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# Understanding Civil Rights in a Democratic South Africa: A Case Study of Students at UKZN

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*SIT Study Abroad*

UNDERSTANDING CIVIL RIGHTS IN A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA: A CASE
STUDY OF STUDENTS AT UKZN

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## Abstract

This study examines the extent to which the principles and values of human dignity and non-discrimination laid out in the South African Bill of Rights resonate with South African university students. The objective is to understand how university students value or do not value these constitutional principles and how they see these principles being implemented in South African society. I examine both students' personal views and how they see human rights, human dignity and non-discrimination playing out on campus and their communities. I conducted seven one-on-one semi-structured interviews with university students at the University of Kwazulu-Natal in Durban, South Africa. Findings indicate that the majority of participants were concerned for the state of human rights and human dignity in South Africa and blamed the government and older generations for failing to adequately protect citizens. The study's one conservative participant demonstrated a divide in political opinion and countered the notion of universities as liberal spaces.

**Introduction**

Despite having one of the most progressive constitutions in the world, 25 years after Apartheid South Africa still struggles to connect its progressive values to the people. It is widely acknowledged that there is a disconnect between constitutional values and the lived reality in South Africa (Endoh 2015). After the first democratic elections in 1994 and the official adoption of the constitution in 1996, South Africans of all backgrounds had high hopes for change. However, the majority of people in South Africa are still, in practice, excluded from the Bill of Rights and the beneficial mainstream (Endoh 2015:67). For example, the constitution states that "Everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected" (6). However, discrimination on the basis of race, gender, sexual orientation, nationality, etc. continues to plague South Africa without adequate protections to ensure everyone in the country actually feels safe and protected.

A lot of South Africa's current problems disproportionately impact South African youth, creating grim prospects for the future. While about a third of South Africans are unemployed, it is estimated that roughly half of youths are unemployed. Youths, and those born after 1994 also known as born-frees, never knew the initial hope and excitement that surrounded the first democratic election in 1994. Instead, they have only known hardships in a country that is supposedly democratic and progressive. Democracy has, thus far, not served marginalized young people in South Africa well (Steyn et al. 2010). Desperate economic conditions and a disconnected young population can be a dangerous combination and some in South Africa have pointed to the 2011 Arab Spring uprisings as potential path South Africa might face. Even though young South Africans with a university degree hold a certain level of privilege in society, they are still impacted by the social and economic realities of the nation (Swartz et al. 2017).

While these issues are widely acknowledged, there has not been much change in addressing these problems since the constitution was created. To create real change to these growing problems, it is critical to understand how South Africans (and particularly South African youth) view constitutional values and the values laid out in the Bill of Rights.

The purpose of this research project is to engage with university students and gauge the extent to which the principles and values of human dignity and non-discrimination laid out in the South African Bill of Rights resonate with them. The objective of this study is to understand how university students' value or do not value these constitutional principles and how they see these principles being implemented in South African society. The project emphasizes the need to critically understand how young people in South Africa value the current constitutional democracy and how they perceive it working or not working for them. Through interviews with university students at UKZN, I analyze how university students in the born-free generation understand human rights, both in a theoretical and practical sense in South Africa.

The paper consists of five major sections. Following the introduction, the paper includes a literature review summarizing the existing research on youth political engagement, constitutional disconnect, and respect and infringement of human rights in South Africa. The following section describes the methodology and limitations of the project, followed by a summary of findings presented organized thematically. The final section includes a conclusion and recommendations for further study.

**Literature Review**

*__Youth Political Engagement__*

Current research on youth and politics tends to focus on political participation and voting by young people, rather than directly linking perceptions to constitutional principles and values. Additionally, literature that does address the disconnect between constitutional principles and the actual application of these principles does not look at it from young people's perspectives. Political participation in South Africa can take on many different forms. Voting, attending a demonstration or protest, signing a petition, attending a community meeting and sharing political content on social media are all forms of political participation in South Africa (Potgieter 2018).

South African youth political involvement often revolves around political protests, focusing on issues that specifically impact students, such as the #FeesMustFall campaign. Amoateng (2015) looks at political participation and youth identity, with a specific focus on undergraduate students. Amoateng found that even though political participation was low among born-frees (those born after 1994), political awareness was relatively high. This means that while students do not always directly participate in the political process, they are at least aware of the issues. Davids et al. (2016) used data from the South African Social Attitudes Survey to explore youth's level of interest and understanding of politics. While their sample started at age 16, the majority of their sample is around the age of university students. Davids et al. argues that student protest actions "highlight lack of formal engagements with the state by the youth, including participation in politics" (Davids et al. 2016). Davids' study frames political participation as voting and protests and does not include details about other forms of political participation.

This lack of formal political engagement was reinforced in Oyedem and Mahlatji's 2016 study on voter apathy among born-frees. While Oyedem and Mahlatji also found that youth in

South Africa were often apathetic towards politics, they did note that apathy towards politics among young people is a global phenomenon, and not unique to South Africa. From Davids et al. study, the authors found that only 29% of their 3500 respondents said they were interested in politics. Despite this figure, the authors also stressed that when compared to global trends, South African youth are no more political apathic than youth populations globally. Neither of the works cited whether the disconnect between constitutional principles and actual application of the principles makes a difference in the South African context. This points to political apathy as an issue more closely linked with age than the political nature of South Africa specifically. Additionally, while youth are less politically engaged, older youth are more likely to be politically engaged than younger members of their generation (Amoateng 2015). When discussing political participation, voting and protests were identified as the two main sources of political participation and the works did not analyze other forms of political participation that South African youth may potentially engage with.

### *Failure to Uphold Constitutional Principles*

The South African Constitution, and more specifically the Bill of Rights provides an extensive list of legal protections for human rights even though the majority of people in South Africa are still, in practice, deprived of full enjoyment of the rights contained in the Bill of Rights (Endoh 2015:67). The disconnect between progressive constitutional values and the attitudes of the people of South Africa is a widely recognized phenomenon. However, the research on why citizens attitudes do not match the constitutional principles is limited. Research tends to focus on the existence of the problem rather than why it exists. A study published in 2017 by the Human Sciences Research Council specifically looked at the lived experiences of university students and their barriers to success over a five-year longitudinal study. Despite

constitutional principles touting non-racism and non-sexism among a long list of other supposed protections, Swartz et al. found that Black students continuously felt inferior and unwelcome on university campuses (2017:8). Additionally, the researchers found that Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer/Questioning and Intersex (LGBTQI) students continue to face marginalization and homophobia and that a deep entrenched patriarchy persists on campuses. This study provides an important background to my research as both samples are university students and we both focus on human rights issues such as race, gender, and sexual orientation. Additionally, this study was a longitudinal study that took place over five years which provides additional insight over a longer period of time.

