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Contextualizing Goldberg's Neoliberalism in post-apartheid South Africa of Nadine Gordimer (No Time Like the Present 2012)

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ABSTRACT

The concept of race and racism in the eyes of modern world has completely disappeared or made invisible. But as Goldberg's title racisms without racism suggests that the kind of conditions once referred by the term have not disappeared completely, as it seems to have reincarnated in to "Neoliberalism" It is argued that even after its condemnation past (apartheid laws), in the form of racist attitudes still resides in the consciousness of South African people. As a corollary to this study, this paper aims to delineate this covert form of racism draped in South African democracy which is reflected in the contemporary politics and practices reflected in Gordimer's No Time Like the Present (2012). The neutrality and adequacy of democratization are challenged in the form of globalization that once again concentrates power and wealth into fewer hands. Similarly, crucial issues like class division, poverty and demographic segregation, South Africa is facing these days is discussed as a repercussion to racism. Xenophobia is further studied as a residuary of racism in order to show that it still dictates present psyche thus, contributing to democracy as a camouflaged version of racism.

Keywords: Racism, institutionalization, xenophobia, Neoliberalism and racial fabrication.

Introduction

This paper attempts to contextualise Gordimer's *No Time Like the Present* within the realms of David Theo Goldberg's neoliberal claim. But before analysing Nadine Gordimer's novel in the light of Goldberg's critical findings, it would be appropriate to discuss in detail what neoliberalism stands for and its application in the present times. David Theo Goldberg, who is also a Critical Race Theorist beside being a contemporary cosmopolitan philosopher, in his book investigates and tests the democratic authenticity of former colonized countries. The central body of Goldberg's book is concerned with an inductive cartography of *racial fabrication* (p. 327) across former colonized countries in the world and it is this study of historically indexed racial fabrication that leads his writing towards racial *neoliberalism* (Goldberg, 2009, p.332). According to Goldberg's study the contemporary world is just a racially fabricated one, "the modern State [,] in short, is nothing less than a racial state. It is a state or set of conditions that assumes varied racially conceived characters in different sociospecific milieus" (Goldberg & Solomos, 2002, p. 233), which is still historically linked to its racial past. Goldberg further defined *Neoliberalism* in these lines: "There is here the condition without the category and mode without the same meaning. The modes, forms, sociologies even their rationales more often than not mimic classic racisms...these anthracitic racisms without the ostensive reference of racism exacerbate humiliation and degradation, debilitation and desecration" (Goldberg, 2009, p. 361).

Goldberg has meticulously drawn a sketch of former colonized countries like Latin America and South Africa etc. where peace is restored and is called the liberated or democratic country. However, Goldberg questions the authenticity of peace and liberation settled in these countries, by bringing into spotlight the current workings of democracy and the

differences it has brought as compared to racially driven societies of past (colonial times). On the basis of socio-economic and political inequalities that in Goldberg's view still resides in these countries. Thus, Goldberg's *neoliberalism* testifies the subsistence of institutional racism in South Africa.

Materials and Methods.

Critical findings of David Theo Goldberg, a contemporary cosmopolitan philosopher and one of the leading critical race theorists, who used the term liberal racism – also known as race less racism (practice of racism without using the term) in order to unveil the unchanging conceptualization of race and racism. He contends that underneath democracy lurks a capitalist authority that privileges white interests and thus follows the same racist policies despite its commitments to liberty, equality and fraternity. The context in which Goldberg theorizes and this study contest how even after the liberation from the apartheid regime, the contemporary world fails to liberate the native population (Black South African) from racist ideology, the power that has now transferred into the hands of Black is still being manipulated in the same manner. In summation, a "Neoliberal" (Goldberg, 2009, p. 332) version of racism has replaced the most explicit form of racism and is now being conducted in a symbolic way. The race which is considered to be an antique notion in a globalized world, to Goldberg — is an irreducibly modern notion, defining and refining modern state formation as this new form of planetary globalization takes shapes. The race is a foundational pillar of modernizing globalization, both shaping and colouring the structures of being and belonging, development and dislocation, state dynamism and social change (p. 330).

