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**South African Unemployed Female Graduates
In Transit to The Market Place:
Does Social Capital Matter?**

By

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this PhD thesis – South African unemployed female graduates in transit to the marketplace: Does social capital matter? – is my own work and has not been submitted for a degree at any other University. All sources and quotes cited have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

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DECLARATION BY SUPERVISOR

I supervised this Doctor of Philosophy Thesis to satisfaction: *South African Unemployed Female Graduates in Transit to the Market Place: Does Social Capital Matter?*

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this doctoral study was to investigate the role social capital play in assisting unemployed female graduates to transit to the job market, secure the type of employment for which they were qualified, and build entrepreneurship. Twenty-five years into democracy, young black African women post-graduates face plethora of challenges which are based on race, class, and gender. Whereas research has showed that pursuing masters and doctoral studies particularly within the fields of Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) increases their social mobility, the research finds that the process of promotion and securing better jobs for these women has not been consistent. They continue to be discriminated against by the labour market which is biased towards white and Indian candidates.

In defining the current state of transformation within Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), the principal research question is Does Social Capital matter? Beyond this institutional transformation, the study investigates the impact of these policy instruments to the experiences of women post-graduates within the field of Science Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM). The theoretical framework of the study is underpinned by the following: i) the role of grounded theory within the feministic paradigm in emancipating women from the endocentric tradition of structural functionalism by valuing the women's lived experiences as legitimate source of knowledge. ii) The use of the matrix of domination theory to understand plethora of challenges facing Black African women post-graduates and iii) the equality of opportunity theory to demonstrate that despite being admitted within the STEM sector, they do not enjoy equal treatment and rewards for equal performance. A group of more than 50 post-graduate students across all racial groups was selected within STEM departments in the University of KwaZulu-Natal using random sampling and semi-structured interviews as part of the qualitative research method.

The study found that black African women of South African descent face discrimination on three fronts, namely, race, class and gender which makes them to work trice harder to secure their position in university, fight for their respect and confidence, and build the necessary relationships that will enable them to gain successful entry to the ideal job they are qualified for. Not only is social capital an indispensable asset, but also, it empowers black African post-graduate women not to be defined by their historical antecedents but the appropriate social networks and decisions they make.

DEDICATION

This doctoral research is dedicated to my late mom and dad, Rose Ntombiyokuthula, and Fenki Phillip, Molefe. Their undying love for ministry and their faith and confidence in us, nine siblings, remains unprecedented. Phillip and Rose believed that "the task before them did not surpasses the power behind them." This was an expression made by the Grammy Award winner, late Reverend Joseph Tshabalala of the Ladysmith Black Mambazo from the KZN.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACCRONYMS

ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
ANC	African National Congress
CAS	Centre for African Studies
CHE	Council for Higher Education
DHE	Department of Higher Education
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
EWBSA	Engineering Without Borders of South Africa
FU	Forthare University
HBI	Historically Black Institutions
HEIs	Higher Education Institution
HESA	Higher Education South Africa
HWI	Historical White Institutions
GATT	General Agreement on Tariff and Trade
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
HDI	Historically Disadvantaged Institutions
MEDUNSA	Medical University of South Africa
NASFS	National Student Financial Aid Scheme
NRF	National Research Foundation
NGP	New Growth Path
NIPF	National Industrial Policy Framework
ON	Observation Notes
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACMEQ	The Southern and Eastern African Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality

SOE	State-owned Enterprises
SASCO	South African Student Congress
SACTE	South African College for Teacher Education
SACOL	South African College for Open Learning
SRCs	Student Representative Councils
UWC	University of Western Cape,
UNIN	University of the North
IPAP	Industrial Policy Action Plan
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
TNT	Technikon Northern Transvaal
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UNISA	University of South Africa
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
SAICE	South African Institute of Civil Engineers
SAUSRC	South African University Students' Representative Council

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CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

The objective of this doctoral study was to investigate the role of social capital in assisting unemployed female graduates' transit to the job market, secure the type of employment for which they were qualified and build entrepreneurship. Social capital is considered indispensable in assisting graduates identify and successfully secure the ideal job. The concept 'social capital' encompasses a graduate's personal and family social network either derived within the same family, race, group and beyond; the trust they build with important others; and norms and values which defines their character (Bourdieu, 1986; Putman, 1993; Putman, 2000; Yukuhama, 1996; Stone, 2001). The study unfolds against a backdrop of large-scale process of restructuring within Higher Education Institutions which resulted in the integration of Historical White Institutions (HWI) with Historically Black Institutions (HBI). Similarly, the study focused on black African female postgraduates and sought to understand how they responded to immense challenges of penetrating the labour market economy that continues to be defined by gender, class, and race. Recasting social capital doctoral research within gender studies is vital in exposing how gendered structures of power are reproduced as well as how they may also be challenged (Eriksson, 2019; Bruegel, 2005).

A ground-breaking doctoral thesis by Coonfield (2011) on social capital confirms that social capital is not exonerated from the problem of race and class, while not specifically mentioning gender. Instead, the latter determines how certain type of information on job opportunities gets transmitted. In most cases, some job opportunities remain within the social circles of the elite groups and can only be obtained when one has built the necessary social capital, admits Coonfield (ibid). In explaining the crudeness of social capital formation, Coonfield (ibid) states that:

> Beginning in high school and continuing in college, students make decisions about whom, and within what contexts, they will cultivate relationships with other people. Eventually, these decisions influence the access graduates must have to job information.

Consistent with the values of a democratic society, the formation of social capital in the post-democratic dispensation has allowed young people from low social class to

form relationships with youth from middle class background. At the inception, these new friendships can be influenced by greater influx and interaction young people enjoy through sports, education, and cultural excursions. At times, such relationships could bear long-term unintended benefits including securing employment. The findings of the research have showed that graduates can benefit a great deal of advantage from their old buddies through referral or a trusted person who may be willing to unlock their employment potential through personal introduction. This is quite true in South Africa's on-going process of Higher Education (HE) transformation which has fostered institutional integration through mergers as a way of eliminating the legacy of racial segregation and fostering social cohesion. The role of supervisors become extremely important in enriching students' social capital especially within the field of engineering science, where vocational work plays critical role in order for the student to qualify. When transformed and socialised within the context of cultural diversity, the role of a supervisor creates a seamless process for graduate transition to the marketplace.

The study finds the concept 'social capital' very complex. On the one hand, it serves as an instrument for social inclusion and cohesion while on the other, accounts for plethora of social exclusions. In explaining its dubious nature, Gay and others (2007) posit that social networks function to enable access to information and knowledge in the creation of job opportunities. At the same time, it prevents others from gaining access to such privileges. From the historical context of apartheid up to the new democratic dispensation the battle for academic autonomy and leadership in research and knowledge creation has been waged. It has been a daunting exercise for Higher Education Institutions in trying to emancipate themselves from plethora of discriminations including the role of women in shaping the culture of knowledge creation. It can also be argued that social capital in university cannot be exonerated from the politics of power contestation and social exclusion. On the contrary, social capital can be used as a vital ingredient to foster social cohesion and the eradication of all forms of discrimination that predicates Higher Education Institutions (HEI) in the post-democratic dispensation.

Therefore, to identify strategies to redress structural inequalities within societies mired by social stratification, the theory of equality of opportunity becomes the best platform under which all minorities or less privileged groups within society becomes

represented including black South African students, women and the disabled. When diffused of its positivist nature, the theory becomes the backdrop on how to transform higher education, creates a balance between equity and quality, fosters financial viability and sustainability of HEIs while protecting their philosophical principles, pedagogical approaches, and preservations of historical experiences of the oppressed within the context of the democratic milieu and globalised education system.

These observations were confirmed during the researcher's interviews with post-graduate students in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) careers at University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), Howard College campus. Gendered and racialised patterns of social network were observed across wide range of experiences and contexts. Undoubtedly, within a quarter of a century since the birth of democracy, South African government, in general, and High Education department played central role in ensuring that the transformation agenda of higher education institutions is realised. To a large extent, these changes had focused much on structural, pedagogical, and organisational dimension with less emphasis placed on changing the academic culture of interaction. The then South Africa's minister of education, Professor Kader Asmal, led this historical trajectory of merging HEIs by outlining the challenges that were facing higher education institutions (HEI) in the new democratic dispensation. In embarking on his mandate, Professor Asmal (2002) reckoned that:-

> The origins of the current institutional structure of the higher education system can be traced to the geopolitical imagination of apartheid's master planner, Hendrik Verwoerd, and his reactionary ideological vision of "separate but equal development"...Its main purpose was to ensure that the historically white institutions served the educational, ideological, political, cultural, social and economic needs of white South Africa…to establish institutions that would produce a pliant and subservient class of educated black people to service the fictional homelands of apartheid's imagination.

Undoubtedly, Kader Asmal is the 'father' of the contentious 'new structure' of HEIs in South Africa including the merger of the University of Natal, Durban and University of Westerville that resulted in the formation of University of KwaZulu-Natal that boasts 5 campuses. Notwithstanding this unparalleled success in unifying and integrating systems, processes, curriculum and rationalising resources across various academic schools, the researcher argues that the human and social interaction dimension

which underpins the creation of a culture of social capital is the critical milestone yet to be travelled—not only in UKZN but across the entire HEIs that have undergone the process of mergers. The fact that it had served the educational, ideological, political, cultural, social, and economic needs of white South Africans, as Professor Asmal puts it, it clearly explains the fact that social capital resides both within people and structures that controls them. Even when it finds itself in the new political dispensation, the researcher argues that black African post-graduates become susceptible to these norms and legacies of the past.

1.2 Graduate Unemployment Conundrum

South African unemployment rate currently stands at 29% and 6,7 million in absolute values (Quarterly Labour Survey, 2019). This alarming rate has undermined the historical prestige associated with holding a university degree or postgraduate degrees within the STEM sectors. Paradoxically, Higher Education qualification in the neo-liberal dispensation epitomizes one's entry to indebtedness and being denigrated by labour market system that remains hostile to majority of black graduates that are roaming the streets and despondent of fruitless job-hunting. This dimension of graduate unemployment is undermined by current research. There has been an effort within academia to discredit, if not thwart any form of rising opinion discrediting the performance of higher education institutions.

This school of thought is buttressed by statistical evidence suggesting that all is well as South Africa is no different in terms of graduates output from its counterparts within the continent and abroad. Located within critical scholarship, this doctoral research is aimed at resuscitating previous research that opposes the perception of academic normalcy. While significant transformation has occurred within higher institution of learning, the research argues that the substantial work thereof concentrated on restructuring and consolidating universities that were divided on the bases on race and academic ideology. To a large extent, the gains of the pre-democratic dispensation in consolidating the voice of historically black universities were defeated during the post democratic dispensation following the closure of many black universities, and merging of HWI and HBU, while vilifying the academic credence of HBUs.

As a result, the destiny of defining the real transformation of higher education in terms of content and character hinges on the prevailed victory of HWIs. Social capital formation is embedded in these contradictions and how it plays itself out depends on the extent to which its future is defined. The extent to which women post-graduates are capacitated to face the hostile world of corporate cold calling which continues to reflect a patriarchal system in the absorption of competent candidates within the most demanding positions of the labour market shall be given a critical view. To this end, this doctoral research shall be considered as a ground-breaking work in recommending how social capital can shape career trajectory of female graduates within the Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics sectors.

1.3 **Objective of the Study**

The objective of this doctoral study was to understand:-

1.3.1 The role social capital plays in assisting unemployed graduates to successfully transit to the job market, secure the type of employment for which they were qualified within the required critical sectors, and build entrepreneurship capabilities where the job market shows incapacity to absorb their skills.

1.3.2 The types of social capital deficits or stock the graduates hold in their varying forms, which are likely to increase or decrease their employability or entrepreneurial prospects

1.3.3 The efforts, networks and strategies utilised by two types of graduates in finding the ideal job namely: i) those who were socially active on campus through work, voluntarism, and leadership and ii) those that were simply devoted to their academic work

1.3.4 The strategies and programmes adopted by South African government and labour market institutions to ensure that graduates secure employment in line with their academic training and determine the extent to which this institutional support is likely to be effective or not.

1.4 **Research Questions**

The research has answered the following research question and its sub-questions without systematically following the sequence in which they were raised. The main research question in this thesis is:

1.4.1 To what extent, and which type of social capital, can assist unemployed black women graduates secure employment in sectors they were qualified to work and/or capacitate graduates to become job creators that utilise acquired critical skills for job creation?

To answer this, the following sub-questions are raised:

a) What type of social capital indicators that can assist young graduates in shaping their career orientation, and if so, how?

b) Identify the types and dimensions of social capital deficit encountered by unemployed graduates from disadvantaged background which limits their ability to negotiate their skills in the marketplace?

c) How did unemployed graduates obtain internship opportunities within their area of expertise while pursuing their academic qualifications and which role did social capital play?

d) To what extent does the social capital of young graduates and their families contribute in securing employment?

e) Does the current statistical data on graduate unemployment reflect the triumph of the labour market in redressing the country's skills deficit or simply a hoax that downplays critical challenges of social stratification shaping labour market absorption?

f) Is the problem of graduate unemployment a new form of alienation which requires an escalated intervention, and if so, what institutional support can South African government provide to redress these existing structural irregularities?

g) In view of the protracted culture of social exclusion suffered by young women graduates, what type of social intervention can be introduced to bolster the social capital of these cohorts?

1.5 **The Significance of the study**

This doctoral study was designed to address a missing gap in literature on social capital and its relation to the process of transformation in South African higher education. To this end, the study has assessed various experiences gained by the participating post-graduates and the extent to which they are able to translate the acquired expertise and prepare them for the job market. As post-graduates, it has become necessary to also seek understanding why these students prefer to stay in university much longer than majority of graduates who are likely to join the job market immediately when job opportunity is available. The experiences of these women post-graduates are placed within a broader context of the process of higher education institutions (HEIs) which have begun a watershed process of restructuring since the past ten years. In particular, the researcher has mapped the process of social capital within this process of transformation within HEIs and its interlinkages to the labour market. Amidst these vicissitudes, it was therefore important for the study to determine from these students' perspective whether graduate unemployment was a myth or reality.

This is particularly important given the fact that the study specifically focused on Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) which are fields of expertise regarded as highly critical for the growth of South African economy. Paradoxically, the rate in which graduate absorption fared has not been commensurate with the graduate output, which have significantly improved in the post-democratic dispensation. The extent to which social capital is likely to play a pivotal role in assisting black women post-graduates in securing the ideal job occupies the central place within the study. Not only is social capital regarded as instrumental in improving the status of these candidates. It is the nucleus that foster social cohesion and ensures that transformation within higher education is accelerated. From this perspective, the role of social capital is not presented in a deterministic manner by suggesting that the rate of graduate unemployment would reduce as more graduates from disadvantaged background acquire STEM qualifications. Equally, the process of merging HEIs on its own cannot be regarded as a panacea to the sluggish economic growth nor can it promote equitable processes within the country's labour relations that remain skewed and segregated to black African women.

Since social capital bears the nuance of power and social status, the study adopts the matrix of domination theory advocated by black feminist scholars (Collins 2010, 2002 & 1993; Hooks 1989) to challenge the transmission of this asset, i.e., social capital. While the study reckons that in a democratic society power and domination continue to be distributed along interlocking axes of race, class, and gender (Hooks, 1989), it equally admits that the role of social capital in the lives of female graduates from low social background is imperative. Similarly, the matrix of domination theory shall be limited only to the point of explaining inherent challenges facing the development of social capital and the extent in which social capital could undermine meritocracy in the award of the job. Similarly, to move social capital from its nature of contradiction towards facilitating market access, the theory of equality of opportunity is introduced as the basis that outlines the principles of contestation inherent within job seeking exercise.

In a society enamoured by poverty, unemployment, and inequality, this doctoral research has raised plausible argument on the extent to which education credential could reverse the plight of the poor. Admittedly, the advent of neoliberalism, facilitated through globalisation and regional integration, has compounded the challenge of understanding the role of social capital in the emancipation of the most vulnerable groups. As universities become heterogeneous, opportunities to build new social networks and trust amongst students on campus abounds. The development of social capital for disadvantaged black South African graduates also manifests through the culture of building resistance against social exclusion. Students respond differently to these contradictions. While others adopt a radical approach through student activism in combating plethora of challenges including academic and financial exclusion, others adopt a liberal approach in which they choose to constructively participate in social movements and religious activities that advocates for social reforms in a more humane and constructive engagement. The results of these two variants of experiences have borne advantages and disadvantages. For the purpose of this doctoral research, the researcher seeks to understand the critical indicators of social capital that can enable the South African post-graduate women succeed to transit from the world of education to the marketplace. In achieving these indicators, the research has identified possible policy interventions, albeit shared briefly, that can be solicited from the private and public sector perspectives.

1.6   *Statement of the Problem*

The statement of the problem that surrounds this doctoral thesis is premised on two paradigms, which boast elements of contradiction and complementarity, and play a pivotal role in explain the circumstances under which social capital is constructed, namely: education conundrum vs. academic normalcy.

1.6.1 Education Conundrum

At the dawn of democracy in South Africa, a body of research emerged focusing on graduate unemployment as the new conundrum requiring policy attention. Notwithstanding the demand side factors of the labour market that explain the problem, these scholars were much persuaded that the history of unequal education had created environment in which low-income youth[1], particularly black Africans[2], were inadequately prepared for 'higher learning' education[3]. Undoubtedly, Cosser and du Toit (2002) did admit that this problem was not unique to South Africa alone as OECD countries experienced the same challenge despite a much progressive background under which their youth were raised. The scholars argued that historical antecedents of these youth, in particular, poor quality of learning and parents' lack of education qualification, was likely to impact significantly on their academic performance as they move higher in their fields of study.

To demonstrate this pattern of deficiency in the education system, the authors pointed to the high level of attrition rate in South Africa. Of the 552,000 learners that enrolled for matric in 2009, only 191,000 learners matriculated while only 105,500 could enter into higher education institutions. As the National Plan for Higher Education (2001) indicated, South Africa had achieved 15% enrolment rate against the 20% rate for

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[1] The concept youth shall be used interchangeably with children or young people, to mean the same thing, depending on the context and convenience of the research. Similarly, young people shall not be limited to the age of 15-24 as based on OECD definition, as there are many graduates that fall within South African definition of youth (15-34).

[2] according to Statistics South Africa's 2010 Mid-year Population Estimates the country's population is divided into Black Africans, Whites, Indian/Asian and Coloureds

[3] Higher learning includes universities, Further Education and Training and former Technikons now referred to as Universities of Technology. For the purpose of the study, the author prefers to use 'university' interchangeably with 'higher learning' to denote all public higher learning institutions.

international standards (Cosser and du Toit, ibid). The concept of education conundrum is premised on the fact that every society shapes its education policy instruments based on its local dynamics and contradictions which cannot be left unattended. These conundrums become valid grounds to coalesce various stakeholders into action, without guaranteeing that each actor would have all their interests represented in the process of policy formulation and execution.

The construction of South African education policy in the post-democratic dispensation presents the illustrious case under which plethora of challenges were addressed as part of eradicating the legacy of apartheid education. At the centre of these metamorphoses, is establishing how policy execution has positively impacted on the life and career path of black African graduates. This is an area where evidence is mixed on the direct impact of new education policy in the life of a black African graduate, in general, and black African woman post-graduate, in particular, in transition to the marketplace. In sum, this research finds that notwithstanding plethora of reforms introduced by the new education policy such changes have not yet built established patterns of employability amongst black African post-graduates. While the education system has been deracialized and the Employment Equity policies promulgated, the extent to which black African graduates are benefiting in meaningful ways besides simply securing a job, remains murky. The current status quo of hoping that once qualified, and possibly holding strong social capital, post-graduate women would find an ideal job is the current paradox inherent within academic normalcy which requires radical change. In order to rectify the challenge of low levels of labour market uptake, that remains strongly biased based on race and gender, the education conundrum paradigm becomes a persuasive model for investigation. At the heart of this pursuit, is a transformed education system that is graduate centred and Black African woman biased.

To them, participating in a global knowledge economy meant that the culture of education system, the tradition of its governance, and pedagogical approach required a radical change. Notwithstanding the changes that South African higher institutions have undergone, it may be argued that to a large extent these traditions and culture of superiority and domination still remains. Within the context of social capital study, the current status quo has made it quite complex for young black graduates to assimilate and

find themselves welcomed in university culture predicated on race, class, and gender domination. Those graduates who were most likely to adapt in this culture were from middle class and/or culturally diverse institutions distinguished by better grades in high school examination.

As for most graduates that passed from underperforming schools, even if they may have obtained university admission – popularly referred to as bachelors – had to be placed under bridging courses. Admission to university under this status was necessary in addressing extraordinary rate of attrition. At the same time, this classification was fraught of stigmatization and being associated with inferiority background. As such, in hoping to make friends with students regarded as better qualified and competent to deal with the magnanimous challenge of higher education had already placed these cohorts at a disadvantaged position.

The recent national uprising within universities popularly dubbed "fees must fall" whereby students, majority of whom are black, took it to the streets calling for the reduction of student fees, exposed another dimension to the construction of social capital. With limited research on the composition of students that joined this social movement it cannot be concluded that all of them came from poor family backgrounds. However, what is profound about this paradigm is a deeper feeling that the education system had failed them not only in ensuring that they complete their studies, but also, in ensuring that they secure the jobs which were promised to them when they pursued the career.

1.6.2 *Academic Normalcy*

A more statistically robust position by Van Broekhuizen and Van den Berg (2013) recently emerged in scholarship as a watershed that challenges the initial view that portrayed graduate unemployment as a conundrum. Taking a different view, these scholars came sharply in defence of academic normalcy which had been strongly castigated for its inability to provide labour markets with the required human capital to place the country's economy on an upward trajectory. With South Africa at 5.9% of graduate unemployment compared to Europe at 6.2%, the authors did not find the previously held opinion compellable. On the contrary, the new academic normalcy

paradigm absolved South African universities and their pedagogical orientation from a historical charge of inability to prepare the country's new human resource for economic participation (Hermann 2008).

The proponents of academic normalcy had found it fallacious and unfounded that the number of unemployed black graduates had increased after the post-democratic dispensation. Impliedly, the blame was laid squarely on unemployed graduates and the poor quality of primary education that produced them. Indisputably, both contending scholars admit that, indeed, black graduates face enormous odds which limit their prospects to achieve their aspirations. With 8.6% unemployment rate against their white counterpart at 3.0% (Statistics SA, 2012), they admitted that black African Graduates were three times less likely to secure employment compared to their white counterpart.

The protagonists of academic normalcy went further to challenge a report by Development Policy Research Unit (2006) which had suggested that unemployment for "graduates" had risen from 6 per cent in 1995 to 9,7 per cent in 2005. Concomitantly, they took issues with National Treasury's interpretation which had suggested that over 30 per cent of graduates between 18 to 24 years were unemployed akin to those aged between 25 to 29 years at 15%, and those aged 30 to 34 years at 10% and 5% for those between 35 and 64 years of age[4].

Loane Sharp's emotive anecdote on City Press, following the same rational, had painted a much gloomy picture on the future of unemployed graduates in stating that:

> about 600 000 university graduates are languishing at home, unable to put into practice what they have learned. A growing army of unemployed graduates are now forced to either rely on their families to support them or find jobs as unskilled workers, such as waiters, clerks, and office assistants. (Cosser and du Toit, ibid)

Sharp's message had expressed grievous disappointment at higher institutions of learning as the producers of the country's much required skills. To alleviate these

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[4] A National Treasury discussion paper, Confronting youth unemployment: Policy options for South Africa (2011)

superfluous charges, Van Broekhuizen and Van den Berg (2013) identified the source of this confusion in the way the concept "graduate" had been defined. In a collaborative work with CDE, the scholars associated the concept "graduate" with the holders of a bachelor's or higher degree from a university while categorised the holders of non-degree tertiary qualification as "diplomates". By relying on this definition, the holders absolved the cohorts of bachelors and higher degrees from the crisis of high unemployment encountered by post-matric students that falls outside their threshold.

The school of academic normalcy was not only empathetic to the perfect and orderly functioning of universities, but also, the way the markets absorbed their graduates. Their ideological orientation was far absolved from appreciating the nature of conflict and disorder in the labour market system. To illustrate this structural functionalist position which had watered down the graduate unemployment conundrum expressed by the education conundrum protagonists, the scholars maintained:

> If, for example, one believes that the number of unemployed graduates is higher than it is, one might also believe that skills are not all that scarce, and that claims about skills scarcity are false. The fact that graduate unemployment is very low, however, indicates just how eagerly employers snap up those who have academic qualifications. (Van Broekhuizen and Van den Berg ,2013)

In this paragraph, the writers imply that the only perfect context in which it can be argued that South Africa faces skills scarcity is when graduate unemployment was at the lowest. On the contrary, the fact that employers are not finding enough graduates whom they can absorb simply demonstrate the severity of skill scarcity the country faces. This analysis is flawed and creates the impression that employers have done their utmost best to identify all unemployed graduates until there was no one out there holding the graduate status.

Even if the assumption was true that the number of unemployed graduates had significantly reduced, the impression created here is that once graduates are employed it is highly guaranteed that they will be afforded the same opportunity to develop the required skills expected by the employers. Such a statement is equally fallacious and is

not based on any evidence on how labour market is performing regarding social mobility of black graduates once they enter the premises of their employers.

On the contrary, it is common knowledge that white graduates are more likely to develop critical skills required by the market while they still pursue their university studies. Similarly, these cohorts are most likely to be followed by a handful of black graduates from middle class background and the least from exceptionally fortunate black graduates of disadvantaged background. Academic normalcy postulated in the recent scholarship illustrate the selective culture that has permeated South African academia before and during the post-democratic dispensation which is embedded in structural functionalism. The problem of unemployment, akin to poverty, discrimination, or social exclusion, when defended by economists has functionalist nuances which lack incisiveness in addressing social phenomena. Functionalists place high premium on statistical data over the enormity of human experiences. Their observation of human relations is defined in a system approach where the creation of skills as a need of society must be met by institutions of higher learning and concomitantly be supplied to the labour market. As always associated with capitalism and its deterministic grandeur; poverty, unemployment and inequality are never seen as part of society's economic dysfunction and thus requiring complete eradication. On the contrary, these are systems and processes that must co-exist with wealth creation and as such requires some degree of alleviation making use of social welfare programmes.

In the process of transmitting an economic system, functionalists cannot interpret the inherent nature of conflict and contradictions based on race, gender, and class. To them, laying the charges of a conundrum based on how majority of victims feel without a comparative analysis of where the experience happens elsewhere is mere anecdote and, therefore, devoid of substance and credibility. Consciously or unconsciously within the context of Van Broekhuizen and Van den Berg (2013), functionalists would defend the status quo of knowledge transmission as well as patriarchal system that continues to define social mobility and division of labour within these institutions. By placing more focus on statistical accuracy such as the acceptance point in which unemployment becomes a crisis, they lose track of the gravity of change and the nature of transformation called upon by various interest groups within these institutions. The use of comparative

analysis looking at the case study of South African universities vice versa universities of OECD countries become quite inappropriate and ahistorical. Viewed within this perspective, it cannot be accepted that 6% of graduate unemployment rate in South Africa is akin to these countries because the nature and type of jobs likely to be held by the graduates of the OECD countries is based on equitable system of labour market uptake and do not boast the same history of racial and gender discrimination. As a result, the chances are that the social mobility rate of majority of OECD graduates are likely to be quite progressive across races.

Against this comprehensive background laid in this chapter, it can therefore be argued that the concept of social capital is not absolved from social dynamics within universities. Its embeddedness in social stratification cannot be denied, in that, the concept is likely to favour certain groups within certain strata of society. In this way, middle class kids are the ones most likely to obtain admission in elite schools where their parents have associates. As they proceed further to higher education, middle class youth from these elite schools are the ones most likely to be admitted in the elite departments within STEM. Whilst many disadvantaged youths are likely to work hard to obtain better grades in their high school examination and become admitted within STEM, such admission is likely to gravitate towards auxiliary science subjects such as biochemistry, chemistry, and physiology.

Undoubtedly, these subjects form the pillar subjects to earn a full pathway to engineering sciences, but when studied alone, the graduate's pathway becomes quite limited. As a result of such limitations, it becomes quite impossible for them to leave university to find a decent job with a Bachelor of Science degree. This opinion has been confirmed by the research's findings on why most of our respondents pursued masters and doctoral studies. The research further found that obtaining these higher degrees independent of building professional support through vocational work increased their state of unemployment. Therefore, to succeed, it was critical that these graduates develop a strong relationship with their supervisors many of whom held strong credentials in academic publications and with significant network within the industry.

While statistical data is important, the study shall demonstrate that unemployment crisis of black African women graduates cannot be determined by 'statistical significance' concepts alone. Even if the percentage falls where the protagonists of normalcy suggest, the gravity of this conundrum in no less deserved by diplomat graduates compared to degree holders. It must be applied indiscriminately in both groups and more policy intervention is required to ensure that the value of accumulating higher education is felt in the lives of these youth. To this end, the research identifies inherent contradictions social capital face through the lenses of black feminist thought and the extent to which social capital presents forward looking recommendations that can enrich the career development of Black South African graduates. (Hooks, 2008; Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1999). To challenge structural functionalism and the tendency to hide the experiences of graduates behind statistical data, the researcher adopts grounded theory to express the experiences of South African black women graduates in a genuine and transformative manner...

1.7   **Outline of the Study**

Literature Review in the following chapter, 2, shall provide comprehensive definition of social capital drawing on historical foundation of its founding fathers and its application within the international context with special attention on its impact within education and labour markets. Given its inherent deficiency, the literature shall acknowledge policy interventions within the OECD countries which are aimed at reaching out to young people within socially excluded societies. Finally, the role of social capital in South Africa deserves in-depth review with focus placed on social network graduates build and trust they have towards their immediate families and others; and most importantly, two important institutions that determine their future success, namely: universities as a supply side of the job market and labour markets as the demand side.

This shall be followed by chapter 3 on the *theoretical framework* the researcher uses to lay the foundation for asking critical questions on social capital and administering structured questions that addresses all dimensions of social capital and how they affect women. Chapter 4 on *Education System and the formation of Social Capital* focuses on the increasing pressure faced by South Africa higher institutions in fusing academic

theory with technical training and labour market uptake. The current state of unequal representation of racial groups within the labour market is mirrored against the backdrop of the role universities play in either maintaining the status quo of inequality and/or driving transformation agenda committed in ensuring that all graduates gain equal admission to critical skills and develop the type of social capital that eliminates entry barriers to ideal jobs. Concomitantly, attention shall also be paid on discrimination practices within HEIs demonstrated by supervisors whose biased towards male post-graduates, particularly of white-descent, need no microscopic eye to decipher and the continuing denigration of black African woman post-graduates and their disposition to be associated with inability to conduct high-risk type of jobs during fieldwork and as a result, the labour market's adopted practice to allocate such women to low-paying jobs, regardless of holding the same qualification and experience.

Within the context of research methodology in chapter 5, the study utilises qualitative research semi-structured interviews to explore broad issues that positively or negatively affect social capital of respondents. This includes family social status, and campus participation amongst others. The purpose of the questions asked is to determine the type of obstacles graduates face in trying to transit to the marketplace, and successes registered by those that utilise social capital. In the final chapter, 6, on Discussion and Conclusion, we provide in-depth findings on various dimensions of social capital. This is done through interpreting the response of our respondents. On each critical indicator under observation, the researcher shall compare responses of all categories of our graduates**.**

Most importantly, the discussions ensure that all research questions raised in the thesis are addressed. Most importantly, recommendations for policy consideration shall be made with emphasis placed on how young women in general and young black female graduates, can receive support from government and private sector in increasing their employment chances in areas they deserve to be employed.

1.8 **Limitation of the Study**

No subject in social science academic literature has received so much interest than social capital. Its expansive nature has created the problem in definition as different contexts would derive different meanings. This is quite true in studying the social capital of a Black South African woman. It becomes impossible to do so without understanding the broader context under which such social capital is formed. Similarly, there are wide range of concepts that constitute various dimensions of social capital, but which could be investigated independently such as social cohesion, social inclusion or exclusion, social equality, social norms, reciprocity, trust, and culture amongst others. As researchers investigate these indicators in the life of South African post-graduate woman, it becomes equally necessary to deconstruct the nature of contradictions they face within university.

As a result, it becomes evident that apartheid education was underpinned by these social capital nuances. By its nature, apartheid system of governance was built on a very strong social capital whose central core was *Saambou*, an Afrikaner word meaning building together. To build together, apartheid government focused on the self-preservation of white Afrikaners after their 1948 victory. To achieve this task, trust, social network and building upon the same philosophical principles was critical ingredients that would determine the extent to which they would drive Afrikaner society towards this common vision. Undoubtedly, building social capital is the critical tenants that continues to mark a great distinction with the new democratic dispensation.

Since social capital does not inhere an individual but a group, it becomes vital instrument in facilitating social inclusion for some while also playing essential role in excluding others. Its amorphous nature has made the concept quite limited in understanding every dimension of it and how it is likely to enrich the experience of a black African graduate on campus and during transition to the marketplace. What has made this doctoral research a watershed study is its ability to unlock new areas of research for further investigations on i) the role of social capital and the formation of complex social networks in shaping the education landscape in the post-democratic dispensation, ii) education transformation within HEIs and the role of social capital in dismantling the structure of white-domination and androcentric appointments in supervision and

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professorship positions, iii) the patterns of social networks that create social inclusions and exclusions, iv) the influence of graduate supervision in facilitating transition to the market place, and v) the role of social capital in the establishment of internationalization agenda and exploring new global partnerships within HEIs. Unfortunately, all these topics shall be touched briefly in the following chapters while detailed research would be developed outside this scope.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

This chapter on literature review provides succinct data on the definition of the concept social capital, its application within South African higher education and its relevance in facilitating the transition of black African women graduates to the marketplace. The researcher pays much focus on the transformation discourse within South African higher education and the role played by social capital in shaping power contestations. At the centre of this change, a unique focus is made on the experiences of black African women post-graduates in shaping their career development within higher education and the extent to which they take advantage of social capital in preparing for their transition to the marketplace. Three leading authorities on the subject, namely Robert Putman, Pierre Bourdieu, and James Coleman have laid the foundation on the definition of the concept and its application across wide range of academic disciplines (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Portes,2000), In order to recast the story within the proper context, a brief profile of South African story is provided including statistics and demography; and how the system of apartheid conspired in creating racially divided society and the economy that remains an exclusive domain of the few.

2.1   Definition of Social Capital

It was Robert Putnam (1993; 2000, 2007) who defined social capital as those features of social organization without which it was impossible to keep society in-tact, such as trust, norms, and networks. These competencies enabled society and group of people facilitate coordinated actions. As Pierre Bourdieu (1986) points out, social capital is the size of the network of connections and influence that the individual possesses. Indisputably, such influence boast social class nuances which are only enjoyed by the dominant group. Making the concept acceptable within the education space, James Coleman (1998) made a profound statement that the phenomena cannot be defined by one attribute but a range of competencies. Therefore, what matters the most in defining the concept is its function and the impact to the lives of its beneficiaries. Coleman was able to define a social structure imbued with plethora of competencies including norms,

values, and principles which should underpin any society or institution. Such society nurtures children that learn at a tender age delegation of responsibilities and how to harness their talents, develop discipline and participate in social programmes. As they do, citizen consciousness is built, and their life skills are developed. (Putman 1995). Ideally, but not always, the availability of a family or personal network connected to these youth or women graduates becomes an added advantage.

These competencies in developed societies of the West are more accessible to middle-income youth than they are to those living in less privileged communities. This experience is no different within the lives of post-graduate women. Education provides them with the opportunity to transcend their socio-economic limitations and the chance to socialise and interact with their peers across culture, race, and economic status. Overwhelmed by the influence of industrialization and its corollary effects such as diminishing values of social cohesion made the concept of social capital gain currency in western societies. African academics (Sihlongonyane, 2000) have not always been pessimistic about this Eurocentric view that portrays the West as the custodians of social capital.

Notwithstanding their sensitive history of conquest, unequal education, and the state of deprivation they live under, black schools in townships and rural communities, always took pride in preserving the values of trust. Unconsciously, apartheid education through its discriminatory laws had forced black middle-class families, and those in the periphery to live together and share the basic amenities. This is not different to the families of the 1976 cohorts and those beyond. They enjoyed strong family ties, and no one felt belonging to a different class than the other. This was despite of the fact that the living conditions of middle-income youth would be much better than their peers. Be that as it may, all the children living in these mixed societies, rich or poor, were taught by the same parents. The notion of children from educated family background travelling to schools in neighbouring suburbs in quest for better education was unheard of (Bitzer, 2009).

Despite the broad scope in which it evolves, social capital is generally viewed as a resource for collective action, which may lead to a broad range of outcomes (Breen and

Jonsson, 2000). Whether applied to society in general or its individual members, social capital as units of analysis, emphasizes the quality of social networks that are united in resolving the common problems they encounter. The outcomes of these collective actions include economic wellbeing of citizens, building a healthy democracy, and the acquisition of human capital in the form of education (Bourdieu, 1993; Putnam, 1993; and Coleman, 1988). Within the education context, sufficient evidence (Cornfield, 2011) has suggested that those graduates who are likely to secure better jobs do boast strong social capital. Even when this is true, it is inevitable that a policy intervention is created to level the field of play for others. This is quite true within the context of redressing the legacy of apartheid that has deliberately created unequal society that had benefited the few in accessing decent jobs within the labour market.

As such, the attitude and level of discipline by teaching parents towards these children was unprecedented. All the children were part of one united family whose teachers assumed the essential role of parenting. In this vein, all parents had entrusted the wellbeing of their children on their educators. This was quite true for uneducated parents most of whom worked as conscripts in the booming mining industry. Although these parents were challenged in supervising the education of their children, their trust and confidence to selfless dedication of their fellow friends and educated parents over the education of their children was unparalleled. Indisputably, African societies and their culture of *ubuntu* epitomized the societies in which social capital thrived.

Akin to Putman who had acknowledges inherent deficiencies in society that could only be improved by coordinated action, arguably, African societies have been highly coordinated since time immemorial and yet suffered from the colonial intrusion which interfered with their traditional patterns and forms of coordination. African societies shared Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992)'s view that social capital is the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of their possessing a durable network of institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. In African societies individual or the culture of individualism did not exist independent of the society in which he or she belonged. These networks within African societies were constituted through tribes and extended families of uncles, aunties, and cousins. The concept of resources be it actual or virtual in the precolonial society was not

a phenomenon attached to an individual but a group. As societies were acculturated into new systems of governance spawned by colonialism and its corollary economic systems especially capitalism, the need to earn resources as individuals developed. However, earning resources within African context was the collective responsibility of those societies.

Bourdieu's emergence in scholarship made a vital contribution to the subject. He suggested that "the volume of social capital possessed by a given agent depended on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilise." (Bourdieu 1986: 249). In line with recent call to deconstruct knowledge systems and contextualize knowledge within the African context, it is of vital importance to appreciate the fact that the science of mobilising social network does not necessarily originate with Pierrie Bourdieu. Instead, Bourdieu appreciate a long-standing principle that has defined the success and rise of great nations. However, such nations are not only engineered in the West as African societies have also chronicled great military strategists such as Shaka whom research has not done justice in seeking to understand the sophisticated nature of King Shaka as a military intelligentsia of the 18th century (Narayan, 1999; Carter and Maluccio,2002).

2.2 **Social Capital: South African Experience**

Current research in South Africa reckons that social capital is an indispensable tool that does not only assist actors to gain access to resources amongst and beyond themselves, but also, a conduit through which resources can be equitably distributed (Maluccio, 2002; Bayat, 2005). The accumulated resources using social capital are not only tangible in nature, but also, intangible. One of its non-tangible assets is trusted relationships. It is an asset distinct from human and physical capital and cannot be claimed exclusively for self-aggrandizement. Simply put, it belongs to the community or group that uses it and is built upon time, effort, and trust.

The concept of social capital within higher education in South Africa is a missing link in research, or at least, it lacks an in-depth analysis beyond understanding who is associated with whom. In a society that continuously face high attrition rate and limited

prospects to secure ideal job after graduation, social capital is a subject often assumed but not grounded on evidence. The nature of social exclusion associated with social capital is much worse to black African women in post-graduate studies coming from a poor background. A decision they make of pursuing post graduate studies instead of opting out in favour of securing employment is a quite complex. Yet it remains unknown what factors come to bear when these poor young women are obliged to defer entering the marketplace in favour of pursuing post-graduate degrees.

On the face value, it is a common assumption that black South African women decide to pursue senior degrees to earn much better than their peers holding lesser qualifications in the same field of study. However, when going deeper into most of these women's personal experiences it becomes quite evident that these women are determined to undo the historical injustices spawned by their societies that had classified them as second-class citizens. Compared to their black male cohorts, they face a much higher odds which are embedded in their traditions, cultures, and beliefs which their great grand-mothers made no contribution in shaping them. On the contrary, they find themselves in a society that believes that certain rules and systems are bestowed upon them by exogenous forces and cannot be changed or readapted to the times they are now living in.

The transmission of social capital through the agency of culture and norms of behaviour (OECD, 2001) has often been neglected in university, neither does its tendency to exclude those that do not enjoy the same benefits viewed as a threat to the social mobility of young black graduates. Their success, it is suggested, lies in their hard-work and efforts they put into their work. Paradoxically, the benefits of hard work have not been earned the same across racial groups. Similarly, their social mobility and rise within the ranks of their institutions of employment cannot be accounted for by tangible systems and processes than they have been through personal recommendations and their immediate supervisors' idiosyncrasies. As a non-tangible asset, social capital has been credited with holding communities together and enabling them to develop coping strategies under difficult conditions such as poverty (Du Toit et al, 2007). In this way, the concept of social capital has been broadly applied in different contexts, including politics and democracy (Jooste,2005), women mobilising against chronic poverty (Adato, 2006),

providing support to HIVAIDS victims (Campbell et al (2006) and defining interaction amongst nation states' interest groups (Chidester et al. 2003).

When Council for Higher Education (CHE) in South Africa was tasked with the most complex exercise of rationalization, many factors came to bear including affordability, ideological inclinations, internationalization and globalization agenda, and the future of work, but nothing much was said about how to manage social capital of these new restructured HEIs. Integrating universities, colleges and Technikons into one academic hallmark of excellence had to factor in the country's historical race relations, the complex nature of racial discrimination that had mutated in the new democratic society, the challenge of poverty, unemployment and inequality, and the ideological contestations within higher education institutions. Undoubtedly, social capital would be that critical ingredient and essential axis upon which all these factors would find their common ground and complementarity.

2.3   **Contexts of Application**

In all 'civilized' societies across the globe, it can be argued that education has been one of the vital ingredients in building social capital. All the critical components of social capital within education setting were developed through solving problems, working on school projects, and taking a stance against any element that sought to undermine their rights and privileges, be it from educators or administrators. Such memories are dear and remains in the lifetime of these youth. As these learners move to the world of work, they can draw upon old connections during their formative years. In this sense, Knock (1999) views this as a process by which social actors create and mobilize their network connections to gain access to other actors' resources. Undoubtedly, resources of actors flow within their own circles and in societies whereby these actors are separated by discriminatory policies that engenders a culture of uneven distribution of resources.

In this way, one can argue that any form of discrimination whether based on race, gender or religion is not lethal on its own, but to the extent of its attachment to ideological and philosophical underpinning. Simply put, in fighting systems of any form of human

oppression or deprivation, it is much more complex to deconstruct the philosophical and ideological foundation that undergird trust, social networking and social norms that inheres people than it is in reorienting and readapting such to a new organizational structure. In applying this principle to the process of mergers and restructuring of universities, it is very critical to emphasize that this exercise of selecting institutions was quite deeper that mere match-making campuses based on curriculum composition, addressing the challenge of cost-containment and geographic homogeneity. This was an exercise of finding the best modality to integrate institutions that bear different historical traditions and ideologies without encroaching on the historical antecedents, and a process of managing unity in its heterogeneous nature and finding the best pathway in which two opposing forces based on ideological underpinnings could co-exist. To achieve this daunting exercise requires the application of social capital competencies in which actors draw upon their systems of trust, social network and accepted norms and standards of interaction.

This is quite a complex trajectory to travel when actors either hold little or no credentials to initiate the discourse. It is first important to appreciate the fact that to find a common ground between two or more actors on any given subject, the ideological and philosophical positions of these groups must be accepted by all the parties. In particular, their complementarities and contradictions on the related subject. Similarly, no group should feel that their position worth far more than the others because of their unique historical background that may have been influenced by experience and credentials. Any decision to downplay one with the intention to honour the best interest of the other could bear unintended consequences. Concomitantly, the process of selecting candidates with deserving credentials, as Portes (1998) would suggest, would have to be informed by the wealth of social network they are likely to wilder. The danger of selecting candidacy on credentials only is on the potential to promote patronage and clientelism. Yet it is true that social capital is not value free. It works for the mafia in the same way it would work for a clergy; it works for oppressor in the same way it does work for liberators. This dialectical nature of social capital encourages the co-existence of two contradictory forces. However, when functionalists view this nature of conflict as inevitable for the society to progress, critical theorists deconstruct the nature of change envisaged. If it is

the change that foster the prevailing status quo of patriarchy, inequality, and gender discrimination, without any possibilities of redresses and reforms, they reject it.

This principle can be well applied on the university merger discourse wherein majority of academics and administrators would argue that they were not provided with the sufficient opportunity to choose the best approach to encourage participatory process in shaping the nature and type of HEIs we see today. They took issues with appointments of commissions and task teams that are left to the prerogative of ministers and politicians. Such processes, they argued, was deterministic and spawned a path-dependent outcome of restructuring or merging institutions based on concessions reached by CHE and interest groups. Even worse, the academics or technicians that were likely to be appointed to these new institutions reflected a decision that would sooth their idiosyncrasies. The strength of social capital in a heterogeneous environment is in ensuring that the process of negotiation is premised upon the principle of trust and openness while also ensuring that social network is not utilized as a platform to promote political expediency. Paradoxically, the outcomes of merging HEIs seemed to have surprised most of the actors. Instead of benefiting those institutions that were historically disadvantaged and therefore expected to receive the new type of budget allocation that would place them on equal par with their historically white institutions (HWIs), the opposite was correct. Such process would clearly demonstrate the obnoxious nature of social capital and its ability to sway decision based on who is likely to offer greater benefits. One of social capital's off-shoot is syphoning trust and reconfiguration of political decisions.

2.4 **Social Capital and Policy Intervention**

To improve the social status of black African women in higher education and the job market, there are critical policy reforms that needs to be introduced. The literature below on Sweden, United Kingdom and United States do reckon the vital role played by social cohesion in influencing political will and advocating for specific policy reform.

2.4.1 International Case Study: Sweden

Sweden is noted as one of the classical cases on collective action within the education sphere. In this country, the Social Democrats played a critical role in the equalisation of education opportunities between social classes. By 1918, Sweden had introduced early educational reforms which changed the traditional selective schooling system into a non-selective system (Erickson and Jonsson, 2006). In doing so, Sweden challenged the general norm that suggested that a person's life chances should be dependent upon circumstances in which they were born. Using parents' socioeconomic status or what is also referred to as a person's family of origin to determine young people's educational outcomes, according to Swedish worldview, was considered repugnant thus requiring policy reform. The role of women in education and labour market increased significantly because of the social mobilization that the Swedes community advocated for.

Four principal arguments underpinned the Swedes' position in implementing social reform, namely:- i) selectivity leads to a waste of talent; ii) it restricts opportunities for lower-class youth, which is a grave social injustice; iii) it promotes societal divisions and conflict by segregating schools; and iv) it is undemocratic because it leads to a class bias in elite recruitment (Erickson and Jonsson, 2006, ibid). The Swedish experience had important social policy underpinnings which advocated for policy change that favoured equal opportunity for the historically underprivileged. Undoubtedly, South Africa has learned a great deal from Sweden in relation to introducing education reforms that intends to redress the past legacy of unequal education. Notwithstanding the significant changes that were brought by the process of merging HEIs in South Africa, addressing unique challenges faced by black African women remains untargeted and overgeneralised.

Besides Sweden, many case studies on educational reforms and improving the plied of the disadvantaged group were closely observed including the United Kingdom. In Britain, the Independent Commission on Social Mobility (2007) was established to address the problem of educational inequality faced by disadvantaged groups including youth and women based on socio-economic status. To change this pattern of social

exclusion, the commission focused on the equality of opportunity which had to be provided throughout the development cycle of the child.

2.4.2 **International Case Study: Britain**

United Kingdom is one of the most advanced social welfare states in the entire OECD states. Its positive contribution to human well-being has been evident across education, health, and addressing issues of social exclusions, remarked Peter Townsends (2008). The British government encouraged sustained investment in early years through wide-range of interventions including pre-school education; targeted resources towards schools with the highest proportions of disadvantaged children through reviewed funding formula; greater individualized support to disadvantaged pupils is provided through pupil/teacher ratios and proper teaching support in the most challenging schools; schools were assessed against a range of performance outcome for learners, instead of a narrow testing regime; qualified teachers were attracted with more incentives to challenging schools; specialised funding was provided to prepare disadvantaged kids with reading skills in order to transit to secondary education; direct admissions policies were introduced in order to improve equality of access to the best state schools; vocational and work-based learning pathways were created for those youth (14-19) not apt to succeed in traditional learning environment; targeted information was provided for youth to progress to higher education, and cross-over to work (*ibid.*).

As much as intervention for children has been specialised, the rights of women learners in higher education have not been left behind. However, the socio-economic conditions of United Kingdom have not been the same with that of South Africa. Britain has been one of the highest hosts of foreign post-graduates from the Middle East and across the globe. As a result, its residents have suffered some form of deprivation given the limited resources that may be at their disposal. However, the challenge in South Africa is unprecedented and this has caused too much burden on its fiscus that is increasingly diminishing because of the protracted state of technical recession.

2.5 **Social Capital and the Socialization of Young People**

The role of social capital in the formation of human capital can be difficult to establish clearly. However, social capital must always be viewed as mechanisms and processes through which the human capital development of young people can be realized. While norms, values, collective action, and a relevant social network are important in opening doors for these youth, it is, in fact, the quality of Socialization and human capital competency that enrich the quality of social interaction. To this end, Eccles, and associates (2002) view social structure as important in developing these youth physically, emotionally, and psychologically. This is informed by the fact that such youths need the opportunity to be trusted and entrusted with responsibilities, to make decisions, assume leadership roles, and gain more expertise, as well as to feel a sense of belonging, to be valued, and develop important skill sets necessary to thrive in life (*ibid*.). Such competencies, according to Annette Lareau (2003), are likely to be found within children of middle-income families which were not available in low-income families.

In her seminal work "Unequal Childhood", Lareau (2001) argues that the socialisation of both low- and middle-income youth is path dependent. Lareau uses the concept 'concerted cultivation' to explain how middle-income parents play a significant role in shaping the social orientation of their children by giving them the critical skills to solve life problems and to be able to demonstrate expected values and attitudes when meeting people that are likely to make an impact to their lives in the near future. As they do so, their reasoning skills are perfected and become a leveraging advantage that sets them apart from their peers during the transition from school to work. On the other hand, the socialisation of working-class children is ad hoc, thereby lacking the necessary mentorship to match the required competencies expected by future employers.

Within the home environment, it is argued that low-income children fare bleakly since their parents are likely to be overwhelmed by trying to provide basic needs for their children. Inadvertently, the interactive skills of these children become significantly limited due to a lack of exposure to diversity and common norms shared by their peers within middle-income families (*ibid*.). Nevertheless, notwithstanding her great contribution in providing an in-depth analysis on the different socialisation experiences

of these children, Lareau's work has been challenged for lack of sufficient data to generalise to broader society (Pearce, 2003).

In dealing with matters of decision making, Pearce (ibid) also points out that African American middle-class families were less likely to approach certain problems in the same manner their white counterparts did. According to Pearce, the problem of race was likely to increase the odds of poor black children in attaining their self-defined successes compared to white poor children. Thus, Lareau's one size fits all illustration was viewed to be context specific. Profound as these arguments are, they do not dismiss socialisation challenges these youth may face. Undoubtedly, unemployed graduates from poor family background are likely to present certain deficiencies when attending job interviews and during internship programmes. Lareau's argument within the South African culture may only hold credence on the intellectual aptitude of middle-income youth, yet not in all instances.

However, it can be argued that socialisation of low-income youth as far as values and norms is concerned are likely to be richer than middle-income youth[5]. They are more likely to be resilient, respectful and pay attention to others. Still, Lareau challenges this norm of obedience which has predispositions of subservience, thereby lacking the required assertiveness and telling attitude required by the corporate world. At the same time, their resilience given the socio-economic conditions they must bear offers them a competitive advantage their middle-income peers lack, in that they have the will to persevere until they realize their goals. Yet Lareau's argument also carries weight in that their family ties and social network may fall short of the necessary linkages they may require to thrive. This experience will differ by geographic locations, and the distance of their home domicile from industrial hubs.

Undoubtedly, within higher education institutions young black women graduates fall victim to this experience of academic socialisation. Those that have succeeded to find

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[5] A study by Ariel Kalil (2003) entitled "Family Resilience and Good Child Outcomes: A Review of the Literature: Raising Children in new Zealand" focuses on the use of coping strategies and problem-solving techniques, and family belief systems, especially those based on spiritual or religious values, as important means by which families master challenges. It affirms the importance of positive parenting as a key influence on children's development, especially in adverse financial circumstances.

themselves in a master's programme in their field of research attribute this success to their supervisors. Even when these accolades are expressed, the finding of this doctoral research would show that the selection of most women graduates into the fields in which they are admitted is not a reflection of their own liking. Some do find themselves in that area of specialization because the professor had secured a relevant research grant to pursue the subject now pursued by the young graduate researcher. Similarly, black South African women graduates, tended to gravitate more towards low valued sectors while those sectors that are likely to pay higher are pursued by white, Indian, and black African women within Sub-Sahara. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that black South African women researchers are more persuaded to move beyond master-degree to PhDs when the opportunity to receive scholarships arises. Besides, settling for a junior researcher and holding a Masters' Degree is increasingly becoming unappealing than to wait for more years through the pursuit of their doctoral research.

Whereas pursuing the field of science is highly encouraged, South African women researcher fill short-changed and not fairly supported in their original career path they want to pursue. They are often unduly influenced into areas they did not originally intend and the prime reason behind that is poor relationship between graduate researcher and the supervisor. The researcher's respondents expressed these sentiments sharply. An unconscious culture of false expectation has been created, remarked the doctoral candidate. When asked for further deliberation, the candidate admits that initially the black woman graduate is selected by the supervisors meritocratically to become part of the research team. While the research becomes extremely important to the supervisor as the initial originator of the research project, the assistant researcher becomes increasingly uninterested on the subject. Inadvertently, resources have been spent and results are now required by the donor institution.

The development of leadership especially during this heightened culture of democratic dispensation becomes equally vital for further investigation. Young cadres within the progressive political organizations are regarded as the prodigy of their own leaders. It is always argued that those that are likely to move up the political ladder are those who demonstrate loyalty to the leadership. This loyalty is determined by the extent to which these youth should accept the decisions made by the leadership on wide range

of issues including their delegation to perform difficult assignments. This organizational progression and social mobility of these youth leaders is governed the social capital that embeds these institutions. While hard work is commendable, these institutions tend to promote those that are closely linked to the social capital of the organization; this includes traditions, norms and practices which were adhered by elders. The greatest challenge with social capital is when members of the same hegemony feel that they cannot adhere to these traditions to the letter.

2.6 **Social Capital in the 1976 Soweto Student Uprising**

The socialisation discourse advocated by Lareau's "Unequal Childhood" cannot be accepted within the South African context whereby young people could not lean wholly on their adult to transform the quality of life. These youth had lost absolute trust in the ideology of subservience engendered by the parents. Within the context of poverty and human subjugation advocated by the legacy of apartheid South African youth defied the status quo and drew strength from global movements that changed their course of history. Youth in Soweto and across South Africa came to realise that communities united to address the common challenges they face is vital in rewriting their history. Trust became an important attribute to lean on. Similarly, this trust became infectious and necessitated the development of underground networks to galvanize the necessary support young black student required. Indeed, Soweto Student uprising of 1976 became the illustrious story on how social capital united society youth and communities on one common denominator. The common experiences shared by these youth included: -
- Imposed usage of Afrikaans language as a medium of instruction,
- Alienation or exclusion of their parents in deciding on their fate,
- Outrage spawned by seeing white male domination infiltrating their young livelihood with the intention to destroy their live chances and relegating them into the position under which their parents were subjected.
- Dehumanization of their own sisters and disregard of their unique needs including sanitation.
- Disparaged by experiences of their parents and the type of menial jobs they were subjected to as mine labourers, security guards, and genitors or 'kitchen girls'.

Indeed, Soweto Student Uprising, marked a turning point when high school youth between the age of 13 and 19 took to the street their discontentment about the status quo of apartheid education. Although the protest had focused on their education experience, largely, these teenagers waged a much complex battle their parents could not deal with. Propelled by their youthfulness and strong feeling that they deserved better, Orlando East High youth and those from surrounding sections defied the status quo of respect and Christianization. They were oblivious of the magnitude of challenge they invoked. Neither did they comprehend the nature of agitation and callous response they would face. Suddenly, apartheid police were dispatched, and blood spilled on the dusty roads of Soweto as deadly bullets were spread on them. Although some died while majority had to escape the country into exile, the message of resistance against this monstrous system had already spread further afield. United Nations and all its ally countries had no option to turn a blind eye.

2.7 **Social Capital and Trust**

The credibility of young people's social network hinges upon the integrity of their family, relatives, and friends. Therefore, trust becomes a vital ingredient that makes all other indicators of social capital hold. It is such trust that guides these youth in career selection and in counting on family friends to level the field of play on their behalf when the time for internships and employment comes. Three types of trust are identified in the literature, namely: trust of familiars; generalised or social trust; and civic or institutional trust (Ulsaner 1999; Hughes et al 2000; Cox and Caldwell 2000).

The diminishing of trust towards governance and rule of law can have an adverse effect on young people and result in pessimistic attitudes in obeying normative rules. Despite the existing challenges faced by South African youth within higher education, the level of trust from poor students is likely to be high. Government has embarked on plethora of interventions including NESFAS. However, it could also be argued that the increasing rate of graduate unemployment reduces the trust young people have in higher education and the labour market.

2.8 **Social Capital and Networks**

The work of Richard Coleman (1988; 1990) locates social capital at the centre of family. Coleman uses the presence of parents as an important instrument that enables children develop certain competencies, norms, values, and abilities. He argues that character development and success motivation need to be developed from home. Of the three types of networks identified in the literature (Putnam 1998), namely bonding, bridging, and linking, bonding was more appropriate for Coleman as it fostered trust and reciprocity within closed social networks. While bonding is more convenient for people to get ahead, Stone (2001) suggests that bridging offers a wider spectrum that unfolds in diverse contexts. Unlike the former, the latter can negotiate resources and opportunities for actors beyond the context with which they are familiar. A handful of our research participants have confirmed the social advantage of bridging social capital and its ability to assist black African student to obtain multicultural relationships that enrich their prospects for securing the ideal job.

It is equally important to go beyond the quantity of time spent on a child to the quality of interaction (Amato, 1998). Therefore, different youth from different social backgrounds will not experience direct interaction with their parents the same. For those that are disadvantaged, bonding shall have no relevance in relation to career development beyond building their values and norms. In this manner, uneducated parents cannot contribute to their children's homework and solve academic problems, including making the right career choices.

This approach is relevant within the African context. Supporting this argument, Sihlongonyane (2000) avers that Western families are not fond of embracing the non-biological parenting as they embrace atomic and individualistic values which are underpinned by capitalistic ideals. On the contrary, Sihlongonyane's[6] anecdote contends that African societies are underpinned by trusteeship, communalism, and generosity. Although the western families would perceive supporting the extended family as an extra

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[6] "The Invisible Hand of the Family in the Underdevelopment of Africa Societies: An African Perspective" is undated article in a Peer Reviewed on-line Publication of The Global Development Research Center (GDRC), an independent nonprofit think tank.

burden, he argues, it is within the latter's norms that uncles and erstwhile relatives take care of a child's education when a parent dies or during times of unemployment. However, without the ability to measure the economic value of this social capital and the impact of urbanisation and industrialisation within African families, such broad claims of generosity remain unclear and vague.

It is suggested (Logue, 1993; Healy & Cote, 2001) that the largest proportion of people is likely to find their jobs through networking or personal contacts. This is true in this period of heightened unemployment which Deborah Brown dubbed 'labyrinth of opportunity' to imply that although there may seems to be no job available, those people that have good social networks are still able to secure employment opportunities. What constitute good social capital will certainly differ by geographic location and the history of race relations. In South Africa, most supervisors in science related departments, especially within predominantly HWU are likely to be white. Secondly, the chance of keeping relationship with their old peers in the STEM career is much stronger. This research has found that it is much easier for a white graduate student to move from university as a junior lecture to join the mainstream industry and a later stage, return to university with an in-depth experience to take senior lectureship position than it would be for their black counterpart. Several experiences of white doctoral graduates have shared a very strong motivation that pursuing lucrative and highly specialized science fields is not always about monetary gains. Instead of looking at the subject purely from white privilege vantage, it was highly critical for the researcher to understand the nature of dedication and commitment that has been a driving force of some young white academics.

Utilising Meyer and Shadle's (1994) findings that what counts in this volatile time is not networking intensity but network quality, one can certainly assume that the nature of networking within South African professional bodies tends to be tendentious. The effort placed by all post-graduates in joining such institutions does not always yield the same results. To land a good job, it is not only the quality of contacts one knows, but the quality of information likely to be translated into employment outcomes (Wanberg et al., 2000).

It is in this context that Granovetter's (1974:5) "strength in weak ties" hypothesis has currency. The author states that it is weak ties, i.e., friends of friends, which are likely to offer quality leads to job seekers more than the confidantes they have. Richard Coleman (1988) provides a more apparent reason why favours are likely to be transmitted through social network, including providing employment opportunity. Coleman argues that people reciprocate favours for the good demonstrated towards them. He posits that actor (B) is likely to become morally obligated in reciprocating favours provided to them by important others (A). However, such instalment is not due until opportunity arises wherein the latter (A) expects the benefits. Such interlocking relationships of benefits exchange, inadvertently, tend to exclude those who are not privilege to these relationships.

Current research on the impact of social capital to the family and individuals has not received in-depth attention in South Africa. This is truer within the education sector. Many of the variations in educational outcomes, particularly based on race and class, lack a detailed account of the social capital aspect as to why middle-income youth tend to perform better than those from a low-income background. On transition from school to work, recent literature (Mlatsheni, 2007) has used the Cape Area Panel Study in acknowledging friends and relatives as important sources that help youth from Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha to find jobs. In the same vein, Miriam Altman (2007), in analysing the Labour Force Survey from 2005, observes that 10% of youth respondents that claim to find their jobs through networks have racial underpinnings, as many of those respondents that acknowledge obtaining employment through networks are likely to be predominantly white.

