of the white minority in South Africa, long after the end of apartheid, and the fact that it is diminishing very slowly.

As shown in previous section, different ethnic groups live different lives in terms of economic power and daily living conditions. Whites are still well ahead of blacks, still enjoying the advantage they had during apartheid, going all the way back to when South
Africa was colonized. They hold more economical capital than blacks and therefore more cultural capital, because of the excess access to education, health and social stability. His theory also connects with other countries that have gone through colonization, where legal segregation took place. Here Bourdieu is saying that “the habitus is an embodiment of history or a present past born out of the long accumulation of life experiences distinctive to a given social position” (Appelrouth and Edles: 422).

Symbolic violence is also an important term used by Bourdieu to understand how black people are viewed as unworthy. Symbolic violence refers to acts that lead to the distortion of underlying power relations. When domination takes its place in a group or individual, it has become natural in his habitus, however it is a scheme of perception because there is no realization of it, because it has become natural. “Thus, for instance, through acts of symbolic violence the beneficiaries of the educational system appear intrinsically worthy of their success, while the less successful appear intrinsically unworthy” (Bourdieu 1982/1991: 24,25).
6 Discussion- how well does Bordieu’s model fit?

Bordieu’s model of inequality reproduced through the concept of habitus, with economic, cultural and social capital unequally distributed fits very well with the situation in South Africa post-apartheid. Contrary to expectations of a quick process toward economic and social equality between ethnic groups, 24 years after the end of apartheid inequality is still enormous and different ethnic groups live mostly separate lives, as they did during apartheid. This can be seen in income, wealth, poverty rates and education, which was seen as the path for young black people to reach equality.

The maintenance of highly unequal education outcomes can be viewed in the light of symbolic violence as explain by Bordieu. The status of education for blacks is still not satisfactory because there is a reproduction of inequality for access to education. Whites have more advantage than blacks to educate themselves because of the repeated history of access to economic capital and their habitus gives them more access to education. Bourdieu says that the educational system is a measure of different kinds of habitus that individuals belong to, including identifying who are poor and who are rich and what views of education dominate. The system may view education as important or not. Since blacks have not had as much access to education as whites, they are often seen as not worthy for it and therefore they could develop a misconception of what they deserve, as in access to education.

The importance of habitus can also be seen in politics and governance, where the ANC has been the prime party since end of apartheid. The ANC is criticized for not doing enough to improve living conditions of the black majority and build more stability in society, although the ANC was the biggest anti-apartheid organization during the era of apartheid. They have maintained traditional economic policies, with a small black elite being elevated into the ranks of the rich. This is an example of reproduction of existing relations of domination, because once the ANC took over from the NP, they had more access to economic capital, cultural capital and they had formed their own social capital, without extending that to their support base in general.

The high crime rates, including sexual violence, also fit within the habitus argument and the reproduction cycle of inequality, explaining how an economic solution for the mining industry has an impact on society one century later.
What has happened in South Africa is similar to what has happened in other societies that have experienced segregation along similar lines. The situation of African Americans, who still live highly segregated lives and with lower economic and social capital than the rest of society, is one such example. Although legal segregation in America ended 1964, the effects are still very visible. Black people are still viewed as not as worthy as white people. Black profiling is still common and police brutality towards black people is higher than towards white people. Videos frequently show black people being denied access to coffee shops or getting worse treatment than white people at shops. Health care has also been under fire for not listening to black people and not giving them the assistance that is needed. The legal system is also criticised as a racist system, mostly targeting black people. There are more blacks in jails than whites, black people get a higher sentence than white people for the same crime. All this is happening more than half a century after the formal end of racial segregation in America.

In his arguments Bourdieu points out that history does repeat itself through a systemic cycle. The system is not equal, it does not give those who are disadvantaged an advantage in life, they are seen as unworthy. There is a constant reproduction of inequality between groups living in different habitus because of history and the evolution of capitalism, where economy is seen as one of the most important things. This fits well with my hypothesis.
7 Conclusion

My hypothesis was that Bourdieu's theory of habitus and the associated importance of economic, cultural and social capital could explain the maintenance of racial segregation long after the formal end of apartheid.

Segregation has, throughout history, come in two main forms; religion and race. In this paper differentiation based on race has been discussed in referring to the legal segregation through colonization, apartheid and post-apartheid effects in South Africa. The racial separation, started when South Africa was colonized by Dutch and British European settlers in the 17th century. Not only were South Africans, natives, used as slaves but also people from other African countries, who were imported to South Africa as slaves.

With the discovery of gold and diamonds, blacks were forced into labor to work in the mines, where they had no rights and low salaries. After the Boer War, legal segregation started to take form. In 1913, the Native Land Act was passed, where Africans had limited access to land, to force Africans into work on white farms and the mining industry.

Apartheid, 1948 to 1994, became an even more extreme legal segregation to give whites more advantage than before. The system of apartheid led to a large number of acts and laws with white only areas, where Africans could only they enter at certain times of the day with passes (identification). Artificial homelands were created for Africans to force them out of most areas, where whites wanted to be.

Even though apartheid ended in 1994, after the long fight of ANC and the great example of Nelson Mandela, the dramatic impact of apartheid South Africa is still very real to this day. The Gini Index shows that South Africa scores the highest rate of inequality in the world and changes very slowly. Wealth inequality is even higher, agricultural land is mainly white owned, poverty is high among blacks but rare among whites. Crime rates are high, mainly in black neighborhoods. HIV/Aids rates are among the highest in the world and concentrated among blacks.

The system of education in South Africa still reflects the legacy of apartheid era discrimination. Educational outcomes are uneven across the whole country, and are in favor of rich households.
The example of South Africa and racial segregation shows that my hypothesis, differentiation based on race still exists after legal segregation has been abolished, applies and Bourdieu’s habitus theory fits the case well to explain the dynamics that maintain reproduction of inequality, where blacks are seen as unworthy and are less advantaged than whites in the country, although the majority of the country are blacks.
References


