Research Report

A (Re) look at the (post) Apartheid Experience of Black People in South Africa: From the Perspectives of the Township People of Soweto.

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DECLARATION

I, Katlego Letlonkane, of above-mentioned student number, declare that this work is my own and where I have used the work of others, I have duly referenced.

Signed: _____

ABSTRACT

The present study is an examination of the (post)-apartheid experience of the people of South Africa understood from the specific case of a sample of the township people of Soweto. The study is, theoretically speaking, a critical diversity research project, which suggests, or at least opens the door to the creation and production of knowledge of a different kind. This work is rooted in the social, in the nuanced elements of life as is experienced by some selected people, selected primarily on the basis of their race, historically classified as Black people under institutionalized apartheid structure. By looking through a sample of individuals sharing some of their personal experiences growing up through some of the legacies of apartheid. The (post) apartheid reality in South Africa has been troubled widely for the intensified and prolonged maltreatment and segregation of marginalized communities in South Africa, particularly, Black South Africans. Critical social study allows useful exploration into some of the human complexities inherited from apartheid. This research paints a picture and guides a more contextual reading of the lives, I gather, a large number of Black South Africans are living in some or other location in Soweto, lead in (post) apartheid South Africa (today). Soweto itself as a colonial legacy presents a useful opportunity as a site for research in a project of this nature. I bracket *post* to trouble the notion of an ended apartheid. A central aim of this research is to study apartheid and its remaining legacy, examining how the lives of people are still pre and over determined by apartheid structure. It is the intention of this work, to trace the extents of inequality (as a central instrument of apartheid), as it played and seemingly, (given the alarming reality that over half of South Africa's population lives in poverty) continues to play itself out on the lives of those, who were subjected to racism and racist oppression in South Africa. I center this research in the *location* and on the disempowered. This work is undertaken with the intention for it to contribute to the post-apartheid jurisprudence produced with the vision to critically engage with and bring critical thinking to the level of the social to evaluate how much of present-day life in South Africa continues to be pre and over determined by the machinery of apartheid.

Keywords: *Apartheid; Soweto; poverty; Constitutionalism; Black People.*

CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND SCOPE

1. Introduction

In this chapter I will outline the origins of the research and set out the context and scope of the study. I will introduce some theoretical departures into post-apartheid jurisprudence from which I make contemplations that I build on in this research. The research questions and corresponding research aims are set out in this chapter. Lastly, and quite importantly, I use this chapter to reflect on my personal locatedness as a member of the very community I research. Being born and raised in the Sowetan township of Meadowlands, places me and my experiences squarely within the parameters of my research. As you will read in this work, I also, stylistically grounded this research in my own personal locatedness and positionality as a member of this very community I research. The apparent subjectivity in the tone of my writing is both intentional and highly useful for me as a social researcher interested in the quotidian experience. I do not only research, as in investigate or examine the experiences of the people of Soweto, but I experience Soweto, think about it and write of it with them and their voices. I conclude this chapter by discussing some of the limits of this research and overall scope of this project. Opportunities and vantage points for further research on Soweto and its people will be suggested in the concluding chapter of this study. In the section immediately below, I explore the background to this study.

1.1 RESEARCH BACKGROUND

South African news channel e-NCA on 23 August 2017, aired a discussion between one of its journalists, Uveka Rangappa and Vuyokazi Futshane from the Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute.[1] The discussion was held pursuant to e-NCA's findings and published article, *Thirty million South Africans living in poverty.*[2] According to the article, the number of people living in poverty has increased from 27 million in 2011, to 30 million in 2015, with almost 14 million people living in extreme poverty. The article goes on to say that Black Africans remain the majority of those living in poverty with 46.6% affected, followed by coloureds at 32.2%, with less than five

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[1] https://www.enca.com/south-africa/poverty-increasing-in-south-africa
[2] ibid.

percent of Indians living in poverty. For whites, the figure is below one percent.[3] The discussion follows, on whom do we pin these alarming rates of poverty in South Africa, and whether the South African government is solely to blame. An extract from StatsSA, a leader and partner in statistical systems for evidence-based decisions, about the levels of poverty nationally and provincially, which was done in 2009 revealed that nationally, as at 2009, 56.8% of the country's population remains poor. This figure, as depicted in the below graph, of 56.8% broken down by province will show the prevalence of poverty in rural communities such as Limpopo, which is the poorest of South Africa's nine provinces, followed by rural community, Eastern Cape.
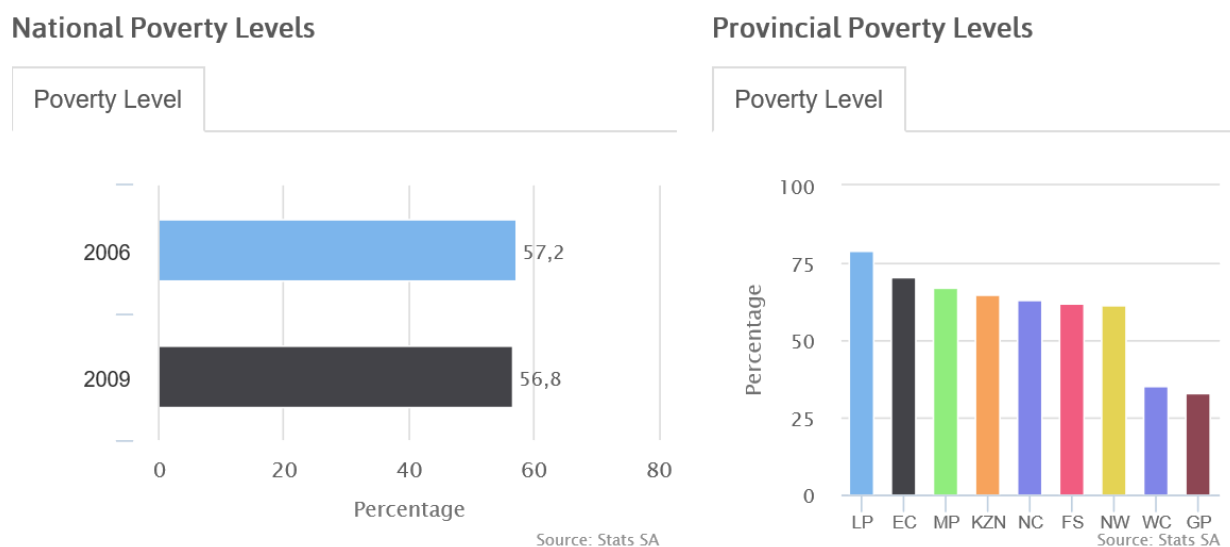
National Poverty Levels

Provincial Poverty Levels

Fig 1: Representation of Poverty in South Africa, 2006, 2009, StatsSA

Rural communities remain home to a majority Black population. Figure 1, shows unsurprisingly the least rates of poverty in Gauteng province followed by the Western Cape, which are the two provinces to have received a significant investment in infrastructure and development of urban areas.

Futshane explains that while it is not as simple as attributing the state of poverty in South Africa to its government, indeed the government is bound by the social agreement entered into between itself and its citizens through a ballot process, to meet the obligation of the realization of socio-economic rights such as housing, education, security, food and the like. The discussion largely

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[3] ibid.

omits a discussion on South Africa's oppressive past and its probable direct relation to the rate of poverty in South Africa. Although, I do think the interview probably had a limited intention and focus and so their omission from delving into historical injustice and its resulting effect on poverty and inequality, I do not view to be necessarily erroneous given the limited scope and time of the interview.

This research continues from where the interview left off and looks into why over half of the South African population is and remains poor and whether by not looking intensely at structural racism and its lingering effects on the Black majority in South Africa today, we run the risk of perhaps mis-diagnosing. If we mis-diagnose a problem, no doubt we will prescribe the incorrect treatment for moving passed apartheid, if such a thing. Sarah Wunderlich (2017) writes in a recent text on the effect of Apartheid on Black children, that South African literature of the 20th century cannot be fully grasped by the category of post-colonial literature. Wunderlich (2017) argues that postcolonial, in South Africa meant the entrenchment of white power. The overcoming of colonialism in South Africa did not, she writes, lead to freedom and equal treatment; on the contrary, it further intensified maltreatment, segregation and persecution of ethnic groups ranking low in the hierarchy of ethnicities in South Africa. She goes on to elaborate, that even literature published after the end of apartheid in 1994 cannot fully be captured as being post-colonial, as the system's marks are still visible on people, their lives and thus, in the literature. Consequently, another literary category has to be constructed: post-apartheid literature, which is a genre that deviates from the post-colonial literature as it not only reviews the maltreatment and tries to come to terms with it, but also points out consequences still affecting the South African Society today. It is in this genre, that this current research lodges itself. It is the aim that this work lives alongside the literature that illustrates the various facets and challenges of South Africa in the transitional (post)apartheid phase providing post-apartheid literature with perhaps, the key defining quality of South African post-coloniality and its texturedness. [4]

Modiri (2017) suggests, that if we were interested in locating the cause for South Africa's degenerative state, one must, as a critical start look at what he refers to as the *spectacularly violent and foundational "colonial capture" of South Africa which begins in earnest in the mid-17th*

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[4] Sarah Wunderlich (Author), 2017, The Effect of Apartheid on Black Children Based on the Example Given in Sindiwe Magona's Mother to Mother. A Lesson Plan, Munich, GRIN Verlag, https://www.grin.com/document/368529

century and is yet to meet its end. He writes, 'South Africa – the name and the place – is itself the product of the history of European colonial conquest on these shores. The resultant economic, social, spatial and cultural dynamics that have persisted into the present have relegated the Black majority to a wasted social existence and have caused immense existential, psychological and material devastation that runs across generations. These historical results of centuries of colonial-apartheid continue to define social relations in South Africa and remain the primary source of the unliveable, conflictual and increasingly precarious existence of the majority of its inhabitants. Insofar as post-1994 South Africa has preserved the basic constituents of conquest (land dispossession, economic destitution, racism, spatial inequality, psychological damage and epistemicide), the failings of the current administration are mostly *worsening* (rather than creating) an already existing dysfunction within the social order.'

I explore the emergence of a Constitutional state that ushered a democratic South Africa, undergirded by a seasoned, revered, human-rights orientated Constitution, born out of the need to correct South Africa's past injustices and re-imagine a new life for Black South Africans, does the reality of township life seemingly not reflect the ideals for which apartheid was repealed. Ideals meant to ensure the indigenous people's sovereignty over indigenous land, cultural emancipation, economic and social justice, the collapse of white supremacy and the centralising of indigenous ethic and morality as a functioning way to organise the South African society. This study, otherwise, is concerned with exactly how the end of administrative and juridical apartheid did not with its democratic constitutionalism, exhaust apartheid and lead to liberation. Apartheid, as I argue later remains an existential presence in the lives of such black peoples as the population of Soweto that is the subject of the present study.

1.2   RESEARCH QUESTION

I intend that this research critically explore the following question -

> Can legacies of apartheid be traced in the social structuring and experience of people living in the South African society today, as explored through a qualitative study of a sample of participants and quantitative data?

1.3   RESEARCH AIMS

My research aims are as follows:

1. To critically study some of the legacies of apartheid as is -
   a. Firstly, experienced by a sample of five people from previously disadvantaged group of Black South Africans who are based in Soweto; and
   b. Secondly, study quantitative statistical inputs and draw useful inferences and linkages therefrom.

To use both quantitative and qualitative methods to respond to the research questions is useful, as these methods seek to reinforce one another. On the one hand, it is an opportunity to test the statistical data on five selected participants and explore some of the ways and extents to which their own narratives resonate with what statistical data reveals. On the other hand, I use the participants' narratives and social reality to draw a critical nexus with an apartheid state.   I propose that a critical appraisal of the structure of Black life in the township of Soweto will reveal a continuation of an informal apartheid of which the current constitutional dispensation as a custodian, I suggest, is permissive of or at the very least indifferent - in which either case apartheid is kept in place.

1.4   THEORETICAL DEPARTURES

As the research grapples with the dehumanizing effects in institutionalized racial segregation under apartheid, and post-apartheid, I look closely at the concept of human dignity as a centerpiece for human existence as expressed by Biko (1978) in terms of Black Consciousness Theory. The interview questions have been designed in such a way to draw critical aspects I naturally link to the human dignity of the person, these are housing, healthcare, education, recreation and look at the extent to which these may have been compromised under apartheid South Africa.

The main theoretical departure for my contemplation is Black Consciousness, as theoretically framed by Steve Biko (1978). Black Consciousness proposes a radical return to the self, mentally, physically, emotionally and spiritually as possibly the only way to access liberation. He describes Black Consciousness as an attitude of mind and a way of life, with its essence being the realization

by the Black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression, the Blackness of their skin, and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude (Biko, 1978, 101). It is based on self-examination.[5] The philosophy of Black Consciousness therefore expresses group pride and the determination of the Black to rise and attain the envisaged self.[6] Shouldering Black Consciousness, is an ethic of (self) love. It is probably in gaining or regaining self-love that the cycle of individual and thus collective freedom is initiated. I speak of freedom characterized by him, that freedom is the ability to define oneself with one's possibilities held back not by the power of other people over one but only by one's relationship to God and to natural surroundings (Biko,1978,101).This investigation explored whether the pursuit of (self) love is not actually the beginning of this state of freedom. If tempted by this contemplation, this research cannot overlook the myriad of factors, inequality induced, which stand as a hindrance to the achievement of individual consciousness. Inequality and poverty make the soil infertile for an ethic of (self) care to flourish and instead breeds decay, from the inside out. Thinking along the lines of Black Consciousness makes the Black man see himself as a being complete in himself. [7]Black Consciousness, I argue, is a potent critical and theoretical tool for examining and better understanding the existential experiences of black South Africans during and after juridical apartheid and administrative colonialism.

A useful contribution to this research is a review of the constitutional promise, post 1994. The emergence of the Constitution in 1998 as the supreme law of South Africa, shortly after South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994 aimed at bringing human dignity, equality and freedom back to the table.

Exploring this notion of radical self-care (self) love, as a response to inequality I look at love itself as expressed through theory. bell hooks (2000; 92) leads that a love ethic presupposes that everyone has a right to be free, to live fully and well, therefore, to bring a love ethic to every dimension of our lives, our society would need to embrace change. hooks (2000; 92) continues that love is the only sane and satisfactory response to the problem of human existence and any

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[5] Biko, S, 1978, *I write what I like,* 101.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.

society which excludes, relatively, the development of love, must in the long run perish of its own contradiction with the basic necessities of human nature.[8]

A crucial input to this study is The Apartheid Archive Project, which is a research based project undertaken by graduate researchers across South Africa, and became a unique platform for South Africans to document their experiences anonymously. According to Stevens, Duncan & Sonn (2013), one of the primary means of expanding the apartheid archive within this Apartheid Archive Project has been to solicit narratives from ordinary South Africans and drawing on their most significant experiences of racism under formal apartheid. This project, initiated in 2009, speaks directly to the experiences I capture under the objectives of this research. I work with the reflections about the Apartheid Archive project as a contribution and furtherance of a post-apartheid experiential study and jurisprudence.

