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A "UNIVERSAL VALUE"? PERCEPTIONS OF DEMOCRACY ACROSS RACE AMONG YOUNG VOTERS IN DURBAN, SA

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Abstract

This study seeks to explore perceptions of democracy among young voting age South Africans, and how they vary across racial communities. While perceptions of democracy encompass a broad range of topics, this study focuses on the more tangible aspects of youth engagement with democracy. This study questions what democracy means to young South Africans, how it plays out in daily life, how successful its implementation in South Africa has been, and what it would ideally look like in the future. Because youth engagement with these discussions will significantly affect democracy's trajectory in the future, it is essential to understand young South Africans' answers to these questions.

Information for this study was collected from open-ended interviews and informal conversations with young voting-age South Africans in Cato Manor, Chatsworth, and around Durban. Each individual that was interviewed about their experience with democracy had unique responses, and they each interpreted their involvement and relationship with the South African government differently. However, certain trends emerged in responses along lines of race and community. The meaning of democracy and its success in South Africa differed across Black, Indian and White South Africans. Furthermore, many participants across racial categories expressed a desire for a nonracial democracy in the future, but diverged on their specific expectations of government service provision and responsibilities.

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Introduction

"I don't think anyone cares what we have to say…if I don't vote, my opinion is not heard, end of story. You see all these stories on the news about our 'lost generation' and how the youth in South Africa is violent this or dangerous that. So why would anyone listen to what we have to say?-Anonymous 1, Black, Male, 19

Democracy is a form of governance that is often praised by the international community. At the 2005 World Summit, heads of state and government from around the world declared democracy a "universal value" (United Nations, "A/RES/60/1" Clause 135). While democracy is not yet universally practiced, nor uniformly accepted, in the general climate of world opinion, "democratic governance has now achieved the status of being taken to be generally right" (Sen, 1999). However, the way democracy takes shape varies across countries and extends beyond the commonly simplified definition of majority rule. Democracy has complex demands, which certainly include voting and respect for election results, but it also varies in its effects on citizens' lives. Democracy is a "demanding system, and not just a mechanical condition (like majority rule) taken in isolation" (Sen, 1999, p.2).

Former United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan explained democracy as "…a dynamic social and political system whose ideal functioning is never fully 'achieved' (Annan, 2009). Consequently, this means that South Africa's transition to democracy did not end in 1994, but is a continuous process, and its maintenance must be carried out consciously.

Since beginning its transition to democracy in 1994, race in South Africa has continued to be a pervasive aspect of democracy and politics. In 1998 Vice President Thabo Mbeki expressed the view that the structure of South African society consisted of "two nations". One nation was white and affluent, while the other was black, poor, and "[had] virtually no possibility to exercise what in reality amount[ed] to a theoretical right to equal opportunity" (Mbeki, 1998, p.72).

After the eradication of apartheid, legislation such as the Skills Development Act (1998 and 2003) and the Black Economic Empowerment Act (2003) facilitated the "racial reengineering" of South Africa (du Toit & Kotzé, 2011, p. 42). These pieces of legislation, along with many others passed in the same time period, attempted to redress historical inequities by singling out non-White racial groups and giving them preferential treatment for public employment, taxation, and state subsidies. With the ruling party very closely aligned with "non-White" South Africans and affirming a hierarchy of oppression during apartheid (in that blacks were more marginalized than coloreds and Indians), "racial categorization was codified into South African legislation- and so was racial separation" (du Toit & Kotzé, 2011, p. 45).Thus, democracy in South Africa does not exist in isolation; it operates within the context of racialized government and policies that shape political discourse and citizens' relationship with their government.

Defining democracy in the South African context is more than an academic exercise. "If the definitions we settle for help to bridge the racial divide, this should assist with the creation of a progressive post-apartheid culture" (du Toit & Kotzé, 2011, p. 57). While Mbeki's two nations model is often seen as a contrast with Nelson Mandela's One Nation model[1], the two can also be seen as snapshots of South Africa at different times. A post-racial, democratic South Africa has become a dominant theme in political discourse in the country, placing Mandela's idea of "One Nation" as a goal to aspire to, while implying that Mbeki's two nations model is a relic of South African apartheid and transitional democracy.

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[1] Nelson Mandela argued that South Africa must strive for "Unity, so that we can build one nation one people one country." Thabo Mbeki criticized this model in his famous Two Nations address, by highlighting the fault lines in South African society. While the nuances of these models are beyond the scope of this paper, readers interested should read David Everatt's "The politics of poverty", included in the references.

Because of South Africa's racial, class, gender and cultural divisions, "political parties link society and government by aggregating social cleavages and translating them into political cleavages" (Bogaards, 2014). Thus, it becomes essential to study diverging political opinions across social divisions, such as race, in a post-apartheid setting. This study begins to explore how these social divisions translate into differences in fundamental understandings of post-apartheid South African democracy.

Often, democracies face difficulties in pursuing policies that benefit future generations. If the beneficiaries of such long-term policies only form a minority today, politicians may not undertake them. As a result, socially desired policies such as fiscally sustainable welfare and climate change policy are neglected at the expense of younger generations. Consequently, "active youth engagement is often considered a requirement to create a sustainable democracy" (Gerschbach & Kleinschmidt, 2009).

The intersection of age and race shape the historical narratives people are exposed to, their identities, and consequently, their relationship with government. In South Africa, "perceptions of democracy are shaped by historical forces that created a dynamic of racial inclusion/exclusion" (Misra-Dexter & February, 2010). "This continues to shape racialized expectations of what the post-apartheid democratic order should deliver". The "need" for democracy is based on a perception of human nature; democratic systems affirm and are morally compatible with, an affirmation of the autonomy human beings (Misra-Dexter & February, 2010). The implication is that debates about the future of democracy in South Africa must take into account the broader battle between contending perceptions of what constitutes good society.

While there have been many analyses of the successes and failures of South African democracy, most of these studies adopt the World Bank's and United Nations' definitions of democracy without questioning whether democracy in South Africa may be unique (Misra-Dexter & February, 2010). Furthermore, many studies have looked at youth disengagement with politics and shifting political affiliations, but few have delved into what the youth population's relationship with government has been in practice. In short, although democracy depends on a vibrant presence among its youth, it seems as though few have asked the youth what they want and how their experience with democracy has been.

Frequently used terms and acronyms

- ANC: African National Congress

- StatsSA: Statistics South Africa, the national statistical service of South Africa

Context and Lit Review

Perceptions of Democracy

Many of the studies in South Africa on citizens' relationships with democracy have centered on dichotomizing every question, thus limiting the scope of exploration in their results. For example, Pierre du Toit's 2011 book *Liberal Democracy and Peace in South Africa: The Pursuit of Freedom as Dignity* addresses the question of whether a democratic regime has made a more peaceful and inclusive society through survey research from 1981 to 2006 and 1990 to 2007. His surveys simplify this question into value surveys and public opinion questionnaires. This provided the benefit of obtaining a large sample size and a potentially more representative sample, but it restricted participants' answers. Du Toit's surveys asked questions including "Is South Africa more democratic than it was ten years ago?" and "Is it more liberal?" (du Toit & Kotzé, 2011). While the answers to these questions are useful, they assume that participants have the same definitions of democracy and liberal.

Afrobarometer's citizen questionnaires follow a similar trend by asking mostly yes/no questions such as "Would you approve of the following alternatives to democracy…military rule, one-party rule, or one-man rule?" ("Afrobarometer Round 5…", 2011). Afrobarometer is a well-established project which coordinates partner organizations gathering data on the political and socioeconomic situation in thirty-five African countries. Afrobarometer and partners use standardized questionnaires administered on a regular basis, with rounds typically occurring every two years, so that data can be compared across countries and over time (Afrobarometer, 2012). The project has its strengths, as it is able to quantify results and compare them with other countries. However, it suffers from the same shortcomings as du Toit, in that its questions are not exploratory and limit participant responses.

The Freedom House fills in some of these gaps in methodology by conducting focus groups among young voters in South Africa over four provinces, espousing a more open-ended interview style (Booysen, 2015). This study was especially useful because it provided insight into ways to make interviews more in-depth and exploratory. For example, asking youth to compare their lives with those of previous generations yielded rich narrative responses, and was used in formulating questions 4 AND 5 in the interview questionnaire.