Though modern societies have tried to expunge racism by introducing the term like "colour blindness" (Goldberg, 2009, p. 330) or racelessness in general, claiming to judge an individual on merit or his/her ability, not on his/her particular association with any ethnic group. However during an interview to Susan Searl, he demonstrated 'colorblindness' in these words: "the project of color blindness in its very forms of articulation is deeply embedded in the project of Neoliberalism (emphasis added) and, in short, in privatization, not just in the United States, one I am mapping now in this new project, *The Threat of Race*, but one sees its articulation differently and variously in Europe, in post-apartheid South Africa, in Latin America, as much as you see it in the United States" (p. 40). Goldberg uses the word "privatization" (p. 332) for the contemporary form of racism i.e. a line is drawn between native population—as in the case of Americans—and the 'other' (Blacks, color and Asians) at micro and macro level. Similarly, privatization is located in South African states' acts, providing privileges to already privileged and the rigidity of native population (Black South African) towards the 'other' (Immigrants like Zimbabweans)—connoting a cyclical process. Thus Privatization and neoliberalism both represent a similar phenomenon which is instrumental in finding the institutionalized version of racism in my thesis.

Goldberg (2009) further points out that sovereignty in South Africa today is caught between racial absolutization and racial secularization. South African state constantly vacillates between the possibility of an absolute and absolving power on one hand and a delimited and diffuse system of moderating authorities, on the other (p. 320). Racial absolutization representing the absolute and self- ascribed power exercised by sovereign authority in apartheid while racial secularization represents traces of old (apartheid) structures, effects and social differentiation in new democratic South Africa. Driven by economic gains, these shifting terrains of race used by the authority for personal profiteering are yet another form of Neoliberal racism (Goldberg, 2009, p. 321). In other words, contemporary form of racism can be understood in a way it has claimed to move from omnipotency to democracy and from

multiculturalism to hegemony. And just like Antonio Gramsci's concept of *hegemony*, it is constituted by the combination of coercion and consent where a popular set of practices and ideas are incorporated by the ruling parties in order to maintain their hegemony (as cited in Omi & Winant, p. 130).

Racisms without racism

The concept of *race and racism* in the eyes of modern world has completely disappeared or made invisible. But as Goldberg's title *racisms without racism* (p. 360) suggests that the kinds of conditions once referred by the term have not disappeared completely, as it seems to have reincarnated in a new form. As race evaporates from socio-conceptual landscape, so it is futile to expect that racism is out of "existence" (Goldberg, 2009, p. 360). Race according to a French philosopher, Etienne Balibar has been "one of modernity's principal modes, interactive with the likes of class, ethnicity, and gender, of categorization and abjection, incorporation and ablution, citizenship and alienation. In short, of belonging and distantiation, of claim(ing) and reject (ion)" (as cited in Goldberg, p. 366). Balibar, clearly manifests the way racism is incorporated into different categories like class, gender, and ethnicity. Even when racism is located or tracked is not given due diligence. In fact, Balibar unveils the current policies of liberated countries where racism is strongly disavowed while at the same time a particular set of categorization in accordance with the biological differences is being followed every day. Not to question that one should not be identified in terms of his nationality but it is the degradation or inferiority which is associated with a preconceived prejudiced thinking that somehow is still witnessed in the day-to-day activities of people. It is this color differentiation on which basis a person is rejected or accepted, one is deemed terrorist for being a Muslim or inferior for geographically different. No matter how much the contemporary world claims to have rejected racial thinking by proclaiming colorblindness but there are signs that shows institutional racism residing in the ideologies and practicalities of the day. Gordimer's novel *No Time Like the Present*, for instance echoes the views of Goldberg in practicality, as referred by one of Steve's colleagues in university: "How do you promote the integrated culture of the institution in its identity as African with appointment of a Nigerian as head of a department—and march in protest with the men and women of our people who can't afford to pay for a place in higher education"(Gordimer, 2012, p. 118)—these lines evidently shows the persistence of racism in south Africa. It can be witnessed through the comment of Steve's colleague that post-apartheid South Africa is firm towards immigrants. Even the literate ones are rejected for belonging to other country. Having a different nationality makes an immigrant inferior to an illiterate native. Thus the way Nigerians are relegated, concludes the contemporary neoliberal slogan on race and racism: "the state looks after your interests by encouraging you to choose to lock yourself in (to gated communities) while it locks up the undesirable (in prisons) or locks out the externally threatening (by way of immigration restrictions)"(Gordimer, 2012, p. 335).

Racial absolutization

Though the authorities in post-apartheid South Africa claims to have evolved out of racist ideology, which prolonged there for decades but Goldberg (2009) has relocated racist practices that are implicitly if not explicitly exercised by different institutions. As he states: Post-apartheid south Africa has grappled more recently and openly with leaving its racial legacy to the past by turning to mixing, but doing so through the coin of cashing in race for class distinction, a kind of class mimesis or socio-cultural cloning though often with a local ironic tweak and twist (p.345).

