



Linnæus University

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Wandering away from apartheid

*A study on interracial bridging social
capital in South African small-town society*



Author: Agnes-Cecilia Haglund
Supervisor: Emil Uddhammar
Examiner: Mats Sjölin
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Abstract

Trust, cooperation and equal value. The purpose of the current study has been to present evidence of interracial *bridging social capital* between groups and individuals in South African small-town society. An ethnological field study has been executed by searching, observing and interviewing citizens at various meeting points in civil society where interracial interaction is taking place. The collected empirical data will be evaluated in relation to established theories regarding the importance of *social capital* in relation to political prospering of liberal democracies. This will be done in order to answer the question: *in what way and in which spheres of South African society can evidence of bridging social capital be found?* The discussion and conclusion will be dependent on to what extent *bridging social capital* is taking place in conjunction with interracial meetings. The research will be divided into three phases. The first phase will be presenting the idea of the research and the preparation of how it is going to be performed. The second phase demonstrates the execution of data gathering with the theories at its core. Finally, the third phase of the essay will be carried out by discussing the results and how it contributes to the existing science base (George and Bennet, 2005, p. 73). In conclusion, the study showed that *bridging social capital* is possible to find primarily in the spheres of education and Christian parishes close to communities where the middle and upper-class live.

Key words

Bridging, Social capital, Interracial interaction, Interracial integration, Desegregation, Civil society, Equality, Equal value, Trust, Cooperation, South Africa, Post-apartheid, Racism, Culture, Anthropology, Political Science, Liberal democracy, Prosperity



Acknowledgments

It must be acknowledged that this study has been written about black citizens of South Africa in a generalized and presumptuous nature. The situation of the black population is sometimes described as if all black citizens have the same situation, life experiences, and understanding, which is not true.

Depending on where in South Africa one comes from, one has different views of oneself as black and oneself as white. Hence, this generalization is done because it aligns with the opinions of the white South African people. Continuing, regarding to the generalization about civil society, the term in this study refers to civilian people's movement, everyday life and meetings in society. This is clarified as there are many who would argue that civil society as a term does not have a generally accepted definition.

The theoretical framework which is fundamental to the study is somewhat negatively angled. The theory is presented in that way since this study aims to prove the opposite. It is important to emphasize that this study does not argue for whether *social capital* is a result of or a cause for its indicators. The study only argues that they are proof that *social capital* exists. The names of all individuals observed and interviewed in this study have been changed for the sake of their anonymity. Further, the findings of this study argue to reflect the existing situation of provincial South African civil society. However, it refrains from claiming to represent the main cities such as Pretoria, Johannesburg and Cape town.

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Glossary of Terms

- **Colored** – A term commonly used by South Africans to describe a race that evolved when the first colonizers settled down in South Africa. The white settlers had children with black women and their descendants is seen as an own race in contemporary South Africa.
- **Balanced reciprocity** – Exists when socializing individuals and groups have the possibility to give as much to each other as they get. The exchange of money, means and goods between them is well balanced (Healey, 1984).
- **Coconut** - What South Africans call black people who acts and socialize with white people. People state that a coconut is a black person that are not really black on the inside.



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1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Until the end of the twentieth century, South Africa was a country where white citizens enjoyed democracy, prosperity, freedom and human rights, while black people were excluded from all of those privileges. That national policy, called “*apartheid*”, was officially adopted in 1948 and was not dissolved until nearly fifty years later in 1990 (Höglund, 2016). In April 1994, South Africa’s first democratic election that included all citizens, regardless of skin color, was held. The election resulted in a change of government to the political party ANC (the African National Congress) led by Nelson Mandela (Haerpfer, Bernhagen, Inglehart and Welzel, 2009, pp. 343-344).

The new constitution, which was adopted two years later, was supposed to result in the end to oppression and injustice for black South Africans. The outside world cheered in faith of a shift to a nation-state where black and white citizens lived in harmony on *equal* and fair terms. Today, twenty-four years later, the “*black*” party ANC still claims the governing position. Hence, the new constitution promises black and white South Africans *equal* terms and rights. The constitution distinctly prohibits discrimination on grounds of ethnicity and skin color (Government of South Africa, 2018).

There are reports about the still existent racially divided society of South Africa, describing the relation between races as “*toxic*”. One article revealed the mistrust and cynical perceptions black and white inhabitants hold against each other. Further, it reported about white youths in groups who beat young black people and white farmers who are terrified of revengeful blacks who want to take back their land.



However, the author causes the article to take an unexpected turn when it starts to discuss *cooperation*. Further, it demonstrates how mutual efforts between black and white citizens develop during situations of external crisis despite the polarized environment. The article culminates in the fact that blacks and whites, after all, need each other to maintain and uphold their common nation and leaves the reader with a glimpse of hope (BBC, 2018).

Notwithstanding, scientist after scientist is presenting evidence about how the majority of black South Africans still live as poor and subordinated citizens in townships outside the rich residential areas of white South Africans. Some blame the slow economic growth (Simkins, 2011) while some blame the lack of competing parties and the low accountability that comes with it (Mattes, 2002). There are those who focus on the cultural and structural legacy of apartheid and argue that the problem lies with the difficulty to change old patterns of living (Gibson, 2003). All writings, however, do not solely criticize post-apartheid South Africa. Scholars acknowledge the success and development that has been reached, referring to examples such as a growing black middle class and the decline from white South Africans possessing 70% of reported household income in 1970, to possessing 39% in 2011 (Simkins, 2011).

It does not require a long visit to a South African city or more than a glance on Google Street View of the country's residential areas to conclude that South Africa is not an *equal* interracial society. White citizens live in clean and green areas with shining cars parked on their driveway while the dirty areas of ramshackle houses and hovels are inhabited by black citizens. Although the numbers regarding household income show a great change, they seem less meaningful when it is concluded that white people only corresponded to 9% of the population in 2011 (Simkins, 2011).



1.2. Purpose and question

There is, as can be seen above, a great amount of research about post-apartheid South Africa. Parts of the research states that South Africa has failed to become what the new constitution concludes it to be, while other writings state the opposite. There is also research presented with the intention of explaining reasons for progress or lack thereof. The kittle of social and political science has been filled to its breadth with information about why, how, if and to what extent South Africa is still socially and economically unequally divided by color.

Scholars have not failed to investigate questions as to how South African civil society has developed since 1994. Nor have they failed with stating the major role of civil society in achieving an *equal*, equitable and prosperous country (Zajontz and Leysens, 2015). Nonetheless, this bachelor thesis will try to seek the answers to a different matter. In contemporary political science, there is little if any research at all about *equal* interracial meetings on the individual and community-level in relation to post-apartheid South Africa. If a free, prosperous and functioning democracy is dependent on a strong *social capital*, then *bridging* the gap between divided groups and individuals within the state is fundamental (Fukuyama, 2001, pp. 10-12). For the sake of the present writing, this is the missing piece of the existing scientific puzzle about post-apartheid South Africa (Esaiasson et al., 2017, pp. 20-21). It is therefore possible to argue that this thesis will have a relevant inter-scientific connection (Esaiasson et al., 2017, pp. 32-33).