In exploring love's redemptive power to restore the self, this work visits the work of South African writer Dr Sindiwe Magona, whose body of work I consider critical to the (post) apartheid literature, and thinking in that it deploys the rich tools of literature to illustrate with a nuanced fashion the continued operation of a current reality more befitting to apartheid. Her work, both literary and academically, explores the failures of the post 1994 projects. The author's literary characters in some of her selected works are akin to this research's interview participants. They are all township based and their struggles to navigate life under systems of inequality unfold within the limitation, imposition and context of apartheid. In her work she threads the resultant effects of apartheid on the value and quality of Black life then and now. It is the aim of the research to use the writer's literary and academic work to pursue my research conceptions and how, the barriers of structural, social and economic starvation under apartheid, make the journey to individual consciousness, so obscure and difficult for a South African majority.

1.5   SCOPE OF RESEARCH, LIMITATIONS AND PERSONAL REFLEXIVITY AND SUBJECTIVITY

This section of the chapter maps the scope of the study. Only five one-on-one interviews of variably up to two hours each were conducted as a preferred method to bring about the research

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[8] hooks, bell, 2000, *All about Love,* 92.

aims and answer the questions. The qualitative nature of the research focuses on the realities and lived experiences of a sample of people living in Soweto, most importantly, as is seen and understood by them. The interviews were semi-structured and led with largely, a finite set of questions in line with the research themes. Broadly, these themes are aimed at highlighting aspects of the participants' experiences that are coupled with quantitative statistical comparisons which themes can be very useful and critical lenses to study social reality and reveal strong reminders of formal apartheid.

A purposive sampling method was used because the participants' narrative and personal backgrounds aligns with the aims of this research. I discuss this more fully in the methodology and design chapter. Paula Moya (2011) writes, that who we are and from where we speak is highly relevant for the intellectual projects we are likely to pursue. The refusal to acknowledge our identity's involvement in the work we produce and attempting, as Moya puts it, *'to downplay the significance of our situatedness'*, I consider to be a futile attempt at distancing our personhood from the decisions we are expected to make and the work we are to produce. I believe, our identities, whether expressed or salient, can be located in the decisions we make and work we produce. I propose, that it is the task of the conscious writer to write not despite their identity but in spite of their identity. In echo, knowledge-making in the modern/colonial world, is at once knowledge in which the very concept of 'modernity' rests and the judge and warrantor of legitimate and sustainable knowledge (Mignolo, 2009). In spaces that unreasonably insist that knowledge is only knowledge if the producers of it distance themselves from it to rid what is being produced of subjectivity, his presumption that all knowledge is situated, and that the knowledge we produce is nevertheless intimately influenced by how we conceptualize our shared social world and who we understand ourselves to be in that world (Moya, 2011) finds relevance.

I draw as well, on the work of Grada Kilomba (2013) who, as a Black scholar was accused of being very subjective, very personal, very emotional and very specific in her articulation of everyday injustice. Her work was accused of lacking objectivity when the dominant voices of academe craved a more scientific voice. Her response to this criticism is that such comments function like a mask, that silences the marginal voices as soon as they speak, and this allows the white subject to place the Black discourses back at the margins as deviating knowledge, while the dominant

discourses remain at the centre, as the norm (Kilomba, 2013). This insight is very useful in that it affirms the position, that knowledge produced from the writer's situation is knowledge. It is important to hear what is being said from the margins, as specifically as they are saying it, for they too have a cause. In all fairness, *Can the Sub-altern speak?* In his work, (Spivak 1985) hones in on the historical and ideological factors that obstruct the possibility of being heard for those who inhabit the periphery. 'It is a probing interrogation of what it means to have political subjectivity, to be able to access the state, and to suffer the burden of difference in a capitalist system that promises equality yet withholds it at every turn.' It is of intellectual emphasis that the discourse of society's Other be disclosed and known. In echoing Mahmood Mamdani (2002; 773), whatever we may think of their methods, terrorists too, have a cause, and a need to be heard. In this instance, he is pointing to the cause of rage among those constructed as bad Muslims, reflecting on Rwanda. He has written about the underlying logic which informs the process of victims becoming killers. Critical intellectual pursuit cannot stay within the confines of its own imagination. It needs to grapple with the Other. Not approve, not disprove, but acknowledge the limitations of the Centre. The Centre is limited by the very fact of its exclusion, and so the knowledge made at the Centre, is too, so limited.

The second and following chapter of this research looks at the methodological inputs that carry this research. Chapter two goes through the visions and conceptual design of the project. In chapter three, the research goes into the conception of apartheid and the constitutional aim for reparation. I explore critically, the emergence of constitutionalism as a leading vision and principle of a democratic South Africa and conclude the chapter with (post)apartheid expressions and the resolve to Black Consciousness. Chapter four contains a detailed exploration of the findings from the participant interviews and analyses and conclusions drawn from both the qualitative and quantitative research inputs. Chapter five is the concluding chapter, wherein I reflect on the material of the study and map out some possibilities for continued research along the aims identified in this present research.

CHAPTER TWO
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY & DESIGN

2. Introduction

In this methodology chapter of the study I aim to set out the preferred methodology for undertaking this research and how it is so closely aligned with the aims of the study. These are qualitative inputs and quantitative data. Qualitative research is meant to understand the experiences of individuals and how they interpret events in their lives (Whitley & Kite, 2012, 35). Hlengiwe Ndlovu (2017) says when conducting social research, because we write from our situatedness, we embody the data, and collect data in our everyday experience in communities we research and live in. Quantitative inputs in the form of certified and published statistic to support the qualitative sample.

I will then conclude the chapter by describing the methods and processes of data collection, data analysis, ethical considerations and the scope of literature closely aligning with the project research aims.

2.1 Method

It was my methodological approach to give recognition and respect to the people about whom this study is about. As a way of writing from and with the people whom this study is about, the research is centered on the lives and organization of a sample of Black people, as inheritors and victims of racialized systems of segregation and exclusion under apartheid to broadly illustrate how the 1994 political transition has not resulted in a fundamental deviation from the structural organization of Black life, at least for a sample of participants in Soweto (and more broader, those whom are counted among national statistic) along the organizing principles and power dynamic of apartheid. In exploring this aim, I look at the legislation primarily enacted to speak back to and correct the state of apartheid in South Africa, namely the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and examine its efficiency and intention to adequately reverse the strong tide of structural racism in South Africa, 23 years into, what we are to understand as a democratic republic. Doing this allows a confrontation into whether the Constitutional promises of human dignity, equality and freedom for all under the South African democracy is a lived reality for many Black South Africans.

Mignolo (2009) leads, in directing de-colonial scholarship and knowledge-making, that racism, as we sense it today, was the result of two conceptual inventions of imperial knowledge: that certain bodies were inferior to others, and that inferior bodies carried inferior intelligence.

The emergence of a body politics of knowledge is a second strand of de-colonial thinking and the de-colonial option. This research is designed from the de-colonial option in that it is grounded in

geo and body politics of knowledge and engages in both decolonizing knowledge and de-colonial knowledge-making, delinking, as Mignolo suggests, epistemically and politically, from the web of imperial/modern knowledge and from the colonial matrix of power. Grofoguel (2009) argues that an epistemic perspective from racial/ethnic subaltern locations will significantly augment a radical decolonial critical theory beyond the Western canon of thought and practice and that the decolonization of knowledge would require to take seriously the epistemic perspective/ cosmologies/ insights of critical thinkers from the Global South, thinking from and with subalternized racial/ethnic/spiritual/sexual spaces and bodies. To this extent, this de-colonial methodology will allow an examination into the dominant lived experiences and dominant symbolic activity of five Sowetans (those who reside in and/or were raised in Soweto) and corroborated by qualitative statistic, to test whether how people live continues to be pre- and over-determined by the mission and metaphors of apartheid, that being racial inequality, land dispossession, impaired citizenship, inadequate access to health services and quality education, poor infrastructure and spatial segregation.

James Charlton's contribution to theory in *Nothing About Us Without Us, Disability Oppression and Empowerment* (1998) has been described famously as a valuable and defining contribution in disability literature, and it is from his work that I draw much understanding on how to carry out research that matters to the people about whom the research is about. While Charlton's work, as a man living with a disability himself, positions itself within the disability rights movement, his conceptualization of the marginalization experienced by people living with disabilities lends itself to application when theorizing and researching the lived conditions of Black people. He writes that his book forces political-economic and cultural systems to incorporate people with disabilities into the decision-making process and to recognize that the experiential knowledge of these people is pivotal in making decisions that affect their lives (Charlton, 1998). Borrowing from his sentiments, the methodology I employ to carry out my research has to remain intimate and connected to the people whose lives I intend writing about.

Cruz (2008) wrestles with the fact that people like Graciela, a woman who was a participant in her ethnographic work and shared her reflections about social life, are among the many non-academics who are typically the subject of research, but are rarely considered worth citing as part of one's

intellectual grounding. The author brings her own experience doing a critical ethnography with Graciela and other Mexican non-academics, including issues they raised, as a way of anchoring her research in the social and lived reality of those she writes about. This methodology is ideal for the kind of intellectual pursuit the author's work aims for. To go to the participants of the research and learn from their lived stories, as told by them, which narratives inform the theories. Auto-ethography becomes a powerful methodological tool which I employ throughout my engagement with the stories learnt from the research participants, and corroborating statistic, and interestingly point out experiential similarities between my own lived experiences as a resident of this very community I research. These similarities are fluidly immersed in such a way that they share a common space in this work.

2.2   Data Collection

2.2.1   *Soweto as a research site*

All 5 of the research participants were raised in Soweto (abbreviated and commonly used name for the South Western Townships) although in varied parts of the very big township, which is a collection of different township locations. As the research continued to unfold, Soweto itself, as the largest township in the word with an estimated 1.5 million residents in 2018, 98% of which are Black South Africans and 0.1% white, became a pressing perspective.

In a speech to the Imperial Institute on 22 May 1917 General Jan Smuts, then Minister of Native Affairs under the apartheid government said the following on the development of policy with respect to Black people in South Africa[9]-

"There is now shaping a policy which may have far reaching effects... we have realised that political ideas which apply to our white civilisation largely do not apply to the administration of native affairs... and so a practice has grown up in South Africa of creating parallel institutions... giving the natives their own separate institutions on parallel lines with institutions for whites... In

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[9]http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/history-soweto

land ownership, settlement and forms of government, we are trying to keep them apart, and in that way laying down a policy which may take a hundred years to work out, but which in the end may be the solutions of our native problem*"*

This was the logic behind the establishment of Soweto. As a location of separateness. To keep white and native separate. To rob some, while privileging the other. To mete out inequality to the Black person while promoting a white interest, ironically, and unashamedly in an African country. Six years later, on 7 February 1923, General Smuts introduced the Native (Urban Areas) Act. This Act, amongst other things, ensured that the municipality may set aside land for African occupation, for those Africans employed within its area of jurisdiction. Under apartheid, Black people were forbidden to acquire title to land, and the Act provided for the prohibition of residence in an urban area by Black people, as this was reserved for white occupation. This Act also provided for the removal of African people to designated locations.[10]

Fanon (1963) writes,

> The town belonging to colonized people. Or at least the native town, the Negro village…is a place of ill fame. Peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where nor how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other…the native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, a town wallowing in the mire. It is a town of niggers.

In 1931, Black people were relocated to what was to become the first township of Soweto, namely, Orlando. [11] Soweto's (and its further delineations into smaller locations within Soweto) conceptual intent was to demarcate Black South Africans from much of South Africa. The forming incentives to the establishment of Soweto, was, unsurprisingly, the need for labour. The apartheid government was intent on maintaining a constant labour supply, without affecting labour demands in the

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[10]Ibid.
[11]Ibid.

mining industry. The creation of townships was to keep a steady labour force in urban areas for the mining industry, and to control the influx of Black people.[12]

Today, the spatial separation persists in Soweto and this location still serves as the base for labour supply in the country. This status has been maintained till present day 'democratic' South Africa by exclusionary practices that prevent access to a majority of the population to affordable, decent housing and land.

2.2.2   *Ethical considerations and working with Emotions*

The research, being qualitative in nature requires a more sensitive approach and observance of ethics in facilitating research of this nature.

I was cleared to conduct this research by the ethics committee at the Wits Centre for Diversity Studies on 5 October 2017. My ethics protocol number is DIV171005.

An important consideration in conducting research through interviews is the placing and understanding of emotions and their significance when confronting and unearthing personal and often intimate folds of people's lives. It is an emotional project to pursue, a humanities project in the truest sense, and I understand from the onset, not to attempt to conceal or downplay the presence of emotions in this project, but understand them as a necessary and enabling component of the research. Laurier and Parr's (1998) work on emotions and interviews examines some of the complexities surrounding emotions in the interview process. They look at the psychodynamics between the interviewer and interviewee and the associated transference, repression and suppression of emotion and feelings and look at the ethical considerations which should accompany these intimate investigations (Laurier & Parr, 1998). While I agree that these emotional psychodynamics between the interviewer and interviewee are important considerations to have, given the hugely personal and invasive nature of the investigation, I am not of the mind that researchers should develop, as Laurier&Parr (1998) table in their work, "management strategies" in approaching emotion during the research process. I consider emotion to be a natural human response to conditions or experiences that affect us.

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[12]Ibid.

This research requires me to confront the experiences and emotions of the participants who are human beings themselves, processing their own emotional responses to things that have happened to them. I consider these to be valuable for my research, as how the participants make meaning from their experiences is what I would like to draw on and analyze through critical discourse analysis. Therefore while it is important for me to be aware of the presence of not only the interviewees' emotions and emotional responses, but my own emotional response to that which I will be exposed to throughout this process, I do not intend to overly regulate these emotional responses. Academe has often been understood as a space for little or no subjectivity in favour of objective and distanced knowledge creation, however critical diversity studies research does the work of the subjective, personal and emotional and presents this as knowledge. This understanding of the subjective and emotional qualifying as knowledge will also change the way field research is conducted. In doing this kind of research through the method of conducting interviews, one does, as Kobayashi (1994) describes it, challenge the myth of neutral detachment and encourages greater respect towards, as well as develop the need for, connection with the communities we research (Kobayashi, 1994).

2.3 Using Observations as a critical research methodology

As an Attorney, my training and experience has shown that observations both in and out of the court are valuable contributions in a case. In law, a firm principle we abide me, is the belief in substance over form. To look at the true nature and intent of situations rather than what is presented to us on the surface. It forces us to adopt a lens that is beyond the physical at times, or beyond face value, as a lot is often concealed in the unsaid and unwritten and so to arrive at the true intention of any arrangement, one has to often look for the substance, which is gathered from the contextual setting, over what is presented. I was interested in a methodology employed by Steve Biko (1978) when, in attempt to reach the thinking of the Black person during apartheid, often listened to the conversations about oppression had by Black people amongst each other at informal gatherings, shebeens or morning bus rides to work. It is these conversations, that have informed some of his thoughts, so as to not steer too far away from the people whose lives he wrote about. This

ethnographic-inspired method of research becomes useful in this research as much of the shared experiences of living through legacies of structural racism is also embodied in spaces beyond the one-on-one and it is important to take note of contextual observations to add qualitative nuance to some of the discoveries.