In an attempt to engage the public awareness and perceptions of human rights protections, Mubangizi surveyed 1512 respondents from diverse backgrounds. Mubangizi found that many South Africans did not even know the Bill of Rights existed (2015:62). Mubangizi also found that people are not happy with their level of protection, however this is based off of their experiences and not what technical legal protections they have. With regards to their level of protection, the survey participants were "consistently in agreement on the lack of government delivery regarding access to adequate housing, health care services, sufficient food, sufficient water and education (Mubangizi 2015:80). Mubangizi touches on a multitude of human rights issues in the Bill of Rights in order to give a broad overview rather than centering the whole piece on one human right and violation of that human right. For that reason, his piece provides a strong complement to more focused research on specific human rights issues like gender, race and sexual orientation that are discussed in the following section.

*Gender*

While the South African Constitution states that the Republic of South Africa is founded on the value of non-sexism, sexism and gender discrimination continues. Despite the progressive language of the constitution, women of all demographics in South Africa have continued to face oppression and harassment since the end of Apartheid. One of the major human rights violations surrounding gender is gender-based violence (GBV) and violence against women. This is a widely known and acknowledged issue in South Africa as a whole and in universities, however it continues to persist (Duma 2016). One study at the University of Cape Town, through focus group research with student leaders, found an overall tolerance of rape culture and constant fears for personal safety. Additionally, the research found that male students were unaware of female students' campus safety concerns (Duma 2016).

In an article published in 2018 on youth political engagement and sexual violence, the researchers seek to analyze activism and political engagement through a gendered and youth lens in relation to sexual violence (Mitchell et al. 2018:321). In this research, participants are university students who were originally from rural areas. However, their position as female university students provides a strong comparison for women's positions as students and potential activists and advocates at universities. One theme that emerged was how activism surrounding sexual violence was often not popular and it is often perceived as stepping on the toes of existing structures (Mitchell et al. 2018:330). While women are active in leadership positions and at the forefront of activism, often times the men are the public face, minimizing women's role in the struggle (Mitchell et al. 2018:321). The literature surveyed here spans over ten years, yet the issues and problems remain the same. All the literature points to the need for more solutions that

understand the complicated historical and cultural history needs surrounding GBV to be prioritized to ensure South African university students feel safe.

### *Sexual Orientation*

In article 9 of the Bill of Rights, the constitution states that the state, nor anyone else, may not unfairly discriminate against anyone on the grounds of sexual orientation. Despite this, discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is rampant in South Africa. A 2011 study by the Human Rights Watch interviewed more than 120 LGBTQI people and almost all of the interviewees said they had been verbally abused or harassed at some point (2011:26). Violence against lesbians through "corrective rape" (where a man rapes a lesbian woman in hopes of turning her straight) continues to persist. In some communities, men who rape lesbians are seen as "heroes" and publicly boast of their criminal act (2011:29).

While universities are often considered to be a more welcoming and progressive environment compared to the rest of society, for LGBTQI university students in South Africa, face open discrimination (Nduna and Abaver 2017). Researchers at Walter Sisulu University in the Eastern Cape conducted a study about sexual orientation and perceptions towards LGBTQI students. The research found that students held overwhelmingly negative attitudes. 74.6% of the respondents said they thought same-sex sexual intercourse was "abnormal and unnatural" and often tied this view to their religion (Nduna and Abaver 2017). Apart from religion, culture was also a driving force for not accepting LGBTQI people as 70% of survey participants at Walter Sisulu University said that their culture did not accept same-sex relationships (Nduna and Abaver 2017). The researchers did not elaborate on potential overlap between religion and culture or what religions and what cultures held these views and what the specific thoughts behind them were. In addition to negative views held by the student body at large, LGBTQI

students at universities across South Africa face bullying, ostracizing, and stigmatization by both students and staff (Swartz et al. 2017:77). According to the article, the Eastern Cape, where the Walter Sisulu study came from, is the most conservative province in South Africa. When it comes to attitudes about homosexuality, these same findings might not be true about students across South Africa, however this research provides a critical look into specifically student views.

### *Race and Intersectionality*

Probably the biggest historical and current issues in South Africa is race and race-relations (Swartz et al. 2017). Like gender and sexuality, race and race-based discrimination are illegal in the constitution, and one of the founding values of the constitution is non-racialism. Following Apartheid, there was a hope that higher education could play an important role in the political, economic and cultural reconstruction of South Africa (Reddy 2004:35). However, racism and racial bias at South African universities continues to persist among both students and staff (Swartz et al. 2017:49).

At the end of Apartheid and the beginning of democracy between 1993 and 1995, white student numbers dropped from 55% to 35% while black students increased from 32% to 53%. Despite the shift in demographics, access to education remained considerably easier for white students (Reddy 2004:36). Even with a more diverse student body all studying and working together, students remained segregated at universities. From Swartz's five-year longitudinal study of agency and impasses to success amongst higher education, the researchers discovered that Black students felt they could relate to aspects of Coloured and Indian experiences but that they could not identify with Whites in any way. Additionally, there was a perception that all White students were racist (Swartz et al. 2017:54). Despite this, student respondents did not feel

that race affected them as an individual on campus. Even though there may be racial segregation on campus, students did not perceive racial tension. Racial tensions on campus tended not to come from individual racist acts but the impersonal larger racial group (such as Black people as a whole vs. White people as a whole). Racial identity is shaped by the legacies of Apartheid and racial and socioeconomic history. For Black students, this means they often identified themselves as being poor compared to Indians, Coloureds and Whites, further alienating racial groups from each other along socio-economic lines in addition to racial lines (Swartz et al. 2017:51).

This conflation of race with other identities such as class, which, while often correlated especially in a society like South Africa, is not the same. It is important to understand how identity categories, such as race, gender and class interact and relate to one another. In the words of Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw who coined the term intersectionality; "race, gender, and other identity categories are most often treated in mainstream liberal discourse as vestiges of bias or domination-that is, as intrinsically negative frameworks in which social power works to exclude or marginalize those who are different" (Crenshaw 1994:1). Crenshaw stresses the need to account for multiple grounds of identity. Additionally, identity politics frequently conflates or ignores intra group differences (Crenshaw 1994:1). While race relations continue to shape the lives of South Africans, because of the historical legacies of Apartheid and the diverse cultural landscape of the country, race is deeply intertwined with many other identities, however South African literature and discourse does not always directly acknowledge this.

Race, sex, and sexual orientation are only some of the constitutional failings from the Bill of Rights. While race continues to be the most prominent concern, disregard for equality and human dignity surrounding sex, sexual orientation, ethnic and social origin and many other identities continues to persist. All of the existing literature points to ongoing problems that the

progressive Constitution has been unable to solve 25 years into democracy. There is a clear discontent and frustration from all levels of society. Younger generations and born-frees, grew up entirely under a democratic government, but still struggle to access jobs and are generally apathetic to voting and politics. Students have grown especially discontent as seen through student protest and activism surrounding student rights. Clearly, the current system is not working and promised constitutional rights have not materialized. Based on the existing literature surveyed here, this project seeks to engage how students personally view principles in the Bill of Rights and if they see these principles being upheld on campus.