As for now, few are asking questions on if and where in civil society new interracial *bridging social capital* is taking place. Instead, today's political science has tended to focus on negative or material factors in regard to the abolition of apartheid (Esaiasson et al., 2017, p. 33).



Forthcoming research's intention is therefore to find and report about real life observations of where in civil society evidence of steps on the path away from apartheid is to be found.

Social psychological science has told humanity a great deal about how meeting and getting involved with a person decreases the extent to which humans are prepared to disadvantage and mistreat a person (Smith and Haslam, 2012, pp. 112-114). Above all, it has been argued, by many scholars, how *bridging social capital* creates reciprocity and broader identities. Further, it has also been stated that *social capital* helps pave the way for one's socioeconomic success (Putnam and Eklöf, 2006, p. 23). This research will therefore investigate venues of the South African society with the pursue to find spheres where black and white people meet and bridges *social capital* (Esaiasson et al., 2017, p. 37). The scientific question of the essay is hence outlined below.

- *In what way and in which spheres of South African society can evidence of bridging social capital be found?*



2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Theories

Theories of which this examination is based on are partly those of an anthropologic nature, divided at a crossroads where authors chose to see the abolition of apartheid as more or less successful. The other part of the founding theories of this research examines how *bridging equal value, trust, and cooperation*, in the present study called *social capital*, constitutes a crucial ground for political prosperity in a liberal democratic nation state. The cross-fertilization of these theories is fundamental for understanding why *social capital* is important in this particular country.

Bridging social capital differs from *bonding social capital* and can be understood as the distinction between social relations among external heterogeneous individuals or groups and internal social relations between homogenous groups or individuals. Scholars emphasize the importance of both *bonding* and *bridging social capital*; however, *bonding social capital* tends to result in exclusion stigmatization towards outgroups if it is not combined with *bridging social capital* (Putnam and Eklöf, 2006, pp. 22-23). Further, the importance of *bridging social capital* becomes particularly tangible in relation to South Africa's history of exclusion based on skin color.

To be able to examine and terminalize indicators for *bridging social capital*, each theoretical concept needs to be sorted out and operationalized into observable tendencies. This chapter will therefore be summarized by a small conceptualizing study to clarify the conceptual device and ensure validity (Esaiasson et al., 2017, pp. 55-58). This is done by evaluating already established definitions of the term in course literature and scientific articles to ensure a valid operationalization (Esaiasson et al., 2017, pp. 59-61).



In 2001, A.J. Christopher stated that even though the country has gone through a great desegregation, the white inhabitants of South Africa continue to be the least integrated racial group and the group that experiences the slowest rate of desegregation. Since the abolition of apartheid, new urban areas of black citizens created poor neighborhoods in the inner city, causing white citizens to leave and settle outside the city, in gated communities. This demonstrates how black citizens are regaining political power but without economic power to prosper and integrate. The changes that were implemented to promote desegregation were made through controlling tools of bureaucracy and through the practical exercise of power by the political elite. The results were uneven and limited since this course of action only makes it possible to control a limited number of areas (pp. 463-464).

According to writings in 2005 by Christopher, geographical desegregation emerged progressively for the first five years after the dissolution of geographical division laws in 1991. However, after these five years, the rural areas of black and poor citizens started growing while the white suburban areas started becoming re-segregated. Christopher finally concludes that the legacy of apartheid is still present to the extent that he states it to still be the “*apartheid city*” (pp. 2317-2318). Existing theories about *trust* between races state that, in societies with high racial diversity, a lower rate of *trust* among groups and individuals exists where it has been measured. Even though interracial groups and individuals do not necessarily exercise direct damage towards each other, they do constrain the exercise of direct benefaction. Race is often more essential, compared with gender, sexuality and religion, in regard to social division (Kung et al., 2018, p. 122). *Social capital* further promotes the building of institutions with high transparency and efficiency (Fukuyama, 2002, p. 25).



Fukuyama urges that *social capital* also is fundamental, if liberal democracy is what a state wants to pursue, and further states, “*Social capital is what permits individuals to band together to defend their collective needs*” (2002, p. 26). It is further advocated that *social capital* is crucial for a strong rule of law, founding democracy and civil economic organization (Fukuyama, 2002, p. 27). Above all, in relation to South African society, a broader *social capital* is stated to decrease corruption (Fukuyama, 2002, p. 35).

There is no explicit definition for *social capital* and its meaning. However, some scholars have stated it to be synonymous with social relations (Fukuyama, 2002, p. 29). Fukuyama has stated: “*Social capital is important for the success of limited government and modern democracy*” (2001, p. 7). The theory is that *social capital* promotes *cooperation* between individuals and groups. *Social capital* can be seen as informal norms such as *equality* and *mutuality* between individuals and groups. The existence of *trust* and networks between two or more people and a shared civil society is also indicative of *social capital*. Thus, it is neither valid nor scientifically correct to measure *social capital* by how often people meet under compelling circumstances. Rather, *bridging social capital* is created in relation to voluntary meetings of people for the sake of association. However, it is necessary to state that the actual meeting and socialization between heterogenous groups is progress that can lead to *bridging social capital* (Fukuyama, 2001, p. 14). If humans interact with each other regularly and for a longer period, they develop greater reliability towards each other which can lead to a greater will to *cooperate*, *trust*, and *equally value* each other. This is why *social capital* has often shown to be a result of factors that are out of reach for democratic governments to affect. *Social capital* needs to be created from interaction and *cooperation* in civil society (Fukuyama, 2001, p. 16).



The existing theories regarding interracial interaction in South Africa show that there are few white citizens who openly contradict the interracial *equality* as such. However, many of them contradict the actual compensatory practices that could be or are implemented to reach *equal value*. White citizens would rather see black citizens be compensated for the inequality they face than prioritized and favored to help equalize their situation. However, interaction on *equal* terms and *cooperative* positive contact between black and white South Africans has shown to result in an increased willingness among the whites to implement practices to reach *equality*. Positive contact and *cooperative* interaction decrease the existing gap between principle and practice of *equality* (Durrheim and Tredoux, 2007, pp. 870-8719).

For the sake of the stated theories above, *cooperation*, *trust* and *equal value* are the three main indicators for *social capital* presented in this thesis.