Goldberg on one hand accepts that South Africa after a struggle of decades has finally seized its racial legacy. Majority (i.e. native South Africans) once again dominates and rules the country. It is a country where miscegenation is no longer a taboo and opportunities are once again open for blacks. While on the other hand, Goldberg lays a suspicion on the democracy that is settled there, by challenging the current policies and working of various institutions under it. Therefore, Goldberg has succinctly found one of the core features of neoliberalism that rightly challenges the camouflaged working of capitalism in the name of democracy, as defined by Jean Comaroff that it [democracy] is not so much a break with capitalist state formation as “an intensification of some of its core features” (as cited in in Goldberg, 2009, p. 333). Thus, Comaroff suggests what Goldberg contests that there exists a racially fabricated society, in which class distinction creates a great divide in South Africa.

Quite similarly, the narrator in *No Time Like the Present* (2012) opens up with the expectancy that every south African must have held when democracy settled there as shown in these lines “Now it’s a different story... Government has to pick up the spade and tackle where we bulldozed apartheid” (p.23). These lines refer to the responsibilities of a democratic government, as it will have to face the outcomes of apartheid with conviction and cater to the needs of its nation. However, a different scenario is witnessed by its citizens like Steve and Jabu does “We’re all one, I am you, you are me! What power do we have. We thought we would have, that’s what getting rid of apartheid and all the props meant. International finance cartels neo- colonialism call it what you like” (p.111-112). These lines show a sudden realisation that Steve and Jabu has found, in terms of the incompetency of the state, as it failed to provide its citizens with opportunities and even offering them basic needs like food and clean water etc. Steve and Jabu as former protestors, feels powerless as they are no longer able to stand for these basic rights. As mentioned earlier that their (Steve and Jabu) close association with different sectors like educational and judicial system brought them much closer to the hidden reality of the state, one of which is the class distinction—a core feature of neoliberalism. Goldberg use of word like *privatization* (p. 332) represents preference of personal priorities over the welfare of nation. According to Goldberg a neoliberal state, seeks to elevate privatization of property, revenue generation, utilities, services, and social support systems, health care, aid, and disaster response and relief...the neoliberal state exacerbates inequality, further privileging the already privileged (Goldberg, 2009, p. 332). Goldberg in the above-stated lines gives a perfect description of a neoliberal authority that prioritises one’s own benefit before nation. Gordimer in a similar vein discusses this issue in these lines: “Conclusion. Don’t clean up connivances, call corruption what it is—one of the advocates from whom she has learned so much has the right to reproach her” (Gordimer, 2012, p.279). These lines occur when Jabu is reproached and corrected by Ranveer Singh, a senior advocate with whom she practices; Ranveer advises Jabu to accept the fact that corruption is the main reason behind government incompetency in South Africa. Later in the novel Jabu’s close collaboration to Jacob zuma’s corruption case makes it clear to Jabu and readers as well the real reason behind mass poverty of South African nation. Thus, it overall lays a foundation for neoliberalism pertaining that segregation still exists in South Africa. That though South Africa is liberated from apartheid by rejecting white dominance but they failed to extricate the colonial ideology that is a part of the authoritative plan. Power is still consumed in the hands of leaders though black in race, which conserve power and privatise all the resources for elites like them. A major example of this distinction is found in the fact that majority of its citizens are still living under the line of poverty and degradation. As pointed out by Goldberg (2009) that “Neoliberal states are restricted to securing conditions

for privatized interests to flourish, and of shaping—policing may not be too strong a term, as will become clear momentarily—the flows of information, capital, and consumer goods to these ends” (p. 332-333). Thus, new south african leaders are treading on the same colonial path by privileging the already privileged or saving the neck of those in authority as shown in the novel “The endless power games the different parties are playing: prosecute or not zuma” (Gordimer, 2009, p. 283). Similarly, a question is posed against the judicial system that discharges Zuma (former President of South Africa) of all the crimes whether it was the illegal ammunition deal, rape or corruption.

Another issue which can be discussed in the light of neoliberal features is the use of *race* in modern world. According to Goldberg:

Within the state, by contrast, race has been socially desacralized, rendered part of the profane (and not now just in South Africa). But here, too, it has hardly disappeared. Rather it has been placed behind a wall of private preference expression, of privatized choice. The more robustly neoliberal the state, accordingly, the more likely race would be rendered largely immune from state intervention so long as having no government force behind it (p. 334).