This observation by Altman has been confirmed in this research, albeit using a handful sample of respondents, which may not necessarily provide a robust basis to draw conclusion. Several white students have admitted that their jobs were pre-arranged within either the family or supervisors. Consciously or consciously, the study found that their associates have shaped the level of relationship white students would require to secure employment. Although some of them may quickly haste to admit it that they have worked hard by themselves to secure the nature of job they required. This stands to reason that although both black and white graduate may genuinely work hard to go out searching for

the job, the nature and structure of the job market is already set to advantage one and disadvantage the other. Whereas the odds of black graduates may be higher, the research further finds that black female graduates are the one who are most likely to feel the brunt especially within the engineering science profession which is still predominately a white male-controlled profession.

According to Kingdon and Knight (2000), people from remote areas are less likely to search for jobs than those closer to areas of work. Part of the reason for failure to search for employment is lack of family member or relatives in the metropolis which is an important facilitator for urban migration. Evidently, the type and quality of social capital accessible to low-income youth cannot foster the kind of linkages necessary to obtain the ideal job. In this vein, social capital's application within the unemployed graduate context requires a political economy perspective that acknowledges the influence of contestations and subjectivity in the selection process. The nature of social capital that exists within low-income youth as against those in middle-income families need focused attention. Further, the role of families and friends in the formation of this social capital becomes important as a reliable asset young people can rely upon. However, its limitations must be underscored, especially where this interaction only evolves amongst the poor. At the same time, social capital formation cannot exclude educational background. Therefore, the scope of social capital research must go beyond addressing labour market entry-barriers. Further, it must highlight the interlocking relationship of the South African education system and the mismatch between human capital supply and demand.

2.9 **The Social Capital of Higher Education**

A unique contribution to the literature on social capital within this doctoral research is premised on Bourdieu's principle that social capital does not inhere within people but the society in which they belong. From this vantage, an in-depth understanding of social stratification within higher education and the interlocking power of race, gender and reveals the nature of social capital that exist within higher education. Instead of simply looking at Higher Education as a culmination of various dominant group within society, this research further advocates for the paradigm change in looking

at the status of HEIs. As a society on its own, higher education institutions possess their own social capital which explains the perpetual control of existing hegemonies that influence the future of higher education in the post-democratic milieu. This social capital is predicated on unequal distribution of resources, relationships, trust, and influences how youth from disadvantaged backgrounds are likely to respond in quest for survival. The extent to which a call for the improvement of social capital of disadvantaged post-graduates is pursued within HEIs depends much on the prioritization of transformation agenda within Higher Education department and its respective High Education Institutions.

In this final part of the literature, the historical context under which social capital of South African HEIs has been constructed is provided. To this end, a brief profile of South African population and its fragile state of the economy is highlighted. Furthermore, the background of apartheid education system that is predicated on racial segregation is outlined. As pressure began to be exerted both from within and outside the country for the dismantling of the apartheid system, which was no longer tenable for its citizenry, the social capital within HEIs became congruent with these processes. Nevertheless, the literature further shows that the process of transforming education system juxtaposed with the introduction of the new education policy was not absolved from exogenous factors including neo-liberal economic policies. As a result, the deracialisation of education system has not delivered absolute transformation as was envisaged by protagonist forces to whom the new democratic dispensation is accorded.

Unprecedented surge of private higher education institutions posed a new challenge to public HEI. For the latter to survive, they had to be competitive and responsive to the labour market demands. To a large extent, the battle that HEIs had to wage in meeting the bottom line has had a great effect on their admission policy. Inadvertently, student admission to certain departments was wrought with prejudice. The impact of liberalization to higher education, as we shall see later in the chapter, created a fault line of commodification in which substantial part of students, majority of whom are black African, were subjected to career choices that suits university enrolment targets and not the career aspirations the student had originally intended to pursue.

2.9.1 **South African Demographic Profile**

South Africa is home to almost 58.8 million people, with black Africans comprising of 80.7% of the population, whites at 7.9%, coloureds at 8.8%, and Indians at 2.7% (StatSA, 2019). This number excludes an estimated 5 million illegal immigrants of Zimbabwean origin and other African countries (Statistics South Africa: Census, 2011). In absolute terms, the black African population stands at (47, 4 million), followed by the coloured population at 5,2 million, then white and Indians at 4.7 million and 1.5 million respectively. Women take the lead at fifty-one per cent of the population which is estimated at thirty million. Life Expectancy in South Africa has been on the rise since 2007 following the catastrophic impact of HIV and AIDS endemic between 2002 and 2006.

Population growth in South Africa is moderate compared to other developing countries. From an estimated 37, 8 million in 1993 to 57, 7 million in 2018, South Africa has grown by close to 20 million people in the past 25 years (Stats SA, 2018a). The biggest share of this population is youth at 32.3 million who are below the age of 30 years (Stats SA, 2018a). In terms of youth dependency ratio, there are on average 97 children younger than 20 for 100 working-age adults which implies that the country has a higher population of youth that are not yet ready to join the labour market while there is a limited number of those of working age which can influence population age and threatens the future of work in South Africa. This challenge is further exacerbated by a stagnated economy which is less likely to absorb these youth once they join the working age threshold.

Similarly, life expectancy at birth was estimated at 61, 1 years for males and 67,3 years for female. Compared to the global life expectancy at 72.6 in 2019, it is evident that the country lag by 8, 4 years. Unless a radical change is experienced in the current state of technical recession the country find itself in, this status quo is likely to impact negatively on the life expectancy records to date. In line with the life expectancy gain, the infant mortality rate (IMR) also declined from estimated 53, 2 infant deaths per 1,000 live births registered in 2018. The current records of reported deaths have also showed significant improvement as record deaths experienced significant drop from 672,371 in 2006 down to 522,157 in 2018.

2.9.2 **Analysis of Household Income**

Significant changes have taken place between 2011 and 2017. According to Census 11, of the 16.4 million population of working age (15-64) in 2011, 78.2% were black African, followed by whites at 9.3%, coloured at 9.1% and 2.8% for Indians. The total labour absorption rate was 39.7%. Among black Africans belonging to this working age, only 34.6% were employed, while coloureds, Indians and whites registered 46.9%, 54.6%, and 69.0% respectively of those in employment. The Census 2011 also shows that unemployment rate amongst youth aged 15-24 years is higher than in the older age groups (StatsSA 2011:54). The rate of youth unemployment between 2001 and 2011 was standing at 27.8% however because of the country's protracted state of stagnating economy; South African unemployment rate is at alarming rate of 30% with youth registering almost 50% of the group.

It is very important to understand the patterns of household income by race and gender to interpret the pattern of social capital in the life of graduates. The very same households reflect the number of parents that are likely to afford paying for higher education and those that cannot afford. For those who cannot, this analysis will enable us to understand the role of the state in financing higher education and its long-term impact on the NFSAS[7] beneficiaries. During the Census 2011 analysis, the average annual household income for all households in South Africa had more than doubled. This income was up to R103 204 from R48 385 recorded in Census 2001. This represents an increase of 113,3% in nominal terms – the Consumer Price Index indicates that income should have increased by 77,5% during this period to have stayed in line with inflation (StatsSA,2019).

Although not showed in the diagram below, the average female-headed household had just more than half the annual of their male counterpart, (at R67 330) who earn an average of at least R128 329. The encouraging progress in this data was in the significant

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[7] Between 2010 and 2017, a total of R70,8 billion in National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) funding was granted to more than 3 million students. In 2017, 85, 7% of the money allocated to NSFAS was granted to university students while the rest (14, 3%) was granted to students at TVET colleges. This funding was insufficient and many deserving potential students, without other financial means, continue to be excluded from the system or pay for tuition fees under great duress for them and their families.

growth of average female-headed household's income by 141, 6% from 2001 as compared with male-headed households that saw a relatively lower increase of 101,7%. As always expected, and in line with the unequal nature of the country's income distribution, except for black African, salaries for whites jumped from R198,820 to R365,134, with Indians also increasing from R102,602 to R251,541 and coloured from R51,440 to R112,142. Although not falling within these groups, black African-headed households also experienced salary increase by 169,1% , which is now sits at R60,613 from R22,522. Undoubtedly, this stunted improvement for most black workers demonstrates the obstinate nature of transformation within the labour market. Such evidence could also suggest that the role of NEDLAC and other bargaining councils are not yielding desired fruits.

Figure 1: Population group of Household head
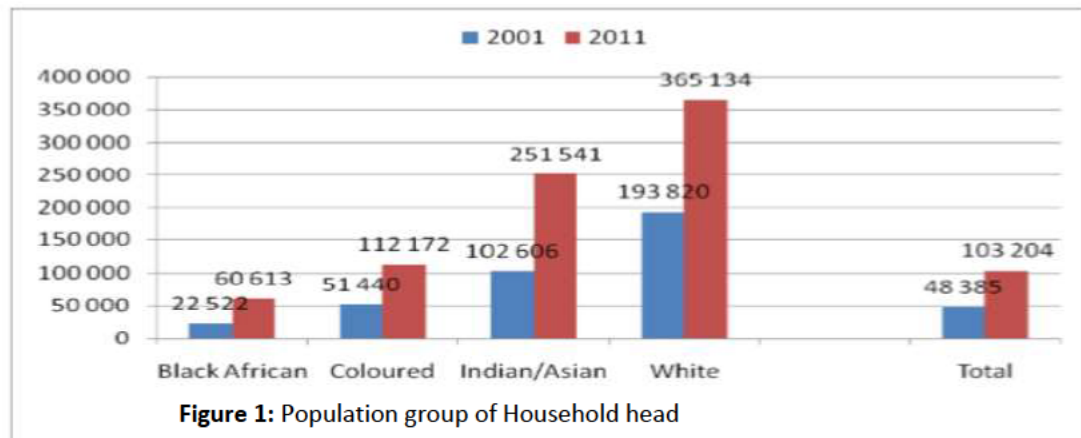
Even though blacks constituted 78% of people of working age, which was, 12,792,000 people, only 5,576,000 were employed with majority placed in positions that would not enable them to take their children to descent schools. Quantitative researchers are certainly qualified to underscore the fact that an estimated number of young people at 31,1% between the age of 15–24 years are not in employment, education, or training. Their strength is to report on the number of unemployed persons, especially highlighting the fact that only 1,7% are graduates, while 6,3% hold other tertiary as their highest level of education while more than half (57,1%) have education level that is below matric, which is followed by those holding matric certificates at 34,2% (QLFS Q4: 2018, Stats SA, 2019). Yet these academics fail dismally in explaining the root cause of these structural deficiencies. For instance, Von Broekenhuizen and others are quick to defend the work done by HEIs with a record of 1.7% registered for unemployed graduates.

A structural deficiency within statistical research driven by positivist researcher is in its lack of in-depth understanding of what transpires when graduates undertake an expedition in search of jobs commensurate with their qualification. Looking at the poor rate of increase in incomes within Black South Africans can easily suggest that graduates are likely to be trapped in poor earning jobs. These youth are taking up these positions because of the state of desperation and pressure imposed by study loans they had obtained and the fear of being handed over to debt collectors to recover the outstanding amount.

2.9.3 The Impact of Education on Income

The impact of education on income levels of Black South Africans remains mixed in the post-democratic dispensation. Despite many labour relations policies promulgated into law including Affirmative Action policies and Employment Equity, the black African population remains on the side-lines in the labour market. This group has more than doubled the proportion of their people holding higher education between 1996 and 2011. Looking at the diagram below, the number of those who did not have any schooling background significantly dropped by half from 24% to 12%. However, this change is not only unique to blacks as coloureds, Indians, and whites also follow the similar trend. This consistent drop could mean the education policy was beginning to demonstrate the results. Surprisingly, the fact that whites would register the lowest in educational achievements does not take away their title as the highest education population in the country at 36.5% followed by Indians at 21, 6%, then blacks and coloureds at 8.3% and 7.4% respectively.

	Black African			Coloured			Indian /Asian			White		
	1996	2001	2011	1996	2001	2011	1996	2001	2011	1996	2001	2011
Higher	3,6	5,2	8,3	4,9	4,9	7,4	11,6	14,9	21,6	26,8	29,8	36,5
Grade 12/std 10	12,0	16,8	26,9	12,3	18,5	25,2	29,9	34,9	40,0	39,3	40,9	39,5
Some secondary	32,6	30,4	35,5	42,2	40,1	42,0	39,3	33,0	26,1	31,6	25,9	21,4
Completed primary	8,3	6,9	4,9	11,1	9,8	7,4	4,9	4,2	2,8	0,5	0,8	0,7
Some primary	19,5	18,5	13,9	19,6	18,4	13,8	8,0	7,7	6,6	0,7	1,2	1,3
No schooling	24,0	22,3	10,5	10,0	8,3	4,2	6,3	5,3	2,9	1,1	1,4	0,6

Figure 2: Higher School Education by Race

The number of students that complete their matric shows a higher trajectory. The above figure also indicates that 35,5% of the black Africans, 42,0% of coloured persons, 26,1% of Indian/Asian and 21,4% of white persons had at least some secondary education.

2.9.4 What about the status of Black African women?

Table 1: Highest level of education attained amongst those aged 20 years and older by population group and sex, Census 2011)

Population group and Sex	No schooling		Some primary		Completed primary		Some secondary		Grade 12/Std 10		Higher		Total
Black- African	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Male	968 141	8,7	1 546 769	13,9	544 120	4,9	4 036 403	36,4	3 122 651	28,2	873 439	7,9	11 091 523
Female	1 516 351	12,1	1 733 245	13,8	604 791	4,8	4 297 729	34,3	3 271 806	26,1	1 095 162	8,7	12 519 083
Total	2 484 492	10,5	3 280 014	13,9	1 148 911	4,9	8 334 131	35,3	6 394 457	27,1	1 968 601	8,3	23 610 606
Coloured													
Male	54 682	4,2	177 376	13,6	90 574	6,9	555 335	42,5	333 374	25,5	95 491	7,3	1 306 831
Female	64 334	4,3	210 227	14,0	116 729	7,8	617 291	41,1	379 524	25,3	112 820	7,5	1 500 924
Total	119 015	4,2	387 603	13,8	207 303	7,4	1 172 626	41,8	712 898	25,4	208 310	7,4	2 807 755
Indian/ Asian													
Male	8 987	2,0	21 558	4,8	9 807	2,2	118 324	26,2	193 394	42,8	100 016	22,1	452 086
Female	17 227	3,8	38 595	8,4	15 642	3,4	115 801	25,3	173 901	38,0	96 969	21,2	458 134
Total	26 214	2,9	60 153	6,6	25 449	2,8	234 124	25,7	367 294	40,4	196 985	21,6	910 220
White													
Male	9 519	0,6	20 845	1,3	10 808	0,7	317 114	19,5	647 317	39,8	619 374	38,1	1 624 977
Female	11 233	0,6	24 266	1,4	12 681	0,7	362 288	20,5	737 108	41,8	616 881	35,0	1 764 458
Total	20 752	0,6	45 111	1,3	23 489	0,7	679 402	20,0	1 384 425	40,8	1 236 255	36,5	3 389 434

Within the coloured population, there is consistent lead of women across all the identified categories. Females who had no schooling at all were 4, 3% compared to male counterparts at 4.2%, 14, 0% of females had some primary schooling against 13,6% of males. Surprisingly, as they reach Grade 12, male begin to take a lead with 25, 5% compared to women at 25, 3%. As they move up the ladder to higher learning females regain their title at 7, 5%, which is around 112,820 against male counterpart at 7.3% or 95,491. Some Indians and whites also experience the challenge of children within no schooling category at 2, 9% and 0, 6% for these groups respectively.

This number in percentile form may sound quite minute, but when looking at the actual population size, in absolute values it becomes evident that 17,227 Indian females have no schooling experience including their 8,987 males. The same trend applies to the least expected, whites, whereby 11,233 girls and 9,519 boys are left behind by the

education system. This bleak picture begins to change at high school and higher education institution, as more whites at 36.5% and Indians at 21.6% earn their higher education credentials.

In sum, the most highly educated group continues to be the white population group while their females remain the most highly educated group in the population, with only 0,6% of males and females who had no schooling, 0,7% of females and 1,7% of males who completed only primary school. More than a fourth (41,8%) of females and 39,8% of males completed Grade12/Standard10, a further 35,0% of females and 38,1% of males had a higher qualification. Of those classified as 'Other', there weren't any significant differences between males and females' educational attainment (StatsSA 2019).

By 2016, there were 26 public Higher Education Institutions, 123 registered private Higher Education Institutions 50 Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET), 279 registered private colleges and 9 Community Education and Training (CET) colleges. Enrolment at public and private HEIs reached 1.1 million in 2016, with public HEIs enrolling 975 837 students and private HEIs 167 408 students. The public higher education sector consists of 26 universities, differentiated into eleven general academic universities; nine comprehensive universities and six universities of technology.

The target set out in the National Development Plan (NDP) is 1.6 million enrolments by 2030. The majority of 2016 graduates from public HEIs were in the Science Engineering and Technology (29.1% or 59 125), followed by Business and Management (27.8% or 56 364), all other Humanities (22.4% or 45 480) and Education (20.7% or 42 107) fields of study. The Higher Education (HE) Sector is intended to perform the following three functions as outlined in the National Development Plan (NDP): a) educate and equip people with high-level skills to meet the employment needs of the public and private sectors; b) produce new knowledge and assess and find new applications for existing knowledge; and c) provide opportunities for social mobility while strengthening equity, social justice and democracy to deal with the injustices

brought about by the apartheid system. In 2016, the HE sector comprised of 26 universities and 123 private higher education institutions (PHEIs).

Figure 3: Graduates from public universities and technicons by nationality and qualification types, 2000
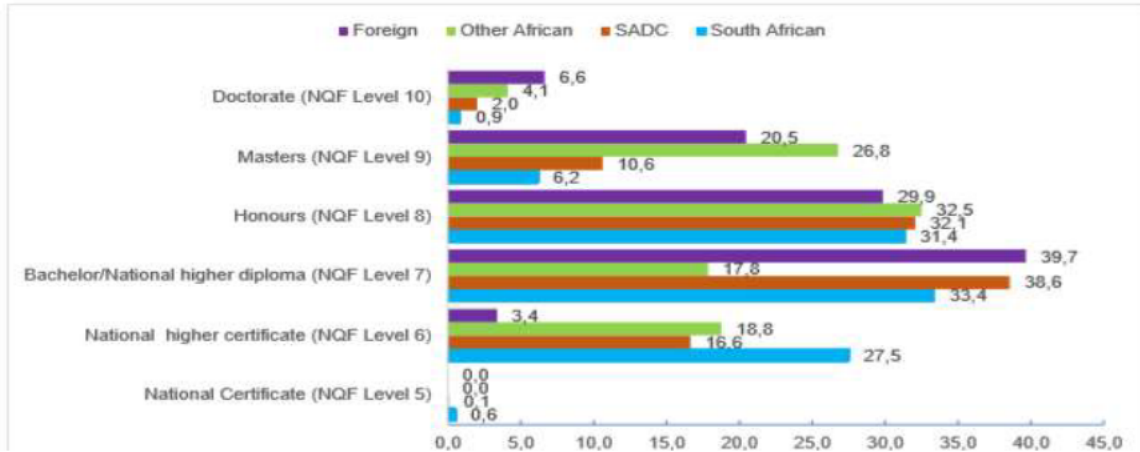
In 2000, close to one-third of South African graduates were more likely to achieve a bachelor's degree or a qualification equivalent to NQF level 7 compared to 39% amongst SADC students and 40% amongst foreign students who achieved similar qualifications. Close to 28% of South Africans graduated with national higher certificates while close to 17% of SADC graduates, 19% of other African graduates and 3% of foreign graduates received such qualifications. Other African graduates were more likely to achieve honours (32, 5%) or masters (26, 8%) degrees.

Figure 4: Graduates from public universities and technicons by nationality and qualification types, 2016
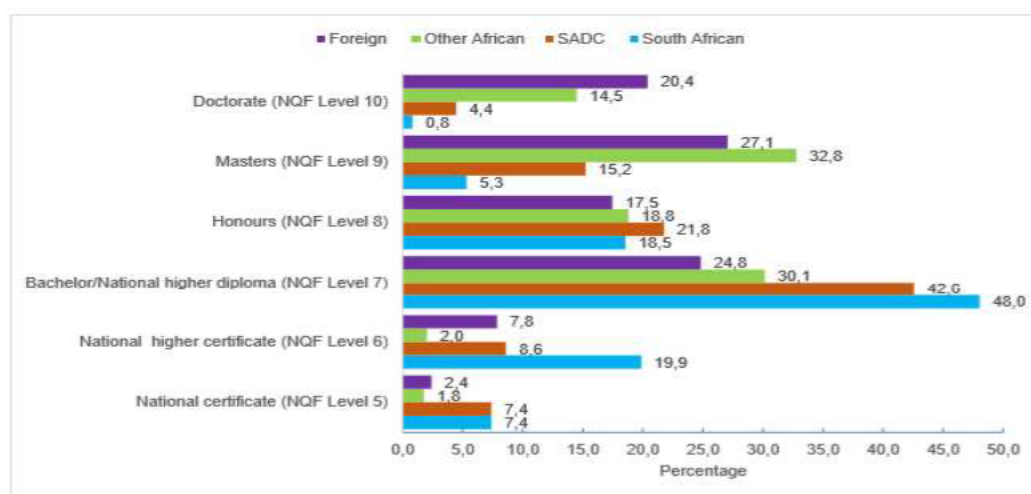
Source: DHET (HEMIS)

In 2016, while the percentage of South African graduates with bachelor's degree or equivalent grew to 48% compared to 2000, the percentage of honours graduates declined by 12,9 percentage point between 2000 and 2016. Non-South African graduates were more likely to achieve masters or doctorate degrees. Furthermore, on in five South Africans who graduated in 2016 obtained national higher certificates (NQF level 6).

Figure 5: Statistics on Post-School Education and Training in South Africa, 2016
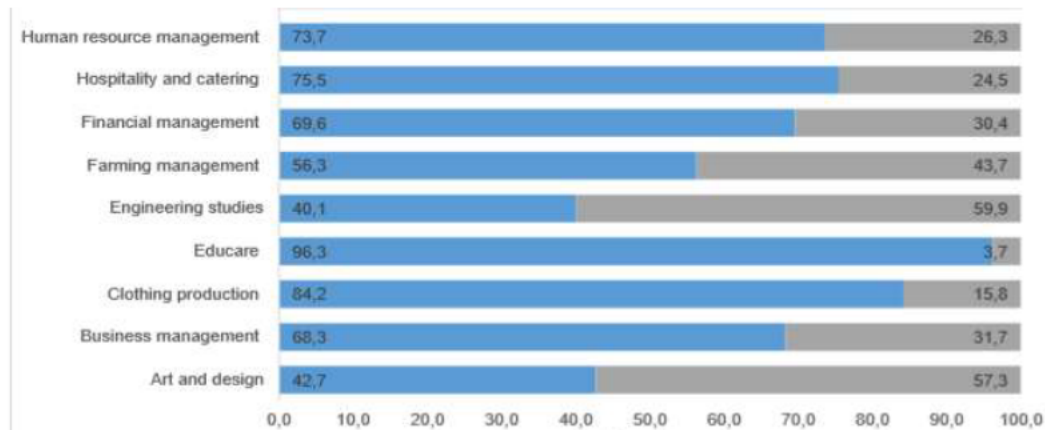
Source: DHET

The figure above shows that overall, there were more female graduates in Report 191 (N6) programme. The graph also shows that almost all the fields of studies had more female graduates except for engineering studies (59,9%), art and design studies (57,3%), popular music composition (75%) and studio work (94,1%) that had more male graduates. Interior decorating and early childhood development studies had almost entirely female graduates only (100,0% and 96,6% respectively).

Figure 6: Youth aged 20-24 with education of NQF level 7-10 population group and household Income Quintile, 2017
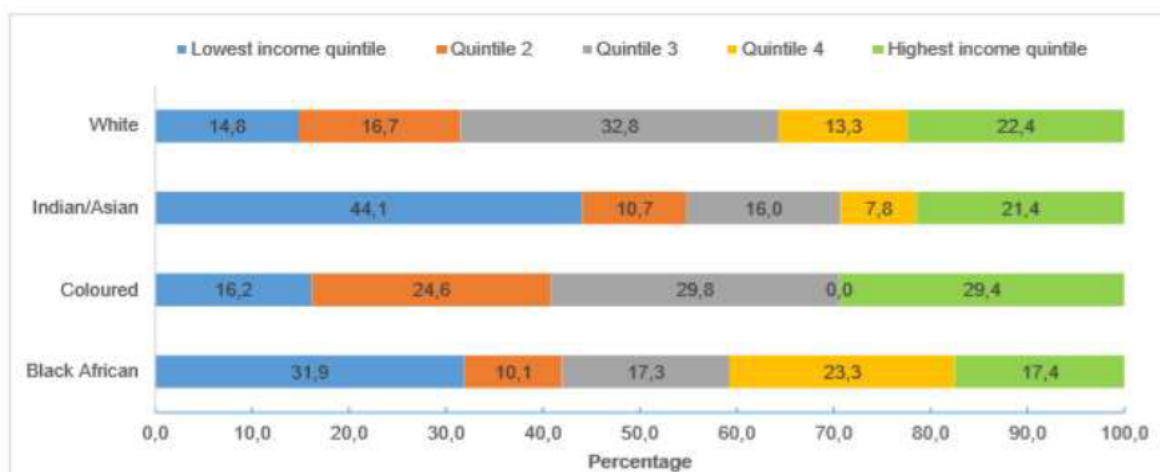
Income quintiles were calculated using monthly household incomes based on GHS data. Median per capita income derived used the Living Condition Survey 2014/2015 which was adjusted for inflation. Where total monthly household income values were missing or were less than R1 695, 34 monthly income values were imputed by using per capita median income multiplied by household size.

The figure above shows graduate youth aged 20–24 by population group and household income quintiles. Among black African youth graduates, the majority (32%) belonged to the either poorest income quintile, while 58% were in the middle or higher household income quintiles (quintiles 3–5). By contrast, three in five (60%) coloured youth graduates, belonged to middle- or high-income households. The same was true for close to 69% white youth graduates. However, 15% of white youth graduates were confined to the poorest household income quintiles.

Figure 7: Education Attainment among youth 20 and 24 by gender, 2017
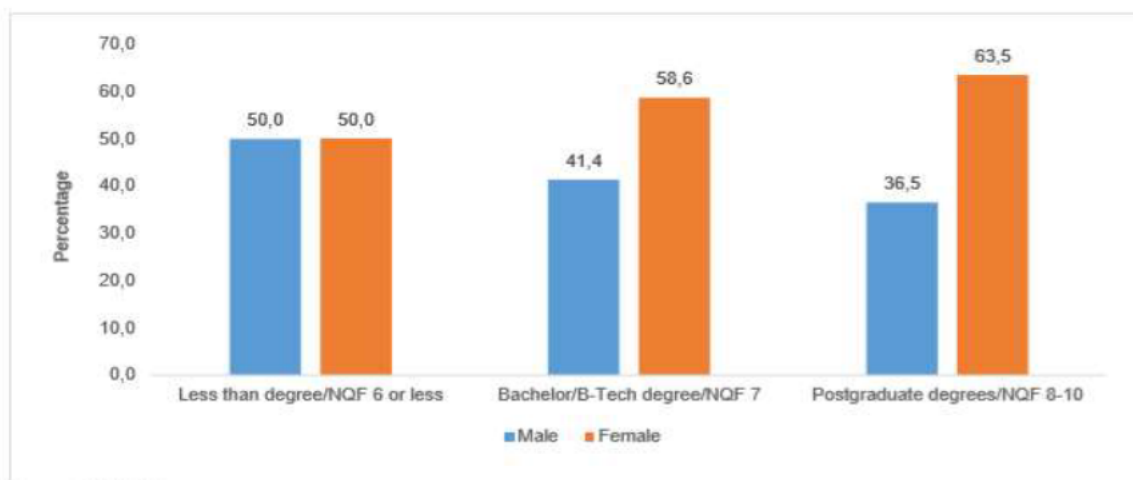
Source: GHS 2017

The figure above displays the existence of gender disparities in educational attainment among youth aged 20–24 except for those individuals with qualifications less than a degree. The largest gap between female (63,5%) and male (36,5%) individual's attainment was observed in postgraduate degree holders. However, bachelor's degree attainment among youth was still largely dominated by females with close to 59% of females having such qualifications.

Table 2: Occupation by Occupational level and Race

OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL	PERIOD	WHITE	AFRICAN	COLOURED	INDIAN	MALE	FEMALE
Top Management	2001	87%	6%	3%	4%	87%	13%
	2017	67%	14.3%	5.1%	9.4%	77.1%	22.9%
Senior Management	2001	81%	9%	5%	5%	80%	20%
	2017	56.1%	22.1%	7.7%	10.9%	66.2%	38.8%
Professionally Qualified	2001	56%	33%	6%	5%	62%	38%
	2017	36.5%	42.2%	9.6%	8.8%	53.4%	46.6%
Technical Skilled	2001	18%	58%	18%	6%	60%	40%
	2017	19.6%	61,7%	11.3%	5.6%	52.9%	47.1%

Data on the trends of the number of Foreign Nationals employed across various economic sectors commenced in 2009 when the EE reporting instruments were amended. As a result of the late start of reporting on Foreign Nationals, we are unable to do a direct comparison with the 2001 figures at the top four occupational levels reported by designated employers. In 2001, designated employers reported that 1% of their total employees were Persons with Disabilities across all occupational levels of their organisations compared to the 1.3%, in 2017, which is an insignificant increase.

In terms of race, the biggest shift from the White population to the Black population, in particular the Indian Population has been at the Top and Senior management levels. The White Population at Top Management level decreased by 20% whilst at Senior Management level at 24, 9% decrease is noted. This represents around a 1% increase of the Black Population year on year and is considered be a very slow rate of transformation. Again, it should be remembered that the table cannot be an absolute comparison, as the number of reports received varied, and several other variables might have affected the quality of the reports.

At Professionally Qualified level, there has been a decrease of the White Population of 19.5% and at the Skilled Technical Level their representation increased by 1.6%. The picture in terms of gender remains particularly discouraging. The highest increase in representation of women, is noted at Senior Management level, which is 18.8% increase. This bleak picture is after 20 years and is far from desirable. In the first CEE

Report, the Commission indicated that: "The EEA (Employment Equity Act) and the SDA (Skills Development Act) also provide the basis for addressing other indicators of inequality in the labour market. These two Acts must complement each other in addressing inequalities and unfair discrimination in human capital development and thus helping this country to harness fully the potential of its diverse human capital."

Twenty years later, the 4th Commission of Employment Equity can clearly report that the impact of the Skills Development Act to redress the inequality in the workplace appears to have been minimal. Employers still complain of a lack of a skilled labour pool from which to draw from to increase the percentage of employees from designated groups at the top four occupational levels of organisations. This is particularly concerning when the Training and Development activities reported by designated employers seem to favour the White Population group. On Year-on-year, the statistics indicate that the White Population Group remains favoured for training and development, while males remain favoured in terms of gender. Thus, the two pieces of legislation that are supposed to be supporting each other in driving transformation are not achieving the desired outcome.

The ascendancy of a new democratic dispensation unfolded at a volatile period of global economic upswing (Kingdon and Knight, 2000). This was an era predicated on market liberalisation. It was in this context that South Africa was committed in changing its inward-oriented economy with an export-driven one. One of the decisions South Africa felt it had to make was becoming a signatory to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1994. Some of the critics (e.g., Krafchik, 1993) were not persuaded that such decisions would bear positive benefits since South Africa was operating outside major trading blocs.

Yet the new ANC government was determined to change the country's economic landscape, which had been heavily dependent on mining and energy (i.e., mineral-energy complex) for over sixty years (van der Berg and Louw, 2004). At the same time, the ANC government had inherited the import substitution driven economy which had already hampered export growth (Maasdorp, 2002). Consequently, millions of jobs were shed, and the primary sector shrunk to 12% of GDP, while 64% of the economy was accounted

for by the tertiary sector and 24% by the secondary sector in 2002 (South African Reserve Bank 2003).

On a larger scale, in 1996, the government launched Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), a macro-economic policy which was intended to reduce the country's high inflation rate and grow the economy by 6% GDP per annum. In absolute terms, GEAR had projected a growth of 400,000 jobs per annum, and 1.35 million jobs between 1996 and 2,000 (Office of the President 1996). Driven by neo-liberal principles, the government ensured that the regulatory environment was favourable to investment, was and expected that business would take the lead on growth. Furthermore, this market led growth would attract Foreign Direct Investments which would take the lead in the creation of sustainable jobs, resulting in a trickle-down effect. On the contrary, the amount of joblessness continued to grow alongside the capital-intensive economy, predicated on heavy investment on high-tech and energy sectors. (van den Berg and Louw, ibid).

2.9.5 South African Higher Education: Challenges and Contradictions

A journey towards the formation of positive social capital for low-income youth must be understood against the historical foundation of South African education and legacy of apartheid. Crucial to the understanding of the apartheid legacy in education is the significance of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The following quotes serve to illustrate the intention behind the legislation. Hendrik Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs, stated in a debate in Parliament: -

> There is no place for him [a black man] in the European community above
> the level of certain forms of labour...For that reason it is of no avail to him
> to receive a training which has as its aim absorption into the European
> community, where he cannot be absorbed... (Senate Debates, 7 June 1954)

What Verwoerd had meant by this statement was the fact that the type of schooling a Black African youth must receive should not equip him or her for skilled work. By his statement, Verwoerd was declaring that under the apartheid regime black African people would be denied education that would equip them for anything other than unskilled manual labour and so would lock them into their current socio-economic status. In this

vein, by 1975 white learners received 15 times higher budget allocation than black learners (Thomas 1996). At the time of the Soweto student uprising in 1976, 7,000 rands was allocated for every white learner against 350 rands for the black learner (Samuel 1996:22). As pressure continued to mount through political unrests, the margins of allocations began to narrow by race. For instance, for every 4 rand spent on white learner, 3 rand was accounted for Indian, 2 rand for coloured, and 1 rand for black learner respectively.

Undoubtedly, the apartheid government of the National Party had created complex social stratification wherein the white minority group would receive high quality education and hold strategic positions within the labour market. On the other hand, the majority of black African and the wider black population obtained low quality education and occupied low-income jobs (Case and Yogo, 1999; McCord, and van Seventer 2004). Despite significant changes that followed the democratic dispensation, the legacy of the past continued to be felt on learner achievement and other spheres. For instance, using the 1995 October Household Survey, Case et al. (2004) identified two indicators that depicted poor quality education in township schools namely, a pattern of grade repetition and finishing two years later than learners in historically white schools. This challenge prevailed against a backdrop of 14.1 million learners and students enrolled in school by 2009.

Of these learners, 11.8 million (83.8%) were in ordinary public schools comprising of primary and high schools, and 393.5 thousand (2.8%) were in private schools. On the other hand, public higher learning institutions absorbed 838 thousand (5.9%) followed by public Further Education and Training (FET) institutions at 420 thousand (3.0%). All these learners were admitted in 32,103 accredited institutions and served by 470 thousand educators and lecturers (Department of Education, 2009). Higher Education Department and other stakeholders were not impressed of this state of performance. As part of identifying structural deficiencies within the public schools, the minister of education, Dr. Bhengu issued the commission to investigate the challenges facing educators within public ordinary schools which are outlined below.

2.9.6 **Common Denominators**

In its investigation, the following factors were highlighted as part of the key denominators, Badat's (2003) depicting Higher Education during apartheid era:-

a) A system that was deeply divided internally, and isolated from the international community of scholars

b) A system that was highly fragmented in structural and governance terms and was far from being a coherent and coordinated.

c) A system that was inherently inequitable, differentiated along the lines of 'race' and ethnicity, and designed 'to reproduce white and male privilege and black and female subordination in all spheres of society'

d) A system enamoured by the lowest participation rate on the side of blacks while white,̧ Indians and Coloured registered far much higher.

e) A system in which assessment of the quality of education was left to the individual university, while Historically White Institutions (HWI) were accorded all the accolades for the best teaching and learning standards and quality research output

f) A system that was unresponsive to the needs of its communities and biased in defining socio-economic challenges that faces such solutions.

g) A system engulfed in duplication and lack of sustainability which was demonstrated by declining public funds to become self-sustainable.

h) A system whose resources, capabilities, and outcomes were premised on apartheid legacy of social stratification

2.9.7 **Institutional Fragmentation**

Jonathan Jansen (2011) did reckon that the legacy of the past HE was a fractured system and a set of HEIs bearing the scars of their origins. Therefore, nothing of its operation warranted adjustment or a certain type of reform. On the contrary, a complete transformation was required including HE values, philosophical rational, organizational structure and financial resources management amongst others. In his depiction of the past decade after democracy, Jansen (ibid) further admitted the inherent policy oversight in the post-democratic era which was underpinned by poor policy implementation, centralization

and discursive tensions which had culminated into policy doubt, retraction and reversal, and downplaying equity and redress over quality.

The release of a report entitled "*Restructuring of the Higher Education System in South Africa*"[8] was a watershed. The National Working Group, led by 13 Commissioners and charged with the responsibility of drafting the report, recommended the reduction of higher education institutions. This proposed restructuring was the largest institutional reform any public institution had ever embarked upon, and such an exercise did require the political will of the minister of education whose address on a *Call for Action* intimated that:-

> The shape and size of the higher education system cannot be left to chance if we are to realise the vision of a rational, seamless higher education system... The institutional landscape of higher education will be reviewed as a matter of urgency in collaboration with the Council on Higher Education. This landscape was largely dictated by the geopolitical imagination of apartheid planners. (DoE 1999 as cited in Jansen, 2011)

Organizational restructuring of HEIs or what can be crudely called mergers, was not the original wording of the white paper neither did stakeholders that had submitted their contesting views anticipated such. It was perceived to have been cooperation aimed at leveraging on the strength of each other. Yet it can be argued that the process was not absolved from political lobbying with negotiations on trade-ins and trade-offs. On the face of the results that were finally declared, it was evident that nowhere was the identity of Historically Black Institutions (HBI) salvaged, except for the University of Fort Hare, at least in its original form.

2.9.8 Power Contestations in Higher Education

It is indisputable that the shaping of higher education into its current form is one of the major landmarks in the post-democratic milieu. At the same time, such process has

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[8] On 5 March 2001, Minister Kader Asmal released a National Plan for Higher Education that argued that '... the number of public higher education institutions in South Africa could and should be reduced' (DoE 2001: 87)

been highly contested and as a result has left a degree of ambivalence and suspect in whose favour did these processes serve. In its defence for implementing these reforms, Department of Higher Education has raised three critical factors, namely: -

1) Redressing social and structural inequalities that predicated higher education through the process of rationalization and resource sharing
2) Transforming HE system to meet the challenges of globalization by producing graduates with skills and competencies that are globally competitive and production of a critical mass of intellectuals--especially black intellectuals.
3) Enforcing the system of efficiency, cost-effectiveness, and accountability in the management of public resource channelled towards HE and eliminating all forms of wastage and poor performance [my emphasis] as measured by high drop-out rates, low throughput, and low research output.

As Jansen (2001) alluded earlier, HBIs were the ones most likely to be punished for not meeting the cut because of the poor governing structure and allowing student leaders to enjoy several privileges including opulent lifestyle. Arguably, the way in which Department of Higher Education went about in addressing these problems demonstrated the triumph of neoliberalism in South African shores and its ahistorical and deterministic proclivities. For instance, looking at the first and third ground of defence, resource sharing by way of merging HEIs was not –at least in all instances– the best solution to implement good governance and robust management system which would result in the elimination of wastages. Rather, it can be suggested that DHE opted for quick solution to a problem that was quite complex, and which had warranted that each case be evaluated on its merits. Many stakeholders were displeased by the report of the National Working Group and felt that it was quite unfavourable to HBIs notwithstanding the pivotal role they had played in the transformation of Higher Education in South Africa. Indisputably, when piercing through the corporate veil of these institutions that were subjected to mergers, it was quite evident that even merger was an understatement, but quite candidly, acquisition was the most appropriate and crudest decision adopted.

The dissolution of Vista University is the classical case to demonstrate irrational manner the NWG had used to dissolve its status. At the height of political resistance, Vista

campuses were part of the HBIs that played the sterling role along with other HBIs in ensuring that the transformation agenda of HE is realized on the eve of transition to democracy. For those who did not accede to such decision, were persuaded that the forces of globalization and its call for competitiveness of state departments in general, and HEIs had penetrated the states. In their view, Historically Black Institutions (HBI) represented the vanguards of the struggle against the legacy of apartheid. By virtue of adopting a policy decision, that significantly affects their preservation or at least, the historical legacy of resistance which had characterized these institutions evidenced the defeat of the ideology of the liberation struggle.

This was an onslaught long waited for since the adoption of the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) economic policy. Having failed to privatise state owned enterprises (SOEs), it was convenient to target HEIs as an easy pathway to demonstrate how rationalization should fare. Culminating from such processes, Soweto Campus was incorporated into University of Johannesburg; Mamelodi Campus by University of Pretoria; and Bloemfontein Campus by University of Free State. Another university which had deserved preservation, albeit with the necessity for name changing, was University of Bophuthatswana, which was also absorbed into University of North West, whose head office is in Potchefstroom.

The type of corporate culture to which the HBIs were oriented and the new selection process in the appointment of academics, professors and lecturers left much to be desired. Notwithstanding its earnestness in producing black intellectuals with research outputs of international standards, the commitment of DHE in defending historical identities, including but not limited to, values, culture and philosophical *raison-deter* of HBIs, remains palpable. If anything, on the pretext of leveraging on each other's resources, HBIs were surrendered to the whim and prerogatives of HWIs, who were proud defenders of their academic traditions which were embedded in the concept of 'university autonomy'.

By adopting such a position, had undermined the historical context which underpinned these institutions, that is, "a past that was inherently inequitable, differentiated along the lines of 'race' and ethnicity, and designed 'to reproduce … white

and male privilege and black and female subordination in all spheres of society" (Barat, 2001). Through the technical transfer of management to white male dominated institutions, DHE had signed a dearth nell of accelerating the process of transformation. Similarly, the achievement of student activism in elevating the role and status of women and employees on campus into management positions was discounted. As Mgcotyelwa-Ntoni (2017) correctly points out, mainstreaming of women into male-dominated position prevailed unabatedly. By vesting, the autonomy of these institutions to the HWI wrought with their complex culture of segregation and white male domination would certainly undermine battles waged by student leaders at the penultimate of democracy. Such erratic actions can be equated with a post-facto analysis which suggest that white people had generated more wealth in the democratic dispensation than they did during apartheid.

Under the new hegemony, many black intellectuals could not face this humiliation of reporting to new administrators in the newly merged institutions whose head offices were situated in HWIs. Rather, they decided to leave HEIs for the public sector which was facing serious institutional gaps. Against mounted charges laid by the DHE for mismanagement of funds, a sea of experienced administrators joined the massive exodus to their newly found home in the public sector. Notwithstanding the foregoing, the working committee was determined to implement willy-nilly[9] the ideals of the national strategy. Instead of ensuring that a balance is maintained between promoting equity of access and academic outcomes on the one hand and redressing the past demographic composition of staff profiles and student enrolment on the other, the dream of transforming HBIs into world class institutions of academic learning and research, was aborted.

The report by the National Working Group was met by serious outrage and repulsion from fellow colleagues within HEIs who felt that the group had transcended their scope and Terms of Reference. Paradoxically, against indisputable evidence presented, the ministry of Education (2002) simply dismissed the submissions and argued

that their NWG's report had been derived from National Plan for Higher Education. They stated that: -

> The rationale for merging a historically white and a historically black institution may well differ from that of merging two small institutions. In the one case, the purpose may be that of overcoming the racial fragmentation of the higher education system. In the other, it may be that of achieving economies of scale and/or scope. In yet other cases, the rationale may be that of streamlining governance and management structures and improving administrative systems. Or it may be a combination of all these factors (NPHE: 88).

DHE relied on a set of critical data to which HEI were required to submit by the 31st of October 2001 to determine institutions that are already fit for purpose and that required a degree of adjustment, and those that were out of the equation. However, a significant size of HEIs seemed not to have been versatile with meeting their legislative mandate of submitting the data on annual basis. On the first deadline, only 4 of the 36 HEIs had submitted the critical data while on the overall, only 16 succeeded to meet the mid-June 2002 deadline (Jansen, 2002, ibid).

Institutions that failed to comply with the mandate majority of whom were HBI argued that the required indicators were engulfed with plethora of irregularities including the inability to measure HBIs based on their past and were narrowly constructed. While agreeing with the fact that there were irregularities with some of the indicators, DHE believe that such arguments did not offer compelling grounds for the department to review the report but to implement it as is.

Council for Higher Education (CHE) did confirm DHE's position in the following works:

> South Africa does not have the human and financial resources to maintain the present institutional configuration. Senior and middle-level leadership, management and administrative capacities are absent or lacking in parts of the system. New patterns in student enrolments mean that several institutions are at risk. Some institutions also do not satisfy the specification...to continue as independent institutions (CHE: 51).

Clearly, South African HE system in the post-democratic dispensation unfolded at a critical time when the country had accepted neo-liberal ideology through Growth

Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) and becoming the signatories to GATT. These were the ideals to which the former President Thabo Mbeki was optimistic and had thought, would leverage on his vision of accomplishing the vision of African Renaissance. But more so, President Mbeki as a scholar of note was persuaded that South Africa was not an exception in accepting the reality of globalization. Neo-Keynesian policy of Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which the ANC and its alliance partner, (COSATU) had advocated for at the penultimate of democracy, he thought, could not meet the cut. The apartheid debt which the new democratic government had inherited buttressed by a strong compelling proposition from the Land bank, was enough evidence why South African government had to accept neoliberalism.

Trimming down the capacity of the state and encouraging less interference of government in deciding the future of education was a strong contradiction to the Developmental State theory advocated by the ANC. Unlike the protracted process government had to take in deciding the future of State-owned Enterprises (SOE) such as Eskom, SAA, and Denel which are now facing a threat of privatization by public demand, South African government was not prepared to gamble on the state of university. Undoubtedly, education has always been the first gateway towards attracting Foreign Direct Investment and the litmus test of implementing systems of good governance.

The state knew that by creating policy uncertainty around the future of work and human capital development would compromise the growth target of 5% GDP the Mbeki Administration had set. To this end, trade-offs were inevitable, one of which was relinquishing the autonomy of majority of the HBIs into the hands of HWIs. To a large extent, such decision has borne positive results in as far as administrative efficiency and good governance is concerned.

However, such decision would compromise the long-term goal of balancing equity with quality on the one hand, and Africanization vs. Eurocentric ideology on the other; since the litmus test of social mobility continued to be controlled by white male dominated institutions. In these newly amalgamated institutions, Black African, Indian, and Coloured women academics that sits in university councils were likely to reflect Employment Equity quotas more than genuine transformation the country required.

Similarly, following the state of merger, many student leaders of that generation left HEIs to the labour market and a new breed of leadership had found itself in a new HEI characterized by demeaning tendencies towards student role in senior management of leadership.

By excluding student leaders in the new institutional structure invoked a sense of alienation and mistrust towards the new HEIs. Accordingly, many graduate leaders from South African Student Congress (SASCO), an ally of ANC government within universities, cashed out their social capital dividends by being rewarded with new strategic positions in government. Yet a paucity of new cadres increased whose training would have been derived from the old ones, that is, the pre-merger dispensational leaders. This gap created complacency and self-interest within the post-merger dispensational leaders, and as a result, young people in most universities across the country felt unsupported by the new generation of SASCO leaders. As a result, Student Commanders, an affiliate of Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), realized the gap and swiftly, stepped in and removed SASCO from[10] power across many HEIs.

NEWLY ESTABLISHED HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

Table 3: Summary of Participating Institutions

Institution type	No.	Location	Focus	Student population	No. of campuses	Student/ staff ratio (SAIRR 2012)
HAIs						
	1	Urban	Research	Elite schools	3	19–1
	2	Urban	Research	Elite schools	4	23–1
	3	Rural	Research	Elite schools	1	19–1
HDIs						
	4	Urban	Teaching and research	Disadvantaged schools	3	27–1
Merged institution	5	Rural	Teaching	Disadvantaged schools	3	34–1
Merged institution	6	Rural	Teaching	Disadvantaged schools	1	33–1
UoTs						
Merged institution	7	Urban	Teaching	Disadvantaged schools	8	34–1
Merged institution	8	Urban	Teaching	Disadvantaged schools	8	41–1

While the political landscape of student leadership was undergoing significant transformation, the process of implementing mergers was moving on unabatedly. Cabinet had approved the following mergers and incorporations (Jansen, 2011):

- ❖ The University of Natal and the University of Durban-Westville;
- ❖ The University of the North-West and Potchefstroom University;
- ❖ Technikon Pretoria, Technikon Northern Gauteng and Technikon North-West;
- ❖ The University of Fort Hare and the East London Campus of Rhodes University;
- ❖ The University of Port Elizabeth and Port Elizabeth Technikon;
- ❖ The University of the North and the Medical University of South Africa;
- ❖ The University of the Transkei, Border Technikon and the Eastern Cape Technikon;
- ❖ Rand Afrikaans University and Technikon Witwatersrand; and
- ❖ Cape Technikon and Peninsula Technikon.

It was quite clear that one of the most affordable HEIs, then, Vista University, which constituted of seven satellites campuses was absolved by the merger. The reservation that the researcher holds to this process – which was arguably not as transparent as it had seemed to be – is the indisputable dominance of the HWIs by usurping control of public HEIs in the post-democratic dispensation. Much blame was put on the HBI for financial mismanagement and bestowing student leaders' prestigious positions in university senate committees Consequently, corporate governance within these institutions was mired in administrative irregularities, flouting human resource policies, and let the institutions to bankruptcy (Jansen, 2011). Whereas critics may hold plausible grounds on governance issues, the danger of the narrative is in downplaying the victories achieved by student leadership in leading the process of transformation of higher education.

Simply put, as student politics moved away from resistance to consensus and from revolutionary activism of Onkgopotse Tiro to collective bargaining, the fundamental values of transformation lost grounds. Similarly, as student leadership became more partisan to the new administration on university campuses, the voice of resistance dissipated, and student population lost moral confidence towards their student leaders.

Whereas one would commend the post-democratic dispensation of creating social cohesion and consensus between student and administrative leadership, it also resulted in alienation of student leaders from their constituencies. It became easier to accept neo-liberal policies of paying for university as against the historically upheld position of free education. While the new social capital was borne on campuses, manifested through social and cultural integration, a genuine quest for authentic transformation underpinned by non-racialism, non-sexist and democratic governance was yet to take shape.

2.9.9 Annihilation of Colleges from Higher Education Agenda

A parallel process was followed for colleges of education, through a Departmental Technical Committee appointed in September 1997 and that delivered in the following year a document called The Incorporation of Colleges of Education into the Higher Education Sector: A Framework for Implementation (DoE 1998). It is this committee that recommended the option of incorporation or autonomy for colleges with the proviso that 'an autonomous College ... to be financially viable [it] would require a minimum enrolment of 2 000 students' (1998: 15). The provincial reaction to the so-called Framework Document was swift as the 'rationalisation' of colleges started to take effect. The number of colleges was reduced from 120 (80 000 students) to 50 (15 000 students) by the start of 2000 (CHE 2001: 22) and to 25 'contact institutions' holding 10 000 students (and 1 000 staff) by the end of that year (2000).

Another 5 000 students were registered in two distance colleges (with 500 staff): the South African College for Teacher Education (SACTE) and the South African College for Open Learning (SACOL). Both these distance colleges were absorbed into the University of South Africa (Unisa). This happened so quickly that the Minister's National Plan for Higher Education then declared quite boldly, if prematurely,'... that Colleges of education were rationalised and successfully incorporated into the higher education system with effect from January 2001' (DoE 2001, emphasis added). At the start of 2003, according to Jansen (2002) colleges of education had disappeared from the higher education landscape because of either being closed while others were simply integrated as part of newly incorporated universities and technikons. At the same time, the merger of universities and technikons had been finalised after an intensive political process.

When students from HWIs were only enjoying the benefits of social capital to harvest its dividends in the labour markets, which were historically designed for them, it was obligatory for the black students to prepare the field of play for the future transformation of higher education. Similarly, when the transformation of higher education was finally on the horizon, the fate of institutional restructuring was primarily premised on competitiveness, which inevitably would place many HBIs on the guillotine. This problem was compounded by the state decision in relinquishing its initial commitment to recapitalising HEIs, particularly the HBIs. As a result, the victory that was won by creating such a rich social capital of student activists was surrendered to merger institutions that were alien to this revolutionary culture. In hindsight, the new generation of leadership spawned from university activism was lost to the public sector which was also undergoing a serious process of restructuring.

2.10 Social Capital and HEIs

At the penultimate of democracy, South Africa had witnessed a sea of student uprising across all HBIs calling for the transformation of these apartheid institutions. A movement that was led by Student Representative Councils (SRCs), culminated in the formation of South African Union of SRCs. Prominent institutions that were in the forefront of this voyage included:

1) University of Western Cape,
2) University of the North (Turfloop),
3) University of Fort Hare,
4) Medical University of South Africa (MEDUNSA),
5) Technikon Northern Transvaal (TNT)

It was at this platform that consensus was made about how transformation unfold (Thomas, 2000). SAU-SRC, a federation of SRC across black and white managed universities, rose into prominence promoting non-racial and non-sexist leadership within HBI, in the lag then all HEIs in the second lag. Its leaders some of whom now holds top positions in government of the African National Congress played a pivotal role in

reshaping the institutional governance or democratization of HEIs, at least within HBIs, during apartheid era. Akin to the students of 1976, their struggle was shared based on common battles they had waged against apartheid education system including:-

i. The reduction of student fees; and fair and transparent admission policies

ii. A struggle for academic and financial institution, with the call for the establishment of NESFAS

iii. Marginalization of HDIs by the system and its biased labour market

iv. Respect of student leadership and their ability to participate in matters relating to governance, appointment of senior leadership within university

v. The pursuit of decent living standards on campus in terms of accommodation and nutritious diet

vi. Meaningful participation of the university in local communities where it is situated

vii. Political emancipation and pledging of solidarity with political organization that were banished in South Africa and the battle waged by its allies who were equally confronting the repressive regimes of their time

Obviously, social capital construct of young people within the context of the struggle for human emancipation and fighting all forms of discrimination based on race, gender and ideology unfolded quite differently from the one experienced by the youth within the middle-class background. For the latter, the success of their head-start began within their family through parents' education and career progression. Their rich social network created natural progression as pre-empted in social capital literature. However, the experience of majority of students from historically disadvantaged families, social capital has developed much in response to their unique historical challenges and the way they responded to such. Both groups did not escape the negative effects inherent within social capital. Those whose social mobility rose through an elite process of natural progression landed job opportunities where others could not. Similarly, the ANC policy of redeployment of cadres tended to reward student activists majority of whom were absorbed during the new Mandela administration. However, the landscape of the struggle within universities changed and the attention of student activists shifted to the politics of the gravy train, inadvertently, this created a serious void within student leadership.

In December 2001, a National Working Group appointed by the Minister released its report, Restructuring of the Higher Education System in South Africa, and recommended the reduction of higher education institutions (universities and technikons) from 36 to 21 through the specific mechanism of mergers, listing the specific institutions in various provinces to be targeted for merging.

2.11 **Higher Education and Labour Market**

The quality and relevance of education in a country is determined by the relationship between supply and demand of necessary skills for the labour market (Lotz-Sisitka, 2010). Within the South African context, the provision of poor quality of education during the days of apartheid and after the democratic dispensation has significantly hampered the relationship between supply and demand of skilled labour for a buoyant economy. Similarly, it has been asked questioned whether the country produces enough graduates for the job market (ibid). Contrary to the current norm measuring the quality of education by the number of years learners spend in school, Lotz-Sisitka (2010: 1) argues that the ultimate measure lies in what children learn and the quality of their education experience. Such experience within the South African context, arguably, has been limited to the provision of subject knowledge and life-skills, but has fallen short of meeting industry-specifications (Herman, 2008).

Amidst growing disparities between education institutions and the type of skills required by the job market, white graduates from middle-income families have remained appraised of labour market trends. Even after their black middle-class peers had gained access to historically white universities, white graduates continued to maintain an advantage by being able to match their academic training in university with internship opportunities in the private sector, Mashele (2011) maintains. Although lack of coherence between university curriculum and the required vocational training has served as drawback in supplying required skills for the labour market, it is the black workforce, especially young graduates that have felt the brunt more than their most white counterparts (van der Berg and Bhorat 1999).

As part of suggested social policy interventions to address this challenge, Kazmi (2007:4) provides the detailed grounds why academic and technical training had to be fused to produce demand-driven education. In his view, learners must be able to demonstrate the critical skills and competencies required by the job market. Once South Africa succeeds in producing this type of qualification, the private sector would take more responsibility in subsidizing education which they would benefit from it immediately.

2.12 **A New Vision for Higher Education**

Direct intervention of the state in shaping the policy landscape of higher education in the post-democratic dispensation was fiercely criticized for its tendency to protect academic freedom and respect university autonomy. Against a sea of scholarship (Jansen, 2002; Badat, 2002; Kraak, 2002) that had already challenged the inherent irregularities within policy formulation and execution, Neo Ramoapi (2014) raises critical concerns of failure to take advantage of the past 20 years of democracy through the adoption of pan-Africanist pedagogy which is predicated on the decolonization and *de-eurocentrization* agenda. In adopting this view, Ramoapi sing praises to Kwame Nkrumah and Mwalimu Nyerere, the founding Presidents of Ghana and Tanzania, respectively, for their unequivocal stance in providing an unadulterated view of the role of university in the decolonized Africa. Ramoapi was not persuaded that President Nelson Mandela did provide a clear vision of putting education as the mainstay in rebuilding a country whose citizens were dispossessed their lands for centuries.

On the contrary, South Africa had promised its citizens a future boasting conflicting goals and deliverables in which education, health, housing, and job creation competed for pre-eminence, remarks Ramoapi (2014:277). Arguably, Ramoapi's (2014) strong Afrocentric paradigm in the shaping of South African universities could share strong sentiments outlined in President Mbeki's African renaissance. Afrocentrism, not eurocentrism, must become the praxis of African epistemology and research orientation, he argued. On the contrary, renowned research institutions such as University of Cape Town, Rhodes, and Wits, amongst others, embarking on the process of transformation reaffirmed their internationalization outlook. These were some of the institutions whose admission policies have been opened to all races for almost a century. At the same time,

they have always looked at themselves belonging to liberal tradition originating from Europe. Such institutions always looked at institutions such as Oxford, Cambridge, and Harvard, amongst others, as their quintessential and roadmaps.

Given the context under which democracy was negotiated in CODESA, it may have been quite impossible to have expected that South African development agenda prioritizes education above other social disparities including poverty, health, housing, and unemployment. Unlike African liberation discourse in which the colonial master had to repatriate while their economic interests remained intact, the South African liberation struggle and its democratic outcome co-existed with racial privilege and social stratification. If anything, instead of transforming the apartheid education institutions to become world class HEIs, it was more expedient to focus on equity and integration of HBI and HWIs.

Perhaps, much of the lambasting focused on this approach which tended to vilify investing in the development of HBIs as the paragons of afro-centric scholarship. Consequently, all critical areas that were implemented as part of the transformation including promoting integration through mergers and balancing quality with equity was looked at with a jaundice view by acclaimed scholars of Afrocentrism. They were quite perplexed that HE epistemology and theoretical underpinnings of its education content and curriculum from primary to higher education remained unchanged and unchallenged. As a result, the moral and philosophical inclination of implementing the process of transformation would remain a suspect and subject of continual criticism. Pursuing this pathway was not a surprise why many colleges of education were closed after the minister of education had commissioned an investigation into the quality of college educations in the development of quality educators (Thomas, 2000). By adopting simplistic pathways spawned long-term bottlenecks in the redefinition of HEIs in the post-democratic dispensation.

Furthermore, apartheid education boasted complex hierarchical structure which had placed Historical White Institutions at the zenith amassed with research capabilities, while majority of Historically Disadvantaged Institutions (HDI) followed as the epicentre of large-scale absorber of university populace with a tendentious content that lacks global

setting (Leibowith,2014)[11] Despite its Verwoerdian motive of fostering separate development between blacks and whites, which was crime against humanity of unprecedented proportion, it was quite ambivalent how did Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) failed to subpoena HWIs to account for the psychological atrocities they had committed [my emphasis] in sustaining the philosophical underpinnings of apartheid, admitted Ramoapi (2014:270).

What was considered as the most successful merger in the history of higher education the world over, was wrought with a culture of racial prejudice and white male domination in the process of selecting strategic think tanks – professors. Architectures of institutional mergers preferred the merger model above all recommendations made by well qualified academics simply because HWIs were deemed competent to manage these new complex institutions. However, historical antecedents of social exclusions in the awarding of PhDs and conferring professorship positions was not considered the most cardinal in deciding on the best model for each region. The case of Professor Mafeje who was denied senior lectureship in 1968 by UCT and later deemed unqualified to hold a professorial position as the future head of Centre for African Studies (CAS), remains academic scandal of our time. A recommendation made by Professor Monica Wilson for Mafeje to hold the position at the height of apartheid was ignored. The basis of such decline by Minister of Education, Dr. De Klerk, was not only based on race, but also, gender. In no way would a predominantly white male academic would have declined their opinion, in honour of a white woman academic no matter how qualified she was.

Professor Mafeje left UCT for Cambridge University where he obtained his PhD in Anthropology and Rural Sociology and thereafter, was followed by series of academic accolades including professorship at Queen Juliana and visiting professor in prestigious universities across the world. Paradoxically, after a period of 18 years of hard work in building meritocracy, Prof Mafeje received a double blow when he was found unqualified to hold a professorship in UCT in the 1990s. At the least, the appointing committee thought, a Senior lecturer position would be the best offer Mafeje could accept.

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[11] Institutional Context Matters: The Professional Development of Academics a Teachers In South African Higher Education

Undoubtedly, this incident landed a dismal setback to the transformation agenda of South African Higher Education and demonstrated the fact that the process of transforming the structure of HEIs through mergers and introducing systems of good governance would be much bearable than that of transforming the content, which could be measured by ideological underpinnings, academic values, pedagogical and ontological principles in delivering content and graduate supervision. It is to such academic culture that has been inextricably linked to academic excellence and human subjectivity that the future of HBI was about to be entrusted.