Furthermore, since *bonding social capital* can increase hostility towards outgroups, this essay searches for *bridging social capital* between diverse racial groups and individuals (Fukuyama, 2002, p. 30). The article “*The strength of weak ties*” (1973) by Granovetter argues how much more important *bridging social capital* is than *bonding social capital* when it comes to making a society prosper. A society with many loose and overlapping heterogenous networks has proven to be more economically efficient than societies with homogenous, closed and static groups (Fukuyama, 2002, pp. 31-32). The present theory therefore states that organizations with radius *bridging* over class, race and ethnicity needs to be developed while the traditional organizations need to be evolved (Fukuyama, 2002, p. 34).



2.2. Indicators

4.2.1 Cooperation

Real-life social interaction and association paves the way for *cooperation* between people. It has been shown that humans who meet and socialize create solidarity and consensus on common challenges and *cooperative* approaches for solving them (Putnam and Eklöf, 2006, p. 186). *Trust* is furthermore an impelling force in the creation of *cooperation* between groups and individuals (Kung et al., 2018, p. 121). *Cooperation* has repeatedly proven to increase society's development and prosperousness and is one of the mechanisms of *social capital* that enriches. *Cooperation* can be described as a state of collective actions between groups and individuals to achieve pursuits (Putnam and Eklöf, 2006, p. 303). *Trust* promotes greater *cooperation* since it lowers an individual's fear of being exploited, which makes it possible for diverse societies to reach a greater prosperity (Kung et al., 2018, pp. 123-125;131)

4.2.2 Trust

Additionally, *trust* is another foundational mechanism for *social capital* which relieves society of efforts and resources to compensate for problems arising from mistrust (Putnam and Eklöf, 2006, p. 303). *Trust* can be understood as individuals and groups holding positive expectations towards another individual or group. It is therefore possible to state that a positive attitude between different groups and individuals bears *trust* (Kung et al., 2018, p. 122). One of the existing obstacles towards a stronger *bridging social capital* is mistrust. The solution for mistrust should, as understood, be interaction and *bridging* between polarized groups and individuals (Putnam and Eklöf, 2006, p. 304-305). To reach social harmony and political prosperity, *trust* is a crucial component of *social capital* and has proved to create prosperity and national *cooperation* (Kung et al., 2018, p. 121).



Kung argues that successfulness, when trying to achieve positive intergroup contact, is to create optimally favorable circumstances when meetings are taking place. Favorable circumstances are further explained as *cooperative* environments between people from *equal* social status (Kung et al., 2018, p. 122).

4.2.3 Equal Value

Equal value can be defined as a situation where individuals are valued *equally* despite their differences. A great problem when trying to reach the standards of *equality* is that they have been recognized through the perspective of white supremacy as a standard. Bridgemen (2013, pp. 709-710) argues that it is necessary to discompose the existing racial norms to move towards *equal value*. *Equal value* is created by *social capital* but is also incentive for its growth and permanence. Understanding and accepting fellow citizen's differences without oppressing them is *equal value*. This mechanism is created by active interaction and associations which indirectly teaches people that their daily life is interconnected and interdependent of one another (Putnam and Eklöf, 2006, pp. 303-304). According to Therborn, inequality is assembled and sustained socially by four mechanisms which are termed: *distinction*, *exploitation*, *exclusion* and *hierarchization* (Therborn, 2013, pp. 55-60). To create *equality* out of inequality it is necessary to change and compensate these mechanisms. The distinction between people needs to be compensated with favoritism (e.g. to allow children from minimum wage-families go to school for free and provide them free tutoring and school transport). Exclusion should in its turn be compensated with greater inclusion by providing those who have previously been excluded with rights and rules against discrimination. Hierarchies should be flattened and demolished by those in power within government, organizations and commercial companies. The exploitation of the subordinated should be equalized by redistribution of services and goods (Therborn, 2013, p. 61-64).



3. Method and material

3.1. Method

Taking into account the many and dissimilar political and social science studies found on South Africa after the abolition of apartheid, this study avoids testing the already established theories in both the field of post-apartheid South Africa and *bridging social capital*. The intent is to cross-fertilize and consume the already existing theories to use as instruments, to further describe and evaluate if and where interracial *bridging social capital* can be found. Hence, this essay will be both descriptive and explanative. Empirical data from the everyday life of South African civil society will be described, related and analyzed through the perspective of the established theories presented above, with the aim to extrapolate a new hypothesis in relation to the results (Esaiasson et al., 2017, pp. 36-39).

The strive to find answers to the scientific question will be performed through an observational descriptive case study, bolstered by conversational qualitative interviews. This will be done to achieve a more comprehensive and competent collection of data (Merriam, 1993, p. 41). These methods will be used in concurrence with a minor field study performed in the South African city of Potchefstroom. The material that will be used and examined constitutes real interactions and behavior between people in Potchefstroom (Merriam, 1993, p. 41). Observational studies have become an object of criticism by many, and it is true that this method is far from being suitable for all research designs and materials. Research recurrently involves proving or contradicting theories on issues that repeatedly relate to cause and effect. In these cases, observational methods have been criticized for being weak.



This is partly because few observations rarely can substantiate hypotheses about causal relations, but also because the method sole observation can fail to detect relevant variables. However, descriptive case studies, which do not intend to prove, can favorably use observations to demonstrate empirical data (George and Bennet, 2005, pp. 175-179). Further, if this data is put in relation to already established and widely used theories, then it is possible to use the descriptive study to evaluate conclusions and new hypotheses about the presented data and its meaning (Esaiasson et al., 2017, pp. 40-43).

Observational studies are nonetheless often more suitable in relation to social scientific researches of structures that are difficult to explain with words but also in relation to questions which people tend to avoid answering truthfully to (Esaiasson et al., 2017, p. 315). Race is such a kind of research problem that is sensitive and controversial to its nature and therefore has been found to be a subject which people say one thing about but think another (Smith and Haslam, 2012, pp. 29-30). It is furthermore possible to perform observational research in modest scales and hence use it in a thesis, which has been an intentional adjustment as the research's timeframe is limited (Esaiasson et al., 2017, p. 313). These types of studies, also called naturalistic researches, are often combined with conversational interviews as it creates a good summation (Esaiasson et al., 2018, p. 314). Although the core method is suitable, it is hard to determine humans' feelings and reason for actions only through observations (Esaiasson et al., 2018, pp. 314-315).

Before the subjects of study were chosen, the analysis units were proportionally stratified so that they reflected the geographical reality of residential settlements in the black and white neighborhoods. This was done to make it possible to follow up the results and compare them if necessary (Esaiasson et al., 2017, pp. 176-177).



The choice of study objects has been made partly through systematic random selection, quota selection and through snowball selection (Esaiasson et al., 2017, pp. 190-191). Thus, citizens were randomly observed but the analysis units, where the observation took place, were systematically and proportionally chosen (Esaiasson et al., 2017, pp. 176-177). The age selection of the study objects was made randomly and ended up in a range between age ten and seventy-five.