Chulanee Thianthai's paper "Perceptions of Democracy among Thai Adolescents" utilizes free-listing and open-ended interviews, and acquires a more holistic view of his subjects' ideas about democracy and good governance. In particular, his analysis using concept mapping to connect common democratic and abstract concepts with tangible object was used by the researcher to synthesize the data she gathered. Additionally, his study demonstrates how methodology may be different when sampling a "young generation in a non-Western country like Thailand" or South Africa (Thianthai, 2012).

Race and Democracy in South Africa

Literature analyzing the unique application of democracy in South Africa focuses heavily on race and culture, providing theoretical frameworks to analyze the data gathered. James Gibson and Amanda Gouws' book *Overcoming Intolerance in South Africa* investigates the degree to which the political culture of South Africa and the beliefs, values, and attitudes of ordinary people affect democratic reform. Gibson and Gouws utilize grounded theories of political psychology to analyze changes in politicians and civil society and explore how political tolerance and racial tolerance have changed (Gibson & Gouws, 2005). They also utilize surveys to inquire about public changes in tolerance, but their social experiments provide a unique insight into South Africans' daily experiences with tolerance.

Jace Pillay's paper "Has democracy led to the demise of racism in South Africa? A search for the answer in Gauteng schools" interrogates the belief that transition to popular democratic representation would end racism within the country. The research, qualitative in nature, was based on interviews and questionnaires with school principals and educators in four formerly white schools (Pillay, 2014). The researcher utilized Pillay's interview questions to assist in formulating questions that link race and democracy in an easily understandable manner.

Zannie Bock and Sally Hunt's paper, "It's just taking our souls back: apartheid and race in the discourses of young South Africans" seeks to understand how youth at two South African tertiary institutions position themselves in relation to race and the apartheid past. By using focus group and individual interviews, the researchers obtained a complex picture of discourses surrounding race, democracy and apartheid in South Africa (Bock & Hunt, 2014). While the researcher was not able to emulate the use of the combination of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis this paper uses, she used a simplified discourse analysis to synthesize the answers to more open-ended questions from interviews.

The researcher also used literature on race in South Africa to analyze some of the findings presented. Desai and Vahed's book *Chatsworth: The Making of a South African Township* was useful in analyzing the results through the lens of racial, residential segregation in the form of townships. The historical backdrop of the Group Areas Act and theories about the politics behind the creation of space allowed the researcher a better idea of the way residential segregation contributes to social cleavages in modern South Africa (Desai & Vahed, 2013). The researcher synthesized these theories with Jeremy Seekings' paper "Race, class and inequality in the South African city" to understand the implications of racial segregation. Most importantly, Seekings documents the ways that residential segregation was paired with the "systematic regulation of

social interaction" between races (Seekings, 2010). This was utilized heavily in the analysis

section that documents the way racial segregation may have contributed to tensions across races

and different ideas about democracy and governance.

The State of Democracy in South Africa

Neeta Misra-Dexter and Judith February's book "Testing Democracy: Which Way is South

Africa Going?" uses Idasa's Democracy Index as a framework to describe the state of democracy

in South Africa. The Index comprises of a unique barometer of 100 questions that measure

progress in socio-economic delivery and the realization of the political rights of citizens. South

Africa scored 5.8 on a scale of ten. Idasa's Democracy Index rates any score below five as

unacceptable, and any score above eight as being "as close to the democratic ideal as possible".

Beyond being a useful background into the state of current events in the country, the dimensions

used in this analysis (including socioeconomic inequality and mobility, racial segregation and

inclusion, and citizen participation) will be a useful theoretical basis for understanding some of

the factors that affect participant responses.

Methodologies

The researcher was based in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. The primary methodology for this study was structured and unstructured individual interviews. Although these interviews were not long-term immersive experiences, they offered the best opportunity to gain an understanding of perceptions of democracy in a short period of time while minimizing the inconvenience to each participant. The researcher also utilized secondary sources to gain a background understanding, design effective interview questions and gain supplementary information to attempt to explain results.

Sampling Plan

Because the study is specifically interested in youth perceptions of democracy, the researcher limited her sample to South Africans aged approximately 18-25 years old. The researcher sampled from Durban and the townships of Cato Manor and Chatsworth. In Cato Manor, contacts gained during the researcher's 5-week homestay were used to snowball sample a diverse group of young Black residents. In Chatsworth, the researcher used snowball sampling using contacts gained during a four day homestay to interview young community members, police officers and medical workers. The researcher also snowball sampled from contacts gained during her time in Chatsworth to interview white residents around Durban. In total, the researcher sampled fifteen Black participants, ten Indians, and seven White participants.

One limiting factor is the need for relative fluency in English, as the consent forms and interviews were solely in English. Additionally, participants sampled around Durban may be disproportionately more educated than the average resident of the city, as many of the connections between participants were through universities. Participants chosen in Cato Manor

and Chatsworth cannot be assumed to be representative of Zulu-speaking or Indian communities in KwaZulu-Natal. Furthermore, Cato Manor is unique in that it has been hosting American students for years, potentially resulting in answers that may be different from otherwise similar Black townships. Thus, the results gathered will not be generalizable to communities or individuals who were not sampled.

Many of the interviews were carried out in the wake of the xenophobic attacks, riots, and peace marches occurring in Durban at the time. This likely shaped many participants' responses, as it was at the forefront of household discussions and news headlines. As a result, responses may be more racially charged and emotional than participants' opinions at other times.

Data Collection

Because the research question is exploratory and open-ended, interviews were the ideal way to attempt to capture the depth and complexity of the topic of democracy.

The researcher conducted thirty-two formal interviews in the sites mentioned above from March 15th to April 19th. Although the interview was primarily conducted in an open, depth-probing format, a small set of questions were developed to be asked by the interviewer in order to provide a general linear direction for the data collection. The researcher adopted questions from Afrobarometer's Round 5 Questionnaire for South Africa and adjusted them to be simpler and more open-ended, eliminating the options presented in the original survey. The interview questions can be found in Appendix I. The researcher would often ask follow-up questions based on participants' responses, which are not included in the appendix, as they varied greatly across participants. This format was chosen because it would relax the interviewee and facilitate "a broad-scale approach...directed to understanding phenomena in their fullest possible complexity"

(Glense, 2006, p. 105). Furthermore, a more open interview setting would allow for new questions to be developed to follow unexpected leads that may arise in the course of the interviews, which did occur throughout the course of the interviews.

The researcher also used informal conversations before and after the interview, with the permission of the participants. The researcher recorded interviews on her cell phone with the permission of all participants. The researcher did not include participants' quotations unless she was confident in the precise and accurate recording of their words.

All interviews were conducted in person. Many took place in participants' homes, as this was the most convenient location for them. In Chatsworth and Durban, interviews were conducted in relatively public locations, often in cafes or outside the Chatsworth Youth Center. Some interviews were group interviews, usually with two people (and often with family members). Participants were presented with the questions simultaneously but answered separately. Participants in group interviews often disagreed. Because the topic of inquiry did not include sensitive information, the learner believes that interview settings had limited impact on data collection in terms of participant honesty and sincerity. Some participants did not want the government to be able to identify them, but in such cases participants remained anonymous.

The questions were written, read, and presented in English. Unfortunately, this qualification limited participants to those citizens fluent in English. Some participants asked for additional explanation of questions or answers, which the learner gave. In particular, the researcher often found the need to restate "a citizen's most important responsibility" as "your most important responsibility or job".

Participants received the learner's email address to contact her in case they wish to withdraw their data or receive a copy of the completed study.

Secondary Sources

The learner supplemented data gathered from interviews with information from secondary sources. The learner read books and articles recommended by academic advisors and participants, as well as literature obtained from the researcher's university databases and Google search engine results.

Data Analysis

The researcher used the results of interviews and observations to conduct both quantitative and qualitative analyses. When dealing with the question of how democracy is perceived, the interviews were coded to look for trends in themes. This is an analytical technique that has been espoused by numerous other studies looking into perceptions of democracy, including Afrobarometer's polls and Thianthai's similar study in Thailand.