2.13 Lesson Learned for Social Capital

In instances whereby white male and female must make difficult decisions, the Mafeje case has showed that higher education has always been biased to the interest of white male academics. Undoubtedly, Professor Monica Wilson[12], head of the department of Social Anthropology and Professor Mafeje's supervisor and mentor recommended him to the position based on the confidence she had on him. Unfortunately, her recommendation was not accepted since Mafeje was not deemed to be suitably qualified candidate based on his race, Dr. De Klerk head of state. Notwithstanding Mafeje's success in earning the confidence of his supervisor, social capital of Mafeje alone was weak to redress the culture of prejudice, which has always been subtle and professional within

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[12] "*An illuminating portrait of pioneering anthropologist ...*" *Penguin Publication.* Monica Wilson, was the most prominent social anthropologist of her day in South Africa, whose ground-breaking research in African communities continues to influence anthropological and ethnographic studies.*penguin.bookslive.co.za/blog /2016/06/10/an...*Monica-Wilson*...morrow*

A daughter of a Scots Presbyterian missionaries, Monica Hunter Wilson emigrated to Lovedale at the end of the 19th century; Monica was born there on January 3, 1908. From relatively humble beginnings as a missionary's daughter in Lovedale, Monica Hunter Wilson went on to read History and Anthropology at Girton College, Cambridge, and graduated with a Ph.D. from Cambridge at the age of 26.Monica took up her first university post at Fort Hare in 1946 and two years later she took up a position at Rhodes, the first woman to be appointed as a full professor at a South African university. During this period, she participated in the Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, which produced three volumes on rural life, livelihoods, and land tenure in the former Ciskei. After completing this study, she took up a post at the University of Cape Town in 1952. This remained her intellectual home until her retirement in 1973. During this period she produced the three books on the Nyakyusa (1951, 1956, 1958, 1959), co-authored a study on Langa with Archie Mafeje (1965) and worked with Leonard Thompson to produce the landmark *Oxford History of South Africa* (1968, 1970) in two volumes. *https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/monica-hunter-wilson*

academic space. This confirms the fact that social capital inheres amongst people. Although Prof Monica Wilson may have been endowed with strong Christian ethics as a daughter of a missionary, the institutional culture of UCT did not subscribe to such values and norms.

Mafeje had faced a backlash of a strong social capital of white male academics standing in one accord with political head of the state, Dr. de Klerk. Young black academics and post-graduates face this type of discrimination on daily basis during the process of selecting an appropriate research topic, securing suitably qualified supervisor, enjoying the privilege of co-publishing with the supervisor, and earning the confidence of the supervisor for future recommendation into vocational work they require before qualifying in their field of pursuit. The politics of managing such relationships and power-contestations students must face is the lessons to learn from the Mafeje case and is the type of policy intervention never addressed within Higher Education policy.

Fighting racial and gender discrimination within Higher Education is very complex because of the arbitrary nature and unclear process of redress. As shall be seen in the following chapter, post-graduate students are in constant process of fighting for their rights to recognition and equal treatment in a system that remains inherently biased with favours and privileges available to some and yet seen as unavailable or repugnant to others. The then vice-chancellor of UCT, Professor Max Price did indicate the profundity of fighting racial stereotypes while UCT would not afford lowering their standards when appointing a position of a professor to a non-white academic. Making such statements at the helm of an institution that is globally reputable for producing high quality research output was problematic. It justified the fact that race still matters when it pertains to appointment of academic positions or any executive position within HEIs. That lowering of standards become associated with appointment of non-white academics gives inference to the fact that there is a reasonable suspicion that it is most unlikely for a black academic –for that matter – to hold credentials from a world class institution and automatically earn respect of their white colleagues everywhere in the world.

This is true in the experience of Mafeje whose credentials remained suspect despite his global affluence within academia. Instead of appointing Mafeje, UCT decided

to appoint the eminent professor from Uganda of Indian descent, Professor Mandani with the hope of quelling the storm surrounding Mafeje saga. However, Mandani surprised them by demonstrating his academic pros. Despite being restrained from using his own written material, Mandani was unapologetic about how Africa should be taught in a post-apartheid university. Such sentiments are in tandem with Council on Higher Education South Africa (HESA), bemoaning the failure to implement the Sourdien Report.[13] At the heart of HESA statement is the preeminent role of bringing content at the heart of transformation. They stated:

> Higher education transformation entails decolonizing, deracialising, demasculanising and degendering South African universities, and engaging with ontological and epistemological issues in all their complexity, including their implications for research, methodology, scholarship, learning and teaching, curriculum, and pedagogy. It presents the challenge of creating institutional cultures that genuinely respect and appreciate difference and diversity—whether class, gender, national, linguistic, religious, sexual orientation, epistemological or methodological in nature —and creating spaces for the flowering of epistemologies, ontologies, theories, methodologies, objects, and questions other than those that have long been hegemonic in intellectual and scholarly thought and writing (HESA. 2013).

2.14 Higher Education and Employability of Post-Graduates

This part addresses the relationship between higher education and economic development. The value of graduate qualification output depends much on the relationship between the type of training they received and the demand of the labour market. While education is not designed to meet the labour market imperatives only, Kruss (2002) opines that the central core of transforming education curriculum is to ensure that education becomes responsive to the needs and directly address the challenge of poverty, unemployment, and inequality. Such mandate is opposite from that of the apartheid education which had created disjuncture between academic achievements and providing solution to broader challenges of society.

The manifestation of the legacy of apartheid education – a significant portion of which continues to prevail in the new democratic dispensation – is in that people would continue

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to be learned while failing to provide practical solutions to systemic challenges that keep societies unequal based on race, social class, gender, and disability. This academic normalcy is embedded in the ideological underpinning of HEIs and is interpreted through epistemological and ontological paradigms which can only be deciphered through high level of academic scholarship. Suffice to say that Higher Education alone is not the panacea to redress social stratification, but a critical ingredient to create a society with a balanced division of labour. When correctly packaged, with appropriate questions asked, and appropriate skills provided, academic education can benefit those who hold it and those who do not.

In this way, academic responsiveness cannot be deduced to satisfying the needs of the market only, but also, providing a comprehensive solution in meeting societal needs in terms of ethics, culture, law, and intellectual fulfilment (Hellstrom. 2000).[14] This perspective confirms Singh's (2001)[15] idea of responsiveness which cautions us of the danger of reducing HE to 'the handmaiden of the economy'. She states that:

> It is inevitable that [my emphasis] … a more active negotiation or renegotiation about the nature of higher education institutions and their special contribution to social and economic development, as well as the terms of their insertion and functioning within the economy.

Indeed, the future of South African education in the penultimate era and during the immediate transition to democracy attracted intensive discourse and by all interest groups within academic, labour, private sector, and international sectors, certainly not the least—the state. Hence, it was highly critical for HE to tread carefully and set the rules of engagement with all stakeholders on what to engage on, and which gains to defend and which territories to trade off (Singh, 2001). To set agenda that has a degree of acceptance and credibility from all stakeholders, a process of consultation was embarked upon. Several focused groups and individual interviews were held with senior executives of government departments, SETA institutions that place premium on skills development

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[14] The *future of kknowledge production in the academy*: Buckingham, Society for Research into Higher Education and Open University Press

[15] *Paper presented at Privileges Lost. Responsibilities Gained: Reconstructing Higher Education, A Global Symposium on the Future of Higher Education*, Columbia University Teachers College, The Futures Project, The Centre for Higher Education Policy Studies, The Centre for Higher Education Research and Information, 14–15 June , p. 1

including Industrial Training boards, professional quality assurance bodies and HEI from both advantaged and disadvantaged background and privately-operated higher institutions. This broad-based consultation was necessary for building national consensus and establishing general principles that underpins the relationship of HE, labour markets and economic development at large (Kruss, 2002 ibid)

The underpinning factor behind responsiveness is to ensure that a strong relationship exist between higher education and the labour market. Lack of correlations between the two spheres of human capital development, that is, the place of academic learning and work, was one of the cardinal objectives of apartheid education. While this was prevalent in HBIs, labour market agencies and companies have always built strong ties with HWIs. Consciously or unconsciously, such relationship demonstrated an aspect of social capital that sustained the culture of social exclusion by the labour markets towards graduates from HBIs. Not being accustomed to the cultural nuances and assimilations including language pronunciations prevalent within HWIs, black graduates and their academic competencies were viewed with the highest degree of suspect (Morreira, 2015).

Pursuant with the goal of transformation within HE, a distinction had to be drawn between employment and employability, in which the former had to link qualifications with specific output; while the latter prepares a candidate for greater occupational mobility and flexible work patterns, remarks Kruss (2002,ibid). Although employability is not directly linked to a specific profession, it has been found that it offers much more dividends through the academic achievement of the candidate. Besides teaching graduates to think and explore the unknown, it is at the graduate level that job markets can develop their new employee from generalist to a specialized person. While this is true that graduate qualifications play a pivotal role in determining student progression into higher levels, the discretion of promoting or not promoting the candidate is subjective. It is the employers' discretion that determines the candidates' progression, and such discretion is not backed by scientific evidence of the graduate's performance, but their own idiosyncrasies that are always embedded in human subjectivity.

Hirsch and Weber (1999) go on to explain how the universities discharge their duties towards their student. They aver that: -

> Contributions to knowledge and to the economic well-being of society are accomplished chiefly at the graduate/professional level; production of educated citizens is accomplished chiefly at the undergraduate level; and production of future leaders of society, encouragement of productive interactions among persons of diverse backgrounds, and appreciation of the value of the pursuit of knowledge are accomplished at all levels.[16]

This backdrop motivated the new democratic government to adopt the NQF model as a mechanism to reduce disparities between education provided by higher education institutions and the skills required by the job market. To achieve this task, each qualification had to stipulate the targeted learning outcomes, and earmarked skill sets, or competencies learners would stand to receive at the end of the training (Allais, 2010). This was an overhaul that changed i) the management and delivery of education and training systems; and ii) the processes and basis for awarding qualifications. Consequently, the relationships between education and the labour market changed as they began to share common socio-economic objectives (ibid). Employers' role in the design of these qualifications was aimed at increasing learners' employment prospects and meeting industries' skills demands. However, to date, sufficient evidence to justify the effectiveness of rolling out the NQF framework remains limited.

Andre Kraak (2010) attributes this problem to lack of alignment between the skills development plan provided by Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs) and industrial sectors. Also, he argues, that at its inception the type of skills that were provided was a 'one size fits all' skills intervention. On the contrary, the launch of National Industrial Policy Framework (2007) [NIPF] and Industrial Policy Action Plan (2010) [IPAP] were viewed as important milestones that could change the foregoing approach. A more specialised training intervention was envisaged for the five economic clusters or targeted sectors, remarked Allais (2010). These sectors including high-tech, resource-based, public-infrastructure, labour intensive, and services; were regarded as the backbone against which South African economy would grow (New Growth Path 2010).

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[16] Hirsch and W Weber L (1999) *Challenges facing higher education at the millennium* (Phoenix, AZ, American Council on Education and Oryx Press) , p. viii)

Following the Growth Development Summit held in 2010, Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP) was adopted between government, business, and labour. IPAP made bold resolutions aimed at turning around South African economy. It had proposed the reduction of poverty by half in 2014 and creation of over 80,000 jobs for unemployed youth. Yet nothing that IPAP proposed was novel since government had already launched Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (Asgisa) in 2005. A precursor of National Industrial Policy framework (NIPF) and IPAP, had envisioned the economy that would grow by 6% in 2010. It's primary mandate, akin to IPAP, was to eliminate public infrastructure backlog and meet the country's skills development needs.

2.15 **Employability of Post-graduates: UK Case Study**

South Africa is not an exception in facing the challenge of transforming its Higher Education Institutions. This is particularly true when dealing with the relevance of their qualifications in responding to the needs of the labour market. In recent years, United Kingdom (UK) faced the same challenge of addressing a critical gap between academic skills and skills required by the labour market before an uptake can be facilitated. Contrary to the perception that the UK's education was of international standards, the conundrum of finding causal link between academic qualification and solving societal challenges, especially the employability of their graduates, was of paramount importance (Mason et al. 2006)

Academic excellence devoid of assuring a graduate about their future beyond certification was a structural defect to which UK took it upon itself to resolve. A team of academics from several universities participated in the first destination research whose objective was to review the pedagogical structure and presentation of the subject so that ultimately, a graduate must find livelihood from it. First Destination Survey was clinical and labour market oriented. Without leaving no stone unturned, they went quite deeper in seeking the understanding of the graduate's learning, teaching and assessment of employment-related skills and knowledge; employer involvement with programmes of study; student work experience; and other employability initiatives (Mason, ibid: 6).

It was a collective engagement which also included the captains of industries who were called upon to participate in identifying the problem and finding amicable ways to craft a sustainable solution. Employers' contribution was unprecedented as they began to develop Key Performance Indicators of successful transition to the labour market. Amongst the established KPI that would underpin the social competency a graduate must emulate included the state of readiness, both at an academic, psychological, and technical point of view. In Mason et al. (2006, ibid), a competitive graduate had to possess the required technical skills, subject knowledge, attitudes, and commercial understanding that will enable him or her to make a meaningful contribution to their new employer.

The researcher's findings do confirm that these non-academic competencies are embedded within social capital. This rigorous process of inducting post-grads lay the foundation for the trust the employer requires of them, and they do instil the required norms and values which must define their character in the future job they are looking for. Against this backdrop of consultations and interviews spanning 10 universities, an exhaustive description of the concept "employability" was established, which meant: 'work readiness', that is, possession of the skills, knowledge, attitudes and commercial understanding that will enable new graduates to make productive contributions to organisational objectives soon after commencing employment… appropriate work experience and evidence of commercial understanding rank highly as selection criteria because of commercial pressures to seek graduates who will not require long 'learning curves' when they start employment (Mason, 1999)

The critical outcomes of the research were to create a consensus amongst the participating schools and departments that the following principles, norms, and approach must be adopted, namely:-

i.   Ensure that key skills addressed in the non-academic curriculum are embedded within the graduate rather than addressing them through stand-alone courses. Examples of such embedding included placing a greater emphasis on oral presentations,

ii.   Utilize real world challenges that communities face to demonstrate understanding of the phenomena

iii. Encourage independent learning skills amongst post-grads

iv.   Place greater weighting on problem solving, numeracy skills while reducing weighting on theoretical knowledge.

The biggest challenge facing many South African HEIs is the casual adoption of employability skills and inability to differentiate between academic skills and technical skills derived from the former. Because of the existing gap between some universities or certain departments within those universities, on the one hand; and labour market on the other hand; it does stands to reason why majority of graduates continue to be perceived as unattractive or incompetent in participating within the labour market.

When viewing this challenge from academic conundrum vintage, lack of social capital competency is the new form of social exclusion whose charge can be equally placed on the unwillingness of those universities and labour markets in going an extra-mile to redress structural inequities within our societies. Without such intervention, it becomes evident that most graduates would continue to secure the jobs which underutilize their skills or knowledge acquired from university (Mason et al. 2006, ibid). Therefore, education conundrum theorists would denounce matching theories and their tendencies to put the blame of graduates for labour market failure. On the contrary, labour market rigidities are the result of lack of commitment and unwillingness from many universities and the labour market to redress all forms of segregative norms.

2.16 **Conclusion**

To provide a comprehensive picture on how black African women post-graduates faced and dealt with all forms of discrimination, the above literature review has attempted to provide a broader narrative on social capital within the context of South African education as well as its historical evolution across the globe. Its benefits have been quite evident in fostering cohesion and strengthening social network amongst various group of people. As much as the phenomena is vital in promoting social integration, the literature further reckon that social capital can equally be utilised to marginalise and socially exclude certain groups within society. Black African women in South African have faced plethora of discrimination based on their race, gender, and social status in society.

While placing the status of black African women post-graduates on the centre of the study, the literature has equally underscored the role of social capital in shaping the transformation discourse in South African higher education. Whereas social capital can be commended for its vital role in promoting social integration and advocating for the annihilation of all kinds of barriers including discrimination based on gender and race, the phenomena present a new form of social conflict that is capable of steering South African HEI into a globalised society.

During the 1976 Soweto student uprising, South Africa experienced the rise of militant youth who were determined to challenge the status quo of apartheid and successfully lobbied for the demise of all discriminatory tendencies including the use of Afrikaans language as medium of instruction. At the dawn of democracy, higher education has spawned complex forms of social integration. Student activists became strong allies of higher education administrators which resulted in the poor governance and mismanagement of funds in some of these institutions. While it succeeded in cleaning up HEIs, it weakened the culture of rigorous debates spawned by student activism and supported neoliberal policies. Inadvertently, instead of strengthening the capacity of the Historically Black Institutions through the development of new HBIs drawing from rich best practices across the globe, merging of HBIs and HWIs became the only trajectory to pursue within the public education sphere. These processes also influenced positively and negatively to Black African women postgraduates within STEM. As many completed their research and hoped to enter the labour market enamoured by skills-deficit, many were found to only hold theoretical knowledge without the required industry experience.

CHAPTER 3

Theoretical Framework

This chapter discusses different theoretical frameworks that explain the nature of conflict inherent within social capital and how it relates to the experiences of black African women. In justifying, the role women deserve to play in society the chapter presents Grounded Theory within the feministic paradigm as the perfect platform that enables women to share their personal experiences of abuse and marginalisation. Through the matrix of domination theory, Black Feminist academics (2009) goes beyond simply understanding how power and domination are distributed along interlocking axes of race, class, and gender. Contrary to the endocentric view entrenched within structural functionalism which maintains that every system inheres elements of superiority and inferiority which are the basis of understanding the concept of domination, the matrix of domination empowers black African woman to oppose all forms of narrative that seeks to portray women as the object of exploitation and subservience to a male constructed world.

Beyond opposing all forms of domination threatening or limiting their career trajectory, the quality of opportunity widens their spectrum, enriches their experience, and reaffirms their determination to dare. Whereas these women had developed their talents and virtues through their admission within STEM sectors, the theory acknowledged a critical gap which needed to be closed. In sum, the aspirations initially derived within the matrix of domination theory are fulfilled within the equality of opportunity, in that, instead of simply congratulating these women for being afforded the opportunity to study within STEM, it becomes duty and obligation to ensure these black African women are entitled also to equal rewards for equal performance.

A doctoral research on social capital within gender studies cannot simply accept the notion of social network and possession of social capital advantage by other groups within society willy-nilly. On the contrary, in fulfilling its robust nature, social capital research should inquire: i) Do such social networks exist? In whose favour or advantage do they exist? At what expense should such advantage come? When devoid of such

capacity, those that boast social capital advantages become inundated with deterministic nuances and therefore, cannot decipher the fault-line of race, gender, and any form of discrimination. The role of theoretical analysis becomes key in laying the tracks and identifying the path through which justifying assertions of social capital advantage can be accepted or challenged. By taking a critical view that seeks to challenge the status quo of social capital advantage for others and disadvantage for the majority, in most instances, brings to bear the need to identify a theoretical proposition that appropriately deals with these contradictions.

3.1 **Grounded Theory**

Notwithstanding its historical antecedents and origin within the Chicago School of Sociology, the affluence of Grounded Theory within feministic research has been explained by its methodological proclivity and capacity to assimilate feministic principles (Plummer and Young, 2009). Similarly, against historical objectivity of empirical research and its quest for empiricism, Grounded Theory has been preserved in scholarship for its respect for subjective interpretation of social experience and ability to take cognizance of profundity of the contextual and relational nature of knowledge while rejecting subject-object dualism (Wuest, 1995). Instead of placing much credence on thousands of significant data, GT attaches more value on the relationship between the researcher and the participant in the research process. Undoubtedly, such watershed epistemology produces a new verdict and compelling evidence that bags no favour or patronage for its admissibility in academic research. For this reason, Plummer and Young (2009) accorded this approach to social enquiry self-emancipating, in that, it loosens the androcentric moorings of the empirical process which underpinned GT and most importantly, it empowers the researcher to develop instrument reputable for revealing metaphysical issues of the mind and emotions without accepting any form of derogatory conclusion from contrasting views.

It all began in 1967 when Glaser and Strauss realized the paucity of scientific theory to explain the plight of the oppressed and marginalized whose experience did not register anything profound or worthy of being registered in history as a credible source of evidence. They state:

Our basic position is that generating grounded theory is a way of arriving at theory suited to its supposed uses . . . [rather than] generated by logical deduction from a priori assumptions (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:3).

These authors were persuaded that a credible theory could be developed from systematically gathered sociological data. Whereas it was difficult to define certain forms of discrimination, their consistent patterns of manifestations were spawned by their personification one of which included feminism. It was through their ground-breaking work that a set of common epistemological features heralded a new paradigm of valuing women's lived experiences as legitimate source of knowledge. The authors began their theory within the confines of objective knowledge. In their work, *Basics of Qualitative Research*, Strauss, and Corbin (1998) took a radical shift away from the dualist and objective epistemology and its realist ontology crafted within positivism. In the early stages, they reckon that objectivity was necessary to arrive at an impartial and accurate interpretation of events. Later, they assumed a higher trajectory of subjectivity. They state,

The researcher is shaped by the data, just as the data are shaped by the researcher...and…a state of complete objectivity is impossible and that in every piece of research—quantitative or qualitative—there is an element of subjectivity (Strauss and Cobin 1998: 42, 43)

From this expression, it was evident that the author rejected subject-object dualism. The limitation of Grounded Theory from the context of Strauss and Corbin (1998) can be premised on a lack of personal interaction with subjective reality any researcher pursuing feministic discourse would be engaged in. While laying a profound methodological foundation upon which feministic paradigms could thrive, the authors would argue in the affirmative that any research devoid of robust personal experience could be limited to heuristic and constructive interpretation. Taking Social Capital as the perfect example to illustrate the researcher's argument, being predisposed to the experience of black African women, and disadvantaged black graduates in general, can be quite revealing in understanding the contradictions they deal with in trying to assimilate in a culture which is not homogeneous to theirs.

It would become evident that social capital is not just simply constructed by the fact that the subject finds herself within the same context as those who boast a strong

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social network. On the contrary, the experiences they would share to arrive at their constructed theory of personal experience would be embedded in power contestation. It is not simplistic battle of seeking to be accepted by the status quo which clearly, albeit with subtle guise, already is limited to the extent to which they can derive their social dividends within the social network they are willing to invest. A social capital research within higher education trajectory faces plethora of complexity in that there in a need for genuine understanding of how students positively construct their social capital, and the nature of contradictions they face.

On the first front of the challenge, they must deal with higher education institutions that remain untransformed. Whereas they may have undergone a process of restructuring through strategic mergers, their philosophical construct and corporate values are not always coherent. These graduates survive in an environment where the culture and tradition that underpins the social capital of these institutions are already established. For them to inquire why do the nature of social networks they find in these prestigious institutions exist becomes absurd to those that are born within them or those that were later assimilated into. They become educated about the fundamental principles of accepting the status quo and the critical need to challenge opposing views. The quality of science laboratories in these institutions is of world class standard, undoubtedly. Their heads of research and professors participate in leading international seminars and their publications are well read in axon universities world over, indisputably. On the face of these manifestations, it then stands to reason why one cannot simply question how admissions into certain departments ensue, because there are world class researchers, and the university is renowned across the world.

As they observe the type of interactions that takes place in lecture halls and the liberal culture of engagement between lecturers and students, it becomes quite tempting to assume that all who participate in these institutions genuinely benefit from the culture of networking that prevails. It therefore becomes repugnant when one come across a culture of alienation or a feeling of being marginalized to express some deepest feelings of being treated in such indecent manner. Most often than not, the alleged transgressor is the most adored academic whose credentials is above reproach. A new sociological approach to the study of social capital that prevails within HEIs is long overdue. This

approach requires high level of intellectual rigor in understanding the foundation of power structure within universities and in reversing the social dividends that have historically benefited graduates from social privileged background and their academics.

Bourdieu's (1979) ethnographic experience of Algeria illustrates the significance of changing the knowledge systems within higher education. Such experience has bearing on how social capital within higher education can shape the discourse of power and enrich the quality of learning experience and interaction between administrators, graduates and academic. Bourdieu (1979) enters the field of ethnography when the field of anthropology had attracted unprecedented criticism and charged with failure to scrutinize the relationship of the researcher and the subject of study. The 1960 Anthropology was heavily criticized of its tendency in adopting a parochial view on the culture of the aboriginals. The Western philosophical tradition had perpetuated a culture of traditional dichotomies between subject and object; rationalism and empiricism; and relativism and universalism (Moira Ingilleri, 2005).

Two contrasting views played out with the rationalists maintaining that knowledge was based on the inner subjective world of the mind, whereas to empiricists immediate intuition was the key driver for knowledge. Certainly, the forces of decolonization, feminism and civil rights movement challenged the pedagogical representation made by ethnography which were embedded upon structuralism (Clifford and Marcus 1986:1-26). The decolonization view challenged the status quo of power self-imposed by the colonizer upon itself and its adulterated impact on the culture and practices of the Africans and other indigenous communities world-over. From this centrifugal view, ethnography would accept women's subservient status and associate it with submission and normalcy. Paradoxically, when viewing the status of women from a centrifugal view the personal experiences of women would take precedence and women would completely take issues with affirming the dehumanization agenda advocated by ethnography.

Undoubtedly, Bourdieu (1979) was a functionalist himself and could not find it problematic in submerging individualism within the cultural guise of society. Society was the epitome of harmony and collectivism. Society was ahead of the individual and thus

being preeminent over the individual. In doing so, he had reaffirmed an Afrocentric perspective which had placed a society above the individual. His ethnographic view of the Algerian society had affirmed Sihlongonyane's (2000) sentiment that African societies were underpinned by trusteeship, communalism, and generosity. Afrocentric view of an individual was quite different and richer than its western counterpart in that society could not realize its purpose of existence without the presence of its individuals. It is qualified by African philosophies which present an individual as the consummation of society he or she lives in.

This nature of social capital was enjoyed by all members of society, regardless of social position they held within society either as king or ordinary citizen. On the contrary, Western societies had a different view on the subject. Their atomistic nature in defining individualism is one in which an individual survives at the expense of the society but not the contrary. This is much evident in how capitalism system works in which the few richer becomes richer while the majority remains trapped in their state of poverty.

By affirming, the need for individual to belong into a membership or group that shares the same conviction and values explained how Bourdieu valued the role of a sect or group in the development of their social capital. Inadvertently, the value attached to membership within society could be another way in which Bourdieu could have reaffirmed stratification and social hierarchy within society. Therefore, it did not come as a surprise because he would reject the idea of social actors as conscious, calculative rational beings, although he did allow for the possibility of "rational choice" under specific circumstances (Ingilleri, 2005). Paradoxically, his genetic structuralism also maintained that the social was not derived from the aggregation of the individuals. Clearly, he could comprehend the heterogeneous nature of society while at the same time vilifying the vital role individuals play in shaping the norms and values of such.

Indeed, the weakness of structuralism is embedded in its inability to reflect on experiences of individuals and how such experiences would later shape the society in which they lived. Although it appears appealing that structuralists would understand the phenomena from the aggregated view and assume that all else being equal, every member within such society would live harmoniously; structuralism also fails dismally to

interrogate the dialectical interaction of these opposing forces as integral part of this dynamic society. Failure to take stock of such experience would simply accept the status quo of repressive culture and predominance of a minority group over all others. On the contrary, by taking a centrifugal approach in understanding the state of society or organization can yield the desired nature of transformation as the individual contribution of each actor forms an integral part of the envisaged new entity or dispensation.

The evolution of transformation discourse within higher education in the post-democratic dispensation can learn a great deal from this ethnographic perspective. The narrative can reveal existing structural deficiencies as HEI stakeholders converge with the purpose of bringing about a genuine transformation within the newly merged institutions. The tenants of structuralism in the new dispensation of HEIs is manifested in the protection of the historical tradition of academic excellence spawned by historically white universities and their philosophical traditions of protecting their hegemony, notwithstanding plethora of attempts to bring about radical transformation. Their historical legacy of success was built upon repressive traditions that had ensured that academic output and labour mobility remains path dependent over time. The culture of success these institutions have built was underpinned by a strong social capital in which trust was the critical indicator.

The typology of individualism is equally relevant and conjures the paucity of experiences denied from historically black universities. By integrating them with a working system of corporate governance and historical tradition of research output advocated in the HWUs, have improved the standard of administration, protagonist for mergers would argue. On the contrary, antagonists of such process of integration would argue that improving the standards of good governance is a temporary gain, but the damage sustained to HBIs is long-term. In affirming this view, one can admit that this process was not impeccable as it has denigrated the historical traditions that HDIs had developed during the apartheid era. It has deprived them of creating their own profile of academic excellence through succession planning of black academics. The extent in which the transformation enterprise ensued demonstrated a highly complex social capital advantage endowed by HWUs and their astute capacity to advance strategies and tactics of defending their status as quintessential of academic excellence. Some of the attributes

that predicates social capital advantage includes the sophisticated level of social networking and highly sustained culture of academic excellence, and the nature of trust they have earned locally and internationally amongst their peers.

The shaping of the new academic landscape through the agency of foreign academics can significantly contribute to defining the nature and character of HEIs in the post democratic milieu. This shaping of institutions is a clear manifestation of the culture of hegemony prevailing on campuses which cannot easily be deciphered on the first instance. The principal argument of this position is premised on the indisputable fact that HEIs are likely to be on a path-dependent trajectory which has been pre-meditated and predesigned by the historical forces that have shaped it over time and are committed to defend their hegemony in every process of attempted transformation. As a result, the type of change likely to be achieved would be embedded within positivism. This is the type of change likely to be brought about by forces aligned to the traditions and values subscribed to these institutions. Factoring the power equation prevailing within these institutions, it is most likely to find that the experiences of women post-graduates remain unbearable. Those that come across various forms of discriminations and are determined to challenge them, faces the might of their institutional policies, regulations, and corporate culture or at least, their parochial interpretation. On the contrary, when the change enhances the status quo and defends the traditions that established such institutions, those that advocates them thrive. They quickly rise within the ranks of their institutions and become the gatekeepers of such.

We must further acknowledge the multiple social realities under which social capital and social network unfolds (Corbin and Strauss, 2007). This broad dimension accommodates all experiences that social capital literature alludes to. Corbin and Strauss (2007) name these experiences relativistic ontological positions. In this way, researchers from their intimate engagements with their respondents construct all the concepts of social capital. In doing so and under different contexts, be it of Putman, Coleman and others, the main objective is to bring about social change and make persons' lives better. By adopting Grounded Theory perspective, it becomes impossible to draw a dichotomy from personal identity and social construct spawned by social research.

When the subjective role of the research is not grounded within feministic paradigm, the researcher can still produce a research output that confirms their stereotypes. A quest to bring about social change must be underpinned by clear social values and principles of change the researcher wants to see, or vies-versa, what the subject wants to see. The extent to which the researcher is willing to be transformed by the views and opinion of the oppressed is the true transformative nature that Grounded Theory must adopt.

Corbin moves her version of GT more fully toward the interpretive paradigm, and her concern with feminist inquiry and social change reflects the critical paradigm. Corbin maintains that feminism takes diverse forms and shared set of common epistemological features. This includes valuing women's lived experiences as a legitimate source of knowledge, appreciating the influence of context in the production of knowledge, respecting the role of reflexivity in the research process, rejecting traditional subject–object dualisms, and attending to gender, power, and transformative social action. It is against this context, Charmaz (2000) assumes a relativist ontological position and focuses on "first-hand knowledge of empirical worlds". This is the type of analysis required in understanding the nature of social capital at play within a multicultural university such as UKZN.

Charmaz (2000) draws on the SI tradition, she believes that knowledge creation is a socially constructed process, and she appreciates the intersubjective nature of the relationship between researcher and participant. Charmaz (2000) moves fully into the interpretive paradigm with her constructivist GT. Charmaz (2000) repositions the methodology to better reflect her contemporary philosophical and epistemological position. We suggest this spirit of methodological innovation keeps GT relevant in changing times and contexts. It is with this version of GT that we begin to recognize an epistemological affinity for feminist inquiry. The Primacy of Human Experience Pragmatism is one of the key theoretical perspectives underpinning constructivist forms of GT. The central tenet of pragmatism turns on the notion that our actions are based on the practical consequences of that action (Dewey, 1916; James, 1904). William James and John Dewey are typically associated with pragmatic theory (Lewis & Smith, 1980).

Pragmatism represents a departure from traditional sociology, from the organic Newtonian archetype, wherein it is assumed that knowledge is derived directly from the senses to an assumption that centers on interpersonal interaction as the primary source of knowledge (Lewis & Smith, 1980). For example, in The Quest for Certainty, Dewey (1929) contends that "overtly executed operations of interaction are requisite to obtain the knowledge called scientific." For Dewey (1929), knowledge is a derivative of experience involving active participation and transaction with the world around us. The notion that knowledge derives from experience is also central to feminist theory, but the specific meaning ascribed to "experience" has changed over time. Women's experiences were the starting point for constructing discourses of womanhood in early feminist inquiry; common experience was considered the site for unity and identity among women (Canning, 1997; Mulinari & Sandell, 1999).

However, a Black feminist backlash against the "universalization" of White affluent women's experiences shifted the meaning of experience for feminists (Collins, 1989; hooks, 1984). Contemporary feminist perspectives on experience now emphasize subjectivities and personal narratives. This interview method, informed by a feminist perspective, enabled the mothers to construct personal narratives to inform our understanding of their gendered experiences of lone parenthood and its effects on their health. The women's lived experiences were considered legitimate sources of knowledge (Campbell & Wasco, 2000) and communicating this respect to participants promoted depth and detail in the data. Knowledge Generation as a Social Process Human experience is particularly emphasized in Strauss and Corbin's GT due to Strauss' strong grounding in SI. As storytellers (Strauss and Corbin (1998) humans shape their institutions; they create and change the world around them through action/ interaction.

The social nature of experience in GT is rooted in the work of George Herbert Mead, another sociologist from the Chicago school. Mead adopted "the broad outlines of Dewey's theory of inquiry in his own philosophy of science" (Lewis & Smith, 1980, p. 118), and many believe that pragmatism informed the development of the Mead–Blumer version of symbolic interactionism (Schwandt, 2000). According to Blumer (1969) symbolic interaction (SI) theory rests on the following three tenets, namely: i) Human's act toward things based on the meanings things have for them; ii) The meaning of things

is derived from the social interaction one has with others and iii) Meanings are taken in and modified through an interpretive process.

In maintaining this view, Blumer (1969) further maintains that symbolic interactionism sees meaning as social products, as creations that are formed in and through the defining activities of people as they interact. This view is true within the context of transmitting social capital in those other words, the trust that people hold towards each other and the social network they share has embedded meaning that comes through social interaction. The conduct of the influential other within this network will eventually influences the conduct of others. Even if they may personally do not hold the view of the bearer, but their state of loyalty manipulates their integrity in maintaining a contrasting view.

.Similarly, to change this tradition of consenting without direct participation of the other, feminist inquiry penetrates this culture of unnegotiated consensus utilizing the same medium of social action. It is a contrasting view that begins with few individuals who maintain alternative position from the popular social, cultural, political, historical, and linguistic tenants of a chauvinistic society and their denigrating views towards women or people of different genders (Canning, 1997). This contrasting view evolved over time into a social movement spanning the 1968 to 1969 which culminated into various streams of knowledge driven by social activists from the left (Messer-Davidow (2002). This culminated into national conferences with well-developed philosophical stance, and clear pedagogical approach of how to undo the man-constructed world and its inherent prejudice it maintains towards women. This battle is far from being over and its presence continues to manifest in HEIs in South Africa.

In a context such as South Africa, the notion of deriving meaning through interpretation and learning through symbols of social interaction has gained traction following the advent of democracy and the highest standards it accorded to constitutional principles. Social interaction and communicating the rights of women in corporate institutions of government and private sector has been communicated through legislative instruments such as Employment Equity and transformation charters. A wide-range of mobilization for the negation of a culture of abuse and male dominance is an on-going

discourse including the girl-child programme and adopting the 50/50 rule in democratic governance of the current political dispensation.   Making meaning from symbols, or interpretation, is also central to the process of generating substantive theory in GT (Glaser, 1999).

3.2 **Black Feminist Thought in Context**

Black Feminist academics (2009) provide robust perspective on how the matrix of domination – which has always defined the transmission of social capital – can be challenged. Bell hooks[2] labels this matrix a "politic of domination" which refers to how power and domination are distributed along interlocking axes of race, class, and gender. Those who control this power share the same ideological conviction that every system inheres elements of superiority and inferiority which are the basis of understanding the concept of domination, Hooks maintains. However, matrix of domination is not only limited to the interlocking system of race, class and gender as other groups may encounter other dimensions including sexual orientation, religion, and age. A black feminist thought observes three levels through which people can experience and resist oppression, namely: the level of personal biography; the group or community level of the cultural context which is created by race, class, and gender; and the systemic level of social institutions.

The black feminist thought on the Matrix of power correlates well with the investigation of the role of social capital in shaping power relations in society and in how the economic system is governed. Feminist scholars argue that the presence of women in the social capital narrative does not necessarily imply that gender differences and asymmetries are taken into proper considerations. Gender is viewed as a cultural construct that prescribes different behaviour, attitudes, and norms for the people of the two biological sexes—in the simplistic definition of gender (Mkhize, 2015). Feminist literature (Goldin and Rouse, 2000, Foschi, 2004) registers a pattern of gender domination in which male sex is portrayed to be of high value than the female counterpart. During job evaluation at work, a cognitive bias is identified that, notwithstanding their successful evaluation, women will always be scored below their male counterpart because of the inherent perception of inferiority attached to them.

Within the matrix of domination, Julie Nelson (1994) rank orders gender by associating positive values to masculine characteristics and negative values to feminine characteristics, in which women are portrayed as subjects of submission while men assume authoritarian position over them. In demonstrating how the matrix playout, Guglielmo Barone (2013), an Italian academic, presents age and sex as important variables that define power domination in society. Barone, in depicting the pattern of domination, theorises that in a homogeneous society people can be either young or adults while adults would worth more than the young would and, as a result, hold the power to tell the young what to do. In this society, males are worth more than females and have prerogatives to tell females what to do, he says.

Within this hierarchical order, Adult Male (AM4) is the highest followed by Adult Female (AF2) by order of seniority, while Young Male (YM2) holds much more position compared to the Young Female counterpart (YF0). Simplistic as this diagram may be, in a heterogeneous society like South Africa, the model can assume a more sophisticated pattern when including black middle-class male (BMM) and black middle-class female (BMF).

This hierarchical structure demonstrates how trust is transmitted within people of same cultural group and across. When poor kids from uneducated backgrounds connect to the system, there are no automatic transmissions of benefits except those that will come when such kids participate in bridged relationship through associations they shall subscribe to on campus.

South African education system, within the social capital literature, is an institution that plays central role in shaping human capital of its citizens and is illustrious of depicting a divided society in terms of different racial and cultural groups. Similarly, their academic output in higher education shows symmetrical relationship between race and the type of scores obtained. Why this pattern of domination remains intact after twenty-five years of democracy continues to be explained through rational choice and functionalist lenses. The cultural domination and influence of white communities over education system and labour market can well be explained within the bonding social capital. The demise of apartheid has done little to destroy the cultural affinity of white

communities in the shaping of the future of South African education. Statistical data is likely to confirm that white male academics continue to control critical decisions made in higher institutions. Equally, white women academics are also renowned for producing some of the best academic output. This structure of influence is consistent with the academic output of white graduates.

However, the heterogeneous nature of higher institutions of learning can be applauded for promoting social and cultural integration. This is explained well within bridging and linking social capital. Students from various cultural backgrounds regardless of their race and social status, coalesce in sports, philanthropy, and political organisations on campus. Although local research may not be available to show the extent to which male and female students develop norms and values within new social network they make, it is equally not clear which social capital norms correlates well with securing employment or portraying the acumens required by South African labour markets.

It is critically important to remember that South African education system is not absolved from its Eurocentric outlook and cultural nuances of white domination. Borrowing from the experience of African American struggles, in the process of learning there are subconscious traits of domination which members of subordinated groups inherited which have replaced Afrocentric culture of knowing with the dominant group's specialized thought. Using Audre Lorde's words (As cited in Barone, 2013:)

> The true focus of revolutionary change is never merely the oppressive situations which we seek to escape, but that piece of the oppressor which is planted deep within each of us.

Indeed, the elimination of social capital deficit may not be as problematic as addressing certain norms and values inherent within recruitment policies which, arguably, may still have racial and cultural nuances. Therefore, in striving for qualitative change and empowerment of Black unemployed graduates, who forms the weakest link within the labour market, can require a lot more including revising the traditional system of candidate's selection and understanding the significance of candidates' biographical profile with special focus on their personal, cultural, and institutional association. Realising that black African graduates' age (i.e., 22-26) presents limitations in driving

the process of introducing labour market reforms, the role of the state and private sector becomes essential in introducing institutional reforms aimed at promoting social inclusion of unemployed Black African young women.

Barone's illustration of the matrix of domination is relevant in explaining the odds facing young black African women in their effort to secure employment in the labour market. These women face plethora of oppression on the basis on their age, sexual orientation, race and social status as women and dependents of their parents.

3.3 Equality of Opportunity

The theory of Equality of Opportunity has undergone significant review after sustaining severe criticism for its exclusionary proclivities which emphasized meritocracy and rewarding talent without taking historical conditions of actors into consideration. The theory was challenged for i) downplaying egalitarianism; ii) taking the class system for granted, iii) not challenging the criteria by which the class hierarchy is ordered nor the existence of the hierarchy itself; and iv) accepting the existing levels of economic and social inequality that accompany occupational positions (Merelman 1973; Parkin 1971). In his book, *The Rise of the Meritocracy* (1958), Michael Young challenges the application of the theory within the British education context for its tendency to perpetuate a class system. Indeed, apart from maintaining education disparities, it explained the widening gap of class and income within society.

John Schaar,[17] in defining equal opportunity, states that "each person should have equal rights and opportunities to develop his/her own talents and virtues, and that there should be equal rewards for equal performances." As a social reformer, Schaar believed that the theory's conservative nature did not conform to already prevailing values in society. Given the oligarchic nature of the United States economy, he argued that the doctrine supports "the competitive capitalistic spirit more than the democratic one. Thus, while many enjoyed in the economic boom and technological advancement, those who

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[17] An essay of John Schaar, entitled, "Equality of Opportunity, and Beyond," was originally published in Nomos IX, Equality (New York: Atherton, 1967), pp. 228-249, edited by J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman.

failed to take advantage of this opportunity due to social exclusion are said to have no justification for their failure (Stanley 1977)

Two key propositions were made in Schaar's definition, namely, that people i) have equal rights and opportunities to develop their own talents and virtues; and ii) are entitled to equal rewards for equal performances. Whereas the former focuses upon the opportunity to perform, the latter puts emphasis on the outcomes of performance. A practical illustration of opportunity to perform can include the right to attend public school of one's choice or take examination in the language they felt comfortable with or apply for the same employment position. The fact that two students from different socio-economic background have opportunity to these scenarios does not necessarily guarantee them similar outcomes on performance.

In Schaar's (1977), (as cited in Stanley 1977:62), states "this is analogous to a group of ailing, middle-aged, overweight men competing on an even starting line in a running race with Roger Bannister. Thus, he argues, although a sort of "equality of opportunity" to compete and to win is established, the winner is foreordained. Similarly, Bernard Williams (1973: 244/5) gives the example of a society in which members of a prestigious warrior class had previously been selected solely from wealthy families. Following policy reform selection was done by open competition. Even after this change was introduced, the wealthy families continued to supply virtually all the warriors because the rest of the populace were undernourished, thereby lacking the required strength to succeed. This experience is a perfect reflection of disparities that exists between low-income and middle-income youth and their participation within education system and labour market. Most certainly, education policies have, and continue to; change but performance outcomes still reflect the legacy of the past. Alongside, graduation output in commercial, science and engineering sector has increased within the black population, but white graduates still register the highest population absorbed by the labour market. That is because change gravitates towards increasing opportunity of uptake but not performance outcomes. This is due to the fact that white youth still hold strong social network that offers them direct linkages to experiential and employment opportunities.

Andrew Mason's (2001) Responsibility-Sensitive Egalitarianism' model took the theory of equal opportunity to the next level. Different from the meritocratic orthodoxy, Mason introduced a holistic paradigm which advocated for radical transformation of the entire structure of society and the overall distribution of benefits and burdens within it, rather than paying emphasis on efficiency of the selection procedures and access to qualifications. Within the new model, major institutions and practices, Mason suggests, must be designed to ensure that advantages are transmitted equitably to all recipient based on the efforts they put into the course for which they pursue. Equally, to ensure that advantages are not disproportionately distributed to some beneficiaries because of the inherent advantages they hold to the detriment of others.

Undoubtedly, the development of social capital in South Africa is entrenched within a history that continues to disadvantage majority of young people. Because of the limitations black graduates have in accessing relevant networks to secure the right job within their area of training, a holistic intervention is ideal. To this end, government departments that are linked to every economic sector such as telecommunication, mining, and infrastructure, must play a lead role in galvanising support and partnership with the private sector. This must, however, go beyond strengthening employment prospects only. Attention must also be paid on the quality of institutional capacity of higher learning institutions in producing the quality of human resource required by the job market from these learners. This must not neglect to ask what low-income youth has lost – owing to their precarious history – which other middle-income youth have. Such a daunting adventure on rebuilding social capital stock begin at the family, by reviewing social norms, social network, and the extent of its diversity.

3.3.1 A Conflict Theory Perspective in understanding equality of opportunity

Kinsley Davis and Wilbert Moore, students of Palcott Parsons, were equally convinced that important positions in society had to be conscientiously filled by the most qualified (Beeghley, 2001). Unwaveringly, these authors maintained that prestigious positions required scarce talent and extensive training – a daunting task that required higher reward. These sentiments resonate with the theory of equal opportunity and its

allegiance to meritocratic appointments. Robert Merton[18] in contrast, argued that social facts were not always, what they seemed to be. Therefore, it was important to understand the underlying motifs of interest groups and unseen forces that shaped the existing manifestations. The relevance of this theoretical framework to young people is evident. Thus, the Parsonian scholars were predisposed to paying more attention to the importance of social network these 'highly talented' youth possessed more than the influence of stratification that shaped them. Conveniently, they disregarded entry barriers that excluded other youth cohorts from participation.

On the contrary, Merton[19] and the critical school pierced through the hidden veil of structural functionalism and exposed the façade that presents other youth cohorts as the embodiment of academic and labour market success. Committed to this course, Gordon Darroch (1979) found strong correlations between ethnicity and socio-economic status with the former as explanatory variable that prevents certain groups from equal access to opportunities for upward mobility. It is such factors that make Parsonian analysis offer simplistic, immutable, and self-deceptive world view of social structures within society, argues Merton.

Parsonian positivists avoid acknowledging inherent complexity that drives processes which deny other groups opportunities to obtain higher qualification and relevant employment in the sector in which they are trained. Similar argument has been implicit when the issue of skills shortage is in contest within South African context. Private sector, even more than government, has not offered plausible argument as to why majority youth remain excluded within the market economy. Many firms feels that graduates lacked soft skills such as communication and general language skills (especially in English), which caused them to be unsuccessful in interviews (Business Leadership South Africa, 2006).[20] Such a statement reflects the state of indifference towards graduates without experiential training and necessary soft skills. These factors alone do not justify why these poor youth can be sacrificed at the guillotine of recruitment

[18] ibid, 13

[19] ibid, 13s

[20] "Graduate Unemployment in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Nature and Possible Policy Responses" Research Report compiled for Business Leadership South Africa (2006). Funded by Standard Bank. Development Policy Research Unit, School of Economics, University of Cape Town

standards, without a rigorous strategy to bringing them up to speed with work-place requirements.

For Ritzer and Goodman (2006), structural functionalism is unable to deal effectively with the process of change or conflict given its historic proclivities; it is ambiguous and lacking in adequate methods; it inhibits certain forms of analyses, such as comparative analysis; and relies too heavily on seamless representation of social structures and their purposes. In his theory of social conflict, Dahrendorf (1958) further argued that every society was inherently ubiquitous, that dissensus and conflict was imminent, and that every element renders a contribution to its disintegration and change. Put simply, he argued, authority relationships and class conflict were imputed within stratification structure. Dahrendorf took issues with arbitrary nature of unexplained historical events which he argued that were derived from social structural elements in which they evolved (ibid, 171). The feministic theory of the matrix of domination advocated by Bell Hooks (1987) had clearly identified the problem of race, gender, and class as three critical pillars of discrimination that needed to challenge and if possible, annihilated. In taking this unequivocal stance, they had challenged white feminists called sisterhoods for being conflicted between challenging the status quo of male domination while at the same time, seeking to protect their white and class privileges

In this vein, Du Toit and Associates (2007) took issues with the tendency to oversimplify the formation of sustainable livelihood. Referring to the World Bank literature (Krishna and Shrader, 1999), the authors were cautious of the view, that sustainable livelihood solely hinges on actors' optimisation of the use of social, financial, natural, and human capital. Notwithstanding its importance, they argued that bringing these resources to bear without factoring in the political economy of the 'powerful others' within this chain of interaction, underestimate the complexity of poverty. Thus, the use of econometric analysis, without ethnographic account of society, becomes limited in explaining the complex social, political, economic, gendered, and spatial relations (ibid, pg5). Hence, social capital transfer has not been absolved from power-relation proclivities and their corollaries, namely, underlying discursive practices, cultural repertoires, identities, and histories that make them what they are, maintained the authors (Gledhill, 2000 as cited in Du Toit et al).

3.4 **Conclusion**

Without a theoretical analysis, it is difficult to decipher the fault line within a functionalist view on social capital and the one that is not. Feministic theories particularly black feminist challenges the normalcy of culture and social cohesion which are undergirded by male-dominated outlook. As already discussed above, the presence of women in the social capital narrative is tendentious and is portrayed as a symbol of inferiority while male is presented as a quintessential of perfection. Through the feministic vantage, it therefore becomes apparent that all historical notions including gender have been the result of a cultural construct. The new Grounded Theory presented in this framework goes beyond path-depended reflection on women experiences. It uses pain, rejection and discrimination suffered by these women as the basis upon which they can experience their self-emancipation. Beyond sense of rejection and discrimination, the matrix of domination theory steps in to reverse the past narrative that perpetuated women as inferior to men. As it breaks the silence, equality of opportunity presents a much progressive paradigm for black African women.

CHAPTER 4

FEMINISTIC METHODOLOGY

4.1 **Research Method**

The focus of this chapter is in understanding the methodology appropriate for answering the research questions raised in this doctoral research and to lay the foundation for eliciting evidence about the nature and quality of social capital possessed by South African unemployed female graduates and the extent to which such capital assist or fail these graduates to transit to the marketplace. Most feminist researchers criticise quantitative positivistic research methods for ignoring and excluding women and "adding" women to male knowledge, whereby the findings from research on men are generalized to women (Oakley, 1974; Stanley & Wise, 1993; Schott, 2004). These researchers do not only question how knowledge is produced, but also who produces it and for what purpose (Barbara Dubois, 1983; Driscoll and Krook, 2012). Therefore, what has been named "universal" knowledge has been male knowledge, which stems from male scholarship and inevitably bound to be tendentious, maintained Dubois (1983).

This critical analysis on the application of feminist methodology within the experiences of female graduates has direct correlation with the social capital of young people in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) and presents the best narrative in understanding the androcentric basis upon which the knowledge system of Higher Education (HE) hinges and its complex social stratification. Indeed, the foundations and architectures of HE since time immemorial has been premised on a chauvinistic and patriarchal system of Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, and Kant. As a result, the role of women has been reduced to the subject of the study. Historically and at worse, women have been disproportionally excluded from many highly scientific fields and research (Schott, 2004; Witt, 2004), including those fields perceived to require high level of human intellect. In a South African context, these fields are referred to as STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics). As women began to prove their credibility in the fields of arts, literature, and philosophy where they were likely to gravitate, it was apparent that no door could remain closed any longer.

However, their admission into these historically secluded spaces did not automatically negate the endocentric nature of learning in these institutions and the predominate role of white male academics in administration, research, and governance. What has explained these asymmetrical relations in human interaction is the nature of social capital that governed these institutions. What would make this doctoral research a ground-breaking study is in understanding the subjective analysis of social capital and how it has been used as a tool to maintain the status quo of power as explained through the black feminist theories of Matrix of Power (Hooks, 1989; Collins, 2002).

This research further affirms Dubois's (1983) and Plummer and Young (2009) argument that social science and including all fields of sciences must be emancipated from their androcentric tendencies. In illustrating this position, Dubois (1983:107) posits:

> The person has been considered to be male, and the female, the woman, has been defined in terms, not of what she is, but of what she is not ... The androcentric perspective in social science has rendered women not only unknown, but virtually unknowable.

In order to put in place, the rules of engagement on how to answer these doctoral research questions, it shall be necessary to adopt feministic views (Cook and Fonow, 1983; Cosgrove and McHugh, 2000; Ghosh, 2007) which avers that any pursuit of unadulterated knowledge from the feminist methodology point of view must be premised on plethora of principles. Those principles which deserves to be mentioned for this research includes: i) the need to challenge the norm of objectivity that assumes that the subject and object of research can be separated from one another and that personal and/or grounded experiences are unscientific; (ii) raising concern for the ethical implications of feminist research and recognition of the exploitation of women as objects of knowledge; and (iii) placing emphasis on the empowerment of women and transformation of patriarchal social institutions through research. This doctoral research must also ensure that women and their experiences, including but not solely their relations to men, becomes the basis of social inquiry (Epstein, 1981; Ghosh, 2007). By employing feministic methodology, the researcher also ensures that reality is experienced through a female prism and such research must be devoted to a description, analysis, explanation, and interpretation of the female world" (Bernard, 1979:274; Hemmings 2005).

In line with this feministic qualitative methodology, this study used face to face interviews to answer the research questions, in order to address its main objective. The main objective was to understand the experiences of unemployed women graduates the majority of whom are black. Hence, it was important to also deal with the counterfactual. This research study did that by also providing the same opportunity of interviewing unemployed male post-graduates. Although the doctoral research topic specifies unemployed females, a comprehensive view that considered all graduates was important for non-biased findings. Most critically, this research specifically sampled female post-graduates (as key informants) and some male graduates (convenient participant) within the STEM departments of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). The inclusion of the latter is explained by the paucity of black African women post-graduates within Engineering departments at Howard College, the citadel of UKZN.

With this backdrop, the principal research question remains: Can social capital be used as an agency to address the current state of South African unemployed black women graduates, looking at its inherent contradictions in maintaining the current status quo of inequality; and its prospects to promote social inclusion and labour market reforms? The inherent contradictions within social capital are explained by the androcentric society that predicates the philosophical and epistemological orientation of our knowledge system. As already alluded earlier, the nature of knowledge acquired in the past had heavily relied upon quantitative positivistic research methods for its validation and authentication. The fact that such knowledge was male owned and controlled, women were clearly excluded or likely to be grossly misrepresented. (Oakley, 1974; Driscoll and Krook, 2012).

All these activities were facilitated by a form of social capital advantage. Men had accepted and trusted the tradition and ideological positions of their forebears who were renowned for their 'incredible' academic scholarship. Similarly, those who would succeed in such a patriarchal society were those who adhered to its traditions, philosophical principles, and ontological orientation. In this way, it was impossible to exclude HEIs from this knowledge generating system that was depended upon structural functionalism. On the contrary, it was a fair charge to regard HEIs as the architectures of such knowledge system. Therefore, at the heart of this research is to expose and deal critically with those who are trained within these institutions as their experts and regarded as defenders of what the researcher regards as "academic normalcy". Whether social capital can be utilized as that type of agent

that can bring about the nature of transformation within Higher education and the type of agent that will provide equal opportunities to graduates who have pursued the same academic credentials, will be the subject of our investigation and specific research method shall be utilized in providing evidence-based response.

4.2 **Data collection tools**

At the beginning of the study, the researcher had thought to be ideal to utilize semi-structured interviews and focus groups. As part of triangulation, gathering data from individual respondents and collectively through focused groups would provide much robust feedback. However, the setting of the study was not homogeneous for focused groups. As a result, the researcher decided to stick to semi-structured interviews as against structured interviews in which a formalized system of response was set such as the use of scales including Likert-scale or choosing between yes or no. Although qualitative research may utilize few respondents by far, it is dynamic in revealing the attitudes, perceptions and frustrations faced by graduates; and in establishing causality and patterns of behaviour which can be generalised to the entire society (Boeck, 2011). Utilising semi-structured interviews was key in enabling the respondents provided as much information as they would in whatever form or structure. This approach confirms Maxwell's (2005) admission of two strength inherent within qualitative data, namely: - its ability to provide rich detail and its embeddedness in context. Through semi-structured interviews, the researcher can uncover issues of inequality, and discrimination in relation to race, gender, age, class, and any type of social stratification (Morgan, 1997). Each respondent presented their version on how they created relationships and which of those relationships led them to their desired career destination.

4.3 **Procedure**

The process of conducting field work began with the researcher preparing the copy of ethical clearance letter that outlines the objective of the study and targeted research outcomes. Granted by the College of Humanities Research Office, the research ethical approval (see Appendix) was presented to the senior administrators in various science departments. At Howard College campus, the following departments were approached, namely: School of Chemical, Mechanical, and Civil Engineering while at Durban Westville Campus the approached science departments included pharmacology, biotechnology, and physics. All

access doors to UKZN departments are barricaded and the researcher can only easily gain access to these departments after his or her identity has been confirmed in the system and ethics approval verified. The researcher further directly met with the heads of Academic Research in both Howard College and Durban Westville campuses to present the letter and obtain advice where to go.

Normally, post-graduate candidates were found in their Research or Computer Labs. Interestingly, and far different from my experience in my school of Social Science, these were highly equipped facilities with state-of-the-art technology and computer labs so that the candidates can devote their time to conducting research. Once research candidates are found, a brief introduction was requested to all the candidates who were always peripatetic. Once they understood the researcher's mission, they provided email addresses to allow the researcher the opportunity to set appointments. In Engineering schools within Howard College appointments were honoured. However, the experience in Durban Westville Campus the approach was different. The researcher had to adapt to a highly dense facilities which were predominately represented by black post-graduates within the masters and doctoral level. By their nature, science labs are extremely dangerous facilities and gaining access to them is highly controlled and monitored. Once respondents realized that their interviews went well with their colleagues it become quite easy for others to avail their time. These interviews took place outside the labs which was a different experience from Howard College where graduate labs were disconnected from scientific laboratories.

4.4 **Ethical Clearance**

Doctoral research within social science is governed by ethical standards which the researcher must adhere to the latter. In the attached (Appendix E), I have included official letter approved by University Research Officer thereby making the research above board. The rules of ethical clearance were enshrined to protect the identity of the respondents during the administration of semi-structured interviews. Firstly, they protect the institution from unforeseeable damage that may occur through misrepresentation by the researcher and immensely harm its brand and reputation. Secondly, they embrace the principle of anonymity which is entrenched within Grounded Theory by ensuring that the identity of the subjects is not disclosed neither can it be inferred by articulating a specific scenario that easily exposes the character of the subjects (Mason, 2010). After research objectives and procedures were

introduced and explained to participants, it is the role of the researcher to ensure that subjects sign consent form as evidence that both parties were conscious that they would become part of the research. Even more critically, the researcher had to protect the sequence of the narrative and ensure that the identity of respondents is protected. Equally, the researcher avoided judgmental and biased questions.

4.5 **Population Sampling**

The study used purposive sampling to identify a sample that can provide adequate information about the research topic (Patton, 1990). In the main, the study focuses on the selected graduates who were pursuing masters and doctoral studies within the STEM departments. These departments, especially at Howard College school of engineering sciences, admitted that they do have a handful of registered black African graduates, but they cannot provide their personal details notwithstanding the fact that the researcher holds ethical clearance. Given the increasing rate of crime on campuses, no one wants to take any further risk to introduce strangers into the lives of their students. Some departments were considerate to provide the researcher with graduates' email address and indeed contacts were made with them hoping to secure appointments, but sadly, they were not honoured on countless occasions. To the researcher's surprise, people who were always available in Postgrad Labs were foreign nationals from India, and other African countries. Compared to foreign nationals, the researcher found that South Africans were not accustomed to spending most of their time in their computer.

At the height of despondency, the researcher was advised to visit Durban Westville campus, as it was likely to be a citadel of black South African Post-grads within STEM studies. Indeed, the recommendation turned out to be a true representation. A sea of post-grad students of South African descent was found within Chemistry, Biochemistry, Anatomy and Physiology Departments. Unfortunately, those scientific fields were regarded as generic and non-specialised. On the other hand, the highest percentage of admissions within medicine, or engineering related fields including chemical and electrical remained the exclusive terrain of other South Africans racial groups except blacks. Arguably, most candidates who end up in these types of course components were likely to have been rejected in their first application for medicine and engineering. Some would have thought that by virtue of holding an honours

degree in Chemistry would offer them the best prospects to gain entry to these highly contested disciplines.

The findings of this research will further confirm some of the arguments advanced by feministic scholars such as Barone (2013) which depicts the pattern of domination in career choices between male and female. It is in these societies that Barone postulates that males are likely to worth more than females and/or select careers that are likely to be classified as those on high demand. Ultimately, the same status quo would remain in that male will always possess prerogatives to tell females what to do. Through the matrix of power analysis, feminist scholars are persuaded that this status quo is not designed to remain as is. Instead, all these traditional patterns of domination are designed to be challenged and transformed. Finally, although post-graduate candidates may be viewed as students, some of them have years of working experience while others don't. Thus, the portrayal of post-graduates as unemployed students is based on assumptions that by virtue of pursuing these specialized degrees, these candidates are not employed during their period of study.

4.6 Type of Social Capital relevant for respondents

Although social capital is susceptible to wide range of influences, on its own, it cannot be faltered. It depends much on the intentions and motives of the actors. Some build relationships with the view to derive some benefits at the end. While it may not be apparent which one could be useful and when, the interviews will explore the three forms of social capital, namely: bonding, bridging, and linking. Through bonding, people interact with those within the same family and close personal friends. On the second type, namely: bridging, people build relations with acquaintances, colleagues, or associates. It also covers people beyond one's own culture and race. In this context, sampled participants can be asked questions that relate to general perceptions about specific phenomena including trust towards their universities, labour markets and/or the value they attach to their qualifications. Linking social capital presents a broader view of cooperation which happens between institutions, sectors, and markets. This relationship shall be established during the process of merging HEIs. Linkages also exist between HEIs and the labour market. They form complex connectivity whose origin derives from basic principles of trust, norms, and values amongst others.

4.7 **Demographic Profiles**

The collection of demographics for the purpose of the study was a daunting exercise that cannot be premeditated. It is a path to which the researcher followed carefully and in doing so –because of the inherent complexities – came to appreciate and value all processes and role played by every participant. The researcher collected 70 interviewees from Howard College and Durban Westville campuses. This demographic profile constituted of a group of 25 males and 45 females using purposive sampling. Of the male group, 6 were white, 6 were Indian and the rest were black. Within the Africans 9 were from outside South Africa while 6 were black South African. Within our female group, 6 were Indians, 8 were foreign Africans 4 of whom were from SADC and another 4 from either Westside or Eastern side of the continent. Surprisingly, 25 of the total interviewees constituted of Black South African women. In sum, seventy participants constituted our full demographic profile.