In these lines Goldberg once again lays bare the foundations of a neoliberal state to the readers. In his view it is one of the main characteristics of neoliberalism that race is denied at the superficial levels of society. So, a liberal state, which is enthralled with neoliberalism most actively reject race and racism at the socio-political levels of society. Whereas it is inculcated by these very institutions, that are unwilling to let go of their past. By past the racist ideology and prejudices the natives adopted from colonials. The racist ideology dwells in the conscience of neoliberal people as they consciously or unconsciously are running on the same plan once constituted by colonials. Goldberg has typified south Africa as a neoliberal state that despite condemning racism, consistently follows it in the form of class differentiation and xenophobia etc. Gordimer hints upon the reality of institutions in South Africa that perhaps stands for neoliberal declatement. “Change, change, the past had to be over-turned but what crawls out of the rubble can surface in some form anywhere, even in institutions undergoing real transformation” (Gordimer, 2012, p. 252). Gordimer here symbolically refers to racism that has been through a lot of struggle was finished, can crawl back from the debris where it was buried. In other words racism can get evolve out of these institutions and can certainly come out into any shape and form in the present. Thus xenophobia, is considerable as a new form of racism. The way Gordimer hints at this changed version of racism, it can be assumed that *xenophobia* is a foster child of racism, which is later on discussed in the novel. It is due to this racist ideology that South African natives are still intolerant towards immigrants, coming from neighbouring countries. Gordimer diligently showed the truth behind the peaceful restoration of democracy by fusing fiction and fact together. *No Time Like the Present* is partly fiction because of the fictitious characters like Steve and Jabulile and the tribulations that they faced is nevertheless based on facts. Currently the South Africa is struggling against the conflict between natives and immigrants. The reason behind the conflict is the lack of opportunities and poverty resulting from it. But this conflict between natives and immigrants again falls back to the incompetency of government. When majority of nation is deprived of basic needs, then how could one expect to share limited resources with immigrants like Zimbabweans, therefore corruption of South African leaders is responsible for this instability. On the other hand, xenophobia due to color differentiation is also a contributing factor in the neoliberal position of this so called democracy. “Devoid of race in the public sphere, racism—as modes of racially driven subjection and exclusion,

debilitation and humiliation—is freed up to circulate as robustly as individuals or non-government (or non-government-funded) institutions should choose in private” (Goldberg, 2009, p.339)—so according to Goldberg racism is draped under liberalism and privately used at individual and institutional level. So, it does not matter if laws are moulded to provide freedom to all races as it fails to root out racism from society. Thus, in the context of neoliberalism, it is proven that South Africa failed to eradicate racism, whether it is the psyche of population or the functioning of various private and governmental institutions. Therefore, Goldberg (2009) argues that these neoliberal approaches to race limit public efforts to combat racism and the associated discrimination (p. 338) and privatized utilities in South Africa is nothing but a curtailed neoliberal state.

Neoliberal politics and Education

Politics of South Africa after the end of apartheid, initiated as a democracy in 1994, but now the question is asked again that how far the politics of the country have contributed or shaped to the well-being of its nation? How far since the beginning of democracy in South Africa, its political and democratic governments have succeeded in forming a country based on equality, justice and opportunities without racial, class and gender difference? Unfortunately, on the basis of Gordimer’s text and current scenarios of post-apartheid, it is hard to say that democratic governments which came after the death of Mandela have fulfilled their promises and turned South Africa into a rainbow nation. Instead, the way Goldberg theorizes the political functioning of a neoliberal state goes the same way as the political policies of post-apartheid South Africa. Goldberg thus analyzes the political workings of South Africa through neoliberal lenses as stated: “representing the shift from the caretaker or pastoral state of welfare capitalism to the “traffic cop” or “minimal” state, ordering flows of capital, people. Goods, public services, and information (Gordimer, 2012, p. 338-339). In these lines Goldberg (2009) is of the view that underneath these democratic governments lurks a “capital” (p. 339) authority that conserves benefits for themselves and a particular class (elite) like them. This camouflaged capitalist authority is nothing less than a nominal democratic state that still follows colonial strategies in order to reserve all the wealth for elites like them. Gordimer, thus diligently shows how democratic ideology changes with the change of president in South Africa.