## Role of the Constitutional Court

Despite noted constitutional failings, the constitution has not entirely failed its citizens. The Constitutional Court has worked to uphold the Constitution through the cases that came up through the court. While there have been many Constitutional Court (and lower court) cases that have furthered citizens' rights, *Government of the Republic of South Africa v Grootboom, Minister of Health v Treatment Action Campaign* and *Minister of Home Affairs v Fourie* are three landmark cases that directly contributed to creating real, meaningful changes in people's lives.

### *Government of the Republic of South Africa v Grootboom (2000)*

In *Government of the Republic of South Africa v Grootboom,* the respondents had been illegally living in an informal settlement but were forcibly evicted when their shacks were bulldozed (9). The respondents, based on their constitutional right to housing, asked the government to provide them with shelter. The decision was unanimous and decided that local authorities must provide access to housing, health-care, sufficient food and water, and social security. In the decision, Justice Yacoob acknowledged the importance of housing and people's

right to housing. "This case grapples with the realisation of these aspirations for it concerns the state's constitutional obligations in relation to housing: a constitutional issue of fundamental importance to the development of South Africa's new constitutional order" (2). While this case did not magically correct the issue, it reaffirmed the constitution and helped pave a way for many South Africans to receive shelter and water.

### *Minister of Health v Treatment Action Campaign (2002)*

Two years after *Grootboom,* another landmark decision, *Minister of Health v Treatment Action Campaign* was decided. This decision came at a time where HIV/AIDS was described as "an incomprehensible calamity" and "the most important challenge facing South Africa since the birth of our new democracy" (2). While the anti-retroviral drug Nevirapine could help prevent mother-to-child transmission, the government was only going to introduce it at certain pilot sites. The Court held that this was unconstitutional to deny some access to a potentially lifesaving drug and the decision declared that under sections 27(1) and (2) the government must create a comprehensive program to" realise progressively the rights of pregnant women and their newborn children to have access to health services to combat mother-to-child transmission of HIV" (78). This decision played a critical role in helping to slow the epidemic by reducing mother-to-child transmission and therefore preventing new infections. This case also highlights the intersection of activism and the courts. While the actual decision came from the Constitutional Court, it would not have gotten there without the Treatment Action Campaign. This emphasizes the importance of activism in South Africa and indicates how the system and activists can work together to create change.

### *Minister of Home Affairs v Fourie (2005)*

Prior to the Fourie case, same-sex couples were not able to legally marry in South Africa because of the common-law definition of marriage that described marriage as a union between a man and a woman (3). The decision held that the common-law definition of marriage contradicted section 9 of the Constitution that prohibits discrimination of the basis of sexual orientation. *Fourie* had a direct impact on people's lives. For the first time in South Africa, same-sex couples were able to legally marry. *Fourie* emphasizes the impact of the Constitution to overturn common-law and historical practices if they conflict with the Constitution. Here, equality and non-discrimination overpowered hateful rhetoric and set a precedent for the country. While these decisions by no means universally fixed the problems at hand, these cases highlight a hope for South Africa, a hope for change and a hope for the system. Transformation is slow and cannot happen overnight and despite the discontent, frustration and failings highlighted in the literature, the Constitutional Court cases presented here provide a counter narrative of change.

## Methodology

This study relied on qualitative data gathered through semi-structured, one-on-one interviews with seven students at the University of Kwazulu-Natal in Durban, South Africa. I chose to conduct one-on-one interviews because I believed they were the best way to get a deep understanding on the topic in a short time span. All interviews were semi-structured. While I had a set of questions and topics to discuss, each interview was unique and had a slightly different focus based on participants views, experiences and interests.

I initially connected with three students at UKZN through Janine Hicks, one of my advisors who teaches at UKZN and works with our program. From there, I relied on snowball sampling where the initial participants connected me with other students to interview.

Of the seven students I interviewed, five were male and two were female. They ranged in age from 19 to 24. There were two White participants, three Black participants, one Indian/Coloured participant and one self-identified Persian Arab participant. Six of the students are pursuing a bachelor's degree and one is pursuing a master's degree. Of the seven, five are pursing law (four as bachelor's and one as a master's). Interviews were mainly conducted on Howard Campus and a few were conducted at coffee shops around Durban. The interviews centered on non-discrimination and human dignity principles in the Bill of Rights with a specific focus on gender, race, homophobia, xenophobia, homelessness and sex work. All of the participants were given a pseudonym for the project in order to protect their identity.

In addition to the interviews, six out of the seven participants filled out a mini-survey where they were given phrases from the Preamble of the South African Constitution and asked to what extent they agreed with the statement on a scale of strongly disagree to strongly agree. The survey data was analyzed and used to complement the interview narratives.

*Limitations of the study*

This study faced a number of limitations. The project was conducted in a five-week timeframe, which limited the quality and depth of my research. In this time, I was only able to interview seven students, which makes it impossible to generalize my findings to the larger student body or South African university students as a whole. With a longer timeframe, I would have more time to interview a larger number of students as well as do more background research to inform my questions. The students I had access to through connections from SIT were largely liberal, social justice-oriented students. While I was able to locate one conservative leaning student, my sample definitely represents a skewed sample of the student body at UKZN and not one that accurately reflects the diversity of opinions on campus. I also only met with my interviewees once (for their interview), so I was unable to form meaningful relationships with them, which may have impacted the amount of information participants were willing to share with me as some of the topics centered around personal issues.

Originally, I had hoped to supplement one-on-one interviews with survey data, however I was unable to clearance from the research board at UKZN within my time frame. Without supplemental survey data and a limited interview sample, my study lacks generalizability. While most of the interviewees filled out a mini-survey to complement the interview, one of the participants failed to fill out the survey. The participant that did not fill out the survey was the most conservative student out of all of my interviews so if his survey responses were included it would have likely changed the results.

Additionally, I have only been living and studying in South Africa for a few months. While I have learned a great deal in this time, I lack a nuanced cultural understanding of South African society and South African problems. While I researched and worked to understand the

context of my research, it is impossible to fully understand the intricacies of South African

society in such a short time span. My knowledge has come from Western academia, and while I

strived to be objective and understand the context of my research here in South Africa, my

upbringing, education, and positionality as a white, female researcher may have influenced how I

conducted my research and analyzed my results.

**Findings and Analysis**

*Support for Human Rights and Human Dignity*

Overall, almost all of the participants expressed strong support for protection of human

dignity and the advancement of human rights and freedoms as seen from the survey graphs.