To illustrate this, and as an observed note and critical point of reflection and de-colonial analysis, I recall a day, not so long ago when I walked into a community shop frequently used by members of the community and when I was there, a woman, who I know as a neighbor was having a loud chat with her partner. It was obvious to me from her demeanor; the way she spoke and my knowledge of her alcohol-drinking habits that she was intoxicated. She spoke loudly and proudly about how, in just a few short years, she would be a pensioner and accordingly eligible to receive a social welfare grant. Living in a time where one's eligibility for social welfare is their last hope at life. Her declarations to her partner and indeed anyone who was present at that moment, gave me a lot to think about. Her declarations were obviously not made in the hope of the furtherance of critical discussions on the injustices of systems of oppression that have led to the complete economic alienation of Black people. However, this is precisely what I began to glean from her assertions. This made me think of just how much living in the township and among those whose lived experiences have prompted my research, is valuable. There is a considerable amount of information to be extracted simply from paying attention and observing life in the township. This persuaded me to include these everyday observations that I encounter as part of the data I aim to collect. For similar reasons discussed above, it remains important for me to select methods of conducting research that closely relay the stories and lived experiences of people living in and/or raised in Soweto. This act (of observation) moves the lens from the dominating structure to the experience of the marginalized, which already in of itself does much to disturb the arrangement and focus of power.

Observations are also useful as a data collection method as often true reality is that during interviews, participant interviewees may, for whatever reason, elect to conceal certain information or attempt to present certain information in a way that suits them. This is a note of caution for me when engaging with the interviewees. It is not only important to listen to what is being said, but what is not being said and more importantly consider what meaning there is to extract in what has

been omitted by an interviewee. Observations, I find, may have a valuable contribution to social research as they allow the researcher to draw in on not only what is said, but what is being done as well which provides useful data for analysis. Critical perspectives seek to illuminate the hidden structures of power deployed in the construction and maintenance of its own power and the disempowerment of others (Canella & Lincoln, 2012). The value of also noting and critically analyzing observations is that one gains access to information that interviews may not give one access to, therefore raising the opportunity to define the missing pieces and make sense of that which is not always directly communicated and thus run the risk of remaining concealed. The limitations of my research, in extent and scope force me to seek methods of collecting data that are concise and contained. I cannot, for example, interview everyone that I would like to interview for purposes of my research, as the size of the project is limited in this regard. Observations, provide a far wider spread of data without requiring me to conduct personal one-on-one interviews with everyone. Where I make observations, I do so as an ethnographic contribution to the research.

Often, when making note of these observations, the people that I encounter or the experiences I note are not selecting the information to convey to me, but are rather in their more natural element and environment, making me privy to a much more genuine response to my investigation. Other observations, I have noted, which I reflect on in latter parts of the research, have been the situation of shebeens in the various areas around these locations, the price of alcohol and the community's response to this. I walk or drive passed shebeens every day in Meadowlands, and notice how much more cheaper the price of alcohol is in these poorer communities. One can pay twenty three rands for what is commonly referred to as a 'set'. This 'set' comprises of three 750ml bottles of beer.

2.4   Interviews as a critical diversity research methodology

In keeping with Black Consciousness as a grounding theoretical lens, Cruz (2008), writes that the struggle for decolonizing knowledge needs to go beyond developing research projects from and with the historically marginalized to actually elaborate theory based on the reflections people make about social life (Cruz, 2008). The movement to decolonize knowledge demands that we center our research in the lived realities of the people we write about and start grounding our theories on the reflections of non-academics on the social life as they live it (Cruz, 2008). Cruz (2008) insights that very little can replace the narratives and realities of the people living through oppression. It is

them who ought to communicate to the world the truths about systems of oppression, as endured by them.

Hugh Canham (2017) supports and advances, in his paper, *Embodying Black Rage,* a method of research that looks into the quotidian personal stories and narrative accounts from ordinary South Africans about their experiences of racism during apartheid (Canham, 2017). He writes that the aim of collective narrative is to contribute towards a critical psychosocial mnemonics for individual and collective remembering and this has implications for the past, present and the imagined future (Canham 2017, Duncan et al, 2014).

What is important to note as well regarding the collection of narratives in social research, is that in as much as we may learn the effects of inequality, we also are opened to the very real understanding that storied lives do not occur in linear trajectories. In as much as Black people have a story to tell about a collective systemic racialized suffering in South Africa under apartheid, their stories are each colored by varying circumstance, which affects how some, within the collective oppressed group, experience inequality. Interview allow us to enter the world of the different and the oppressed in their authentic existential reality, who they are, where they are and from where they speak. It is in keeping with the approach of embracing a body politics of knowledge as a de-colonial strategy, to produce knowledge both as a racially defined inferior body and from racially defined inferior bodies.

Participant Selection

The research participants that were selected were closely aligned to the research objectives. In deciding who would be a part of this research as a participant, I first had to decide what my research objectives are. It is important to select participants whose lives can be used representatively as a sample of a broader population. Due to the finite and very concise nature of the research participants who have been selected as part of the research have a particular narrative which will speak to many people who were raised in similar setting as well as contribute to the fore-mentioned social markers health, education, food and security as well as access. I chose the participants because of the stories that each of them can share about their lives, but strategically, how these people to varying extents, lead a life that many others in the township community embody, again,

to some or other extent. This selection method is commonly referred to as a purposive sampling method.

While useful, it does present with some limitations. As the participants are not randomly selected, but strategically or purposively selected, Shenton (2004) considers that due to the fact that the findings of qualitative research are particular to a minute number of individuals and environments, it is not possible to show that the findings and conclusions are pertinent to other populations and situations. Thus, there exists a limitation in terms of transferability. This is a notable consideration, however this research, while primarily centered on a sample's quotidian experiences, these personal narratives can be quite similar and it is this similarity in experience that is worth troubling. The research troubles the legacy of apartheid history and its prolonged bearing on Black South Africans today. I describe the research participants briefly, with pseudonyms given to guard their identity. The interview participants are -

1. Bobo (30) - An adult male Dr in Astrophysics, who grew up in Soweto, Dobsonville, a Sowetan township location.
2. Tumi (33) - An adult male student grew up in White City, a Sowetan township location. Tumi is a PhD candidate in Trauma and Memory.
3. Thuli (55) - An adult female, unemployed and divorced, also grew up in Soweto.
4. Ruri (25) - An adult female, living in Meadowlands, Soweto and working as a project assistant and part time student in Informatics.
5. Stella (28) - An adult female living in Orlando, Soweto, working as an administrative clerk in social security provision, Meadowlands branch.

As **'Appendix B'**, I include a list of the questions I intend to ask each of the research participants.

The participants, while all from Soweto, each embody different backgrounds in terms of education levels, work backgrounds, they reflect a balance of the genders and diverse ages, income levels and earnings differentiation.
I conducted one-on-one interviews, digitally recorded, in a semi-structured manner, so I approached the interview with questions prepared, but also simultaneously building room for

interviewer/interviewee engagement. As I am interested in extracting context and texture and owing to the personal nature of this inquiry, it is important that this research leaves room for the participant to add context and texture to their narrative. It is these subjectivities and contextual reflections that the participants make about their lives that aid the objective of this research. It is important that the participants feel comfortable to tell their story, as densely or lightly as they wish to tell it. Semi-structured interviews are utilised to ask standard questions of each participant, yet at the same time, this method permits other questions as well as probing for detail (Dawson, 2013).

Appendix A Participant Information Sheet that participants will be asked to sign as acknowledgement of their consent to take part in the research. I command effective use of a number of South African languages, particularly the dominant languages spoken in the parts of Soweto I research, as such, I am able to communicate effectively with the participants.

2.5   Quantitative Data Analysis: Working with Statistic as a preferred methodology

It is useful to gather quantitative analysis of the broader society and see how the contentions of this research can be applied to a wider demographic beyond the sample participants. Statistics as a branch of science, deals with the collection, organisation, analysis of data and drawing of inferences from the samples to the whole population (Ali Z, 2016). This research will be based on random samples of data taken from a population group which will be used to draw inferences about the wider population. This method is commonly referred to as Inferential statistics, which use a random sample of data taken from a population to describe and make inferences about the whole population. It is valuable when it is not possible to examine each member of an entire population (Ali Z, 2016). This method is commonly used to answer or test some hypothesis. Due to the nature of this study, much reliance has to be placed on working with statistical data that is already completed at a very wide level and draw inferences that speak to the subject of this research. To look at living conditions of South Africans in various categories of income; education; health access; development requires dedicated and advanced data collection and analysis techniques at a national level.

According to the Statistics Act, 1999 which binds Statistics South Africa (StatsSA) and from where StatSA derives its powers and purpose to assist organs of state, businesses, other organisations or the public in providing —

(2) Official statistics, which must protect the confidentiality of the identity of, and the information provided by, respondents and be—

(a) relevant, accurate, reliable and timeous;

(b) objective and comprehensive;

(c) compiled, reported and documented in a scientific and transparent manner;

(d) disseminated impartially;

(e) accessible;

(f) in accordance with appropriate national and international standards and classifications; and

(g) sensitive to distribution by gender, disability, region and similar socio-economic features.

StatsSA is therefore the primary organ of state who is responsible for the collection, production and dissemination of official and other statistics, including the conducting of a census of the population. Under the Statistics Act, 1999, the organ is bound to ensure reliability of the produced results in that they must advance the quality, consistency, comparability and optimum use of official statistics; avoid unnecessary duplication; endeavour to fulfil the Republic's international statistical reporting obligations; and liaise with other countries and their statistical agencies and represent Statistics South Africa internationally with regard to statistical matters. It is on this basis that reliance will be placed on statistical research conducted by StatsSA as a reliable expert in undertaking social research across the national demographic. This statistical contribution to the study widens the narratives of the sample participants and allows us to draw bigger and meaningful inferences about the presence of apartheid legacies in everyday lives of Black South Africans in particular.

2.6 Deepening Social Justice through Research

A critical aspect of this research is that, I am working with people and their stories. Stories about their lives, difficulties, challenges and stories that they may have never been able to talk about before, at least in the setting of research. In an interesting article, using narrative to pursue research, Elsa Oliveira and Jo Vearey (2015) applied a participatory visual methodology using photographs

and asking participants, who were migrant women who sell sex in Johannesburg, to document their own experiences. These women (research participants) participated in an ethnographic research approach documenting their lived experiences as sex workers in South Africa. A useful contribution highlighting the importance of narrative as analytical framework for social research.

The one woman participant writes about how the research gave her a platform to talk about her stresses as a way to heal from them. I found this really encouraging as I think about the deep stories I am asking people to share. It is, perhaps, also a chance for them to re-look at their lives and make sense of certain things happening to them as well. This is like a first step in raising consciousness amongst previously marginalized groups. Getting them to talk about their past, present and future. As critical diversity scholars in a (post) apartheid society, social researchers also carry a commitment to social research as a window to reflect on current societies and lead with new (post) apartheid imagery and intellectual reflection. Linda T. Smith (1999) reflects on colonial legacies on inferiorized subjects:

> 'One of the supposed characteristics of primitive peoples was that we could not use our own minds or intellects. We could not invent things, we could not create institutions or history, we could not imagine, we could not produce anything of value, we did not know how to use land and other resources from the natural world, we did not practice the 'arts' of civilization. By lacking such values, we disqualified ourselves, not just from civilization but from humanity itself' (1999:25)

Attempts at deepening commitment to social justice through research is gaining momentum in the South African (post) apartheid intellectual reflections. Scholars are increasingly looking at stimulating and novel ways to use research as a tool to reflect, heal and correct past injustices. One such novel use recently introduced by a Applied Drama practitioner and scholar, Tebogo Radebe (2018) who explored the use of Process Drama in exploring and addressing issues of race and memory among Black South African youths. Process Drama enabled Black South African youths who were part of the study to pose alternatives to the realities of race and memory in their everyday lives, this also served as a counter-storytelling exercise which was able to shift the dominant vocabulary in favour historically inferior voices and narratives.

The new frame of de-colonial thinking and de-colonial knowledge making is precisely to use intellectual and academically grounded thinking to advance social work.

2.7 Data Analysis

The aim of this research is to analyze the narrative/s that the research participants shared through the data collection process. As has been canvassed already, it is the stories of the participants that ground this work. In order to answer the following questions –

1.   Can legacies of apartheid be traced in the social structuring and experience of people living in the South African society today?

1.1   What does quantitative statistic reveal about the social reality of living with apartheid?

1.2   What does a qualitative study of a sample of people reveal about living with apartheid?

Interviews with members of society will document some lived experiences of everyday Black South Africans as a former apartheid state. Data from the above mentioned qualitative and quantitative inputs is arranged and studied thematically in order to do comparative analyses between what people say about their living experience in (post) apartheid South Africa and what the larger demographic shows in terms of the living experience of the South African population (post) apartheid. The aim of this analysis is at accessing as much context about some of the social realities still facing marginalized groups. The themes are –

- Social welfare in South Africa;
- The Home as a lens into the South African society;
- Crime as a lens into the South African society;
- Living income as a lens into the South African Society;
- Childhood development as a social study;
- Health as a social study;
- Alcohol in South African township communities;
- Spirituality.

Under each theme I draw comparative analysis and note patterns and corroboratory statistical value to broaden the study and strengthen our capacity to make structural analysis and inferences that can be generalized to a wider population. In so doing, we are able trace some noticeable connections between a former and (post) apartheid society.

2.8 Literature Review

2.8.1 The Apartheid Archive Project and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The covering up and denial of racism created the need to document the realities of apartheid more honestly, from those on whose bodies apartheid played itself. The Apartheid Archive Project, which is a research based project undertaken by graduate researchers across South Africa, became a unique platform for South Africans to document their experiences anonymously. According to Stevens, Duncan & Sonn (2013), one of the primary means of expanding the apartheid archive within this Apartheid Archive Project has been to solicit narratives from ordinary South Africans and drawing on their most significant experiences of racism under formal apartheid.

Part of the project's pursuit was aimed at the much more quotidian and systemic realities that continue to remind us of the apartheid days and the designs of the apartheid order, which do not grab the imagination of the public attention in quite the same manner as the more dramatically sensational events. What is important for this Project is to include the daily struggles of hundreds of thousands of impoverished Black people still trying to access a life better than the one that they had, or had been relegated to under the apartheid order (Stevens, Duncan & Sonn; 2013). The complexities of apartheid racism are hidden in these quotidian narratives of the oppressed and sooner rather than later, the complex issues that we hide, because of our human frailties and fears, will return in more violent and threatening ways. The most we can do is deal with them, as the future demands such commitment (Suleman, 2009, 32).