The researcher created 20 categories after conducting all of the interviews and searched every transcribed interview for key words that matched each category. For example, to create Table 1, the interviewer collected every quote from the interviews that contained the words "freedom", "freedom of movement", "freedom of press", etc. Each interview was only counted once per category. However, one interview could be (and often was) included in multiple categories. The researcher then counted the frequency each phrase occurred in all of the interviews. The researcher did include variations of the same category in the tally. For example, "freedom to hang out with whoever you want" was included in the "freedom of association category". The researcher made every effort to maintain the original intent of responses when categorizing them.

During the first round of coding interviews, the researcher compiled a list of additional useful categories that occurred frequently. She then went through the transcriptions again to compile quotes and frequencies of additional key words that are incorporated into the tables presented in the findings.

For the more narrative-driven questions, such as how democracy plays out in everyday life, the researcher searched for common and contrasting thematic areas that emerge from the stories she hears in interviews and from participant input at events attended. Similar to the Critical Discourse Analysis used by Bock and Hunt, the researcher will pay particular attention to racial labels and self-identification of race in descriptions of democracy and participants' experiences with it. The themes gathered will then be crystallized with secondary sources to begin to uncover some of the differences and similarities across lines of race.

Characteristics of Participants

Participants were asked to identify their age, race, and neighborhood of residency. The age profile of participants is displayed in Figure 1 below. Due to ethical considerations, people under the age of 18 were not allowed to participate.
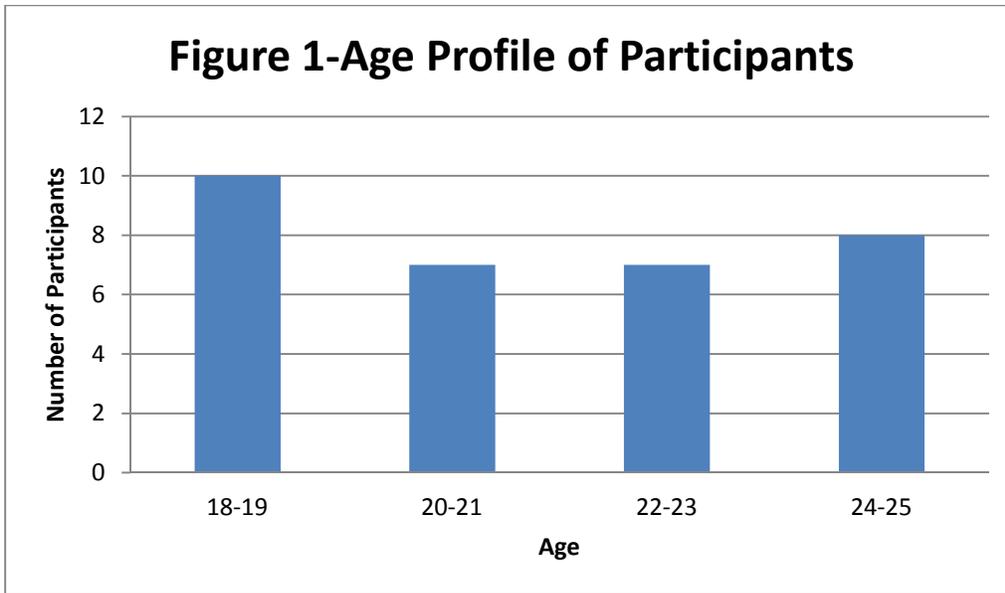
Figure 1- Age Profile of Participants
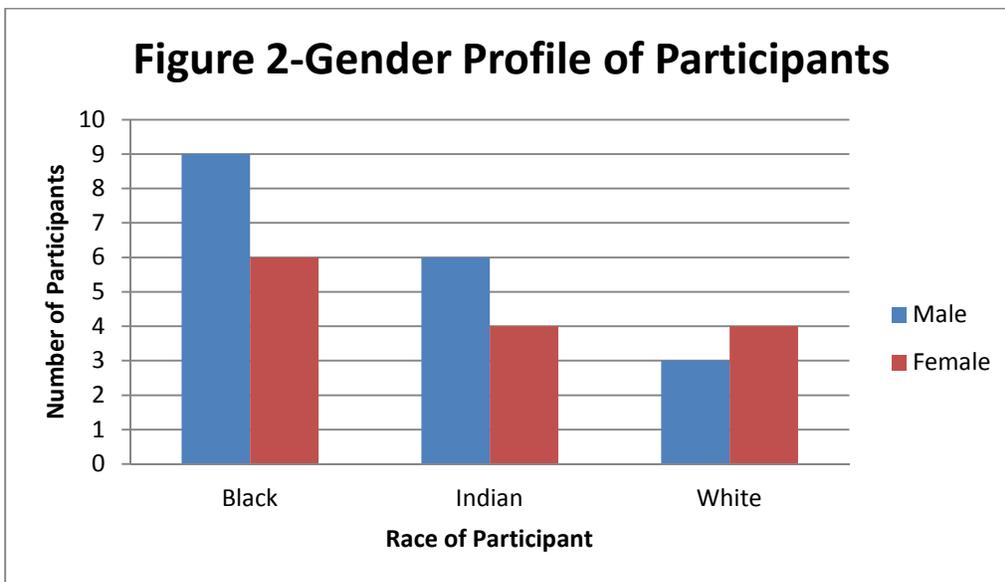
Figure 2- Gender Profile of Participants

Ethics

The researcher complied with the SIT Study Abroad Statement of Ethics, SIT Human Subjects Policy, and the program's additional Human Subject Research Guidelines. The Academic Director for the SIT South Africa: Community Health and Social Policy Program, Zed McGladdery, reviewed this independent study project for ethical concerns, and found it to conform to all relevant and necessary ethical standards (see Appendix II: ISP Ethics Review). Participants were also asked to review and sign or verbally acknowledge a consent form (see Appendix III: Example Consent Form).

The open and depth-probing conversational interview format presented ethical advantages in regards to power relations between the interviewer, and the interviewee. Because the interview was less structured and more conversational, the interviewee was more likely to be comfortable and less likely to be vulnerable to the unbalanced power relationship that often favors the interviewer. The interviewer-interviewee relationship, over the course of conversation, placed the interviewer and the interviewee on a more equal footing, and also allow the interviewer to take a more "learner" role as well (Glense, 2006: 94). This held the advantage of deterring any potential misrepresentation of the interviewee that may involuntarily develop. As the interviewer, the researcher repeatedly emphasized the openness and casual format of the conversational interview in order to maintain this equal power relationship.

No names of participants are included in this study, as many interviewees were public sector employees or tied with news media outlets, and consequently were hesitant to express criticisms of the government unless they were anonymous. Race, gender and age are revealed for the purpose of the study, but do not jeopardize the anonymity promised by the researcher:

participants are numbered as Anonymous 1-32 and their demographic characteristics are described thereafter.

Race Politics

Due to the nature of the research question, participants were formally asked to identify their race, age, and community of residence at the beginning of the interview. With the historical context of South Africa and the contentious issues of pan-Africanism and nationalism at play in the wake of the xenophobic attacks, the question of race identification became quite complicated. Many participants listed multiple races, such as Black, Zulu, African, and South African. For the sake of comparing racial categories, the researcher grouped anybody who identified as Black, Zulu or African into the same category. However, it is worth noting that nine participants asked that all of their identifiers were recorded.

In many interviews, participants expressed views about people of various nationalities or races that were not necessarily shared by the researcher. In these cases, the researcher did not express any personal views contrary to the views being shared by the participant, nor did she treat participants differently based on their responses. All interviews were transcribed exactly as heard, and data from every interview was included in the findings presented in this paper.

Findings

The meaning of democracy (Questions 1-3)

When asked the first question of the interview, "as a [White/Indian/Black] South African, what does the word 'democracy' mean to you?" thirty-one out of thirty-two of participants responded first with the word 'freedom'. The thirty second participant later brought up maintaining freedom as the most important responsibility of a democratic government. However, the types of freedoms that participants prioritized varied greatly across race. Below, Table 1 shows that Black participants were more likely to bring up freedom of movement than any other racial group, with Indians closely behind. Many participants (ten Black and four Indian) expressed that this freedom had not been fully achieved, due to geographic inequalities related to race.