Figure 8: Demographic Profile
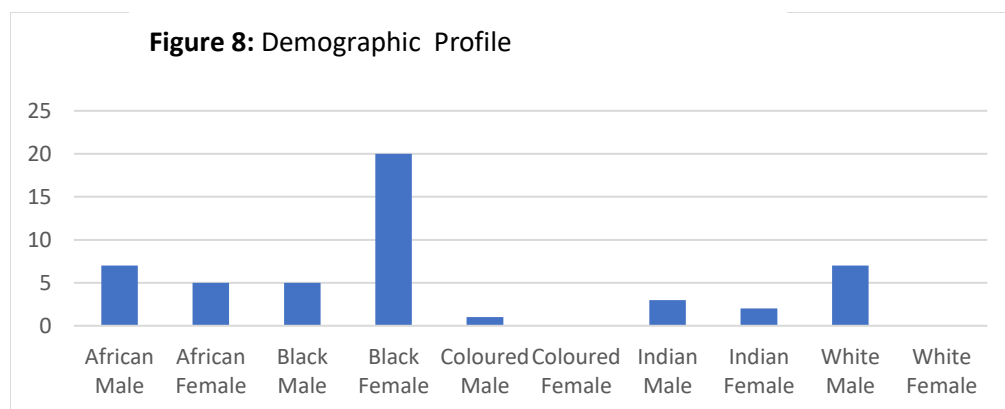
4.8 **Data Collection**

In this doctoral research, the researcher has utilised the simplest approach for collecting data. The work of Schatzman and Strauss (1973) lays the foundation to develop this approach. Firstly, the researcher recorded the data manually into distinct packages that can easily be broken down into 'Observational Notes' (ON), 'Theoretical Notes' (TN), and 'Methodological Notes' (MN) (1973: 99). The researcher's Observational Notes (ON) is the first point of entry of data where the researcher spends time listening, interacting, and writing key points that the respondents are saying in line with research questions asked (Hooks, 1999). In this set of notes, there is little interpretation of what the respondents are saying. Yet this data is quite reliable

and attempts to give the best expression of what the research respondents said. In this way there will be a separate set of notes for each observation, each of which should serve a different purpose. Learning from Schatzman and Strauss (1973), the theoretical notes become the overarching layer that follows a period of three to six months of reviewing the literature on the subject. Through the interaction with the data, the researcher begins to highlight theoretical inferences from the data in an ongoing way.

As part of developing my ON, I relied on Christina Hughes (1985)'[21] ON when she visited a stepmother whose stepdaughter was getting married. Just to lay the background to the narrative, the story of the relationship between stepmothers and stepdaughters in United States and world over is quite a sensitive one. In trying to build a relationship of trust, as a new guardian of the child and a lover of her dad, a stepmother faces uphill battle in winning their new daughters over. Their affairs or relationship (i.e., stepmother and the stepchild) experiences countless interference by the ex-wife of their new lover and the biological mother of their new stepchild.

From Hughes' perspective, the correlations of the ON and TN is vital in enriching the narrative and providing a deeper meaning as to how. Hence, this approach in using Grounded Theory as a methodology was key to this doctoral research on social capital.

> Taking orderly field notes is useful in separating types of data and putting the search for analytic categories at the forefront of the research process, but it is just the beginning of a lengthy process of developing wider categories in understanding the phenomena [my emphasis].

In this lengthy process, the role of 'analytic memos' are important and such memos enable the researcher to 'elaborate upon the inference, or to tie up several inferences in a more abstract statement' (Schatzman and Strauss 1973:104). Similarly, the study of social capital is quite a complex one. Social capital is a concept embedded within stratification and always portrayed as a vital asset to assist graduates move up the career ladder (Cornfield, 2011). At the same time, it is an instrument that can be utilized to maintain the status quo of dominance

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[21] Christina Hughes's (1985-1987) PhD dissertation studied the development of theories of the role of myth in stepfamily life in terms of management, strategies, decision-making and gender. The study details the way that myths of wickedness form an overarching consideration in the lives of stepmothers but not stepfathers, and the process through which myths are developed about stepchildren and ex-partners.

while it separates or exclude those who do not form part of the dominant group. However, such process is not conspicuous. To a large extent, it is a power that resides in the subjective interpretation of its dominant but not always on policies. Within this context, the role of the researcher is to unearth the different meanings and application of the concept. To do that, the researcher will come across various themes under which social capital is used both as a positive social construct and as a negative social construct.

4.9 **The construction of the Theoretical Notes**

During the process of writing the data as interviews are conducted, Observation Notes are simply recordings of raw data without the actual meaning that would be relevant of the purpose of the study. Akin to the experience above, the process of integrating the Theoretical Notes with the Observation Notes (ON) is not an abrupt one nor is it premeditated one. The case study of Christina Huges (ibid) shows how her role as a stepmother deepened her interpretation of the cake narrative. At first, the observation notes had no meaningful application she could derive since her task was simply to capture the data as she hears it. How the theoretical narrative comes to bear in the research was in understanding the prevailing literature on stepmother pandemonium with their stepdaughters and evidence on how the problem has been approached. The fact that she was herself a stepmother catapulted the interpretation to a much deeper paradigm. However, although she was a stepmother herself, she remained impeccable in providing a more objective analysis of the experiences of women that were the subject of her doctoral research. This objectivity was attributed to the theoretical narrative she had and its ethical underpinnings.

4.10 **The Story of Nomalanga: My Observation Notes**

The same principle has been applied in this doctoral research whether the ON and TN data shall be used interchangeably in seeking a much deeper understanding of the experience of women post-graduates based on race and class on social capital within HEIs. As an illustration of how this process plays out, the story of Nomalanga was utilized. Nomalanga was one of the few women post-graduates in a prestigious engineering department. An African woman from Zaire, she was introduced to the research quite late while conducting interviews with the post-graduate students within her department ninety percent of whom were male. Lecturers and post-graduates interviewed about 85 +percent of the respondents in that

department in the departmental lounge which is both shared. In the normal academic tradition within the West, lecturers and supervisors interact quite intimately in these types of settings. Students share their current research programmes with their lectures even when they are not their supervisors. Likewise, the lecturers sit down with their students and discuss their experiences with the post-graduate students—some of whom shall become future colleagues who may be offered a job as junior lecture. This international trend has become an assimilated culture in South African universities notwithstanding the sensitive history of inequality and continuing process of transformation.

When the researcher proposed to join her in the lounge as it had become a norm to do so with her previous colleagues, the young woman declined the researcher's proposal. The researcher immediately interjected in the following manner: What is your problem with sitting at the lounge? Nomalanga replied that her workload was quite huge, and as such, had to work twice harder that her fellow colleagues to win the confidence of my supervisor, Nomalanga retorted. Anyway, if you still are interested in doing this interview, I will recommend a place outside the Departmental premises.

Yes, I am still interested, you can lead the way to the place, the researcher replied.

Nomalanga: This is my solitude I always come to when I need my sanity, she remarked with a deep sigh.

Researcher: I would like us to go through our semi-structured questions and ethical procedures so that we adhere to the required ethical requirement, I said.

In the middle of the discourse, Nomalanga begins to feel free to explain the prevailing culture around departmental lounges. She recounted that her supervisor was an accomplished scholar in his profession and always expecting a lot from her. At first, this was quite unclear what did she imply by the lot that was required of her. As conversation continues, the researcher was interested in understanding whether all post-graduates feel the same about being in the department. This experience is not applicable to me alone but almost all women graduate in engineering, she said. However, she would make illustrations that suggest that she wish all relationships were friendly and that lecturers and students would engage in a meaningful manner. As I followed up on her meaning of relationships, it became evident that the quality

of discourse, in Nomalanga's view, would significantly differ by race and gender. It was most likely to find that white students would experience a much intense discussion and even enjoy richer social conversations. The deeper engagement would occur in a conversation between supervisors and male students. Although on the latter, such conversation related to academic stuff, especially the experiences that the candidates come back with from experiential training. As they begin to share their experiences to all post-graduate candidates, a subtle message remained which was that, more male candidates are making headways or inroads into the industry.

Inadvertently, the lounges were used as a platform to sing praises to such progress made by graduates in their respective fields of research. Paradoxically, majority of those student researchers were white males, she admitted. Taking into consideration plethora of challenges she was going through, Nomalanga was not at ease with the prevailing culture neither did she feel that she was an equal member of the team. Rather, she felt more depressed by the experience than the actual intention of the department in creating a healthy and vibrant environment of academic discourse. The researcher would then seek to understand why the female post-graduates work twice as harder than their male counterparts do, even though most of the accolades went to the latter. This is how the conversation is accounted for:-

Researcher: Why is it so, the researcher asked?

Nomalanga: Because that is engineering department. If you want to be respected like other colleagues, you must surely show forth this hard work demonstrated by our male candidate.

On the one hand, the woman post-graduate student detects some element of impropriety. Women have been psychologically compromised not to believe in their academic accolades and their capacity to change the profile of their departments. This narrative is a generalised view

4.11 Theoretical Notes of Nomalanga

In such instances where a young hardworking student expresses these types of feelings it appears like defence mechanism or expression of not coping with the quality of academic

work. This is normally the type of defence that is expressed by other groups of graduates who believe that academic standards are at risk of being compromised to accommodate the calibres of Nomalanga. To make sense of the experience of Nomalanga, there has been a consistent raw data of post-graduate students raising serious concerns about the process of institutional integration or mergers of HEIs. Similarly, the use of multiple theoretical paradigms including equality of opportunity brought a meaningful interpretation to the experiences of black women such as Nomalanga. As Schlaar has correctly argued equality of opportunity cannot be advocated mutually exclusively from opportunity of chances.

Whereas academic admission policies into post-graduate studies in STEM departments can continue to increase, failure to change working or learning environment within these institutions could threaten the same objective many departments are making. For instance, some of the post-graduates never intimated existing opportunities to co-publish with their supervisors. All these factors brought to bear, Nomalanga's academic experience and honest expression about skewed praises sang towards male post-graduates compared to her kind, confirmed the impact of social stratification and power domination within HEIs.

4.12 **Data Analysis: An Overview**

The data analysis of this research treats higher education, labour markets and the role of black women post-graduates as independent phenomena whose social capital must be analysed and interpreted independently and interdependently. At the same time, social capital is used as a cohesive force that promotes social integration whereby higher education is influenced by social contradictions of its time. Through grounded theory, the experiences of women participants are determined utilising different theoretical frameworks including matrix of power and equality of opportunity. Following on the steps of Bourdieu (1979), the researcher uses social capital in a very dynamic and transformative manner in analysing power contestation within these institutions and how black African women benefit utilising their feministic paradigms. In this way, Higher Education is viewed as a construct of the dominant male forces who have leveraged on their social capital to create social stratification. In analysing this data, the author deconstructs the role of black African women closely correlating the experience of research participants in the interviews, with the applicable theoretical frameworks to produce a new form of social capital that is self-emancipating and suitable to the career trajectory of the black African women graduates.

4.13 **Reliability and validity of the study**

Validity within qualitative research can be determined through academic rigor and trustworthiness of the researched work (Simon, 2011). To achieve that within the context of this doctoral research, the researcher triangulated the data with findings of similar study done using quantitative data (Graduate Destination Survey, 2013; Van Broekenhuizen, 2015). Notwithstanding the extent to which academic normalcy has been fiercely defended using quantitative data, the researcher shall be able to utilise accepted Labour Force Surveys (2011) data upon which quantitative academic scholars (ibid) had based part of their arguments. By taking this approach, the findings drawn from this doctoral research, especially the responses of black and female graduates in, shall prove that such cases are not isolated but likely to form a national trend. For the purpose of achieving reliability, World Bank experts (Krishna and Ahrader, 1999) developed Social Capital Assessment Tool (SCAT) to operationalize emerging theories such as matrix of domination whereby various indicators can be measured including attitudes and perceptions of respondents towards governance, authority, education institutions, labour markets, and understanding concepts such as social network and social trust.

4.14 **Graduate-Supervisor Relationship: An Illustration**

One of the important themes created to illustrate the social capital advantage is the pivotal role supervisors can play in building the social capital of a post-grad and the prospects of such capital in unlocking the latter's career path. From listening to different respondents on their experiences working with their supervisors, wide range of inferences shall be drawn from one another. As this process unfolds, a deeper meaning behind plethora of data shall be constructed. One of the profound lessons derived is the existing gap of time between the gathering of the Observation Notes and Theoretical Notes. The convergence of the two data and drawing inference from each other shall confirm the theoretical narrative or challenge it. .

Whereas there are very moving stories of prejudice and/or "subtle intolerance" expressed by supervisors towards the graduate, which some of the respondents may have come across in their personal encounter with their supervisors, as shall be seen later findings, the researcher has found that these important narratives cannot always be used as a yardstick of generalizing the experience of post-graduates in their respective universities. The narrative of those graduates who have shared fondly about their positive encounter with their supervisors

has rather shared a light to the researcher about the nature of social capital that HEIs must emulate in this transformation trajectory.

4.15 **Ethical Consideration**

Appreciating these peculiarities required that I should assure the candidate that my agenda is not in exposing whatever information shared with me to the entire university population. As an academic exercise, my primary objective is to understand their experience in pursuing their field of specialisation within STEM. Furthermore, the issue of identity of the respondents and the actual representation of the narrative

Creating a deeper understanding of one's respondents is critical while also ensuring that he/she does not lose focus of the objective of the interview. For ethical purpose, the researcher has ensured that he always hide his sentimental views to ensure respondents remain objective and honest to their opinion.

Conducting interviews within lecture halls or science laboratories has not been as truly enriching as it was in following the respondents to their rooms. Durban Westville campus offered the researcher such richer experience more than Howard College. Perhaps, by its setting, Durban Westville was more welcoming and security controls were relaxed a bit. I was able to gain entry to these matured adults' dormitories which were stratified by gender. As I enter the premises, it was a bit uneasy how I was really going to conduct an interview in such a cramp environment. So much fear came to my mind. South African women have been exposed to sexual harassment and gender violence. Similarly, it was quite a big risk for securities to believe me that I am a researcher, and my purpose was to interview respondents. My Zulu language is not quite fluent, and I don't fully understand the Zulu culture when it concerns to being found in a closed location with women alone. I had to draw on my pastoral experience in engaging securities and all prospective respondents. First approach to finding the respondents, I had to knock on every room. It was quite a sensitive experience because some students live with their boyfriends and there are no ample facilities in these dormitories where one could wait for the candidate to come and meet me.

With my international experience and exposure to different experiences to campus life, I realised that the quality of life on campus does not reflect the nature of portrait depicted in

academic literature. The lives of black post-graduates in dormitories are not exciting to talk about. Efforts that are being made to transform academic livelihood does not translate the same to their social livelihood. Conducting an interview within this environment reignite the consciousness of poverty, social class, and inequality. It becomes obvious that one is communicating with a population within the low social quintile. Pursuing their post-graduate studies is not an option from myriad of opportunities available to them. Without this qualification these students' future is gloom neither will their qualification present an alternative pathway.

Table 4: Database of Post-Graduates Students Interviews

ID NO.	PSEUDO—NAME	GENDER	RACE	AGE	MARITAL STATUS	SOCIAL CLASS	QUALIFICATION	SPECIALIZATION	JOB EXPERIENCE	YEARS
1.	OTTO	Male	White	32	S	LC	PHD	Environ. Eng.	YES	>3
2.	NOMALANGA	Female	Indian	28	S	MC	Masters	Marine Eng.	YES	<3
3.	S'THUTHUKILE	Male	African	22	S	MC	Masters		NO	
4.	SEANE	Male	White	32	M	MC	Masters II	Civil Eng.	YES	>3
5.	PHAKAMANI	Male	Black African	27	S	LC	Masters		NO	
6.	MAMAZANI	Female	Black	23	S	MC	Masters	Waste Eng.	YES	<3
7.	PHINDILE	Female	Black	24	S	MC	Masters	Fluid Mech. Eng.	YES	<3
8.	MICHAEL	Male	Coloured	35	S	MC	Post. Doc	Seed Biology	YES	<3
9.	JASON	Male	White	26	S	UC	PhD	Robotics	YES	>3
10.	PRISCILLA	Male	Indian	28	S	MC	MSC	Robotics	YES	<3
11.	USOFIA	Male	African	46	M	LC	PhD	Civil Eng.	YES	>3
12.	NONTOKOZO	Female	Black	37	M	MC	PhD	Quants Survey	YES	>3
13.	ZANDILE	Male	Indian	24	S	MC	MSC	Elect. Eng.	YES	<3
14.	GUGULETHU	Male	Black African	27	S	MC	MSC	Mech. Eng.		
15.	TINYEKO	Female	African	33	S	MC	PhD	Quality Controller	YES	<3
16.		Male	Indian	24	S	MC	PhD	Fluid Mechanics	YES	<3
17.	ERIC	Male	African	25	S	MC	MSC	Mech. Eng.	NO	<3
18.	NOZIZWE	Female	African	26	S	MC	PhD	Construct. Manage	YES	<3
19.	THOBILE	Male	African	29	S	MC	PhD	Construct Manage	YES	>3
20.	SHUMI	Female	African	35	M	MC	PhD	Transport Eng.,	YES	>3
21.	JACKSON	Male	African	42	M	MC	PhD Lecturer	Chem Eng.	YES	>3
22.	THEMBENI	Female	Black	35	S	LC	Btech/PDM	IT Technician	YES	>3
23.	JIMMY	Male	White	47	M	MC	PhD	Mechanical Engineering	YES	>3
24.	ZIPHOKAZI	Female	Indian	24	S	MC	MSC	Designer	YES	
25.	RUSSELL	Male	White	25	S	MC	MSC			<3
26.	MASELLO	Female	Black	23	S	LC	Hons	Forensic Criminology	YES	<3
27.	DERRICK	Male	White	32	S	MC	PhD	Civil Engineering	YES	>3
28.	KELETSO	Female	African	31	M	LC	PhD	Pharmacology	NO	<3
29.	MATILDA	Female	Black	22	S	MC	Masters	Biochemistry	YES	<3
30.	MADALITSO	Male	Black	22	S	MC	Masters	Pharmacology	YES	<3
31.	JAMES	Male	White	32	S	LC	PHD	Environ. Eng.	YES	>3
32.	NOMASONTO	Female	Black	28	S	MC	Masters	Marine Eng.	YES	<3
33.	KHATHAZILE	Female	African	22	S	MC	Masters		NO	
34.	MAPULE	Female	Black	32	M	MC	Masters II	Civil Eng.	YES	>3
35.	SIMBA	Female	African	27	S	LC	Masters		NO	
36.	SOMKHITHA	Female	Black	28	S	MC	Masters	Waste Eng.	YES	<3

NO.	PSEUDO—NAME	GENDER	RACE	AGE	MARITAL STATUS	SOCIAL CLASS	QUALIFICATION	SPECIALIZATION	JOB EXPERIENCE	YEARS
37.	MAWETHU	Female	Black	24	S	MC	Masters	Fluid Mech. Eng.	YES	<3
38.	NOLUTHANDO	Female	Black African	32	M	MC	PhD			
39.	KUSASA	Female	Black	26	S	UC	PhD	Robotics	YES	>3
40.	NOKUTHULA	Female	Black	28	S	MC	MSC	Robotics	YES	<3
41.	KHUMO	Female	African	46	M	LC	PhD	Civil Eng.	YES	>3
42.	THOZAMA	Male	Black	37	M	LC	PhD	Quants Survey	YES	>3
43.	SINENHLANHLA	Male	Indian	24	S	LC	MSC	Elect. Eng.	YES	<3
44.	LOLIWE	Male	Black African	27	S	LC	MSC	Mech. Eng.		
45.	BUHLE	Female	Black African	33	S	LC	PhD	Microbiology	YES	<3
46.	MTHOKOZISE	Male	Black African	24	S	LC	PhD	Fluid Mechanics	YES	<3
47.	DUDUZILE	Male	Black African	25	S	LC	MSC	Mech. Eng.	NO	<3
48.	NOMVUSELELO	Female	Black African	26	S	LC	PhD	Construct. Manage	YES	<3
49.	MPENDULO	Male	Black African	29	S	LC	PhD	Construct Manage	YES	>3
50.	FIKILE	Female	Black African	35	M	LC	PhD	Transport Eng.	YES	>3
51.	NOMAZULU	Female	Black African	32	M	LC	PhD	Quants Survey	YES	Black
52.	NONTSIKELELO	Female	Black African	33	S	LC	PhD	Elect. Eng.	YES	Black
53.	NOKUZOLA	Female	Black African	32	S	LC	PhD	Mech. Eng.	YES	Black
54.	NOMBULELO	Female	Black African	30	S	LC	PhD	Quality Controller	YES	Black
55.	MANTOMBI	Female	Black African	26	S	LC	PhD	Fluid Mechanics	YES	Black
56.	SITHETHELELE	Female	Black African	28	S	LC	PhD	Mech. Eng.	YES	Black
57.	KHOSI	Female	Black African	29	S	LC	PhD	Construct. Manage	YES	Black
58.	THANDISWA	Female	Black African	32	S	LC	PhD	Construct Manage	YES	Black
59.	NOLWAZI	Female	Black African	31	S	LC	PhD	Transport Engineering	YES	Black
60.	NOLWANDLE	Female	Black African	30	S	LC	PhD	Chem Engineering	YES	Black
61.	ZOZO	Female	Black African	28	S	LC	PhD	IT Technician	YES	Black
62	ZONKE	Female	Black African	28	S	LC	PhD	IT Technician	YES	Black
63	ZUKISWA	Female	Black African	28	S	LC	PhD	IT Technician	YES	Black
64.	SOBANTU	female	Black African	28	S	LC	PhD	IT Technician	YES	Black
65	LONDISIWE	Female	Black African	30	S	LC	PhD	Quality Controller	YES	Black
66	NONTANDO	Female	Black African	28	S	LC	PhD	Quality Controller	YES	Black
67.	NOMALIZO	Female	Black African	33	S	LC	PhD	Elect. Eng.	YES	Black
68.	AHMED	Male	Indian	31	S	MC	PhD			
69.	SIPHAMBANO	Male	Black	31	S	MC	PhD			
70.	LELETI	Female	Black	28	S	MC	Masters	Waste Eng.		

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS:
INTERPRETATION AND DICUSSSION OF FINDINGS

The objective of this chapter is to give account of the data collection process the researcher embarked upon for a period of five months from February to June 2019. This chapter is divided into two important sections, namely, Section One will focus on data analysis and Interpretation. The focus of this section is on how data was analysed and how the researcher selected his themes and interpretation thereof. Section two focuses on discussions of research findings. This data analysis, its interpretation and the subsequent discussions shall be based on the following principal research question and its sub- questions as based on the attached. The principal research question states: To what extent, and which type of social capital, can assist, unemployed graduates secure employment in sectors they were qualified to work and/or capacitate graduates to become job creators that utilise acquired critical skills for job creation. To answer the above question wide range of factors had to come to bear which required well-constructed sub-question.

The following sub-questions were included:- a) What type of social capital indicators can assist young women graduates in shaping their career orientation, and if so, how? b) Identify the types and dimensions of social capital deficit encountered by unemployed graduates from disadvantaged +background which limits their ability to negotiate their skills in the marketplace? c) How did unemployed graduates obtain internship opportunities within their area of expertise while pursuing their academic qualifications and which role did social capital play? d) To what extent does the social capital of young graduates and their families contribute in securing employment? e) Does the current statistical data on graduate unemployment reflect the triumph of the labour market in redressing the country's skills deficit or simply a hoax that downplays critical challenges of social stratification shaping labour market absorption? f) Is the problem of graduate unemployment a new form of alienation which requires an escalated intervention, and if so, what institutional support does South African government provide to redress these existing structural irregularities? g) In view of the protracted culture of social exclusion suffered by young

women graduates, what type of social intervention can be introduced to bolster the social capital of these cohorts?

Within the conventional research the above research questions   be answered in a systematic manner akin to quantitative research looking at various concepts such as attitudes of learners, race relations between blacks and whites. Such studies are well exhausted in literature and have failed to expose issues of power contestation as human beings and institution they work for interact.

Section 1

5.1.   **Data Analysis and Interpretation**

According to Glesne & Peshkin (1992) there are plethora of methods to collect research data which includes observations, interviews, documents collection and other research sessions. In this study, the researcher conducted face to face interviews with almost 70 respondents consisting of ten males and 42 females situated between Howard College and Durban Westville. The fact that the research covered thirty percent of respondents as male while the focus of the study is on women demonstrates the predominant role and presence of male respondents within STEM departments. The selection challenge is further compounded by the pedagogical presentation of STEM subjects which remains endocentric, and as such, has negative influence in the selection process during the admission of candidates to the field of study.

The first milestone towards data analysis is data collection. As part of my duty of gathering researched data during my field work, I interrogated various secondary data which assisted a great deal obtaining primary data through interviews of over 50 respondents. The second milestone was to arrange meeting dates with all the different respondents. This process did not occur abruptly but incrementally. I approached the targeted STEM departments one day at a time. Although I may not have done justice in accounting on the experience of every respondent, each one required quality time ranging between 45 minutes to 1 hour digging deeper into the wealth of their experiences. Although the questions are similar, the approach and technique of responding by participants was different; or

events as well as in-depth descriptions of how individuals think about their world. The research examined written documents to gain a deeper understanding and description regarding Higher Education Institutions and the nature of social capital that shape their outlook and ideology. Such data assisted the researcher in interrogating participant's position on their personal convictions, conduct, and experiences (Bodgan & Biklen, 2006).

Glesne and Peshkin (ibid, 1992) stress the value of document collecting in corroborating observations and interviews and generating further trustworthiness. The advent of qualitative research in scholarship has challenged the predominant respect quantitative research had earned which was predicated on positivist epistemology, and reductionism mode of inquiry. According to this view, reality was something absolute and independent of the context from which it evolved. Contrary to this view, qualitative research—to which this doctoral thesis adheres—believes that knowledge takes place in subjective experience, social context, and historical time.[22] This was a new paradigm from the scientific wander lustre of empiricism. As motivated by grounded theory, what had mattered the most was uncovering knowledge about how people think and feel about the circumstances which they had found themselves in.

A subjective approach of studying social capital within the context of feminist theory challenges a popular view on how social capital is defined. Against a functionalist view that the concept 'social capital' must be limited to the specific context under which it must be applied, this doctoral research places women and their experiences of marginalization at the centre of the definition. In taking this approach, the researcher argues that all the related concepts including embeddedness, social cohesion, and trust, must be understood against the experiences of women towards these concepts.

By taking this broad-based approach, the grounded theory becomes the basis upon which the data of respondents must be recorded, analysed, and interpreted. Despite its historical origin within the Chicago School of Sociology, which was functionalist in nature and thought, Grounded Theory registered a landslide victory when Glaser and Strauss (1967) insisted that the sociological landscape

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[22] Publication by EBN entitled "Data analysis in qualitative research" in online publication ebn.bmj.com/

must shift to theory development. In this way, grounded theory would be a way in which the researcher would arrive at a theory suitable for its supposed use instead of being generated by logical reduction from a priori assumptions (Annells, 1996; Charmaz, 2005; Corbin & Strauss, 2007; Glaser, & Strauss, 1967). The fact that, by its nature, "feminism" takes diverse forms and cannot be reduced to one theoretical perspective the same view can be upheld about the concept social capital. In the same way it could be justified that taking one feminist perspective would have oversimplified the phenomena, and as such, women could claim their patronage under various social capital discourses. Similarly, the definitions of social capital by leading authorities including Putman, Coleman, and others may reveal different dimensions of social capital manifestation. In affirming this broad view towards application of grounded theory, Plummer and Young (2009) avers:

> A review of the contemporary feminist literature reveals a shared set of common epistemological features, including valuing women's lived experiences as a legitimate source of knowledge, appreciating the influence of context in the production of knowledge, respecting the role of reflexivity in the research process, rejecting traditional subject–object dualisms, and attending to gender, power, and transformative social action.

5.2 **Data Coding**

Strauss and Corbin (2008) refer to the process of analysing data as coding. According to these authors, coding involves three levels of analyses: (a) open coding, (b) axial coding, and (c) selective coding, to gather a complete picture of the information obtained during the data collection process (Strauss & Corbin). During this first phase of the coding process, the researcher is comparing data and continually asking questions about what is and is not understood. The identification of different categories, properties, and dimensions within and among the data can be accomplished by a variety of techniques that examine parts or the whole document in a systematic manner (Strauss & Corbin, 2008).

The next step of coding is the axial coding procedure where data are pieced together in new ways after open coding allowing connections between categories. By the continuation of asking question and making comparisons, the inductive and deductive thinking process of

relating subcategories to a category becomes the main emphasis of the axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 2008). Within the study of social capital, it was apparent that dealing with social capital of these Black African women post-graduates independent of the context that shape their career trajectory, which is Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), becomes tendentious and ahistorical. To emancipate the concept from this endocentric mooring, HEIs deserved their independent status. This approach is confirmed by Strauss and Corbin (2008) and define such process of selective coding as identifying and choosing the core category, systematically connecting it to other categories, validating those similarities and relationships and then completing categories that need further refinement and development. It was against this rigorous process of weaving and refining all the emerging categories I was able to see a new theory emerging in social capital which draws strong correlations or interrelations between individual social capital of post-graduates with collective social capital of HEIs. (Strauss & Corbin, 2008).

Juxtaposing HEIs' social capital with the status of unemployed post-graduates' forms part of the theoretical sampling which is a procedure of selecting additional cases to be studied to gather new insights or expand and refine concepts already gained (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998). Theoretical sampling is often used in conjunction with the three levels of coding as describe by Strauss and Corbin (2008). During the first level of open coding, sampling is purposeful and systematic; the second level of axial coding incorporates sampling in a more structured systematic approach to help validate relationships among the data.

5.3 **Measuring Social Capital**

In line with Social Capital theorists, this research appreciates the fluidity that permeates the social capital literature which becomes susceptible to vulgar scholarship (Ben Fin, 2000), whereby little consideration is given to the theoretical background and its inherent complexities. To avoid the danger of falling into a trap of circularity, tautology, exaggeration, assumption, and confusion often associated with the concept 'social capital' it becomes essential that a clear definition of the concept be identified for the purpose of answering the principal research question. Yet we must appreciate the multi-dimensional nature of the concept especially within

women experiences while avoiding cherry-picking various concepts associated with it (Triton, 2008).

Such caution has been raised by the new school of Social Capital theory (Triton, 2008) correctly raising serious concerns about the ambiguity and variability problem which is spawned by the fact that the concept is a catch-all, for-all, and cure-all phenomena. Within the study, the researcher adopted a multi-dimensional approach which includes the following indicators to measure social capital, namely: embeddedness, social cohesion, social inclusion or exclusion, social equality, group-based identification, group dynamics, social investment, social solidarity, collective action, reciprocity, and trust (Triton, ibid). Admittedly, because of the breadth and depth endowed within each indicator, the proclivity to commit a paucity or omission in providing exhaustive theoretical analysis and context for each indicator may become inevitable. Nevertheless, the research affirms the position to discredit vulgar scholarship while raising a caution that feministic theory by its nature is inherently vulgar and discredits prescriptive and normative approach which unconsciously is embedded in positivism.

5.4 **Approach to Interviews**

By adopting the grounded theory, the researcher took a much broader approach in understanding black African postgraduate women's experiences. The process of transformation within HEIs significantly shaped the type of questions initially asked and brought into context its relevance to the process of merger within HEIs. The extent to which change unfolded within HEIs was evaluated from social capital perspective this include the role of parents, friends, and other forms of social networks in supporting the graduate's career development; the integration of foreign postgraduates within South African HEIs; the process of appointing academics; and the manifestation of various forms of discriminations encountered by black African women postgraduates.

Interviewees did not answer questions in the same manner. While some would provide much detail in outlining their family background and their upbringing, others demonstrated strong leadership capabilities which were shaped through voluntary participation on campus.

The research interviews did not treat these merger experiences as mutually exclusive but did allow the respondents, particularly black African women, and the opportunity to share how they have shaped such processes and similarly, how such processes has shaped their experiences and prepared them for the marketplace. In this way, the approach to asking questions were significantly changed and adopted to policy changes within Higher Education the extent in which mergers affected the status of black African post-graduate women and the broader culture of interaction within HEIs.

5.5 **Principal Objective**

All the selected themes must fall within the principal objective of the study which was to establish the role social capital should have played in assisting unemployed women post-graduates' transit to the job market and have secured the type of employment for which they were qualified within the required critical sectors and have built entrepreneurship capabilities where the job market had showed incapacity to absorb their skills. To those who did not possess such competencies, a historical cause of such deficiencies should have been equally accounted for. Thereafter, a critical question must be asked: whether social capital indicators are social class based or deterministic. In simple terms, do social capital competencies inhere all group of people regardless of race, gender, and social status? This question becomes clearer as the researcher provides detailed account of the social capital within HEIs and the inherent power contestation which created complex networking systems upon which the legacy of apartheid hinged. Concomitantly, social capital is also viewed as a strategic agent towards driving the process of transformation of HEIs and advocating for critical competencies to foster social cohesion and empowerment of black African graduates to gain access to the type of employment for which they were trained.

The themes must also capture the respondents' own social capital with focus being placed on the efforts, networks and strategies utilized by these graduates to develop their competencies. To this end, voluntary participation of graduates on campus as part of leadership development becomes one of important ingredient of social capital development. However, this practice tends to apply more amongst graduates from disadvantaged background than it does to those within

middle income background because of immense pressure they face in challenging the status quo of governance and resistance towards any charge of irregularity and discrimination. Most importantly, social activism becomes pivotal in mitigating against the risk of academic and financial exclusion which face majority of their constituency. Parallel to this experience is the role played by professional institutions within STEM such as South African Institute of Civil Engineers (SAICE) in assisting a handful of most graduates, who are white, to develop social capital competencies that are directly linked to labour market institutions. In view of the sluggish process of transformation on the demand side of the economy, that is, labour market institutions juxtaposed with education conundrum facing HEIs the interventionist role of the state and private sector becomes a highly contested subject, imperative in assisting black African graduates to gain employment in sectors where their skills are highly required.

Such competencies must be traced within the context of higher education or be assumed to be the results of family background from which the graduate is born. Appreciating the extent to which others may not be advantaged to possess such competencies, the research emphasized the importance of social policy intervention by the state, private capital, and society to mediate for these missing ingredients in the life of a graduate. Relevant to the experience of black African women in particular, and disadvantaged black people in general, the social capital concept must be constructed and its philosophical inclinations. Concomitantly, HEIs must not be viewed parochially as the context of learning the phenomena, but also, as the nurture and habitat in the creation of complex identities and images that resonates with the concept. Whereas social capital can be viewed as a pivotal instrument in facilitating graduates' entry to the labour market, the concept accounts for the sophisticated construct of the social networks in the creation of the legacy of apartheid and endocentric orientation to life which has excluded and vilified the voices and roles of black African women in gaining their rightful position within STEM sectors.

5.5.1 **Selected Themes**

The study focuses on unemployed Black African women graduates and the subject is discussed within multiple themes and their sub-themes. Each theme is critical in addressing the multi-dimensional nature of social capital beginning with its historical context within apartheid,

the contestations of policy formations within higher education (HE) and the extent to which it influences the labour markets' responsiveness towards graduate employment. Most importantly, the researcher focuses on the experience of graduates based on race, class and gender with a final straw laid on the social capital of black African women post-graduates and the extent in which it can prepare them for transition into the place of work. Unfolding within the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), the study has selected over 50 research respondents across five schools of Engineering in Howard College campus and four science departments in Durban Westville campus. Through face-to-face interviews, the researcher engaged respondents on the following principal objective and its sub-objectives summarized herewith.

5.5.2 The Structure of the Research

The structure of the research signifies the schematic framework that defines an integrated and holistic analysis of social capital. Within the social capital research, the researcher uses three critical variants as variables, namely: Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), Graduate Social Capital (GSC), and Labour Market Institutions (LMI). The three variables influence each other. Firstly, Higher Education Institution boasts its own historical background, nature of discriminations and so forth. Similarly, Graduate Social Capital is the heart of the study. By focusing on black African women post-graduates, the researcher goes deeper to understand the nature of social capital permeating the lives of post-graduates and the type of discriminations post-graduates faces by gender, race, and social class. With the objective of providing support to post-graduates to transit tot the job market, it becomes crucial to understand the background of labour market, trends of employments, nature of discriminations and so forth. Although within quantitative research we avoid using statistical analysis but encourage qualitative analysis, triangulation is important in providing balanced evidence.

5.6.1 THEME ONE: Social Capital within Higher Education Institutions

The objective of this theme is to demonstrate the extent to which Higher Education Institutions and their social capital have served as dynamic instruments in maintaining the status quo of women's perpetual exclusion from the labour market. The new democratic government

had inherited an education system that was shaped by segregation based on race, ethnicity, and language; and a Higher Education system that was shaped by three centuries of oppression and colonialism, admitted Martin Hall (2015). The author goes further to highlight the complex historical background that would assist us in understanding the concept of social capital within higher education. He states: -

> Apartheid legislation and practice had resulted in a unique combination of Higher Education governance arrangements, ranging from institutional autonomy in the British tradition for universities intended as reserved for white students (for example, the University of Cape Town, the University of the Witwatersrand), to direct government control in what were in effect extensions of a segregated civil service [Bantustan universities, [my emphasis]… Complicating things further was a binary division between vocational provision (technikons) and a bilateral distinction between Afrikaans medium institutions (such as the University of Pretoria and Technikon Port Elizabeth) and English medium provision (for example, Rhodes University and Cape Technikon). This Spatial segregation had been a formative aspect of South Africa's history for well over a century, enforced through legislation such as the Natives Land Act of 1913 and the Group Areas Act of 1950. (Hall 2015:147)

A former UCT Vice Chancellor, Martin Hall raises critical questions which would serve as a litmus test in determining the efficacy of the concept social capital within Higher Education. Firstly, he asks the extent to which the state of reorganizing the national higher education system would contribute to breaking down structural embrace of apartheid architecture. Secondly, he asks whether the merger process would contribute to addressing South Africa's overall labour force requirements and fix its inherent state of labour disparities between races. Without putting in place conditionalities at the beginning of the restructuring exercise, it does not seem persuasive that at the end of the exercise or few years thereafter, tangible milestones would be accounted for, he argues. Thirdly, what seems most critical to Hall is the direct impact of the merger in the life of students and the extent to which it can change the rate and pattern of graduation by gender and race. The latter question raises the meritocracy that underpins the open policy of the university regardless of race, gender, and socio-economic class.

On the first point, which Hall raised about the role of HEI in the breaking down of the structural embrace; Nontokozo's (ID12) analysis was underpinned by black consciousness and

self-preservation. In reflecting on her parents 'college qualification, she made a rare observation about the historical foundation of black African education, she argued in the following:-

> I come from a family of teachers. My mom enrolled for education diploma at the Lutheran College of Education while my dad attended Wilberforce College in Evaton, South of Gauteng province. The teaching profession was the highest qualification black people could attain. Both colleges belonged to missionary societies. The quality of their English was of British or Victorian standards. When I asked them what happened to their yesteryear schools, they informed me that a new legislation was passed into law which forbade teaching learners using English as a medium of instruction. Ultimately, all teachers' Colleges were handed over to the state and since then, training standards for education dropped dismally until colleges had lost their prestige as another form of tertiary education.

What had placed education profession at the apex of knowledge creation was the confidence which the parents of these kids had towards the education output of colleges of education more than the external influence exerted by the system of apartheid. Despite the adversarial attitude of the oppressive regime towards missionary schools, the families that had brought their children to these schools demonstrated much stronger social values, and norms.

Siphambano (ID60) made a profound remark that:-

> Despite learning under apartheid system, their parents had built a buffer of strong social capital that made them invincible to deterministic intention of apartheid education architecture which had intended at producing redundant workforce. Although the system succeeded in this strategy by producing a skewed black labour force which can only respond to the country's educational needs, it could not address the broader needs of producing the critical skills. Be that as it may, there were a handful of those that made the best of the situation.

A moving story of Daisy (ID61) confirmed Siphambano's assertion by sharing her aunt's story, a head of defunct teaching college, who produced black women doctors. Being a single parent and divorced was not an excuse to persevere and aim for a better future for her children. Besides, colleges of education were not the last qualifications our parents held as most of our parents pursued their studies further. Nontsikelelo (ID62) a black African woman PhD post-graduate in chemistry confirmed this experience by attesting that although her mom and dad

were College graduates, they did not remain at a college level. They both hold doctorates and were able to use their qualifications to travel 'underground' during apartheid and they are now retired Professors in different prestigious universities in Europe.

5.6.1.1 **Sub-Theme 1: Intersectionality vs Social Capital Analysis**

The work of Collins (2000) presents intersectionality as phenomena that centre oppression on multiple layered identities. Viewed in this way, people can become members of more than one category of social groups. The advent of intersectionality has gained much momentum within scholarship, yet it is not absolved from structural deficiencies. Supporting this position, Marike Morris (2007) on Intersectional Feminist Framework argues that women are not from the same group, nor think the same way, or share same experience, and/or live same life. Therefore, plethora of have an impact on them including character and socio-economic status. Whereas intersectionality presents a comprehensive analysis of different phenomena under observation, it does not provide persuasive methodology that is robust enough to deconstruct the social and economic problem. Its tendency to encompass all factors is not far away from the social capital analysis adopted in this research. The only difference is that the use of various theories by the researcher affords the study to analyse the three variants separately while maintaining Graduate Social Capital as the central variable. In this context and as shown in the diagram, the researcher looks at the lives of post-graduates against the impact of HEIs and their related mergers and the Labour Market Institutions and their on-going process of transformation.

BLACK AFRICAN WOMAN POST-GRADUATES AND SOCIAL CAPITAL INTERSECTIONALITY

HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS	GRADUATE SOCIAL CAPITAL	LABOUR MARKET INSTITUTION
1) APARTHEID LEGACY 1.1 CHAIN OF COMMAND 1.2 ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES ACROSS HEIs 1.3 SKEW DAPPOINTMENT OF TOP LEADERSHIP 1.4 DEFENDING TRIBALISM & CULTURAL HEGEMONS 2) ENDOCENTRIC TRADITION IN 2.1 PUBLICATION 2.2 GOVERNANCE 2.3 GRADS APPOINTMENT 2.4 GRAD SUPERVISION 3) TRANSFORMATION OF HEIs 3.1 INTERNATIONALIZATION 3.2 TRANS-NATIONAL CONTENT OFFERING 4. VARIANTS OF CHANGE	1. FAMILY PROFILE 1.1 EDUCATION, INCOME, SOCIAL CLASS 2. GRADUATE'S PROFILE 2.1 GRADUATE'S OWN SOCIAL CAPITAL 2.2 GRADUATE SOCIAL STATUS/CLASS 2.3 GRADUATE & SOCIAL ACTIVISM 3. DOMINANT THEORIES 3.1 GROUNDED THEORY 3.2 STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM 3.3 EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITIES 3.4 FEMINISTIC THEORIES 3.4.1 THE MATRIX OF DOMINATION 3.4.2 WHITE & BLACK FEMINISM 4. TYPES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL 4.1 BONDING 4.2 BRIDGING 4.3 LINKING	1. LABOUR MARKET STATUS QUO 2. LABOUR MARKET TRANSFORMATION 3. SOCIAL CAPITAL & LOST OPPORTUNITIES 4. PROMOTION OF DIVIDED LABOUR SERVICES 5 AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND UNDUE FAVOURS 6. BLACK ON BLACK DISCRIMINATION 7. WOMEN CREDENTIALS AND JOB MARKET 8. SOCIAL CAPITAL AND GENDER DISPARITIES 9. LABOUR MARKET DISCRIMINATION 10. SOCIAL CAPITAL AND THE SKILLS MISMATCH

5.6.1.2 **Sub-Theme 2: Social Capital and the Apartheid Legacy**

There are families during apartheid who were appalled by those who had perpetually placed much blame on the oppressive system. On the eve of introducing the TVBC states and homelands, apartheid government agents made a thorough due diligence identifying its loyalists within all the tribes spread across South Africa. The objective of this exercise was to ensure that

South Africans are further separated on tribal lines. In doing so, a new institutional governance would be set up to institutionalize tribalism and ensure that these illegitimate states do not become part of the commonwealth of South Africa. Amongst its recruits, apartheid regime had well selected graduates of missionary schools and colleges the majority of whom were teachers. These would be candidates that adhere to the rules and regulations imposed by their apartheid administrators. Families that matched such criteria were offered relatively superior education from their counterpart and were prepared to return to homelands to support the newly formed administrations (TVBCs).

5.6.2 **A Black Paradox**

The researcher uses the black Paradox concept to illustrate contradictions that existed during apartheid in which loyalty and alliances were not only based on race. A form of bonding social capital also happened across ideology and race. There were blacks who were still loyal to apartheid system because of the benefits they derived through various forms of cooperation. The story of Nomazulu (ID64) a doctoral candidate in Pharmacology, presents a strange yet genuine cultural interaction between her family and the white administrators. She posited that:

> Life during apartheid was not as atrocious as it is portrayed in our new literature. My family had a very strong and congenial relationship with the family of Superintendent Viljoen. They would invite us over to their homes for lunch and even in church although our chairs were placed on the other side of the aisle. We prayed together and these white families would often visit our communities and provide gifts to families that were closed to us. Paradoxically, on the eve of democracy, all the families that enjoyed this deep relationship were associated with sell-outs and our homes were vandalised and burned down. At the dawn of democracy, I had thought we will finally be integrated into the new society of government of national unity, but it was not so. On the contrary, it was far much better during apartheid than it is today. (Nomazulu, ID64)

Notwithstanding apartheid's brutality and atrocities committed towards her own race, Nomazulu presented a version different from what an ordinary black person would share. She was an outlier who enjoyed the privileges and rights that were not available to many black families. Although she was persuaded that the relationship was genuine as some of the members of her family travelled abroad, she was benign of the underground operations of the apartheid system and its pattern of selecting candidates that would remain loyal to it. The narrative her family conveyed to her parents was that her communities had committed sin and as a result, were trapped in intergenerational curse. The researcher asked, what has happened since the dawn of democracy and what difference did, she make of the two dispensations? Nomazulu admitted that her family was under a spell. All seemed well as they enjoyed the benefits of being exploited and made to turn against their people, but the behaviour would not be sustainable over time.

Although Londiwe was not born during apartheid era, she praises it for its ability to create provision for its subjects. An apologetic of the apartheid education system, in particular, the

existence of teachers' colleges of education, Londiwe (ID13) made a very profound observation which supports the foregoing (Nomazulu):

> Despite being criticised for poor quality of training – speaking of colleges – apartheid education system was self-sustainable. The role played by colleges of education far surpasses the work done by the new democratic dispensation education in reversing the legacy of unequal education. Besides, no qualified educators woke up to the street to look for a job. Before they complete their studies, a job was already waiting for a young graduate educator. In contrast, during democracy, everyone can study any field they may choose to but ultimately those who finally lend a job are not as qualified as the others are.

Respondents came from different ideological fronts. For instance, Nomalindi (ID14) did provide a completely different perspective. A social activist whose public speaking talent and boldness had earned her the confidence of the student community, Nomalindi was the defender of the democratic dispensation. She argued that:-

> Oppressed masses have become so indifferent to the issues of the struggle because of the politics of the stomach. It has become so convenient for our people to defend the legacy of apartheid government because they used to receive water or sanitation or jobs within local municipality. Their narrative about those who benefited from the system tended to falsely generalise on behalf of all constituencies that were left behind in rural provinces. Likewise, there are more schools built by our democratic government while at the same time the economy remains stubborn in failing to create jobs, especially for the educated (Nomalindi, ID14)

Grounded theory within the study enabled the researcher to gain deeper understanding of the personal experience of the graduates in relation to key issues of the transformation of HEIs and their prospects to obtain a better future. As part of this exercise, the researcher began by establishing the graduates' understanding of the nature of changes taking place within Higher Education. The story of the two respondents above reflected two paradigms within the education discourse. Despite its heinous nature and well-orchestrated system, it truly bedevils one to come to realise that the goods of apartheid government are not forgotten by the historically oppressed masses. Londiwe believes that the norms and values orchestrated by apartheid regime promoted stable families. Although they would never be doctors or professors, black African educators, she argues, had a brighter future.

But Nontokozo takes a radical view towards this thinking. Her profound point is that the goodness which apartheid education had committed was far unrivalled by its tendency to marginalise over 50% of communities living in rural provinces. By listening carefully to the observations of the two respondents one begins to appreciate the fact that despite their different ideological orientation they both had experiences, whether positive or negative. Clearly, Nomalindi's social capital in terms of norms, values, and trust tended to be homogeneous with the current status quo whilst Nontokozo remaining alienated by the new political dispensation.

5.6.3 Theme 2: Higher Education as citadels of resistance against transformation

Under this theme, the researcher exposes the nature of higher education as citadels of resistance against the transformation process. The philosophical basis of all forms of human discrimination is based on well-orchestrated exercises which were shaped by intelligent minds such as Adam Smith and Karl Marx. Depending on which ideological front one is representing, higher education institutions have always been citadels of the oppressors, who needed compelling thoughts through which the poor and weak would remain subjects.

5.6.3.1 Sub-Theme 1: Higher Education resisting transformation

The researcher turned to Dibuo (No.ID53), a Doctoral student in one of the STEM departments, and asked: Do you still recognize the structural foundation of apartheid education, and if so, are we doing enough to dismantle them? Dibuo shares some of the interesting insights that shares two side of the story about the general perception of South African black graduates in coming across the newly merged institutions today. He said:-

> I cannot romanticize any further about the new state of higher education institutions in the democratic dispensation since I did not witness the behaviour of these institutions during the apartheid days. Nevertheless, my brother told me that I should have studied at the University of Venda and University of Limpopo –popularly referred to as Turfloop. For the mere fact that I could easily apply for my post-graduate studies within this prestigious department and get unconditional admission, says a volume about this transformation. However, I cannot say that I'm proud to find myself in a place where I only see white and Indian academics as my role models with a handful of black academics, while majority of labourers remains blacks. I am equally suspicious whether

the same opportunity afforded to me is also afforded to my black counterparts. Instead of seeing more of us, i.e., black Africans who are South Africans, I find more of them; I mean white, Indians and foreign African students. What turns me off is the way these white kids interact with us. (Dibuo ID53)

Undoubtedly, Dibuo appreciates the state of cultural diversity that characterizes KZN. At the same time, he beholds a pattern of institutional racism that remains evident. Perhaps within the department in which he is enrolled, there is under-representation of black African academics of South African descent. His admission within this specific department remains questionable, as there are few of his black peers doing the same programme. Clearly, the equality of opportunities remains limited within critical subjects and for the fact that he is a minority within the department raises a serious problem of racial representation. Therefore, breaking the strongholds of institutional racism becomes a discourse that requires a much deeper reflection.

5.6.3.2 **Sub-Theme 2: Social Capital, Social Cohesion and Transformation of HEIs**

That social capital does not inhere an individual but people and the institutions or environment under which they live serve as an indictment for a deeper reflection of the institutional culture and tradition upon which Higher Education Institution hinges. Obviously, Dibuo finds certain practices well entrenched that he cannot faulter. Looking at HEIs from Robert Putman's perspective of witnessing a society that had fallen away from its old traditions of bowling together, one cannot simply assume that the structural foundation of racism is disintegrating. In his Classical work *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and the Rebirth of the American Community,* Robert Putnam (2000) argues that while Americans have become richer their sense of community had withered. Within the context of Putman, a history of social cohesion was very strong within American society since bowling was a very popular sport in the United States yet the days of competing amongst families had disappeared.

The process of transformation on the other hand comes in to challenge the strong values of cohesion that only served the few within HEIs. Its purpose is to exert pressure against the established norms and values of normalcy in how students are treated and how certain things are generally done within the university. The social capital that kept social mobility of white and Indian academics intact is under tremendous thread while at the same time, tendencies of

resistance continue to manifest. Within the context of transforming higher education, the concept of social capital assumes a symbolic interaction dimension which serves two dispensations in a dialectic manner. On the one hand, social capital boasts the overarching values and norms that had historically kept the system of apartheid intact. This argument was well articulated by Sithethelele (ID54) a doctoral candidate Physics. Born of a politically conscious family of academics, she posits:

> It balkanized South Africans into ethnic groups with the view to displace black Africans and keep them in a position of perpetual subservience to the white apartheid system. On the other hand, it has been used as a vehicle to displace, confound, and annihilate the system of apartheid education. Yet, there is a critical gap that has not been closed of creating a new form of social networking which should mobilize towards genuine transformation for the poor (Sithethelele ID54).

Notwithstanding the benevolent support pledged by missionary societies and some of the apartheid operatives, Sithethelele caution us of the ulterior motives that had underpinned such actions. The values and norms which these institutions propagated were that of loyalty and submission to the status quo. Such influence was even configured within the curriculum system and anything that would present a contrasting view would be censored.

Indeed, a call for restructuring of HEIs by South African government was a direct challenge against established norms and values that had shaped these institutions across generations. This was a call that was supposed to shake the foundations and pillars of superiority complex that predicated Historically White Institutions (HWI) while offering the Historically Black institutions (HBI) the leverage to uplift their academic traditions and honour their gallant history of developing generations of freedom fighters. However, such process of transformation driven by new architectures of democracy was equally frustrated by global interference of international interest groups advocating for new economic policies. Along this vein, South Africa adopted the new macro-economic policy called Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) and its neo-liberal proclivity whose mandate was to prioritize rationalization and implementing all systems and processes that foster cost-effectiveness and efficiency in utilizing state resources.

Inadvertently, by implementing these processes had placed HBIs at risk of obliteration since they were charged of poor administration and reckless spending (Jansen, 2001). The dawn of the new democratic dispensation invoked a high degree of uncertainty which spurred them towards recommitting themselves to redefining their value proposition in the new milieu. Through well-resourced laboratories and production of academic publications in world class journals, and the development of state-of-the-art infrastructure, HWIs were bowling together towards a forward-looking trajectory of self-preservation. Their participation within the restructuring discourse, they argued, should not come at the cost of their international integrity. Clearly, issues promoting human rights and the improvement of the status of black women graduates' well-being within and beyond campus life would receive secondary attention from those such as opening doors for foreign African graduates and tightening fiscal measures.

5.6.3.3 **Sub-Theme 3: Higher Education and a call for Mergers**

By their nature, mergers within HEIs were aimed at encouraging social integration and annihilation of cultural barriers based on race, gender, and class. Critics were not overly optimistic about merging institutions which were accorded different social and academic ranking. Undoubtedly, the cultural foundation of unequal education was spawned by the different racial groups which were accorded different social status. One of the critical questions asked to Nelson (ID05) a doctoral student from Nigeria: What is your take about the merging or integrating institutions of higher learning in the new South Africa? He replied:

> I always heard people talking about how South African was during the days of Apartheid, but we in Nigeria did not have the domination by another race, at least in the past 60 years or so. Therefore, it is hard for me to honestly tell you my understanding of bringing together universities that have different historical origins. For me, it is exciting to study in a country as close to Europe in terms of infrastructure yet being situated within the continent of Africa and one which identifies with African challenges. Personally, he retorted, I do not think that black South Africans do appreciate these changes. Perhaps I do not understand South African politics quite well, but our graduate labs are mostly populated by us, African foreigners, and other races outside the continent. My simple question is, where are they to take advantage of the resources at their disposal, he remarked (Nelson, ID05)?

South Africa is one of the late comers to democracy in Africa. Her political liberation came decades after many African countries had undergone their period of optimism as well as political subterfuge and ultimate demise (Hyden, 1993). The rise of kleptocrats such as Mabuto Seseko of Zaire and Idi Amin of Uganda renowned for plunging their economies into bankruptcy and collapse of their infrastructure undermined all the gains that were achieved by progressive and visionary forces such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Sir. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. As a result, Africa has experienced unprecedented rate of migration with thousands of its sharp minds repatriating to Europe, United States and Asia. This is the background against which Nelson's appreciation of a country in Africa that still has resemblance of Europe.

Yet I am not equally certain about the nature of orientation Nelson and his peers may have received about South African HEI's state of transformation. Africans from regional countries have the tendency of appreciating South African HEIs and yet play benign to the politics of power contestation. At times, this deliberate ignorance land itself to the ulterior motives of white academics whose agenda has been to create a dissension between South Africans and their fellow Africans from African regional blocks.

While observing this contradiction, Nolwazi (ID59) has not been fully persuaded that merger were designed for the best interest of Black African students. She posited:

> No one understand our plight as Black African post-graduates. When democracy has finally come, it has tended to benefit foreign nationals more than it does to us. Our contribution to the struggle and dedication to transforming the status of HEIs seemed to have fallen on deafening ears. This is quite true for us black African women, they would rather assist others first before us (Nolwazi, ID59).

Nolwazi is a politically conscious scientist and yet very reserved about her political views. Realising that her story was loaded with many ramifications, the researcher made a follow up. Aren't you not going to make me understand what's going on and why do you seem to hold serious reservations to the good effort South African government is showing in encouraging cultural integration, he asked?

> If we were truly respected and there was this undying passion to see more of us, that is, black African women, in the field of science you would have seen more of us admitted in very strategic department. Isn't that true that there is a salient contentment when many

of our peers drop out and end up working as teachers who hold master's and PhDs (Nolwazi, ID59)?

Nolwazi exposes hypocrisy that prevails within HEIs. At the inception of mergers, she observes a frustrating experience in which the integration of African foreigners into the HEIs system as being priorities above addressing the challenges of Black African women who comes from rural districts of KZN which are predicated on abject poverty and lack of technological infrastructure. Nombulelo's (ID54) critique of HEIs seems to resonate with this argument. She averred that:-

> I remain sceptical to this notion 'university' and its agenda to advocate for a universal outlook of white male dominated ideology. The type of change waged by my predecessors (meaning SAUSRC[23]) has not been realised by this new Higher Education. To me, all these knowledge systems are oppressive in nature. They advocate for internationalisation agenda of watered-down view towards critical mind. They disdain social movements and advocacy organization that are fighting for social justice, especially the rights of women and people LGBT, standing for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender.

Thandiswa's (ID58) conjuncture affirmed these sentiments:

> A path of consensus we have adopted seems to have weakened us than strengthening us. Our predecessors were robust in arguments and decisive in making their demands, yet such position yielded results. This concertation and collective bargaining have created false consciousness.

In following up Nombulelo, it was evident that globalisation and its nature of complex connectivity may not necessarily imply promotion of pluralistic views. There is a tendency to adopt these new enterprising concepts with an ulterior motive of defending old customs and traditions that are embedded with endocentric and repressive nuances. Paradoxically, Thandiswa's views challenges the nature of bowling together in post-democratic Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in which labour and student community have been submerged into popular views that seek to support the views of white male academics in university senates and councils.

The cost of international integrity was a feeling of moral obligation in protecting their academic standards that seemed likely to be played down by a democratic regime that is often

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[23] SAUSRC represents South African University Students' Representative Council a structure of student councils which had represented all SRC across South Africa from both HWIs and HBIs

associated with political expediency. Not only was this view silly, but also preposterous when taking into cognizance the fact that most of South African HWIs were globally marginalized from the community of scholarship as their research output was always viewed with a jaundiced eye. As the process of merging HEIs was gaining the momentum, it had placed HWIs between the hard place and a rock. They were left with no option but to seriously take advantage of the process by ensuring that it works to their advantage. Be that as it may, the riddling of the foundation of their historical privilege was on a perpetual slippery. Yet change was inevitable regardless how policy makers would finally coin it, be it merger, acquisition, or a hybrid of the foregoing.

This sensation was confirmed by the emeritus Professor Njabulo Ndebele when commenting about the inevitable nature of pressure that comes with the process of restructuring Higher Education institutions for a good course: He remarked:

> In moments of great historic transitions, the world over, extremes of action are normal. Corrective in their intent, they are part of the logic of change. The ascendant power requires 'its own people' in large numbers to replace those that had kept going the passing old order. Statistics and quantification of the progress of change carry political import. They can validate or invalidate the new political order. Because they become part of the definition of success or failure, they bear consequences. Woe unto the new order that does not pay attention to them (Council on Higher Education 2013a).

The new order to which Professor Njabula alludes does not seem to herald a new dispensation of radical change within higher education. Rather, it suggests that both in the old order and new dispensation of democracy, hegemonic forces always reconfigure and strategize their new roles of continuing to control the process of knowledge creation.

5.6.4 Theme Three: Social Capital and the legacy of Apartheid Higher Education

This theme demonstrates how apartheid regime and its organs of the states including education were in consensus. The interwoven relationship of apartheid policies and its ability to create new forms of stratification as seen through the establishment of illegitimate states

confirms the fact that the machinery of the apartheid system was intact. Without any obvious despotic tendencies, the global communities were aware that the system of racial segregation is legally enforced across her citizens. As higher education seek atonement from their historical disposition it does not comes as a surprise because plethora of structural inadequacies within higher education continue to prevail.

By the beginning of 1980, South African apartheid system had created a very complex structure of governance, which was primarily designed to disenfranchise almost 80% of its citizenry and balkanize them according to their tribes in what would be called the TVBC states (Hall, 2001). These illegitimate states are hereby stated below:

- The Republic of Transkei (formed from part of the old Cape Province)
- The Republic of Bophuthatswana (formed from part of the old Transvaal Province)
- The Republic of Venda (also formed from part of the old Transvaal Province)
- The Republic of Ciskei (formed from another part of the old Cape Province).

These pariah states were controlled from the Republic of South Africa which was the hegemony of the apartheid government boasting most of the prime arable and grazing lands in the old South Africa. Hall (2001) confirms that the new constitution of South African Republic of 1984 established three critical systems of government, namely, House of Assembly for whites, House of Representatives for Coloureds, and House of Delegates for Indians. Relevant to the concept of social capital within higher education, these governance systems had introduced the concept of "own affairs" to signifies matters of interest for the aforementioned groups to the exclusion of the blacks that were relegated to "general affairs" status. This racial discrimination created a classification within higher education with 19 higher education institutions designated as being the exclusive use of whites, while two were designated as exclusive use for coloureds and the other two for Indians. Apart from the six institutions designated for blacks, there were other seven institutions that were classified as part of the TBVC states.

The concept of own affairs within the social capital literature is indicative of a complex system of social network created by the oppressive regime to draw a distinction between the

beneficiaries of the apartheid regime and all its entire state operatives. Such a system had classified different categories and ranks of beneficiaries which were allocated for the whites, Indians, and Coloureds while black Africans would find themselves within the general affairs regime which was controlled by all forms of legislations including the Natives Land Act of 1913 and the Group Areas Act of 1950 amongst others.

This analogy finds resonance in Brondollo et. al. (2011) who contends that racial discrimination is a well-orchestrated system with very sound and credible processes aimed at the preservation of benefits for its beneficiaries while denigrating those groups that did not belong to them. Accordingly, institutions that were designed to support the system of racial discrimination responded to their mandate inadvertently because of the structural fault line that underpinned their tapestry knitted through their form and character as well as processes, norms, ideologies, and behaviours that governed them. (Gee and others, 2009). Even worse, the legacy of apartheid higher education had created a system that perpetuated racial inequality and reinforced race-based social ostracism, in which phenotypic or cultural characteristics were used to target black graduates for social exclusion, unfair treatment, and harassment (Brondollo and Others, 2011).

> How do you assume that our universities have changed in form and character when a black student can be easily undermined during question-and-answer sessions? I was completely outraged when a lecture could enjoy listening to the views of other white peers. When it was our turn, me and Nompilo, she simply advised us that only the best opinions were listened to in these sessions, others can send their views by email because of the limited time during lecture. I was truly devastated Zukiswa, (ID62).

Zukiswa's story was a tip of an iceberg as more stories would be unravelled. In one of the graduate labs, I found a distressed student tutor by the name Somhlolo (ID56). By looking through her eyes, I could realise that this post-grad student was not only distressed, but also, devastated. I asked, 'You look distressed, what is your problem?' She replied:

> I was part of the Technikon that merged with another university. During the transitional period I was pursuing a qualification equivalent to a master's degree in university. In tendering my application for a master's degree programme, I was told that unfortunately I will have to enrol for an honour's degree instead of a master's degree. This was quite preposterous because according to the country's National Qualification Framework

(NQF) we (meaning Technikons) normally move straight to master's degree after completing our bachelor's degree, which is a four-year degree programme. What devastated me is the fact that some of the candidates that had applied with me for the master's degree programme, were admitted on the first instance (Somhlolo, ID56)

It is quite evident that in some instances, the merging of HEIs was used by some sectors within higher education to settle the scores. Historically, the researcher had played a prominent role on the transformation of HEIs. He was quite familiar with such attitude portrayed by white male academics. However, because of his academic exercise which required him to remain neutral and objective, he pretended as though he did not appreciate the magnitude of the problem shared by Somhlolo.