**"I believe in the protection of human dignity."**
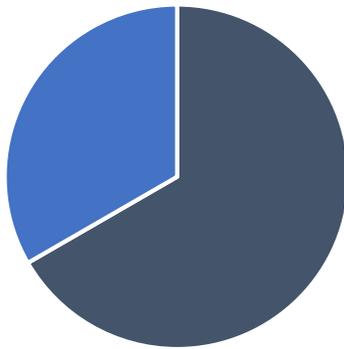
**"I believe in the advancement of human rights and freedoms."**
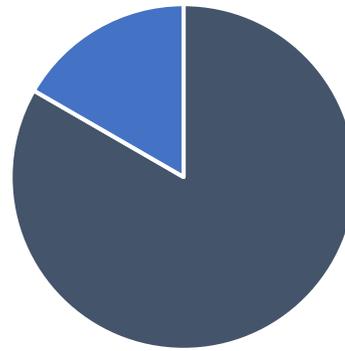
■ Strongly Agree   ■ Agree          ■ Strongly Agree   ■ Agree

In general, participants highlighted the need to protect certain disadvantaged groups through

legal protections and verbal and physical actions. While not every participant agreed on what

degree certain groups should be protected or what sorts of protections they should be provided,

the majority shared a concern and support that the protection of human rights and human dignity

was not being met for a number of disadvantaged groups.

*Rights of Foreign Nationals*

Multiple participants expressed concern for the safety of foreign nationals living in South

Africa in light of a series of xenophobic violence. Alex opposed foreign nationals running tuck

shops in townships solely because "it might be disruptive if there was a person of a different

racial group in a township operating the business considering xenophobic people can be." Martin

echoed concern for foreign nationals living in townships and brought up multiple instances of

xenophobic violence against people from other African countries he had heard of, all of which

were in townships. Participants expressed particular concern for foreign nationals in townships,

which they saw as the source of a lot of the xenophobic violence because it was a site where

South Africans felt more threatened and in competition with foreigners.

Based on this rhetoric, participants advocated for fair and equal treatment of foreign

nationals in line with the human rights South African citizens should have. Aaron expressed

concern that putting restrictions on foreign nationals solely because they were a foreign national

would be unfair and would "create a subclass of people who have a lesser degree of humanity

than the rest of us or less opportunity to develop themselves." Aaron continued that when foreign

nationals are treated with a lesser degree of humanity, that is when they are vulnerable and used

as scapegoats and political ammunition.

*Rights of Sex Workers*

Most of the participants strongly advocated for the rights of sex workers and the

decriminalization of sex work as a way to provide protection and advocate for a class of

currently vulnerable people. Olivia supports decriminalizing sex work because decriminalization

has the potential to "remove a lot of the stigma, which is what puts sex workers in danger in the

first place." Aaron echoed this sentiment and supports legislation because "the second we don't

extend a legislative protection to an entire class of people, you're rendering the entire class of

people and everything they do as a byproduct as something which can be preyed upon,

something that can be exploited." Aaron continued and went on to say:

> *"Whilst I believe sex work isn't ideal as a profession of work, for people and particularly*
> *for a large number of young women who are brought into or coerced into that line of*

*work, I believe through legislation and through actual protections that are put in place for it, we can have people who are better protected when carrying out these kinds of services. So, you can have a prostitute, for example, that can bring a claim for abuse by an employer. You can have a prostitute who's not afraid to access the courts, who's not afraid to go to the police because they are not going to be turned away or instantly laughed at or ridiculed for their trade being illegal, but rather taken seriously and have their humanity recognized."*

While Brian expressed concern for the exploitation of sex workers, he does not support decriminalization because "I don't think it's going to stop the exploitation that is sex work essentially." In his view, the hope that legalizing it will prevent abuse is "just a bit naïve, you know. I don't think you're going to be able to get a grasp on it that much." Derek echoed the need for regulation in conjunction with potential decriminalization, but overall supported decriminalizing sex work and was more optimistic about potential regulations.

*"I think that if you were to decriminalize sex work, I think the government has to create some regulatory like a regulatory body or mechanism to regulate that industry because it's not the situation where like someone's like, yes, I want to be a sex worker. It's all fun. But I think it's often a very exploitative industry. Often people who are in it are often abused and manipulated and the many majority of the women who enter into the industry do it out of economic coercion, you know, it's a choice, but like it's a choice that is coerced because you have no other options. I think decriminalizes has to come with some sort of regulation around it to ensure that people's, they have rights as a worker would, you know, like your benefits leave and whatnot."*

Of all of the participants that supported the decriminalization of sex work, every single person cited legislative protection as the reason. Since the majority of the participants study law and politics, it is unsurprising that they would take a legal approach to the issue.

*Rights of the Homeless*

The majority of the participants expressed strong support for the rights of homeless populations. Felicia stressed that people should only be moved if "you've got somewhere better to put them." Aaron emphasized that if the government were to move populations, it is critical to do so in a way that does not violate their rights.

> *"So, whilst ideally, I'd like to say the government can't move people, people can stand around, I realized the government and authorities by virtue of their authority are probably going to move people anyways. So I'd like to see that when people are moved, they moved in a manner that's consistent with our constitutional values, specifically human dignity and equality, and fair treatment and that people are given access to resources that kind of act as a compensation for the very hostile act of moving someone, which I believe in is an assault on personal liberty as well."*

Olivia went further and expressed concern that moving homeless people directly contradicted constitutional values. "Everybody's human rights, dignity, the right to dignity and the right to a place to feel safe would be infringed on. So, if you believe in the constitution, you shouldn't be allowing that."

However, not all participants expressed support for the rights of the homeless. Martin believes the safety of surrounding areas also needs to be prioritized and it is okay to move homeless people for safety precautions. He cited instances where homeless people were around schools in Durban and it posed a risk to students. Alex possessed an even more negative outlook to homeless populations. "Homeless people are loitering by nature" he said. Alex supported moving homeless populations with one exception. "If a woman is giving birth, sure she should not be moved at that moment." While Alex views on homeless populations contradicted principles of human dignity, he was an outlier of the participants and the other participants did not share his rhetoric.

### *Government's Failure to Protect and Provide for its Citizens*

In multiple instances, participants portrayed the government as lazy or ineffective at dealing with societal problems. Over half of the participants specifically identified the government's inability to deal with the homeless population in a manner that upheld their human dignity and respect as one of the largest government failings.

Derek identified current government intervention regarding homeless populations where people are forcibly removed as laziness on the government's part.

> *"So, the idea of trying to move people forcibly and relocate them because you perceived them to be a problem, I think that government is lazy number one. Instead of dealing with the underlying problems of poverty and homelessness."*

Other participants reiterated how moving homeless populations was not an effective government strategy. Olivia expressed hope that the government could "provide a shelter for them or places to go that's in the neighborhood" as an alternative to kicking them out of a community. Regarding the removal of homeless populations in advance of large events in Durban, Felicia also cited government laziness.