Research, particularly of the social nature can, understandably so, never be absolute. The social demands context and context creates difference, overlap and non-linearity. What is however particularly useful to note about personal narrative is that they also provide an opportunity to challenge the totaling effects of official histories (Stevens, Duncan & Sonn, 2013, 27). Personal accounts can become an important space in which to undermine 'grand' narratives that seem to cohere histories in linear and inevitably predictable ways. They continue that personal accounts at various points within narratives provide points of rupture, of discontinuity and of possibility in expanding histories to be more inclusive of multiple voices (Sullivan & Stevens; 2010; 426). Hamilton (2002) points to the place of oral testimony and reflection, and points to the fact that the fluidity and non-linearity, non-rigidity is what gives this form of data its strength.

The claims of this research are inspired by the excavation of narrative of the ongoing Apartheid Archive Project (2009), an archival project central to the important work of remembering and healing particularly from apartheid traumas. Charles Mills (2007) paints a vivid picture of the post colonial reality, insisting that the order of being in the world is pre and over determined by race. Mills notes that current societies which insist on constitutionalism are null and are at best, only meant to create an illusion of the absence of white supremacy. In effect, the contract that runs the world, despite any constitutional supremacy, is the Race Contract. He explains, the general purpose of the Contract is always the differential privileging of the whites as a group with respect to the non-whites as a group, the exploitation of their bodies, land, and resources, and the denial of equal socioeconomic opportunities to them (2007; 11)

According to Mills, the Racial Contract establishes a racial polity, a racial state, and a racial juridical system, where the status of whites and nonwhites is clearly demarcated, whether by law or custom. And the purpose of this state, by contrast with the neutral state of classic contractarianism, is, *inter alia,* specifically to maintain and reproduce this racial order, securing the privileges and advantages of the full white citizens and maintaining the subordination of nonwhites (13-4).

Mills explains that we live in a world which has been foundationally shaped for the past five hundred years by the realities of European domination and the gradual consolidation of global white supremacy, wherein the labour of imported African slaves was required to build the New World. (2007; 20).

Central to the Black South African's recovery from institutionlized and violent racism under apartheid is the honest engagement with trauma at the level of the subjective. Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela (2003) writes reflectively about the subjective state of the victim of oppression. It is imperative, I believe to understand apartheid not in policy only, but in its embodiment in the daily life of the Black South African, who now, years into its repeal, has to forge a life outside the violence. I do not believe it can be that simple to cleanse apartheid out of the bodies who carry its daily trauma, without considerable emotional, spiritual, psychological and economic investment. One way in which this was done or at least attempted in South Africa, was the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) established in South Africa, in 1995 as a way to remember the victims and their narrative of apartheid brutality and start the long road to making amends in South Africa. Madikizela (2003) who also highlighted the invaluable contribution of

narrative to research, writes that the narratives of trauma told by victims and survivors are not simply about facts. They are primarily about the impact of those facts on victims' lives and about the painful continuities created by the violence in their lives. There is no closure, as the lived experience of traumatic memory becomes a touchstone for reality and it tells us more than facts can about how people try to lead a normal life after such a trauma (Madikizela, 2003, 86). The TRC heard months of testimony from victims of apartheid, who brought into focus the painful, daily invasion of traumatic memory in their lives (Madikizela, 2003, 87). This is an important aspect of my research. To locate these inherited traumas initiated through violent apartheid, and how these traumas continue in everyday aspects of South African life today.

Admittedly, the TRC made a critical contribution to the process of dealing with the past (Cassin, Cayla & Salazar, 2004; 28; Villa-Vincencio, 2004; 27). However, Stevens, Duncan & Sonn (2013) write that given the TRC's tendency to focus on the more dramatic or salient narratives of apartheid's gross human rights violations and atrocities, it effectively foreclosed the possibility of a fuller exploration of the more quotidian, but no less significant, manifestations of apartheid abuse. As a consequence, much of the common, everyday details of apartheid racism had not been meaningfully assessed or publicly acknowledged (Peterson, 2012). This research aims to fetch these everyday details of apartheid racism, seen even through its legacy today, particularly given contemporary South Africa's apparent, self-imposed and carefully managed amnesia about the apartheid-era (Peterson, 2012; Villa Vicencio, 2004), as well as its blindness to the ongoing impact of the institutionalized racism of the past on current inter-group and inter-personal relationships, it becomes important to re-engage with its past, so as to deal with its effects on the present and the future (Stevens, Duncan & Sonn, 2013, 27).

The TRC was established by the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act as part of the political settlement that was reached (Jooste, 2011). The TRC's assignment included addressing the trauma of the past, repairing trust and restoring humanity, building a moral basis and new values for the South African society and legitimising the new dispensation (Jooste, 2011). The Truth and Reconciliation hearings were established as part of the mandate of the TRC to get as complete a picture as possible of the causes, extent and nature of politically motivated gross violations of human rights (Jooste, 2011). What I consider to be challenging with the outcomes of the TRC is that apart from public testimonials about the atrocities of formal apartheid South Africa,

the reparations never came. Perhaps, if one gives a more generous meaning to the intentions of the TRC, one might consider that maybe the TRC was not meant to be the total solution but only part of the (post) apartheid redress. Perhaps what the TRC was not more than an initial step to reparation, which would require as an early step, accountability for the atrocity. I offer that at that critical point of reckoning and democracy-inspired transitioning, social study should have directed the course to determine the extents and effects of apartheid, to accurately measure the level of investment needed to pull a country out of an apartheid. Social study is of important consideration to locate the many legs of inequality, at the source. The people. The narratives shared during the TRC should have formed the starting point for diagnosis. Not an end to the apartheid narrative analysis, which largely seems to be what happened or is currently happening.

Tshepo Madlingozi (2007) in a critique of the TRC also finds the TRC's neglect to critically examine issues of social injustice produced by apartheid and colonialism.[13] For him, this neglect still continues today.[14] The failure of the TRC to put social justice on the agenda has had important implications, especially given the fact that the gravest legacy that apartheid bequeathed to South Africa was one of systemic poverty, structural unemployment and inequality.[15] After [then] sixteen years of apartheid there still remains an unacceptable socio-economic gulf between Black and white South Africans.[16] Madlingozi's critique of the TRC suggests that it [the TRC] was influenced by the dominant discourse of human rights, thereby neglecting social justice (Jooste, 2011, 46)

Mamdani (1998) writes that in its eagerness to reinforce the new order, the TRC created a diminished truth that wrote the vast majority of the victims of apartheid out of its version of history.[17] For Mamdani, the TRC, in its attempt to define truth pragmatically, failed to open up space for social debate on the possible futures for a post-apartheid South Africa.[18]

Mamphela Ramphele notes that one of the challenges facing transformation stems from the elite pact that led to our transition.[19] It was inevitable that compromises needed to be struck. Attention

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[13] Le Roux & Van Marle (eds) 2007 107.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] ibid.
[17] Mamdani *" A Diminished Truth" Siyaya!* 1998 37-39.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ramphele *Laying Ghosts to Rest; Dilemmas of the Transformation in South Africa* 2008, 24.

to the socio-economic rights of the majority of the population was judged to pose a risk to the delicate balance on which the political settlement process rested.[20] The TRC was confined to examine gross human rights violations, leaving the socio-economic violations unaddressed.[21] Ramphele explains that the needed closure on the socioeconomic front was left to the Reconstruction and Development Programme of the post-apartheid government.[22] But, more than [then] fifteen years of experience with redressing socio-economic inequities suggests that the challenge was grossly underestimated.[23]

Mbembe (2008) argues that the question of what to do with the inequalities that have resulted from the unfair policies applied over centuries is both ethical and pragmatic.[24] He states that in order to achieve a modicum of social justice, South Africa must dismantle the barriers that were erected against full justice for all and attend to distributional inequalities.[25] For Black South Africans in particular, freedom must be translated into an expanded control over their labour and lives. [26] Almost on a similar note, in echo of Njabulo Ndebele (1968), when he crystalizes for intellectual benefit, a value proposition that a new society can only be brought about if we show concern with the way people actually live that encompasses complex ethical issues related to human relations and human relations with nature and society in general.[27] I am drawn to note how much of these contentions speak to a Black Consciousness ideal. That of freedom being the ability to self-determine, and so the stakes of freedom are high. Freedom is demanding. It demands, I suggest, a total collapse of all forms of physical, mental, emotional and spiritual subjection. Thus, this research aims to articulate the lived realities of Black people in the township, as subjects of racialized Social and systemic inequality. Black Consciousness Theory is the theoretical and literary framework that will be the vehicle through which I ground and make meaning of this work. I will use Black Consciousness Theory, as articulated by Steve Biko (1978), Rooting this research in the collective Black Consciousness, will enable me to speak to the consciousness of the Black

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[20]Ibid.
[21]Ibid.
[22]Ibid.
[23]Ibid.
[24]Mbembe *Public Culture* 2008 5 15.
[25]Ibid.
[26]Ibid.
[27]Van Marle *Griffith Law Review* 2007 421 in re: Ndebele *"The Rediscovery of the Ordinary"* Journal of Southern African studies 1968 143.

person I interview as I intend to gather from them what life looks like on the opposite side of equality and what they make of their reality.

Conclusion

This chapter provides much of the critical focal points from which to start looking at a re-arranged political order in South Africa. Assembling the attributes of Constitutionalism as a response to structural and institutionalized inequality is a worthy study to evaluate where South Africa is in its journey to democracy, if at all. I propose that the TRC as a means to direct the focus of apartheid to the marginalized majority who was oppressed under it was and continues to be a useful point of departure in re-visiting and addressing the structural wounding of apartheid, however, further research is to extend from where the TRC left off and look how to strategically and meaningfully address these structural wounds. The South African Constitution, at the moment, functions like a light at the end of a dark tunnel, but the country is still very much in this dark tunnel, and how we get through to the light is where engaging critical social research comes in to look at, *inter alia,* why this dark tunnel was built, how this dark tunnel was built and how do we get everyone out of it.

A big motivation for doing this kind of work is for me, setting the stage for transformation and transformative thinking. It is important for me to go to the oppressed, silenced, marginalized and access their realities from their own thinking and meaning-making processes. This is what helps bring a critical diversity project together. The silenced, speaking back to power. Are means and resources necessary for self-determination and pursuits of freedom? I would think so, which raises the concern whether those who were structurally victimized, economically alienated, along the racial divide through apartheid as an instrument, are able to access these means and resources necessary for their self-determination and consciousness. Seeing through this lens, I consider that the South African Black person as not having sufficient means to self-determine, which is both a physical problem and, if I may say, a philosophical inquiry. Ndumiso Dladla (2017) offers a philosophical counsel on the history of race in South Africa, and why undoing the Black marginalization not only requires economic realignment, but also a reconstitution of the place of African philosophy from a peripheral body of knowledge, to an integral part of the South African political and transformative reimagining. The next chapter of this report will reflect on the geneses

of apartheid and explore the foregrounding principles of the transformative vision of a constitution. I will evaluate some critique levelled at Constitutionalism in this following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

REFLECTIONS OF (POST)-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA.

Introduction

The dissolving of formal apartheid as a governing rule and formal structure of governance in South Africa ushered in the human rights orientated and transformation-aimed Constitution, formally enacted in 1998 as the supreme governing law of the Republic of South Africa. The Constitution brought with it a plethora of rights and promises aimed at restoration and transformation of a grave human injustice endured by the Black majority of South Africa.

According to Grosfoguel (2008) one of the most powerful myths of the 20th century was the notion that the elimination of colonial administrations amounted to the decolonization of the world. This led to the myth of a "postcolonial" world. The heterogeneous and multiple global structures put in place over a period of 450 years did not evaporate with the juridical−political decolonization of the periphery over the past 50 years. We continue to live under the same "colonial power matrix". With juridical− political decolonization we moved from a period of "global colonialism" to the current period of global coloniality (Grosfoguel, 2008:23). This chapter looks closely at the constitutional promises of equality, human dignity and freedom to all South African people, and whether the democratization of South Africa also meant a substantive repeal of the exclusionary structures that held up apartheid. Former President of South Africa, speaking at a session of the Human Rights Commission held in 2016, raised the perspective that South Africa is a divided nation. As a leader at a pivotal time in South Africa's history shortly after 1994, Mbeki explained that one of the nations is white, relatively prosperous regardless of gender or geographic dispersal – it has ready access to a developed economy, physical, educational communication and other infrastructure. But the second and larger nation of South Africa is black and poor, with the worst affected being women in rural areas, the black population in general and those with disabilities. [28] Mbeki (2016) continues that this reality of two nations underwritten by the perpetuation of racial, gender and spatial disparities over a long period of colonial and apartheid white minority domination constitutes the material base which reinforces the notion that indeed we are not one nation but two. This research study reveals that the status quo of inequality and exclusion continue

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[28] https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/1036768/sa-the-country-of-two-nations-mbeki/

to be maintained well into a so-called democracy and so the constitutional promise of equality and freedom, have largely remained promises, post 1994.

3.1 The conception of apartheid and the constitutional aim for reparation.

3.1.1 Apartheid as Inequality

Apartheid is the political doctrine established in 1948 by then established, the National Party, that governed South Africa until 1994,[29] when a more democratically elected government, the African National Congress (ANC) was put in place to govern the country. The term, literally translated, "apartness" reflected a violently repressive policy designed to ensure that white people, who then comprised 20% of the South African population, would continue to dominate the country. [30] This domination came at the expense of Black people, of South Africa, who were sentenced to a life of, as Biko (1978) coined the phrase, perpetual servitude under this oppressive regime. Under apartheid, all people who classified as non-white in South Africa were relegated to inferior existence and denied access to civil, economic and social rights and freedoms. To entrench and enforce the inferiority, the white government that formalized apartheid as governing law and principle in South Africa developed and executed restrictive policies on non-white South Africans.