> "We still have parts of apartheid, but it's not in a way that you see. Now, there are certain places you go and whatever race you are, you're accepted. But there are other places that just have that tendency…they just *are* white places or they are black places. It's not like before democracy where you're told "if you're black you cannot go there". Now everybody has that freedom, but that freedom is not really given to everyone. There's a bar in Hillcrest, usually when you go there and you're black, they'll give you that attitude like 'what're you doing here?' If you come with more white people, they start looking at you differently. They start talking about you to them like 'what're you doing with a black person, a koeffer?' So we don't go to those places; we can't."- Anonymous 2, Black, Female, 20

Most Indian participants (8 out of 10) brought up racialized expectations of democracy almost immediately when the question was posed, referring to the xenophobic attacks that had occurred in Chatsworth Unit 3 a few days earlier. The same participants expressed frustration with "our Blacks", Black South Africans, as impediments to peaceful or successful democracy in the country.

> "For me, democracy really just means the end of apartheid. Or trying to end apartheid. So now we have freedom to go where we want, to say what we want, to get the jobs we want, that sort of thing. But our blacks, they keep adding more things to the list. They think it means the government has to give them everything. They attack our hard-working foreigners and say they

deserve all the jobs. They loot shops and say they have a right to food, money, new shoes- you tell me. That's not democracy; that's anarchy." Anonymous 3, Indian, Male, 22

White South Africans were the most likely to express dissatisfaction with their safety under democracy. One police officer working in Chatsworth expressed frustration with Black citizens because he saw them as a threat to public safety- and consequently, his personal safety.

"Politically, I really don't see much of a change. I mean, we have the usual 'democratic' stuff- we have freedom of speech, the right to vote, we have freedom of expression. Now we're giving it to everyone of all races; that's the main thing. But with that comes the government's job- to give everyone their rights, like the right to safety, the right to vote. We're good at the rights on paper- sure, we can say what we want. Not so good at the hard ones. Where's my safety when I'm on duty and a group of Blacks riot? It's madness; it's dangerous for me and everyone around me."- Anonymous 4, White, Male, 25

When asked what participants thought their government's most important responsibility was, the responses again varied greatly across race. Overwhelmingly, Black participants expressed the provision of basic services including jobs, food, housing and healthcare as the most important responsibilities. Indian participants agreed in some respects, with half listing healthcare and education as responsibility, but only two to three listing jobs, housing and food. Seven Indian participants expressed frustration with Black citizens, who were perceived to place a higher importance on government service provision than other racial groups.

Table 1: Question 1 – As a [Black/Indian/White] South African, what does democracy mean to you?

Aspect of democracy mentioned	Frequency-Black	Frequency-Indian	Frequency-White
Freedom-General	14	10	7
Freedom of Movement	13	6	2
Freedom-speech, press	7	7	6
Freedom of association*	12	3	2
Rights	10	4	4
Right to vote	1	4	4
Rights to services (see table 2)	9	1	1

Table 2: Question 2 – What is a democratic government's most important responsibility?

Service mentioned	Frequency-Black	Frequency-Indian	Frequency-White
Housing	12	3	2
Food	13	2	0
Health care	10	5	4
Jobs	15	3	2
Safety	4	9	6

In informal conversations after interviews, many participants asked the researcher about the preliminary results of the study. When White participants were told that the majority of Black respondents mentioned freedom of movement, an additional three agreed that it was a freedom that characterized democracy in South Africa. The other two participants had no response to the information.

> "It didn't come to mind immediately, but yeah. Definitely freedom of movement. [Laughter].Wow, it really didn't even cross my mind. I mean, obviously I know the history of it- the restrictions on where Blacks and Coloreds go. But I guess when I think of democracy, my personal experiences come to mind first. And I have very little experience with restrictions on movement."-Anonymous 5, White, Female, 19

Democracy in everyday life

Almost all of the participants (30 out of 32) did not immediately have an answer to the question "how does democracy relate to your everyday life?" However, the researcher would return to the question at the end of the interview and find that many participants had remembered a story or experience to share. While general themes emerged across racial groups, the answers to this question varied the most, and the researcher found many responses that contradicted each other.

Black participants were the most likely to state that democracy had no impact on their lives initially. After coming back to the question, many reiterated the fact that they did not have a

significant experience or memory of democracy. However, five participants did have vivid

memories that stuck out to them as proof of democracy's existence in South Africa.

> "One significant memory that I felt like democracy is real was when my grandmother, she had 3 kids- my 2 uncles and my mother… And I remember when I was a kid, right after apartheid ended, just like 4 or 5 years after it ended, my uncle was shot by the police in front of my grandmother. He was unarmed there. They were looking for someone else and they shot him. And my grandmother got this pro bono lawyer, and for more than 10 years the case was in court- it went to the Supreme Court for 10 years- and then she was vindicated. She was compensated by the government. But that's when I felt that we're living in a democracy, because in the old days he would have been shot, so my grandmother tells me, and nothing would have happened. And it wouldn't have mattered. So that court case, I would say that's when I started believing in democracy."-Anonymous 6, Black, Male, 24

White participants were the most likely to have a memory of democracy; all seven had

stories to share of their experiences with South Africa's transition. Similar to Black participants,

the stories varied greatly, with three participants listing positive memories and four listing

negative experiences. Many participants spoke about personally experiencing economic

disempowerment as a result of democracy and affirmative action.

> "Take me, for example. I've been in the same position for six years and haven't gotten a promotion while the blacks around me are always moving up. Don't get me wrong, I'm not a racist- I have plenty of black friends- but it's not fair how they're running democracy here."- Anonymous 7, White, Male, 25

In general, Indian participants had similar responses to White participants. Indians were

fairly split between positive experiences with democracy, with four listing positive experiences,

three listing negative experiences, and three stating that they did not have a particular memory of

democracy. Of the positive experiences, responses referred to racial integration and increased

economic opportunities. Negative responses referenced affirmative action and crime.

> "Sometimes, I'll take my 5-year old nephew to the park in Melville and watch him play with the other kids. I'm still struck by the diversity of it- one minute he's on the swings with a Black kid, and another, he's pulling a White girl's hair and chasing her around the playground. I mean, granted they're kids and there's this naïve idea of equality as a part of their mentality, but just all of them and their families live in the same neighborhood and play at the same park- it's

striking…it's democratic. I mean, we had democracy in my childhood, but I don't think we reached this level of integration until pretty recently." -Anonymous 8, Indian, Female, 23

Success of Democracy

When participants were asked how democracy directly affected their lives, most people expressed both positive and negative effects. A small minority of each racial group stated that democracy has had no effect on South African society or on everyday life. Most participants (9 Black, 9 Indian and 6 White) stated that overall, democracy has had a negative effect on their everyday lives.

"If you look at our schools now, and you take an Indian and a Black person with the same marks, the Black kid will get in every time. It's nearly impossible for Indian students to study to become doctors and get the better jobs, because they're all saved for Blacks. It's the same for Whites, but that makes sense- we are being punished for whatever role we had during apartheid. But that's not really fair either, because I was six when apartheid ended. I was no more responsible than a baby, and now I'm paying for my parent's generation's mistakes with stagnation. I'm stuck in the same position and can't get into university and am still seen as the bad guy. People like you, they come here and hear about apartheid and all the white people are the bad guys now. Really, we've lost so much under democracy."- Anonymous 9, White, Female, 23

"When you're driving from Cato Manor to the Pavillion, suddenly the world changes. Cato Manor, it's like this third world or second world country. And then when you drive through the Pavillion, you start seeing buildings and fancy neighborhoods, you know, so it's definitely mixed. On one hand, we can go there- go to the Pavillion, shop with Whites, Indians, Coloreds, whatever. But on the other, we still live in Cato and most of us won't be able to leave. I don't really see race, but so many older people- people in my parent's generation- do. And it's holding us back, I think."- Anonymous 10, Black, Female, 22

"The Rainbow Nation is dead. If we had democracy, I would be able to find a job; I wouldn't be driving this minibus every day. I think I was born in an era that claims freedom but where opportunities have disappeared. All of our jobs are taken by foreigners, and here I am, still driving this minibus. Democracy? I don't have time to think about these nice ideas that lose us jobs. Fuck democracy." –Anonymous 11, Black, Male, 24

Democracy's effect	Frequency-Black	Frequency-Indian	Frequency-White
Positive	9	4	3
Education	6	0	0
Racial Integration	1	3	3
Economic Opportunities	5	1	0
No effect	6	1	1
Negative	9	9	6
Crime	1	4	4
Worse Services	0	2	1
Corruption	9	9	6