> *"They [the government or company] want to build something. Obviously, you thought about this for four years, so four years you're trying to tell me you couldn't find land, couldn't build a proper infrastructure for these people."*

Derek also blamed the government for South Africa's economic problems and high unemployment as "the government not creating opportunities."

> *"I think the problem is just when those businesses are unregulated and that more has to do, from my perspective. with governments falling asleep at the wheel and not regulating business where they have to regulate business."*

Aside from perceived government laziness, Martin associated government failure with the current system and the inability to implement what he called one of the best constitutions in the world. "It's the implementation of the constitution and its rights, which is an issue rather than the rights themselves." When asked when what needed to change to implement the constitution, Martin identified the system. "It's the system. 100% the system [needs to change]." Throughout all of the interviews, there were almost no instances where a participant credited the national government with effective governing, representing a deep discontent and frustration for the current system.

*Economic Frustrations and Foreign Nationals*

While participants connected government failure to almost all areas of the interview, participants connected economic frustrations to foreign nationals in particularly. Both Derek and Aaron did not personally believe foreign nationals were worsening the economic situation but articulated a commonly held view that foreign nationals were taking away resources from South Africans.

> Derek: *"I think if we didn't have such a big problem with inequality and unemployment and poverty and that frustration that people have, they wouldn't view economic opportunities as some sort of pie, you know, where there aren't enough pieces of the pie for all of us. So, if these foreign nationals take all of it, there's not going to be enough for us type of thing. Yeah. So I think it's that."*

> Aaron: *"The idea that's put forward by largely conservative thinkers is that there's just a finite amount of resources and if we have more people than they're taking resources that belong to you. It reduces the idea of economic development as something that's incredibly one dimensional and to something that's used to propel identity politics rather than provide constructive economic policy and such."*

Only one of the participants, Alex, believed that the South African government should restrict foreign nationals to make room for South African citizens. If a job or a place in a school could go to a South African and "Africa was in an economically negative position, then it would be in best interest of the government to secure as many jobs for its own citizens."

None of the participants personally connected themselves to the economic frustrations or expressed a fear that they would not be able to find work after graduation but spoke of the economic frustration as a larger societal worry. This is likely because participants, as people who will enter the workforce with a university degree, are not in direct competition with a lot of the foreign national.  On the opposite end, Derek connected how Black South Africans are less hostile to white, upper class foreign nationals solely because they do not see them as the competition.

*"There are so many European tourists and also European people will come to live in Cape Town and upper-class communities in Durban, but Black South Africans display no hostility towards them. And I think it's partially because they don't perceive themselves to be in competition with them."*

The majority of the narratives presented here were accepting of migrants but acknowledged the economic pressures foreign nationals can put on South African resources. This reflects a sentiment that is not unique to South Africa, but one that fits into a larger narrative globally. Anti-immigrant sentiment is common in any nation that has a large influx of immigrants, and the anti-foreigner rhetoric is especially pronounced amongst populations that feel they are in direct competition with immigrants. As people who will enter the South African work force with a college degree, the participants did not feel they were in direct competition with immigrant groups, which can help explain why the narratives here were more tolerant towards foreigners while still expressing the negative sentiment from what they described as working class communities around Durban.

### *Emphasizing History*

When framing the issues, participants emphasized history and the historical significance of South Africa's current issues in both the survey and the interviews. From the survey, the prompt "I recognize the injustices of South Africa's past" received the highest degree of support, with everyone responding either strongly agree or agree.

**"I recognize the injustices of South
Africa's Past."**



■ Strongly Agree  ■ Agree
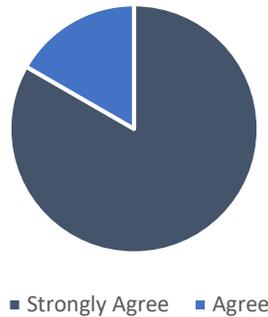
In the interviews, when asked if foreign nationals should be permitted to run stores in townships, participant Aaron backed up his support for foreign national by citing their historical contributions to the South African cause.

*"Just in terms of the context of the apartheid struggle and the pivotal role that neighboring African states played in supporting South African freedom fighters and South African peace-based movements and the movement of South African people. It's important for us to remember that a lot of our success is due to the support of our fellow Africans. So, so I think in principle we can't turn our back on them."*

Along similar lines, another participant, Felicia, connected the struggle for gender equality and women's rights to the historical gender imbalance.

*"Because we come from a world that was very male dominated. I don't know. We just come from an era that was very male dominated. So now that it's come up for women, men think they need to assert their sternness, which they really don't. I think it's just mainly that it's from an era that we've come from, but obviously we're slowly transitioning into a new, which is the most important part."*

Derek also cited history to justify arguing against the government's ability to move homeless people and regulate their movement.

*"Because of this country's history of the Apartheid government regulating Black movement in order to better control black labor and black dissent, I think it's particularly just morally gross for you to try and regulate the whereabouts of people because you think there's some sort of problem."*

Participants also brought in history when discussing discrimination based on sexual orientation. When explaining why South Africa is still highly homophobic despite legalization of same-sex marriage and constitutional acceptance, Derek noted that "the country was very conservative for a long time and that conservatism really hasn't gone away." All of these highlight their belief in the importance of understanding history in order to contextualize the problems of today.

### *Citing a Generational Divide*

Across a number of social issues including race and sexuality, participants frequently cited a generational divide between their generation and previous generations. In terms of race, participants expressed a general level of tolerance among their peers, but a greater degree of discomfort towards people outside of their race (specifically White people towards Black people) among older South Africans.

> Brian*: "Maybe I do know a few people who might be like, Ooh, I'm not too sure. But once again, that's like older generations and older generations who never tried to get involved in the new South Africa."*

> Derek: *"You hear a lot of like older White people complaining about Black people moving into the neighborhood. So, it definitely does exist. People do have those weird preferences."*

Both of these quotes portray older generations as the ones harboring racial animosity and indirectly shift the blame for ongoing racial tensions onto older generations.

In terms of LGBTQI rights, participants largely labeled their generation as more tolerant and accepting than older generations. In Derek's words, "I think younger people too are more willing to adapt and change when the ideas are confronted and whatnot." Another participant, Martin, attributed younger generations tolerance to growing up in a society where same-sex marriage was legal and LGBTQI rights were recognized, however noting that it had caused a disconnect between generations.

*"I think there's a little bit of isolations with people. It's usually between the older generation and the younger generation, but you still have to cross that divide. But we were quite lucky, I think. We legalized gay marriage a quite long time ago."*

In contrast, when asked if she thought her generation was more tolerant towards LGBTQI

people, Olivia did not seem to think her generation had made as much progress as like to think.