...are elections the same everywhere, other countries?...jabu, and everyone else tanned with a black DNA have experienced only twice before. The first, Mandela..., prisoner to president. The second his successor Thabo Mbeki also who forgot that a man of the people doesn’t quote Yeats to comrade voters who are half-literate, have had poor schooling even in their own languages (Gordimer, 2012, p. 339-340).

Here, *No Time Like the Present* (2012) maps twelve years of democracy the narrator comments on the political ideology of South Africa that changes with the change of political leaders. This novel in a way gives an exposition to the way the conception of democracy changed when power shifted from Mandela to Mbeki. Jabu being a black combatant with the end of apartheid has witnessed the governments of these two leaders. A contrast is quite conceivable between Mandela and Thabo Mbeki. Both Mandela and Mbeki belonged to a similar political party (African National Congress) but with a different political conduct. While Mandela spent twenty-five years in prison to liberate South Africa and got closer nation, on the other hand we see Mbeki, who even after coming to power could not find out that average of his population is below the rate of literacy. Gordimer thus shows the incompetency of leaders that succeeded Mandela. At one place, we can also assume, that Mbeki as a leader is not as close to South African natives as Mandela were. Thus, the above lines show that Mbeki

is unfamiliar with the conditions of his nation, he does not know the division in educational policies of the country, which is integrated on the basis of class distinctions. A point worth mentioning is the failure of educational institutes in the integration of equal policy for whole nation and overreliance on the old colonial strategies, differentiating a poor from elite. As stated in the text “Schools are open to all races, of course...it’ll depend where the schools are, if it’s not a school near where most blacks live, there’ll probably be only a few...you know, the ones whose parents... you know, can afford private schools” (Gordimer, 2012, p.338)—these lines echoes the persistence of class in educational institutes. Jabu and Steve are looking for a school to enrol sindiswa (daughter) and Gary Elias(son). Once again, the couple here reflect on the segregational state of black and white community in South Africa. In addition to that the economic instability of blacks is revealed through above stated lines that aptitude of an institute is estimated through its locality. As Jabu states that there are only a few educational institutes near blacks, as they are not able to afford private education for their children. It is vividly shown by Gordimer (2012) that education is still a facility which is afforded by a few. Only those blacks who are part of elite can afford higher education for their children while those in poverty still struggling to make both ends meet. On the basis of Goldberg’s views, it can be said that the condition of educational institutes and incompetency of leaders paves well with the neoliberal position of state in post-apartheid. So, it can be assumed that politics and education system is not working as devised by constitution.

Miscegenation in the context of Neoliberalism

Goldberg (2009) reveals the idea of racial mixing through neoliberal lenses as he says that “racial mixing may be deemed desirable, but its product, while embedding determining inputs from each of the ingredients, is exhorted ultimately to mimic the cultural and performative standards of those embodying historical power. In short to mimic or emulate the standards and habits of whiteness, of euro- or Anglo-mimesis racially preconceived” (p. 342). These lines surely reflect the aftermath of apartheid faced by miscegenated couple in post-apartheid society. Goldberg is of the view that miscegenation in post-apartheid context has also taken a neoliberal position. Similar to other issues, miscegenation or an interracial marriage is now conceived just as normal as any ordinary couple should be. However, Goldberg delves deep into this issue by exposing the underlying truth beneath the acceptance. Quite realistically, Steve and Jabu in *No Time Like the Present* (2012) are shown facing the consequence of miscegenation in democratic south Africa, where it is no longer considered a crime or social taboo. “...coming from their different ‘cultures’, aren’t they, haven’t they been from the beginning the fascination of what’s called the Other!” (p. 320)—these lines vividly show the thinking and reception of an interracial marriage in the eyes of South African people. The use of word “Other” (p. 320), marks a distinction between a white man and black woman on the basis of racial and cultural differences. For the majority of natives miscegenation is still considered a forbidden act, which is why it is still unacceptable on social scale. Though South African laws no longer prevent such a bond but society on some deep level rejects it, as they estimate such a union merely a “fascination” (p.320), or in young’s words “colonial desire” (as cited in Mushonga, p. 3).

In a similar vein the product of such interracial union is also questioned and rejected as their identity baffled the South African society. Gordimer in *No Time Like the Present*, discusses this issue of miscegenation and the children as a result to this union:

[I]t’s a worn holier than thou to cite your children when you make decisions. But sindiswa and Gary Elias growing up to all that all this. Children in whose very conception there

was faith in a present that hasn't come. No sign of the equality of their black-white fusion in the country, born of struggle, which is the most unequal in the world (p. 381).