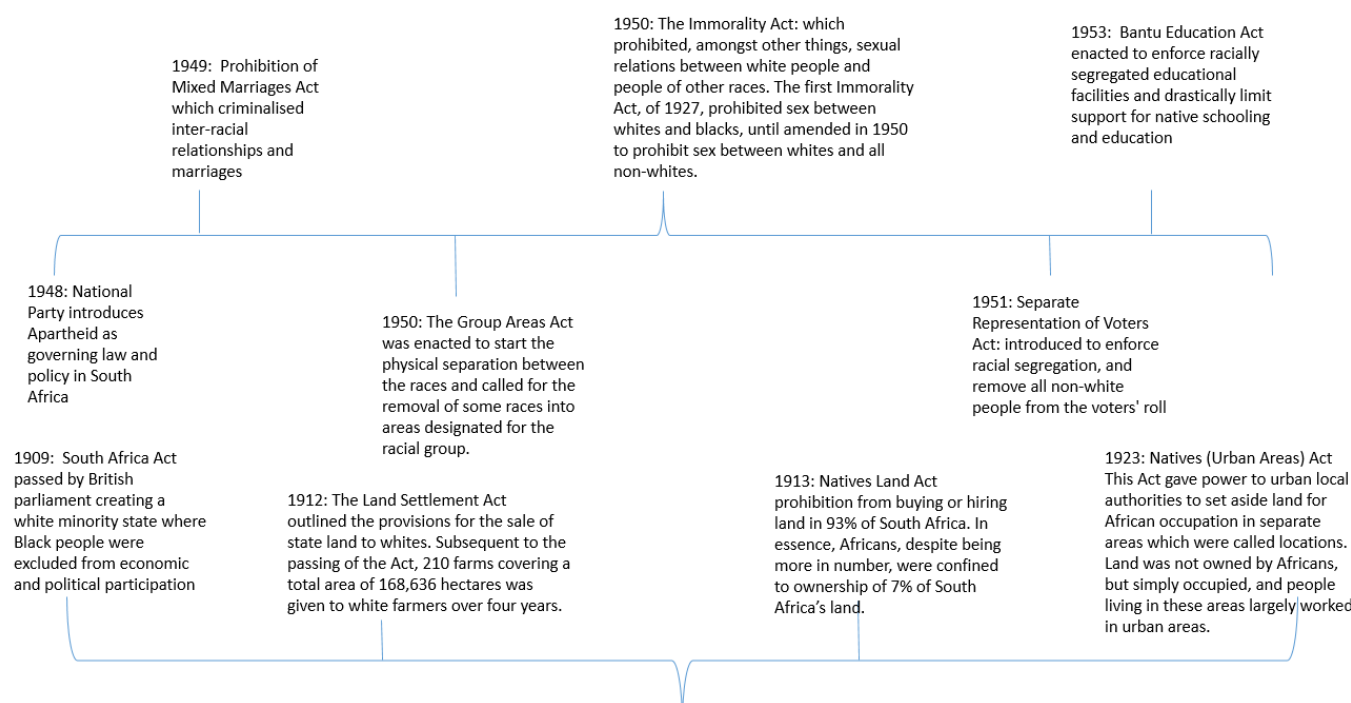[29]www.blackpast.org/gah/apartheid
[30]Ibid.

Fig 2: A graphic timeline representation summary of some of the grounding legislation enforcing apartheid. [31]

The policy of "apartness" began officially in 1948, but the practice of racial discrimination runs far deeper in the South African society. It is reported that as early as 1788, Dutch colonizers began establishing laws and regulations that separated white settlers and native Africans,[32] which laws continued and shaped the formalization of racism as a governing policy in South Africa. Formally, the span of apartheid was an odd 50 years. The impact of social discriminations on the basis of race is tied to aspects infringing the space and access on racially inferior groups under apartheid which lead to the marginalization and invisibilization. Apartheid methodology controlled and restricted access to civil economic, political and social participation of non-white persons relegated to an existence of poverty and inferiority. The consequent invisibilization implication on non-white South Africans during formal apartheid meant the exclusion and erasure of such bodies from mainstream civic functioning.

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[31]https://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/list-laws-land-dispossession-and-segregation
[32]Ibid.

3.1.2   The emergence of Constitutionalism

In 1996, in response to apartheid, the South African government, upon the toil and fights for freedom by its people and leaders, the interim Constitution[33] and later in 1998, the final Constitution was enacted, to govern as the supreme law of South Africa. The Constitution is a reflective statute with a transformative vision that it was drafted to correct something. The Preamble to the Constitution states –

> We, the people of South Africa,
> Recognize the injustices of our past;
> Honour these who have suffered for justice and freedom in our land;
> Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and
> Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.
> We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to -
> Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;
> Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by the law;
> Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and
> Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.

The Constitution, enacted as the governing statute after a formal repeal of apartheid (in 1994) as a governing law in South Africa, is entrenched in a transformative vision. The term "transformative constitutionalism" was introduced by Karl Klare in his renowned article titled: "Transformative

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[33]The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1998.

Constitutionalism and Legal Culture".34 Ever since the first mentioning of the term over a decade ago, South African legal scholars have interpreted and applied the notion in order to attempt to explain the role of law and the new constitution in our transformative society (Jooste, 2011). By transformative constitutionalism Klare means:

> [A] long-term project of constitutional enactment, interpretation and enforcement committed (not in isolation, of course, but in historical context of conducive political developments) to transforming a country's political and social institutions and power relationships in a democratic, participatory, and egalitarian direction.[35]

As Jooste (2011) writes, for Klare, transformative constitutionalism entails an enterprise of inducing largescale social change through non-violent political processes grounded in law.[36] This transformation should be vast enough to be captured by the phrase "reform", but something just short of a "revolution". [37] He envisages a highly egalitarian, caring, multicultural community that is governed through participatory and democratic processes in not only the polity, but also in what is called the "private sphere". [38] It is thus the collective project of legally driven social change that he calls transformative constitutionalism.[39] The essay looks into whether it is at all possible to achieve dramatic social change through law-grounded processes.[40] He attempts to explore some pieces of the puzzle and from here sketches the case for a post-liberal reading of the constitution. [41] With reference to the preamble of the constitution it would seem, according to Jooste (2011) as if South African constitutionalism attempts to transform our society from one deeply divided by the legacy of a racist and unequal past to or into one based on democracy, social justice, freedom and equality.[42] A post-liberal constitution is one that, according to Klare, is not only open to but, committed to large-scale, egalitarian social transformation.[43] He purports that the South African

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[34]Klare *SAJHR* 1998 146-188
[35]Klare *SAJHR* 1998 150.
[36]*Ibid.*
[37]Ibid.
[38]Ibid.
[39]Ibid.
[40]Ibid.
[41]Ibid.
[42]*also see* Pieterse SAPR/PL 2005 158.
[43]Ibid.

constitution is post-liberal because of the fact that it does not only have aspirations of equality, redistribution and social security, but it also strives to realise multiculturalism, pays close attention to gender and sexual identity, has an emphasis on participation and governmental transparency, recognises the importance of environmentalism and extends democratic ideals into the private sphere.[44]

The Constitution carries the hope and intention to "*Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person.*"This means that, it was envisioned that whatever new law South Africa was to inherit to speak to the injustice of apartheid, was to be one that firstly, recognizes the deeply wounding effects of structural racism on the oppressed people of South Africa and second, lay the foundation for the incoming government to set, as a priority, the restoration and improvement in how people in South Africa will live. More than this, the Constitution seems to stretch beyond what the eye can see, in its intention to speak to the subjective and create conditions that make living a meaningful, spiritually-dense and purposeful life attainable to all people in South Africa.

Section 9 of the South African Constitution (the Equality clause) provides that -

s9(1): everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law.

s9(2): Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms.

To follow the intention of the Constitution, as a corrective statute, we see in the litany of human rights what exactly it is that the Constitution sought to repair. These rights include -

s10 which provides that everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity protected;

s11 - Life, everyone has the right to life;

s12 - Freedom and security of the person;

s13 - Slavery, servitude and forced labour, where no one may be subjected to slavery, servitude or forced labour.

These rights are seemingly aimed at restoring a humanity brought on by unequal laws and brutal segregation under decades of apartheid rule.

One of the pillars on which the South African Constitution rests, as read in its Preamble, is the access to social justice and fundamental human rights. Fundamental. The Dictionary defines this

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[44]Ibid.

term as - *Forming a necessary base or core; of central importance.* The phrase, fundamental human rights, suggests to me, those human rights without which, a human life cannot be conceived of. A human life simply cannot be conceived outside these core, central suite of human rights that make living possible. What does a human life without these rights actually look like? It is useful for us to think through what these human rights are that the Constitution holds so primary in the definition of what may constitute livable human life. The Constitution begins, at Chapter 1, section 1 -

The Republic of South Africa is one, sovereign, democratic state founded on the following values -

> (a) *Human dignity; the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms.*

Human dignity, equality and freedom are posited by the Constitution as fundamental in the attainment and realization of a livable life. The intention of apartheid was, strategically, to rob the Black person of precisely these core life-forming rights. For at least 5 decades, Black South Africans existed as beings without human dignity, without equality, without freedoms. What were they then?

If South Africa is to come to terms with the reality of apartheid in order to attempt to realize and transform into (post) apartheid state, the strategic and structural wounding of apartheid must be competently addressed. To revive the impaired human dignity endured through formal apartheid, we need to look at the Constitution as a both a means and an end. Since the legality of conduct in South Africa is derived from Constitutional principles of human dignity, fairness and equality, the Constitution is to be the means through which we attempt to attain, as Biko (1978) puts it, our envisaged self. Once we understand that fairness and equality are the (post) apartheid South Africa jurisprudential pillars, we should increasingly find less difficulty in affording people access to these humanitarian rights. Unfortunately, social study paints a devastating picture. That access to these rights is still a distance away. My notion here (as a legal practitioner and scholar) is perhaps similar to what Pieterse (2005) advances that the historical self-consciousness of the constitution establishes a departure from the liberal depictions of constitutions as representing a

view of the state and society that is fixed in time and preserved for future generations.[45] The South African constitution is rather forward and backward looking, historically self-conscious whilst simultaneously embodying an "as yet unrealised future ideal".[46]

Jooste (2011) suggests, that to achieve transformative constitutionalism, a very particular understanding of the right to equality is needed. De Vos (2001) writes, the court has [rather] adopted a "contextual approach" to equality in which the actual impact of an alleged violation on the individual within and outside of different social relevant groups is examined.[47] This examination therefore includes considering the social, political and economic circumstances within which complainants find themselves.[48] De Vos (2001) contends however that this is not the full picture of the constitutional court's approach to equality and that the constitutional court has not fully embraced the transformative nature of the right to equality because it has insisted that at its core the equality guarantee protects the value of human dignity.[49] De Vos states:

> If this should mean that the Court is less interested in evaluating the ongoing structural social and economic inequality in our society and the concomitant patterns of disadvantage and harm, and is rather more interested in focusing on the human dignity of the individual, the concept of human dignity as employed in equality jurisprudence could become a stumbling block in the project of transformative constitutionalism.[50]

De Vos (2001) argues that the constitutional court has often failed to recognise the specific social or economic context in which the action had to be judged.[51] It failed to acknowledge the negative impact on a complainant because it failed to take into account the social and economic situation in which the complainant had to operate, and that put the complainant in a disadvantaged

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[45]Pieterse *SAPR/PL* 2005 157-158.
[46]Ibid.
[47]De Vos *"Substantive Equality after Grootboom: The Emergence of social and economic context as a guiding value in Equality Jurisprudence* AJ 2001 59.
[48]Ibid.
[49]Ibid.
[50]Ibid.
[51]Ibid.

position.52 Jooste (2011) draws interesting linkages between De Vos' concerns and those of Henk Botha (2007). Botha mentions that the constitutional court articulates its equality jurisprudence as premised on substantive equality and purports to be sensitive to context and past patterns of discrimination.[53]Botha however contends that the emancipatory potential of the court's general approach is not always reflected in its judgments.[54]The reasoning in some of the judgments strikes Botha as formalistic and uncritical of existing power relations.[55]In this regard Botha calls for a "complex equality" that requires a better understanding of the relation between the moral, political and material dimensions of equality.[56]This involves exploring the ways in which economic disadvantage, political invisibility and moral stigma intersect to constitute relations of domination, as well as the ways in which patterns of subordination such as racism, sexism and poverty intersect.[57]

I am interested in the idea of a complex equality. A non-linear understanding and approach to equality politics in South Africa. What makes the study of equality a complex subject is the societal nuance. I am slightly more considerate of the constitution's resolve to individual human dignity as well as the collective. It is just as important, I suggest, to also look closely at people's realities intimately and afford appropriate redress, at the level of the individual.

3.2 (Post) apartheid expressions: a critical study and the resolve to Black Consciousness

Much of the grandstanding that came with the democratization of South Africa did not come with tangible and substantive reparations for the Black inferiorized majority. The national agenda in overcoming the effects and wounding of apartheid was to promote a sense of unity and nation-building, without actual concrete structural solutions to institutionalized racism. The result has been what we see happening in South Africa, 23 years into a so-called democracy – a grossly unequal state that has preserved the mechanics of structural exclusion, under a new liberal banner of constitutionalism.

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[52]Ibid.
[53]Botha, *Equality, Dignity, and the Politics of interpretation in* Le Roux and Van Marle (eds) *Post-apartheid Fragments: Law, Politics and Critique* 2007, 148 at 148.
[54]Ibid.
[55]Ibid.
[56]Ibid.
[57]Ibid.

Sindiwe Magona (2012) writes in her work, *It is in the Blood - Trauma and Memory in the South African Novel,* of the inescapable trauma and the reality of Black South Africans troubled with the paralyzing effect of apartheid. It is useful to quote her fully from page 93-

> ...trauma is a morbid condition produced by wounds or external violence. Psychological trauma is not visible the way bodily trauma is - it is a violent emotional blow, especially one which has a lasting psychic effect; a neurological condition from physical or emotional injury... the kind of emotional shock that creates substantial and lasting damage to the psychological development of the individual (generally leading to neurosis). Also, it results in debilitation, and the traumatized exhibits diminished functioning, or functioning is wholly destroyed.

Magona reminds us how the work of transformation is insufficient, if it is placed on the surface rather than a deep excavation of how far into the person apartheid went.
Magona (2012, p99-100) asks –

> What made us think that, just because every four or five years we can now ALL stand in lines, make crosses against certain people's names, we are whole? Healed? Whatever made us think or believe we were mended, cured, and rehabilitated? It was agreed internationally that apartheid dehumanized - in other words, it not only warped but actively damaged the human being, spiritually and physically.

Basically, damaged, being the operative word here, suggests that there is no humanity to conceive of. Absent human dignity, equality, freedom, there is no conceivable humanity. It is also important to mention also, that Magona writes from a subaltern perspective as once a Black woman domestic worker under apartheid herself. She continues at p101 –

> Apartheid dehumanized human beings. This means that South Africans entered their freedom, their post-apartheid space, dehumanized. Who told us we would be (automatically) re-humanized? Who waved what magic

wand to get us what we had lost, what we had been robbed of? What made

us think that just because we could vote this meant we were well, whole

and mended?

You are either alive and proud or you are dead (Biko, 1978; 173). To Biko, being alive had to be accomplished with pride, because the alternative was death (Canham, 2017; 5). He intimates that we must realize that apartheid is not a mistake on the parts of whites, but a deliberate act, and that no amount of moral lecturing will persuade the white man to correct the situation (Biko, 1978, 100). Here, he points to the nothingness that is Black life if that life is not one of dignity. Dignity is inherent to the human being. If one is forced to live a life without dignity, then one might as well be dead. In fact, Biko is saying, one IS dead, if one has nothing to feel pride in. Emerging out of the need to respond to inequality of oppression of the Black, Black Consciousness inherently carries the promise of true emancipation of the Black people of South Africa. For we are made to understand is that Black Consciousness expresses the determination of the Black to rise and attain the envisaged self, for freedom is the ability to define oneself with one's possibilities, held back not by the power of other people over one, but only by one's relationship to God. I explore deeply what Biko expresses here. Black South Africans, under formal apartheid were deliberately stifled and their progression and becoming structurally stagnated. Black South Africans, I consider, existed in a space of non-living, where for much of their lives and quotidian experiences, they were in some form of suspended existence.