*"Um, there is this kind of idea that younger people are more tolerant. But in South Africa I think that it's pretty much stayed the same. Like people pretty much have the same sort of attitudes of like 20 years ago. It's interesting. I think it's just because of the general attitude in the world and maybe like in Western countries has changed and even like some Eastern countries, but in Africa and I guess South Africa in general, we're just not that much more tolerant as the rest of the world has started to become."*

Even in her comment, Olivia acknowledged that there is at least a perception that younger

generations are more tolerant than their parents and grandparents. There is a general sentiment

that the born-free generation is more open and accepting, regardless of whether or not that is true

in reality. A study across South African universities found that Black students continuously felt

inferior and unwelcome on university campuses, highlighting how younger generations may not

be as tolerant and accepting as a group as they believe (Swartz et al. 2017:8).

### The Role of Environment and Upbringing

When citing reasons for their own tolerance, participants frequently referred to growing

up in a diverse community which allowed them to normalize forming diverse connections early

on. Felicia believed that "you just see past skin" growing up in a mixed-race environment, such

as the one she was raised in. For Aaron, he stressed the importance of maintaining a diverse

friend group in his life.

Aaron: *"So, I think having a diverse friend group is something that's incredibly important to the developments of someone as a person. It's one of the reasons why I think school and college are seen as development points in people's lives. It's not just because you're getting an education by learning from books, but part of the education is meeting other people that you would've never met previously. So, to me it's pivotal that people meet each other, it's pivotal people spend time with each other because that's the way you dispel bigotry. That's the way you overcome prejudice and things like that."*

Besides attributing their own outlook to being exposed to diverse environments, participants expressed empathy and understanding for how growing up in a homogenous environment can hinder acceptance of different identities and groups.

> Martin: *"I think it all depends upon the person and the way that they grew up because I think if they did not go to school that's a little more diverse, I don't like the word, but with lots of different types of people in it they are more accepting to go into that."*

> Felicia*: "Environment is always everything again, because had I grown up in the 'a ah they're coming to get our jobs' environment, you can't expect a child that lives in an environment where they not allowed to go to school to become a doctor."*

Both of these quotes reinforce how surrounding yourself with different people and ideas helps people to be more accepting as they grow up. Particularly with Felicia's quote, it recognizes how easily stereotypes and hatred can cycle through generations when children are raised with the same closed mindset that their parents were raised with. Additionally, Felicia also noted how "it's easy to transition if you're in that environment versus now I need to learn how to be in that environment and how to cope in that environment." In her view, it is easier to learn something right the first time rather than try and re-learn something and re-adapt into a new environment.

### *Race as the Prioritized Social Problem*

While participants cited a number of social problems in society, race repeatedly emerged as the biggest and most important problem. In Aaron's words, "race is always something that's a talking point. There are people that are always going to be talking about it and it's always going to be pertinent to the conversation pretty much." There was a common sentiment that the issue of race was not finished with the end of Apartheid, but just becoming more and more prominent. As Brian put it, "I still think as a country we're trying to figure out where we stand on race. I think that's our biggest issue right now."

While race came up again and again as the biggest problem, it often did so at the expense of other social movements and identities.

> Martin: "*It [gender and sexuality] hasn't been too much of an issue at the moment. It wasn't too much of a big issue. It might have been an issue during Apartheid, but I think we've done quite a lot… [Those issues are] dying down. I think there are definitely issues, but most of it has been dying down. Or they have been ignored because there are other things that people have been focusing on…National discourse is about race and how that is a proxy for economic power.*"

> Brian: "*I think our main issues right now in South Africa seems to be racial issues. That seems to be our big focus. And also, I mean, you know, we've, had homosexual marriage since end of Apartheid, so it's sort of like it's a given that hey, this is going to happen guys.*"

Despite this sentiment that issues surrounding gender, sexuality and other social rights have been "solved", there continues to be issues that are now not being addressed because of lack of support. As a member of Amnesty International, Felicia spoke about Amnesty International as "the only ones who actually went through the fights, the LGBQ, the gender-based violence. We were the only ones that pushed it." She continued that eventually they were able to get more support, but not easily. "With BLA (Black Lawyers Association), they came in later on, but there was just one organization pushing it." Everyone in South Africa is impacted by race and the racialized history of the country, so it is natural for race to be an issue that comes to the forefront, but currently it often comes at the expense of other issues.

### *Using Religious Rhetoric to Guide Morals*

While the majority of the participants did not personally identify with this, they identified Christian rhetoric and Christian morals as a commonly heard argument against LGBTQI rights and decriminalizing sex work. Aaron considers this rhetoric as a carryover from the Apartheid era.  "initially there was a lot of backlash in society and particularly within the majority Christian demographic in South Africa regarding homosexuality." Felicia linked how biblical texts are

historically used to back certain agendas. She noted how using biblical texts was "one of the other things that was used during Apartheid" to oppress nonwhites and biblical texts are used today to oppress LGBTQI people when "the bible has nothing to do with what you're doing right now," and Brian noted how this rhetoric continues to be the driving force behind anti-LGBTQI sentiment. "I've never heard anyone come up with like a really good reason besides religious or moral or something of why it shouldn't be okay for, you know, someone who's not heterosexual to play on the rugby team, you know?"

Surrounding the topic of sex work and potentially decriminalizing sex work, morals were cited on both sides of argument. One participant, Alex, vehemently opposed decriminalizing sex work, citing community morals as a valid reason to not decriminalize it.

> *"I believe that it's contrary to the general morals of the community. In law we call that contra bonos mores. It [morals of a community] is a very general thing based on the values of the general South African community as a whole, collectively. I think irrespective of whether they mind or not because I think it's detrimental to society to have that type of conduct commonplace or open, not even just commonplace, but even just in the open."*

While Derek did not share Alex's view, he did say that type of sentiment was common on campus. He identified language used by his peers towards sex workers as "condescending towards someone and their profession because you find indecent or morally repugnant or whatever." For Felicia, she did acknowledge that sex work "might go against principles and values of Christianity and other things," however she did not believe this was a valid reason to not decriminalize it. "I personally believe that if it brings you food, I'm not going to judge you. If you feel that's what you want to do and you're not being forced to do it, then do."

*Instances on Campus*

While participants did cite a greater tolerance to LGBTQI individuals among their generation compared to older generations, this generational tolerance did not extend to religious

groups who oppose LGBTQI rights. Olivia said that religious groups, and mainly Christians, are more comfortable vocalizing hateful sentiment. "Usually more religious people are very confidence in saying that they're very, very, very against it [LGBTQI rights]." In a study at Walter Sisulu in the Eastern Cape, researchers found that 74.6% of the study's respondents said they thought same-sex sexual intercourse was "abnormal and unnatural" and often tied this view to their religion (Nduna and Abaver 2017). This sentiment manifests itself on campus at UKZN as well and both Derek and Aaron spoke about specific instances on campus where LGBTQI students were verbally attacked because of their sexuality on the basis of it defying Christian morals and principles.