3.2. Material

3.2.1. Study objects and literature

The materials used are observations from real life events and meetings between racially divided individuals and groups in the South African city of Potchefstroom. Notes and recordings from interviews with South African inhabitants are evaluated in relation to indicators of *social capital*, which have been found using existing established theories explained in scientific articles and course literature. The literature has been concentrated to political science, social psychology and anthropology. Hence, the objects that have been studied are the citizens, their experiences, opinions and behavior.

The snowball selection was initiated with help from the researcher's primary contact person, who works at the JB Marks Local Municipality, which Potchefstroom belongs to. Furthermore, the researcher came into contact with the contact person's colleagues and familiar professors and scientists from the North West University. The scientists and professors further introduced the researcher to graduate students in anthropology who further introduced students of other subjects. The primary contact person's colleagues came from different parts of Potchefstroom such as the townships Promosa and Ikageng.



The colleagues in their turn introduced the researcher to their friends, family and familiar people from church and school. Informative literature, one written by Sharan B. Merriam (1993) and the other written by Lars Kaiser and Magnus Öhlander (2011) were used as supervising models of how to accomplish an adequate field research. For the sake of validity and with the exception of one scientific article from 1973, no bibliography published before 1999 has been used as a basis for founding theories of this study.

3.2.2. Analysis units

To randomly select analysis units which are proportionate in relation to the reality, the city is divided into four parts. The city center, two townships: Promosa and Ikageng and the gated communities. The gated communities constitute of neighborhoods where white people and very privileged black people reside. The city center constitutes of the black middle or lower-middle-class. The township Ikageng is the biggest township and the least privileged one, which currently has fourteen area extensions and is where the poorest citizens live. The township of Promosa has historically been more privileged since the apartheid generation that lived in the area attended Afrikaans-speaking schools and churches, which enabled greater inclusion into the white society.

Residential areas where colored and Indian inhabitants live have actively been excluded as units of this study. This is partly because a majority of South African Indians differ in religious faith, and partly because colored and Indians constitute a small portion of the population and live somewhat isolated from traditional racial issues (Christopher, 2001, pp. 463-464). The analysis units which have been observed in the four distinct areas of Potchefstroom are (1) *church parishes and services*, (2) *restaurants and dining places*, (3) *spheres of education and labor*, and (4) *spheres of events and activities*.



Even if forced geographical desegregation between adults in residential areas have shown to be of little success in *bridging social capital*, there is a positive inversion which can happen as a result of the integration between black and white children in schools (Lemon and Clifford, 2005, pp. 27-28). The theory, regarding *social capital*, is that all forms of education is helpful when *bridging social capital*, since social norms and values can be transferred and create harmonious *social capital* (Fukuyama, 2001, p. 18). Even if it is argued that governments do not have the possibility to increase *social capital* by intruding, as it disturbs individuals' and groups' ability to *cooperate*, there is a big importance and need for organizations, non-profit events and meeting points such as church groups and youth groups (Fukuyama, 2001, p. 18). Further, religion is one of the most important grounds for building *social capital* and strengthen civil society (Fukuyama, 2001, p. 19).

The belief about race as something socially created and not constant, makes it easier to initiate contact between races and this contact promotes interracial *trust* (Kung et al., 2018, p. 123). As is explained above, there is a great importance of social favorable environments when *bridging social capital*. *Work places* is a favorable analysis unit to this research as people who work together, in most cases, must *cooperate* and learn to *trust* each other in performing mandatory tasks and missions. Additionally, *restaurants* together with *events and activities* is favorable places for social gatherings and interaction between citizens, where *equal* value and positive expectations can develop. However, it is of course a possibility to develop negative expectations and unequal values through social gatherings too.

The study aimed to randomly select one unit from each area to examine, however, it was early discovered that two out of five units was not existent in all districts and was therefore not possible to examine.



Work places is not existent in the townships to the same extent and in the same way as they are in the city center and the gated communities. The townships only have a few workplaces such as food stores, schools and daycares. Beyond that, almost all vacant jobs are to be found in the city center or the gated communities. In terms of restaurants and dining places, the townships virtually lack large fast food chains and restaurants. Instead, there are places to buy lunch for a low cost if needed, however, no public places with servings for the sake of acquaintance.

Moreover, churches, schools, daycare and social gatherings exist in all districts of Potchefstroom and this analysis units were furthermore possible to examine in all four parts of the city. Nonetheless, it soon became clear that white citizens do not at all visit the townships and they almost do not visit the city center either. Most black citizens visit all parts of town including the gated communities. They go there with bike, by foot or with car and for different reasons such as shopping, to go to church, to work or to eat dinner at a restaurant. For this reason, most of the field study was made in the gated communities and city center. Those areas are the only ones where black and white people meet. Thus, the townships were visited and observed but there were no signs of white citizens socializing.



4. Analysis

4.1. Execution

The study of each analysis unit, in relation to all three sought-after indicators for *bridging social capital*, will be presented separately below. Those who read this study should be aware that the existence of *social capital* which will be mentioned and demonstrated below does not constitute a generalized picture of the society as whole. Apart from the progress demonstrated below, the South African city was shown to be clearly divided between races with cynical opinions towards one another. However, this study aims to examine the progress and existence of *social capital*. Therefore, evidence of shortcomings and lack of *social capital* will be almost non-existent in this analysis. It will hence be further discussed and taken into consideration in the last and concluding chapter.

4.2. Empirical data

4.2.1. Church parishes and services

At each one of the three different churches in Ikageng, Promosa, and the city center, which the researcher regularly visited, members made sure that the new, white visitor felt welcome. In Promosa, at the *Nazarine church*, the preacher noticed the white newcomer and therefore pronounced greetings and welcoming words. When the Tswana-speaking church *AFM Emanuel* in Ikageng was visited, the priest explicitly asked the researcher to sit down with one of the sisters so that she could translate the service into English for her. At one service in the city center, in a church called *Ministry of Glory*, the sisters made sure that the researcher got a seat beside the other visitors. The sisters placed the researcher among the almost crowded lines and patiently explained how the prayer notes were supposed to be filled in and submitted.



The congregation offered the visitor transport home from the church so that she could stay longer. Furthermore, the sisters offered their telephone numbers and explained that they were always at hand. This hospitality and sincere welcome at the services in Promosa, Ikageng and the city center was undemanding and unconditional. This was in spite of the fact that the members, sisters and preachers did not know the investigator's name, origin or agenda. She was exclusively the only visible white person at these services; however, the willingness from the members to include the researcher as an *equal* and welcome her with a positive and helpful attitude was evident.