These lines reflect the realisation Steve and Jabu have found during the chaos that was running at the time of Zuma's trial. Steve, here is worried for his children (sindiswa and Gary Elias), as he is able to comprehend that there is no possible future for his children. The fear that Steve and Jabu once had at the time of apartheid, struck them back with full throttle. Steve being a combat in struggle against apartheid felt disheartened as it turned out opposite to his expectation. Soon as Zuma's trial began and news of violence perpetrated on immigrants came along, it made it clear to Steve that this violence might move towards miscegenated couple like them and specifically towards mixed race children like sindiswa and Gary Elias. Steve realises what Goldberg propounds that a neoliberal state considers racial mixing a mark a blotch on white community and "mimic or emulate the standards and habits of whiteness" (p. 342). In other words, racially mixed people are alienated from both black and white community. The neoliberal traits that we find in South African society, brings to fore, the identity crisis, racially mixed people feel these days. Steve in the above stated lines confesses the unequal treatment miscegenated couples feels and discrimination with which racially mixed people are treated.

Stephen Spencer, a lecturer in sociology, postulates on the position of mixed- race people in *Race And Ethnicity: culture, identity and representation* (2006) in these words: "people of mixed race are in an anomalous situation—pigeon-holed by others, often in racist or disparaging form. Such experiences of incipient or confrontational racism may start very early at school depending on class and gender" (p. 225). By using the word "anomalous" (p. 225) which means something that deviate from normal, Spencer brings to fore the challenge mixed race people hold against the particular categorisation of black and white community. Their existence defies the "absolutism" (Spencer, 2006, p. 222) of black and white individuality, thereby neglected from an early stage of their lives. Spencer here diligently refers to two main categories on the basis of which mixed race people starts getting rejected in schools, and that is class and gender. Goldberg has already defined the crucial role class plays in the maintenance of segregation from historical apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa. In that case the fear for sindiswa—daughter of Steve and Jabu—and her future is authenticated with the fact that present did not come out as they (Steve and Jabu) expected. Thus, the position and grounding of racially mixed people in contemporary society can be evaluated through its statistics. According to recent studies in Research Development and Statistics Directorate 2004 that evidences the neoliberal stance taken by Goldberg, as mentioned that crime figures note the high frequency of assaults on people of mixed race:

Asian and mixed race people experienced higher levels of victimisation than white people, but for Asian people the difference was no longer apparent after allowing for age. For mixed race people the difference remained even after age, and also area lived in, had been allowed for. [...] People of mixed race were at greater risk of crime than all the other groups. Risk had increased significantly between 2001/02 and 2002/03 for this group. (as cited in Spencer, 2006, p. 225).

Thus, the crime figures testify the ratio at which mixed race people are relegated. It is clearly stated by research development and statistics directorate, that came out in 2004, that "Asian and mixed race people experienced higher levels of victimisation" (p. 225). These statistics shows the rate of assaults on mixed race and Asians in comparison to white people. It is also noteworthy here that the position Asians is quite similar to mixed race people on many levels. Immigrants coming from Asian countries whether it is from India, Pakistan, china or any other

country faces similar kind of “racially driven subjection and exclusion, debilitation and humiliation” (Goldberg, 2009, p. 339) as blacks does in any country or state. So, Asians, mostly immigrants face dual displacement in a foreign country that runs parallel to the alienation of transracial people. However, these figures also suggest that racially mixed people are more prone to victimisation than Asians.

Neo-globalization

Before we examine the impacts of globalization on South Africa, it is appropriate to shed some light on globalization, what it stands for and aims to achieve in the context of post-apartheid South Africa. In oxford dictionary, Globalization is defined as “the process by which business or other organizations develop international influence or start operating on an international scale”. Quite similarly we get a detailed explanation of globalization, in an online BBC page as “the process by which the world is becoming increasingly interconnected as a result of massively increased trade and cultural exchange. Globalisation has increased the production of goods and services” (bbc, 2018). Thus, globalization is expected to integrate all the countries of the world on one, equal platform. It provides an opportunity to introduce one’s culture, language and enhance one’s trading and manufacturing skills, on an international scale. An author, Mike Collins (2015) reinstate the parameter on which globalisation is looked upon these days, thus contesting the pros and cons of globalization. In defining the ethereal goal of globalisation that is invoiced by its proponents:

...globalization represents free trade which promotes global economic growth; creates jobs, makes companies more competitive, and lower prices for consumers. Poor countries through infusions of foreign capital and technology, with the chance to develop economically and by spreading prosperity, creates the conditions in which democracy and respect for human rights may flourish. (Collins, 2015).