Table 3- Question 4: How do you see democracy directly affect your life?
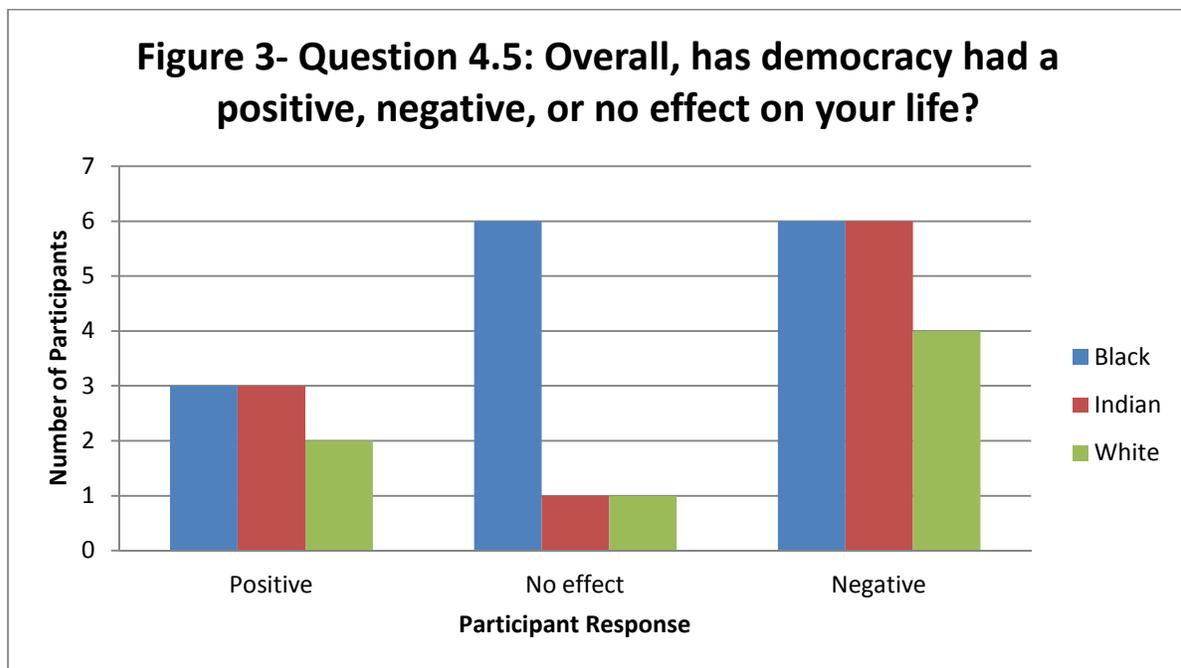
Figure 3- Question 4.5: Overall, has democracy had a positive, negative, or no effect on your life?

The Future of Democracy

For many participants, responses to questions about the future of South African democracy converged. The majority of Black, Indian and White participants stated that in the future, race should play a smaller role in South African governance. This often included references to affirmative action: to the Black Economic Empowerment act, and to racial quotas

required of employers and of universities. The justification was similar across races: at some

point, the "playing field" must be equalized between Blacks, Indians and Whites. While many

participants (and the majority of Black participants) agreed with the need for affirmative action

now, they also believed that within the next 20 years, the historical inequities bred from

apartheid should have been redressed, and that the government should start treating all citizens

equally.

> "We need to forget about race. They should simply pick the right person for the job, because now, they are putting people in jobs they can't do. The police are hiring women for jobs they are not strong or fast enough to do well; when men could do them better. And that doesn't just hurt the men, you know? It hurts everybody who loses out on police protection and can't feel safe in their own communities. I am a woman, but I think it is unfair that they are hiring women for jobs they can't do. It should only be based on merit, see? That's democracy. That is equality."-Anonymous 12, White, Female, 19

> "I think for me it'll be more racial integration, and I hope that because of things like black economic empowerment or affirmative action, in 20 years that all would have been phased out. So everybody has equal opportunity, regardless of race or where they come from. I hope that 20 years from now, that we have a country that has made so much progress that we don't even need to have those kinds of policies that address certain races. We just need a policy that addresses all South Africans regardless of race."-Anonymous 13, Black, Male, 23

Still, responses from Black, Indian and White participants diverged beyond calls for a

race-blind democracy. A majority of Black and Indian participants called for reduced poverty,

while only one White participant mentioned any economic change. Between Black and Indian

participants, the justification for poverty reduction also differed. While Black respondents felt

that democracy had not yet adequately provided them with sufficient economic opportunities,

Indians tended to focus more on crime and safety. Most Indian participants called for poverty

reduction so that crime would decrease.

> "By far, the most important thing that has to be changed is poverty. If you just look around Durban, you see so many Blacks living in shacks, struggling to feed their families, and going to awful schools. And when they don't have peace, nobody does. Crime will always be high as long as poverty like that exists. We'll never be safe in our homes until people have a decent standard of living."-Anonymous 14, Indian, Male, 20

"Isn't it obvious? Ideally, all of the things holding us back- the unemployment, the poverty- they would all be gone. Most important is the unemployment. There is no other option- we have so many young people with nothing to do because they can't get jobs; they drink all day and drink their money away. They have kids they can't afford to feed and get poorer. Ideally, we would have no unemployment for young people in South Africa. Then maybe we can think about democracy."- Anonymous 15, Black, Male, 23

Ideal Democracy	Frequency-Black	Frequency-Indian	Frequency-White
Race-blind democracy	14	9	7
Reduced poverty	9	6	1
Reduced corruption	9	7	5
Improved service provision	13	2	0
Economic opportunity (more jobs)	12	2	1
Less crime	2	9	5

Table 4-Question 7: Ideally, what would South African democracy look like in 20 years?

Where understandings of democracy come from

To better understand why differences in perceptions of democracy arise, the researcher added the question "Where does your understanding of democracy come from" to her last twenty interviews, then retroactively contacted the first twelve interviews to gather their responses. Interviews were then coded to discern where in participants' social networks most of their political discourse occurred. While most participants listed their immediate family (coded as anyone who lived in their home at the time) as their primary source of political opinions, participants of all races stated that their community also played a role[2].

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[2] Participants' responses were coded into non-mutually exclusive categories. "Immediate family" consisted of anyone who the participant stated lived in their current household (as the family structure in the sampled communities was not exclusive to a traditional nuclear family and often included grandparents). "Extended family" was coded if family members not in participants' households were listed. "Neighbors, family friends" was coded if the participant specific people or families relative to their place of residence. "Community at large" was only coded if the participant listed their neighborhood, for example, "Cato Manor" in their response.
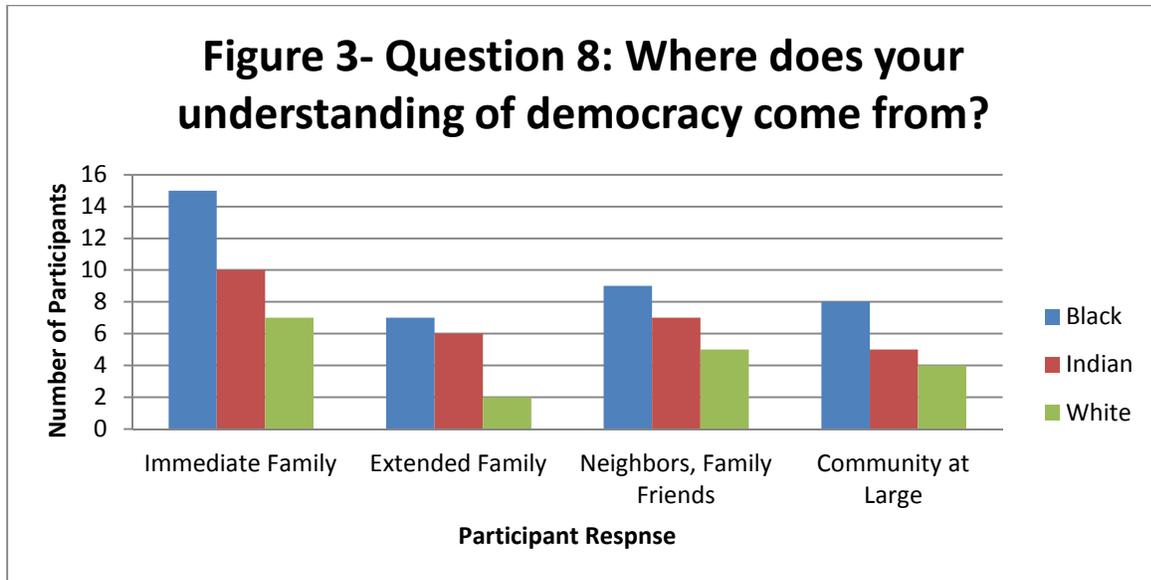
Figure 3- Question 8: Where does your understanding of democracy come from?