Most importantly, he was aware of the pedagogy of apartheid education that it was embedded in cultural racism which was a tradition that postulated that all systems of knowledge are generated by the dominant class and the institutions which drive them were of superior quality (Helms, 2011). In this vein, all students regardless of their race accepted the status quo of hegemonic forces that governed the education system with white universities occupying preeminent role followed by Indians, and Coloured's institutions; thereafter, Historically Black Universities tailing behind. Apart from legalizing the system of racial superiority, apartheid education had imposed Afrikaans and English as the medium of instruction for the designated universities. The fact that all public higher education institutions were created through an act of parliament, their structural composition was tendentious and academics from these black institutions would not stand out in global research given the limited resources that was provided to them.

Therefore, South African government had decided to place universities as structurally superior to technikons with the former charged with the generation of new knowledge while the latter had to focus on the application of knowledge and its scientific verification and application. Similarly, HBIs were structurally designed to fail in living up to the standard of academic probity and global research. The policy of separate development advocated by the balkanization of South African education institutions had a far-reaching effect which manifested itself through institutional and individual racism. Its effect at an institutional level was mediated by the lack of

opportunities to develop certain social competencies and the existence of barriers to the emotional support necessary to exercise these competencies in a range of social situations including HEIs.

This experience is no different to the black African post-graduates in that studying education profession was the highest level of achievement they could ever aspire for. The influence of tribalism in rural areas compounded the challenge. It was a norm in these rural communities that all males must be educated first before their women counterpart. In some communities, a woman would only get educated when her older sibling had returned from university and is ready to support the family, remarked Mutombo (ID55). Although not referring to her own experience, she offered countless stories of young talented girls across the KZN region whose dreams never saw the lite of day because of these cultural mayhems that denigrated the dignity of women. Expounding on this position, she intimated that:-

Amidst these complexities, S'thuthukile (ID03) is one of the few quintessentials that prevailed from the patriarchal system which downplayed women's ability to lead. Financial limitations could not serve as an excuse why she couldn't succeed with so much brain endowment, remarked S'thuthukile's ex-teacher when she overheard that she could not afford to pay for her registration. She intimated that:

> Mrs Ndlovu, her ex-teacher aged 79, always taught us about sacrifice. She always shared her lunch box with underprivileged children at school. I knew that her faith was undoubtable however, I couldn't imagine a thought of her reaching out to her pension to make available the first-year tuition fee. Without consulting her children, she told me that all that she lived for is to see her own prodigies realising their dreams. So, she was proud to part with her valuable twenty-five thousand rands

The former teacher knew that all that S'thuthukile needed was the first chance to set her feet in university then the rest would be history. Listening to this moving story, the researcher realised some of the reasons why children from disadvantaged background sacrifice their time in student protest. Khosi's (ID57) story is unprecedented. Sitting outside a huge science lab wearing her white dress-code, the young girl was proud of the role played by her supervisor who

did not choose her because she came from a disadvantaged background but because she deserved it.

5.6.4.1 Sub-Theme 1: Social Capital and Social Class Discrimination

According to Braddock and Gonzalez (2010) early racial isolation inhibits the development of the social skills and confidence required to negotiate relationships with individuals from other ethnicities. Furthermore, racial isolation limits access to peer networks and adult mentors who can facilitate access to educational and work opportunities, consequently making it less likely that they will acquire the skills needed to succeed (Stearns, 2010). Nolwandle (ID60) confirmed this experience during her job interview as a junior researcher holding an honours degree in Biotechnology. She remarked:

> As we waited at the foyer, I realised that some of the candidates were from reputable HWIs including University of Cape Town, Rhodes, and Wits. The lady realised that the queue was too long, so she decided to practically meet all of us and began to ask us our personal profiles. Everyone was disclosing where they had studied and the respective qualifications. I just felt that something was odd about this process of direct interaction with participants. When returning from lunch all candidates were informed that interviews won't be going on, but all candidates will be called in due course. We were immediately called back but only 4 out of 20 candidates were appointed all of whom were from HWIs.
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I then asked, who finally got the job? She replied:

> All the candidates were appointed except herself because she lacked sufficient social network to act as an account executive. Most importantly, she lacked the required support and mentorship to be able to penetrate the exclusive market of investors, they said. (Nolwandle, ID60)

Such crude response confirms Granovetter's (1974) sentiments that it is during people's point of weakness that strength can be derived from their friends. Granovetter (ibid) did state that it was weak ties, i.e., friends of friends, who were likely to offer quality leads for job seekers more than the confidantes they have. Obviously, candidates such as Nolwandle would be discriminated against based on the social class they belong to. But frankly, such social class is

based on her racial profile, which is black. By virtue of bearing this race, the employers would not be interested in her role as an account executive engaging the affluent executives within the pharmaceutical industries which tend to be white and male controlled, argued the HR officer. To advance this further, what had weakened her status further was her gender as a Black African woman. As a result, she stood a lesser chance of succeeding compared to her white female counterparts in both securing the type of jobs that she deserved and qualifications. However, the citadel of this institutional racism can be well traced in Higher Education Institutions where a deterministic future for black academics and black professionals is set.

Sadly, Nolwandle did not have such type of friends who would assist her in leveraging all the critical resources she required. Her poor social class background made her fall short of the required network quality instead of network intensity (Meyer and Shadle, 1994). With all honesty, this deliberate approach to systematically exclude us stems from the education system we had acquired, she remarked. By stating, that Nolwandle's social capital was inadequate was not incorrect on its own. Even further, it was important that the HR officer identify various prospects by which Nolwandle's social competencies could be enhanced. The separation of these HEIs by race was the perfect manifestation of institutional racism. With the advent of mergers, institutional racism took new form and shape with strong patterns of subtle racism but quite hard to decipher. Brondollo and Libretti (2010) provides a perfect description of its manifestation within the residential or human settlement setting:

> Although it is now illegal to engage in explicit or overt institutional racial bias in access to schools, employment, housing, or mortgages (and other areas of public life), subtle forms of institutional racism can continue to influence the development of interpersonal relationships... The effects are often seen not only at the time of exposure, but also long after the initial discriminatory acts; the consequences change over the course of development; and they are modified by the presence of other psychosocial processes that may co-occur with racial bias. For example, the effects of these initially explicit discriminatory acts (e.g., redlining, discriminatory housing policy) may persist, even across generations, in the form of residential racial segregation. In turn, residential racial segregation may contribute to different friendship choices, limiting the development of social skills in childhood and adolescence and the development of a network of educational and occupational colleagues in adulthood (Brondollo and Libretti, 2010).

The manifestation of institutional racism within higher education appears in plethora of ways including the suppression of the voice of unions in constructively engaging with senior management on labour relations matters; and relegation of students into customers but not fellow partners in shaping the development of education system; the adoption of policies and regulations that propagate academic and financial exclusion despite being neatly dressed through the pursuit of rationalization, cost-effectiveness and addressing the bottom-line. At the individual level, Brondollo and Libretti's (2010) illustration is quite relevant to HEIs. The effect of institutional segregation and/or lack of understanding ways to eliminate such is manifested in the differ/rent friendship choices students make on campus. Indeed, such social skills were supposed to be developed in childhood and adolescence stages. Therefore, it stands to reason that those students that are likely to derive the dividends of HEI's integration are those already exposed to a multicultural society. Even there, there was manifestation of subtle of racism which can only be identify and deciphered by the locals. Sinenhlanhla shared this story:

> Allocation of residential facilities on campus is another perfect area to point subtle discrimination. When I arrived on campus administration offices, I was told that only few spaces remain in the residence which would be based on first come first serve basis. I was excited because when I arrived it was only myself waiting to be noticed. As they began to attend to us, we were five, two white males, two female Indians and myself. Sadly, the spaces were awarded to them not because I didn't meet certain indicators highlighted in the application form (Sinenhlanhla ID10).

Notwithstanding the importance of rules, which must always be adhered to and without showing any bias or favouritism, Sinenhlanhla was astonished that despite adhering to the rules the accommodation advisor already had plausible ground why she had favoured the five candidates that arrived after her. The Student Representative Council immediately stepped in on her behalf to inquire whether she did provide all critical documents including qualifications, registration fee for tuition and accommodation and on time. Without the mediation of the SRC and Sinenhlanhla's courage to seek for an intervention this discrimination would have gone unexposed. Consequently, the decision was rescinded, and preference was given to her not only because she was black African and a woman, but most importantly, because she deserved it. Without the social capital created by the student activists to thwarts such types of discrimination, so many students would have been unfairly prejudiced. Still, such effort remains a drop in an

ocean. Leleti (ID70) confirmed this state of apathy in standing for the rights of students even with…

5.6.5 THEME Four: Social Capital and transformation within HEIs

Theme four and its subsequent sub-themes highlight the daunting task policy makers were faced with in their attempt to eliminate all the structural deficiencies embedded within the system of merging HEIs. While the initiative can be commended for encouraging greater cooperation within and between universities, it also exposed the fault-line of the apartheid legacy inherent in the new dispensation of larger institution and culturally integrated HEIs.

5.6.5.1 Sub-Theme 1: Exposing Structural Defects

At the advanced stage of implementing the merger programmes, structural defects within the processes were exposed with a strong pressure exerted demanding HESA to provide immediate detailed status quo report. In response to these constellations of views, the Soudien Report (DHE Report: 2008) became a watershed document produced by HESA which demonstrated policy shortcomings South African HE encountered within the 20 years of democratic dispensation. Minister of Education, Dr. Naledi Pandor, announced the establishment of a Ministerial Committee on *Progress Towards Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions*. The mandate of the committee was to investigate discrimination in public higher education institutions, with a particular focus on racism and to make appropriate recommendations to combat discrimination and to promote social cohesion. Without acknowledging the inherent shortcomings of the policy instruments, especially on mergers and integration of resources, a team of academics[24] led by Professor Crain Soudien argued that they were not surprised in the manifestations of racial tendencies in HEIs. They admitted that:

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[24] Prof Crain Soudien (Chairperson); Dr Wynoma Michaels; Dr Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele; Prof Mokubung Nkomo; Ms Gugu Nyanda; Mr Nkateko Nyoka; Prof Sipho Seepe; Dr Olive Shisana and Dr Charles Villa-Vicencio

While racism, like other forms of discrimination, is based on prejudice and fear, what distinguishes it is the ideology of white supremacy, which serves as a rationale for the unequal relations of power that exist between people in South Africa . This is a critical, analytical distinction, as racism is often intertwined with other forms of discrimination, such as social class, gender, ethnicity, religion, language, and xenophobia, and uses the latter set of prejudices to justify and reproduce itself. (DHE Report: 2008).

As always, when policy instruments fail, the tendency to point fingers on apartheid legacy and ideology of white supremacy is widespread. Not those fingers should not be crossed. On the contrary, the previous policy on integration should have placed eradication of all forms of prejudice on the same weight with equity. Sadly, policy makers had assumed that all forms of discrimination would be automatically eliminated by assimilation. The submissions made by academics predominantly from HBIs had forewarned policy makers of the negative effect of implementing the merger policy willy-nilly and the adverse repercussions it would bare to the purpose and process of transformation. Indeed, the marriage of HBIs with HWIs compounded the challenge of addressing institutional racism. Since the state had shown that it had absolute confidence in the leadership of HWIs in leading the new trajectory towards a globalized HE, inadvertently, it had now resonated within them that the legacy of apartheid-controlled universities was validated.

Similarly, in doing so, it was apparent that the state had publicly declared HBIs has been incapable of redefining their mandate in the new dispensation. As such, imposing the values of social cohesion post-facto was likely to be a process by which the state negotiates as a price-taker. By admitting that other form of discriminations including social class, gender, ethnicity, and religion amongst others are the vehicles by which racism reproduces itself, it would have demonstrated the inadequate skills sets and/or a paucity of appreciating fierce debates– at least within the HE spaces – amongst NWG in their failure to introduce long-lasting solutions. Had it not been so, NWG would have comprehended the enormity of the challenge and understood that the core-business of higher education should not only be market-driven, but also, people centered. Simply put, the pedagogy of change and its ontological and epistemological nuances was the overarching objective upon which transformation should have fared.

There were two options at the disposal of the state in realizing a people-centered future, namely: i) leaving the future of Higher Education into the hands of individual institutions, or ii) driving the process of transformation from a central system which would define overarching policies and values which must govern the new dispensation of higher education. In this research, the researcher is in accord with the policy option undertaken by South African government or HESA in adopting a state-driven approach towards institutional integration of HEIs. At the same time, critical views made by various academics who seemed not to have agreed with HESA or its representatives within HEIs, requires a further investigation.

Understanding these ideological contestations or at least, pragmatic approaches towards implementing the process of transformation can reveal significant dimensions in the construction of social capital within HEIs in South Africa. Indeed, this policy approach is at the heart of creating the new social capital of HEIs which must foster unity in diversity instead of a simplistic process of institutional integration which does not brings to bear the historical political dynamics and current politics of interest groups. By adopting this view is in concert with Robert Putman's expression of bowling together. While Putman was witnessing American institutions moving towards a perpetual process of disintegration, a new institutional social capital was inevitable in coercing all HEIs to bowl towards the same direction.

This expression is summarized in the following words:

> Foundations have been laid for a single, coordinated and differentiated system of higher education encompassing universities, universities of technology (technikons), comprehensive institutions, and various kinds of colleges. Progress has been effected through the development of a national higher education plan, benchmarks for higher education transformation, and the establishment of a planning dialogue between the Department of Education (DoE) and HEIs; through the implementation of restructuring strategies encompassing programme level rationalisation and cooperation, especially at regional level, and the reconfiguration of the institutional landscape; and through the implementation of common governance arrangements across the public higher education system (CHE, 2004).

Phakamani (ID05), a doctoral candidate in the School of Engineering Science, did confirm the significance of merger in the following:-

Our government has demonstrated the courage through direct intervention in the management and operation of higher education instead of leaving its future in the hands of white monopoly capital whose investment in maintaining efficiency and competitiveness would have come at exorbitant price (Phakamani ID05).

In concert with Phakamani, Zonke (ID62) was persuaded that by enforcing one central administration and building national integration was consistent with the mandate of a developmental state. A master's degree student in Physics clearly articulated the mandate of Higher Educate in the following:

It is the responsibility of our government to educate, create enabling system for a better workforce, and work together with private sector to build a successful economy. This daunting task was impossible while our institutions are operating in silos with different missions and mandate. As progressive student forces and representing the interest of black women and the disabled, we believe that our country can lead African into the fourth Industrial Revolution (Zonke, ID62).

Achieving social cohesion and national integration of HEIs was the ultimate objective against which institutional transformation should be measured. However, redressing the organizational structure through the dissolving of various departments of educations structured based on ethnic grounds was the first step, while the full consummation of an integrated model would be measured on the integration of new institutional culture, norms and values underpinned by the concept of institutional social capital. The pursuit of this expedition within HEIs was certainly not going to be absolved from attaining controversies and even putting the credibility of certain HEIs at risk.

5.6.5.2 Sub-Theme 2 : UKZN and the Transformation Challenge

The researcher arrived at Howard College ten years in the aftermath of a fierce cold war waged over determining the future of the state of university mergers. Indeed, no other time in the history of shaping the process of higher education transformation has South Africa attracted unprecedented controversy and social upheavals akin to the merger dispensation. UKZN was equally caught up in a very tumultuous process of acute mistrust and suspicion amongst and between academics. The story of UKZN's academics, namely: Nithaya Chetty and John van den

Berg[25], on the battle for academic freedom raised the flag. Professor Malapert Makgoba, the then Vice chancellor, faced a fierce confrontation by academics who were persuaded that academic freedom could not be sacrificed at the guillotine of political agenda to drive transformation. Professor Makgoba's leadership style, according to critics, were characterized by autocratic and despotic tendencies which defeated the spirit of academic freedom which defines the soul and spirit of HEIs in the post-democratic dispensation. Jane Duncan of the Freedom of Expression Institute (Cited in McKune article 2009), a prominent non-government institution advocating for freedom of expression, remarked:

> These public institutions are being run increasingly along managerial lines more akin to the private sector,' she said [quoting Chetty]. Her view is that universities are seeing themselves increasingly as brands, fighting to attract private-sector support in the face of dwindling state funding, deepening the impact of public criticism and hardening their response. (Cited in McKune article 2009)

Makgoba had a mandate from Pretoria in the same way that the former agents of apartheid government did of implementing the mandate and mission of the state within HEIs. In line with many critics who had bemoaned the expeditious manner under which representative of HESA were instructed to complete the merger process, Chetty and van den Berg bemoaned the leadership style which Professors Makgoba had used in swaying the process of transformation to the ultimatum he was given. Undoubtedly, transformation was a watershed subject required by all the parties. However, the modalities of its execution were highly contested. These sentiments are clearly expressed by Duncan:

> UKZN's 'authoritarian' management is the result of an attempt 'to steer the university towards transformative objectives. Chetty agrees, referring to the merger four years ago between the former universities of Natal and Durban-Westville: 'The expedited conditions under which the merger was predicated meant that the founding principles of the new were based on an autocratic management style.' This top-down approach 'collides with the notion of academic self-management (Cited in McKune article 2009)

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[25] *"*Management shows contempt for academic freedom" article by Craig McKune published in South African Journal of Science 105, January/February 2009

Pursuant to this approach, Jane Duncan was persuaded that corporate managerialism had downplayed the scientific mandate of academic researchers and scientists; and discombobulated their task of engaging in robust scientific debates. Inadvertently, the legacy of apartheid autocratic style had been reinvoked. Amidst these constellations, critical views expressing the state of disillusionment towards the process of implementing mergers had increased amongst academics within Kwa Zulu Natal. Amongst these includes Karodia (2014) who had intimated that:

> The situation has not really improved since the dawn of democracy in 1994 because, there was an over zealousness by the democratic government to engineer change for the sake of change and several salient and most important transformation issues were not intellectually thought about in spite a plethora of sound advice, papers, well-constructed policies on education transformation and within the ambit of policy imperatives that were engineered by education think tanks. As a downside, both government and many of the traditional and historic apartheid White universities claim that they are all working to change the racial demographics of their academic staff. There is very little evidence of this after two decades of South African democracy particularly within the former apartheid White universities. We still find racial apartheid demographics within the landscape of many South African universities. (Mail and Guardian, 2015; Karodia, 2014).

The Makgoba-Chetty debacle presents an interplay of social capital manipulation. Those forces that favoured Pretoria's decision as championed by Makgoba coalesced all resources within their disposal to drive the national mandate on how transformation should fare. Similarly, Chetty and their cohorts mobilized their network under the prism of liberalism and advocating for the freedom of expression. Certainly, social capital is presented as an instrument at the disposal of the hegemonic forces whose intention is for the prevailing of their political interest.

Mamazana, a doctoral research candidate in Analytical Chemistry, did confirm the state of overzealousness of policy makers. A black African woman researcher admitted that:

> Integration of campuses is not a bad idea per say. It appreciates the fact that we are a united country. Yet it appears as though we are immersed in the detail. We tend to forget that the objective was not aggregation but finding a more efficient way to correct our past. The results are quite evident that his task is overwhelming and so many questions have not been answered. In fact, we have manufactured more problems than the solutions we were looking for. (Manazana ID07)

Critics of the merger dispensation were cynical and sceptical about the intellectual capacity of the state in executing a critical process aimed at eradicating the legacy of race-based or class-based higher institutions. Undoubtedly, the objective of instituting the process of merger was impeccable, however, the way the state had approached the process of integration was not above reproach. The creation of social capital during these political and academic contestations further reveals the fact that political interests can divide the structure of social network amongst the same parties that are equally involved towards the pursued of an amicable process of transformation. Indisputably, most of the factions within the UKZN pandemonium were equally persuaded that transformation was inevitable. However, the method, approach, values, and norms towards achieving this objective differed. In many instances, those advocates of the state who were entrusted with driving the process of transformation were caught in direct contravention of the indefensible principle of academic freedom which predicates the lifeblood of HEIs, by trying to subvert the views of the academics that were not in the same managerial ranking as them. The matrix of domination theory confirms that this culture and behaviour within HEIs predates the democratic dispensation.

5.6.5.3 Sub-Theme 3: Organogram or Research Output?

In quest of determining the extent to which power flow or put differently, in understanding where does the power resides within HEIs, the use of organogram would fall short as the best measure of this analysis. On the contrary, the researcher has used a research output approach given the fact that university is by design a citadel of intellectuals regardless of race, colour, and gender. The 11th Annual South African Association of Health Educationalists (SAAHE) Conference (2018)[26], a prestigious gathering of South Africa's aspiring and accomplished scientists, can be used as the best case in point to illustrate the transformation challenge. Whereas the provided diagram demonstrates a successful pattern of world class research output, it could equally raise an eyebrow about the critical path all potential candidates

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[26] The 11th Annual South African Association of Health Educationalists (SAAHE) Conference congregated in Umhlanga, KZN. SAAHE has several agendas, including to showcase best practice in health sciences education, stimulate debate and discussion regarding the education of health practitioners, and develop teaching and educational research capacity in health sciences educators. The conference theme for 2018 was "Deconstructed, decentralised, decolonised discourses and debates." The conference was well represented by UKZN CHS academics.

should travel to reach the status. While organogram may do show the flow of decision making, within the scientific setting it cannot demonstrate the intricacies of social capital. Simply put, the reader may be quite limited in understanding social ties within and between academics. This approach is equally appropriate in understanding how awards are allocated. For instance, the diagram below presents four candidates (3 Indians and 1 Black African) that were honored with outstanding merit awards at the UKZN's College of Health Science (CHS) Inaugural Teaching and Learning Awards.

INAUGURAL CHS TEACHING & LEARNING EXCELLENCE AWARDS		
AWARDEE	AWARD	DETAILS OF AWARD
Professor Shenuka Singh (Discipline of Dentistry)	Outstanding Contribution to Teaching	This award recognises an outstanding contribution to the teaching endeavor in the College.
Dr Saul Cobbing (Discipline of Physiotherapy)	Excellence in Decentralized Clinical Teaching Platform	This award recognises knowledge integration and application to the clinical setting. It highlights specific contribution to promoting teaching excellence in the Decentralised Clinical Training Platform, using best clinical teaching techniques, online teaching, experimental teaching, peer teaching and mentoring.
Dr Sooraj Baijnath (Discipline of Pharmaceutical Sciences) and Dr Andile Khathi (Discipline of Human Physiology)	Best Emerging Teacher	This award recognises a newly appointed staff member who has demonstrated excellence in classroom or clinical teaching, although they may not have published in teaching.

Figure

The stated awards only recognize three types of awards and their successful candidates. While these specific awards could have been awarded on merit, at times it raises critical concerns when the pattern of allocation favours certain groups to the exception of others. That assumption cannot be true in this context whereby the pattern of allocation has not been established over a significant period. However, it is quite appropriate that full accountability be provided as to why some candidates receive awards while others graduated without. The same view could be adopted in the following diagram in which 80% of the research output is dominated by minority groups of Indian descent.

UKZN PRESENTATIONS AT SAAHE

PRESENTERS	TOPICS
KL Naidoo, JM Van Wyk, M Adhikari	Working to leave: career intentions of South African (SA) medical interns
KL Naidoo, JM Van Wyk, M Adhikari	The role of alienation and engagement in medical communities of practice
S Ramklass, M Matthews	Widening our horizons: a participatory curriculum mapping project in a medical School
H Friedrich-Nel (Central University of Technology), R Dhunpath	Towards a radiography curriculum framework: deconstructing and reconstructing knowledge, competencies and attributes
S Duma, B Ncama, N Magula, V Chetty , N Ndebele, N Mkhabela	Decentralised clinical teaching for MBCHB programme at UKZN: lessons from a mid-term review
D Moodley, S Singh	Decentralised training as perceived by dental therapy students
C Sookoo, L Lazarus	Negative marking: the UKZN experience
K Naidoo, K Naidoo	Medical students' perceptions of interprofessional education following a work-based programme on the decentralised learning platform at UKZN
J Sons	The hidden curriculum of professional hierarchy in South African medical education: a qualitative study
L Lazarus, C Sookoo	Love at first cut: the use of poetry in anatomy
P Govender, V Chetty, D Naidoo, N Pefile	The I-DECT project: integrated decentralised training for health professions at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa
D Naidoo, J. Van Wyk	Factors for consideration when aligning occupational therapy education with primary health care practice in a KwaZulu-Natal setting
NCT Chemane	Development of a model for clinical education: a proposal for physiotherapy undergraduate students at UKZN, South Africa
S Singh, S Pottapinjara	Knowledge, attitudes and perceptions of dental undergraduate students towards self-care practices: a report from a university in South Africa
A Ross, D Gumede, S Mianda	Staffing levels at district hospitals in KwaZulu-Natal. Is the University of KwaZulu-Natal training for the needs of the province?
S Temmers, B Cassim	What procedural skills should physicians acquire during training? A South African perspective
M Naidoo	An evaluation of the emergency care training workshops in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa
B Donda, R Hift, VS Singaram	Narratives of challenges of assimilation faced by returning students
M Naidoo	The pearls and pitfalls of setting high-quality multiple choice questions
KP Mashige*	Development of a multidisciplinary e-health diabetic retinopathy management strategy for the

5.6.6 **THEME 5: Social Capital and Postgraduates experience**

A social capital research within higher education trajectory faces a plethora of complexity in that there is a need for genuine understanding of how students positively construct their own social capital, and the nature of contradictions they face. On the first front of the challenge, they must deal with higher education institutions that remains untransformed and irresponsive to their challenges which are based on their socio-economic status. Whereas they may have undergone a process of restructuring (HEIs) through strategic mergers, their philosophical construct and corporate values are not always coherent. Secondly, these graduates survive in an environment where the culture and tradition that underpins the social capital of these institutions are already established. For them to inquire why do the nature of social networks they find in these prestigious institutions exist becomes absurd to those that are born within them or those that were later assimilated into. Thirdly, they become educated about the fundamental principles of accepting the status quo and the critical need to challenge opposing views. The quality of science laboratories in these institutions is of world class standard, undoubtedly. Their heads of research and professors participate in leading international seminars and their publications are well read in ivy universities world over, indisputably. On the face of these manifestations, it then stands to reason why one cannot simply question how admissions into certain departments ensue, because they are world class research institutes and renowned across the world.

As they observe the type of interactions that takes place in lecture halls and the liberal culture of engagement between lecturers and students, it becomes quite tempting to assume that all who participate in these institutions genuinely benefit from the culture of networking that prevails. It therefore becomes repugnant when one come across a culture of alienation or a feeling of being marginalized to express these deepest feelings of being treated in such indecent manner. Most often than not, the alleged transgressor is the most adored academic whose credentials are above reproach. A new sociological approach to the study of social capital that prevails within HEIs is long overdue. This approach requires high level of intellectual rigor in understanding the foundation of power structure within universities and in reversing the social

dividends that have historically benefited graduates from social privileged background and their academics.

Perhaps what becomes even more interesting in the typology of individualism is comprehending the systemic deficiencies inherent within the process of restructuring HEIs. The research commissioned by Minister Naledi Pandor confirms this structural challenge and the finding of the report shall be discussed elsewhere. Another factor which compounds the typology of individualism narrative is the nature of approach accorded to students experiences from historically disadvantaged background. In their attempt to rise as equal citizenry within universities, these students must deal with the problem of interacting with their lectures and researchers. Akin to their white privileged students and all others who were socialized in a culturally diverse background, they must adapt in a new culture of alienation and survival. In this environment, deciphering the fault line of unequal treatment and discrimination on the bases of race or gender may be quite a complex exercise. At times, their opinion and views are simply not welcomed and always regarded as disruptive to the norm.

5.6.6.1 **Sub-Theme 1 Graduates' Social Capital Deficiencies**

One of the critical research questions raised in this doctoral research was Is social capital a class problem? If so, how? This question can be asked differently in this way, what type of social class deprivation did Black African women post-graduate face? While social capital presents a natural advantage to those students that possess one, at the same time, it can be accepted that there are certain social class competencies students possess by choice. For instance, belonging to an elite and educated family is not a choice a graduate can make nor the social class in which they belong. Truth be told, most of the discriminations Black African students face on campuses are social class based. Another disadvantage that makes these youth socially vulnerable is lack of participation in social clubs and building social relationships with their student representatives council.

The foregoing students becomes gullible to student victimization and because of lacking the necessary structures where they can share their experiences makes it impossible for them in

receiving the necessary emotional and psychological support. Therefore, it is the discretion of a student to choose their own friends and social structures on campus they can belong to. Notwithstanding the criticism it had attracted, the research commission by Dr. Naledi Pandor yielded the desired results about exposing inherent discrimination within higher educations. The findings of Dr. Pando's commission exposed all the various types of prejudices experienced by students and these findings have been confirmed by our respondents during the interviews. Focusing on HWIs only, the following findings were worth noting: -

a) The deafening silence on the transformation agenda on historically white universities. As a result, there were no forums designed to promote dialogues between different groups on campus.

b) Disjunction between policy and implementation of the real-life experiences of staff and students in relation to specific areas of institutional activity, namely learning, teaching, curriculum, language, residence-life, and governance.

c) Lack of adequate networks and structures to identify and retain black and female members of staff

d) Similarly, an institutional staff development programme called the *Grow your own Timber Programme* (GOOT), were introduced to encourage black and female postgraduate students to pursue their PhDs.

e) The students' perception of academic development and support programmes as racist was clearly fuelled by their more general experience of racism in the lecture halls and seminar rooms. This ranged from suggestions by white lecturers that 'Accounting is not for blacks', to student views that:

f) In some departments/faculties there were policies that black students must not complete in time

g) Cum-laude passes belonged only to whites.

h) Academic rules and regulations were differentially applied about black and white students

i) Assignments that were submitted late were only marked if these were submitted by white students; and white students were allowed to proceed to the next year, even though they had failed the prerequisite courses.

j) Examinations and assignments are used to victimise black students. Medical students who studied in Cuba and are completing their final year in South Africa get lower marks because they are black.

k) In the historically Afrikaans-medium institutions, which offer parallel-medium courses, the English classes are held in the evening.

l) Social relationships between white students and lecturers are convivial, but not with black students, and they are not assisted. (HESA,2014:66)

5.6.6.2 **Sub-Theme 2: The Researcher's Personal Experience on Institutional Racism**

To deeply reflect on the discourse of institutional mergers and possible disequilibrium likely to manifest within HEIs, it was highly important for the researcher to recast his observations based on his personal experience and/or existing best practice learned elsewhere. This approach is inspired by Grounded Theory and the personal experience which Bourdieu has taught us. Apart from other experiences learned from United States, the researcher has gained a global academic exposure in Oxford University, which is one of the world-renowned ivy universities. What makes Oxford illustrious and unique case to interrogate South Africa's process of transformation using merger as a medium to eliminate racial or cultural boundaries is the fact that it is constituted of 39 colleges, all of whom are bound and subjected to rules and regulations of University of Oxford. Each college has its own tradition, culture and history of origin and its own college Principal.

Majority of these institutions were founded by churches and later integrated into colleges which became an integral part of the university. Once admitted at Green Templeton College, the researcher had become part of a bigger family of Oxford with access to a sea of research documents, manuscripts, published and unpublished. Part of being integrated into the community of Oxford had broken through a society of aristocrats into egalitarian society. This was not a society defined by the social status of the candidate but the vision, objectives, and values by which Oxford stands. This is a different experience from entering HEIs both during apartheid dispensation and the democratic dispensation whereby the levels of economic inequality and treatment based on race continues to follow a graduate. The difference of these two typologies

is in the fact that wealth accumulation does not have any bearing on graduate students in renowned world class institutions such as Oxford. The nature of treatment and engagement by professors, supervisors and administrators is the same and one does not easily know who is rich and who is not. The table below shows the competitive nature of admission into this community of elite intellectuals. According to the table below, of the 12,583 candidates that applies to the university, there is only 2,928 offers made and the final number of those that end up taking the offer is 2,547. This data accounts for under-graduates' students only while about 30% more of the population belongs to the post-grads.

UK STUDENTS	APPLICATIONS	OFFERS	STUDENTS ADMITTED	PROPORTION OF TOTAL APPLICANTS	PROPORTION OF TOTAL STUDENTS ADMITTED
2017	12,583	2,928	2,547	63.1%	77.9%
2016	12,193	2,989	2,630	63.7%	80.6%
2015	11,729	2,891	2,599	63.8%	80.8%
2014	11,418	2,872	2,585	65.3%	81.8%
2013	11,556	2,863	2,645	67.1%	82.6%

Table 2: Overall applications to Oxford, offers made and students admitted by area of domicile, 2013–2017

As already stated above, the concept of egalitarian society within Higher Education challenges social stratification norms that normally define the character of most of South African universities. The table below accounts for the countries with the highest number of applicants and those that eventually gets admitted into their specific programmes. Once these students are all admitted, they are welcomed by a system of cultural integration which is characterized by mutual respect and healthy working relationship. This culture of conviviality is first demonstrated by the first citizen of each college, university principal. The South African experience is a different one. A student takes it upon themselves to make friendship across nationalities. Each one already has a preconceived opinion about other nationalities. African post-graduates meet her local counterpart against the background of xenophobic attacks. A sense of destiny that drives candidates to ivy universities is the first social capital already inculcated upon the candidates.

COUNTRY OF DOMICILE	APPLICATIONS	COUNTRY OF DOMICILE	STUDENTS ADMITTED
UK	36,505	UK	7,776
PR China	2,644	PR China	267
USA	1,781	Singapore	207
Singapore	1,381	USA	136
Germany	1,111	Hong Kong	135
Hong Kong	1,102	Germany	116
India	830	Romania	94
France	711	Poland	87
Poland	706	France	64
Malaysia	699	Australia	59
Italy	696	Italy	55

Table 4. Countries with the highest number of applications and students admitted to Oxford, three-year total 2015–2017

The biggest share of these cohorts already knows the type of jobs they are likely to choose at the completion of the programme. Therefore, social capital plays a pivotal role in creating life-long-relationships. Universities committed to such international values of human rights have an open policy to challenge the status quo that explains governance and rules. These students ensure that they have direct access to those that governs them and require explanation of the policies that governs their institutions. Such practice is contrary to the view upheld by African universities in which vice-chancellors and senior administrators occupies a transcendent role and their decisions or that of the council or rectorate which they represent in their fiduciary duties cannot be challenged. As commercial enterprises, ivy universities do not foster bureaucratic processes in human relations. Their engagements are premised on dealing with clients and/or partners in an undivided way.

Why is this detail account so important in sharing the researcher's experience? It is extremely important to provide this background in both expressing the positive process of transition brought about by new merger dispensation and inherent contradictions that requires an urgent response. By virtue of holding an ethical clearance, the researcher had thought that the process of securing data or gaining access to those in authority to be provided with the green light will be a seamless one. As he travels from one department to the other in pursuit of the same research mandate, the researcher was subjected to a new process of reintroducing himself and the study. On the face value, this would appear to be a standard procedure, especially to a

candidate whose training and orientation has been within the oppressive culture of South African universities. However, when going deeper into the historical context of resistance and how universities were governed during apartheid dispensation, becomes evident that much of the values of the past regime are strongly intact. A discourse with a renowned academic and head of research shall illustrate this point.

5.6.6.3 **Sub-Theme 3: Encounter with Prof. Gupta**

After a prolonged process of waiting for Professor Gupta to respond to my email requesting access to all his STEM departments across the five colleges, the provision of ethical clearance together with other legal documentation seemed not to have been exhaustive in warranting access to statistical data of the historical performance of the department in terms of graduate admission, attrition, and graduation. Firstly, the introductory letter had enclosed all the requisite documents for Professor Gupta's perusal with a short executive summary of the purpose of the study and the challenge the country faces in dealing with the critical skills. The meeting with Prof. Gupta was finally held.

The researcher:	Prof. Gupta is there a better and effective way we can use to introduce our doctoral research interview on-line to your post-graduate students given the fact that your campuses are spread across the province?
Prof. Gupta:	What is your problem with the current procedure we have?
The researcher:	Your campuses and their respective departments are spread across the province, and it is a daunting task for one to introduce himself individually to each department. Therefore, it will be my pleasure, perhaps to have access to the emails of all STEM post-grads or at least an email sent to their mailbox outlining a request for an interview.
Prof. Gupta:	Is it necessary that you should interact with all our post-graduate candidates, he asked. You can just simply walk into any of the colleges and outline the purpose of your research and show them the document t you've showed me. This is not a casting stone, is it?

Prof. Gupta was not incorrect in responding in this manner. Science and engineering departments have small population and very expensive equipment that must be always protected. Reaching out to this population of scientists had proven extremely difficult through physical visits to their administrative office. To solve this challenge, the researcher thought the best way was to use technology (emails) assisted by a more strategic office within the STEM department. If it would have been impossible to allow the researcher to contact the students directly, a departmental introduction would have made the process much bearable. Certainly, this was a cultural entry-barrier which was not necessarily created by university policies but the extent to which Prof. Gupta was willing to trust the researcher.

The experience did conjure the days of apartheid when a black African graduate would not secure an automatic admission into certain classes within HWIs unless a permit was issued from the regime. The graduate had to demonstrate that there was not any HBIs that offered the programme. Such nature of application would not easily receive positive consideration unless there was a reputable individual or institution like the church willing to attest on behalf of the candidate that the incumbent is not by any means an apparatus of the liberation struggle tasked with a terrorist agenda.

Social capital was a key determining character in assisting these graduates to gain entry where barrier to entry was institutionalized. Perhaps the fact that the researcher was investigating the role of social capital in assisting black African woman graduates gain access to the labour market evoked some sense of insecurity or suspect to the learned Professor, remarked one research colleague. This request sounded like a journalistic investigation which would ultimately result in exposing the structural inadequacies within UKZN. Had it been a candidate of a different race the experience would have been quite different. The engagement would have been much richer, and the professor would have identified other ways and processes which would make the researcher quite exciting and richer in the type of findings it seeks to secure.

5.6.6.4 **Sub-Theme 4: A Double-Blow Encounter**

The researcher had thought that an interaction with Professor Gupta was an isolated case. On the contrary, a watershed experience was lying ahead in the second campus of the UKZN. In a setting where more masters and Doctoral candidates seemed to gravitate, the researcher had thought so would be the flow of engagement with senior administrators and head of academic research. On his arrival in one of the four campuses, the researcher was welcomed by an old era reception which was inherently bureaucratical with strong prejudicial candour. Racial confrontation between blacks and whites takes a different approach than when it is blacks and Indians and/or blacks and coloureds. On the latter group, it is undoubtedly that Black Africans, Indians, and coloureds have shared the same struggle against apartheid legacy albeit that the system itself ensured that these groups do not carry the equal yoke of the same. Hence to pacify them the apartheid system created the House of Representatives for Coloureds, and House of Delegates for Indians. This false consciousness was a necessary weapon the apartheid system had to use to keep the three poor groups apart.

One of the biggest arsenals utilized by the coloured and Indian communities towards their own fellow black African communities or individuals is overemphasizing regulations and policies above empathy and constructive engagement. The researcher was waiting on the other office for the Indian professor to vet the process of direct interaction with the tens of post-graduates going through the labs. With no uncertain terms, the researcher refused the proposition that interaction with the graduates could not be accepted because of the health and safety regulations at the laboratories. Despite explaining that it was not his intention to violate the safety standards and exposing himself to plethora of risk, since the interviews will not be taking place inside the laboratories, the researcher's plea was falling in deaf ears. Finally, the professor acceded to discuss the matter with the researcher and upon providing a succinct explanation surrounding the constraints of time the researcher was facing, the professor was lenient to the supplication yet overpowered by his administrators.

We can arrange that the graduates meet you tomorrow at the reception room, Prof Hassim remarked. The researcher declined the offer based on the previous experience he had in trying to

bring together graduates at the same time in the same place. Studying at the masters and doctoral level is significantly designed for independent learners who control their time and schedules instead of being dictated to by their departments the things they should do or should not. This new lifestyle in academia has made it impossible to secure same time with all research students. The researcher did raise his discontent against such backdrop not with the purpose of disrespecting rules or protocols that must be followed. This is how the conversation ensued:-

The researcher remarked, Prof, with due respect, I have travelled this path before. Prof Hassim replied, which path is that he asked. Researcher retorted, "Your colleagues in several departments persuaded me to get all masters and doctoral research students into one lab reception," she said. I did so and only few pitched. I cannot forfeit engaging these graduates informally while not violating academic rules of conducting research. The researcher had to be creative enough without being arrogant and discourteous. One of the post-graduates noticed these conversations between the researcher and departmental head. As the researcher steps out of the academic administration to figure out the next step to take, a black African post graduate student, Zozo, (ID 45) initiated the conversation with the researcher.

While the researcher was about to leave the premises where the meeting was held, Zozo interjected in a nice and humble way. She asked,

The student:	Morning Sir, may I ask what is the purpose of your research and whom do you want to become part of your interviewees?
The Researcher:	I am conducting research on graduate employment and the labour market opportunities and challenges, the researcher replied.
The student:	Are you legally authorized to conduct the research by the university and could these interviews put the interested participants in any sort of risk of saying things they are legally not allowed to?
The Researcher:	Yes, I do have with me a legal document provided by the UKZN which authorizes me to interview post-graduate students within the STEM sector.
The student:	I guess I do qualify to be part of your respondents.

The Research: All the conversation are subject specific, and it is my earnest intention to understand your honest view about your personal experience as a doctoral researcher in the field of science (STEM).

The first black African woman candidate, Zozo, was excited to share her personal experience in choosing STEM field and the role social capital has played. As the interview continued more candidates came closer to indicate their interest of spending thirty minutes or more of their time discussing career related issues within STEM. Undoubtedly, had the researcher allowed to be swayed from his original plan, it would have been impossible to secure the number of candidates for interviews. There is a paucity of critical and telling attitude within majority of South African black academics most of whom have lost their stronghold on the day the state announced its mission to measure HEIs. What is popularly referred to as mergers has become acquisitions. The initial conversation between Zozo and the researcher reveals a sense of mistrust or uneasiness on the side of the post-graduate students towards HEIs on wide range of issues.

Firstly, the process of merger could have invoked a lot of negativity or resistance from the side of those who have overseen the UKZN in the past dispensation. Secondly, the concept of subtle racism has been increasingly argued out across HEIs and communicated officially through the Sourdine Report. Thirdly, UKZN's reputation has been dragged through the mud of public spectacle during the infamous Chetty and van den Berg debacle. By disclosing their views about their experiences, Zozo had thought it could tarnish the brand of her institution. Finally, she agreed to share her experiences and this encounter was a watershed which assisted many post-graduates to open.

5.6.7 **THEME 6: The Social Capital of a Post-Graduate Student**

Having laid a strong foundation for the political contestation of social capital and its role in shaping the structure of the apartheid education legacy and the ensuing process of advancing transformation of HEIs, theme six shall delve in detail on the social capital of a post-graduate student. Indeed, the journey of the formation of social capital begins at home where the young

aspirant learner begins to define their purpose in life. The researcher has structured the social capital of his respondents into five sections:

    i.   Graduates' personal profile
    ii.   Graduates' Family Social Network
    iii.   Graduates' own social capital
    iv.   Graduates' personal views about HEIs
    v.   Graduates' opinion about Labour Markets

Five critical indicators play a pivotal role in defining respondents' profile, namely:- Gender, Age, Race, Social Status, and education. Regardless of the material possession students may acquire in life, it is established knowledge that education is a strong asset graduates require to transcend their own socio-economic boundaries. Similarly, from Bourdieu's perspective one's family is as strong as its network. The extent to which it can reach out to friends and colleagues in times of need defines plethora of opportunities available to its children. Therefore, the biggest determinant of social mobility is not race but the level of education he or she is able to make available to his or her generation. As part of identifying multiple indicators of social capital that playout in the life of a post-graduate, in the following section, the researcher shall take us through the life journey of few characters. Without accounting of the experiences of all participants, the researcher shall trace social capital indicators from his upbringing, his consciousness towards issues of race and social class, and understanding the concept of role model in preparing him for the decisions he will make in life.

5.6.7.1 Sub-Theme 1: The story of Mthokozise, a white South African post-graduate

Against a popular view held generally by South Africans from disadvantaged background that life for white South Africans is much easier and the odds of succeeding in life are much lesser, the story of Mthokozise (ID46) sheds a new light. A white male South African of Afrikaner descent, Mthokozise does agree that in the days of apartheid opportunities for his race were institutional in nature. Yet life chances in the new dispensation is the same for whites and blacks. He intimated his experience this way:-

> I am not born from a white elite family. My father is an ex-military agent, but my mother was geography teacher. Life at home has not been as rosy as you may expect

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me to say. However, my father has been a true legend to me. His self-reliance and obstinate conviction that you can achieve what you set your mind to do has been my forte. He always told me to be content with what I have and aspire to become the best I ever want to be. As such, I am motivated by people who concentrate on pulling me up. Anyone that denigrates or look down at me I recuse myself from… (Mthokozise, ID46).

Without providing much detail of his upbringing or his experience about poverty or living within limited means, Mthokozise expresses critical values and norms that have sustained and enabled him to live a life without expecting undue favours from life. This attitude towards upbringing is supported by Richard Coleman (1988) who viewed the presence of a parent in the life of a child being sufficient towards developing critical competencies, norms, and values he will require as he grows up. Likewise, although Mthokozise does not come from a large extended family and his father not being fond of relying on friends and acquaintants in times of need, he boasts strong moral principles to take life head-on. At the same time, Mthokozise's values of not bothering people may equally present a limitation but not a deterrence from achieving his life expectations.

This is so because one cannot prescribe reliance on families and friends as the only determining factor to succeed. In fact, there are nationalities across the globe who succeed within an atomic and nucleus families. Ian Holliday (2000) provides a detailed account of Productivist Welfare States of the East Asian countries whereby each family takes care of itself instead of depending on extended social network including the support of the state for social wellbeing. Likewise, Mthokozise enjoys a strong bonding social capital in boasting these values and norms within atomic environment. However, as Amato (1998) had earlier indicated without the father boasting the necessary education we cannot assume that there could be a direct correlation between the norms he boasted and the career he pursued. For this strength, his mother is a fortress that Mthokozise seemed to leave unappreciated.

Not that he does not appreciate his educated mother, but the society in which he is brought up, tends to overly sing praises to fathers for the accolades they seem not to possess. Notwithstanding this paucity of publicly acknowledging his mother, the making of an academic Mthokozise finally he came in his matured age was significantly contributed by his mom. It was

to this unsung hero the life of Mthokozise and his success during his elementary education could be attributed. Yet unconsciously Mthokozise postulates a patriarchal and endocentric view which reifies men as the only critical variable every young man needs to succeed. The irony of this story is in finding women being the accomplices of their own demise. Whereas they believe that they deserve equal opportunities, black African women in particular, have the tendency of accepting condescending views from their own people.

5.6.7.1.1 **Mthokozise's own social Network**

A doctoral candidate with three years of working experience in academia, Roger, is a member of South African Institute of Civil Engineers (SAICE), a professional organization of engineers. Although he is not a social activist that provides his services on campus SAICE provides him with the same opportunity of developing his social capital and the social network he needs for his career development. Professional institutions such as SAICE have always come handy in supporting young professionals in developing critical competencies of social networking, doing professional presentations and marketing required by the corporate sector. Their historical antecedents as bootcamps for young white male professionals has not absolved them from the stigma of being perceived as the conduit for advocating racial and gender-based segregation. Likewise, the research participants did not always view them in a positive way. Sobantu (ID64) expresses this experience in this way:-

> I genuinely have not come into grasp with the essence of these white privilege societies. Truth be told, these institutions are citadels of recruitment agencies, referring to professional societies. They headhunt their candidates in professional conferences and can get direct feedback from referees, majority of whom are white males. As I enter the workshop or lab, there was exciting mood from my colleagues who were secretly sharing their experiences during their getaway camps. As far as I remember, I did not see any advert inviting us to this event. Although their constitutions may accept that they have opened membership to all race, you wonder which type of blacks feel welcomed to these type of organizations

5.6.7.2 **Sub-Theme 2: Fikile's Social Class**

Social capital plays a vital role in facilitating graduates' social status. Depending on whether the graduate belongs to a critical society which challenges status quo or one which accept the conditions they find themselves in, social capital can be used to reinforce a graduate's personal confidence. Consciously or unconsciously, HEIs are custodians of social class. The apartheid architecture was quite aware of the type of social class these institutions were designed to serve. Both Conservative and liberal universities are subject to their cultural and political nuances and anyone who seeks to pursue their career within these institutions needs to understand how to deal with these dynamics. An ardent believer in equality, Fikile (ID50), is very candid in how she deals with issues of race and inequality within HEIs.

Fikile is not a fan of HEIs. She regards them as the source of entry barriers to new possible streams of pursuing the same objective. During her interview, the researcher asked whether Fikile was comfortable with her doctoral studies and the future lying ahead after completing her doctoral research. She did not view HEIs as dynamic institutions upon which her future depended. On the contrary, she viewed HEIs as a rite of passage. She was persuaded that the prospects of succeeding outside the institutional confines of HEIs were much bigger. This is how she articulates the challenge:-

> My problem is the excessive theory and limited application that characterizes these institutions. Our society has more problems, but we have limited support from HEIs to resolve them. We have despised other domains of knowledge and portrayed these institutions as panacea of resolving society's problems (Fikile ID50).

Akin to Fikile, Nokuzola (ID53) does appreciate the problem of academic conundrum as the systemic deficiency inherent within HEIs. She reckons that the epistemological orientation of such institutions as incapable in addressing the social ills spawned by neoliberalism and global capitalism. Poverty thrives amidst excessive profits generated by global transnational corporations, she remarks. This is not different with social injustice and racial discrimination. All these social ills thrive despite the abundance of knowledge on how to eradicate them. This is how she puts it:

No better place would meaningful change be facilitated apart from HEIs. They are the melting-pot of society's cultural diversity. On the contrary, these are the architectures of our own ideologies that promotes social inequality and economic injustice. If not so, a professor of Political economy would not teach about freedom or equality he cannot demonstrate to the lives of students. Neither would women continue to be patronized as being capable of pursuing any career while at the same time failing to redress admission policies within prestigious departments such as science, accounting, and Information Technology (Nokuzola ID53).

Indeed, these two young women had witnessed the inability of HEIs in redressing the system of inequality that predicates our modern society. Instead, HEIs becomes the catalysts of maintaining the status quo as manifested by job patterns across race and gender groups. Most importantly, she argues that race has a positive effect on the lives of poor white people when they are uneducated. Their prospects to succeed (that is, white from lower social class) exceeds that of a qualified black graduate. Besides the issue of race relations, Seane (ID51) concurred with the notion of concerted cultivation. He maintains that:-

The demise of apartheid did not mark freedom from oppression, lack, and ignorance. It was an opportunity to learn the critical knowledge which was only preserved for us. By going to the military was one of the ways to train young white male from a poor social background how to think and survive under difficult circumstance. All these practices were misconstrued and black African.

The nature of trust and social network available within the labour market using recruitment agencies as the first point of call gives poor white children an advantage against the educated black African post-graduate. This racial advantage is strongly supported by the social class advantage created by the apartheid system. It is a social class spawned by racial advantage. However, such class advantage is not fore-ordained or pre-determined. It is a system that fails to challenge anything associated with whiteness. Despite its efforts to build a democratic society based on the values of non-racialism and non-sexism, the ANC led government is awaken to the reality that hegemonic forces of the past apartheid system have created a parallel system that co-exist with racial and class discrimination. The matrix of domination theory equips women with the ability to not only appreciate the status quo, but also, bring about radical change.

5.6.7.3 **Sub-Theme 3: The Story of Rachel and Family**

The story of Rachel epitomizes the role of respondents' family profile. Undoubtedly, a post-graduate's family background as well as their social status plays a pivotal role in shaping their social capital and network. It is within this context various indicators of social capital shall be displayed and how they shape the respondent's outlook towards life. One of the profound research questions is: Do Parents' education influence career trajectory of their children? Although answered in many characters represented in this research, the story of Rachel presents the best illustration on how social capital competencies are developed.

Rachel is Indian and born of a strong Muslim family. Aged 23, she is in her second year of master's degree in civil engineering. At the begin of the semi-structured interview, the researcher reiterated the objective of the study by making emphasis of the fact that the study seeks to take a unique approach in understanding the experiences of South African women graduates as they traverse the path towards the labour market. This is how the interview fared:

Researcher: Would you like to share with me about your family background?

Rachel: My father is a quantity surveyor, and my mom holds master's degree in English and only worked for few years.

Researcher: Did your parents' education made a great an impact in your upbringing?

Rachel: Most certainly, my parents cultivated within me the love of education from childhood. As I grew up, I looked up to my father within the science career and knew that one day I will become an engineer.

Researcher: Why did mom retire so early?

Rachel: At home we are Muslims, and our family is very strong in culture. My mother was not compelled by anyone to retire. She loved to see us waking up in the morning and making sure that we are ready for school, and we get

	our homework done and on time. This is not human slavery but the culture we are oriented to.
Researcher:	What is your thought about Engineering sector in relation to women?
Rachel:	Engineering is a men's world. But it does not define me. I can certainly become the person I want to be regardless of the challenges one often come across.
Researcher:	What challenges are you referring to?
Rachel:	I refer to how we are treated as women. Please don't misunderstand me, I don't imply that there is racial discrimination or stuff. We have a very supportive department….but when it comes to certain subjects and discussions surrounding experiences within the engineering sector, we are often left out.
Researcher:	What makes you think that you [women] are being left out?
Rachel:	When the time has come to share about our experiences, we are always made to feel that men are the classical engineers. It is a work that comes so natural to them. When you carry an instrument or operate it like the way you were taught, the field manager will always try to nicely intervene to make sure that we do not injure ourselves. This is truly annoying at times…

What is profound about this interview with Rachel is the fact that she was conscious of the nature of emotional support she received from home. A young Indian girl brought up in a middle-income family, as she fondly intimated, was inspired by her parents not to allow culture set precedence for her future. Yet she did not despise her faith or her culture. In fact, she drew strength from it. Said differently, it anchored her in a unique way.

5.6.7.4 **Sub-Theme 4: The role of Family in the development of Social Capital Competencies**

Annette Lareau (2003) has written a classical book that fully expound on how social capital is developed within the family context, with practical case-studies drawn upon of two

different characters born from different social and economic background. In her work, 'Unequal Childhood', Lareau noticed a consistent pattern of what she defines as concerted cultivation amongst middle class family. This is the type of life orientation that deconstruct the social stereotypes that children are likely to come across in life as they grow up. Once instilled with these values of taking life head-on and not allowing to be defined by pre-existing circumstances and norms transmitted through tradition, middle-class children set high goals for themselves and are determined to achieve it regardless of the cost.

This is how Lareau epitomizes concerted cultivation:

> Discussions between parents and children are a hallmark of middle-class child rearing. Like many middle-class parents, Ms. Williams and her husband see themselves as "developing" Alexander to cultivate his talent in a concerted fashion. Organized activities, established and controlled by mothers and fathers, dominate the lives of middle-class children…By making certain their children have these and other experiences, middle class parents engage in a process of concerted cultivation. From this, a robust sense of entitlement take root in the children. This sense of entitlement plays an especially important role in institutional settings, where middle-class children learn to question adults and address them as relative equals. (Lareau, 2011:1)

5.6.7.4.1 Is Social Capital determined by Social Class?

A book review on Lareau by Diane Reay's (2011) argues that the experiences of middle-class parents' child rearing is not limited by race. The sense of entitlement and assertiveness found within white middle-class children is the same within Indian and black middle-class families. This is the type of sense of entitlement that Rachel portrays. The confidence that her father had given her motivates to enter the engineering sector and deal with all its nuances. Cultivating this confidence and building the required social capital begins at a tender age. In line with Lareau's subjects of four-year-olds within the middle-class family, Rachel enjoyed a well-structured upbringing which required the sacrifice of her mother to attend to her weekly programmes outside the classroom such as reading, taking dancing classes, choosing one sporting code – all of which she must arrive on time. One thing Rachel's culture and religion will not allow her to do is to question adults and address them as relative equals. American

culture is quite liberal, and it is hard to differentiate between freedom of expression and respect for adults. Rachel belongs to a very disciplined culture which is traditionally male dominated. Yet they argue that Muslims are increasingly adapting to contemporary cultures of allowing women enter the fields of engineering and science.

In the same book, Lareau presents other interesting characters such as Little Billy from a low-income family. Little Billy is the personification of the young South African learners. His life identifies with the life experience of children living within the low-income background. These children are exposed to multiple deprivations (Noble, 2008)[27]. This is how Lareau (ibid) illustrates their child rearing experience:

> Formidable economic constraints make it a major life task for these parents to put food on the table, arrange for housing, negotiate unsafe neighborhoods, take children to the doctor (often waiting for city buses that do not come, clean children's clothes, and get children to bed and have them ready for school the next morning. But unlike middle-class parents, these adults do not consider the concerted development of children, particularly through organized leisure activities, an essential aspect of good parenting…For them the crucial responsibilities of parenthood do not lie in eliciting their children's feelings, opinions, and thoughts. Rather, they see a clear boundary between adults and children. Parents tend to use directives: they tell their children what to do rather than persuading them with reasoning (Lareau, 2011:16)

A Development Policy Research Unit within University of Cape Town, under the leadership of Haroon Bhorat (2016) have captured a parallel experience of South African children living below the poverty line. Akin to Lareau, they bemoaned the legacy of apartheid through its unequal education system. They state:-

> One of the fundamentally destructive legacies of the apartheid government's reign was a highly unequal schooling system and a tertiary system that was not accessible to those with poor levels of schooling. Whilst there have been enormous strides in the last 20 years to increase access to schooling, the poor quality of schooling in South Africa remains a critical challenge. Enrolment in primary school in South

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[27] Michael Noble and his team of researchers at the Centre for the Analysis of South African Social Policy, Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of Oxford had focused on 14 indicators that have effect on the development of children within five domains of deprivation, namely: income, employment, education, living environment and adequate care.

Africa has reached almost 100 per cent, supported by a 'no-fee' policy for children from poor households, fulfilling the constitutionally enshrined right to basic education for all children. This is no doubt a positive development over time; however, the average quality of the schooling provided to all these children remains weak. (Bhorat, 2016)

The extent to which South African education system has failed in clearly identifying and systematically eradicating all the pillars of apartheid education. This is what defines the complex nature of academic conundrum—a concept the researcher has coined to illustrate the fact that resolving real problems of education in South Africa is a journey not yet travelled. Since the past 25 years through various policy instruments, it has been hard in justifying how the poor quality of education has paralleled that of apartheid. Although the state succeeded to bring primary education to 100% enrolment, the quality of performance of its children both measured in terms of SACMEQ, a standardized Mathematics and Reading Scores between African countries, and TIMMS, remains a suspect.

Against significant infrastructure built and better living wages earned by her educators, South African Grade 6 learners fared dismal in SAQMEQ compared to counterpart including Tanzania, Swaziland, Kenya, Botswana, and Zimbabwe (Presidency 2014). At a global stage, South African child could not compete competitively with her counterpart in Turkey, Thailand, Botswana, and Chile during TIMMS, all of which do not come close to it in terms of global economic ratings. Fifty percent of those kids that took TIMMS at grade 8 fared below 400 scores in mathematics. Clearly lack of concerted cultivation seems to have been prevalent. This argument could be defended by the nature of jobs and income brackets under which most of these household belongs. On the contrary, it seems quite evident that African children top of the Zambezi and those around Zimbabwe have defied their socio-economic status when it comes to choosing the best interest of their children. Notwithstanding their limited resources, education in these countries remains a top priority.

5.6.7.4.2 **Social Capital of the poor: The Story of Nozizwe**

The story of Nozizwe presents a different narrative from the one shared by Lareau. A doctoral student pursuing Nano Technology at Durban Westville Campus, Nozizwe is an antithesis of the American story. She was raised in a mission school of the Lutheran church and never knew her father. Brought up by her grandmother, Nozizwe grew up with extended families in a Christian environment. Faith substituted a place of a loving dad she never had. Grandma always told her that God is the only hope she can ever have to face the challenges of life. This is how the interview fare:

The Researcher:	What is your take about growing up in a poor background and how did such experience likely to limit your life chances?
The student:	My life chances, Nozizwe asked? I am a true testimony that poverty never defines a person.
The researcher:	Would you kindly share with me at length?
The student:	I grew up in environment of prayer and my grandmother was the sole breadwinner. She took care of more than 10 grandchildren in a mission house. There was no money, but we had food on the table. One day, there was nothing to eat, but grandma insisted that we put the pots on the stove filled with water. We all laughed but long before water comes to boiling a family had arrived to bring groceries. This absolute trust our grandma had in her God was a true lesson that I have a choice to allow my personal circumstances determine my destiny or not.
Researcher:	So, am I correct that your faith in God replaced the role of your mom and dad that were never active in your upbringing?
Student:	Not quite. I still have a sense of voidness caused by the absence of my father and a mom who couldn't take care of me…but I'm grateful for what faith did to me. It changed my self-pity attitude and empowered me to take full responsibility for my life.
Researcher:	Do you think the concept social capital or the type of network one has in life depends so much on the social class in which he or she belongs?

Student:	Before democracy, we were living under an oppressive system which had divided our society on racial lines. Whites were rich and all of us were poor. However, the dawn of democracy did not eradicate inequality. We are in a worse state than we originally were, aren't we? In fact, there are more black people that are richer today, yet poverty remains. In my view, we all make choices with whom do we want to relate and how we want to benefit from each other.
Researcher:	What choices did you make, the researcher asked? When I arrived on campus, I made a resolution that I am going to make friends with all races. I became a member of Christian organization that is multicultural and multiracial. The friends I made on campus played a vital role in finding temps for me (meaning temporary work). I knew that this thing called 'democracy' is only a means to benefit the politically connected and live most of us on the side-line. Unfortunately, our people don't see that (Nozizwe ID18).

Nozizwe has certainly not benefited from concerted cultivation, yet poverty was just a social status to facilitate her upbringing. It produced a very strong woman in character who did not dependent on political system to dictate where her life would end. The notion of concerted cultivation, according to Nozizwe, did not have any resonance with a context like South Africa which is highly unequal. Not that concerted cultivation does not apply to middle class family, both black and white. However, within an unequal society, it is flawed to uses this notion as a litmus test of success. Towards self-actualization and full unleashing of her purpose, a black African child exposed to poverty and deprivation cannot rely on the Lareau social orientation to define reality. Her Euro-American thought-process has a structural functionalist tendency which can be deterministic in predicting the future of a child living in deplorable conditions.