However, the question remains, can it be said that globalisation achieved all its goals. It has succeedingly established a platform, where developed and underdeveloped, white collar and blue collar could come together? There are many protestors that focus more on the cons of globalization. Despite the claims of its promoters, globalisation has proven to be unsympathetic towards developing countries. At first and foremost level, it has failed to establish equality between nations and classes, as many critics’ points out the fact that due to globalization, rich are getting richer while non-rich are getting poor every day. And even after trading on an international level, there is a parameter of inequality perpetually maintained between developed and under-developed countries. In this way, culture of a developed country also dominates a developing country’s customs and traditions at a socio-cultural level. Goldberg has rightfully used the term *Neo-Globalization*, so as to reveal the contrastive role globalisation is playing, that was expected of it.

The postcolonial hymn that “we are here because you were there” has given way to the neo-globalizing holler that “we are fighting *them* there so we don’t have to fight them *here*, at home”. Racisms without racism, then, is the peculiar expression of neoliberalizing globalization. It is the way of governing distinction, in the global scheme of enduring freedom, considered too different and difficult to deal with. It is the re-institutionalizing of institutionalized racisms (Goldberg, 2009, p. 362).

Goldberg’s views thus reinstate the earlier mentioned cons of globalization by analyzing it through a neo-global lens. In the light of Gordimer’s literary text, *No Time Like the Present*, there are plenty of examples that testifies the existence of a neo-global dominance of white authority: “How long are whites going to dominate the economy? Who out of the handful of blacks who managed to gain the knowledge, know-how that qualifies, will really be able get

into that powerful old boys' cartel?" (Gordimer, 2012, p. 23). Jabu in these lines broods on the influence white community and their colonial ideology still lays on black authority. It is not just the dominance that has been laid by whites in the country, but the ones that are controlling the workings of South African governments under their surveillance. Though the power is shifted to blacks yet there are evidences that show that South Africa, like many other developing countries is being controlled on a global scale. Just like the above stated lines of Jabu reveals the fact to the readers pertaining the undue interference of white representatives. Jabu is well aware of the situations in post-apartheid, whether it is the corruption of leaders or securing benefits for a particular class, all falls back to racist thinking of colonials. She is also aware that white still dominate the political activities due to illiteracy of black at major level. Use of words like "powerful old boys cartel" (p. 23), is an exposition made by Gordimer on the persistency of white dominance in south Africa and it is the white consciousness that runs in the guise of black authority. But this is just one side of the story, as it reflects the socio-cultural and political domination of white community. When we assess the impact of globalization in South Africa, or in a more appropriate manner the neo-globalized position as contested by Goldberg, we get to see the impacts of developed countries, including former colonials like British etc. As these countries not only control the economy of South Africa but becomes a root cause for socio-economic dependency on country with more power. In globalization, a power shifts automatically in the hands of a country that possesses biggest economy in the world. And this power of economy unequivocally is exploited by the bearers. They possess the power to invade a country and strip it off of all its wealth. Goldberg (2009) invoices the contemporary views of powerful states in these words: "we are here because you were there" (p.362)—these words showcase the plan of action the powerful countries have devised to fight terrorism on global scale. After the incident of 9/11, United States of America, took responsibility to combat terrorism by invading Afghanistan, Iraq etc; but this in turn initiated *Islamophobia* (Goldberg, 2009, p. 334). In a nutshell, Goldberg in the above stated lines tries to put forth this argument that, in their struggle to fight terrorism, these super power countries are forgetting that many of innocent lives are at stake. Goldberg reveals the real reason behind this initiation: "Neo-colonial exploitation has been the road map which seems to lead inexorably towards 'the war on terror', and western nations seem reluctant to relinquish this dominance" (p. 232)—this is one of the main signs for super powers like America that is dominating the world on a global forum while excavating all the countries of its oil reserves, in the name of battling terrorism. For instance, many Muslims, living in foreign countries are degraded and violently attacked for crimes they have not committed. So, this is the newest and post-modern form of racism, which we find in the world, promoted and exercised at global level. Just as I mentioned earlier, that Asians and blacks are relegated due to prejudice thinking of former colonials. So, according to Goldberg inequality get worsened in the rein of neo liberalizing globalization. In a similar vein Goldberg contests the neoliberal institutionalization of racism. Goldberg's views get a vivid portrayal in Gordimer's novel *No Time Like the Present* as she questions the judicial system for it is controlled by whites:

What changes are coming, inevitable. At the justice centre, it's the judiciary in debate. too many white backsides seated on the bench and too few blacks, that's the first contention (Gordimer, p. 279).