Analysis

Youth engagement with democracy

One trend that emerged from the interviews, across racial groups, was disillusionment and disengagement with democracy among some participants. Figure 3 demonstrates that the majority of respondents stated that democracy has had a negative or no effect on their lives. This trend was true for Black, Indian and White participants. Furthermore, 8 participants stated that democracy does not affect their daily life, speaking to the separation articulated between respondents and their government. While these results cannot be generalized to all South Africans, they can be explained, in part, by South Africa's low youth engagement in their national elections.

Rapid population growth in South Africa has transformed the age distribution of eligible voters in recent elections. As young voters enter the electorate in bigger proportions, turnout levels are expected to fall. Among South Africans between the ages of 18-19, only 33% of eligible voters were registered. Furthermore, only 59% of eligible voters from 18-29 were registered- much lower than the overall percentage of voting age population registered, 77.7% (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2014).

Figure 4-Percentage voter turnout in the 1994 to 2014 elections
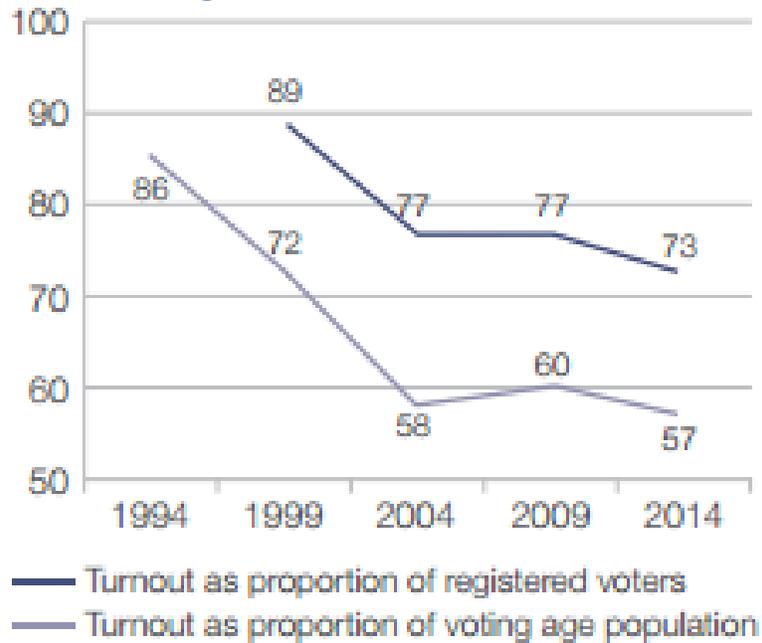
Source: (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2014)

Figure 5-Voting age population and registered voters in millions
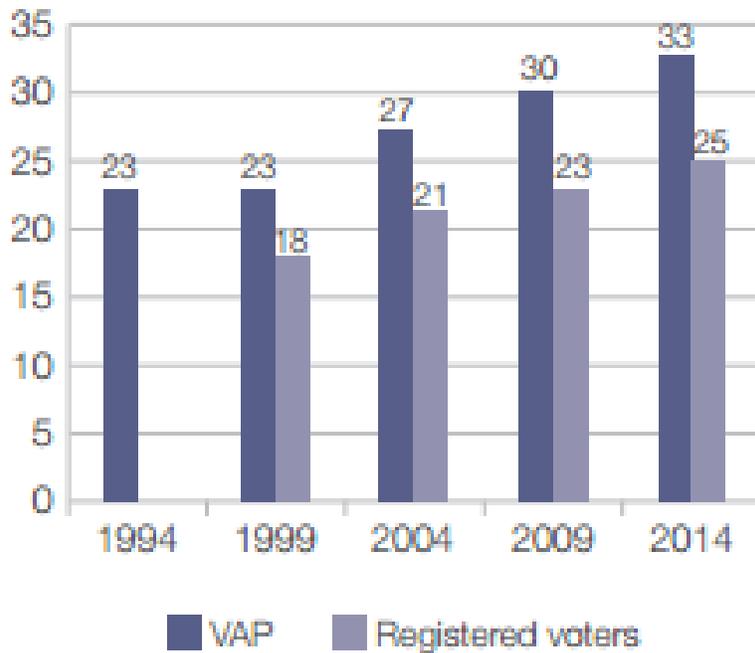
Source: (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2014)

On the other hand, South African youth are known for their active engagement with politics through protests and occasionally violence. The youth are far less likely to vote in national elections, though they are not less likely to get involved in other campaign activities, such as attending rallies or working for political parties (Booysen, 2015). This trend became evident among some respondents, who expressed frustration with the seemingly ineffective voting process and believed that protests or riots were the only way to be heard.

> "South Africans hold contradictory beliefs about young people and politics. On one hand, driven largely by a romanticized memory of Soweto and the street battles of the 1980s, many people see the youth as the primary catalyst of activism and political change. On the other hand, driven by continuing media depictions of youth unemployment, township protests and the antics of the ANC Youth League, a wide range of commentators routinely experience "moral panics" about the apparent "crisis" of the youth and their corrosive effect on the country's political culture" (Mattes & Richmond, 2014, p. 3).

> "…So I don't vote. What's the point? It will never make a difference. People in power will always ignore us, and voting won't change that. If you want to make the government hear you, you have to stand outside their doors, scream in their faces, and disrupt their peace. You have to get their attention."-Anonymous 1, Black, Male, 19

Although this study did not sample participants of different age groups, it is important to note that many of the themes that emerged, including xenophobia, racial tensions and expectations of democracy are not necessarily unique to voters between 18-25 years old. Mattes, et al finds that in a longitudinal survey of 2,000 South Africans, "there are no, or relatively minor, age profiles to most dimensions of South African political culture" (Mattes &Richmond, 2014, p.3). When surveyed about South Africans' roles as citizens, cognitive engagement with politics, voting and campaigning, and partisanship, no significant differences were found across age groups in most dimensions. Mattes, et al concludes that "Rather than re-drawing the country's main cleavages along lines of age and generation (as in post-war Germany), many of the key fault lines of apartheid (such as race, urban-rural residence, class and poverty) have been replicated within the new generation" (Mattes & Richmond, 2014, p.35)

Geographic divisions and perceptions of democracy

In part, the geographic isolation created by apartheid separated the experiences people had, and consequently, their ideas about how the country is now. The researcher sampled participants from relatively racially segregated communities, creating fairly homogenous responses within racial groups. Figure 3 shows that many participants stated that they discussed their ideas about democracy, government and politics in their homes and within their communities. Consequently, the racial construction of townships and neighborhoods has lent itself to discourse that remains within racial groups.

The separation of race is not merely geographic; it can create schisms within society that may explain the racial tensions that became evident during many interviews. "Space and place are thus not just physical locations but contested terrains where 'politics, class, power and identity interact'…place [is] a site of social encounter and social division…" (Desai & Vahed, 2013, p. 7). Many participants also mentioned a lack of racial integration in their neighborhoods and social lives. As a result, many narratives that arose dehumanized people of other races, referring to Black citizens as "kaffir"[3], or simply "those Blacks" (Anonymous 9, White, Female, 23 & Anonymous 19, White, Male, 24).

South African townships are unique communities in that they are still affected by the historical forces that formed them. Because "… each place is the focus of a distinct mixture of wider and more local social relations…this very mixture together in one place may produce effects which would not happen otherwise…all these relations interact with and take 'a further element of specificity from the accumulated history of place' (Cresswell 2004, p.70). In the

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[3] The word "kaffir" was formerly a neutral term for South African Black residents, but is now considered an offensive ethnic slur and its use has been actionable in South African courts since at least 1976 under the offense of *crimen injuria*: "the unlawful, intentional and serious violation of the dignity of another" (Bronstein, 2005).

creation of such spaces under apartheid, "differences are exacerbated and deepened" (Desai & Vahed, 2013, p. 5). In the context of this study, differences between races may have been reproduced by the communities participants came from. As a result, responses that varied across racial groups may have been amplified by the residential segregation created by townships.