> Derek: *"Here was these group of Christians on campus who were verbally harassing queer people and whatnot on campus telling them, you know, Jesus loves you, come back to God, blah, blah, blah, the usual stuff. They were told to stop doing what they doing because it's very illegal"*

> Aaron: *"There was a conglomerate of Christian students in a specific residence who didn't want homosexuals to stay in that residence and the university senate stepped in and the disciplinary committee stepped in and made the proclamation that they can't do that based on sexual orientation."*

Both Derek and Aaron included how there were mechanisms within the university to help protect the students' rights and balance out the impacts of the hateful rhetoric, however they noted that these mechanisms were reactive rather than proactive in dealing with these types of issues.

### Threatened Identities and Fractured Diversity

While all participants were able to speak to all of the issues, when a topic came up that directly affected the participant and one of their identities was in discussion, the participants felt a need to justify, explain and defend themselves more than they did on other topics. Particularly, this came up in the interviews with the two White participants and the two female participants.

Both female participants were very passionate and detailed when discussing gender and women's rights. For Olivia, she brought up how even with her friends, gender is an extremely

emotional topic that she is not always comfortable discussing because of the intense emotion it

provokes.

> *"Okay in my friendship group we're just enjoying debating. Sometimes it does get a bit heated to the point where like, okay, we can't talk about this issue, so we'll not talk about this issue. Like when it comes to feminism. So that's the one issue where my friends know, like, guys, I have very strong views on this. So, we tend to avoid those kinds of things. We are very comfortable talking about gay rights and race and stuff like that. Not that those debates don't get heated, but there are certain issues that are off limits. I think because there's like a deep steak, like more of an emotional stake."*

For Felicia, when she discussed gender, she connected it to herself even when she wasn't

specifically talking about herself. When discussing female lecturers, Felicia noted they were

often more prepared than their male counterparts because "It's part of our thing. And being a

female, you're always well prepared." Additionally, Felicia mentioned how female professors

often need to work harder than their male peers but tied that to her own educational experience

as well and remarked that "I feel like I need to work harder than the average male to be where I

need to be."

The only time that anti-Whiteness came up was during the two interviews with the White

participants. When Martin started to mention anti-Whiteness, he was initially hesitant to bring

the subject up before discussing what he viewed as double standard in terms of how different

races are treated.

> *"Although it is controversial to say, probably one of the issues now is that there is a lot of um, I probably shouldn't say, but there are a lot of attacks, not attacks but criticism of white people in South Africa. We can see there is a little bit of a double standard. You can see that in the way that the Human Rights Commission just recently put down a very, I would say unconstitutional decision, in that they said that depending upon the words that you say, it depends upon what color the person is. So, if a black person was to say a specific thing, not, not on a like a racially racial attack, cause that's historical, but if a white person would say the same thing to a black person with regards to incitement of violence those standards are now being treated differently."*

Brian, the other White participant, was the only other participant to bring up anti-Whiteness. However, Brian also brought up how he continues to see a racist, anti-Black rhetoric persist as well.

> *"Well, there's been a lot of anti-White rhetoric coming up recently. I mean I speak to enough people to know that there's also, that old fashioned kind of mindset of some of these people that's not really helpful. Sort of like both extremes just coming against each other."*

While the White participants felt that their White identity was threatened, another study among South Africans at universities around the country found that there was a perception that all White students were racist (Swartz et al. 2017:54). The sentiment here is that identities are at odds with each other rather than working together.

Some of the male participants acknowledged how women often have to work harder, and some of the straight participants discussed harassment LGBTQI students faced on campus, however there was a slight detachment across all participants when discussing identities that they did not personally have. Despite South Africa's diversity, it is fracturing the country more than uniting it. On the survey, the participants were asked if they believe South Africa is united in its diversity. Of the six respondents, four were neutral, one agreed and one disagreed.

**"I believe South Africa is united in our diversity."**
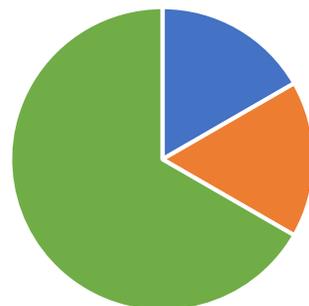


■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ Neutral

Out of all of the survey questions, this one was by far the most divided and that was evident in

how participants spoke in the interviews. This highlights how, despite the idea of the "rainbow

nation" in South Africa, the diversity is, in its current state, more of a hindrance than an asset.

## Conclusion

The study succeeded in understanding how university students make sense of principles of non-discrimination and human dignity laid out in the Bill of Rights of the South African Constitution. While this research by no means speaks to all university students across South Africa, it begins to shed light on the viewpoints and beliefs of a segment of the population that will one day be future leaders in the country. While the literature supports that there is a disconnect between the constitutional values and the lived reality in South Africa, the narratives here present an alternative viewpoint. While participants acknowledged flaws with the implementation of the Bill of Rights, the majority of participants supported the principles of non-discrimination and human dignity outlined in the Constitution.

The narratives presented here demonstrate a frustration towards the effectiveness of the national government. In every category of issues, at least some of the narratives blamed the government for failing to protect citizens. In addition to frustrations with the government, the participants' narratives also placed blame on older generations. In many ways, the narratives presented here did not see themselves as exacerbating problems such as racial tensions and gender discrimination. The narratives here were quick to shift blame away from themselves and onto other groups, such as the government, their parents and even other university students. By separating themselves from injustices and political strife, participants failed to acknowledge their own accountability and role in the larger society.

The contradictions between the six liberal participants and one conservative participant demonstrate that students at universities are far from homogenous in their way of thinking, despite the belief that university spaces are liberal bubbles. This emphasizes that the participant narratives in this study are not representative of the overall views of South African university

students. Alex's interview depicted an entirely contradictory way of thinking from the rest of the participants. The voices and views of conservative-leaning students on university spaces were not well represented here and represent another layer to the understanding of university students views on these issues.

Despite that the majority of participants supported constitutional values, all of the participants highlighted instances where human dignity and non-discrimination were not upheld on campus. This leaves me to wonder whose job is it to uphold the values of the Constitution; is it the people's responsibility or is it the government's? Within the interviews, there were contrasting views about whose job it is to maintain constitutionality on campus and in the country.

Alex: *I think that's more up to the government. That's more up to the federal government. I don't feel that that burden should be on any one particular citizen."*

Olivia: *"I think most of the time, like the only effect you can have like as an individual is affect the people around you."*

Similarly to how participants were quick to blame other groups for societal problems, the narratives suggested that it was not their responsibility, or in their power, to resolve these problems. However, at the end of the day, it is this generation that will need to take charge of South Africa and its problems, regardless of who started it. By separating themselves from South Africa's current issues, the born-free generation is shirking accountability in terms of ownership over the country and its problems. Accountability is necessary to effectively implement the Bill of Rights, and by dismissing their own role, students are simultaneously minimizing their power as citizens and separating themselves from the root cause of the country's issues.