So, racism according to Goldberg, South Africa like many former colonised countries is a neoliberal state that shows little care for the welfare of its people and is still structured

around white colonial thinking. As mentioned by Gordimer (2009), that can be taken as a conclusion to this debate.

In South Africa everything in reverse. Whites 12 percent of the 49 million population, still dominate the economy, the black majority which overcame also produces those who join the white class and take freedom as the advance to corruption and distancing from the majority living jobless between shacks and toilet buckets. (p.360)

Conclusion

This paper thus concludes that in contrast to all the claims of peace and equality, there is not much implementation to be found on its anti-racial design. People are subservient to their pre- anti-racial philosophy and consciously or unconsciously seen captivated by it. Similarly, various institutions in South Africa covertly tread on racial path, once created by white colonials. However, it can be claimed that the concept of race and racism—though considered a taboo these days—failed to make a difference at global scale. Many critics and theorists like Goldberg believe democratic states as a racially fabricated (emphasis added) “neoliberal” (p. 332) one that tend to provide evidence on the camouflage or flexibility of racism in modern times. One of many believers that postulates on the difference between black and white—that despite anti-racial policies—is shifted to meet the contemporary state is, a lecturer of sociology, Stephen Spencer in *Race And Ethnicity: Culture, Identity and Representation* (2006): the form and focus may change but it is a delusion to assume that we will stop drawing boundaries, ...based on blood quantum, colour, cultural differences, citizenship, employment, or something else... identification of ‘others’ will continue to shift and reflect the political and social trends of the time. Difference is part of social unity. However to deny differences and naturalise traditions of dominance by segregating and staying within defensive cultural boundaries may mean the avoidance of confrontation—but confronting injustice is necessary if we are serious about finding mutual solutions and sharing the future (spencer, p.233).

Spencer, in this book of two hundred and ninety-six pages, gives a concluding remark on the shifting nature of race and racism. Spencer reveals the “delusion” (p.233) created by anti-racial movements and authorities of the world. By abolishing segregational policies, these authorities (i.e. democracies) of the world allege to have established racial free societies. Quite the contrary, we find that racial beliefs are excessively exercised on the basis of “blood quantum, colour, cultural differences, citizenship, [and] employment” (p.233). Whites and non-whites are categorized in the light of class and racial differences, and this research aims at explicating the heterogeneity residing within homogeneity. Goldberg, apart from his neoliberal claims has used a Brazilian notion of “*racismo cordial* (original emphasis) meaning “cordial racism” to vividly explicate exclusion or devaluation though in terms carefully and self- consciously race-neutral. It is, as raceless, a mannered racism, even exaggeratedly mannerist, civil to a fault, behaviour by the book, racism knowingly in denial” (Goldberg, 2009, p. 342). Therefore, Spencer and Goldberg suggest that the world still need to combat racism at individual and organizational levels of society and completely exterminate its influences. To confront an injustice that prevails in the world on a superficial level is not enough, unless a practical solution is determined. after conducting an in-depth analysis at both micro and macro levels, I am able to integrate that South African democracy is inevitably structured on racial designs, “privileging the already privileged” (Goldberg, 2009, p. 332). While its citizens are consciously or unconsciously following the footsteps of former colonials by rejecting immigrants like Zimbabweans on the basis of national and racial difference. I provide evidence through this research, how xenophobia can be called the modern form of racism and how closely affiliated both these terms are. In that context, this research also claims that racism in

the hands of non-whites has taken the form of xenophobia (emphasis added) in modern times. So, with the dominance of culture, language and religion the colonials also made an impact on South African conscience which stand as another evidence of institutionalization of racism. Along with racism that is executed at individual level, it must not be forgotten that on the whole it is the political policies that "creates and actively discriminates foreign individuals" (Watts, 1996, p. 97). In general xenophobia is endorsed by political policies of South Africa, as their incompetence is reflected with the decline in wages and vacancies. Thus, the natives consider the immigrants a burden on their economy, leading towards genocide and ethnic cleansing.

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