Furthermore, in the gated communities, there were services held with both black and white visitors. At the Afrikaans-speaking services, there was a great majority of white members, while at the English-speaking services there were a great majority of black members. At one church named *Every Nation Faith City*, black and white members were greeting one another, singing together, holding each other's hands and praying for one another. Both black and white members *cooperated* to prepare drinks and snacks and make sure that the sound on the stage works. The band onstage, with both black and white members, interplayed and was relaxed. During the service, all visitors are told that they are *equally* worthy children of God and when the attendants are to lay their hand on the one in front of them, it is done without hesitation. After an interview with one of the ministers at *Every Nation Faith City*, it emerged that there had been a change of the integration between black and white at the church within the five previous years. The minister disclosed that they initially had to force the racially mixed participation somewhat, but that it now appeared increasingly natural.



In the center of the gated community close to the university, the researcher met one white and one black girl eating ice cream and talking among themselves. They knew each other from a church group called *UNITE180* and invited the researcher to come to their service. At the service with this church group, the attendants were between ages eighteen and thirty-five. They were mostly white, but even so, there were black attendants too. At their services, everyone sings together, hold each other's hands and listen to the preacher when he speaks messages about "*loving thy neighbor*". When the preacher was asked about the *bridging*, he answers that, "*God does not distinguish between black and white humans*", and therefore they should not do it either.

Another member of the *UNITE180*, Fredrich, stated that he knows members of the group who had negative assumptions about black people, but who have changed their mindset since they joined the church. "*The people that does not change their mindset simply cannot keep on being a part of the group, since the group welcomes all skin colors, genders and sexualities*", he stated. The service is followed by the tradition of drinking coffee and socializing; it is there and then possible to see white and black girls running around, laughing, and holding hands. Before the services start and after they have ended, the members take turns helping with preparing and cleaning. They meet outside church for *trust*-building at each other's houses to pray and spend time together.

Sonja has become friends and familiar with many white people through the church *Every Nation Faith City*. She is part of the church band which performs during the services. Alex, who is a white student from another part of South Africa, comes from a Christian background, in a white Afrikaans-speaking church where black people are not welcomed. His father is very engaged in the church and he does not like black people.



During his childhood, Alex had been taught that blacks were the “*evil ones*” and that whites were the “*good ones*”. Thus, he has never agreed nor confirmed with that belief, even though he admits that it is present in the back of his head. Since joining the church group *UNITE180*, Alex has been trying to use the words of the Bible to persuade his parents that black people have the same human worth as white people. Sara, another student and member of the Christian group *UNITE180* explains how her mindset regarding black South Africans has changed now that she is convinced that God made all people from the same material and for the same purpose.

Furthermore, Alex and Sara state that there have been white people with significant racial issues who have attended and have since become members of their church group. These people have, because of the faith, interaction and socialization between both black and white people in the group, changed their mindset. They no longer carry racist values to the same extent and spend much of their time among black people.

The researcher later visited *Every Nation Faith City* for an evening service with Christmas carols. This service is only held in English and on a single occasion, which culminates in a diverse gathering between all ages and races. Though most of the white people sit with other whites and vice versa, there are many of them who talk, laugh, hug, eat and sing together without regard to skin color or age. When interviewing a white woman who is between forty-five and fifty-five-years-old she tells the researcher that her father was part of creating this parish with the aim to unite white and black Christians.

4.2.2 Restaurants and dining places

At a restaurant in a gated community center, the researcher sits down and socializes with a large group of black men and women. They are very open and inviting towards her even though this is the first time they meet.



They are different; they speak different languages and have different life experiences but get along more than well. When they have socialized for approximately one hour, positive expectations and *cooperative* behavior, such as sharing and waiting for each other, develop without any effort. However, after the researcher visited the restroom, one of the white waitresses of the restaurant approached her when no one was watching and asked her: “*Are you sitting with them?*” pointing toward the group the investigator had been sitting with for hours. When the researcher answered that she was indeed sitting with them, the waitress looked at her with a concerned face and asked: “*Are you sure that you are okay?*” The researcher responded to the waitress that she was fine, returning back to their table. One and a half hours later, the researcher visited the restroom again; on her way back, the same waitress approached her one more time and silently asked: “*Are you sure that you are still okay?*” They were the only group of people composed of diverse skin colors at the restaurant, on that street and, on that particular day, even in that part of town. One of the men in the group that the researcher sat with asked her if she worried about being rejected by fellow white people when they saw her sitting with them; he looked surprised when she answered him: “*no*”.

Sonja from *Every Nation Faith City* church mentions changes in social and behavioral structures such as an increased representation of both black and white groups at the same restaurants. While she and the researcher sit at one of South Africa’s biggest fast food chains, Wimpy, there is one table which is occupied by a group of both black and white people.

At another restaurant in the center, close to campus, there is a group of approximately twelve white students and three black students sitting together. They are socializing, eating, and sharing.



When the researcher asks them about the racial polarization, they do not have a lot to say about the problem as such, but they state that they do not care about skin color. They explain how *trust* and *cooperation* has been cultivated among them because they have gone through tough times of exams and studying together. Further, explaining that since they are all in the same difficult situation, they need each other and need to *trust* in each other's knowledge and help to be able to pass exams. During a visit to the same restaurant, the researcher meets and interviews Marcus, who is black, and Martin, who is white, while they sit together and have beers. These two friends have met at the university through a shared interest in rugby and because they are living at the same hostel.

When visiting another restaurant in the gated community, there is a large group of both black and white children and adults, who eat, talk, laugh together and hug one another. When asked how they know one another, they answer that they work for the same company and that they are having an “*after work*” together. The researcher asks them if they spend interracial time together outside work, aside from after work, their answer is “*no*”.

4.2.3 Spheres of education

When the employees and students of North West University celebrated the end of the term, there were an approximate 50% distribution between black and white attendants. However, most of the white people sit with the white people and most of the black people sit with the black people. Out of approximately five white and black associations, there were two women sitting together. Their answer to how they know each other is that one of them have been the other one's teacher and that they now work together. To the question if they socialize with each other outside work is their answer yes; sometimes they go for a coffee and sometimes they visit each other's houses.



Furthermore, Sonja testifies about a great change of representation at the campus of the North West University during the recent five years. *“When I moved to my hostel on campus for five years ago, out of 80 students there was approximately five black students, seven colored and Asian students, while the remaining sixty-seven students were white. Today, there is approximately twenty black students, twenty colored and Asian students while the remaining half is white”*, she says.

It was decided one or two years ago that the official language of the university was to be changed from Afrikaans to English but the change has been slow and reluctant. Sonja argues that the white citizens of South Africa feels that everything is being taken away from them and by keeping their language they keep some kind of power and privilege. Additionally, all of the people who are asked, both white and black, states that the North West University prior to the English implementation was a school that attracted white people because they know that there would not be so much black students on the campus because the school was Afrikaans speaking.