When used as a backdrop to predict the future of a generation, concerted cultivation's social thought tends to equate a black African child with the experiences of African minority groups most of whom their lives end up in incarceration and drugs. On the contrary, despite a prevalent social deviance the upbringing of a poor African child is not always pre-defined by poverty. The policies advocated by the ANC led government are structurally biased to pro-poor processes in which poverty becomes a necessary rite of passage for every young South Africans

end route to a better life. Therefore, poor circumstances under which a child is oriented is supported by a socialist system or a welfare state system of social income grants provided by the state juxtaposed with no-fees schools to reduce the odds of a black African child in achieving their destiny.

5.6.7.4.3 **The Story of Phindile and Bridging Social Capital**

Undoubtedly, HEIs welcome students from different social background. Depending on how one may look at it, HEIs are egalitarian in nature since the bottom line that unites them is learning. However, it is quite cumbersome for a poor student to enjoy the process of learning when financial assistance does not seem to be coming through. Similarly, poverty debilitates the state of mind of students and as a result escalates their low self-esteem. They struggle to buy textbooks and clothes to wear. What should students do when they find themselves in this type of situation? The story of Phindile (ID07) shares interesting insight on the attitude of students towards surviving under difficult conditions of poverty and social deprivation.

Phindile, like all respondents, was asked in which category does she think she belong ranging from Upper Middle Class, Middle Class, and Lower Class. Phindile replied, "I am most certain that I come from a lower-class (LC) background, she laughed! The Researcher was astonished of Phindile's smile. Would you like to share your laughter with us, the researcher asked? This is what Phindile had to say:

> I come from a poor family background. My mom was a brewer of traditional beer, 'umqombothi'. Our family was situated a stone throw from a church whose pastor had children of my same age. These children were hospitable. They would bring me home with them to break bread. This was quite a reared experience because I was not taught like that at home. My mom was inclined to traditional practices. She believed that one can easily be poisoned and be subjected to a spell of her ancestors. I had to make some tough decisions which my mom would not approve of. It was one thing to be invited for a meal by my friends and yet another to find a spot on a consistent basis, regardless of whether my friends are there or not. To do that, I began to attend their children's programme and eventually, I was baptized as a full member of the church. The pastor was truly elated of this decision. The day when I was baptized, he personally drove me home to meet my parents. On arrival, he realized that there was no chair to sit on. As I grew intimate with them my school fees and clothes were bought by them. Fortunately,

I was brighter than their kids, so they encouraged me to pursue education further (Phindile ID07).

What did you learn from your experience, the researcher asked? Phindile responded, I have learned that unless you are willing to embrace change and reach out to people that appreciate you, your destiny will be quite limited, and your dreams may not come to pass. How has this learning experience transformed you into a better person today, the researcher asked?

> From the day I was adopted into my friends' home, I made it a point that I will befriend people wherever I go. I don't do it only amongst my black folks. In fact, I have more friends that bears a foreign identity than mine. This has really helped me to go by, remarked Phindile (ibid).

Phindile's attitude towards life finds expression in Granovetter's (1974:5) 'strength in weak ties' hypothesis. He is willing to breakdown cultural nuances and reach out to new friends She reckoned that although she could not do much to change her family's social status, it was critical that she identify friends with stronger ties. By leveraging on her friends' social status would significantly create better chances for her. Certainly, a child at the age of 10 acted spontaneously from a position of hunger, and a need for solitude and emotional support of which it was impossible to derive such from her mother. Phindile's family network hailed from the Eastern Cape and her father was a conscript in Johannesburg. In no way would Phindile derive value from her own family which she knew a little thereof. Indeed, her bonding social capital would not bear any positive fruits. By associating herself with her friend's family of a middle-class background created a better footing. It exposed her to a progressive family. Most importantly, Phindile's newly adopted father had a multicultural congregation. Members of the congregation would also come to pastors' home to assist Phindile and her siblings with Mathematics, Science and English readings. Such network was optimally utilized by Phindile and opened her up to the opportunity of going to university.

5.6.7.5 Sub-Theme 5: The role of Social Capital in the bridging of religious divide

It is important to understand the deeper side of Phindile's spiritual background to accurately classify the type of social capital likely to playout. Born from a family of a

customarily, within a Christian family, Phindile would not be welcomed. Perhaps, for the first time the parents would be tolerant and show empathy to the outstanding work their children have done in reaching out to this poor child. By doing so, they reaffirm their Christian principles. However, in a nice way, parents would find a way to advise their children not to bring Phindile at home again. Paradoxically, they would say, but bring her to church on Sunday. Religious discrimination is as outrageous as racial and gender-related discrimination.

Szreter and Woolcock (2004) differentiate three types of social capital: bonding, bridging, and linking. Bonding social capital refers to relationships amongst members of a network who are similar in some form (Putnam, 2000). On the other hand, bridging social capital refers to relationships amongst people who are dissimilar in a demonstrable fashion, such as age, socio-economic status, race/ethnicity, and education (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004). The authors also acknowledge that linking social capital plays an important role within the context of institution or in an instance whereby an individual has some degree of influence to sway decisions into a particular direction. Clearly, Phindile does not belong within the bonding social capital as his parents would boldly close shop and tell their children they do not make any relationships with people of Phindile's status. Indeed, not only is she dissimilar in terms of social status, but also, she comes from a family of abject poverty.

Although of her same race, Phindile's newly found family and friends are of a middle-income (MI) background. The bridging social capital that Phindile derives from this family enables her to leverage on the much-needed food and financial support she so desperately needed. Unlike the support she would receive from her own poor family, either through uncles or distance cousins, bridging capital places Phindile at a higher social ground she was not oriented to. It presents new options and opportunities because of wider and stronger network of significant friends and professional acquaintances she was now ready to embrace. In this way, Phindile does not only have equality of opportunity to make the type of choice in life that change her life generationally, but also, her chances of achieving her life goals becomes wider as the odds continues to reduce significantly.

5.6.7.6 **Sub-Theme 6: Social Capital and Breaking the Gender Barrier**

Reflecting from the above stories of our participants, we do appreciate that social capital competency is not a born attribute but a result of institutional and individual efforts to create the required social cohesion. Had Phindile decided to accept her socio-economic conditions and became reluctant in taking the necessary initiative to form new social networks she would have lost the benefits of developing the social capital to transit to a better life. What had compounded Phindile's experience further is the fact that she was a woman. Religious stereotype to which she was exposed was much exacerbated by the fact that not only was she a woman, but also, black. Fighting gender discrimination became a long-life relationship she began in her newly found home. Notwithstanding her outstanding accolades at school, being determined to set up unprecedented goal of becoming a doctor, she was subjected to scrutiny. Finally, she prevailed, and the attitudes of her adopting family also changed. This is how the discussion with the researcher fared:

It seems that you did have excellent guardians to support you and ensure that you achieve your dreams, didn't you, the researcher asked? Phindile replied hesitantly: To a certain extent. Realising this reticence, the researcher probed further: Phindile, would you kindly share with me that side of you which does not sit well. Phindile replied:

> My adopted parents were so instrumental in encouraging me to concentrate on my books and become a teacher one day. I had thought that by referring to being a teacher was simply an illustration for achieving my own dreams or aspirations. However, as I continued to move higher on my grades, my adopted father asked me seriously: Phindile what do you want to become when you are old? A doctor, I replied. At first, I had thought that he did not hear well when I answered. I then reiterated quite confidently that I would like to be a medical doctor and take care of them. To my dismay, I saw a mixed reaction on his face.

5.6.7.7 **Sub-Theme 7: Mischievousness Exposed**

The researcher then asked Phindile, what does she think could have gone wrong? Trying to use a speculatory approach to probe, he inquired: Did you speak boastfully or in a humble way? A Zulu girl from Kwa-Ntunjambili responded:

uBaba – meaning dad in Zulu – had thought I was going to say a teacher. However, I had now outgrown my days as her favourite daughter who would become what he wished of me. From the day that I had disclosed my real intentions, our relationship went through dire constraints. Our conversations were now dominated by tension and sarcastic messages. He used to fetch me from my evening classes where I was taking extra-classes on Maths and Science, those days were now over. When I ask, Baba why as though our relationship is deteriorating. Did I wrong you by any chance unknowingly? As I was going through soul searching that spanned weeks, baba finally decided to speak. I think you need to revisit your vision about your future career, he answered. Finally, he opened and said to me he cannot raise a dissident in his house. As the conversation went deeper, he then intimated that 'I want you to be a good wife', he said. God fearing husbands are looking for a companion or a helper, not someone who is going to intimidate them, uBaba said – full of indignation on his eyes.

Social capital can be conniving and mischievous. At times, it can take decades to disclose its motives. In the story of Phindile, her foster parents brought her up with a pre-determined expectation that she never surpasses her siblings. Being a woman in South Africa who bears black pigmentation and born from a poor background is a triple phase of poverty to which black African women are subjected. She receives all the love and support from her foster parents as long as her dreams are of a mediocre. However, the day she come to realize her potential and begin to declare them to her loving family, she suffers unprecedented rejection.

5.6.7.8 **Sub-Theme 8: Social capital challenging Religious Stereotype**

Phindile did not only suffer from gender discrimination, but also, such views were embedded in Judaeo Christian tradition. Long before Phindile could even understand Baba's personal views of her, she heard from Baba's Christian preaching that God had created Adam first then Eve. Within Baba's circles of preachers, 'the creation of man first's narrative was a strong justification that women were subservient to men. Religion has recently suffered an onslaught for its chauvinistic claims which continues to affirm gender stereotypes. Most of religious orthodox including Judaism, Christianity and Islam have denigrated the rights of women. The epiphanic rise of women in the early 19th century and the new biblical hermeneutics came sharply against endocentric views with some scholars calling for the rewriting of the Old and New Testament. The story of a Yugoslavian feminist remains one of the transformative narratives that has changed the discourse about women and church relations. Boba, a Freudian

psychologist, an atheist, and Marxist, visited Western Europe and made acquaintance with Western churches. Her newfound friend, Elaine Storkey[28] (1987:5) presents an interesting analysis of her experiences. She opined that:

> Boba portrayed the church as a symbol of institutional hypocrisy and oppression. She was astonished by the fact that every church she visited was populated largely by women but inevitably led by men. What's in it for women? Was her constant inquiry. She concluded that Christianity was for women who needed male props, father figures, and male authority…women who needed to be subservient, to be told what to do…who are pleased for men to do their thinking for them and cheerful to be excluded from the decision making…women who had no social conscience and were happy to close their eyes to inequality and injustice. (Stockey, 1987)

Despite her background from the former Soviet Union and the history of oppression she witnessed under a brutal system of the Nazis, Boba emerged triumphantly as a bold and critical scholar that could speak truth to power. In her short visit to the West, she was bold enough to speak her mind unapologetically against the repressive role of the church. Few centuries earlier, Boba's expression was heretical and could be punishable by death penalty. Feminist scholars in the 21st century have emerged as the voice of reason quacking the minds of women to reawaken and despise any form of discrimination committed against women. Although Phindile had not been tutelage under this feministic literature, yet she espoused the values of a free spirit. She had finally come to a state of reawakening of who she was and what she wanted to become in life. Sadly, such decision stood in direct opposite with her foster parents.

By taking a stance against this popular view of her guardian did not come without a fight or a modicum of confrontation. Phindile's resilience finally paid off dividends. The critical illness of her father and constant coming in and out of hospital ignited the young Phindile's childish expression that 'I'm going to be my dad's medical doctor and will ensure that he doesn't become dependent on extravagant medical system of private hospitals.' Finally, her father recalled those sentiments made by a young daughter. Her father then called Phindile and

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[28] In her work "The Feminist Case Against God" In Men, Women and God, Edited by Ed Kathy, Elaine Stockey an evangelical Christian based in United Kingdom writes about her experiences with Boba, a Yugoslavian feminist who was a Freudian psychologist, atheist and Marxist who pontificated the church for its oppressive and denigrating tendencies towards women and how women reciprocated the behaviour as willing participant that accept the status quo of oppression.

admitted that such stereotype was embedded in his religious orientation and how women are regarded as subjects of their own husbands. 'This time around I am prepared to support my little daughter all the way into becoming a medical doctor,' he admitted.

Most unfortunately, I was not admitted into medical school because of its competitive nature on admissions. Nonetheless, my performance had earned me a place in the science discipline. Once admitted into the faculty of science, I was determined to take advantage of this opportunity. Although I may be a mile away from a medical practice, my dad will be proud with the fact that I have become an academic doctor in an elite university, that is, UKZN. I may not treat a person of their medical conditions, but I do certainly possess scientific prowess to solve society's most complex challenges.

5.6.8 THEME 7: Social Capital and Students Activism

The role of social capital in shaping career trajectory of students is not only important in the lives of young people during primary education. It is a common practice that once these students become admitted in university builds new associations based on common demographics or social profile, characteristics, attitudes, interests, and available resources. This type of association produces bonding social capital. This type of capital boasts quite a limited social reach and advantage, and it is accessible only to its members, who are likely to be of the same race. *For instance,* one can easily identify black students by the type of problems they deal with on campus including academic and financial exclusion, and the type of subjects they select. The same approach may be applicable for white students. The latter group within post-graduate studies tends to gravitate towards science, accounting and economics subjects and their parents finance most of them. During their academic years, it is quite common for them to do some vocational work or internship which enables them to understand what is going on in the type of career they have chosen. Certainly, the historical antecedents continue to manifest themselves in the new democratic dispensation in that whereas black students are progressing academically their past continues to draw them back. This background lays a better introduction on how student activism plays out within HEIs.

5.6.8.1 **Sub-Theme 1: Student Activism**

Student activism is a vital instrument of social capital. Its role is to mobilize or coalesce students across varying background in pursuit of a common agenda or destiny. Within this context, social capital hinges on its values and norms of reciprocation. Student activism as shall be seen under this theme is vital in preparing leadership skills within graduates. Since finding internship remains uphill for majority of black graduates, student activism became a vital tool in preparing themselves for their future beyond university life. However, these students participate in a very heterogeneous environment with a mix of organizations pursuing their interest in campuses. Therefore, the cultivation of common attributes amongst groups of students that participate in an organization that shares the same norms, values, and principles becomes essential. In many ways, social activism mitigates for social class disparities that characterize South African demography. Similarly, social activism promotes multiculturalism as students across races and cultural backgrounds converge in pursuit of common agenda.

Within this context, bonding social capital promotes social cohesion amongst like-minded groups popularly referred to *people like us* who are *in it together* and who typically have strong close relationships (Tristan, 2008). Such groups include family members, close friends, and neighbours. Relevant to the study, this also includes live experience of students on campus. A study conducted by Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy at Nelson Mandela University laid a foundation for the description of the social activism agenda (Stuurman, 2018). Instead of accepting the status quo, social capital has been utilized as the effective tool to unite groups from various social, economic, and political backgrounds towards a positive change.

The authors posit:

> Student social activism is a highly complex and multifaceted phenomenon. Apart from its unpredictable nature, social activism is action oriented, and its actors have always been on either side of the controversial issue at hand. Therefore, student activism can be viewed as a form of action or practice that seeks to make changes to how the university systems function, or which +challenges a particular paradigm,

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be it politically, socially, economically, or otherwise (Altbach, 1989; Osipian, 2016) (Paraphrased).

The authors reckoned that protests have always been a unifying force utilized by students to reassert their position. Their differing views becomes a melting pot for robust debates and sharpens their intellectual prows (Altbach, 1989: 99). Regardless of their nature, be it violent or peaceful, student protests have shaped political landscape of HEIs especially during the apartheid era while during the new political dispensation the process of resistance and fighting for united voices were defeated by the politics of self-interest. Notwithstanding the compelling vision to level the unequal ground between races, higher education faced advantages and disadvantages. Invariably, it created new structures of social forces charged with the process of driving the transformation agenda. During the apartheid era, student organisations on campuses had rallied behind their Student Representative Councils as a protagonist for transformation while administrative apparatus were seen as reactionary forces representing the interests of the apartheid regime. On the contrary, the post-democratic dispensation politics within HEIs are much complex and characterized by administrative organs that claim allegiance to the transformation agenda. Besides, the demise of apartheid government has created fluidity of ideologies thus blurring the political mandate of these institutions.

Sonwabo Stuurman (2018), the lead researcher within Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy, argues that the politics of social activism have changed in form, shape and character and has been predicated on opportunistic appointment of candidates into positions of power and influence. When these young student activists have breached their social contract, Nunyonameh (2012) avers that such leaders become dispensable and quickly replaced with new ones who can satisfy the interest of their constituency. Certainly, this new cohort of student activism differs markedly from those of Onkgopotse Tiro and Amilkar Kabral who faced the might of oppressive regimes and lobbied for the interest of their students. The leadership of today is funnelled resources to drive political agendas of their organizations on campus. Their call for *fees must fall* or any agenda goes far much deeper than the actual demands placed by the struggling students on campus.

Most often than not, these groups of activists are influenced and propelled by exogenous forces who are determined to utilize structural deficiencies on campus as an advantage to springboard and present their alternative agenda. To a large extent, the pursuit of self-interest politics by student leaders in the post-democratic milieu contributed a great deal in the character of mergers found within HEIs. The policy of merging HEIs institutions both HWIs and HBI emerged when collective solidarity and embracing the politics of Africanization and decolonization had dissipated within HBIs. As the trends to recruit young student cadres into positions of power within local, provincial, and national government gained momentum, the approach of social activism in serving the interest of students was also obfuscated.

New leaders driving transformation agendas within HEIs fell into strong patronage with the progressive forces of student activists and this resulted into the formation of a new culture of *quid pro quo*. Within this new milieu, political favours were bought from young student activists in exchange for financial incentives and at worse, compromising the quality standards of passing for those activists loyal to the agenda of HEIs administrators charged with driving the transformation agenda. These are the improprieties to which Jansen (2002) had alluded which gradually created a drift within Council for Higher Education (CHE) in supporting the agenda of student leadership within HEIs. Consequently, failure to maintain consistent consultation gave way to new enigmatic vision of mergers without a strong consideration of the political economy of power within HEIs. This position is confirmed by Londisiwe.

> It truly bedevils me to find that mergers assume that all is well. Our voices are not heard at all. The same forces that our predecessors fought after apartheid has been abolished are now back driving the new vision of higher education (Londisiwe ID65).

Nontando (ID66) puts it this way:

> Our student leaders are in these key positions for themselves. They would rather accept privileges and strike deals with top leadership without a mandate. As a result, we notice unprecedented acts of discriminations, our black academics are side-lined while foreign academics from SADC are given better positions. At worse, our agenda as women are placed last. Look at what is going on in our

dormitories, we are raped. The only time we hear our leaders challenging this misdemeanour is when the problem has captured the interest of public media (Nontando ID66).

Student activists have played a pivotal role in the formation of social movements that emphasizes Africanization and decolonization themes within HEIs –especially amongst those which bears Historically White Institutional (HWI) identities. In these spaces, social capital has reinforced trust amongst the new emerging social movements on campus in driving critical agendas that troubles students within HEIs calling for the improvement of black students' conditions on campus and reconfiguration of curricula to reflect Afrocentric views. Apart from placing 'black power' as a popular theme (Malabela, 2017), student activists argued that all programmes, cultures, sport, and ideologies associated with blackness and women empowerment had to be prioritized and brought into the mainstream within HEIs. Through social mobilization, many of these student activists were recruited into prominent social movements as watchdogs while others became ideal candidates for new positions within government. However, Duduzile is not excited of these social discourses:

> Nothing will ever change in how our institutions are governed. Although you may see black academic at the apex, power is still controlled below. We are indeed Europians in African shores. Outside the corridors we call for Africanism but within the classrooms we accept and affirm prominent theorists like Marx, Darwin, Einstein but nothing is said about our great African thinkers (Duduzile ID44).

5.6.8.2 Sub-Theme 2: Nomalizo, quintessential of Social Activism

Whereas social activism has been overcrowded with politicking, there were those students who remained genuine and unbiased in advancing the course of uplifting societies in the main. Selfless leadership and volunteerism drove these students. Nomalizo (ID67), a doctoral candidate within Environmental Studies, is one of them. She is part of Engineering without Borders of South Africa (EWBSA), an organization of young graduates within the engineering sectors assisting poor communities with their infrastructural projects. EWB deploy its young engineers in public works projects including water reticulation and sanitation amongst others. Students participate in these projects pro bono by learning how to apply their theoretical skills in solving complex infrastructure related projects. Nomalizo is proud of the contribution she

makes to communities around the KZN province and the working relationship they have with professional engineering bodies that assist them with monitoring and supervising their work. As these young female students devoted to philanthropic work builds their knowledge their confidence increases as well. The social capital derived from this exercise is what the labour market is looking for. Their experience provides them with a deeper engagement with the employer about their practical engagement with the real world of work. Of critical interest is their ability to solve problems and cultivate professional discipline in executing these most sophisticated projects.

Attesting to this experience, she intimated that:

There is so much that students can accomplish on campus besides partying and gallivanting. I decided to invest my time profitably by offering it to community development in a more meaningful way. My technical skill was the most available asset I could use in assisting local communities better their lives. Little did I know that by becoming a social activist or community builder it is part of my internship provided it is the knowledge I acquire utilising my expertise. Through EWBSA my social network expanded as I interacted with retired engineers, municipalities, and private companies passionate about philanthropy. This undertaking earned me a prestigious job in a company that specializes in my area of training. I was assured that my vacancy is available upon finishing my doctorate (Nomalizo, ID67). END

5.6.9 **THEME 8: Black African women and entrepreneurship**

A highly motivated scientist, Noluthando (ID69), had an excellent start in her career working for a small engineering firm. Noluthando shared a moving story of a black woman executive who rose into strategic helm in a blue-chip corporation she worked for. She stated:

The ascendancy of my friend and corporate coach, Thandekile, into the helm of her company was not a walk in the park. Finally, her diligence paid out after faithfully serving her company on various positions and learning the inside and outside of her industry. Mr. Chaskalson, the owner, disclosed his plan of relocating back to Europe and a wish to cede the opportunity to one of his employees. It was apparent that a suitable candidate should be found for the equity. Such decision opened the opportunity for a black woman of Thandekile's calibre. Mr. Chaskalson chose and prepared her for this. She met all the technical and regulatory requirements to operate the business. Paradoxically, such decision was challenged by different stakeholders and questioning

the legitimacy of the transaction and her candidacy in driving such gigantic operation (Noluthando, ID69)

Noluthando went further to state that apart from meeting the standards, her friend acquired a company with outstanding performance records and goodwill. Similarly, she was supported by seasoned engineers as executives to bring the required experience and strengthen corporate governance. On the contrary, the client made it very clear that they would rather give the account to a better qualified company boasting international credentials instead of entrusting their business to a black African woman. Thanx to the Employment Equity Act for laying down regulations for restructuring 100% white owned companies into becoming broad-based. The partners finally succumbed to Mr. Chaskalson's demand that Thandekile becomes a shareholder as this would automatically qualify them for wide range of investment incentives. There are few white male individuals willing to lend the robes to black women and this explains why the process of transforming the private sector remains sluggish. Yet the problem does not begin when these women enter the job market. Such pattern of excluding women from opportunities originates from their professional training as research academics in HEIs. To confirm this view, Buhle (ID45), a doctoral research student in microbiology, opines:

> The marginalization of black African woman has not been limited to women holding a senior position. It is even worse when you are working hard to complete your research. We are still not trusted that we can lead serious projects. This attitude accorded to us has far reached effect when we eventually move on the job market. We are psychologically prepared to settle for less. The worse thing is we cannot confidently and boldly sell our work which is the essence of entrepreneurship (Buhle ID45).

5.6.10 THEME 9: Exposing Non-White Perception

One of the apartheid strategies which they had successfully utilised in dividing black people was in the creation of a non-white attitude amongst their own. A non-white attitude is a subtle behaviour of self-hate and feeling unworthy to be associated with your own. Many blacks fell into this trap of assuming a non-white identity which although they would not be classified as white, but all the etiquette and mannerism reflects the influence of a foreign culture. Underneath, the researcher has captured a dialogue with one of the participants who seemed to have displayed such behaviour. This behaviour is quite evident when dealing with issues of empowerment and entrepreneurship.

The Researcher:	Do you see black folks as being lazy to be employed in formal job? Do you think there is enough formal jobs out there for them?
The student:	I think there is plenty of jobs out there but quite a difficult exercise to prepare folks for the world of formal employment. You can't come with the attitude that you think of knowing someone or being a woman then you need affirmative action to get a better job.
The Researcher:	Is that how you grasp the reality of employment out there? You sound a bit further away from the truth.
The student:	In what way am I failing to demonstrate a better grasp of the problem? Your government is taking all the jobs to politically connected blacks and we are being pushed away to the private sector. Not that the private sector is being racist or stuff, but what they want is quality…
The researcher:	Do you think all black graduates are made of phony quality, even if they studied in the HWIs?
The student:	That is not what I am saying. One colleague of mine is doing quite great as an engineer in the field, but there aren't enough of us really demonstrating this type of hard work and determination.
The Researcher:	Do black Africans have the same opportunities held by the white folks within the private sector?
The student:	Opportunities to secure the nature of employment one aspires depends on the individual. I cannot judge the private sector of being segregative towards blacks. Not that they are perfect but, in my view, private sector is controlled by the bottom-line which is predicated on efficiency, profit and competitiveness. They are not playing politics of patronage, but it is critical that a graduate must develop job experience. So far, I do not find many of us working very hard to secure internships while on campus.
The Researcher: from the rest?	You are black as well, aren't you? Why do you think you are different
The student: from a family	Of course, I am black and proud of it. However, I was privileged to come

background of an Engineer, my dad; and a Scientist, my mother. All my family are learned. It is a curse within my family to loiter or talk about planning to pursue humanity studies—excuse me for the sentiments. My grandfather was a classmate with one of the prominent leaders within the ANC. They went to college together, unlike our politicians today who looks for opportunities at expense of their constituencies.

The Researcher: What has cultivated your passion for education?

The student: Our political history of the struggle, as faithfully taught by our parents, propelled us into gaining more knowledge. Underlying such teachings was social capital indicators including trust, social network, and norms amongst others.

5.6.11 **THEME 10: Attitudes of white graduates towards their black counterparts**

The popular narrative available within the employment ecosystem is presented in statistical form and presents white employees as the quintessential of the labour market. Sadly, it is a common fact that blacks will always be associated with lower paying jobs and living within the third, fourth and fifth quintile. This trend has directly impacted negatively on how black students are perceived by their white counterpart. It equally has set a precedence on the transmission of social capital. Whereas HEIs were designed to become a melting pot of cultures and levelling of social class in how students are treated, they reflect unequal society that defines South Africa. In a conversation with Mpendulo, the researcher found her to be a strong-willed professional who is geared up for success. At the same time, the discourse presents HEIs as hostile societies that do not mend historical difference.

> Would you believe that what was offered to me as an internship became a breeding stock of exploitation? We served as interns in the same lily-white institution with an understanding that upon completion I will fully understand how the real world of work operates. To my surprise my role and functions were relegated to answering phones and delivering documents for my colleagues some of whom are less qualified than me. Even where my skills came handy to assist in solving a problem my white colleagues would rather waste more time trying to figure out the solution and avoid asking me for help. When the time to return to campus has arrived, I received a report that patronised me and presented me as the best improving student. When I asked as to what that means, Vicky responded," at least you've got the job to take care of your living expenses. Many students would have appreciated that, she said. (Mpendulo ID49).

Undoubtedly, this attitude or perception reveals so much of negative perception still held by white lectures and how they continue to be opinionative towards other cultures and groups.

Otto, our white respondent we interviewed earlier, has raised vital points in unearthing white stereotypes. Firstly, he did not think blacks were doing enough to secure employment. Secondly, regardless of the number of graduates trying harder to find employment, it didn't resonate within him that there could be some type of structural deficiencies within the labour market. However, akin to other colleagues that we interviewed, they are not wrong that many black graduates have never seen a door of an employer. Many did not have opportunity to do internships in companies that genuinely wanted to utilise their expertise. This is how Gugulethu (ID14), a doctoral candidate puts it:

> Of those, students that were accultured to student politics, there were quite few that succeeded in adjusting their minds to the reality of work. During psychometric tests and so forth most of them were found to still holding historical grudges and this sense of bitterness towards their previous encounters is not seen in the affirmative by employers. They are seen to be very threatening and dangerous. They pose a danger of insubordination and challenging the status quo.

While Gugulethu may identity a plausible fact, this argument is flawed. It is true that majority of these candidates have emotional intelligence, can handle cultural diversities, and are trusted by their corporations for the ability to handle conflict. Most profoundly, they turned out to be powerful leaders that unify their employees towards the same purpose driven by the investors and commercial opportunities.

5.6.12 THEME 11: Youth and Work

Undoubtedly, Otto has worked hard to develop his professional career to a point where he wanted. After a period of three years in his position, he realized that he cannot grow any further except he becomes his own boss. The theory of equality of opportunity raises two critical principles that Otto and his white peers may not understand. Firstly, although democracy may seem to have created equal rights for all South African citizens, access to equal opportunities remains limited. Certainly, black, and white post grads can develop their talents and virtues by obtaining the same qualifications in UKZN. However, what differentiate the two graduates is equal rewards for equal performances. In fact, although the two candidates can be offered the

same job opportunity in the same company, and be provided with the same job performances, reward system may not be the same. Notwithstanding the commitment of some companies in implementing employment equity act, a significant share of white corporate South Africa remains untransformed and therefore unwilling to treat the same professionals in the same way. This is the new identity of institutional racism to which post-graduate in STEM sector must deal with. Most importantly, social capital becomes a social class instrument which does not serve all citizens alike.

5.6.12.1 Sub-Theme 1: Social Capital and Labour Market Advantage

Otto (ID01) raised an interesting point about how his social class as a poor white South African place him on equal status with any poor Black African family. While Otto may partly be true that his parents did not accumulate much from the apartheid dispensation, what he does not process well are two things. Firstly, the status of poverty he bears was not imputed to him by legislation or what may be referred to—parochially—as intergenerational transfer of poverty but the choices his parents made. Secondly, despite Otto's lack of material possession he still carries with him the notion of white advantage or white privilege. The reason why South Africa is referred to as a highly unequal society is the fact that 63% of its wealth is in the hands of 1% of white moguls, while white middle-class families are still occupying the highest percentage followed by Indians then a huge void exists before coloureds and blacks. Simply put, South African labour market remains a habitat of white privileged corporations. There are still more white recruitment agencies negotiating employment opportunities for all citizens and which structurally places white graduates on the advantage. The nature of questions asked during psychometric tests is configured to serve their interest more than other racial groups, especially blacks.

5.6.13 THEME 12: Social Capital and Graduate Supervision

Graduate supervision is one of the critical areas of competencies where South African HEIs must accelerate the process of transformation. Unlike their formative years in a junior degree, post-graduates' students enter into a critical stage of independent thinking whereby they need to break grounds of new research areas and develop the capacity to develop evidence-base knowledge. Such

process is not possible in a hierarchical type of social relationship that predicated South African HEIs. To address the challenge of skills shortage that faces the country wherein it was predicted that South Africa has a ratio of one engineer for every 3,200 people, compared to 1:130 in China, between 1:250 to 1:300 in Europe, and 1:450 in Australia (Arlington, 2000). Towards pursuing higher level of learning within STEM, learning needs to be demystified and graduate supervision plays a pivotal role towards this new culture of academic adventure.

As Lotz-Sisitka (2010) alluded earlier that the quality and relevance of education in a country is determined by the relationship between supply and demand of necessary skills for the labour market it takes a seasoned an enthusiastic supervisor with motivation to build a certain degree of relationship for a graduate to truly derive value form their new career of exploring a new field of research. To this end, social capital is critical to facilitate the required trust between the supervisor and the young researcher. To make such learning experience truly meaningful (Lots-Sisitka, ibid) learning must deconstruct its historical orthodoxies of power-relationship and inculcate a culture of a mentor and mentee relationship. It therefore stands to reason that within this a graduate researcher deserves a modicum of freedom to decide his or her research topic and the nature of enquiry he/she would like to investigate subject to his or her supervisor's assessment of the nature of research project this entails and whether such exercise is feasible given the level of research experience the graduate has acquired. On the contrary, the type of 'commandortarian' nature of learning students becomes oriented to, it becomes necessary that a new atmosphere of mutual respect and trust be developed between graduate and researcher. Inadvertently, when supervision is between ethnic groups, especially between white supervisor and black student, tendencies to face racial nuances is inevitable.

With this backdrop, supervision is an inter-relational process which must account for interior and exterior factors that would occur between student and supervisor. The bond that develops between them depends on how well they manage their relationship (Abiddin, 2006, 2007). Most of the supervision activity must be supported with supervisors' input (Abiddin & West, 2007). There are series of tasks and responsibilities that should be considered. How a supervisor works depends on the range and depth of supervision concept that he/she possessed. The supervisor should maintain the

conducive atmosphere for creativity and productivity provides mechanisms for resolving problems which may arise between them (Ismail & Abiddin, 2009).

Thus, the skills of effective supervisor are of utmost important. Firstly, the role of HEIs in ensuring that graduate meet the required completion rate cannot be over-emphasized. This includes maintaining a student-friendly atmosphere, accessible administrative procedures, understanding academic and scientific requirements, and ability to judge workload related to different parts of the inquiry process, retaining supervisor contact, overcoming isolation, conflict management, and the power to bring a stand and argue a view in terms of the study (Lessing and Lessing (2004). The story of Thozama (ID42) is ideal in illustrating this experience. She states:-

> I waited for over an hour to meet up with my supervisor on an emergency that needed to be cleared off right away. The situation did not require sending emails as I always do, I needed to quickly express my feelings about the research problem and hear a very passionate and empathetic view of my supervisor. As I was waiting patiently at the door, I heard the voice of one of my fellow students under supervision with the supervisor. I then decided to knock taking advantage of the fact that we are in this thing together. I had thought that the presence of another fellow graduate would enrich the quality of deliberation. Mr. Smith just came to the door and told me would you kindly wait for the moment I'm still in a meeting with someone. The conversation of protracted laughter continued for the coming hour. They were talking about Bokkies (national rugby club) instead of academic research. As Daniel leaves Mr. Smith pretends as though the conversation was academic by remarking that this task requires multi-skilled men who are determined to pursue until something is completed.

Before we even discuss why I needed him so urgently. I felt vilified by such expression that it requires male to do the task. As we begin to discuss for the five minutes, he claims to have created for me, Mary, the departmental administrator interjected and innocently told him that the meeting with the Head of Department has been postponed so he is at liberty to take it easy with the student. I then realized that even the previous conversation with Percival, a white doctoral candidate such as I was not pre-arranged. Nothing debilitates a mentee than to realize the different type of treatment accorded to them. Similarly, it was admissible for Thozama to wait and find that someone walking out of the office was there for a different subject.

By displaying this behaviour in the presence of a fellow colleague was a clear demonstration to two possibilities, namely: i) that this field of research is a citadel of white academics and therefore anyone that enters it could suffer negative repercussions and/or ii) that although we may pursue the very same qualification, however, the quality of treatment will always be different based on race, social class, and gender. Besides, Mr. Smith has already taught Daniel how black professionals of his calibre deserve to be treated. The subtle nature of post-democratic racism is embedded within its nuances. It is transmitted through non-verbal communication. As the transmitter show-off the attitude he or she educates her own that these ones are not part of us.

Therefore, the same condescending behaviour expressed by blacks towards their own fellow black person shares the same character showcased by the white lecturer towards her black student. The reversal of this behaviour, the research has proven world-wide, is through social activism as its basis its practices from established norms and values enshrined with the bill of a. To escalate the nature of resistance against the discriminatory practices, social capital is capable of leveraging support beyond bonding social capital by motivating fellow colleagues and members of the same family. Equally, the lobbying can unfold at the level of linking social capital an instance whereby new multicultural engagement is deployed across various social spaces. Taking this practice further would require a much higher level of social lobbying. This engagement takes place at institutional level and within trans-national state jurisdiction.

5.6.13.1 Sub-Theme 1: Determinants of Effective Supervision

Zubir-Skerrit and Roche (2004) highlighted critical indicators of an effective supervisor which includes but is not limited to i) deeper understanding of the subject-matter, ii) larger experience, iii) encouraging, iv) facilitator of learning, v) resourceful, and vi) empathetic to the needs of her students. This is in sharp contrast to in-effective supervisor who might have small experience base, uncertain role, not resourceful, driven by self-needs, lacks supervision experience and being judgemental. Supervision can be considered as facilitative process that requires supports and participate in directly addressing the challenges of the graduate (Pearson & Kayrooz, 2004). This includes providing research tasks and activities such as progress of the students, training, and

learning, coaching, and mentoring, and encouraging student participation. The mentor is seen as a good adviser and not judgmental. The mentor should acknowledge the mentee to grow from dependent to independent and can adapt to change.

5.6.13.2 Sub-Theme 2: MODELS OF SUPERVISION

Models of supervision demonstrate various forms of social capital that connect the student and their supervisors. Unlike during undergraduate studies whereby all students are crowded in one location and taught using the same methodology, at the masters and doctoral level, the human side of learning is revealed. The extent to which the student and supervisor are likely to relate with each other determines the quality of learning and freedom of choice the graduate would enjoy. These two models include Joint Experimental model, and follow me model (Schon, 1998).

5.6.13.2.1 **Joint Experimentation Model**

Schon uses the concept of Joint Experimentation Model to demonstrate the close relationship that a supervisor keeps with the graduate. Within this context, the relationship transcends what the mentee has performed in his or her research. At times, it goes quite deeper to a point that the supervisor gets to understand the upbringing of the mentee. When permissive, they even go out for a drink and reflect on their life experiences.

5.6.13.2.2 **Follow Me Model**

The Joint Experimentation Model is succeeded by the Follow Me model which is a situation where the student follows their supervisor's step. This could even imply alignment of research topic or field of specialization with that of the supervisor. Within South African context, it becomes quite selective for a supervisor to co-publish a researched article with his or her student—a practice which tended to be quite prominent in many OECD countries. This experience is in contrast with a growing trend of abuse or exploitation within academic research. It manifests itself through the supervisors' failure to show appreciation for the graduate contributions in the respective field of study. It is a behaviour quite prevalent between black graduates and supervisors of different identities than that of theirs.

Khumo (ID41), an analytical chemist shared a story that raised an eyebrow. A black female pursuing her master's degree in chemical engineering felt seriously short-changed by her supervisor. She intimated in the following manner:-

> My field of research is not Wind Energy technology but petroleum. I made it clear from the on-set that the reason I was pursuing MA in Chemical Engineering is to focus on specialized area of special lubricants which the industry had highlighted as one critical area South African refineries required. However, Mr. Naidoo kept on reminding me that he is an A rated NRF researcher and the graduates that studied under him are supposed to do the similar topic of research. Despite all the representations he made including the fact that wind energy is much safer for women compared to exposing oneself to various chemical and explosives, I retained my calm and took an unequivocal stance to pursue the career of my choice. My determination to pursue and complete my doctoral research in this field has earned me both adversaries and true friends. As the latter began to limit the prospects of opportunities available to me, I accepted the support of senior lectures or professors that encouraged me to stay in the programme until I receive suitably qualified person whose commitment is in supporting the career of my choice (ID41).

By taking this position, Khumo was prepared to change the type of coach from the one that seeks to pursue their self-aggrandizement to the one that is self-fulfilling. It can further be accepted that Khuma was entrenched within a Critical Thinking Model. This is a thought process in which a researcher takes a stance and once such decision is made, he or she must be willing to pursue and investigate the trueness of such claim regardless of the cost. Whereas social capital raises people, who can be there to support us in pursuing our life aspirations, by adopting a critical thinking approach a researcher would have assumed the highest state of assertiveness. Once a decision has been declared, the researcher requires the necessary determination to anticipate the problems inherent with taking this trajectory. Such level of analysis unfolds at mega-cognitive level which is also entrenched in the following critical competencies such as observation, interpretation, evaluation, and explanation. There are three steps to unlock this approach, namely: problematizing, finding connections, uncovering conceptions, and the shape of an answer (Tancig, 2007).

Other pathways within the supervisory space are experiential in nature. Such approach adopts a Problem Based Learning pedagogy which is subject specific; generic (transferable) as well as competency driven. The praxis of its scientific inquiry is learning by doing whereby learning outcomes and competencies relevant for the study are clearly outlined from the onset (Tancig, ibid). By prioritizing on this pedagogical approach, HEIs can embrace a new paradigm of reinventing themselves. The fact that internships are limited, it is highly critical that new development approach towards testing the skills of researchers becomes problem targeted. Such problems must be basic challenges facing communities in the areas of environment and water reticulation, repairing and maintenance of roads infrastructure using new alternative technologies, amongst other. To break into this path less travelled requires a supervisory atmosphere that is self-critical and supportive.

5.6.13.3 **Sub-Theme 3: Social Capital and Supervisors**

Despite holding similar reservations akin to Otto, Derrick (ID27) speaks highly of his supervisor. A doctoral candidate in Civil Engineering, Derrick never allows his personal reservations towards the broader operational perspective he holds obstruct his objective of building a healthy relationship with his supervisor. He posits:

> My supervisor's reputation within the broader engineering industry and the research community is unparalleled. When the time to find a vocational job had come, I nicely approached him. What amazed me in our conversation is how he has kept in touch with the job market, where he used to be a top executive. All the students that have worked under him received a positive recommendation which unlocked amazing doors. This is not nepotism. He supports all of us alike regardless of race, gender, or one's religious conviction. We have all worked hard on our research projects and securing the right job is a reward of this hard-earned labour.

Once he had secured the job, Derrick performed to the level of his job description. He grew quickly into his position until there was no room for growth, he said. He then decided to leave the job for a PhD. Once he is done with his doctoral work, he will also consider opportunities within entrepreneurship. The researcher sought to understand why Derrick would chooses entrepreneurship later after holding doctoral degree. In his response, Derrick posits that:-

In my view, entrepreneurship within my sector comes later in your career after you have honed all the skills within the profession. You blacks! I don't mean to disrespect you, he remarked. You pursue entrepreneurship without the necessary wherewithal.

What would you do if you were seeking for a job for quite a long time and it never came your way, would you stay at home and do nothing, the researcher asked? The reason why the researcher made such sentiments was to bring to the consciousness of Derrick that the choice to pursue entrepreneurship between whites and blacks are far different. Because of the greater odds black professional engineers face in securing their ideal jobs, most of them prefer pursuing entrepreneurship much earlier in their career. On the other hand, many white folks find the labour market a bit more receptive to them with greater prospect to move from one job to the other. This flexibility tended to make of them not keen to pursue entrepreneurship at all. Those who do pursue such do so by realising opportunities from within the industry and sometimes with an individual willing to mentor them into developing their entrepreneurship capacity throughout its developmental cycle. Paradoxically, the success rates of black African entrepreneurs are likely to be less than 10% and such status quo is explained by poor business decision and lack of the necessary social capital across the value chain. Such deficiency decreases the prospects to succeed and exposes these young entrepreneurs to plethora of risks.

An Electrical Engineer holding master's degree of Indian descent, Ahmed (ID68) provided the following response on why black African graduates tend to pursue entrepreneurship earlier. He says,

> It is my honest view that blacks are accustomed to taking short-cuts towards life and hope to get rich quickly. To a large extent, although I cannot generalize the tendency to all. I have witnessed many black professionals living a great job which they were well-qualified for and join empowerment opportunities that have no bearing whatsoever to their career skills. They are easily enticed by monetary gains than building a solid career based on meritocracy (Ahmed, ID68)

Ahmed underscores a consistent pattern of mediocrity within the black population. He posits that:

> I am grateful for the revolutionary struggle of Nelson Mandela and how he appreciated us as Indians. I am equally saddened by how blacks continue to live below the country's developmental ideals of a prosperous society. They are an antithesis of National Development Plan (NDA)[29].

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[29] The National Development Plan, or NDP, is a plan to unite South Africans, unleash the energies of its citizens, grow an inclusive economy, build capabilities, and enhance the capability of the state and leaders working together to solve complex problems. Government document entitled The National Development Plan: A vision for 2030, 23 Jul 2017, edited by *Mary Alexander*

Although the researcher may not agree with Ahmed's generalisation statements, there are many aspects of his arguments that holds ground. In the post-democratic dispensation, South Africa is the most unequal society with a very abnormal gini-coefficient. The International Monetary Fund's[30] 2020 report reckons that the country is amongst the highly unequal societies in the world which manifest itself through skewed income distribution, unequal access to opportunities and regional disparities. This challenge is exacerbated by low growth and rising unemployment amongst youth, the report notices. Certainly, Ahmed does demonstrate that he has little experience of the black folks to allow him making such generalisation. To a large extent, he seems to underestimate the gravity of labour discrimination and unwillingness of many employers in affording qualified graduates the opportunity to pursue internship. Be that as it may, there is a significant number of black entrepreneurs who are referred to as 'tenderpreneurs'[31] because of lack of relevant technical training and experience.

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https://www.brandsouthafrica.com/governance/ndp/the-national-development-plan-a-vision-for-2030#:~:text= The%20National%20Development%20Plan

[30] An article entitled *Six Charts Explain South Africa's Inequality* published in IMF Country Focus. Imf.org/en/News/Articles/2020/01/29/na012820six-charts-on-south-africa

[31] Parliamentary debate of Western Cape Provincial Parliament by Minister Albert Fritz on Thursday 4 September 2014, page 1, defined a tenderpreneur as a portmanteau of "tendering" and "describes a person within or outside government who abuses their political power and/or influence to secure government tenders and contracts. The promulgation of the initially narrowly defined Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2003, saw the unintended consequence of already influential and/or well-connected individuals of colour leap-frog to the front of the economic queue, as the law mandated companies to apportion 26% of their share-holding to Previously Disadvantaged Individuals.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH FINDINGS ON BLACK AFRICAN FEMALE POST-GRADUATES IN TRANSIT TO THE MARKET PLACE

SECTION 2

Section 2 provides research findings on the experiences of Black African female post-graduates in transition to the job market. To create a compelling research case on the role of social capital in the lives of these female respondents, the researcher had to go deeper in understanding the transformation debacles within higher education institutions. It became evident to the researcher that the experience of the women could not be understood independent from the broader politics of transformation agenda within higher education and the impact of the apartheid policy in shaping such discourse. As shown in the previous section, the researcher was able to identify plethora of themes under which researching on the social capital should fare. In this section, the researcher shall provide findings on these wide spectrums of women experiences and how the three selected theories including grounded theory, matrix of domination and equality of opportunity theory playout in providing meaning to these experiences.

6.1 Findings 1: Higher Education Institution and the Social Capital nuances

The first important finding developed by the researcher focuses on the development of social capital within Higher Education Institutions. Whereas previous research on HEIs does acknowledge the role of the apartheid regime in utilising HEIs as their conduit to advance their political agenda of justifying all forms of discrimination based on race, gender and class, there has never been a study that seeks to locate social capital at the centre of the human rights violations committed within HEIs. Besides, the social construct of higher education as the by-product of society and reflection of prevailing dominant orthodoxies including endocentric and structural functionalistic worldview had not yet been accorded an independent status. It is in this research that the researcher makes a deeper reflection on how to break down structural embrace of apartheid architecture within HEIs (Hall, 2015). This refers to exposing the philosophical,

epistemological, and ontological basis upon which apartheid education has been constructed. The legacy of apartheid education was built on strong philosophical assumption of white supremacy in thought, practice, and governance. Such philosophical position evolves from a conscious decision that was decided upon centuries before the official legislation of apartheid as a legal policy enshrined in South African constitution following the victory of the National Party in 1948.

Despite the different nationalities where they came from, white Caucasians had made a deep resolve to agree on common values and norms of enforcing their racial dominance upon African indigenous people. The tapestry of resistance that was demonstrated at the Battle of Isandlwana of 1879 where Zulus secured decisive victory against the British forces and the highly debated battle of Blood River of 1837 was an indictment that to completely demilitarise and incarcerate these people, a strong coalition was inevitable. Foremost on the agenda of enforcing colonialism was the role of religion as the vehicle to pledge solidarity and seek to reconcile with the African nationals. It was not a genuine position built on the values of equality but finding the best platform by which the Africans can be enslaved on common principles. Secondly, education system which these people deserved should be built upon Eurocentric thought of Plato, Socrates and all western philosophers and everything that is of African origin should be demonized and anathematized, they concluded.

Such consensus necessitated the construct of different education systems as Hall had showed following the creation of different political dispensations for whites, Indians, and coloureds. The findings of this research are that despite the outstanding efforts made by the new democratic government in introducing wide range of educational reforms the root cause of white supremacy upon which apartheid education was formed was left unattended. The new recreated trust and the norms of truth and reconciliation was a deterrence in dealing with the real issues of eliminating all forms of domination, including racial, gender, cultural and religious. The values which Nelson Mandela alluded in the following statement[32] before his release from 27 years of incarceration remains a work in progress:

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[32] "I am prepared to die" Wednesday 20 April 2011 www.nelsonmandela.org

During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

Undoubtedly, the hegemonic dominance to which Nelson Mandela alluded, which was predominantly white, was founded on strong social capital as measured by norms, values and principles that defines a specific caste or group of people upon which their survival depends and against which their collective virtue is galvanised. Similarly, Higher Education Institutions were the vanguards of colonial powers. Within Hooks' matrix of domination, the key anchors of human oppression within HEIs are embedded upon race, gender, and class. Following this background on higher education, the study makes a broader argument that unless South African HEIs are emancipated from this internal contradiction of power predicated on white male dominance, the battle for gender domination is far from conception.

Even where reforms have been instituted within HEIs, with either a black male or female professor in a position of vice Chancellor or executive positions, few of such individuals are prepared to break ranks with hegemons including traditional resolutions made by their lilywhite senates and councils. This has resulted in a deterministic society whereby council resolutions are predictable because of muted intellectual opinions from the side of new recruits based on transformation charters. It has become critical that HEIs become accountable for resources entrusted of them.

6.2 **Findings 2: The contested view of the Transformation Agenda**

The pursuit of transformation within the study of social capital can be compared to other development targets raised by South African government including the eradication of poverty and development of democracy (Bhayat,2005). Within the context of this research, transformation agenda forms the second finding and has emerged as a litmus test towards a new dispensation of higher education. To this end, the study has found that although all the stakeholders do commit to the vision of transformation, there is a contested view about its

definition and objectives. The concept has been compounded by different political agendas of different interest groups. Behind such group interests lies very complex structure of social network. In the main, the objective of transformation is to foster social cohesion by creating a new model of value exchange between parties that have not always been in one accord. By its nature, transformation is a process underpinned by compromise.

No party can absolutely claim infallible ground including Council for Higher Education. Because of the unequal nature of social stratification within HEIs, relationships must transcend same race, family and gender. A new platform must be created for negotiations and lobbying of interest groups across ideological paradigms. Within the social capital paradigm, bonding social capital in a pluralistic environment like HEIs has not proven much effective. Those who succeeded in achieving their aspiration in this heterogenous society appreciate the currency of multiculturalism. Unfortunately, it is in this context that the protagonists of political transformation on campus tend to be overwhelmed by the sophisticated nature of complex connectivity that unfolds in the HEIs space. Similarly, relationships are required to be extended from bonding, to bridging then linking.

The research found that that the paradox of the transformation agenda has been usurped by the forces historically labelled as reactionary or counter revolutionary. Karodia (2011) raises this concern in the above expression that both government and many of the traditional and historic apartheid White universities claim that they are all working to change the racial demographics of their academic staff. It has been quite a difficult exercise to persuade forces of liberation struggle to believe that protagonists of apartheid tradition are equally committed in driving the process of change within HEIs. The worrying factor from the former was undisclosed motives and agenda borne by the latter.

Undoubtedly, the newly merged HEIs were built on old values and stereotypes such as subtle racial tendencies, downplaying gender equality and undermining affirmative action processes. At the heart of concerns that were always raised about trying to meet the deadline of merging institutions that have differing historical profiles, cultures and socio-economic status was the inherent disingenuous nature of such processes and the pursuit of personal or group-

based interests. Inadvertently, the Sourdine report was an admission to this structural deficiency of technically omitting social capital as one of the anchor principles upon which the new HEIs should hinge.

6.3 **Findings 3: Social Capital and Lost Opportunities**

While social capital aims at galvanizing resources including financial, legal, global network and partnerships, it is also bemoaned for advancing lost opportunities. Constituting our third finding, this part lays the foundation on how to identify these lost opportunities and if possible, mobilise stakeholders to reclaim lost frontiers. The advent of democracy in South Africa unfolded at an opportune time when global markets were integrating, and new regional blocks were formed. The global solidarity that was accorded the new democratic state because of the gallant role of Nelson Mandela and the mass campaigns launched against apartheid government unleashed immeasurable opportunities. The entire global community had looked up to South Africa to mobilise the continent and revitalise the defunct Organization for African Unity (OAU) which the Mbeki Administration did successfully resulting in the formation of African Union and the creation of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

Through NEPAD a new social contract ignited hope across Africa's regional economic blocs of ECOWAS, COMESA, and SADC. Similarly, NEPAD reignited new form of trust and redefined new values and norms that Africa must reunite for a better future. Paradoxically, this process of galvanising social capital for the development of a new African society was compromised by wrong policy choices. Such policy miscalculations within the new democratic milieu did not only have adverse effect on South Africa's standing in continental geo-politics, but also, it severely affected the role South Africa would have played in championing a new agenda for Higher Education Institutions within the continent.

The ANC-led government became susceptible to adopting the culture of talking left and walking right, argued Patrick Bond (2004). Bond laid these charges squarely at Mbeki Administration whom he challenged for becoming an agent of global establishments and allies of global apartheid. He remarks:

What might have been possible, had Mbeki and his lieutenants adopted liberatory principles and approaches to the globalisation of people, rather than of capital?… Instead of rejecting reparations struggles to punish international financiers, corporations, and the Bretton Woods Institutions for supporting apartheid […] what if Erwin tried uniting the continent and its allies behind a counterhegemonic trade agenda to meet popular needs, not those of global capital? … what if Pretoria helped establish a bottom-up African programme for recovery based upon partnerships between Africans themselves? (Bond, 2004:13)

The policy choices that the ANC made at the global level had far reaching impact locally and did open opportunities for prominent leaders of private capital in influencing state policies including how education should fare. This complex process of selecting alliances and making extremely erroneous decisions is indicative of the social capital created by the political principals. Its relevance to higher education is direct and finds expression in the rational to pursue mergers as a policy instrument. Inadvertently, it is a decision that gave HWI a leverage to redefine and reposition their future in the development of higher education landscape. As it has been well articulated in reports submitted by National Working Group (NWG) HBIs did not benefit in equal proportion to their HWIs counterparts because they were not financially backed by private capital to boldly take unequivocal stance whether they choose to become part of the newly formed integrated HEIs.

6.4 **Findings 4: Transformation by who and for whom?**

The research has found that the limited role played by the ANC in driving the future of transformation within Higher Education had spawned transformation process with a deterministic end. In the foregoing paragraphs, the researcher has showed the increasing tendency of academics within HWIs assuming a centre stage in driving the process of transformation. Forming part of the fourth findings, the research cautions us of the underlying ramifications of appointing these new champions willy-nilly. Concomitantly with this rising trend is the emergence of activists with a fluidity of political liberal agenda. Indisputably, most academics challenged the methodology or attitudes of the state in approaching transformation. To this end, HEIs were challenged for appointing Vice Chancellors as administrators whose

mandate would be to drive their political agenda despite a growing trend calling for the freedom of intellectual opinion within HEIs. Notwithstanding the authoritarian tendencies adopted by state actors in meeting its transformation agenda, the foregoing could also argue that critical academics driving the process of transformation within HEIs such as Karodia (2014) did boast reactionary proclivities that discounted the historical gains of democracy.

At the height of resolving complex issues facing the state, liberal academics were often viewed by state actors with a jaundice eye of driving a liberal agenda that sang praises to freedom of expression while stalling the process of transformation. Against a historical paucity in challenging the hegemony of the white liberal culture within HEIs, and the quest to maintain the status quo of normalcy, brilliant and bold minds such as Professor Chetty were crucified for downplaying the transformation discourses by coalescing academics to their vantage. Notwithstanding the plethora of challenges faced by the democratic governing in its battle to redress the legacies that span over three centuries, the tendency to take an ahistorical view towards democracy by liberal academics is widespread. Karodia (2014) underscores such sentiments in the following expressions

> These noble goals have not been realized after 21 years of democracy. Universities are not able to meet the high demands of entertaining student applications for admission and many have fallen on the wayside. The situation has not really improved since the dawn of democracy in 1994 because, there was an over zealousness by the democratic government to engineer change for the sake of change.

By stating that nothing has really improved since the dawn of democracy demonstrates a simplistic assumption that change would have fared without first dealing with inherent contradictions that predicates transformation. Simply put, the litmus test to drive the transformation trajectory had to be underpinned by a salient question: transformation by who and for whom? The paucity of the state-actors in failing to clarify the transformation agenda and outline the actual custodians to whom transformation must serve had compromised its *raison deter.* Unwittingly, by letting every academic offer their own interpretation of what should transformation imply had spawned the sudden reaction or abrupt response by many HWIs – both

liberal and citadels of Afrikaner intelligentsia – in making generous gestures of supporting the transformation agenda.

By doing so, and conspiring with white monopoly capital, these new forms of social capital consortiums created a much-sophisticated front whose objective was to garner support of the state actors by making complex concessions. Amongst these included the appointment of political activists as chancellors of these white prestigious intellectual hegemonies that were historically utilized to maintain the sophisticated culture of social repression of the black majority. The false assumption that all was new as captured in the diplomatic expression of Nelson Mandela which states, 'Let the bygones be bygones' created an opportunity for these intellectual powerhouses to regroup under the new guise of transformation. Even worse, these groups had usurped the political genius of the ANC led government and ensured that new policy instruments would endorse their intellectual view.

Such sentiments were well captured in the former President of South Africa F.W De Klerk, before the cessation of Apartheid, who was determined that although white people were prepared to relinquish political power, their significance in shaping the future of democratic dispensation could not be underestimated. In their book, The Opening of the Apartheid Mind, Adam and Moodley (1993) states:

> Nationalists repeatedly made it clear that negotiations would have nothing to do with surrender but would simply concern power sharing. F. W. de Klerk insisted that to "those who arrogantly equate the concept of a new South Africa to a takeover of power, the message needs to be transmitted loudly and clearly that the new South Africa will not fall prey to a section of the population at the expense of the rest" (Cape Times, April 13, 1990). He emphasized that "we will not accept a dispensation in which the quality of existing liberties and rights are dismantled." His constituency, de Klerk asserted, was "not prepared to bow out apologetically from the stage of history"; whites would still play a "key role," he predicted.

It is important to underscore the fact that President FW De Klerk had expressed these sentiments following the decision to remove Nelson Mandela from 27 years of incarceration. Such statement was issued to reassure their constituency in the country and abroad that they were not about to relinquish power to the forces of the liberation struggle. The statement was uttered

before the sunset clause and CODESA, where all political structures were coalesced to discuss the nature, type, and form of the envisaged new democratic governance in South Africa. Whether such views and sentiments were laid at the guillotine of a new democratic regime under the leadership of Nelson Mandela was a path yet to be tested. However, the researcher argues that such views where more refined or modified to suite the language and tone of a government of national unity. If anything, this mindset became vivid in the attitude and approach adopted by HWIs when forging partnership with state actors to drive the process of transforming HEIs.

It was a calculated exercise which was wrought with structural deficiencies of marginalizing influential players within the HBIs. Therefore, the formation of state-capture and usurping control of the apparatus of the state is not a new subject in South African politics. Rather, different from the one recently pursued by former president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, these natures of social compacts are much sophisticated and well designed to ensure that their trails do not point back to its architectures. Despite the state's limited budget at three billion rand to drive the process of mergers, HWIs were welcomed to fold their sleeves and burn their investments in welcoming the state's noble plan of merging HEIs. Such a David and Goliath partnership would not lose sight of the ignorant that the winners in the newly structured HEIs will be those whose resources would be accounted for in driving such an extravagant exercise. Certainly, the benefits would outweigh the losses. Viewed in this way, it was clear that ideologically and philosophical inclinations of HWIs would remain intact while HBIs would inevitably have to accept the new normalcy, that is, the triumphant of the legacy of HWI's philosophical and ontological orientation in shaping the new character, form and thinking of HEIs in the new democratic dispensation.

In the above analysis, we have showed how social capital can influence political actors to make decisions that are not popular or consistent with the expectation of their constituencies and which favour the interest of capital. Similarly, we have showed that policy instruments that are taken at a macro space such as the selection of GEAR as a macro-economic policy find expression in how government delivers on public goods including education and health. Underpinning these policy choices are the nature of social capital state actors have chosen. Within HEIs we have also showed the extent to which social capital formation by the state with

private sector interest groups can influence the approach used to negotiate the transformation agenda.

The views of the respondents on the notion of transformation and how social capital playout constitute our nineth finding. Thembeni (ID22) quickly admitted that although mergers were conducted a decade ago, their scars still run deep in our academic experiences. She states:

> We are simply united by cultural integration more than sharing the same values and convictions. Deep within ourselves we do know that beyond university we are on our own. What do you mean by being alone, the researcher asked? We are alone in fighting against increasing costs of education, academic exclusions, and financial exclusions. This is just a rehearsal; the real face of discrimination awaits us when we move to the job market.

Ziphokasi (ID70) challenges these views by stating that it all depends on us as graduates what do we do with the opportunity presented to us. Whilst there remains a handful of academics that still uphold their racial stereotypes, a significant number of academics have come to grapple with the reality that change is inevitable. Ziphokasi follows a classical social capital narrative which appreciates the power of bridging capital which promotes building relationship beyond one's ideological and cultural bound.

6.5 **Findings 5: Social Impact of Mergers on Students**

Forming part of our fifth finding, the study has found that whereas social capital foster social cohesion, it can weaken the bargain power of progressive organizations such as unions and Student Representatives Councils within HEIs. Accordingly, free education for all poor students – a position which was initially fought for at the penultimate of democracy – can end up being qualified into targeted interventions which must be provided according to the student's individual needs. Student activists such as Zulu present the shortcomings of extensive bargaining spawned by the social capital of actors. Aren't these not the reasons why democracy was fought for, Zulu, a master's degree student asked? Zulu is a very poignant leader and an activist who coincidentally found himself within STEM, His emotive interview has exposed so much of the faultline within the democratic revolution. Most importantly, the ascendancy of Zulu into student politics unfolded during the Fees Must Fall campaign.

He is one of the strong advocates of separate development for HBIs. Zulu feels that comrades have negotiated a deal with white monopoly capital and resorted to expediency but not genuine political transformation of the country. During the interviewed with Zulu the researcher did ask what his take about the state support towards black students was. In his reply, Zulu intimated that government has been disingenuous about the state of the poor in general and students like himself. In making a follow-up, to the previous question, the researcher asked Zulu whether he implied that NFSAS has not yielded the expected results. A very tall and pitch-black young scientist at 1.7 metres, Zulu, remarked, "NFSAS has been the state effort to try and equal the historical system of allocating funds to students across racial lines. But I am not confident that the state has done enough in redressing inequalities in HEIs."

Why do you think the state has not done enough, asked the researcher?

Without any equivocation, I need to clearly explain myself that I am not about to use this problem for political point scoring. In fact, before a call for mergers, all HBIs were confident that government would prioritize them in terms of funding and improving the quality of their infrastructure so that it equals with our white counterparts. I mean HWIs. On the contrary, we have witnessed an apologetic state which always had to explain itself to the world why it decides to pursue the path it should take. Originally, all structures of student's movements wanted free education. It was a fair deal because we come from deplorable conditions. But we finally conceded to the NFSAS route of targeted intervention to the poorest students like me.