**Recommendations for further study**

This study only begins to delve into the complexity of human rights and discrimination through the eyes of university students. Both university students' views of these issues on university spaces and their views of these issues in general can be worked into future research projects that, given more time, can come to more definitive conclusions than this study was able to speak to. The stark contrast between the six liberal students and one conservative student highlights the need for further study that encompasses a more diverse participant population. This study could also be enhanced with the inclusion of survey data to incorporate a wider selection of voices and provide statistics. This study was only able to analyze the experiences of a small group given the time restraints of the project. The themes and conclusions here can be further explored in a future project with more time and resources. Each of the subsections of this research (gender, race, homophobia, xenophobia, homelessness and sex work) could be expanded on into its own project. While there is research on things like racism and homophobia on campus, there is very limited work on topics like university students' views on sex work or university students' views on xenophobia. While these are topics that do not always directly affect students, as seen in this project, students have strong views on these issues and those views are worth exploring in further research.

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**Appendices**

**Appendix A: Sample informed consent form for participants**



**STATEMENT OF CONSENT**

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

The purpose of this study is to engage with university students and gauge the extent to which the principles and values of the constitution resonate with them. The research objective is to interview university students about their personal views on constitutional values and how they feel those constitutional values are being implemented.

**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.

1. *Anonymity* - all names in this study will be kept anonymous unless the participant chooses otherwise.

1. *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 the participant.

**Participant Signature:**_____**Date:**_____

**Participant Name (printed):** _____ **Date:**_____

**Interviewer's Signature:** _____ **Date:**_____

**Interviewer's Name (printed):** _____**Date:**_____

**Appendix B: Sample interview questions for students**

Introductory Questions:
How old are you?

How do you identity you race?

What degree are you pursuing?

Professional Settings:
How would you assess the work ethic of your female lecturers compared to your male ones? What about competence? Preparedness? Are there instances you've heard of where other students expressed (either publicly or privately) different views?

What about the work ethic of your non-white lecturers? What about competence? Preparedness? Are there instances you've heard of where other students expressed (either publicly or privately) different views?

What about the work ethic of lecturers who are foreign born? What about competence? Preparedness? Are there instances you've heard of where other students expressed (either publicly or privately) different views?

Should foreign nationals be permitted to run stores in townships? Should the government be able to restrict their right to do so?

Do you think sex work should be decriminalized?

Private Settings:
How would you feel about having an openly LGBTQI student living in your residence hall or on your sports team? Would you have any concerns? (such as in a bathroom, locker room etc.) Have you heard of any instances where openly LGBTQI students were treated unfairly in these scenarios?

How would you feel about sharing an apartment with a student of a different race? Would you be more or less comfortable than if they were the same race as you? Have you heard of any situations where race was an issue in a living space among your peers?

How would you feel if your neighbor was a foreign national? Have you heard of any situation where someone was uncomfortable living near a foreign national? Would it matter where they were from?

How would you feel living near sex workers and/or homeless people? Would you want the government to move them if given the option?

<u>Social and Political:</u>
Do you think LGBTQI people should be able to adopt children? Do you think being raised by LGBTQI parents has an adverse impact on children? Have you heard of any stories where people had an opposing view?

Should foreign nationals be able to send their kids to school and/or be employed in South Africa?  Would it matter if they were documented vs undocumented?

Do you think the municipality government has the right to move homeless people that they believe pose a risk to the city?

Do you think there is any group/profession/identity/origin that should be excluded from holding political office (ex: women, LGBTQI people, people born outside of South Africa, sex-workers, etc.)? Would you prefer if your representatives shared the same identities as you?

What do you do to ensure that people that are different are treated with dignity and respect? Give an example of a situation where you have acted in a way that made someone who was different feel respected.

Are there student groups on campus (or that you've heard of) that either promote or discourage treating different groups with dignity and respect? Do student activist groups focus on human dignity and non-discrimination? If so, how? If not, why not?

**Appendix C: Constitutional values survey**

*To what degree do you **personally** agree with the following statements.*

**A. I recognize the injustices of South Africa's past.**

Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

**B. I honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land.**

Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

**C. I respect those who have worked to build and develop our country.**

Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

**D. I believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it.**

Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

**E. I believe South Africa is united in our diversity.**

Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

**F. I believe in the protection of human dignity.**

Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

**G. I believe in the advancement of human rights and freedoms.**

Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

**H. I believe in non-racialism.**

Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

**I. I believe in non-sexism.**

Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

**J. I believe in universal adult suffrage.**

Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

**K. I believe in a national common voters roll.**

Strongly Disagree    Disagree    Neutral    Agree    Strongly Agree

**L. I believe in regular elections.**

Strongly Disagree     Disagree     Neutral     Agree     Strongly Agree

**M. I believe in a multi-party system.**

Strongly Disagree     Disagree     Neutral     Agree     Strongly Agree

**N. I believe in a democratic government.**

Strongly Disagree     Disagree     Neutral     Agree     Strongly Agree

**O. I believe the Constitution is the supreme law of the Republic.**

Strongly Disagree     Disagree     Neutral     Agree     Strongly Agree

**P. I believe there is a common South African Citizenship.**

Strongly Disagree     Disagree     Neutral     Agree     Strongly Agree

**Q. I believe South African citizens are equally entitled to the rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship.**

Strongly Disagree     Disagree     Neutral     Agree     Strongly Agree

**R. I believe South African citizens are equally subject to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.**

Strongly Disagree     Disagree     Neutral     Agree     Strongly Agree

**Appendix D: Constitutional values survey results**



## Constitutional Values Survey

| Statement | Value |
|---|---|
| R. I believe South African citizens are equally subject to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. | 4.16 |
| Q. I believe South African citizens are equally entitled to the rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship. | 4.5 |
| P. I believe there is a common South African Citizenship. | 4 |
| O. I believe the Constitution is the supreme law of the Republic. | 4.66 |
| N. I believe in a democratic government. | 4.16 |
| M. I believe in a multi-party system. | 3.83 |
| L. I believe in regular elections. | 4.5 |
| K. I believe in a national common voters roll. | 4.33 |
| J. I believe in universal adult suffrage. | 4.33 |
| I. I believe in non-sexism. | 4.83 |
| H. I believe in non-racialism. | 4.83 |
| G. I believe in the advancement of human rights and freedoms. | 4.83 |
| F. I believe in the protection of human dignity. | 4.66 |
| E. I believe South Africa is united in our diversity. | 3 |
| D. I believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it. | 4.5 |
| C. I respect those who have worked to build and develop our country. | 4.5 |
| B. I honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land. | 4.66 |
| A. I recognize the injustices of South Africa's past. | 4.83 |

\* The numbers represent the average response with 1 being "Strongly Disagree", 5 being "Strongly Agree" and 3 being "Neutral"

\*\* Six of the seven interview participants filled out the survey. The one that did not was the conservative leaning student.