Marcus describes himself as a Coconut but however states that black students have been more accepted and are treated better now than they were six years ago when he came to the university. He argues that the change is partly because of the change in language and the overrepresentation of white students which it led to. Martin says that the sport teams of the university which constitutes of both black and white students have created more *equal value, trust and cooperation* between black and white students who entered the university with racist attitudes. Martin and Marcus argue that there have been many white students who entered the university with racist mindsets who now has changed and socialize with black people.



Martin, however, answers no to the question: “*would you date a black girl?*” and continues by saying that it would be against his culture, but that he has nothing at all against black people. At the university there are many black and white students, especially male students, who interact and unite through team sports. Rugby used to be considered a white-men-sport but nowadays, regarding race, the teams are very diverse. The researcher interview two friends who she meets outside a supermarket, one black male student and one white male student who study together at the university. The white student states that his parents have been open minded and welcoming to all races and that he has grown up with people of all colors. The black student tells the researcher that he comes from Johannesburg which according to him has a higher degree of interracial socialization. They, however, argue that there are few people, especially in smaller cities, who are not racists and that the people they meet when they are together usually stares.

In the richer areas where white children go to primary and secondary school, only black children with parents who are richer than the average black people go. One of the schools which the researcher visits in the gated communities teaches English and Afrikaans and has approximately the same number of white pupils as black pupils. The father of one of the black girls who goes to the school tells the researcher that his daughter is not even aware of their black culture since she has been spending so much time with children of different colors and cultures. When interviewing a white man around fifty years from the political party D.A. (Democratic Alliance), he explains how the Affirmative action places higher demands on white children too. For his soon to be selected to the schools swimming team instead of one of his black classmates, he must be a couple of percent faster. However, he states that this is the sacrifices that needs to be made in order to be able to equalize the society.



4.2.4 Spheres of labor

There are one black and one white woman who works at the same restaurant on campus, they have been working together for a couple of years and their answer to if they have ever socialized on their spare time is no.

The same answer is given from one white and one black campus guard when they are asked if they socialize in their spare time, despite that they have known each other for eight years. At a frozen yoghurt bar in in the center of a gated community there are one white girl and one black guy working together. They have a relaxed and joyful interaction and explains that they wouldn't have a problem spending time together outside work and that they have been going out for drinks a couple of times. They do not feel that they are being treated differently and they say that they think of each other as equals and they earn the same.

Many of the white South Africans points out that a great number of big companies today have a requirement to quote at least 10% black people to be employed to high positions in the company. This is because of the so called Affirmative action that has been adopted by the state to increase *equality*, equity and create *equal* opportunities (Louw, 2015, pp. 703-705). When speaking to Fredrich, a white economist from *UNITE180*, he argues that there are *bridging* happening between black and white people at larger companies in South Africa. His own workplace is one example he gives and further states that even though it sometimes creates anger when black people get quoted into some of the positions, it forces *bridging*. The results of the quotation are furthermore that black citizens get the same economic conditions to visit the spheres as the white citizens, which opens for further interracial *bridging*.



Sara describes how the affirmative action has helped changing many black people's social position in relation to white people. Black co-workers of her father have even reprimanded her dad about social behavior from time to time which has been a big shock to him since he is not used to being lectured by black people. A white restaurant owner who has been in the industry for twenty years explains that the constant integration and *cooperation* with black employees has given him a strong conviction that everyone need each other. He states that God will not spare any human only because of its skin color and that everyone is in the same boat. At restaurants that are privately owned, it is usual that there are both black and white waiters, while those in the kitchen are black in the majority of cases. Regarding other service jobs, such as supermarkets and liquor stores, there are some white people working but mostly as managers while the black people work at the counter, bag packing or on the floor.

Within the companies that deals with construction, painting, cleaning and similar work, it is as far as the eye can see only black residents who carry out the physical work. However, most such companies provide an additional service called white supervision, which means that the service-receiver can pay an extra cost to get a white person who comes along. The white person supervises the black workers to make sure they manage their job and behave well. The researcher sits down outside a small fish and chips store together with four building constructors. When asking them if they know anything about white supervision they look at each other and then they are nodding. The researcher further asks them if they have white supervision at their company and they answer: "*Yes, most of the companies do*".

The researcher joins the political party D.A. at work and it is obvious how much effort this party has put into becoming an interracial organization. At their call center there are both black, white and Indian operators working.



White and black politicians are running around at their office and are *cooperating* and planning membership recruitment events together. However, when they are recruiting in white areas they send a majority of white recruiters and vice versa.

4.2.5 Spheres of events and activities

White citizens almost exclusively visit the city center when they need to shop at the mall or at separate stores on the pedestrian streets. They do not stop and eat at the small fast food places in the inner city and they do not walk or socialize there. They go there with car, walk into a store and buy what they need and then drive away. There are many people walking around in the city center, but not one of them are white. The city center constitutes mostly of black people of the lower classes who are working, on their way to work or having lunch break, but white and black people do not meet here. There are two shopping centers in town where people go shopping, one newly built, Mooiriver mall, and one older, Riverwalk mall. Few white people visit the Riverwalk mall and while the researcher is there she sees hundreds of black people and approximately ten white people. When visiting Mooiriver mall instead, it is an even distribution between black and white visitors, but the blacks who are here have nicer clothes and look better off than most of the black people at the Riverwalk mall. Although Mooiriver mall is visited by both black and white people, there are almost no black and white people who are there together. In three weeks, the researcher found one interracial friendship couple and one interracial marriage couple who walked the Mooiriver mall together. However, the researcher found no interracial socialization at the Riverwalk mall.



It is unusual that white people, especially women, walk around alone in the city center. The people which the researcher pass on the streets stares, and one or two comes up to her and asks if she is lost and if she is not afraid to wander around alone. One day the researcher stops and talks to street vendors and entrance guards outside the Riverwalk mall, they live in shacks of the township, but get along well and talk for approximately twenty minutes with the researcher. They mention that it is unusual for a white girl to walk around those streets alone and that the researcher should not have brought her bike because somebody could steal it. After a while, that is exactly what is about to happen when a tall and big man comes up to the researcher, with hostility in his voice. The guards and the vendors jump forward and create a human wall in front of the researcher while demanding the man to leave. When the man walks away, they explain to the researcher that the man wanted to take her bike and money.

In another interview with Sonja, she tells the researcher that when she was younger, her white friend used to hide her in her closet when her parents got home from work. She further adds that it took years before the white friend's parents accepted their friendship. Sonja also upholds that there have been many white children throughout her childhood who were allowed to play with black children at the playground but not to bring them home. When interviewing a couple of younger white students, they inform the researcher that there is still a great risk of being starred at condescending if a white person walks around town together with a black person. Some students inform the researcher that the Bourbon street (the Bar Street) also have changed during the recent years. *"A couple of years ago", they say, "there were almost no black students on the Bourbon street. There were many black students who got beaten up by groups of white students if they went out to the bar street during the weekends"*.