Magona (2012) says trauma is in the blood of the people of South Africa. They can neither escape it nor ignore it and contends that because apartheid is a nefarious, evil system, it could not but bear highly poisonous fruit (Magona, 2012, 94)

3.3   A return to love, what Black Consciousness offers

'Love is the way of being alive' - Dr Cornel West

The philosophy of Black Consciousness expresses group pride and the determination of the

Black to rise and attain the envisaged self (Biko, 1978). Bell hooks (2000) writes, quoting

philosopher Cornel West that any disease of the soul must be conquered by a return to one's soul. This returning is done through one's own affirmations of one's worth - an affirmation fueled by the concern of others (hooks, 2000, 94) Institutionalized racism functions to de-humanize the other, to de-value the other. It counters any affirmation of the other. Sindiwe Magona (2012) writes, 'apartheid dehumanized human beings. This means that South Africans entered their freedom, their post-apartheid space, dehumanized. The democratic dispensation of 1994, I argue in this study, did not usher in true liberation or the re-humanisation of the black people of South Africa.

If it is the functioning and ideal of apartheid to rob Black people of their individual and collective self-worth and pride, its operation has relied on the diminishing of Black people to inferiority, to something less than what they are, non-humans. The repetitive infringement and denouncing if human dignity of Black South Africans is the subject for healing approaches in order to regain individual and collective dignity – one must effectively reverse that which sought to challenge and erase one's human dignity. For Biko, that process is an internal one. Human dignity is linked to personal ownership and the acceptance of the existence and divinity of one's own humanity, and by extension, the humanity of others, *Ubuntu.* Without this affirmation and acceptance of oneself, inferiority is often internalized and self-owned. For Biko, the mental and spiritual labor attached to releasing the trappings of inferiority is the work of Black Consciousness. Black Consciousness is thus both an intrinsic journey and a destination for the envisaged Black self. Without dignity, there can be no love. Dr Cornel West attaches love as the primary condition of being alive. Denied dignity and systemic injustice keeps us from this part within ourselves – to love freely and honestly and live in community with others as fellow equal inheritors of this creation.
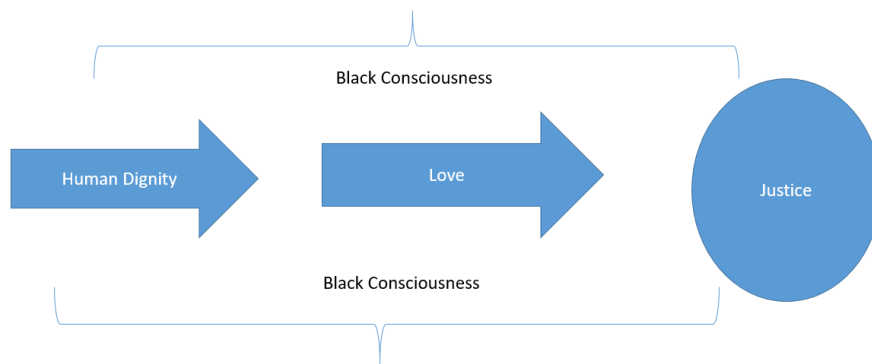
To love, or as bell hooks (2000) frames it, embracing a love ethic, means that we utilize all the dimensions of love – being care, commitment, trust, responsibility, respect and knowledge. I suggest, inequality compromises the individual's realization of these dimensions of love, making the attainment of love, almost impossible. Where there is poverty, there is a compromise of care, for instance. As various points of this research findings suggest, many who are living in conditions of poverty in South Africa just do not have access to care. Compromised health, compromised education for instance, would make the above dimensions of love, Hooks describes above distant. hooks (2000) writes that cultures of domination rely on the cultivation of fear as a way to ensure obedience. She continues (at p93) that fear is the primary force upholding structures of domination. hooks here uses fear as a counter force for love, almost suggesting where there is fear there is no love even going as far as saying 'there is no fear in love.' I look at fear as an enabler of love, in respects. It is often that which we fear most that we care deeply for. As a simple, yet practical example. A fear of snakes can be understood to be quite common among people, but the snake is not what is feared in of itself, it is what harm the snake can do to one that is the object of the fear, the fear is rooted in the fear of harm to our person, for we love and care for our person. When we can see ourselves as we truly are and accept ourselves , we build the necessary foundation for self-love (hooks 2000, 53).

Biko stated and I re-state it here, you are either alive and proud or you are dead (1978, 173). Biko suggests, that Black persons under apartheid had no option but to rage against the system if they truly loved themselves. Being alive had to be accomplished with pride, because the alternative was death (Canham, 2017). He continues, that the generative potential of Black rage

lies in the promise of the expression of self-love – a psychological declaration of self-worth and defense against oppression. For Fanon, he writes, at the level of the individuals, violence is a cleansing force, it frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect (1963, 74). Canham (2017) writes that Malcom X was another advocate of Black love and borrowed from the rich tradition of Negritude and Black Power which was a preoccupation with questions of identity and liberation through self-consciousness and self-definition (More 2014, 175). More (2014) traces the connections between diasporic movements such as Negritude, Black Power and the Black Consciousness Movement, by noting that they all subscribed to Black racial solidarity, group self-reliance, pride in Black (African) heritage, Black self-love, de-lineation and de-colonisation of the Black mind (2014, 177). According to Cornel west, Malcom X's rage was driven by his love for Black people and believed that if Black people felt the love that motivated that rage, the love would produce a psychic conversion in Black people, they would affirm themselves as human beings, no longer viewing their bodies, minds and souls through white lenses, and believing themselves capable of taking control of their own destinies (1994, 136).

Black Consciousness was to pump back life into the Black man's empty shell, to infuse him with pride and dignity, to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused. Biko continues (at p115) "*man, you are okay as you are, begin to look upon yourself as a human being.*" What this contention is speaking back to is the very instance when the Black South African was taught to believe in their own inherent inferiority which dehumanized them. I understand Black Consciousness thought and action is directed towards the very correction of the status of the Black person as inferior, and that process of conversion has to be done primarily and most essentially, by the Black person themself. Canham (2017) writes, that for Malcom X, psychic conversion is the process of change wherein one no longer views him/herself through white lenses. Self-love incorporates a sense of high self-worth. For Black Consciousness, as Canham (2017) writes, Black (self) love is not a choice but a condition necessary for living with integrity.

Cornel West (2009) speaks of a Catastrophic Love, explaining that Black people in America could have chosen counter-terroristic tactics when they were lynched over and over again, but

instead, chose integrity. West speaks of love as a countervening force. A radical response to life. He continues, *'but unconditional love is always tied to justice. Justice is love on legs, spilling over into the public sphere.'* It seems probable, and following from West's connection of love and justice, that if there is no justice, there can be no love. I establish the centrality of a love ethic to the pursuit of justice, and the realization of human dignity as central to the attainment of love.

3.4 Conclusion

What does a radical transformation of society look like? Is a radical transformation of society a possibility? These questions force us to look critically at the steps to be taken to bring about a meaningful transformation from an apartheid arrangement. Asking these questions is also casting a shadow of doubt at the efforts of transformation thus far. Fanon (1963) argues, in echo with Black Consciousness sensibility, that under a colonial regime, such as existed in Algeria, the ideas put forward by colonialism not only influenced the European minority, but also the [colonized subject] in his reference, the Algerians, and so the objective of the native who has been brought up to self-hate and fight against himself ought to bring about the end of domination, but in so doing, he ought to equally pay attention to the liquidation of all untruths implanted in his being by oppression. For Fanon, total liberation is that which concerns all sectors of the personality.

In the South African context, much of the taking back of one's dignity ought to be supported by access and resources that make such self-recognition possible. If human beings are continuously forced to consciously inhabit un-habitable spaces in their daily life, the journey to self-recognition and appreciation is marred with obscurity.

If human beings are continuously forced by the apartheid structure to perform menial labour for equally menial pay and excluded from full economic participation and integration where they can realize their own potential, as the preamble to the Constitution upholds, it becomes difficult to visualize, believe in and entrench their own dignity. It becomes difficult to not see themselves as just a site of poverty, exclusion and inferiority. It becomes difficult to appreciate themselves as beings fully entitled to self-actualize. It becomes difficult to recognize themselves for what

they truly and holistically are as opposed to seeing themselves as a mere colonial subject. Injustice, as West gathers above, gets in the way of (self) Love.

In the following chapter, I situate my foregrounding framework within the realities of five research participants living in (post) apartheid South Africa today. These realities are also tested against what authoritative statistical data is telling about the social and economic reality of South Africa, today.

CHAPTER FOUR
RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1   Introduction

In this chapter of the report I lead, quite pointedly, a representation of my foregrounding contentions. I look closely at the black people of Soweto live their lives from day to day to point to startling similarities and what these similarities in ways of living point to. A systemic conditioning, set through the institutionalized racism of apartheid. In conducting this critical analysis, I use Black Consciousness theory and sensibility to observe and evaluate the experience of the research participants and corroborating statistical data. As Fanon (1963) gathers, that under the colonial regime, anything may be done for a loaf of bread or a miserable sheep. For a colonized man, in the context of oppression, living does not mean embodying moral values or taking [his] place in the coherent and fruitful development of the world. To live means to keep on existing, every date is a victory. I wanted to understand this sense of living for survival from the participants, and the broader South African population who have to orchestrate their daily survival through violent poverty.

I asked the interviewed participants, some questions that allow me room to expand on their experiences and draw critical analysis therefrom. I will share some interesting findings across themes that can allow us closer look and inferences into the lived experience of ordinary Black South Africans. The questions have been formulated to extract the following information –

- *Childhood and upbringing*: to interrogate some covert legacies of inequality from how the participants grew up and were raised in an unequal state.
- *Social welfare*: As the primary income to over 17 million people in South Africa, looking at social welfare in South Africa helps excavate some of the social issues of lack and in-access that create the conditions for welfare dependency among mainly Black South Africans, at the receiving end of structural racism.
- *Education*: to interrogate the legacy of inferior education as it continues to prevail beyond a democracy.

- *Crime*: to interrogate the legacy of apartheid that created firstly, the desperate living conditions for over half of South Africa's population forcing them to attain survival at all costs, including committing crime; and secondly, the legacy of Black people as doers of crime – a defining seed of apartheid.

- *Housing and living conditions* in the home: to interrogate the home and how the living conditions in the home were managed around lack and never having enough.

- *Diet; Nutrition and Health*: Access to good nutrition from an early age is a key building block to a more healthy life, the questions are meant to interrogate how food security in the home and accessing good nutrition was managed around inequality, which saw a compromise of nutrition for the sake of feeding the people in the family, the assumption here is, because of poverty and entrenched inequality, families eat what they can afford, as opposed to eat what they should. The deficiencies in access to quality health care for a Black majority in South Africa is rooted in unequal access and institutionalized segregation.

- *Alcohol use in the home*: it is useful to observe patterns of behavior between members of the family when it comes to alcohol and whether much can be said about the history of alcohol in township communities, and apartheid, a key instigator in those patterns.

What the reader will start to notice are the similarities and shared lived realities across the participants. This is useful as it allows us to centralize critically on how one ideology, has set the trend of life from most Black South Africans today. This is to speak back to the contention of this research that in as much as apartheid was/is systemic its legacies of exclusion and inaccess are just as systemic and still prevail in Black South African life, today, 25 years into a so-called democracy.

4.2   *Social Welfare in South Africa*

Rebecca Potts (2012), in *Social Welfare in South Africa: Curing or Causing Poverty,* contextualizes social assistance in South Africa and writes, that in 1947, then ruling party under Apartheid, the Afrikaner National Party, through its laws institutionalized racial discrimination with the intent to secure white power over South Africa's social system. Recent statistics show roughly that over one-quarter of South Africa's citizens depend on social welfare (Potts, 2012).

Black people were forced out of white residential areas into townships. as with all aspects of life, education was segregated and deeply unequal in that while the white children received quality education and access to tertiary education, the Black schooling system was, she says, grossly underfunded and of poor quality (Thomson Learning, 2005). She continues, that the establishment of a so-called democratic government, meant to mark an end of apartheid, was tasked with the overwhelming challenge of integrating the previously oppressed Black population into the economy. Interestingly, Potts affirms, that while apartheid is officially over, its legacy is alive and continues today (Potts, 2012).

One of the participants of the research that I interviewed works in social welfare in South Africa as an administrative clerk whose work, servicing the Soweto area, is to register indigent persons on the South African social security grant. She mentions that on a busy day, she can see up to 50 people who've come to register for social security.

When I asked her to share some of the narratives she has been confronted with in her daily line of work, she responded:

> It is so sad. Unfortunately, the work that officials like myself do, is not so different from the work of social workers - having to listen to the problems of the clients, you get to hear of stories that are very painful and sad, an alarming thing I find is the old grannies, who are left with grandkids, where the parents of those children have registered for child support grants for their children. These parents leave the kids with the poor old granny and go off with the child support grant that was meant for the kids. The grandmothers are then left to take care of these children with their own R1600-00 pension grant. These old women then resort to taking out loans, because this R1600-00 is not enough to take care of themselves, pay lights, rent and then also take care of the grandchildren.

As gathered from the participant working as a social security registration clerk, she sees up to 50 people a day for social security registration, all of them Black.

According to the *Statistical Release, P0318, General Household Survey, 2017*, the percentage of individuals that benefitted from social grants has been on a consistent increase from 12.8% in 2003 to 30.8% in 2017. This release reveals that grant beneficiaries were most common in rural communities such as the Eastern Cape (41.8%), Limpopo (40.1%), Northern Cape (37.5%), Kwa-Zulu Natal (36.4%). Contrast this to only 18.7% of individuals receiving social grants in Gauteng and 22.5% in the Western Cape were beneficiaries. As South Africa battles what is often described as chronic unemployment, at 27.1% in 2018, accelerated development in urban areas continues to attract much of the workforce, leaving most rural communities dependent on social welfare and without accelerated infrastructure and development programs.

Reflecting on Potts (2012) where she makes the contention that South Africa's new desire to correct a half century of deliberately discriminatory policies in education, housing, employment, politics and welfare has resulted in one of the largest social welfare systems in the world. In the February 2019 annual National Budget Speech of South Africa, finance minister, Mr Tito Mboweni said the following –

In the fight against poverty and inequality, Government has allocated R567 billion for social grant payments. In the year 2019, the grant values will increase as follows –

- R80 increase for old age, disability, war veterans and care dependency grants;
- R40 increase for the foster care grant to R1000;
- The child support grant will increase to R420 in April and to R430 in October.[58]

The new State's desire to correct a half century of deliberately discriminatory policies in education, housing, employment, politics and welfare has resulted in one of the largest social welfare systems in the world, in a country and population that still struggles to integrate the *previously* oppressed Black population into the economy. (Potts, 2012).

I was increasingly concerned with whether the provision of social welfare is itself adequate to meet the living needs of a person. I asked the participant to share whether people are getting adequate social welfare to sustain their needs and that of their families and where it has not been adequate, how are people surviving? Her response:

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[58]Budget Speech South Africa, 20 February 2019

Social grant can never be enough, a social grant is not a salary. It is just money from government to say "lets meet you halfway so that you can try your own means to also get somewhere. Hence the temporary disability grant valid for 6 months, it is the government's way of saying, we can assist you for now. It is meant to assist, not take care of you. The insufficiency of a social grant money makes people then go to loan sharks, using their social grant income as security, making them perpetually indebted and never able to quite make it.