Then asked the researcher, who do you think is to blame for these outcomes? Personally, I think comrades who were closer to the private sector sold out our original deal, remarked Zulu. These are cartels that operates clandestinely. They walk left and talk right (Bond, 2004). I strongly hold the view that they delivered our HBIs to HWIs on the pretext of mergers and integration. Zulu presents a highly contested and debated argument which maintains that the current policy outcomes were lobbied by interest groups. He acknowledges a new system of social network at play. This is a social network of political elites that are willing to renegotiate new terms of transformation. The way this process of concluding mergers was approached could confirms an on-going counterfactual view towards restructuring HEIs. Many academics would concur with the notion of political expediency argued in this simplistic narrative of Zulu.

Undoubtedly, mergers are not new phenomena. Their global precedence is well established in literature (Karodia et. al., 2015). Amongst their main objectives, mergers were designed to boost efficiency and effectiveness, deal with organizational fragmentation, broaden student access, and implement equity strategies, increase government control on higher education systems, decentralization, and to establish world class organisations in higher education (Badat, 2015).

6.6 **Findings 6: Social Capital and Downplaying Black Intellectualism**

Downplaying Black Intellectualism as our sixth finding identifies factors that led to the dismantling of the original plan to defend the independence and sustainability of Historically Black Institutions in the post-democratic dispensation. The accession of neoliberalism and its call for efficiency in operating higher education system was lobbied by interest groups whose purpose was to thwart the unlimited potential of galvanising HBIs as the vanguards of black intellectualism. Now that mergers were finally accepted as the new policy blueprint in shaping academic landscape of HEIs in the post democratic milieu the biggest challenge was to deal with cultural incompatibilities, differences in perceived academic standards, and geographic distances (Hall, 2015). Unlike other countries that may have approached these challenges purely on addressing cultural diversities, the South African experience was compounded by concurrent tackling of the complexities of merger processes with its sensitive historical past of inequality. Notwithstanding the urgent need of transforming HEIs, such process had to be underpinned by upholding the values of a new democratic society which was based on non-racialism and non-sexism and the right to social and economic justice.

How this process played out, in the views of Zulu and all his young contemporaries within the Fees Must Fall movement, is that the state protected the aspirations of the market by adopting austerity measures towards HBIs and imposing a merger as a system to eliminate all forms of inefficiencies and poor governance. While corruption was quickly identified within HBIs in that student leaders and unions were provided with certain privileges, instead of dealing with it separately, or as a pre-condition towards participating in other critical lags of transformation, the merits of creating wholly black controlled and managed HBIs were losing ground. With this backdrop, the study has found that the pursuit of mergers as the only policy

pathway to foster social cohesion and reverse the legacy of apartheid's under-resourced HBIs seemed to have suppressed even the most seasoned intellectuals within the HBIs whose views could have raised an eyebrow that South Africa was about to forego its vanguard of African intellectualism. Some believe that there were more variants Council for Higher Education (CHE) could have explored including the formation of strategic partnership with internationally reputable black institutions of higher learning with the view to strengthen the philosophy of pan-Africanism and African Intellectualism in thinking, resource mobilization and pursuit of academic rigour and probity.

Tinyeko (ID15), a doctoral candidate within STEM, offered a very poignant analysis about this situation. She argued that one of the primary objectives of neoliberalism was to undermine the subject of race and seek to look at it as a social deviance instead of looking at it as a point of strength. A very short and bulgy young lady took to task the problem of equipping HBIs to become the shining stars of black intellectualism akin to Howard University in Washington DC and Xavier University of Louisiana boasting unparalleled achievement in the development of Afrocentric research methodologies, epistemology, and ontology which places blackness at the centre of every social inquiry. She avers:

> it does not make sense that after four hundred years of colonialism and sixty-two years of institutional apartheid we have not dedicated the resources towards offering unadulterated black feministic scholarship. [my emphasis]

Although explained in a much simplistic expression, by always arguing that everything in these institutions is white – referring to its historians, philosophers, iconoclasts, and even the nature of scientific experimentation – the point Tinyeko made is that neoliberalism and its corollaries such as internationalization have always been premised on a clear ahistorical agenda which seeks to water-down and render obsolete any form of black academia.

6.7 **Findings 7: Breaking the Silence by Black African Women Scholars**

Beyond the trimming down exercise of HBIs as highlighted above, the seventh finding of the study shows that it was equally strategic to silence the voices of black women intellectuals during the crafting of the merger dispensation. Doctoral research by Mary Hames (2016) engages on critical pedagogic theories and activism from a black feministic perspective in South Africa. Harmes' (2016) work is strongly entrenched in the philosophies and ideologies of liberation movements which address the status of the marginalised and oppressed in a very robust manner. Mgcotyelwa-Ntoni's (2017) doctoral research presents a compelling case on the challenge of women executives within the public sector from gender mainstreaming perspective. Akin to academia, Ntoni's (2017) intersectionality approach exposes how endocentric perspective within government administration will always suppress women's voices and ensure that the concept of non-sexism is used conveniently when issues of employment equity are in question. However, in the main, black women will continue to be placed in the side-line of knowledge creation.

Confirming these sentiments, Zandile asks:

> what is the point of being encouraged to pursue academia up to the doctoral and post-doctoral level if such hard work cannot be reciprocated equally with our white female counterpart? We work hard the same, we are devoted into our research, however, the pace and speed of our progression never raises a concern. Beyond publishing prolific work, if we finally make it to that point, it is only our white colleague's opinions and views gets to the limelight (Zandile ID13.

The problem of equality of opportunity is critically argued here based on the opportunity to be selected and effectively utilised. Even when they succeed to be selected, black South African women intellectuals occupy the roles that are trivial and not consistent with their area of specialisation. Thobile puts it this way,

> "We are specialists entrusted with the most basic and general workload which leaves us ultimately at the point whereby our knowledge becomes general and not specialised (Thobile ID19)

6.8 Findings 8: Social Capital as a form of Alienation

The eighth finding on alienation confirms the fact that while social capital is a prominent vehicle in unifying actors, it is equally instrumental in alienating people, societies, and nations. Viewed in this way, the development of consensus making use of social capital spawned a new form of alienation. Inadvertently, even the most accomplished protagonists of the emancipation discourse of black African women can find themselves making difficult decisions that tends to compromise their principles. The researcher uses Dr. Naledi Pandor as a case in point. Dr. Pandor is one of the outstanding black women ministers within the African National Congress's (ANC) and one of the longest serving ministers in various administrations. Her academic credentials were earned regionally within the continent and abroad. To list a few of such accolades includes bachelor's degree from university of Botswana, master's in education from University of London, a second master's degree in Linguistics from University of Stellenbosch. Grace Naledi Mandisa Pandor recently completed her PhD in Education from University of Pretoria on a title: *The contested meaning of transformation in higher education in post-apartheid education.*

As the minister of higher education, she was called to intervene in a very contested environment in which HEIs were exposed to tumultuous experiences of racial uproar. Her swift intervention in certain quarters of academic society was ridiculed by her selection criteria in appointing a team of experts to both interpret the process of merger and provide a comprehensive report of the challenges on the ground. An ardent believer in gender equality consciously alienated other accomplished black women academics for the expedition. Such a decision was a slap in the face to her political constituency which was committed to the eradication of a sexist society. Paradoxically, her team of renowned male dominated academics successfully executed the task. Notwithstanding the registered success by the Sourdine Commission, the overrepresentation of males was an indictment that women were not yet ready to handle a man 's work. However, the worse encounter

When they asked why women denigrate their own reputation when the opportunity to set out the record straight, Shumi(ID20) a gender activist admitted that this fault is attributed to women themselves. "We did it to ourselves", she remarked. Why do you say that the researcher asked? It all boils down to the fact that we women always wanted to be used and abused to further

other groups' interest, she admitted. Shumi is in sync with Bell Hooks (1987) in her great admission of the feminist anti-thesis:

> There has never been consensus about what feminism is or accepting a point of unification. The alienation conundrum is not only faced by black women. Hooks did challenge the white bourgeois women, popularly referred to as the Sisterhood, interested in issues of women's rights for their deliberate silence on the issues of class and race privilege.

Such admission empathises with minister Pandor's prerogative in maintaining a precedence that women academics can be left behind in solving a national crisis surrounding HEIs. Notwithstanding its great constitutional democracy which state with no uncertain terms that South Africa is a non-sexist society, Shumi and her peers continue to be vexed by the way women academics tend to be left behind when appointment of strategic positions of Vice Chancellors and Vice-Chancellor Academic or Research comes to bear. UCT is the first to break the tradition of appointing male academics into Vice Chancellorship. With emphasis on meritocracy and demonstrated experience more than looking at gender as a determinant, it can be equally admitted that minister Pandor's team were robust and incisive in exposing the real skeletons of higher education and long-standing practices of discrimination based on race, gender, and class.

In sum, while social capital can be praised in fostering social cohesion within a specific group including women post-grads, the same oppressed and marginalised women can utilise the phenomenon to downplay the generated gains. Akin to Dr. Pandor, it is equally important to accept that women can also be the perpetrators of their own demise by downplaying the efforts of their own to pacify the interest of the hegemonic forces. They are often used as the primary drivers and executors of decisions designed by the hegemonic forces to undermine the rights of women. Therefore, assuming strategic positions without understanding the source of their power can be dangerous. As they make new inroads into positions of power a deeper analysis must be made to determine the social capital pattern at play in unlocking the opportunities presented to them.

Bell Hooks (1989) was quite alert and awoke to the tendentious nature of social capital between and across race. Since men were not equals in white supremacist and capitalist patriarchal class structure, in which super rich, and middle-class white male were not treated the same, therefore she argued, which men did women wanted to equal themselves with (Hooks, ibid). Hooks' (1989) bone of contention is that the absence of race, class, and gender as the basis upon which women exploitation hinges renders the purpose of women emancipation obsolete. For this reason, Hooks challenged the white bourgeois women, popularly referred to as the Sisterhood, interested in issues of women's rights for their deliberate silence on the issues of class and race privilege. The findings of the study on this scenario are that despite its claim to hold democratic credential of non-sexism, South Africa is not yet ready to accept the opinion of women on critical problems the country faces. The story of Dr. Pandor is not an isolated case as there are plethora of incidents whereby it has been quite evident that black women leadership is regarded as inadequate in resolving certain class of problems. However, the story of Professor Wilson below confirms that white women academics are not exonerated from the gender politics.

6.9 Findings 9: The tendentious nature of white women

The ninth finding of the research take cognisance of the various levels of trust transmitted between people based on race, class, and gender. The story of Masello evokes the memories of Professor Monica Wilson and the unfavourable decision taken by Dr. De Klerk, the minister of education during apartheid era. Professor Wilson could not be trusted by her own white academics and the minister of education because she was a woman. The nature of trust denied towards the learned white professor Wilson is embedded within social capital. Although the narrative on social capital emphasizes the importance of facilitating important others to the earmarked position, in the instance whereby gender politics are at play, a male opinion tends to take precedence over the female opinion. It was much easier for a white minister adopting a decision made by white male professors in UCT than taking into cognisance Mrs. Wilson's recommendation.

As a result, career mobility of Professor Mafeje, a doctoral graduate of Cambridge University, was held in limbo. A lengthy narrative on the story was provided as part of the

literature review. Notwithstanding Mafeje's success in earning the confidence of his supervisor, Prof Wilson's social network was weak to redress the culture of prejudice and the inherent mistrust towards a female academic. The STEM sector is no different from this experience. Accordingly, the study finds that women graduate, regardless of race, continue to be a suspect when their technical competencies come to bear.

The same experience could be expressed about Dr. Naledi Pandor. Dealing with white academic institutions that are controlled by white males boasting global recognition in scholarship required honesty. While believing in the principle of non-sexism, perhaps, Dr. Pandor assumed a popular view that she was entering a *'men's world'* of white academic intelligentsia and to defeat it was necessary to match it with its equals, she concluded. Disturbing about this narrative is the assumption that endocentric knowledge and white male dominated knowledge system can transform itself. This is a simplistic approach also utilised when merging HEIs. More leverage was bestowed on white male decision makers than it was on other racial groups even the historically black institutions had to succumb to these new processes and corporate culture.

6.10 **Findings 10: Social Capital and the Internationalization Agenda**

The internationalization agenda constitute our tenth finding. Under it the researcher shows how all these processes intersect on social capital wherein trust, norms, and social networks are its indicators. The battle for the internationalization of South African education was partly warned by those HWIs with strong European inclinations. At the height of apartheid, South African National Party, following their 1948 victory, had ensured that HEIs are controlled from Pretoria. Therefore, Pretoria assumed a strategic position in defending a system of institutional racism and became forte upon which all matters relating to higher education curriculum and admission policies would be decided. Against this backdrop, those HWIs with academic influence from Britain fiercely fought and warn the huge battle for academic autonomy. Such institutions included UCT, Rhodes, and the then University of Natal which is now University of Kwa Zulu Natal (UKZN).

These institutions stood their ground to defend their liberal credentials and its predication on the right to decide whom to admit and what to teach (Jansen, 2010). Such a gallant stance marked the foundation for internationalization of HEIs. By adopting this trajectory, it was evident that not only had these institutions defied state intervention, but also, declined financial dependency from apartheid institution. By taking this bold stance accorded them global recognition for world class research in certain areas which did not directly expose race-relations dynamics in South Africa. However, pursuing the internationalization agenda in geopolitics controlled by United States and Russia, during the cold-war era, could not exonerate them from being viewed with high level of suspect. It was a decision adopted by virtue of understanding the insidious nature of apartheid government and its proclivity to downplay authentic scholarship.

The concept of internationalization in higher education has evolved over time with different meanings and symbolism. Knight (2006: 18) defined the concept as a process of integrating an "international and cultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution." However, Ninnes and Hellsten (2005) felt that commercialization dimension of the concept through exporting of the knowledge content was omitted. In correcting this opaque and ambiguous assumption (Sidhu, 2006) Knight provided a much comprehensive definition which included a cooperation of two universities in different countries to achieve certain academic, economic, political, and cultural competencies.

Existing research like that of Rensburg (2010) acknowledge the influence of HEIs in facilitating the process of globalization and internationalization. Similarly, these phenomena influence the approach through which change unfolds within HEIs. There is a new form of social capital at play that shapes this evolution of global integration of HEI, and such process unfolds at a transnational context in which nation-states are likely to lose absolute control in influencing their hegemonic control over knowledge creation. In view of the state of economic fragility of many nation-states, these scholars believe that their participation in the internationalization discourse has the potential to leverage economic development. This shared knowledge can foster strong ties which Granovetter (2018) has alluded to these weaker states and in doing so, it would assist these countries' knowledge system in becoming competitive.

However, Rensburg (2010) and others argues that the concept internationalization is not new as it also played a pivotal role in shaping the outlook of African HEIs which were increasingly shaped by their colonial masters even during their post-democratic dispensation. Similarly, South African HEIs have continued to evolve under a strong influence of apartheid intellectual thought process including its segregationist, historical backlogs, fiscal limitations, and the current policy shift to post-school technical and vocational education, admitted Rensburg and others (ibid). The internationalization of higher education in South Africa should be explored from the perspective of South Africa's emphasis on democratic values intended to benefit everyone. Such an exploration should include reducing brain drain, undertaking collaborative research, sharing knowledge and resources, building mutual capacities, and enhancing mutual economic benefits. Such an approach implies honesty, openness, responsiveness, common commitment, sound academic values, scientific integrity, appropriate ethics, and social responsibility (Botha, 2010).

South Africa has not been excluded from this global trend of internationalization. On the contrary, its HEIs have benefited through manifestations of various indicators outlined by Stone (2006, p. 410 – 412), namely: -

i. The movement of students and staff across national boundaries to study or work on a short- or longer-term basis.
ii. The inclusion of and greater emphasis on international aspects in course content.
iii. Fostering international exchange to secure additional financial resources through cultural exchange can be enhanced.
iv. Developing intercultural teaching approaches and research collaboration.
v. International curriculum development and learning strategies.
vi. Joint course delivery in cooperation with partner organizations and international research activities.
vii. The development of international skills and attitudes.

Wherever recommendations have been made along these lines, the implementation of its findings tends to be watered-down by academic hegemons by ensuring that allocation of resources towards the pursuit of this agenda is insufficiently resourced. Elsewhere, it could be argued that the pursuit of such agenda can be trivialised by popular statements of addressing the bottom-line, responding to the parochial needs of the markets; and fostering social cohesion by encouraging multicultural pedagogies more than ideologies that foster Afrocentricity (Botha, 2010).

All these variants of exploring internationalization models present a new social capital dimension whereby group of intellectuals identify a common theme and envisaged development targets. There are multiple indicators of social capital that come to bear in innovating these new business models including shared values and professional norms. They are built on mutual trust and willingness of participating parties or HEIs to absorb risks. These initiatives create global cohesion of players across nation-states jurisdictions and those institutions that boast historical deficiencies become capacitated by the contribution made by these working models. As they do so, the innovators of the programmes become willing to transcend their geographic boundaries that created them. Some of these programmes advance on the backdrop of transnational corporations who demonstrate the will to invest in these educational programmes as part of their Corporate Social Responsibility. In the end, these CSI programmes feed the market the ideologies and outlook of these funding agencies.

South Africa has positively benefited from this global trend of internationalization. Between 1994 and 2005, South African HEIs had gained 7% of its population from international community. In absolute terms, the admission rate of foreign students had increased from 12,500 in 1994 to 53,000 by 2005 (Kishun, 2006: 1). Such growth presented fourfold advantage to South Africa which has direct impact in shaping the social capital of HEIs in the new democratic dispensation:

6.10.1. **FOUR-FOLD ADVANTAGES**

The four advantages of internationalisation are stated underneath:

i)   **Student Advantages**

The first advantage on students has created an opportunity for the development of global citizenry who could now consider studying with any African university linked to the internationalization programme or consider securing employment opportunities beyond Southern African Development Communities and African Union borders. Apart from securing employment, these candidates could benefit from global training delivered by world class experts trained from some of the best ivy institutions. (NealeShutte & Fourie, 2006, p. 119); Much of the gains of these trends have been experienced by South Africa which have seen itself as a host destination of over five million residents from the African continent.

As part of illustrating South African HEI's ascendancy to the internationalization space, Matilda's experience presents quite a monumental story. A Ugandan student in her mid-thirties had to make a tough decision between pursuing her PhD in France or London. As she enters on the internet to surf around to weigh her option, one of her family friends advises her to consider South Africa. Her first reaction to the idea shows some degree of reticence but she then decided to give it her best thought. Long before she thinks of it, she had already obtained a positive response from a renowned academic situated in University of Cape Town. Professor Rossouw was excited to supervise her however he felt that Professor Awonde at UKZN was more specialized within Matilda's field of study. Outside the internationalization model, such a practice was a taboo.

Indeed, the internationalization agenda has created a unique nature of social capital which leverage academic partnership beyond institutional jurisdiction. Although she had to join Professor Awonde in UKZN for her laboratory work and in-depth study of her supervisor's work, Professor Rossouw accepted to become a co-supervisor. Social Capital within the context of internationalization presents a very sophisticated pattern of social networking that is facilitated through technology in creating complex relationships that benefits parties across nation-states jurisdiction.

ii)   **Academics' Advantages**

It had broadened the horizons of South African academics by opening them to much richer research archives and offered them flexible lectureship opportunities either done concurrently through seasonal programmes taught elsewhere while continuing to provide teaching and supervision support locally. In doing so, their financial liquidity could now expand significantly and thereby making the lecturing tenure the most appealing profession. Most importantly, these academics could now be afforded opportunities of co-publishing their research work with their counterparts across the globe in world renowned research journals. Consequently, Internationalization has obliterated the wall of hostility and suspect towards works produced by South African academics. All these hinges on the social capital built by all stakeholders holding direct and indirect influence on higher education.

iii)   **Institutional Advantages**

Since social capital does not inhere people but institutions and environment in which they exist, the development of academics has direct impact on the HEIs that employs them. Through this globally exposed human capital that are integrated into a well-coordinated system of social network unfolding at the local and global setting, South Africa's HEIs under the new merger regime would become rendezvous of multicultural society that host diverse student body whose participation in the training programme could transcend the geographic locations in which they reside. Such position has direct benefit for black African women whose interest can be served indiscriminately.

iv)   **Country Advantage**

Competitively developed HEIs can yield positive impact to their nation-state. Akin to its international counterparts in United States, United Kingdom, Europe, and China amongst others this open door of internationalization can position South Africa as a strategic player in the global geopolitics. This development outcome of becoming a strategic player in continental

and global geopolitics can be realized many years after preparing these nation-states' students as future statesmen and global economic entrepreneurs (Moja, 2004).

With the ongoing challenge of raising their revenues, and advocating for independence from over-reliance on the state, the process of merging HEIs was justified. Such decision was consistent with Global Student Mobility 2025 forecasts (Böhm, Davis, Meares, & Pearce, 2002) which predicted a significant rise of international students to 7.2 million by 2025. It was estimated that, international students studying abroad by 2000 were standing at 1.8 million. With China and India occupying 70% of this global citizenry of learners, it was quite imperative that South African HEIs rise to the challenge of repositioning themselves for this global market uptake. In pursuit of this opportunity, it is equally important to differentiate between globalization and internationalization.

Whereas globalization creates complex intersection between a multiplicity of driving forces, embracing economic, technological, cultural, and political change (Yang (2003:271), the internationalization of higher education is a phenomenon where diverse policies and programmes are developed bilaterally, regionally, and globally between partners with the ultimate objective of delivering it within a targeted location. Put differently, it is a process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions, or delivery of postsecondary education (Verger & Hermo, 2010; Luxon and Peelo, 2009).

The study finds that internationalization agenda offers social capital literature an interesting dimension that foster global networking of HEIs and the need to establish global benchmarking in curriculum development and in the creation of institutions that have successfully fought and defended their national and cultural identities. Concomitantly, the study also finds that internationalization presents a new opportunity of a global marketplace which has become available to black African woman post-graduates. No longer are they obliged to sell their expertise to South African labour market alone, which remains to a large extent, untransformed. Furthermore, by holding master's and doctoral degrees, black African women post-graduates can now offer their expertise within the globalized knowledge space which remains an uncharted pathway which was explored by this research.

6.11 **Findings 11: Social Capital and Quest for Authentic Local Identities**

Establishing authentic local identity or Afrocentricity, as the eleventh finding of this research, reflects critically on the extent to which various interest groups utilises their social capital in defining identities of institutions. The work of Shannon Morreira (2015), a white woman academic and Zimbabwean Anthropologist based in University of Cape Town, presents a telling story about the identities of South African HEIs. From a Grounded Theory perspective, Morreira (2015) depicts HEIs in South Africa in this way:

> I work in an institution that has been characterized as a 'European greenhouse[33] under African skies' (Nyamnjoh, 2012a: 33). This is a sentiment with which the reflexive academic cannot find fault. From its institutional geography – ivy-covered buildings, a main campus divided geographically into the Sciences and the humanities/arts – to the promotion criteria of academic staff, which firstly emphasizes publishing prestige, secondly considers teaching load, and lastly includes either the taking on of administrative duties or social responsiveness, the University of Cape Town (UCT) is organized to maintain status and prestige based on a Euro-American model.

Morreira's (2015) personal experience presents UCT as a perfect illustration of the sophisticated nature of structuralism and in many ways how this status quo is embedded within social capital. Building on the work of Nyamnjoh (2012), Morreira (2015), equally shares the embeddedness of African knowledge system from its colonial master. In a crude way, Nyamnjoh (2012:1) had made revealing sentiments that:

> "In Africa, the colonial conquest of Africans – body, mind, and soul – has led to real or attempted epistemicide – the decimation or near complete killing and replacement of endogenous epistemologies with the epistemological paradigm of the conqueror...Such education has tended to emphasize mimicry over creativity, and the idea that little worth learning about, even by Africans, can come from Africa. It champions static dichotomies and boundedness of cultural worlds and knowledge systems. It privileges teleology and analogy over creative negotiation by Africans of the multiple encounters, influences and perspectives evident throughout their continent. It thus impoverishes the complex realities of those it attracts or represses as students.

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[33] Francis B Nyamnjoh's publication " 'Potted Plants in Greenhouses': A Critical Reflection on the Resilience of Colonial Education", in Africa, published by Journal of Asian and African Studies 0(0) 1 –26, University of Cape Town, South Africa

In quest for a decolonization agenda, the findings of the study concur with Morreira's (ibid) call for a new African pedagogy and curriculum to rise with the mandate of interrupting the traditional hierarchy of knowledge. To achieve this, a conscious development of a social capital that defends the specificity of African philosophy and experience must be developed and defended through teaching postcolonial theories and deconstructing dominant canons or worldviews (Nyamnjoh, 2012). Concomitantly, the study confirms that every knowledge system must use African examples, texts, and contexts as reference, correspondent examples, or theories from other parts of the so-called third world; or a pedagogy that uses African languages as learning resources (ibid). On the contrary, the status of authenticating African thought in scholarship remains a custodianship of a particular professor but not a collective body of academia that have successfully defended its validity and admissibility in global research.

One of our doctoral candidates in Indigenous Knowledge System, Keletso, presented a rich theoretical argument on the decolonization of our African knowledge system. She maintained:

> It is only at a doctoral level I am afforded the opportunity to pursue my own research about the knowledge of our forefathers. I did not want to do this from social science perspective which is devoid of robust scientific evidence and remain trapped in rhetoric and arbitrary conclusion [my emphasis]. I needed to disprove the Western approach to knowledge creation which has been supported by the church thus presenting Aristotle, Socrates, Plato, and others as the basis for knowing our world

The researcher then asked Keletso how would she go about doing that as all knowledge systems seems to be validated and authenticated by a Eurocentric perspective? This discussion was becoming interesting to the researcher as Keletso was presenting an innovative paradigm which she did not truly understand the magnanimity of its argument or the prominent school of thought that defends such position. She replied by saying that if my scientific claims must be acceptable by the pharmaceutical institutions, I must think and investigate the phenomena making use of their approved systems and tools. Now that I am tried and tested in their orthodoxy I qualify to challenge and question their claims. Even further, it is about time that we go back to our ancestors' wisdom and recreate the ontology and epistemology as it shall form the basis for

doing research from an African perspective. It is about time that we should rewrite history and offer the world afrocentric solutions, suggests Keletso.

It is equally true that freedom of academic expression where issues of race relations or challenging status quo is concerned depends on the race card. Because of its hegemonic nature, certain expressions are likely to be said easily when an academic share the same cultural and social capital of the hegemon, that is, the institution that she represents and its philosophical traditions. Although she may try to justify the fact that she has qualified from the very same university, this self-justification may not be treated the same if the respondent was from a different racial background. As part of her own reflection, Morreira (2015) as a white woman academic is likely to receive a positive response compared to her black African woman sharing the same experience. This is how she expresses her experience

> Today, more than a decade later, I am an academic in that same university. I work in the humanities faculty, in an unusual institutional position in that I work for an Education Development Unit whose remit is to attempt transformation of the student body by assisting or developing students who come from disadvantaged backgrounds (Morreira, 2015:1).

Despite being a white academic, she genuinely took issues with the academic culture of resistance and as a result, calls for a radical process of transformation. She remarks:

> I have trouble with the (institutionally generated) vocabulary that goes along with it that positions students as undeveloped and disadvantaged. So do most of my colleagues: as academics on the front-line of a system that sees many of our so-called previously disadvantaged students failing and being academically excluded, we have attempted to implement pedagogical and curricula changes that might do something to shift the terms of engagement (Morreira, 2015:2).

6.12 **Findings 12: Freedom of Expression suppressed**

The suppression of freedom of expression as our twelfth finding admits the unprecedented practice within HEIs of suppress the rights of academics to their original opinions. Morreira (2015) had intimated that she was not the first one to raise the above issues on racism and unfair treatment of colleagues within HEIs and the community of academics. In fact, she did admit that HEIs do have codes of conduct which subjects academics to certain types of behaviour. Before publications, academics would raise critical concerns surrounding their publication which is a common practice in advising them to change or conduct editorial work so that the image of university is salvaged. Professor Mahmood Mandani, a graduate of Harvard University (PhD) received negative sentiments for challenging UCT of instituting 'Bantu Education' instead of teaching critical African studies (Mamdani, 1998). Unlike Morreira (2015) case as showed above, UCT did not take Mandani's (1998) sentiments as a constructive criticism. Undoubtedly, the research found that this negative gesture from UCT had social capital underpinnings. On the contrary, Mandani (1998) lacked a strong intellectual fortitude to refute such reaction. The tendency to overreact to critical scholarship when it comes from a different racial group is prevalent in South African scholarship.

A very courageous African academic at UCT, Adjiwanou et al. (2014) described the state of UCT as an archetype of South African university which still retained the element of traditions and norms of HWI. He states

> …the university's reputation is partly a matter of perception rather than reality: as an elite, research-intensive university, it carries a particular reputation of exclusivity that does not find favour in today's national politics of transformation, despite its historical position of liberalism in comparison particularly to many Afrikaans medium white universities. Thus, even though it has in fact one of the oldest programs of academic development in the country, a legacy of the institution admitting black students from the 1920s onward and through the apartheid years, it is still perceived in the present, post-apartheid moment, as a white university. This is only partly a matter of perception, however: in many ways, despite the student demographic, the institution is still a white one, particularly in terms of its institutional norms and values. It is perhaps unsurprising in such a context that black learners are often institutionally positioned as somehow deficient in that they lack the (Eurocentric) cultural capital the

institution demands. *An open letter by black academics denouncing institutional racism* [34](Adjiwanou et al., 2014).

Undoubtedly, those black academics wrought with social capital deficiency remain structurally challenged while a few of their colleagues sharing the same social profile yet paying homage to white male academics' ego continued to thrive.

6.13 **Findings 13: Global Marketability of Black African Women Graduates' Expertise**

Notwithstanding the contradiction black women post-graduates face, the thirteenth finding presents unlimited benefits at the academic, social, and political spheres. These benefits as Botha (ibid) contends are not absolved from inherent opportunities and challenges. In concert with the OECD and UNESCO (2005) Botha presents plethora of opportunities for cross border higher education which includes increased supply of higher education, greater access for students, support for the knowledge economy, development of joint degrees, fusion or hybridization of cultures, growing comparability of qualifications, an increasing role for the market-based approach, economic benefits for education providers, and diversification and generation of new academic environments. Similarly, with these opportunities comes a sea of challenges the foremost of which is quality of provision. A leading global institution could be trapped at a risk of offering sub-standard quality of the same course content it delivers elsewhere across the globe on international standards.

Concomitantly, this differentiated offering could be informed by other critical variables including fee structure and salaries of its educators. In this way, what is offered as Harvard Leadership Training in Massachusetts or Oxford Scientific Innovation in Oxford, United Kingdom could be delivered differently in a different context such as South Africa. Amongst other challenges, include the growing problem of physical and virtual brain drain from developing to developed countries but also along other routes, homogenization of culture, the weakening role of the state in establishing national policy objectives, the growth in market-oriented programmes such as business and information technology, and the decline in some

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[34] *An open letter by black academics denouncing institutional racism*

liberal arts and pure science disciplines, Botha admits (ibid). It is therefore highly critical that students be protected from these market externalities of misinformation, low-quality provision, and qualifications with limited validity. To this end, the following risk mitigation factors are proposed:-

i. Cross border qualifications should be readable and transparent to increase their international validity and portability.

ii. Reliable and user-friendly information sources should facilitate this.

iii. Recognition procedures should be transparent, coherent, fair, and reliable and impose as little burden as possible on mobile professionals.

iv. National quality assurance and accreditation agencies need to intensify their international cooperation to increase mutual understanding (pp. 9–10). There are further paradoxical dimensions to the internationalization of higher education. Yang (2002) points out that mobility of students is often from south to north, while mobility of programmes is often from north to south.

If the quality of knowledge can be protected on an international platform, it also stands to reason that the rights of learners, particularly Black African post-graduates should also be protected. Foremost in the required dividend is the right of security of tenure for qualified engineers and professionals within STEM sector. As Africa is at advanced stage of implementing Free Trade Agreement, the harmonisation of labour relation laws needs immediate priority. In the same vein that South Africa is receiving workforce from the continent with specialised skills, the prospects of creating career opportunities for South African women post-graduates in those specialised sectors in foreign countries, is long overdue. Such migration should not be interpreted narrowly within the brain-drainage ambit. African government requires the creation of incentives to attract the nationals to participate in inter and intra trade activities and scientific innovations.

All these advancements in social network are the result of collective effort to create social capital. The extent to which such collaborations and partnerships proliferate and/or diminish is the reflection of social capital within leaders at political, business, and social spaces. Confirming this point, a young bright lady, Madalitso (ID30) from Blantyre, Malawi intimated that she had

abundance of options in selecting a suitable university for her doctoral programme. However, due to a good relationship between her professor in University of Malawi and her colleague in UKZN, and the fact that they are leading specialists in the field, she chose South Africa. The researcher asked: did you make this choice because you were afraid of facing the challenge in Europe? Madalitso replied,

> I have passed with distinction or first class where I came from and as a matter of fact, it was not qualifications earned from Malawi, but one of the first world country, sorry to sound so denigrative of Madalitso's my country. Building relationships within academia is highly critical for mentorship, advise and penetrating certain fields of research that remain the citadel of white affluent families, she remarked. (ID30)

The global marketability of South African expertise to respond to new pathways of knowledge exchange is a watershed. Instead of depending on the local market of HEIs that remain untransformed, Black African women academics are strategically positioned as global citizens whose expertise open them to global opportunities including the participation in multilateral institutions such as World Health Organization (WHO) amongst others as subject experts.

6.14 Findings 14: Contestation over African Academics' contribution

The fourteenth finding highlights the contribution made by African academics in advancing the status of South African HEIs and its inherent contestation. Undoubtedly, most of these African academics either from neighbouring countries such as Lesotho and Botswana or further afield in Ghana or Nigeria, by far, have earned better global exposure compared to their local counterparts. Most of these academics hold credentials from leading research institutions such as Oxford, Harvard, MIT, amongst others, and have worked for multilateral institutions and boast extensive research and publications in globally renowned journals. While these teams of experts are genuinely playing a pivotal role in changing the country's research landscape, they have introduced new set of social networks. On the one hand, it's a network utilized conveniently by the 'academic hegemons'[35] to favour the academics from outside the country in appointments

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[35] Academic Hegemons, the researcher's own coined concept to denotes intellectuals within HEI whose influence over university decisions and choices prevails.

of strategic positions while on the other, heralds authentic scholars that are committed in building Afrocentric and pan-African literature in South African HEIs. .

The proliferation of African academia in South African shores has indeed created a shift from blaming racism in senior appointments, has fostered a culture of life-long learning and devotion to scholarship and unparalleled research to the locals. Consciously or inadvertently, some of these positive initiatives have displaced the expectation of black South African academics who had thought by virtue of their position within the transformation discourse they should be rewarded with professorial executive positions. It should also be admitted that the global accolades borne by African academics have widened the scope of transformation agenda and shifted the focus away from the race card towards more compelling issues of research competitiveness and building a strong alliance of scholarship across the globe. At the same time, it cannot be denied that many African academics from the region have been used strategically to stall the process of transformation and allow the white hegemonic forces to prevail clandestinely.

6.15 **Findings 15: Social Capital and Quid Pro Quo System**

The fifteenth finding addressed in this section pertains to labour market disparities which are underpinned by social capital of actors. The pattern of discrimination that predicates Higher Education dispensation and transition to the marketplace presents a very complex system of social capital. From the context of the matrix of domination theory, Hall's critical question about the extent to which the reorganization or mergers of HEIs would lead to the demise of apartheid architecture take cognizance of the power stronghold that these institutions bewilder. Inadvertently, Hall lays the charge of labour market disparities upon the apartheid education legacy and the system of dependency it has created. Not only has mergers downplayed academic prodigies of HBIs, but also, it frustrated those black graduates who equally deserve by virtue of being qualified in the same HWIs like their own white counterpart.

Certainly, mergers have not been favourable to HBIs as they were to HWIs. In fact, to a large extent, HWIs have been given more prerogative to decide on critical matters. This

approach is borne from the *quid pro quo* system HBIs had to adopt when accepting critical resources from HWIs. Sindiswa, a doctoral student in Alternative Energy puts it this way:

> Our institutions have inherited state of the art infrastructure including laboratories, IT, and better learning environment. However, these resources came at a price. We lost our identities and we have been suffocated by an environment of idea contestation. While leveraging resources is good in perfecting our planning methodologies the final accolades are shifted away from us to the newly established identity. Because they influence sponsorship and other networks, they set the rules of engagement

The research finds that social capital can come at a serious price to the beneficiaries. In Sindiswa's experience most of the terms were likely to be favourable to the newly established university which tends out to be controlled by a white professor and their fancy offices. Hence, identity labelling of the new mergers tends to assume more of HWIs than it does to their counterpart including the culture of management and corporate governance. Makhosikazi shed interesting light by pointing out that collaborations in securing local and international sponsors for research projects cost the initiator dearly in the final packaging. Makhosikazi states:-

> At times planning and coordination of great projects within HBIs before their demise were met with lack of professional coordination, and good governance. A professor would be provided with grants to initiate a noble project with enormous potential. It did not happen to our group, but we were quickly advised when we were putting our project together to be cautious of following bad practice. Although the group leader would not delve on the detail, it was obvious that the past is associated with blackness while the new would mean white.

Supporting this argument, Kholeka reveals that:

> Once resources are committed to the institution they are channelled into private accounts. Even worse, the purpose for which the resources were raised becomes altered or rechannelled into other initiatives Many graduates did not reap the dividends of having been part of HWIs when the opportunity to transit to the marketplace had arrived. Their assumption that holding a credential from HWIs would automatically work for them in obtaining an ideal job did not always pay out.

This position is confirmed by Zinhle in this way:

> I have witnessed a wonderful progression during my academic studies doing my undergraduate degree. I developed a very strong relationship with my friend Nickie, my white friend. We did student projects together and shared so much in common. She

refused to join her white friends in a new apartment they had rented but decided to remain with me on campus residence. When the time to graduate had arrived, Nickie was offered a job on the first attempt while I had to travel distances going from one interview to another. What devastated me the most and awoke me to the reality of prejudice to which I was naïve of, is when I went to same recruitment agency which had placed her and only to find out that I was not the perfect candidate for the position. I asked the lady who was interviewing me to kindly advise me where do I need to improve during my interview. She simply told me that her clients were very particular about the ideal candidate.

6.16 Findings 16: The Promotion of Divided Labour Market

As our sixteenth finding, divided labour market presents the labour market as another critical variable or indicator interlinked to HEIs and which creates its own nature of social capital. To thrive in this new environment of job hunting, black women graduate face plethora of discriminations which requires a very strong social capital to diffuse. Labour market discrimination refers to the inferior treatment of group of workers with respect to employment policy or practice, through factors not related to the labour market, such being female or being black (Barker and Holtzhausen, 1996). These women come across recruitment agents that boast vast resources of corporate network yet still boasting their own idiosyncrasies and human subjectivities.

. Despite legislative intervention to try to curb the ensuing system of prejudice within the labour market; the culture, norms and values of discrimination including the nature of trust that has prevailed over decades cannot simply be extricated. Therefore, social capital was the determining factor in sustaining this culture of resistance to the process of transformation. Using economic discrimination as an illustration, the most critical factor that differentiates people such as Zinhle from her white counterpart is not the economic resources they have but the type of social capital they wilder. Undoubtedly, the legacy of apartheid explains unequal state of economic possession between racial groups and this pattern has gained even much more impetus during the democratic dispensation. Therefore, regardless of whether Zinhle had the same abilities, education credentials, relevant job training and experience; the job market would demonstrate patterns of inferior treatment in terms of how they are likely to hire her. Would they

neither show willingness to pay the same wage rate, nor accept to provide her with the same working conditions as they would to Nickie (McConnel et al., 2006: 248).

6.17. **Findings 17: Affirmative action and undue favours to Black Graduates**

Constituting our seventeenth finding, Affirmative Action is presented as a social capital instrument facilitated by the state and all labour market stakeholders with the purpose of redressing all forms of discrimination. While welcomed by stakeholders from disadvantaged background, Affirmative Action was viewed as a counter-revolutionary machinery which did not foster inclusive growth. On the contrary, it marginalized white candidates from securing employment within the public sector and promoted preferential treatment for black Africans, Indians and Coloureds which was a reverse apartheid, remarked James, a white doctoral candidate. This is how James defended the current status quo within the labour market:

> South Africa is founded on the democratic values of equality and respecting the rights of all its citizens. I do not think our rights as whites are protected under this system. On the contrary, we are suffocated by a culture of deploying comrades into positions of influence. When a good position is advertised within government, we already know that a preferred candidate will belong to either of the group except us. I do not understand which valid ground exist for the labour unions and the state to exert pressure on private companies to transform. I know you may assume that I'm a racist, but I am not. During apartheid all public institutions or State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) were functioning well as world class institutions. But look at the situation now, things are falling apart and hardly few SOEs obtain unqualified audits because of the institutionalized culture of corruption (James, 10).

James raises an interesting argument that the advent of democracy has also unleashed a new form of discrimination against whites. According to him, a decision to introduce affirmative action and quota system that affords women equal status to participate in state departments did not justify a process of eliminating whites from strategic positions within government. Rather, by working together, both blacks and whites would have required to share experiences, technical know-how and an opportunity to allow these racial groups work together in a manner which enables those with historical experience and expertise, namely, whites, transfer such skills to those without the required expertise and/or experience, which could be blacks in this instance.

Paradoxically, the new democratic dispensation was committed in redressing the racial imbalances within the state departments.

In the same vein, through the adoption of affirmative action policies and employment equity policies, a new expectation was to see private sector following this trend of adopting large scale reforms in the creation of jobs and promotion of candidates into positions of seniority. Perhaps in view of how the process has fared which was predicated on clientelism and deployment of comrades or fellow member in the struggle against apartheid, African National Congress (ANC) had resorted to political expediency and downplaying meritocracy. Inadvertently, James would then argue, failure to demonstrate a commitment to quality leadership had exonerated the private sector from coming to the party in implementing a genuine process of transformation.

Although he does not explicitly admit to this behaviour of maintaining a system of preferential treatment or segregation against blacks in the marketplace as a deliberate decision by the private sector, it is evident that there is a general admission to ensuing conspiracy. All forms of social capital at play in the above are sustained by a quid pro quo system in which participants deliberately provides their competitive advantage to leverage a system which can reciprocate them and protect their collective aspirations. Simply put, social capital plays a pivotal role in building new types of social networks to advance the process of transformation and/or maintaining the status quo of unequal representation of racial groups within the labour market.

According to James' observation, a lack of quid pro quo between the state actors and private capital in fulfilling transformation quota within the public sector justifies the unwillingness of the labour in executing labour reforms. This is not an overt transaction in which parties puts it in no uncertain terms. Rather, it is a complex process in which political elites within the mass democratic movement –which includes ANC, South African Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) or what is popularly referred to as the tripartite alliance – enter fierce debates about the rate of deployment of their comrades into strategic positions of power. Such practice may have begun as an inevitable process at the dawn of democracy by deploying comrades into critical positions that had to be filled when the ANC

usurped power. However, the cadre deployment tradition had left undesirable consequence of dependency and has downplayed meritocracy in the appointment of candidates into strategic positions. James is not alone in bemoaning this trend of hand-picking cadres at the expense of development, but also, a growing voice of constituencies on the ground or ANC voters have also felt being left out.

The position advocated by James and his white constituency in defending the unwillingness of the labour market in introducing reforms because of lack of quid pro quo on the side of the state in ensuring that reverse apartheid is eliminated is disingenuous. The failure of the democratic states in fulfilling the promises it made to its citizens including social justice, creating a living wage, providing high quality education to its children amongst others cannot be used as the basis to justify current state of inequitable distribution of resources and employment opportunities within the public sector. Akin to James, a handful of white South Africans continues to maintain racially motivated statements and assumptions that without them in position of power South Africa can be ungovernable. Such group utilize their competitive advantages to make demands on the state for policy reforms that suites the interest of their constituency. Equally, the white controlled labour market cannot deny citizens their democratic rights to security of tenure, enjoying the values of *ubuntu* or human dignity and freedom of choice in selecting the type of employment they want. Nomasonto [30], a black African woman pursuing a doctoral programme in biotechnology shared some of her painful experience on how her democratic rights were violated. She states:

> I was grateful to be successfully selected for a junior position in a pharmaceutical industry. My supervisor always encouraged me to do some experiential work. Finally, this chance had come after I completed my master's degree in biotechnology. Little did I know that my qualification was highly sought after. On arrival, I realized that the white lady, Matilda, 58, who was occupying the senior position in this department was about to retire. I was excited to work under her as my supervisor. A well knowledgeable person in her job, I asked her, which university did she attended. She disclosed it to me but quickly advise me I should not be too excited because she did not learn everything from university. Ninety percent of my knowledge I learned it at work, she said. I quickly gained the necessary experience and even appreciated the fact that holding a master's degree enabled me to perform from a position of a specialist.

Few months before Matilda retires, I was advised that I will be reporting to a new supervisor. Colleagues had begun to congratulate me for my future position as Matilda's successor. Sadly, the new supervisor took it upon herself to destroy my confidence and told me I was not well oriented to the profession. She began to withhold critical information from me and instituted disciplinary sessions against me for dereliction of duties. Such drama happened when a new candidate was busy interviewed for the position with just a bachelor's degree. She was quickly introduced to me as an intern. I was just told that I will be sharing all my knowledge to Kathrina as she will be working with me. By mistake, Kathrina forgot her salary advise and without intention to open it the document was wide opened. The first thing that attracted to her envelope was her monthly package at R40000 Cost to Company per month. I realized that with only R16000 salary per month, nowhere I would succeed to secure Matilda's job, I then decided to resign. This is how I ended in my PhD programme. I would rather survive with a small stipend than to see myself exposed to shame and low self-esteem, perpetuated by my HR manager, Cylest.

Nomasonto obtained a very strong recommendation from her supervisor which finally landed a junior position in a reputable pharmaceutical company. Once she was employed in such position, the young black lady from Mtubatuba, a village of KZN, enjoyed the support of Matilda, an old white lady in her late fifties. Matilda was very supportive and taught her great skills. A profound point Matilda made to Nomasonto is in advising her that educational qualifications can only contribute to a certain extent in building the required human capital of the candidate. However, the significant work may be earned through experience. When supervisory positions are changed, she was not aware that the invisible hand that manipulate the entire process of her career mobility was Cylest, the HR manager. Although Nomalanga had already found the type of job she was prepared to develop herself in, she faced a mix of discrimination based on race, and gender. Her choices in leaving her job instead of fighting for her legal rights to stay and even securing the job which she believes she deserves, is informed by appreciating the nature of war she is going to wage. Although Cylest may be the visible one charged with hiring or dismissing candidates, she is an extension of a strong cartel or social network from whom such orders derive.

6.18 Findings 18: Black on Black Discrimination within the Labour Market

The eighteenth finding outlines the nature of discrimination spawned by complex network within and between blacks. In this context, cartels or power blocks within the labour market are not only racially motivated since black elites can also equally be involved in conspiracy to marginalize their own blacks in state departments or even within lily white labour market. The demise of apartheid did not assume the final elimination of discrimination within the labour market. In fact, the new ANC-led government faced serious policy challenges in addressing the problem of tribalism and preferential treatment of certain racial groups. These contradictions play a pivotal role in shaping the democratic landscape and understanding why social cohesion has not always favoured the new political party in power.

A moving story of Khathazile (ID33) is not only devastating, but it also confirms that prejudice is not a racial problem only, but most importantly, a problem of the heart. Khathazile was hired to take a strategic position of a lead scientist in a mining house which is controlled by trade unions and shop stewards. Khathazile was hired by Martinus, an Afrikaner boss after an exerted pressure to change the racial profile of senior managers and executives. When Martinus retires Khathazile was demoted from her position and replaced by Pieter Steyn, a unionist who was both white and male. When asked why he was treated this way by her own black, she intimated that, because my fellow comrades but Mr. Martinus, part of the reactionary forces, did not appoint me to the position. What that has to do with you, the researcher asked. I am not sure but clearly being associated with Martinus suggested that I could not be trusted, Khathazile admitted. The fact that she was not an affirmative action appointee selected by the new management in office denigrated   from her position of entitlement as a qualified employee, who is woman and black.

Indeed, racial discrimination in the new democratic dispensation has mutated into a much more complex phenomena that is not only justified based on excluding blacks from strategic positions. Most importantly, it is a game of power and control. When such power it is in the hands of blacks it makes no difference whether the candidate is black African or not. The two

experiences of Mawatha [54] and Nolitje [53] presents perfect illustration of black-on-black discrimination and how it tends to be protected by the authorities. Mawethu intimated:

> Democracy has failed us, she said. Despite my efforts to apply for permanent employment within government as a Bachelor of Science (B.Sc..) graduate, I was ostracized because I was better qualified than my local colleagues. During a critical meeting which was to decide my fate whether I stay within my position I had mistakenly returned to the office before my lunch break was due. I decided to wait outside the office and listen to the conversation transpiring in my boss' office. 'That one cannot occupy this position permanently…She is not one of us', one voice came out quite audibly during the conversation. Few days after the incident, I decided to approach my boss in search of understanding why my future is not guaranteed within the institution notwithstanding high volume of jobs that remains unoccupied. She became bitter and began to accuse me of insubordination. When the disciplinary hearing arrives, I was not afforded the chance to present my side of the story. I was charged before I can plead guilty of the alleged offence and advised that I would not be returning to the position because of the constrained relations between my boss, without qualification and myself.

While Mawethu suffers discrimination that is not based on belonging to their membership group, sexual harassment is the most complicated form of social exclusion. Nolitje, an extremely attractive young black African woman of Xhosa background, was privileged to do internship at local municipality in her local town. Trained as an environmental scientist she was in a better position to negotiate her package in the forthcoming job in the water reticulation project. As she prepares for her last signed off from her internship, she approached her municipal manager (MM) with a brilliant idea on how the project can purify the sanitation system cost effectively. This is how her conversation fared with her MM.

What are the chances of securing this learnership programme, Nolitje asked? It's a tough world out there and very few candidates get admitted into our programme, the MM remarked. I do agree with you sir and equally trust that my credentials are known to your adjudicators. The MM remarked:

> If were you, I would make the process quite easier. All that you needed is to loosen up. Look at Nolwazi and Zinhle, they were able to succeed despite falling short of the required qualification standards set. All they did was to make us happy

At times, sexual harassment takes a subtle approach as perpetrators have learned the trait of committing the crime without incriminating themselves. This is quite evident in this instance whereby Nolitje was left confused and unsure about what the MM had meant by making him happy. Many thoughts had come to mind, amongst which she had thought she needs to be more generous and buy her team lunchbox as a token of appreciation for being part of the project. One of the girls that were successfully inducted to the programme came to her and told her that "I do not think this is the type of project you need to be part of because you are not about to lose your soul from making other men happy," she said. Unfortunately, some of us had no choice but to accept the terms, the girl remarked. Before she could even respond to her remark it was very clear that the girls had accepted to defile themselves by committing adultery with their own boss, she concluded. Although she tried to follow up the matter with senior authorities and a request for witnesses was made for anyone who could attest to the allegations made by Nolitje against her male staff at supervisory level, none came through. As a result, she was marginalized and finally decided to recuse herself from work and return to university to obtain her masters and doctoral degrees as she could not afford to denigrate herself for promotion earned from sexual harassment.

With this backdrop, the study found that social capital can facilitate conspiracy to fire an employee within the job market because of mischievous plans by managers in cahoots with their colleagues. Even if the candidate can present a compelling case, justice is a subjective phenomenon. When parties have incited to stand with their comrades against indisputable violation of one of their colleagues' rights who is not prominent, becomes a collateral damage.

6.19 Findings 19: Social Capital and Apartheid Black elites

Forming part of the nineteenth finding is the creation of apartheid black elites. During apartheid, there have always been efforts by the system to separate blacks through the provision of preferential treatment for those closer to the National Party elites that include leaders within the Homelands or TVBC states. But even within the townships and the old Transvaal metropolis,

now Gauteng Province, there were groups of black elites whose ascendancy to political positions such as councillors and a certain sector of entrepreneurs – raised an eyebrow.

These influential figures served as proxies between apartheid regime and the people. Some could equally pledge homage to the apartheid system while assisting young cadres to cross the country into the neighbouring countries of Lesotho, Swaziland, and Botswana for political asylum. Building a social network of trust in apartheid dispensation was always a cumbersome process of background check and verifying one's origin where the recruit was trained and by whom. By failing to adhere to this approach in welcoming a new member within politically motivated structures would come at a serious price of accepting an infiltrator whose mission is to expose the underground operation. With this backdrop, membership formation was another important feature of social capital which is created to distinct groups along political, cultural, and academic backgrounds.

Mmapule (ID34) is one of the young scientists whose family was stripped off all their credentials because of the dual loyalty her grandfather had to the struggle and the apartheid government. She relates a sad story how his family were stripped off her political credentials because of her father keeping constant relations with apartheid operatives. At the same time, her dad was renowned for facilitating papers for aspiring youth intending to go underground for military training as revolutionary forces for different liberation movements in South Africa. During their exile days, Mmapule and her siblings turned to education as their defence. She always emphasized what her grandfather always told them that education will be their defence when all good friends turn their back on them. Indeed, that time unfolded in the post-democratic dispensation when suddenly it was revealed that her family was a partisan to apartheid regime as well as to liberation movement of which it was impossible, the antagonists of his action argued. .

6.20 **Findings 20: Homogeneity vs Heterogeneity**

As our twentieth finding, homogeneity and heterogeneity addresses issues of proximity and trust created across various interest groups. Some would argue that during the days of the struggle, it was much easier to associate social capital with homogeneity than it could be with heterogeneity. Because apartheid regime had balkanized communities into tribes, people could easily accept assimilations along cultural vintage. This view is consistent with Robert Putnam's (2007) assertion that diversity reduces social capital. Putman had postulated that as society became heterogeneous people would be less likely to solve collective problems because of the increasing gap of mistrust. In contrast, this view has been challenged of maintaining narrow-centric sentiments towards the concept of social capital and confined the concept to social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness (Ulsaner and Brown, 2005). Long before the dawn of democracy, liberation movements were heterogeneous in nature. Apartheid system was not fought on the battleground of race but that of multiculturalism.

By adopting this multicultural approach of non-sexism and non-racialism, African National Congress succeeded to win its allies beyond race and nation-states. This formation of social capital facilitated the training of young political cadres across the globe as trust was based on human rights values of right to human dignity and equality before the law. Consequently, the advent of democracy had annihilated the walls of geographical and cultural segregation along racial lines and had allowed an influx of people from villages and across ethnic groups into cities in search for new job opportunities. Urbanization had skyrocketed as more people began to move closer to the city centres in search for economic opportunities.

Similarly, the ANC had to honour the commitments it had made to its allies across Africa and such commitment found expression in South Africa's new foreign policy which had replaced the hub and spoke of the National Party with the New Partnership for Africa's development. However, implementing these migration policies have raised serious acrimonious battles from the local South Africans the majority of whom had felt that South Africa was not ready to assimilate this population into its impoverished populace. By far, they had argued that foreign nationals were better qualified in critical skills of entrepreneurship and their entrepreneurial

expertise formed linkages with their global allies from Somalia, Pakistan, and Bangladesh amongst other. Consequently, they could bring to the country much cheaper brands of commodities and open their shops for extra hours compared to the local South Africans whose job security was increasingly been shaken as markets tended to favour the work ethics of the foreign nationals. Undoubtedly, South Africans have failed to leverage on their social capital advantage to create entry barrier for the foreign nationals in taking over their neighbourhood shops. The researcher did ask one of the respondents, a foreign national, Simba (ID35), what does he think is the South African problem? This is how he responded:

> My South African brothers and sisters come from a painful past which have deprived them of the strategy to survive in the new dispensation. Despite of the fact they were predisposed to abuse and were not entitled to basic tenets of human rights, they behave as though they were long in power. They cannot accept little wage we get. When you ask them why, they say they are educated. I think the education system they were taught under did not teach them to survive beyond formal employment.

Such migration had spawned a heterogeneous society to which Putnam was cautious. Although establishing trusts in such contexts within neighbours and local leaders was a rare commodity to come by, the new democracy had succeeded to spearhead a global cohesion which catapulted South Africa into a G20 social status. Notwithstanding a new culture of pluralism birthed by democracy, South Africa also witnessed a resurgence of subtle tribalism which was predicated on consistent recruitment of same tribe that bears the cultural affinity of a predominant group. Although each province has a predominant ethnic group for instance Xhosas in the Eastern Cape, Zulus in the Kwa Zulu Natal, and Basotho in the Free State, in major metropolis such as Johannesburg and Pretoria, there was a consistent recruitment of few ethnic groups within state departments. For instance, it was common cause that some prominent ministers would hire along their tribal lines.

During the Mandela Administration (1994 to 1999), minister Mac Maharaj was accused of only hiring Indians in his Transport department; and the same charge was made of Joe Slovo, the minister of housing, and Kader Asmal, the minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, and their tendencies to hire more whites and Indians of their own descent respectively. Margaret Lee's (2005:85) chapter dubbed *Challenges facing the Mandela Government*, puts it this way:

The alleged perpetuation of racism by some ANC governmental officials speaks to a fundamental contradiction within the party. The party, therefore, needs to address the issue and rectify it to prevent further disunity within the ANC…and among the society at large. Furthermore, it will be fundamentally impossible for the ANC-led government to address the larger issue of white supremacy if the perception exists among ANC members that Africans are discriminated against by the party.

Notwithstanding the provision of such evidence to how susceptible is social capital to the politics of tribalism, it can equally be admitted that South Africa has nurtured a truly pluralistic society. What had begun as a pattern of tribalism in the hiring of human resource across racial and ethnic lines, can be confirmed that it has gradually been replaced to a large extent by a truly culturally integrated society. The legacy of Nelson Mandela has finally yielded the expected results as South African public administration under the Ramaphosa Administration adhered to the 50/50 rule in the national assembly. At local and provincial governments, a positive pattern of recruitment of capable black professionals bearing different tribes across public administration has gained ground. However, these reforms were compromised by unprecedented scale of corruption and subversion of good governance system.

6.21 Findings 21: Social capital and breaking tribalism

The twenty first finding shows that when a new democratic state or any institution for that matter including HEIs lacks a system of social capital enshrined upon human rights values tribalism becomes inevitable. Despite its commitment to a non-racial and non-sexist democratic society, the manifestation of clientelism, nepotism and tribalism have been evident within South African public sector. Gleaning from above discussion on the hiring of human resource along racial and tribal lines, it could be argued in varying degrees that every new administration from Nelson Mandela, Xhosa, (1994 to 1999); to Thabo Mbeki, also Xhosa, (1999 to 2004 and 2004 to 2009) and followed by Jacob Zuma, Zulu, (2009 to 2014 and 2015 to 2018) –with the exception of Kgalema Motlanthe due to his short-tenure in office – has been accused of occupying certain positions on racial and tribal lines. Such charge is even worse when looking at recruitment patterns along departmental lines both at a national and provincial level. Yet the

complex formation of social capital had not been confined to the role of the political elites in facilitating the social mobility of black executives and loyal cadres across public administration.

Through the formation of bargaining councils including NEDLAC[36] where the state, private sector and labour converge to discuss policy imperatives, a new social capital discourse was formed. The process of lobbying generally for certain scorecards across targeted departments and State-Owned Enterprises has influenced the appointment of certain strategic positions. However, those who would always prevail in successfully negotiating the social mobility of their candidates to the private sector are those who maintained ideological views permissive or tolerant to global capitalism. The politics of economic scarcity and social-psychological denigration of other groups of a different ethnicity had downplayed the sense of shared fate and solidarity (Delhey and Newton, 2005). In demonstrating a state of pessimism that is prevalent within the labour market, and utter disregard for women progression perpetuated by same race, the story of Tintswalo (ID36) speaks a volume.

> My fieldwork as a woman scientist of Xitsonga speaking tribe has not been easy in KZN. I carefully studied the turnaround duration I received in tendering my application and realised it was twice longer than my other student colleagues. There was plethora of huddles to face. Firstly, my name was self-revealing that I could not be a Zulu. This was first huddle to cross. Secondly, a women doctoral researcher created some form of intimidation to my male colleagues who kept on asking me whether I am coping with the work. My supervisor made astonishing remarked. "It is quite impressing to realise that the Venda and Shangaan speaking communities are finally sending their students, particularly women to pursue science," she said.

The negative sentiments uttered by my supervisor were not only dehumanising, but most importantly, it reflected tribal attitudes that other fellow South Africans hold towards us –People of further North near Zimbabwe and Mozambique. It was even worse to realise that I was a black woman, an epitome of disadvantage and self-pity. Khethiwe confirms these sentiments by carefully warning *umfo wagithi* meaning *homeboy*.

6.22 **Finding 22: Women Credentials and the Job Market**

The twenty second findings on black women credentials and how to obtain a suitable job in the labour market is an interesting paradox. Following a widespread discussion on job scarcity

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[36] NEDLAC stands for the National Economic Development and Labour Council was established by an act of parliament in 1994 as an apex organisation that seeks to promote consensus between social partners on specific policy instruments and legislation including GEAR, privatization of state owned enterprises and approval of large scale retrenchments.

and the ageing labour force, the role of highly qualified workforce holding masters and PhDs was seriously debated (Hermann, 2008). In line with ensuing debate, the researcher asked Tintswalo whether she felt confident in facing the job market now that she holds highly sought-after qualification. She replied, "Where would I go because I'm not a comrade?" But the researcher was persuaded that opportunities were unlimited in both private and public sector. She then remarked:

> If you are not Zulu or Xhosa, you are not likely to find a job in a field such as mine. They all look alike and speak alike, yet we claim that this is a democracy. I am qualified within Virology, and I understand all that is required to resolve the problems that are virologic inclined …. However, opportunities in my field have been hard to come by. I went to interviews and felt that I came top of my counterpart both by qualification and experience, but when the results came out, I was advised that the process had been meddled with. An anonymous source told me although I had gained better points, I did not bear the popular surname for the position. At worse, I was not a cadre. For interest's sake, I was interested to know who the successful candidate was, I was advised that she came from a prominent union of health workers and her qualifications were a bachelor's degree in science.

As a follow-up question, the researcher established whether she did walk away from the race. She replied that there was no option to renege, as opportunities were limited. She was then asked not to depart from the job. Instead, she was offered a deputizing position to the candidate who was less qualified with no experience, whatsoever. Tintswalo accepted and the position was fine, and the job was paying relatively well, although it was far below the initial offer. Did it go well eventually, the researcher asked? For the few months it did. However, my setback was in doing both jobs, meaning the one of a deputy and the actual one which had great responsibilities and obligations, she remarked. In a very short space, the national department of health notified the incumbent's work, but little did they know to whom the honour due was. It became apparent that Tintswalo did not actually resign from her job but had to take a sabbatical so that she can complete her doctoral research. She was persuaded that her career far exceeded the immediate obstacles she was encountering. She was quite optimistic that upon completing her doctoral research she could take up a much better paying position in the private sector. However, she was not benign of the possibilities of facing the similar experience. By its nature, the private sector is a contested terrain and strategic positions are opening for black African woman, she admitted.