In townships such as Ikageng and Promosa people gather outdoors on weekends and play music, barbecue and party. People there are familiar to each other and there is a clear interaction and reciprocity between them. However, as mentioned earlier, white people do not come here and there is therefore no *bridging social capital* taking part here even though the *bonding social capital* is evident. When going to the cinema, there are both black and white people in the theater. There are, however, no groups or couples which constitutes of both black and white people. In South Africa, there is a weekly running event held in in a couple of cities and one of them is Potchefstroom. The aim of the event is, except for promoting public health, to bring about inclusiveness and to unite people. It is therefore free of charge and available for all ages to participate. There are both black and white volunteers at place who were helping each other to set up the finish line and mark the running trail. Though black and white people did not speak too much directly to one another, they cheered and applauded each other. Black and white people furthermore, came together afterwards to talk about their finishing time and progress.

When going out to collect data from the nightlife of the city there was, early in the evening, hard to find black and white people socializing at anyone of the bars and night clubs. The bars in the city center either have a majority of black or white people and the bar street in the center close to campus is mostly filled with white people. At one pub there was Rugby- and Cricket teams from the university partying together, in each of the two teams there was one or two black students. Besides from them, the black people sat by themselves without interacting with the white people. However, the white students socialize and walked around from table to table. The later into the night it gets, the greater becomes the diversity that is possible to spot in the clubs. At the end of the night, most people seemed to have gathered at the same nightclubs.



One hour before the club closes, there are white and black people talking, dancing and sitting at the same tables. Additionally, at one of the tables, there is an interracial lesbian couple who are being greeted by both black, white and coloured people. When a large music festival, that receives hundreds of visitors, is held in a park near the Mooiriver mall. It will turn out that the researcher is the only white person at the festival and continues to be so for the rest of the evening. When the researcher later asked one of the younger white people from the church, Alex, why he did not go there, he answers that he doesn't dare to go there because it is only black people going there.

5. Results

5.1.1. Comparison

The major parts of the demonstrated data from the field study of this research has been presenting the findings of *bridging social capital*. However, these findings will below we put in relation to and compared to the actual existing situation of Potchefstroom. This is thought to help clarify how some analysis units proved to have greater presence of *social capital* than others.

The presented empirical data regarding *bridging social capital* through *Christian churches* has reflected an environment filled with *bridging social capital*. Hence, when interviewing both black and white inhabitants between twenty and fifty years of age they stated in unison that if a black person would walk in to a white church service, he or she would not be welcomed. The black person would not be kicked out, they all agreed, but would definitely not be greeted. There are services where a great majority of visitors are white but belongs to a church which welcomes both black and white people. The black and white people who are visiting the same services are *bridging social capital* intensively.



During the three weeks of field study, black and white people having dinner around the same table in public was encountered five times. The researcher went to the same restaurant in a gated community together with different black families two times in a row. People were staring at them when they walked in and when they walked out of the restaurant. However, people expressed no dissatisfaction or disgust, but it was clear that it was not a natural phenomenon. The fact that blacks and whites socializing in restaurants do not belong to the socially normal became clear when the waitress at one restaurant, as written above, was convinced that something was wrong just because the researcher, as a white woman, sat alone with an assembly of black people. Concludingly, it rarely happens that black and white people go to *restaurant and dining places* together and when they do, people around stare, and it is further a possibility that they react actively. However, when the researcher visits restaurants in the center and by campus, there are no groups constituting of both black and white people. In the evening, at restaurants, fifth-teen out of twenty were occupied by white people.

In relation to the *spheres of education*, Sonja describes the still existing and strong injustices towards black people on campus. White parents and students have got away with calling black students monkeys who should not be allowed to go to the same university as the white students. Further, the black students who have defended themselves against insults like that have been suspended. One of the Anthropologists and her master students at the North West University in Potchefstroom confirms in an interview how the university for a long time has used Afrikaans to maintain it white.



Regarding primary and secondary education do they further express that it is not only hard for poor children to go to school because of the fee and expensive uniforms but also because the lack of safe transport from home to school in the townships. The anthropologist states that there is sometimes a lot of struggling to make black and white students work and sit together in the class room. Beyond that, it has been even harder to make white students' parents to accept that their children must *cooperate* with and respect other black students. In the poorest parts of the city, there are only black people living, and, in these parts, there are no white children in the schools.

Mr. Christoph explains that most South African schools, at least the ones that offers education of good quality, are expensive. The school fee can vary from a couple of hundred up to thousands ZAR per month. There are some state-owned schools in the townships which children can attain for free, however is it almost always compulsory to wear school uniform, otherwise the children will be sent home. The school uniforms are sold by companies with patent on the clothes and is therefore too expensive for many families to afford. He further testifies about how the white language Afrikaans is used as an instrument of discrimination in a number of schools. Further stating that it makes is hard or impossible for a great number of black children to attend those schools.

Nonetheless, the presence of interracial *bridging social capital* between children and youths is evolving in comparison to previous generations. Thus, this possibility is only available to the citizens who can afford it and is therefore not a in reach of low-class families. One of the entrance guards outside the Riverwalk mall recounts that he, unlike many other people from his neighborhood, went to a school with white people and that he therefore knows some whites. However, he does not spend time with white people and still lives at the townships.



There are families in the townships who can afford to let their children go to daycare and some have managed to get them a spot at the fee-free daycares. However, at these day cares, there are no white children and the buildings are shackles, as most of the houses.

Concerning *spheres of labor* as analysis units, there are a major number of individuals in Potchefstroom who are white, black, young and old who testifies about how most of the black citizens are earning less than minimum wage. These are mostly the domestic workers such as cleaners, gardeners and maids. The researcher interviews one cleaning lady who lives in one of the townships but works in the gated communities, like most black women from the townships do. She demonstrates her paycheck which reports a salary of 2000 ZAR after tax as a result of more than 160 hours of work. The evidence of meetings including *cooperation*, *trust* and *equal values* that is reported in the analysis exist at the work places where the salary is higher than minimum wage or where higher education is required. At work places such as hospitals and universities, black and white people work together and interact.

Furthermore, at lower class work places that pay approximately thirty ZAR per hour, black and white youths work together and develop *cooperation* and *trust* between them due to recurring interaction. Sonja explains how smaller private owned companies, such as restaurants, require that black people have almost over-qualified experiences in order to be able to get an employment. However, it is often enough that whites have a primary school education and no experience to be able to get the higher positions such as restaurant managers. A black woman, who works at one of the restaurants in town, argues that it is uneven at many workplaces as whites often reprimand and mistreat their white colleagues to a greater extent than their white colleagues. It is evident that almost no white people work at fast food chains such as McDonalds, Kfc, Burger King, Steers, Wimpy or Nandos. However, there are some white people who own the restaurants or manage them.