One important difference that arose was the different freedoms and rights that were prioritized by different races. Table 1 demonstrates that in general, groups who were not denied certain freedoms (for example, whites who were not denied freedom of movement under apartheid) did not often refer to those freedoms when describing democracy. However, many Black participants did mention freedom of movement as an essential part of democracy, and went on to say that it had not been entirely fulfilled. In a longitudinal study by the Freedom House, the results showed that, "apartheid and its constraints on freedom of movement, belief and human dignity for most are now painful memories, but no longer the events of today. Rights to more tangible goods however – shelter, education, health care – are more often seen as partially fulfilled needs" (Booysen, 2015). The difference between these two findings may be a result of slightly different interview questions. Booysen's questions were not explicitly racialized and asked questions such as "What does democracy in South Africa mean?", while the researcher in this study asked questions directly related to participants' race (see Appendix I). Thus, this study may have drawn out what participants see as racial divides in society rather than general ideas about democracy.

Yet while South Africans exhibit some of the lowest levels of conventional political participation in Africa, they also display some of the highest levels of political protest (Mattes, 2008; Glenn and Mattes,2012). And while South Africans personally identify with the new South Africa, they are not necessarily willing to accept others as part of that community, with the same

rights and freedoms. South Africans display high levels of intolerance of political difference

(Gibson & Gouws, 2005). They also exhibit the highest levels of xenophobia measured

anywhere in the world (Mattes, 2011).

> Whatever the reasons, the persistence of racial segregation in most parts of the city has important social and perhaps political consequences. Many urban South Africans remain extraordinarily ignorant about their fellow-citizens…Urban politics remain highly racialized" (Seekings, 2010).

> "I think those people who have these bad ideas about Indians, Coloreds, Whites- I think they just haven't had the exposure you need to normalize those people. Like me, I go to school 10 minutes from home- my classroom is 95% Black. I come home to hang out with my Black friends in Cato and my Black family. I ride a minibus into town with Black residents in Cato and hang out with my same Black friends and neighbors. I *live* Black- how would I ever understand anyone else?"- Anonymous 16, Black, Female, 19

Economic conditions

Among the participants sampled, another important trend was the association of

democracy with economic outcomes, such as unemployment and poverty. This is especially

important given the differences across race among respondents: White and Indian participants

mentioned economic outcomes far less than Black participants. In fact, many Indian and White

participants mentioned tensions with Black South Africans because they expected more

economic services from the government than Indian and White citizens.

The association of democracy with economic outcomes in South Africa is well

documented, and many large-scale studies have shown that South Africans prioritize economic

development and security over ideals of democracy.

> "When it comes to the political regime, however, South Africans pay minimal lip service to the idea of democracy (at least when compared to citizens of other sub-Saharan countries). Significant minorities are willing to countenance one party rule or strong man dictatorship, especially if these regimes could promise economic development. And, because they tend to equate democracy with equalizing economic outcomes, they may simply believe, erringly, that those regimes are consistent with democracy" (Mattes and Bratton, 2007).

The economic inequality between Black, Indian and White South Africans may serve to explain some of the differences when applying these findings to different racial groups. South Africa experienced substantial growth over the last decade, increasing the wealth of one-fifth of all black South Africans and moving one-in-ten into the middle class. However, enduring unemployment and poverty have meant that the children of the bottom two-fifths of South African households now grow up under worse material conditions than their parents. (Leibbrandt & Levinsohn, 2011).

In 2014, the youth unemployment rate among Black South Africans was estimated to be 39.4% in 2014, compared with 15.7% for Indians and 9.6% for White South Africans. Furthermore, from 1994 to 2014, the unemployment rate for Black South Africans who have a tertiary education has more than doubled from 7% to 17%. In contrast, the unemployment rate for the same demographic of Indian/Asian South Africans increased from 6% to 7% in the same time span. The unemployment rate for white South Africans with a tertiary education has remained at about 4% since 1994[4] (Employment, Unemployment, Skills and Economic Growth, 2014).

These economic inequalities closely align with the differences across race that appeared in this study's findings. Many Black participants mentioned unemployment as a reason that democracy was failing in South Africa, and emphasized that South Africa would need lower unemployment levels to be a successful democracy. Youth unemployment is often indicative of low social mobility, explaining some of the frustration expressed by many Black participants

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[4] The measurement of unemployment statistics is highly contentious in South Africa. The researcher utilized the official unemployment estimates produced by Statistics South Africa. Officially, StatsSA reports the strict unemployment rate, which only counts people taking active steps to seek employment as unemployed. This is likely an underestimate of the true unemployment in the country, but regardless, gives a picture of the severity of the economic inequalities

with their economic situation. "Because the risks and penalties of youth unemployment appear to be greatest among those who already have low economic prospects, a struggling labor market for young adults can exacerbate opportunity gaps (Sawhill & Karpilow, 2014)."

> "They ignore it, and they ignore us. When I went to university, I was sure this was the way out-the way out of a life where I struggle to find a few Rand for bread every week. Yet here I am, back in Cato and still with no job. And nobody is *doing* anything."-Anonymous 17, Black, Male, 24

The economic inequality across race in South Africa can also explain the differences in expectations of service provision among participants. The poverty rate for Black South Africans is estimated to be 11-38 times that of White South Africans[5]. Furthermore, about 57 percent of Black South African households fall below the poverty line, compared with 9 percent of Asians/Indians and only 1.5 percent of whites[6] (Poverty Trends in South Africa, 2014).

These large inequalities provide context for the reasons that Black participants listed government service provision such as housing, food and health care much more than White or Indian South Africans. Whereas Indian and White participants were more likely to have their basic needs fulfilled, Black participants were more likely to be experiencing poverty themselves or witnessing their family experience it. Thus, government services were prioritized more among those sampled than people who were statistically less likely to be in poverty.

Corruption

Overwhelmingly, corruption was listed as a failure of South African democracy. Many participants narrated Jacob Zuma's expensive houses, multiple wives and laundered public funds as affronts to democracy and to the public welfare. Whether the allegations of the president's

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[5] This range was calculated using the official upper-bound and lower-bound poverty lines, which in 2011, were 443 620 respectively Rand per capita per month, adjusted for inflation.
[6] This estimate was calculated by StatsSA using the lower-bound poverty line.

corruption are true or not, the idea of rampant corruption colored many participants' perceptions

of democracy. Corruption was also one of the few aspects of South African democracy that a

majority of every racial group listed as something to address in the future.

> "They're all thieves- the ANC, the DA, the EFF- they all get into power with lies and use government money to help themselves. How can we call ourselves a democracy when all of our country's money is lining our politicians' pockets?-Anonymous 18, Indian, Female, 23

> "I wouldn't trust someone in the ANC if my life depended on it. I think corruption is the biggest obstacle to progress for South Africa, and at the root of corruption, is the ANC."- Anonymous 19, White, Male, 24

> [Gestures around living room and kitchen]. "Look around you. Look at my home. It's the size of Jacob Zuma's closet. Democracy? We're living in a Zumocracy."-Anonymous 20, Black, Male, 18

Public figures, by nature, represent the government to so many citizens. Thus, public

allegations against politicians shape the way citizens perceive with their government. The

Freedom House study draws on the example of Thabo Mbeki as evidence that scandals in the

public sphere undermine the legitimacy of the government and its institutions to its citizens.

> "Perceptions of democracy are undermined by allegations and actions against public figures in intelligence, police, correctional services and the judiciary. The recent removal of Thabo Mbeki as president and the implications made by Judge Nicholson that party politics impact on the independence of these people and institutions, further compromises the legitimacy of public institution" (Booysen, 2015).

While many participants listed various forms of corruption in the national and local

governments, the common thread was clear: Black, White and Indian respondents felt a sense of

injustice with current politicians that shaped the way they experienced democracy. To many

participants, democracy cannot exist while corruption does.