I have picked up a trend, that lately, a 16 year old has a child, as there has now been an increase in child support grant applications from this age group. This year we are seeing a lot of people born in 2000/2001 to register their kids, and the trends show that next year the age will get younger, we'll be seeing people born in 2003 making child support applications.

I asked the participant whether she sees the situation with social welfare dependency getting any better? Her response:

The government can only do so much. The government is unable to increase the amounts, it is overspent. It is a very corrupt system, with people finding ways to cheat the system to access support grants. In a lot of cases, the money is not going to the people it is meant to support. There is so much corruption and fraud within this system that add to an already spent and exhausted social welfare budget. Everyday new people are being registered on the system. Last year, we were at 17 million grant recipients, but how many more are there now, since January? The government will simply not manage.

South Africa has to move towards a social welfare reform fueled by deliberate policy change and development strategies to foster the economic integration of marginalized groups under formal apartheid. Without deliberate policy change in unequal laws barring access to the majority, social welfare dependency threatens the national fiscus and results in a loss of young, capable talent and

skills that are better useful for creating and growing the economically active population of the country. A lot of talent is lost to social welfare dependency, which is both a physical and psychological attitude of paralysis. South Africa's social welfare philosophy threatens to paralyze what should be an active and gainfully employed population. How is welfare as charity and philanthropy helping to conceal the crime of inequality and racism, when we understand that the people who are dependent on social welfare for survival are not poor by nature, but have been impoverished, dispossessed and displaced, systematically by apartheid structure and logic. A crime against humanity. Giving handouts and not structural reparation and access, is part of the crime and not justice. An increase to social security payouts is not a sustainable strategy, what is more sustainable is reversing various exclusionary structures of the economy and redistributing the means and access for citizens of South Africa to make their own livelihood and in the long run, start to see a decline in the number of people dependent on social welfare. South Africa must undergo a radical policy change in the distribution of means and access, contrary to the logic of apartheid which created a welfare state in so far as the Black majority population is concerned.

Receiving R420 to support a child further entrenches poverty and exclusion. Access to quality schooling, health, nutrition, childhood development cannot be bought on R420 and so while an increase to the amount paid as child support is not a solution, the purpose for which this social grant is paid must be critically evaluated, because, what kind of life does it buy a child? Even when so much comes out of the national budget for social welfare, are we better off with it or are we merely sustaining the status quo? The apartheid status quo.

4.3 The Home – As a window into the South African society

The apartheid government, as part of its plan to segregate the non-white majority to inferior living and forced labour, built low cost three roomed houses when Black South Africans were relocated to townships under formal apartheid. Most people got one bedroom, a kitchen and a small, one may call lounge area. The structures were predominantly built in a way that the toilet was outside and there was no bathroom. These houses are tiny dwelling spaces for large families to squeeze their whole lives into. Mphahlele (1959) explains in his autobiography, that growing up in Marabastad township in Pretoria South Africa, his large family all slept in the same room which

had boxes of clothing and a kitchen dresser, his aunt and her husband slept in the room which had a table and chairs. He continues that because they were so many in the family, and there was only one bedstead which the grandmother and her aunts children occupied while him and his siblings would lay on the remaining floor space, where a sharp draught came up from underneath the floor and mice playing about their heads as they slept (Mphahlele,1959,28).This account resembles the accounts of the participants, particularly *Ruri* who describes how living in such limited and confined spaces with a big family is a tough compromise of one's sense of space, privacy and dignity. Mphahlele writes at least as early as 1959, in the heart of apartheid South Africa, *Ruri* sits across from me in 2018 but their stories are not a single day apart, as if apartheid never left. Did it?

I asked the participants to share with me narratives of how they grew up and were raised. I was particularly interested in the dynamics of the home from a structural and economic perspective. It is my aim here to draw the texture of the participants' raising in Soweto.

Ruri's response:

> I live in Soweto, grew up here, Meadowlands zone 9. I share the home with my family. I have been living here for most of my childhood. It is my grandmother's home, and she had children, which included my mother, and her children had us. Am an only child to my mother. My mother's sister and brother have five children between them. At one point all my grandmother's children had moved out of the family home in Meadowlands to their respective marital homes. My mother never married but brought a house in Grobler Park. Parents took their children to these new homes. When I moved to Grobler Park with my mom, for a very brief period though, the Soweto home became a place to visit.
>
> I am speaking of a 4 room house, 2 bedrooms a lounge and kitchen area. Things changed. My mom was diagnosed HIV and was in later years retrenched from her employment. This lead my mom to sell our Grobler Park home. We moved back to my grandmother's home in Soweto. At this time - more or less - my aunt and my uncle had also had to return home after their failed marriages. We all came back to the 4 room house in

Meadowlands. Each person came back with their children and all their baggage.

By "baggage" I ask her to clarify,

Physical and emotional baggage. My mother and her two siblings had baggage in the sense of children as well as their frustrations and emotional difficulty from a failed marriage. These also came back to live in one house. Everyone's problems came together. Frustrations of failed lives. The hope that we may have ever had at a different life, came to a crushing end and our parents had to attempt to rebuild, which meant a change in environment for us the children.

Living together, brought together by economic and social frustrations creates tensions in the house – we are sharing a small space as adults while simultaneously providing for the home. The costs increase, there becomes more mouths to feed.

Our needs are no longer single – basic things such as one's own room to sleep, are now luxuries. We are sharing a space, sharing wardobes, we keep clothes in boxes – there is no longer enough room. Which was a sad adjustment from once having space. You share everything. Have to be considerate of the other family members, often at the compromise of some of our own needs. There is also pressure to keep the peace among everyone, because we are all in this place, we have to make it work. Maintaining the peace is not the easiest thing to do. Especially when money to feed these many mouths is lacking.

What is also an aim for this research is to allow the stories and reflections of the participants to speak to each other as a way to thread a common apartheid ideology amongst Black South Africans reflecting on their (post) apartheid state. It is interesting and noteworthy to see how much of the narratives are shared and reveal a principle of lack, exclusion and insufficiency. To illustrate this, I asked the participants to share with me narratives of how they grew up and were raised. I was

particularly interested in the dynamics of the home from a structural and economic perspective. It is my aim here to draw the texture of the participants' raising in Soweto.

For re-iteration, Ruri's account above is a 2018 living condition. She still lives with her family in the same 4 room house in Soweto, Meadowlands, assigned to her grandmother after the forced removals of Black people into township dwellings by apartheid rule. Despite a democratization of the state, the state of living to a frighteningly great degree, reflects the image of apartheid, which forces the conclusion of a persisting apartheid in democratized South Africa. The whole idea of land for poor Black people means the space itself, room to live and love, and also dignity of being fully human in a hostile world. Black people are not poor, poverty is not natural to them, they were systematically impoverished, dispossessed and displaced, Soweto as a territory and also an existential experience is an artefact of apartheid and its racism.

Not having space to live is a critical limitation on the human being. Growing up with this constant limitation, can carry a sense of limitation in their access to things. Black South Africans are, structurally speaking, conditioned from a very young age, to live with lack and negotiate their lives around not quite having enough.

Tumi's engagement about his home growing up is interesting and echos Ruri's experience too -

> I moved to Soweto early in 1995 before then I had lived in a number of places. Alex, Rabie Ridge, Sebokeng, and then Soweto. I have for the most part, always stayed with my mother. Both my mother and father, separated and I had to live between both parents, I became the tennis ball between the two. My brother (around the age of 14/15 that time), who is older than I am, stayed at a friend's house because, growing up, we struggled with a place to stay.

Thuli's response to the question of how they were raised at home:

> I grew up in Meadowlands, Soweto. I am the last of 3 kids - I lived with 4 other people in the house - My Mother, Father, 2 siblings. The house was a 3 room house, 1 bedroom, 1 dining room and a kitchen - myself and my

siblings slept in the dining room - while the parents occupied the bedroom. The dining room was a bedroom by night, and a dining room by day- we slept under the dining room table, where we could find space, and we would lay blankets on the floor and sleep. Eventually I started working at Pick n Pay as a general worker, I only studied until matric. I got married, moved to a marital home in the township of Vosloorus, still in Johannesburg. I had 2 children. When my marriage didn't work out, I got divorced and moved back to my mother's home with my two children. I went home to find my parents and siblings and their children living there. Their marriages too, failed and sent them back to our mother's home. No one but me was working. I became the breadwinner when my dad went on pension. I was supporting the whole family, my older sister also was not working so her 3 children also became my concern. We all lived in the home together for over 25 years. Now, I moved from my mother's home and live with my children not too far from my mother's house. It was not good staying in a crowded house. It causes a lot of fighting between us, because we are so cramped. Everyone is living there and raising their children, we don't have space, and always fighting for space.

The common theme emerging across these above narratives is the negotiation of one's life around lack and exclusion. Having little and forging a life out of that little. For the participants, being moved to live in Soweto, as an apartheid enforcement on Black South Africans has sufficiently limited their access to a home and recreation. For them, the dehumanizing effects of apartheid are still real and tangible. These testimonies wrestle with a spiritual challenge for peace. They mention, to some or other degree, how not having enough, disturbs their peace, breeds toxic relations among family members who are stretched to share little. This account is a disturbing legacy of apartheid in South Africa, where so many families are still fighting for space to live under conditions of persisting economic exclusion in a democracy. The home, becomes a critical site for (post) apartheid reflections, especially amongst Black families in South Africa.

4.4 Crime – As a lens into the South African society

A study of crime in the South African context and indeed in many parts of the world, reveal that it is heavily gendered and organized along racial lines. Crime in the townships. Fanon (1961) writes on this troubling aspect of Black life in a simplistic but informative contention. He writes, that confronted with a world ruled by the settler, the native is always presumed guilty (Fanon, 1961, 115). One of the research participants *Tumi* says in his interview, that as a young Black man, one is forced into criminality, it presents an uncomfortable truth about the structural conditions Black people, find themselves in, which conditions pave the way for a life of criminality for a lot of Black men, and to the lesser but still great extent, Black women. According to *TheFactsheet: The State of South Africa's prisons*, researched by Gopolang Makou, Ina Skosana & Ruth Hopkins (2017),[59] from figures sourced from the *2015/2016 Judicial Inspectorate for Correctional Services Report,* which states, that at the end of 2016, South Africa's inmate population stood at 157 013 people, 125 006 of those, that is nearly 80% of the prison population were Black people. Since only 2.6% of that figure belongs to women inmates, the arrow and the weight rests on and toward the Black man.

I asked the participants to share with me their and their families (if any) involvement in criminal activities.

> (Ruri responds) Not me, but my brother has found himself continuously on the wrong side of the law. He was involved in drug syndicates at some point. He was always in trouble. The family always played it down as, "boys will be boys." The men are pushed out by the matriarchs. So it is not uncommon for them to find themselves in trouble. Consequences of having matriarchs, they [the men] become stagnant, they never know how to do. The boys were cushioned the girls were trained to be the workers. And that is why the men never learn to do for themselves. As one common saying goes, your husband is your child.

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[59]https://africacheck.org

I am interested in an aspect raised by Ruri here and invites another critical view. The Black masculine and feminine divide that has developed over generations of cultural training and influence. The township is a matriarchal community and I could proffer some reason for that, South African migrant worker systems effectively relocated Black South African men from their homes to be used as labour, deployed to mine, for instance. This developed a matriarchal dynamic in how the home and by extension, the communities are influenced, with the accompanying structural alienation of the Black man. I am interested in troubling some of the concepts, around how possibly this resultant alienation of the masculine from the home also speaks to the location of a prison as a statistical commonplace for South African Black men. Critical science forces us to trouble even our own understanding and so perhaps these themes are far worthier of due excavation – outside the delineations of this particular project. I think deep excavations of these emerging perspectives is critical to South African social science. This research is perhaps, a start.

Tumi responds:

> (Tumi's response) Being a young black man, you are forced into criminality- crime is a real fear, afraid of being a criminal, because of the Black condition, you find yourself in crime. Always looking for ways to survive – you learn fraudulent means motivated by survival. Our mothers were fraudulent too, because they too were motivated by survival. The Black man's crime is more literal. We grow up playing dice on street corners and so it goes.

A similar narrative and perspective is reflected in Thuli's response:

> Not me, I had a nephew who was on drugs most of his youth and young adulthood, this lead to his periodic arrests. He would be arrested for housebreakings. Prison became his life. He left school early and got involved in, I suppose, groups of boys committing housebreakings. The place we live has a very bad influence on the youth, it is easy for children

to turn to bad things. There is nothing constructive that the youth of this place can do apart from coming together to do bad things.

During formal apartheid South Africa, Black people were policed, to punishing and violent extents. It was the function of the police to terrorize Black people in their homes and communities and to re-enforce and cement the Black person's perpetual wrongdoing and inferiority status. I find the words written and popularly expressed in song by late South African and internationally acclaimed Jazz composer, Dr Hugh Masekela, who wrote and expressed in song, lived narratives of Black people in South Africa living under formal apartheid. He says in song *Khawuleza Mama*, "Hurry Mama" which is a known township song and comes from townships. These were, during formal apartheid, the typical calls from children, who would shout these words from the streets as they saw police cars coming to raid their homes for one thing or another. "*Hurry Mama",* they would say, "*Please please don't let them catch you"*.

This was the situation in South Africa during formal apartheid. Daily police terror. Black people were never safe from the police. Even in their own homes. It should alarm us not, to see the cycle of criminality present itself in a (post) apartheid South Africa. The Mail&Guardian writes[60] that in 2009, then Constitutional Court Judge Kate O'Regan asked in a paper about justice and reconciliation what the implications were "of the arrest and imprisonment of so many South Africans for deeply unjust reasons over so many years for our modern attempt to establish a shared conception of justice in a constitutional democracy founded on the rule of law?"

She argued that the implications "must, at least in part, be the absence of a deep, value-based commitment to respect for law in our society and deep skepticism about the possibility of justice. The enforcement of unjust laws with the effect of sending hundreds of thousands of people to jail over many years must have weakened any sense that law-breaking or imprisonment are of and in themselves wrongful."

O' Regan warned that developing respect for the law would take time, and concerted effort. South Africa began that process badly, by not holding to account those who were responsible for gross human rights violations under apartheid. South Africa thus entered its new dispensation with impunity entrenched, and so it has remained.

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[60] https://mg.co.za/article/2014-09-19-why-is-crime-and-violence-so-high-in-south-africa/

As, I suppose an ethnographic contribution to this paper, I recall this narrative so clearly from what my grandmother has told me. She too, was raided almost daily and slapped about by a white policeman, while her house was torn up side down by those of fairer skin in uniform, a uniform that was locally understood, as the uniform of brutality. Mpahlele (1959) describes a scene from his own childhood, where his aunt, with whom he lived under formal apartheid, brewed beer for sale to the township community, '*go and watch outside, my son*', he would be told. This was the same old cycle. He writes, 'I think now how harassing that torchlight was. It was always like this: Saturday night and torch lights; Saturday nights and police whistles; Saturday night and screams; Saturday night and cursing and swearing from the white man's lips, I was only thirteen (Mphahlele, 1959; 31).