In relation to the existing *spheres of events and activities* of the South African city, the difference between Riverwalk mall and Mooiriver mall are clear. Mooiriver has the famous stores and brands, it is clean, light and the guards have neater clothes than they have at the Riverwalk mall.

The Mooiriver mall has coffee shops, restaurants and famous fast food chains while the Riverwalk mall only have some small fast food places. However, the middle and the upper class of black people visit the Mooiriver mall to shop, but most white people do not go to the Riverwalk mall. Since parkrun is a weekly event, the same and recurrent participants see each other often, start to greet, rehumanize and destigmatize. However, when the researcher interviews some white people at the Park Run regarding what they think about the possibilities to unite at events like this they are negative. Some urges that they do not care for unification and how different the black people are from them. The age range between these people is between twenty years and sixty years. Some of them speak about the black people as “*rude*” and about how “*they would not think twice before they kill you, in comparison to white people, who would*”. However, there are other people there who think that Park Run is a good opportunity to unite and normalize interaction between black and white citizens.

5.1.2. Discussion

It stands clear that class difference is significant for the likelihood of interracial *social capital*. If a black citizen belongs to middle- or upper class, his or her chances to also spend time in the same areas and environments as the whites increases and this further develop opportunities for interracial *bridging*.



Lemon and Clifford argued in 2005 that even if geographical desegregation is necessary, it is not alone enough in creating a racially tolerant society. Further stating that it abstractly, in the case of South Africa, exists two nations in one nation. Socioeconomic unequal differences are crucial for the possibility to decrease polarization (p. 26). Lemon and Clifford further conclude that race and class overlap in South Africa, which has spurred white inhabitants' association between black people and crime.

In all cases where this study has been able to demonstrate interracial *bridging social capital*, it has occurred in spheres middle- and upper-class presence. Middle-class is however dependent on social identity and not only on income and education. Without the psychological self-perception of belonging to the normative middleclass, the crucial role of the middle class for integration and de-polarization is non-existent (Burger et al., 2015, pp. 38-39). Thus, middle class is still perceived as synonymous with white class, and therefore interracial interaction and social inclusiveness of black citizens is a fundamental basis for the creation of positive expectations, *cooperation* and *equal value* between black and white citizens.

A black professor from the university recounts that, not long ago, a black male student was brutally beaten up by a group of white students because he dated a white woman at campus. Systematic privileging of white students at universities is still existing and black students have testified about feeling alienated and powerless. Black students feel that they must put on a veil of white conduct to be accepted and racism is surviving through the discourse of culture (Moguerane, 2007, pp. 58-59). The professor further testifies about how one of his former colleagues at the university resigned from his position because the white professors earned higher wages than the black professors, which he could not cope with.



However, the professor's wife works together with white women at one of the receptions of the university and they have developed good contact and sometimes spend time outside the workplace.

The services in Promosa, Ikageng and the city center does not have any white visitors. It is obvious that it exists a strong *social capital* among the members of these churches, but this *social capital* is not exchanged between black and white inhabitants. Nonetheless, all visitors of the black churches opened their arms for *bridging social capital* with the researcher when the possibility was given. Within team sports at the university, *trust* and *cooperation* is created, and further it can be imagined that *equal value* evaluates with time. When it comes to sport, athletes are valued depending on their performance and not their race. However, one can see examples on how race becomes relevant when athletes make mistakes on the field (Christenson, 2018).

The occurrence when a man tried to attack the researcher in the city center and the four black men, which the researcher had had known for twenty minutes, protected her, made two certainties clear. First, it exists substance in the white people's fear of being subjected to crimes if they walk around in the city center. However, it becomes clear how *bridging social capital* would make it possible for them erase the substance of this fear. It was clear that the reason that the researcher managed without being robbed was due to the *bridging social capital* that just had taken place. The response from the waitress at the restaurant when the researchers was spending time with a large group of black men and women demonstrates how that type of socializing is a problematic and uncommon phenomenon. The statement from whites that black people are different, evil and dangerous shows that there is still a great resistance against *bridging* with black citizens. However, much indicates that the new generation has taken a big step away from apartheid and are *bridging social capital*.



The fact that *bridging social capital* is merely taking place between middle and upper classes shows that Balanced reciprocity, which anthropologists has stated the importance of, plays a big role in *bridging social capital* between black and white citizens (Graeber, 2001, pp. 219-225) It additionally shows that it is a major obstacle that poverty exists almost only among black citizens and how it makes class and race overlap. The environment of churches is where common values, cohesion and *bridging social capital* is created. Though whites do not visit the black churches, this study has shown that they are welcomed if they were to come. However, in many churches, black and white citizens meet while, in comparison, only a few racist churches remain intact. Where education takes place is also the same place where most young people stay and through the school environment *bridging social capital* is developed.

Participation in events and activities, eating at restaurants together and being treated with positive expectations and *equal value* at work may be steps that comes after *bridging social capital*. Spheres of labor generates weak *social capital* because it partly is the work place that determines social class. *Bridging social capital* is created at the working places where people earn well or as much their white colleagues, but even then, social acceptance and self-perception is required for *bridging* to take place. Often, there is an established hierarchy between white employers and black workers.

Anthropologists in the city where the field study was conducted testifies about how the whites prefer their children to socialize with Indian Muslims and Hindus. Further stating that the degree of dark skin color is believed to have a greater significance for cultural difference and opinion on human dignity than religion does. This empirical evidence also finds support in established research on the importance of skin color (Kung et al., p. 122).



5.2. Conclusion

The answer to the question “*In what way and in which spheres of the South African society can evidence of bridging social capital be found?*” is that *bridging social capital* is strongly evident and existing in Christian parishes and in environments of education. Further, this study has provided evidence of that the middle- and upper-class is a fundamental ground for *bridging social capital*. The social change required is taking place among the youth of these social classes and is doing so with great steps, unlike earlier development.

The reason for this is that the same social class is required for the creation of balanced reciprocity. To be able to afford to stay together and in order to be able to meet in schools, it is required that one can give and take from each other. In the case of Christian churches, the study shows the same result. To those who feel welcome and who participate in the church with whites, the mental part of feeling like middle- or upper-class are extremely important in order to be able to act socialize with the white class.

However, this existence is limited to the spheres where the middle- and upper classes live and are present. The way in which this *bridging social capital* is displayed is through the genuine and open-hearted interaction that occurs between blacks and whites in these spheres. This differs from other places where there is a clear distrust and cynicism towards black citizens. In these places there is no hierarchy and division or struggle of power which in other places is evident. Concludingly, though it exists negative expectations against whites from the black citizens too, the black citizens in this study has shown a great willingness to integrate *bridging social capital* with white citizens. Therefore, in spheres where black citizens are accepted, which requires physical and psychological consciousness of belonging to middle- or upper-class, interracial *bridging social capital* is taking place continuously.



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