Such views confirm Somkhitha's response on the value of doctoral degree to the social mobility of South African black women. She remarked:

> Holding a doctoral degree in one's field of research builds a strong foundation for the pursuit of senior positions in public administration. However, qualification alone without a good social networking undermines the efforts made by the achiever. This is quite strange that on the one hand, meritocracy is always emphasized, yet on the other hand, learned black African women tend to be mistrusted because of the attitude that they rely more on their subject-knowledge than the political directives they receive from political leadership (Somkhitha, ID36).

For Nokuthembeka,

> Doctoral qualification enables a candidate to sell their expertise across the globe and prepares women for a true world of opinion contestation. Gender becomes irrelevant in commanding authority but one's subject knowledge.

6.23 **Findings 23: Social Capital and gender disparities within the labour market**

The Human Science Research Council's work on Gender Disparities[37] within the labour market provides extensive report about plethora of challenges women in general and Black African women, still face. The report confirms the experiences of women pursuing doctoral degrees such as Nomalanga and who are yet to cross milestones of discriminations in their effort to transit to the labour market. A project of Ndinda and S Ngandu (2016), constituting the twenty third findings, draws its findings from Quarterly Labour Force Surveys and the 2011 Census conducted by Statistics South Africa. The authors reckon a watershed history of the United Nations Fourth Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The social capital these women wildered in partnership with the United Nations produced a landslide victory against all forms of discrimination inflicted on women.

The study relies heavily upon the Matrix of Domination Theory perspective in providing global evidence (Gerber, 2014) on a series of rampant discrimination, prejudice and societal

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[37] Winners and losers: Gender disparities in the South African labour market by C NDINDA and S NGANDU (2016)

stereotypes committed towards women which had relegated them to the lowest types of occupations and the lowest incomes. Gerber's findings on Canadian women's experience have been utilized as the best benchmark to present a compelling case for policy intervention. Despite holding high levels of education, the authors reckon that Canadian indigenous women continue to face multiple deprivations based on gender, race and class which undermines the type of wage they earn compared to their male counterpart.

HSRC's study confirms the similar experience for South African women. Before the transition to democracy in 1994, South African women, regardless of race, were subject to various forms of discrimination in both the private and public spheres, particularly about employment (ibid) although black South Africans (including African, coloured, and Indian) suffered discrimination because of their race and class, women were subjected to both racial and gender discrimination. In general, then, women were more oppressed relative to men of their own race, and African women were the most oppressed among all women. In theory, the post-apartheid Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) and subsequent legislation removed gender oppression and inequality. A series of legislation had to be put in place to reverse the tide on women including:

- ❖ Basic Conditions of Employment Act (No. 75 of 1997), which aims to deal with direct discrimination in employment.
- ❖ Employment Equity Act (No. 55 of 1998), which is inherently reformist in institutionalising affirmative action for women and addressing discrimination.
- ❖ Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (No. 4 of 2000), which makes it illegal to discriminate against women based on gender, sex, pregnancy, and so on (DoW 2015b).
- ❖ Protection from Harassment Act (No. 17 of 2011), which seeks to ensure that women are protected from workplace violence whether it is physical or psychological.

The report of the study acknowledges that notwithstanding an effort made by government to level the field of play in terms of regulatory framework, nothing significant has been achieved on the side of the labour market. The significant share of which involves the private sector. By

2015, the South African Millennium Development Goals (MDG) reported that gender parity in education had been achieved (Stats SA 2015a). However, South Africa has yet to achieve an equal share of women's participation in non-agricultural wage employment, where women comprise 45% of the people in such employment (Stats SA 2015a). Moreover, while seeming to perform better than women in many other countries in terms of representation in political leadership, South African women hold 42% of seats in the national Parliament, indicating that the target of 50% representation has not been achieved (Stats SA 2015a).

Figure 9: Employment gender and occupation, by 2005
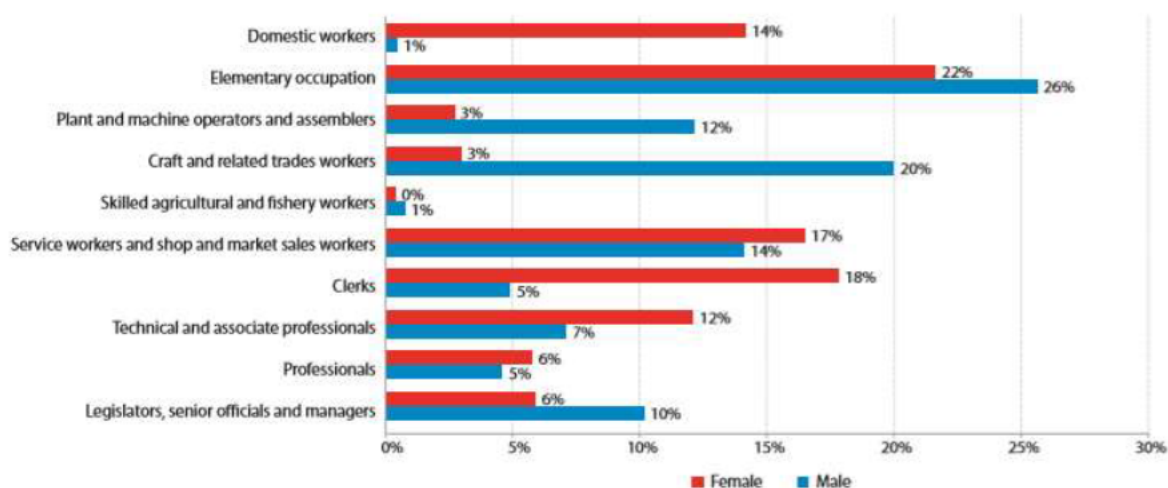
According to the above diagram, 14% of women work within the domestic services compared to their men at 1%. Such status quo does not come as a surprise since the history of South Africa's Mineral Energy Complex has much to do in explaining this trend. More men were recruited by apartheid agencies such as Wedela and millions of men found the new homes in the booming sector of gold and diamond mines while women were left behind to fend for their children. Through the formation of new townships such as South West Township (SOWETO), a need for household was felt and women finally joined their husbands in the city. However, the best job that was available then was domestic service. The collapse of the global economy in 2008 and events leading to the dawn of democracy saw South African economy shedding millions of jobs within the mineral complex sector. As education levels increase, women have begun to show some improvements within services and marketing sector leading men by 17%

to 14% and within clerical, they also maintained the lead by 17% compared to men at 5%. Women continue to maintain this impressive record of accomplishment by also taking the lead within technical and associate professionals at 12% against men at 7%. Where men tend to be occupying a significant lead is in leadership positions with an almost double digit at 12% against 7% for women.

Women in the democratic dispensation have significantly improved in terms of social status and wage. This significant shift has been registered in the professions such as legislators as more women at 18% takes up senior positions including management while more women register 14% increase in clerical positions. Where a setback has been felt the most is in agriculture and fisheries wherein women had occupied 47% of the labour in 2000 and now only register 29%. This huge drop is explained by policy uncertainties within the land reform and subsequent exchange of prime commercial lands into the hands of land reform beneficiaries. The political expediency that predicates land reform made it impossible in achieving economic sustainability since beneficiaries were not provided with sufficient skills and expertise.

The HSRC research highlights a consist problem of underemployment that characterizes the post-democratic labour pool. Because of the changing labour force pattern and the closing down of many labour-intensive manufacturing corporations, more women are now working for fewer hours and paid far lesser than they would expect. There were 751,149 underemployed people of which 63% constitute of women who are inundated with low job satisfaction, high job turnover and earning lower wages (Vera-Toscano et al., 2004). These statistical results confirm the current status quo of women oppression and the dominant role men continue to play at home, in higher education and labour market. Black African women post-graduates are equally exposed to the thread of gender-based violence to which all South Africans continue to be subjected including femicide.

As these women's salaries increases the decision-making processes within the family is also likely to follow suit. Those married or dating indolent men are likely to lose their respect as they feel more economically committed in making their social relationship work without being reciprocated for their efforts to generate income and fend for their families. Ndinda and

Ngandu's (2016) study, ascribed as HSBC study, finds that as these women are likely to hold higher status in society as they take up senior positions in Higher Education, they become gullible to undergoing some form of depression or psycho-social disorder.

6.24 Findings 24: Labour Market Discriminations

The twenty-fourth finding outlines four labour market discriminations Black African women post-graduates are likely to face all of which are spawn by social capital ramifications of interest groups (HSBC, 2016). These include:

i) **Human Capital Discrimination**

Black African women graduates are likely to face human capital discrimination within HEIs. This nature of discrimination relates to the candidate's education and training. It begins from the time these youth apply for the place in HEIs, the preferential treatment they receive in terms of the quality of technical training which may be varied along racial lines. When looking at admission patterns by race, a consistent pattern of allocating whites, Indians then coloureds before blacks is prevalent across various departments that boast critical skills. At times, notwithstanding holding the appropriate credentials, employers have tendency to classify certain qualifications or institutions that produces them as of inferior status.

ii) **Employment Discrimination**

Employment discrimination relates to classification of a particular group as likely to be victimized or to carry the burden of unemployment. This category could relate to discrimination of black African women by virtue of being black and belonging to a feminine class. The endocentric mooring to which they are subjected has created a banister for male counterpart. Within the equality of opportunity framework, black African women are required to work twice harder in proving themselves to their

supervisors, and the entire departmental staff. This experience we witnessed in the story of Nolitje.

iii)   Wage Discrimination

Wage discrimination is even worse to women and blacks who are likely to be paid far less than their qualified counterpart of different gender and race. In the low-income bracket, where incomes are between R0 – R9 600 per annum, there are no significant gender disparities. However, more female-headed households than male-headed households are represented in the R9 601 – R19 200 annual income category. It is not clear why, but this is the only income category where there seems to be more women than men.

Above an income level of R19 201 per annum, there is a clear gender distinction. The gender wage gap increases with income; male-headed households earn more than female-headed households do; and in the top income category (R2 457 601 and above), the proportion of male-headed households represented is more than double that of the female-headed households. There is clearly a gender wage gap in South Africa. Given the large proportion of households that are female-headed, the head-of-household annual income category may account to some extent for many of the glaring inequalities that persist in the country 20 years after democracy. While policies and legislation that support gender equality and women's empowerment are in place, they have not been sufficient to reduce disparities in the labour market. Given the persistent nature of these gender disparities, more targeted policies are needed.

iv)   Occupational Discrimination

The countrywide exercise calling for skills shortage on critical skills in most instances is based on Occupational discrimination. This is an instance whereby certain groups of people are underrepresented in certain skills occupation regardless of their qualification and job capabilities. Such factor relates to opportunity of chances and equal opportunity for equal pay.

6.25 **Findings 25: HEIs and Labour Market Restructuring**

The role of the HEIs in the restructuring of the Labour Market constitutes the twenty fifth finding of the research. There has not been enough evidence to the fact that HEIs have made significant contribution in facilitating the process of restructuring the labour market landscape. This implies that against a backdrop of thousands of graduates that passes through it on annual basis, common sense would not afford a modicum of sanity to HEIs in not questioning the extent in which graduates fare within the labour market. This state of indifference or complacency showed by HEIs in not requiring a state of accountability from the labour market institutions is the basis upon which the charge of academic normalcy is based on. It is an indictment of non-competency on the side of HEIs in taking ownership of their intellectual labour. By taking this view of non-interventionism and/or selective intervention where curriculum was originally designed with such mandate, demonstrate the fact that consciously or unconsciously, HEIs continues to serve their role as part of the hegemony of the state.

During apartheid era, the extent of their critical analysis and telling attitude in challenging the structure and constitution of the labour market was path dependent and deterministic. Protagonists for academic conundrum argues that the dawn of democracy and its concomitant adoption of affirmative action policies including Employment Equity policies did not challenge the pedagogical orientation of HEIs and inevitable moral obligation to assume a pragmatic approach. By declining to assume such role, the aforesaid protagonists have presented prima facie evidence to HEIs of their failure in admitting their historical role in strengthening the apartheid architecture in creating the system of separate development. On the contrary, HEIs have preferred to adopt a desktop research approach which is non-engaging and being less persuasive to see the future shaped by their incisive findings on attitudes of resistance to change

from private corporation whenever Affirmative Action and Employment Equity policies have been tested. What they find vindicating and exempting them from the charges of normalcy and collateral damage within higher education paradigm is the false narrative that claims that the rate of graduate unemployment is by far the least from those youth without a diplomate or bachelors' status[38].

By virtue of being depended upon the state for subsidy, HEIs have always found themselves between the rock and hard place. Dependency on state subsidy has bridled the undying passion for research and innovation. At times HEIs find themselves in a fierce backlash with policy instruments taken by state elites. Such experiences have been commonplace ranging from micro-economic policies to policies on basic education, health, and green energy amongst others. While excited of pursuing research on new forms of green energy and responding to the challenges of global warming, unwittingly, many HEIs find themselves in contestation with adopted policies. As a result, some of the research areas would not receive a generous funding for academic research, as they are not in line with the interest of political elites. To a large extent, the battles to which Chetty and van den berg were engaged were not further away from the truth. Kusasa, a doctoral researcher in Green Energy made a disturbing remark on this challenge:

> When you visit our university archives within libraries you come across interesting research dissertations on critical areas of research. The day one successfully defends their proposal and finally complete their research work is the last day they come into contact with a hard-earned work. Look at the current state of electricity in South Africa and so much opportunity lying around within greed energy, we could create new industries.

The sentiments expressed by Kusasa are classical illustration of how social capital formation can influence the attitude of political elites towards unbiased academic research which is designed for knowledge creation. At times, academic advisors to ministers can be found wanting in executing their functions. Politicians can be gullible in defending the battles waged within HEIs unknowingly. A battle of ideas at UCT, Rhodes and University of Pretoria can be

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[38] South African Department of Education categorises learners into diplomates, graduates and

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indirectly brought in the platform to which they do not belong to further one renown academic's career aspirations.

Kusasa raises a profound issue of lack of congruency between HEIs and labour markets. While the private sector may be excited of the new technological advancement that shall be brought by green energy, the minister of higher education can be advised that South African utility company, Eskom cannot relinquish 30% share of its production in favour of Independent Power Producers. Therefore, in order to stall the process of transition to off-the grid, Council for Higher Education could put more priorities on areas which favour political elites. However, pursuing this argument without understanding other intricate issues can be overly simplistic since South African academics are very vocal in defending academic freedom.

Yet it is also true that many post-graduate students within the generic fields of the STEM sector including biochemistry, anatomy, and chemistry, prefers to wait much longer by pursuing masters and PhD qualifications before they attempt to enter the labour market. It is equally important to appreciate the nature of values and culture of social networking that predicates HEIs within HWI and their valuable source of good will, companionship, sympathy and social relationship between individuals and their families (OECD, 2007). There is ostensible authority that HEIs imputes to those who have been socialized within it and the competitive advantage it creates for them as they approach labour market agencies in search for employment. Thirdly, what seems most critical to Hall is the direct impact of the merger in the life of students and the extent to which it can change the rate and pattern of graduation by gender and race.

6.26 Findings 26: Social Capital and the Skills Mismatch

Observing an array of post-graduates' students entering in large numbers within the labs, the researcher was surprised at the level of frustration most of these candidates responded with to the research questions. As our twenty sixth findings, the researcher asked the students why do they prefer to wait a little longer in school through pursuing master's and Doctoral Degrees instead of simply utilizing their bachelor's degrees to secure the job? This is what Nokuthula (ID31) had to say:

Without a Doctoral degree my qualification is as good as a matriculation. I always knew this but could not be afforded the opportunity to change classes from generic studies to more specialized fields like engineering. Our qualifications are only authenticated by laboratory tests and without which, we can simply accept whatever that the job market puts on the table (Nokuthula, ID31)

This expression of frustration by Nokuthula raises another structural deficiency that predicates HEIs, namely: fewer spaces available for black Africans in strategic departments. Because of the limited space within these attractive departments including medicine and engineering, most of the graduates receive admissions within generic subjects of STEM such as chemistry, zoology, or biochemistry. By obtaining bachelors and honours degree[39] within these fields of study, at least in South Africa, leaves a graduate in a difficult state of not winning the interest of recruitment agencies.

This is how Mandisa explain the problem:-

We have been deceived of taking up master's and PhD programmes so that we can become AA rating researchers. But who can really change her lifestyle by simply relying on being an AA researcher? What if you decide to reroute your career and consider opportunities in other sectors? This is the conundrum one had to choose. Most of us knew the limitation of taking this path but could not bear a thought of taking a job which can only be offered to a young technician holding a National Higher Diploma from a technikon, which is now referred to as University of Technology.

The deception to which Mandisa alludes does not imply any form of conspiracy to ill-advice graduate into taking a programme which was not of their original choice. It is a figurative expression of lack of proper academic support to ensure that graduates' career path is clearly planned. At the same time, it is an admission to administrative glitches within HEIs in that no proper planning exists between Higher Education Department and various industries about the

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[39] Unlike United States that offers bachelor's degrees for four years, which then enables a graduate to apply for a master's degree, in South Africa, a bachelor's degree span three years. Should a graduate decide to study further, an honours degree is a bridging qualification and preparation to higher fields of study in research.

future of work and demand trends in those sectors. It is also an admission of lack of capacity to admit sufficient graduates in STEM fields where demand is high including medicine.

Despite the manifestation of such inherent contradictions within HEIs and limited intervention to break the institutional divide between HEIs and labour market, Council for Higher Education has played a critical role in changing the structure of education and patterns of student admissions. Although student enrolment rate at 15% was falling behind the international benchmarking standards at 20%, CHEs appreciated the importance of diversifying the opportunities of pursuing higher education. The National Plan for Higher Education had raised serious structural deficiency in which only 109, 5 thousand of matriculants qualified for university admission against 552 thousand learners that had enrolled by 2009 (South African Education 2010). Even after successfully admitting them, the country faced a prevalence rate of 30% and 20% attrition for the first- and second-year students respectively.

Public HEIs produced 203 076 graduates in 2016, which was 11 552 more than in 2015 and 57 692 more than in 2009. b) The majority of 2016 graduates from public HEIs were in the Science Engineering and Technology (29.1% or 59 125), followed by Business and Management (27.8% or 56 364), all other Humanities (22.4% or 45 480) and Education (20.7% or 42 107) fields of study. c) Public HEIs produced 2 797 Doctoral graduates in 2016, which was 10.6% more than in 2015 (2 530 PHD graduates), and 102.7% higher compared to that of 2009 (1 380 PHD graduates). Despite significant growth in the number of PHD graduates exiting public HEIs since 2009, the achievement of the Department's target to produce 12 000 PHD graduates by 2019 remained uphill.

As indicated in Figure 4.1, a positive trend in student enrolment in HEIs can be observed over the period 2010–2016, when student enrolment in HEIs grew by 159 542. Much of this growth was in public HEIs, where enrolment increased by 82 901. However, although growth in student enrolment in private HEIs over the period 2010-2016 does not match that of public HEIS in actual numbers, it is interesting to note that student enrolment in private HEIs almost doubled and grew by 84.4% or 76 641 over the seven-year period. Consequently, the proportion of HEIs students in public HEIs declined from 90.8% in 2010 to 85.4% in 2016, while that for

private HEIs increased from 9.2% to 14.6% in the same period. Student enrolment in public and private HEIs reached a total of 1.1 million in 2016, which was 1.0% or 10 823 higher than enrolment in 2015. Public HEIs student enrolment in 2016 was 975 837, reflecting a 1.0% (9 375) decrease compared to 2015. On the other hand, enrolment in private HEIs increased to 167 408 in 2016, which was 13.7% (20 198) higher compared to 2015.

In terms of enrolment in higher education, South Africa's National Plan for Higher Education (2001) had registered a 15% enrolment rate which was far below the international standards set at 20% (Cosser and du Toit, 2002). Implying that only 109.5 thousand matriculants qualified for university admissions from the 552 thousand learners that were enrolled for matric in 2009 (South African Education 2010). Despite a significant increase of the Gross Enrolment Ratio of 91% for learners in Grade 8 to 12 from 85% in 2008, most of these learners did not participate in the benefits of post-matriculation education. For those that did, a huge disparity between black and white students was noticed with the latter achieving almost double the proportion of the former in percentage point terms (Letseka and Cosser, 2010).

To those in higher learning institutions, an attrition rate of 30% and 20% during the first and second year of university has been registered (Department of Education 2005). Students' unpreparedness was noted as the primary explanatory factor for this high attrition (Letseka, 2009). This unpreparedness is explained by the poor quality of learning these students encounter (Letseka and Cosser, 2010). This structural disparities in education outputs directly coincided with meeting the demands of the labour market. Whereas all these activities evolve around the extent to which social capital deployment, the study finds a paucity of strategic leadership in creating a seamless system between academic training, professional preparation, and labour absorption.

Notwithstanding the utmost efforts made by the state in the creation of Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs) in mining, food, agriculture amongst others, the creation of cohesion has been an uphill. This has resulted in the duplication of resources and lack of follow through in accounting for human capital impact. Nevertheless, the statistical data does not portray a gloomy scenario. Looking at the above data it becomes evident that the process of

mobilising youth towards the pursuit of STEM is gaining momentum. As humanities fields continue to drop, albeit sluggishly, critical skills continue to rise. In line with the Equality of Opportunity theory, the demand side of the education system is making impetus white the same experiences cannot be confirmed about the supply side of the labour market.

6.27 **Summary of the chapter**

Within this chapter, the researcher has showed the nature and complex forms of social capital when applied within Higher Education Institutions. The author adopted a Macro-analysis approach by looking at Higher Education Institutions as the new forms of settings which facilitate the development of social capital. The researcher also showed how exogenous forces including international agencies and nation-states have been involved directly or indirectly in the shaping of the internationalization agenda of HEIs. At the meso-level, the researcher has analysed the process of mergers within higher education and how various agents have defended their mandate in driving the transformation agenda of HEIs. Notwithstanding its current form of imperfection, the researcher has showed that the processes of merging institutions were consistent with global trends to which South African government is party in this era of globalization.

However, the researcher also showed that such processes have been fraught of interference from private capital interest groups making use of the agencies of Historically White Institutions (HWIs) –whose legacies and traditions have remained intact in the new democratic dispensation – to secure their interest in shaping the future of HEIs. Sadly, the researcher also presents the brutal nature of neoliberalism and how it has further weakened the role of Historically Black Institutions (HBIs) in protecting ideologies of Africanization and decolonization of HEIs in the new democratic milieu.

At the micro-level, the researcher looks at the extent to which social capital of post-graduates are shaped by these changes as well as how these changes change them. Certainly, social capital plays a pivotal role in shaping the quality of student experiences. The role of their parents plays a pivotal role in influencing the career orientation of these graduates. Most importantly, the social capital of students plays a vital role in assisting graduates to adapt in this multicultural

setting which now defines HEIs. There are those graduates who decide not to be passive as these changes happen. To enrich their experiences, these social activists have participated in the formation of and/or in driving the agenda of new social movements that have found habitat within HEIs. In this way, the politics of social capital have become much complex and operate in a more heterogeneous environment, and as they do so, new forms of cohesion, trust and value system are born. The following chapter will present findings of the research in the light of prevailing theories and shall provide various ways by which social capital can assist post-graduate students to transit to the marketplace.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION, RESULTS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The objective of this doctoral study was to understand the role social capital played in assisting unemployed graduates to successfully transit to the job market, secure the type of employment for which they were qualified within the required critical sectors, and build entrepreneurship capabilities where the job market shows incapacity to absorb such skills. To this end, the study's principal research question investigated the extent to which, and the type of social capital that could assist unemployed graduates secure employment in sectors they were qualified to work and/or capacitate graduates to become job creators that utilise acquired critical skills for job creation. To answer these questions within the qualitative research study, it was imperative that the researcher outlines the scope of the application of the concept social capital. The scope of the study went beyond the individual experiences of black African women post-graduates to include Higher Education Institutions and labour markets.

Higher Education Institutions were viewed as a culmination of social capital formation and the lobbying of interest groups whose objectives aimed at swaying the transformation trajectory to their desired end. Similarly, the labour markets reciprocated the affirmative action policies and employment equity policies buttressed by the state in favouring the ascendancy of blacks into senior positions of the state. With public sector determined to transform its human resource from white bureaucrats to blacks, a white dominated and white-led private sector was not keen in speeding up transformation and ensuring that it becomes racially integrated.

Demonstrating its oxymoron nature, the study has showed social capital's inherent nature in excluding others while also including others within the experiences of Higher Education. For instance, white women academic would easily raise their critical views about the nature of their institutions as white hegemonic institution while accomplished scholars such as Prof. Mafeje and Prof. Mundani in trying to do the same would be ostracised. Undoubtedly, social capital is a subjective, class conscious and socially biased phenomena. It adopts well under discriminative or socially repressive environment as it does within socially equitable and

democratic environment. This was quite evident during apartheid dispensation and in how Higher Education Institutions were designed to support white, Indian, Coloureds and Blacks.

Looking at this doctoral research from the historical context of apartheid, and the continuing battle for academic autonomy and leadership in research and knowledge creation, it can be argued that social capital in HEIs cannot be exonerated from the politics of power contestation and social exclusion. On the contrary, social capital can be used as a vital ingredient to foster social cohesion and the eradication of all forms of discrimination that predicates Higher Education Institutions (HEI) in the post-democratic dispensation.

Therefore, to identify strategies to redress structural inequalities within societies mired by social stratification, the theory of equality of opportunity became the best platform under which all minorities or less privileged groups within society would be represented. We witnessed young graduates who were determined to rewrite their story of living within abject poverty. In doing so, they defied the path dependency of prominent apartheid colleges' pedagogical orientation which suggested that these youth's future would be doomed because of the rigidity and confinement of their curriculum. Similarly, the researcher concluded that when Grounded Theory has been diffused of its positivist nature, a genuine path towards sustainable transformation could be assured. In doing so, a balance would be created between equity and quality while financial viability and sustainability of HEIs is encouraged. Most profoundly, their philosophical principles and pedagogical approaches would have to be preserved.

Undoubtedly, Kader Asmal is the father of the new structure of HEIs in South Africa including the merger of the University of Natal, Durban and University of Westerville that resulted in the formation of University of KwaZulu-Natal that boast over 5 campuses. Notwithstanding this unparalleled success in its attempt to unify and integrate systems, processes, curriculum and rationalising resources across various academic schools, the researcher argues that the human and social interaction dimension which underpins the culture of social capital was left untouched. The fact that it had served the educational, ideological, political, cultural, social, and economic needs of white South Africans, as Professor Asmal puts it, it clearly explains the fact that social capital resides both within people and structures that

controls them. Relevant to this research, the place of Black African post-graduate women remains unsecured by the labour market. They remain susceptible to the norms, values, and legacies of the past—which are endocentric and chauvinistic.

After gleaning through the evidence elicited in the interviews, the researcher drew a conclusion that post-grads from various backgrounds based on race, gender and class were likely to receive different feedbacks or treatment on the same situation or experience that affected them alike. For instance, white male post-grads' response towards the state of transformation within UKZN always expressed genuine concerns for protecting "academic standards". This was as though education existed independent of human challenges which relates to social class, equal treatment, and academic exclusion. Regardless of how these vicissitudes flow, it was of paramount importance that changes should not be executed at the detriment of quality and standards. This is a general feeling always shared by a certain group of South African society on issues of political transformation and administration of state apparatus be it in municipalities, schools, and other amenities. Wherever a black leadership is beginning to assume certain levels of responsibilities a cautious view is always adopted. However, this attitude is not exclusively held by white South Africans. On the contrary, it has increased across all racial groups within the country.

Similarly, black South African post-grads found the concept of equity through increasing admission quotas compromising their interest while favouring post-grads from the entire continent of Africa. Those respondents holding this view, maintained that the new globalised South African HEIs were increasingly becoming foreign within local borders as witnessed by more African academics both from neighbouring countries and further afield occupying strategic positions. Yet contrasting views from other local post-grads finds HEIs becoming truly international. If anything, there is a rising view that candidates that are most likely to be committed to their academic endeavours and produce high quality research output were foreign nationals. Most importantly, compared to their local counterpart the nature of research these graduates pursued was likely to be brought to use when they returned home. All else being equal, it can be argued that progress towards transforming the culture of social interaction cannot be a decision left within individual HEI. As such, some post-grads still experience different forms of

discrimination and found it quite difficult to express complaints within established authorities without any fear of victimization.

This is because of the assumed relations between post-grads and supervisors, thereby placing a higher obligation on the former to present a burden of proof. Speaking about the culture of interaction and trust, some respondents held a view that newly transformed universities including UKZN still have a long way to go in embracing the culture of innovation and challenging established traditions and norms which were designed to suppress the views and opinions of students on how decision were taken. On the contrary, these cohorts felt that critical thinking was much accepted when coming only from a white, or at least, an Indian student than it would from their Black African counterpart. 'When a black African post-grad presents his or her own opinion, in line with his or her colleagues, the opinion would simply be ridiculed and/or brushed off aside as though nothing profound was expressed', one respondent remarked. Confirming these sentiments, another student expressed her frustration in this way, 'What hurts the most is the fact that when you require clarification on a topic that was raised in the classroom, you would be told that you should put up an appointment. But sadly, the very same lecturer wouldn't mind having a long discussion with students of his or her own race on a conversation that was not pre-arranged.'

The challenge is not only based on race, but much so, on gender. Particularly within the engineering departments, white and black African male post-grads were most likely to receive preferential treatment when going on site than white female and black African female counterpart. Evidence can be seen in the following discourse:

Researcher: We do both agree that women have made some strides to be admitted into this engineering programme, don't we? However, why would the selection process continue to favour males, regardless of race and disfavour females?

Supervisor: I feel that women are too vulnerable to be exposed to the type of danger out there. Personally, I hold no grudge or prejudice to afford all my

students the same opportunities. However, engineering is a men's world and unfortunately, there isn't much I can do to transform this white male dominated world.

Elsewhere, white and Indian females were seen to be enjoying a much congenial treatment while black African female had to work twice harder to enjoy the same treatment. By failing to address these systemic inequities on social and human dimensions of academic relationships can severely affects the candidate's social capital and seriously hamper the process of facilitating their transition to the marketplace. Those with strong social capital[40] are the ones most likely to score higher points during interviews with recruitment agencies that are interested in understanding the behaviour, attitude, and capabilities of the candidate. Similarly, in attempting to secure job opportunities directly, the student with poor social capital, when deprived of a congenial relation with supervisor, would limit their prospects of employability or being placed at a more strategic position commensurate with their training.

"Indeed, supervisors are instrumental in facilitating the process of post-grad's transition to the labour market and are capable of contributing in either breaking or making the graduate's career," admitted one black lecturer in this research interview. This candid admission was perhaps informed by the fact that Mr. Johnson was never trained within South African academic tradition and its culture of strained relations between student and supervisors. A true outlier of the group, Johnson bemoaned the extent to which certain individuals are prepared to defend a lily white and male dominated academic tradition as a paragon of excellence, whose diminishing role could be equated with the dropping of 'standards'.

At times, their motives and attitudes are self-revealing and embedded in patriarchal nuances with tendencies to treat women with sympathetic, sincere, genuine, and empathetic

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[40] The concept of Strong Social Capital vs Weak Social Capital is quite a subjective phenomenon which can portray a falsified view that black graduates tend to possess the latter while most white and Indian graduates are likely to emulate the former. However, as far as the pursuit of successful transition to the labour market, it can be argued that there are certain skill sets and social capital indicators or attributes required from all post-graduates, notwithstanding the internal contradictions inherent within the labour market.

candour. Although South Africa continues to bemoan the legacy of apartheid, significant strides have been made by Council for Higher Education (CHE) to integrate campuses with different academic cultures, political experiences, and access to resource. Notwithstanding such achievements, the researcher argues that universities remain the major strongholds in the recreation and perpetual sustenance of this legacy. Further, the researcher was bothered to find that most post-graduates in prestigious departments such as School of Engineering Sciences had limited admissions for black South African male and females while most post-graduate researchers included white males, Indian Males, then followed by African male from Sub-Saharan countries and finally, white, Indian, Black African, and coloured males in order of succession. For instance, the nature of academic admission within the school of sciences in Howard College (HC) was likely to be different from those in Durban Westville campus.

This trend of admission confirms the findings that people tend to interact and establish relationships with others that resemble themselves on characteristics such as age, class, gender, occupation, sexuality, politics, family status, and where they live amongst others (Marsden; 1987 and Lee et al., 2019). Such an observation stood to reason that Kanter's (1977) homosocial reproduction theory, and its sponsorship proclivity was much stronger in Durban Westville Campus (DWC). Therefore, the post-graduate student support programme was more likely to be stronger in DWV than it was at HC. While this pattern of graduate population distribution may not be deliberate, in that, most black South African post-graduate scientists tend to gravitate towards natural science departments such as chemistry, physics, and biochemistry, while white, Indian and Africans of foreign nationals are admitted in highly specialised medical science field is not a coincidence but a deliberate design to maintain the status quo of occupational segmentation. Quite different from engineering fields which are normally associated with men, high risk and higher income; post-graduate degrees in natural science including chemistry, physics, and biochemistry were likely to be female-dominated and most likely to be associated with lower income, lower benefits, and average social status (Renema & Lubbers, 2019).

With this background, it suffices to mention that South African research on social capital remains entrenched in neo-classical economic orthodoxy and its predilection to oversimplify the social capital phenomena. Lack of deeper interpretation of conflict within local literature on

social capital has portrayed the phenomena as a vehicle to secure better access to strategic positions in the labour market. The work of Mlatsheni (2007) and Altman (2007) were amongst a few that make a critical analysis behind patterns of migration for the purpose of securing employment. The experience of Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha youth is a seminal work that appreciates the role of family members and friends in assisting their loved ones to secure a job. Piercing the veil of statistics and seeking to understand who is likely to have contributed to supporting poor people secure employment is the unique contribution of Miriam Altman. Without such sentiments it would remain difficult to draw inference from the numbers.

7.1 **Theoretical Contribution to Research**

Through this doctoral research, a much problematised view of the social capital phenomena has been pursued. Despite its embeddedness within grounded theory, the research has exposed plethora of social exclusions facing black African women post-grads within Higher Education and the complex path they traverse in transit to the labour market (Lin, 2008). Although previous research on the status of unemployed graduates have investigated various ways social capital can be used to assist these graduates gain entry to the labour market, this research has provided in-depth analysis of the political economy that explains plethora of contradictions facing the social mobility challenge of black women graduates. The challenge of various policy instruments in realising their set objectives or desired outcomes including but not limited to, the mergers of Higher Education Institutions, Employment equity and affirmative action amongst others, is in oversimplifying the process of their implementation and downplaying their repercussions.

The study has showed using various examples and experiences shared by our respondents that a simple admission to a process of institutional integration and/or mergers could not simply guarantee the desired outcome. Beyond achieving the mandate of merging HEIs, a quest for authentic African universities which protects the interest of black academics and supports the unfettered development of their Afrocentric pedagogies and epistemologies should be top on the agenda. The pursuit of internationalization agenda should not undermine the role of local academics in exercising their rights to social mobility and appointments into

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professorship position. As this right is developed in line with the equality of opportunity theory, the experience of African scholars from the diaspora and the continent cannot be short-changed. Their experience drawn from global research universities can play a pivotal role in rebuilding new HEIs geared for attracting and absorbing Africa's young minds.

Although her black friend treated Nikkie, a white post-graduate, with dignity and respect the labour market did not reciprocate such hospitality by offering her a decent position, which she deserved and was well qualified for. Similarly, the negative repercussion has been a lesson to be learned in the South African democratic dispensation that policy reconciliations do not necessarily translate into desirable outcomes. Indeed, social capital can be used as an agency to mobilize and capacitate women with critical tools to fend themselves against a culture of social exclusion that predicates the current labour market. With employment prospects showing a bleak face because of the downward trajectory of the economy that currently grows at 0.5% GDP, investigating the use of social capital as a vehicle to pursue sustainable livelihood of unemployed graduates is of utmost importance.

In line with the new proposed policy to sponsor the private sector in creating opportunities for graduates to develop the required experience, the state can do more than just providing a subsidy. Further, a monitoring system can be put in place to track how these graduates' progresses within these new private institutions and exposes any form of discrimination beyond the capacity of the graduate to handle. Secondly, a culture of social entrepreneurship can be cultivated in which South African government would utilize the skills of young women holding critical skills to innovate new industrial projects, in sectors where their skills are not optimally utilized by the labour market. At the same time, the research argues that universities cannot be exonerated from this unprecedented challenge of high unemployment in South Africa.

While they cannot be directly held liable for not creating employment, as this does not fall within their legislative mandate, the transformation of HEI's pedagogical orientation to become conscious of acting locally while thinking globally, has become highly critical. The quest to create balance between transmission of theory and application to real industry

specification is long overdue. They can at least be included as a contributory factor which compounds the complexity of resolving unemployment conundrum. It is against this background that this doctoral research argues that the level of academic output South African institutions of higher learning continues to boast about is incongruent with the aspired economic growth.

In justifying, the role women deserve to play in society the chapter presents Grounded Theory within the feministic paradigm as the perfect platform that enables women to share their personal experiences of abuse and marginalisation. Through the matrix of domination theory, Black Feminist academics (2009) go beyond simply understanding how power and domination are distributed along interlocking axes of race, class, and gender. Contrary to the endocentric view entrenched within structural functionalism which maintains that every system inheres elements of superiority and inferiority which are the basis of understanding the concept of domination, the matrix of domination empowers black African woman to oppose all forms of narrative that seeks to portray women as the object of exploitation and subservience to a male constructed world.

Beyond opposing all forms of domination threatening or limiting their career trajectory, the quality of opportunity widens their spectrum, enriches their experience, and reaffirms their determination to dare. Whereas these women had developed their talents and virtues through their admission within STEM sectors, the theory acknowledged a critical gap which needed to be closed. In sum, the aspirations initially derived within the matrix of domination theory are fulfilled within the equality of opportunity, in that, instead of simply congratulating these women for being afforded the opportunity to study within STEM, it becomes' duty and obligation to ensure these black African women are entitled also to equal rewards for equal performance.

Similarly, against historical objectivity of empirical research and its quest for empiricism, Grounded Theory has been preserved in scholarship for its respect for subjective interpretation of social experience and ability to take cognizance of profundity of the contextual and relational nature of knowledge while rejecting subject-object dualism (Wuest, 1995). Instead of placing much credence on thousands of significant data, GT attaches more value on the relationship between the researcher and the participant in the research process. Undoubtedly, such watershed

epistemology produces a new verdict and compelling evidence that bags no favour or patronage for its admissibility in academic research.

For this reason, Plummer and Young (2009) accorded this approach to social enquiry self-emancipating, in that, it loosens the androcentric moorings of the empirical process which underpinned GT and most importantly, it empowers the researcher to develop instrument reputable for revealing metaphysical issues of the mind and emotions without accepting any form of derogatory conclusion from contrasting views.

For them to inquire why do the nature of social networks they find in these prestigious institutions exist becomes absurd to those that are born within them or those that were later assimilated into. They become educated about the fundamental principles of accepting the status quo and the critical need to challenge opposing views. The quality of science laboratories in these institutions is of world class standard, undoubtedly. Their heads of research and professors participate in leading international seminars and their publications are well read in ivy universities world over, indisputably. On the face of these manifestations, it then stands to reason why one cannot simply question how admissions into certain departments ensue, because there are world class researchers, and the university is renowned across the world.

Most often than not, the alleged transgressor is the most adored academic whose credentials is above reproach. A new sociological approach to the study of social capital that prevails within HEIs is long overdue. This approach requires high level of intellectual rigor in understanding the foundation of power structure within universities and in reversing the social dividends that have historically benefited graduates from social privileged background and their academics. Gender is viewed as a social construct that prescribes different behaviour, attitudes, and norms for the people of the two biological sexes—in the simplistic definition of gender (Mkhize, 2015). Feminist literature (Goldin and Rouse, 2000, Foschi, 2004) registers a pattern of gender domination in which male sex is portrayed to be of high value than the female counterpart. During job evaluation at work, a cognitive bias is identified that, notwithstanding their successful evaluation, women will always be scored below their male counterpart because of the inherent perception of inferiority attached to them.

Within the matrix of domination, Julie Nelson (1994) rank orders gender by associating positive values to masculine characteristics and negative values to feminine characteristics, in which women are portrayed as subjects of submission while men assume authoritarian position over them. Therefore, in striving for qualitative change and empowerment of Black unemployed graduates, who forms the weakest link within the labour market, can require a lot more including revising the traditional system of candidate selection and understanding the significance of candidates' biographical profile with special focus on their personal, cultural, and institutional association. Realising that black African graduates' age (i.e., 22-26) presents limitations in driving the process of introducing labour market reforms, the role of the state and private sector becomes essential in introducing institutional reforms aimed at promoting social inclusion of unemployed Black African young women.

Most feminist researchers criticise quantitative positivistic research methods for ignoring and excluding women and "adding" women to male knowledge, whereby the findings from research on men are generalized to women (Oakley, 1974; Stanley & Wise, 1993; Schott,2004). These researchers do not only question how knowledge is produced, but also who produces it and for what purpose (Barbara Dubois, 1983; Driscoll and Krook, 2012). Therefore, what has been named "universal" knowledge has been male knowledge, which stems from male scholarship and inevitably bound to be tendentious, maintained Dubois (1983).

This critical analysis on the application of feminist methodology within the experiences of female graduates has direct correlation with the social capital of young people in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) and presents the best narrative in understanding the endocentric basis upon which the knowledge system of Higher Education (HE) hinges and its complex social stratification. Indeed, the foundations and architectures of HE since time immemorial has been premised on a chauvinistic and patriarchal system of Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, and Kant. As a result, the role of women has been reduced to the subject of the study. Historically and at worse, women have been disproportionally excluded from many highly scientific fields and research (Schott, 2004; Witt, 2004), including those fields perceived to require high level of human intellect. In a South African context, these fields are referred to as STEM (Science, Technology,

Engineering and Mathematics). As women began to prove their credibility in the fields of arts, literature, and philosophy where they were likely to gravitate, it was apparent that no door could remain closed any longer.

However, their admission into these historically secluded spaces did not automatically negate the endocentric nature of learning in these institutions and the predominate role of white male academics in administration, research, and governance. What has explained these asymmetrical relations in human interaction is the nature of social capital that governed these institutions. What would make this doctoral research a ground-breaking study is in understanding the subjective analysis of social capital and how it has been used as a tool to maintain the status quo of power as explained through the black feminist theories of Matrix of Power (Hooks, 1989; Collins, 2002).

This research further affirms Dubois's (1983:107) and Plummer and Young (2009) argument that social science including all fields of sciences must be emancipated from their endocentric tendencies. In illustrating this position, Dubois posits:

> the person has been male, and the female, the woman, has been defined in terms, not of what she is, but of what she is not ... The androcentric perspective in social science has rendered women not only unknown, but virtually unknowable.

All the research questions were answered based on the following principles: i) challenging the norm of objectivity that assumes that the subject and object of research can be separated from one another and the assumptions that the personal experiences of these women are unscientific; (ii) raising concern for the ethical implications of feminist research and recognizing the exploitation of women as objects of knowledge; and (iii) placing emphasis on the empowerment of women and transformation of patriarchal social institutions through research. Most importantly, in this doctoral research, women and their experiences, including but not solely their relations to men, constituted the basis of social inquiry (Epstein, 1981; Ghosh, 2007). By employing feministic methodology, the researcher had ensured that reality is experienced through a female prism and while going at length to discuss higher education and

labour relations nuances, the ultimate devotion was in describing, analysing, explaining, and interpreting the female world" (Bernard, 1979:274; Hemmings 2005). In pursuing this path, it was impossible to exclude HEIs from this knowledge generating system that was depended upon structural functionalism. On the contrary, it was a fair charge to regard HEIs as the architectures of such knowledge system.

7.2 **Recommendations**

In the previous chapters, the researcher did admit that social capital research within higher education trajectory faces a plethora of complexities in that there is a need for genuine understanding of how students positively construct their social capital, and the nature of contradictions they face. The researcher further highlighted that these graduates deal with higher education institutions that remain untransformed. Whereas they may have undergone a process of restructuring through strategic mergers, their philosophical construct and corporate values are not always coherent. These graduates survive in an environment where the culture and tradition that underpins the social capital of these institutions are already established.

With this backdrop, the adoption of academic conundrum paradigm becomes an admission to the fact that transformation discourse is inevitable. Minister Naledi Pandor's report which had exposed plethora of discrimination within HEIs serves as the perfect blueprint that admits to the fact that structural inadequacies remain. Beyond this admission, Council for higher Education would require a commission on Social Cohesion and institutional integration. The commission can play a pivotal role in monitoring and evaluating the process of transformation based on clearly defined Performance Indicators. Some of the indicators which directly address the social and human capital development could deal with:

- Equitable Student Admission (ESA)
- Transition from Higher Education to labour Markets (HELM)
- Social Mobility and labour markets (SMLM)
- Research and Entrepreneurship (RAE)

The role of Equitable Student Admission (ESA) can be to monitor and track all positions within the STEM and create a quarter system that allocates equitably admissions for South African graduate's vice versa African graduates. On Transition from Higher Education to Labour markets (HELM) there are wide range of interventions providing support to unemployment graduates without standardised system. Arguably, South Africa is purported to face critical skills demand despite the abundance of STEM graduates roaming around the street with many being discouraged jobseekers. Of those graduates already absorbed within the labour market there is a critical gap in monitoring their social mobility as task which be served by SMLM unit.

To salvage the country from brain drainage, a new opportunity to test the commercial viability of doctoral research within the STEM sectors need to be located within RAE. While appreciating the significant strides made by CHE in instituting the process of mergers, the research has identified the urgency of defending the legacy of Historically Black Universities (HBIs). Taking such a bold stance would not necessarily imply absolute withdrawal from the new systems of mergers. On the contrary, new globalised models in developing the capacity of these institutions (HBIs) in terms of their philosophical, ontological, and epistemological definition of African scholarship shall require further investigation. As already alluded earlier, there are already existing trailblazers that have built strong academic scholarship that is premised and anchored on Afrocentrism, pan Africanism and blackness to which black African women post-graduates belong unapologetically.

By adopting this approach can neutralise the influence of academic hegemons as power-blocks that continues to control decisions-making processes in majority of HEIs. In bringing about this transformation can be borrowed from Corbin's symbolic Interaction narrative which suggests that humans do shape their institutions and do create and change the world around them through action/interaction. It is within this discourse that black African women graduates, and academics should value their individual contribution and adopt the telling attitude of mainstreaming their presence on any area of transformation that is worthy of their pursuit (Mgcotyelwa-Ntoni, 2017). Notwithstanding the subtle resistance from the reactionary forces, the study found that black African women post-graduates must appreciate the inevitable rite of

passage of rejection and fierce opposition against their intellectual views as the new normalcy to which they must be accustomed.

7.3 **Do other critical indicators of Social Capital hold?**

At the beginning of the research proposal, the researcher did acknowledge various indicators of social capital including embeddedness, social cohesion, trust, and collective action amongst others. Most importantly, part of the research mandate was to investigate the extent to which all these indicators complement and/or contradict each other. Given its complex nature, that is, social capital, it was quite clear that the operationalisation of the concept would be much sophisticated. As a result, it would be quite difficult to register the nature of gains likely to be expected from the research. Such gains could include but not limited to a much more inclusive higher education which places the interest of Historically Black Universities at the centre of transformation. Furthermore, an inclusive HEIs would be much committed in prioritising cultural transformation by deepening relationships between supervisors, lectures, and their students. Similarly, the research would then demonstrate the responsive nature of the labour market towards the newly qualified graduates, especially black women post-graduates within the STEM sectors.

These collective actions spawned by social capital tended to be constrained by broader policy mandate of merging institutions that were significantly asymmetrical in terms of budget, quality of research output, private sector relationship, amongst other important indicators that should define HEIs in the post-democratic milieu. The embedded nature of social capital phenomena in the politics of transforming South Africa from apartheid to democracy is one critical factor that explains why HEIs have not delivered the desired results. Within the context of embeddedness, social capital agenda in HEIs has been frustrated by the private sector that moved in opposite direction to the national agenda of reconstruction and development. For instance, the labour market was expected to have demonstrated a forward-looking approach in transforming an inward-looking economy of the apartheid years with an export-oriented economy that had placed emphasis on beneficiation of the country's mineral resources which were historically transported outside the country for further processing. By taking such decisions,

the research would have persuasively demonstrated how the economy has created a high demand of STEM graduates at the post-graduate level in order to assume new roles in positioning South Africa as a significant contributor in achieving the fourth industrial revolution looming ahead. These multi-layered indicators of social capital would automatically sustain the required trust in attracting foreign direct investment to grow the economy by five percent per annum as President Thabo Mbeki had anticipated.

While majority of HEIs were keen in embracing the spirit of neo-Keynesian economy which had placed central emphasis on significant reduction of admission standards and making the academic fees as affordable as possible, Historically White Universities (HWU) saw the merger process as one opportunity to consolidate their hegemony. At worse, they acquired the history and culture of political resistance which had been registered by HBU as their own. Furthermore, HWIs did affirm the neo-liberal agenda through profit maximization and not compromising the bottom-line of fees payment by taking cognisance of different quintiles to which their new admitted members belonged. This is one of the reasons that explains why Afrikaner nationalism succeeded in building the best universities of international stature including University of Stellenbosch, University of Free State, University of Potchefstroom, and university of Pretoria. Conversely, in pursuit of inclusive growth, the Mass Democratic Revolution of the African National Congress (ANC) suffered dismally through its policy instruments of merging HEIs to foster conviviality and creating a united, democratic, and non-sexist HEIs. While such decision was commendable, without legitimately building their own world class institutions demonstrated proclivity to adopt ahistorical approach to development. By taking this view the ANC government had inadvertently discounted the gains they had achieved in their global fight for pan-Africanism and unadulterated Afrocentric view in producing authentic research. By taking a view that empathised with well-established institutions to the neglect of their own HBUs delivered policy uncertainty of their credibility in running a new democratic state. As most of the State-Owned Enterprises including South African Airways, ESKOM, Transnet, and Dennel amongst others began to produce sub-optimal performance, their intellectual ingenuity, and its tendentious capacity to transform a jobless economy was exposed. Finally, the vision to build a Democratic Developmental State (Molefe, 2007) in which the state would take a decisive role in rebuilding the economy became a pipe dream as charges of

corruption and unethical leadership broke out at local, provincial, and national government, The findings of Zondo Commission into State Capture led by Deputy Chief Justice Raymond Zondo will finally demonstrate how the new democratic state was beset by forces of clientelism. Most sadly, history will unfairly judge the ANC of its failure to building the status of HBUs into the same international standard as those achieved by Afrikaner nationalism led by the National Party.

7.4 **Does Social Capital matter?**

The above factors do not necessarily downplay the gains of creating a united strategy in building world class Higher Education system. Instead, the principal thesis of this research advocates for the advancement of social capital as the conduit to accelerate transformation and build a new culture that defies the intricate values of non-sexism and elimination of all forms of discrimination. If social capital matters, then it should be asked: what type of social capital should matter? Who should set the agenda for the advancement of social capital agenda? How do we advocate for genuine inclusivity without compromising the historical identity of Historically Black universities? Concomitantly, it should be asked: given the established tradition that advocates and defends endocentric tradition within Higher Education today, can and does the pursuit of transformation complement Afrocentric and pan-African academic worldview? Indeed, South Africa needs to accelerate its mission to globalise its knowledge system. However, the pursuit of such endeavour must be buttressed by a firm Afrocentric ideology. To this end, this doctoral letter is an indictment for further research in understanding the extent to which black African women academics can play a seminal role in shaping the transformation agenda the world is desperately waiting for.

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APPENDICES 1

UNEMPLOYED FEMALE GRADUATES IN TRANSIT TO THE MARKET PLACE:

SOCIAL CAPITAL QUESTIONNAIRE TOOL

Integrated Questionnaire for the Measurement of Social Capital (SC-IQ) designed by World Bank experts (Grootaert et al, 2003), this questionnaire instrument is multi-dimensional in nature and establishes wide-range of data about our respondents including: i) family background, ii) family network, iii) own social capital, iv) their attitude on trust for universities and markets, v) their job searching methods, v) their experience on how they secured their job, their experience on how they remained disillusioned after countless attempts to secure employment, vi) their experience why they have accepted working in a different field than the one they were qualified to work in, vii) already working may not be available at the same time. The following key questions will be addressed:-

How does the challenge of being qualified and yet unemployed affect you emotionally and psychologically?

What efforts have you made to address the problem of living without a job?

Do you have people that you know and whom you have come across since your arrival on campus who may want to introduce you to other friends and colleagues in your related career?

Does your group membership have any value for you to use to connect other opportunities?

Has university done enough to address the problems employers have or attitude they have towards inexperienced graduates?

Suppose there was no job available in the mainstream job market, how would you utilise your expertise to benefit your community and create a livelihood for yourself?

Is the job market in general and recruitment agencies prejudicial? If so, is it motivated by race, gender, social class, or academic credentials?

Since government and the markets have outlined existing gaps for critical skills, what initiatives can they Initiate to utilise your skills?
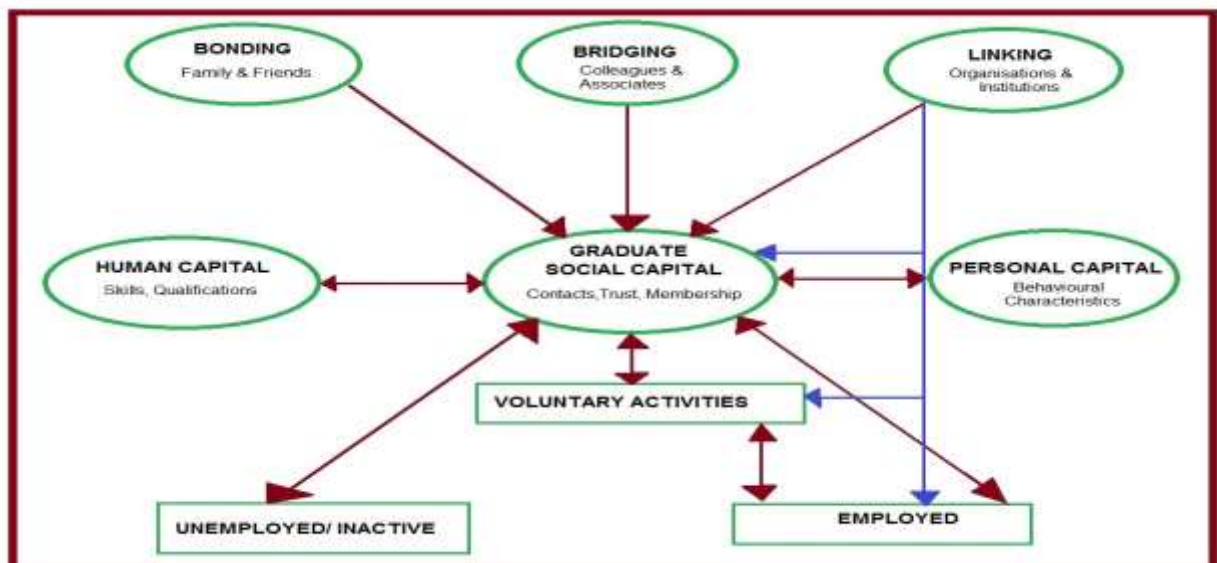
Adapted from: Office for National Statistics, Labour Markets Trends, 2005

APPENDICE 2

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

The researcher is most likely to find unemployed graduates available for the focus groups since those

If labour migration is not the best solution to fill the gaps for highly skilled employees, how could partnership between the state and markets close this gap and introduce new type of internships?

Do you regard the Joint Initiative for Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) programme which government introduced to support unemployed graduates, effective in addressing this challenge? If not, how could the state improve the programme to ensure that younger graduate's benefit?

PERSONAL INTERVIEWS		
Classification	**Question**	
2. Family Social Network	2.1 Does your family value the importance of keeping good relationships with their old friends they may have been in school with?	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree
	2.2) Has there been a moment when members of your family faced a specific need which necessitated them to turn back to their valuable friends for help?	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree
	2.3) Isn't it true that apart from what we know and are qualified at, we will always leverage on people that matters in our lives to guide and inspire us in the right direction we need to take and doors we need to open?	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree
	2.4) Did this statement assist you as you were planning your career while you were still on campus?	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree

Classification	Question	
3. **Graduates' Social Capital**	Belonging to an organisation that shares your values, convictions and aspirations is highly essential for building a sense of identity, sharing same experiences, and concentrating on things that unite you more than those that divides you.	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree
	Your participation in various student organisations and clubs on campus has equipped you with required leadership skills appreciated by the labour market.	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree
	Your social network introduced you to important friends and associates that introduced you to great people who positively influenced your career path	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree
	It is such relationships that played a vital role in introducing me directly or indirectly to the job I have today, although it was in fact my professional training that had played the essential role in ensuring that I maximise on the opportunity presented to me.	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree
	My success was not only in securing the type of job I was originally looking for, but also, my ability to perform at the level of expectation	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree
	If it was not for my trusted relationships, I certainly will not have landed such a job which I still strongly believe that it can far sooner to my life than I had expected.	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree

Classification	Question	
4. Trust on University and the Markets	University is a place where our interests are shed and where our social status as determined by race, gender and class does not matter	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree
	Universities are doing exceptionally well to create balance between training us in mastering the theory and how it is applied in the real world of work	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree
	Universities are not doing enough to assist us in bridging the skills gap that labour markets are not willing to and/or do not have sufficient capacity to, by equipping us with requisite skills to occupy the jobs that require specialisation?	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree
	Labour Markets and recruitment agencies are doing exceptionally well in their selection process to identify the suitable qualified candidate for the job	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree
	Labour markets are not much interested in my understanding of academic content taught in university but whether do I reflect the type of values and attributes that their contracted companies and my future employer is looking for, such as articulation using a specific accent, dress code, and being associated with a specific university	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree
	Labour markets do not discriminate candidates on the basis on race, gender, and social status of candidates. What they cannot tolerate is affirmative action policies and Employment Equities that disregard candidates' abilities first.	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree

Classification	Questions	
5. Policy Intervention for Excluded Graduates	I'm not convinced that I don't have a job today because of lack of experience I think there is more to it than it meets the eye.	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree
	I'm certain that the recruitment officer just didn't like my story about my success, my physical looks and inability to speak with an accent. He/she may have perceived me as those bitter graduates that will want to utilise every given opportunity to settle the scores.	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree
	Now that I have tried all my best to use available avenues including filling recruitment forms on-line, and newspapers, and have travelled extensively to interviews, I think it is up to the state and private sector to find ways of linking all unemployed graduates with job creation opportunities.	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree
	We cannot allow our future to go wasted because of living in a society that serves the interest of minority white groups and black middle-class kids that only represent a fraction while left behind to fend for ourselves	i) Strongly Agree ii) Agree iii) Undecided iv) Disagree v) Strongly Disagree

APPENDICES 4

DECLARATION OF CONSENT

PROJECT TITLE: SOUTH AFRICAN UNEMPLOYED FEMALE GRADUATES IN TRANSIT TO THE MARKET PLACE: DOES SOCIAL CAPITAL MATTER?

RESEARCHER		SUPERVISOR
Full Name	Moshe Mojalefa Joseph Molefe	Full Name of Supervisor: Dr. Gabisile Mkhize
School:	Social Sciences	School: Social Sciences
College:	Howard College	College: Howard College
Campus:	Howard College	Campus: Howard College
Proposed Qualification:	PhD	Contact details 031 260 1114
Contact:	0782878699	Email: Mkhize2@ukzn.ac.za
Email:		

HSSREC RESEARCH OFFICE

Full Name: Prem Mohun
HSS Research Office
Govan Bheki Building
Westville Campus
Contact: 0312604557
Email: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

I, Moshe Mojalefa Joseph Molefe, Student no. 216074952……am a PhD student, at the School of Social Sciences, at the University of Kwazulu Natal. You are invited to participate in a research project entitled: South African Unemployed Female Graduates in Transit to the Market Place: Does Social Capital Matter?

The aim of the study is to determine the challenges faced by women graduates in relation to securing employment that is related to their field of study and the extent to which social capital can improve this status. Your participation will assist in gaining a broader understanding of the subject and provide the solution in dealing with the challenge of unemployment facing women holding qualifications such as yours. While your participation in the study is provided voluntarily, we assure you of providing you with the highest level of confidentiality. Therefore, you will not be associated with any response you may have provided as we shall utilize a pseudonym to fit the context of the response. Remember that you still reserve the right to withdraw from the process of interview without facing any negative repercussion either through misrepresentation of your opinion in the research or any other form of indignation. Please sign on the dotted line to show that you have read and understood the contents of this letter. The questionnaire will take approximate 30 to 45 minutes to complete.

- Your involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.
- If you are willing to be interviewed, please indicate (by ticking as applicable) whether are willing or not willing to allow the interview to be recorded by the following equipment. Note, you will not be penalised for choosing to object to recording.

	willing	Not willing
Audio equipment		
Photographic equipment		
Video equipment		

I can be contacted at:

Email: moshemolefe@gmail.com

Cell: 0782878699

My supervisor is Dr. Gabisile Mkhize who is located at the School of Social Sciences, Howard College campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Contact details: email: Mkhize2@ukzn.ac.za Phone number: 031 260 1114

APPENDICES 5

DECLARARTION FOR CONSENT

I……………………………………………………………………………………… (Full Name) hereby confirm that I have read and understand the contents of this letter and the nature of the research project has been clearly defined prior to participating in this research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

Participants Signature……………………………………………………………………

Date…………………………………………………………………….

APPENDICES 6

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

6 December 2016

Mr Moshe MJ Molefe (SN 216074952)
School of Social Sciences
College of Humanities
Howard College Campus
UKZN
Email: moshemolefe@gmail.com

Dear Mr Molefe

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Gatekeeper's permission is hereby granted for you to conduct research at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), towards your postgraduate studies, provided Ethical clearance has been obtained. We note the title of your research project is:

"South African Unemployed Female Graduates in Transit to the Market Place: Does Social Capital Matter?"

It is noted that you will be constituting your sample by handing out questionnaires and/or conducting interviews with Heads of Departments, Senior staff members, graduates as well as students from the Science and Technology Departments of UKZN.

Please ensure that the following appears on your questionnaire/attached to your notice:
- Ethical clearance number;
- Research title and details of the research, the researcher and the supervisor;
- Consent form is attached to the notice/questionnaire and to be signed by user before he/she fills in questionnaire;
- gatekeepers approval by the Registrar.

You are not authorized to distribute the questionnaire to staff and students using Microsoft Outlook address book.

Data collected must be treated with due confidentiality and anonymity.

Yours sincerely

MR SS MOKOENA
REGISTRAR

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

19 July 2017

Mr MMJ Molefe 216074952
School of Social Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Mr Molefe

Protocol reference number: HSS/0265/017D
Project Title: South African unemployed female postgraduates in Transit to the Market Place: Does social capital matter?

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 29 March 2017, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

....

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

Cc Supervisor: Dr Gabisile Mkhize
Cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Maheshvari Naidu
Cc School Administrator: Mr N Memela

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