The future of democracy

One aspect of democracy that the majority of participants agreed on was the need for a

post-racial South Africa. The researcher was surprised by the similar rhetoric used by many

participants across racial groups. It is important to note that the phrase "race-blind democracy" was used almost equally by Black, White and Indian participants. The idea of a race-less democracy has also been articulated by the ANC, which states that its key objective is "the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society" (Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa, 1989). The use of this language by the dominant political party in the country may explain the similar responses across racial communities.

Still, differences across race persisted in other aspects of democracy for the future. With Black and Indian participants placing more emphasis on poverty reduction and White participants prioritizing safety, there was little overlap in responses across race. The only change that was agreed upon by all three groups was the need for reduced corruption in the future. Some participants recognized that these differences existed, and went on to state that differing goals would inhibit democratic progress in South Africa.

> "We don't have one shared vision on where we need to go…there's quite a distance. Because we don't really understand each other, nobody wants to take responsibility for South Africa going forward. We just all focus on the past. Where white South Africans say apartheid was not that bad, black South Africans say this is my country. So we're all like on opposite directions. As much as we can talk about integration or mixed race groups, we are so far apart ideologically that 20 years seems impossible- it's probably going to take like 100 years to achieve racial integration."-Anonymous 21, White, Male, 24

The direction of South African democracy will, to some extent, be shaped by its youth and their ideas about governance, race and citizenship. Thus, it is heartening to see that many participants recognized the racial divide that exists between South Africans and were willing to work to change it.

> "It's ridiculous- I mean, we're all South Africans. More than that, we're all Africans. I don't see race as anything more than a color- and neither should our government. I think we'll get there soon. The more we cross these spaces, between Black and White or South African and foreigner, the closer we get. I think my generation will be able to do it soon- I think we can succeed where our parents failed."- Anonymous 22, Black, Female, 20

Conclusions

Given the small scale of this study and unrepresentative nature of the samples collected, statements about perceptions of democracy across South Africa cannot be conclusively made based on the findings presented in this paper. However, among the participants sampled, there exists a clear divide in ideas about what democracy means and its success along racial lines. Many responses also indicate that differences in expectations of democracy contribute to racial tensions, especially between Indian and Black participants.

However, there is cause for optimism for the future of South African democracy. Many participants had rich stories to share about significant impacts democracy has had on their everyday lives. The narratives in this paper document stories of the racial integration, economic opportunity and justice that democracy has afforded previously marginalized people. They also demonstrate the shared goal of a non-racial democracy. Every participant had different stories, and there was ample variation within and between racial groups, challenging the notion of democracy as a "universal value". Still, democracy is a value espoused by many South Africans, and to continue its improvement, the voices of all races and ages must be heard.

Recommendations for future study

This study gives only a brief overview of perceptions of democracy across lines of race among young voters. The short amount of time, access to communities of different races, small sample size, and small geographic radius were all limitations to gathering a comprehensive picture of race relations and perceptions of democracy in South Africa. Given the exploratory nature of this study, more questions were raised than conclusive answers were found. Thus, the researcher has outlined recommendations for future study that these findings have prompted.

- **Multinational comparative study on understandings of democracy**– One trend the learner observed was the lack of consensus with regard to meaning of democracy. The learner, an American, was also surprised by the responses chosen as essential characteristics of democracy that where popular in South Africa. It would be interesting and perhaps provide insight on the future of South African democracy to see how popular understandings of democracy compare in more longstanding democracies.

- **Sampling from different townships**: the researcher did not have sufficient access to a colored community, but including a traditionally colored township in the study would provide a more comprehensive picture of race relations in South Africa, especially given that many participants directly spoke about their perceptions of Colored people.

- **Comparisons across townships**: A few participants mentioned that their experiences may not be the same as people of the same race from different townships. As one resident of Cato Manor stated, "every township is different and has its own story to tell. This is just one of them." It would be useful to gather data from multiple Black, Indian and Colored townships to compare across and within racial groups.

- **Break down across different demographics**: Due to time constraints and a small sample size, the researcher was not able to compare results across fault lines in South African society other than race, such as gender and age. It would be interesting to see whether the "Born free" generation has similar answers to the generation of their parents, and whether male and female South Africans have similar answers.

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Anonymous 12, personal communication, April 16, 2015.

Anonymous 13, personal communication, April 10, 2015.

Anonymous 14, personal communication, April 15, 2015.

Anonymous 15, personal communication, April 10, 2015.

Anonymous 16, personal communication, April 10, 2015.

Anonymous 17, personal communication, April 10, 2015.

Anonymous 18, personal communication, April 15, 2015.

Anonymous 19, personal communication, April 16, 2015.

Anonymous 20, personal communication, April 10, 2015.

Anonymous 21, personal communication, April 16, 2015.

Anonymous 22, personal communication, April 10, 2015.

Appendix 1: Interview Questions

1. As a [Black/White/Indian] South African, what does the word 'democracy' mean to you?

2. What is a democratic government's most important responsibility?

3. What is a citizen's most important responsibility in a democratic country?

4. How do you see democracy directly affecting your life?

   4.5 Overall, would you say democracy has had a positive, negative, or no effect on your life?

5. Do you have a significant memory or experience with democracy?

6. How successful has the transition to democracy been in South Africa?

7. Ideally, what would democracy in South Africa look like in 20 years?

8. Where does your understanding/ideas about democracy come from? (Who, if anyone, do you discuss your ideas about the government or democracy with?)

Appendix II: Example Consent Form

SIT Study Abroad
a program of World Learning

CONSENT FORM

1. **Brief description of the purpose of this study**

   The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of how South Africa's young adults interact with democracy, and how their perceptions of democracy vary across race. Because age and race are often fault lines in South African society, this study seeks to understand how they affect citizens' relationships with their government. In particular, ideas about what democracy is, how it relates to everyday life, and how it would ideally look in the future, will be studied.

2. **Rights Notice**

   In an endeavor to uphold the ethical standards of all SIT ISP proposals, this study has been reviewed and approved by a Local Review Board or SIT Institutional Review Board. If at any time, you feel that you are at risk or exposed to unreasonable harm, you may terminate and stop the interview. Please take some time to carefully read the statements provided below.

   a. *Privacy* - all information you present in this interview may be recorded and safeguarded. If you do not want the information recorded, you need to let the interviewer know.

   b. *Anonymity* - all names in this study will be kept anonymous unless you choose otherwise.

   c. *Confidentiality* - all names will remain completely confidential and fully protected by the interviewer. By signing below, you give the interviewer full responsibility to uphold this contract and its contents. The interviewer will also sign a copy of this contract and give it to you.

I understand that I will receive **no gift** or direct benefit for participating in the study.

I confirm that the learner has given me the address of the nearest School for International Training Study Abroad Office should I wish to go there for information. (404 Cowey Park, Cowey Rd, Durban).

I know that if I have any questions or complaints about this study that I can contact anonymously, if I wish, the Director/s of the SIT South Africa Community Health Program (Zed McGladdery 0846834982).

I can read English.

_____   _____

Participant's name printed   Your signature and date

Svati Pazhyanur

Svati Pazhyanur_____

Appendix III: IRB Action Form

IRB Action Form

Circle Action Level:

AD / **Local RB** / Full SIT IRB

Cover Sheet for Review of Research with Human Subjects
World Learning, Brattleboro, VT 05301

ACTION TAKEN: Form below for AD/LRB/IRB use only

Name of Student _Svati Pazhyanur_

Title of ISP Proposed Research _"The Universal Value": Youth Perceptions_

Study Abroad Program: SFH Durban Community Health and Social Policy _of Democracy across race_

Name of academic director: Zed McGladdery

Names of LRB Members Frances O'Brien PhD, Clive Bruzas PhD

Identifying project number _SP 15/10_

Research exempt from federal regulations. Action taken:

_ approved as submitted _ approved pending revisions

_ requires expedited review _ requires full IRB review _ not approved

Research Expedited Review. Action taken:

(approved as submitted) approved pending revisions

_ requires full IRB review _ not approved

Research requiring Full IRB review. Action taken:

_ approved as submitted _ approved pending submission or revisions _ not approved

_____   _31/3/15_
LRB/IRB Chairperson's Signature   Date

_____   _31st March 2015_
LRB/IRB Member's Signature   Date

Student Name: _____