Wrongdoing was not a literal act on the part of Black South Africans, but primarily by the mere wearing of Black skin. This was in of itself, deserving of police punishment. Apartheid created a state of inevitability, when it came to a Black man and crime. The Black man and woman were constantly on the wrong side of the law, breathing truth into Fanon's above statement. The native to always be presumed guilty. This was a seed planted by apartheid. To have the Black person a perpetual criminal. It is therefore not surprising to see this legacy continue beyond the repeal of formal apartheid. This legacy, coupled with punishing conditions of structural poverty make the Black man crime statistic in South Africa, nothing out of the ordinary. Crime is too, the Black person's inherited legacy.

As a comparative analysis to the criminal justice system in the U.S, Marc Mauer (1999) writes in the crisis of the young African American male and the criminal justice system, and says, that the criminal justice system has historically served as a focal point of much societal racism. A long legacy of practices such as extra-judicial lynchings and police brutality have shaped the history of African Americans and the criminal justice system. Mauer (1999) looks at the effect of imprisonment on deterring crime and writes that it is generally assumed that since people fear the prospect of going to prison, some may refrain from crime as a result. But what happens to that deterrent effect as the experience of prison becomes quite pervasive in a community?

I asked the participants to share their and their families (if any) involvement in criminal activities. Notably, almost all of them spoke of men in their family who had been periodically incarcerated. Again, the more one is forced to live in prison, the less sensitive one becomes to it and as Mauer (1999) contributes, since going to prison is now a commonplace event in some neighborhoods, the prison experience may come to be seen almost as an inevitable part of growing up for many Black males and one over which many individuals believe they have little control (Mauer, 1999). Writing from my own experience, Black males in my community of Meadowlands, were routinely loaded into the back of a police and alarmingly, most didn't and still don't seem to be troubled by being arrested. It is almost like a game them and the policeman play. It is useful to examine Odera Oruka's concept of punishment as developed in his book, *Punishment and Terrorism in Africa* (1976). Oruka here argues that crimes are a symptom of social disharmony and so those who live in poverty, steal in order to survive. Okura's thinking here is that so-called criminals do not commit their crimes out of their own free will but always do so because of social, economic or psychological conditions and constraints and can accordingly not be held responsible for their acts. For Okura, instead of meting out punishment, the state should ensure each person's basic needs, or what he refers to as the human minimum. To prevent criminal acts and to secure social harmony, the state has to remove the conditions that cause people to adopt criminal behavior (Odera Oruka 1985,84)

4.5   Living Income– a social study

Part of my research findings were aimed at a study of household income, which for obvious reasons will open the gates to understand what has been possible in some households, and where there were gaps, what were those material compromises that were made and the possible resultant effects it has on one growing up. I asked the participants to share how much the household would typically survive on monthly and most R1500 a month from, usually, a single breadwinner for the family. South African Market Insights (2015) shows, using data from StatsSA, that at least 19% of the entire Soweto population does not have an income. [61]

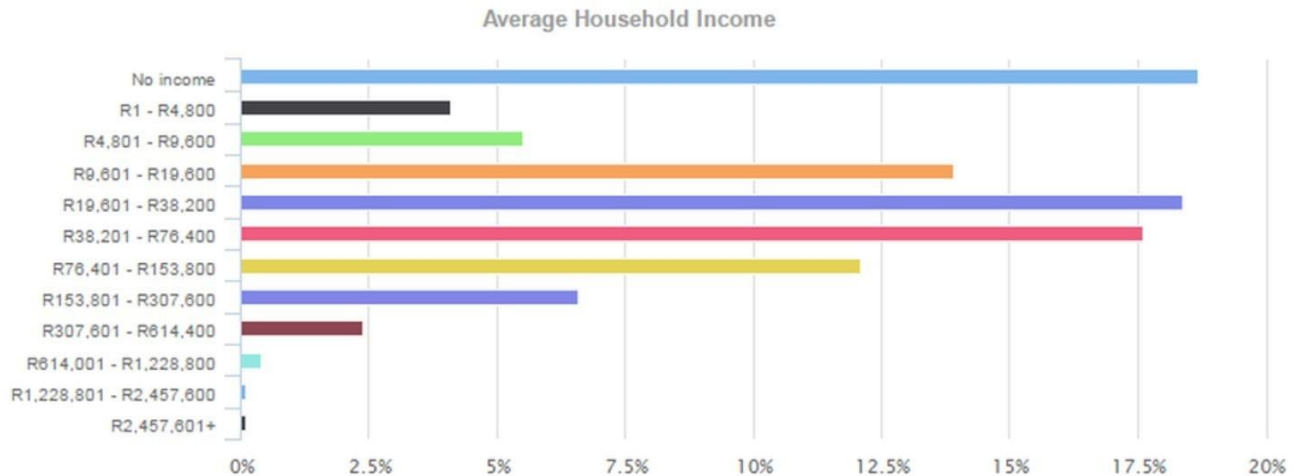[61]https://www.southafricanmi.com/soweto-in-detail.html

Average Household Income

Fig3: The Average Household income per annum, of Soweto residents (2015)

The highest population in Soweto lives without an annual income and the lowest population earns above R600 000 annually. High unemployment in South Africa, caused by low levels of education and skills amongst the majority population, caused by exclusionary policies in education and development under institutionalized segregation for at least 50 years will likely produce results such as these. The primary reason reported by most children of school going age not in school, is lack of resources to attend school. This is shown in the figure below. [62]
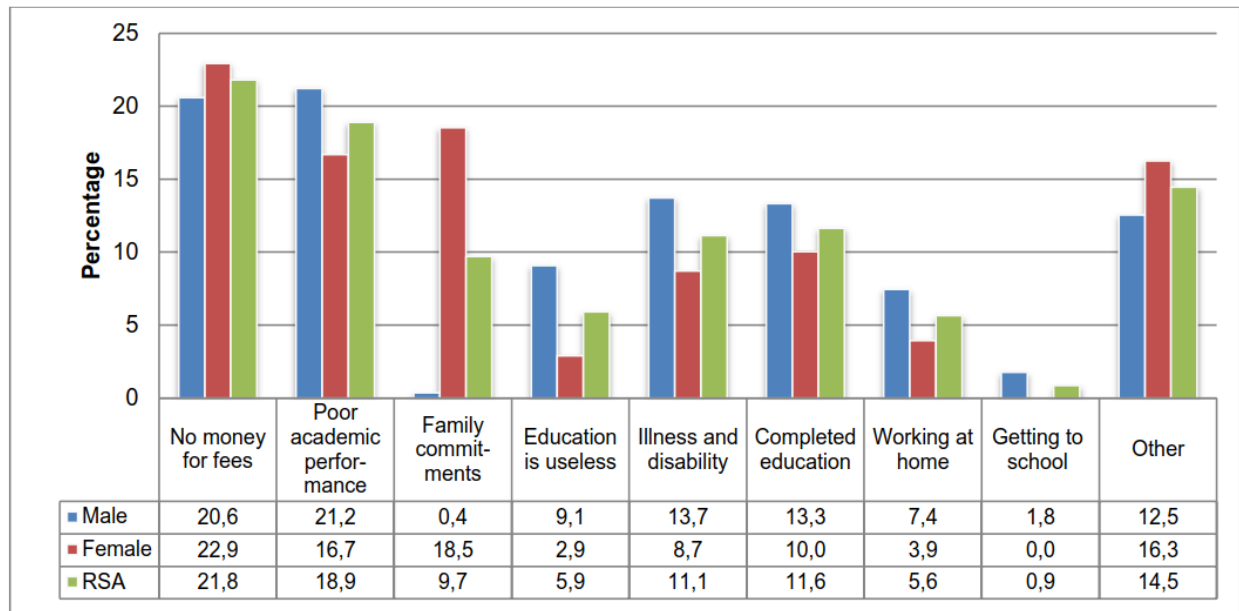
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[62]www.statssa.go.za

	No money for fees	Poor academic performance	Family commitments	Education is useless	Illness and disability	Completed education	Working at home	Getting to school	Other
Male	20,6	21,2	0,4	9,1	13,7	13,3	7,4	1,8	12,5
Female	22,9	16,7	18,5	2,9	8,7	10,0	3,9	0,0	16,3
RSA	21,8	18,9	9,7	5,9	11,1	11,6	5,6	0,9	14,5

Fig 4: StatsSA, percentage distribution of main reasons given by persons aged 7 to 18 years for not attending an educational institution by sex, 2017.

Juxtapose the average household income in Soweto with the average household income depiction of Sandton, where the majority resident is a white population (49.8%). Black South Africans make up 34.7% of the Sandton population. The graph shows –
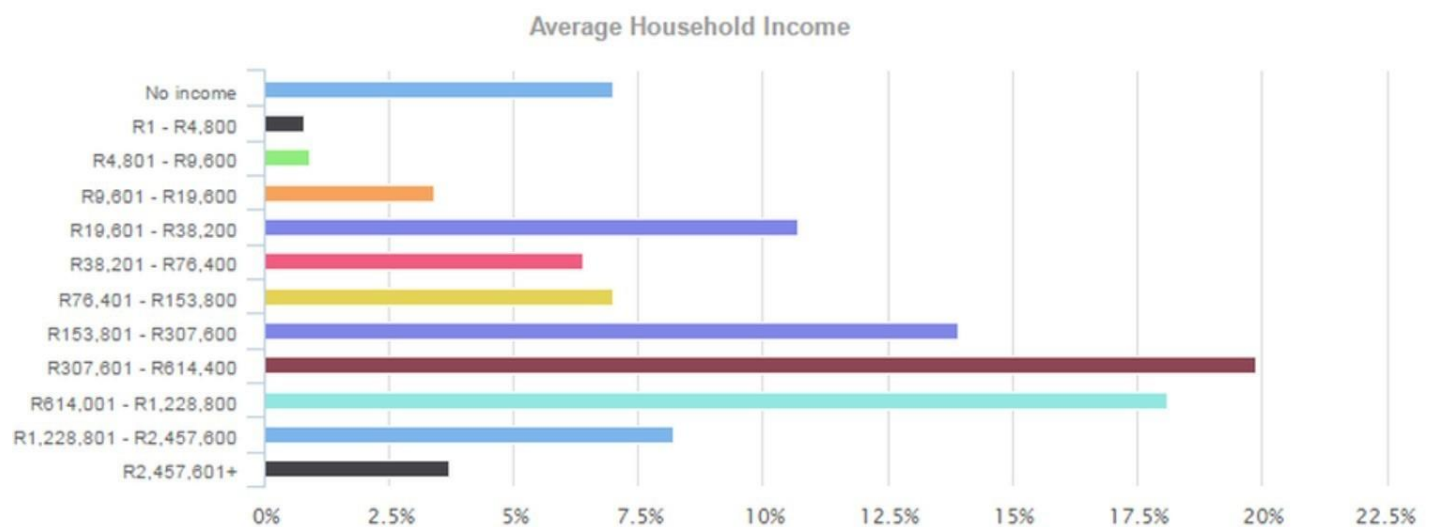

Fig5: The Average Household income per annum, of Sandton residents (2015)

While 19% , the majority, of Soweto households do not have an income, only about 7% of Sandton residents do not have an income and contrary to the depiction in Soweto, a majority of Sandton residents earn above R600 000.

To echo this finding and apply it to social realities, I asked a participant, Tumi, what living with such a low income meant for them growing up. His response was critical:

> It conditions you to want to fight against not having – you are constantly wanting to have – it is systematically designed historically –one is historically conditioned to be in a position of lack and need – you are always lacking something – the lack walks in before you – it precedes you, always.

Statistics South Africa released a report documenting South Africa's Gender Statistics for 2011. In terms of the report, white male employees earn nearly four times as much per hour on average than Black African male employees, while white women earn almost three times as much per hour, on average, as their Black woman counterparts. [63] Coupled with these figures, 2011 statistics also show that 32.5% of Black women are unemployed (30% Black men) while only 5% of white men are unemployed (6.7% white women).[64] Economic participation in South Africa is racialized, informed by institutionalized apartheid. As a result, there are families, like the one *Tumi* and *Ruri* describe above, that live on bare minimums and have to sustain themselves. It is simply not possible to create or even imagine to create any livable life in the home with R1500,00. What gets done, and what gets left behind? School shoes or school stationery? winter clothes or food? One cannot get all at once. One grave and devastating compromise after another. The price of inequality.

4.6   Childhood Development – a social study

StatsSA released figures that as at 2015, 13 million children in South Africa live in poverty. They note, in their report, and unsurprisingly so, that growing up in poverty is one of the greatest threats

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[63]www.statssa.gov.za Gender Statistics, 2011 – Report -03-10-052011
[64]Ibid.

to early childhood development.[65]The effects of structural poverty are often so cutting. *[Tumi]*says, above, that his family would have to live off roughly R1500.00 monthly. What statistics are able to depict, is that narratives from *[Tumi]* and the other participants are more typical than not. These alarming poverty statistics mean that most families have to contend with lack as part of their day-to-day survival. The choices of living become constrained. The choice of where one goes to school, is limited by how much one has, choices of what to eat, is limited by how much one has, and for *Tumi,* and indeed a considerable population of poverty-stricken people in townships, they always get less. What I am interested in is what having or being exposed to less does for the individual growing up in a world where others have so much more. What can R1500.00 do for a whole family for a month? It means these people's living conditions have to be materially determined by poverty. Sindiwe Magona (2012) writes, that psychologists seem to suggest that there is significant difference between the physical architecture of the developing brain of children who get social stimulation and that of those deprived of this in the first three years of life. Psychologists, assert that this has huge implications for later development and behavior (Magona, 2012,97).

It is interesting to see for many of the participants how school became a positive channel to access better. School seems to have been for most of the participants a positive divergence from the living and conditions at home. More so, it was the extra-curricula that the children were starved at home that helped develop their interests and talents and developed them as children. A lack of critical investment in the South African education provision for the marginalized majority is needed, as without which, the future and indeed the development of the children will in no doubt be compromised.

Tumi puts this point across saying –

> Finding good role models – teachers – football coach – theatre coach – librarian them being available – school – community centre. When I was growing up, I always wanted to be an archeologist, digging and excavating things. Currently, I'm doing a MA in Applied Drama at Wits. I am also an author, writing mostly on theatre and the role of theatre in communities. I want to be that thing that I needed when growing up, to other young people

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[65]Statssa/gov.za>Poverty on the rise in South Africa

growing up. I want to be in Soweto, working with communities and impacting difference for social change.

In a 2014 decision of *Madzodzo and Others v. Minister of Bias Education and Others , the Eastern Cape Local Division of the South African High Court* noted that the State's obligation to provide basic education, as guaranteed by the Constitution under section 29, is not only confined to making places available at schools. It necessarily requires the provision of a range of educational resources such as schools, classrooms, teachers, teaching materials and appropriate facilities for learners. This has, unfortunately, remained largely undone.
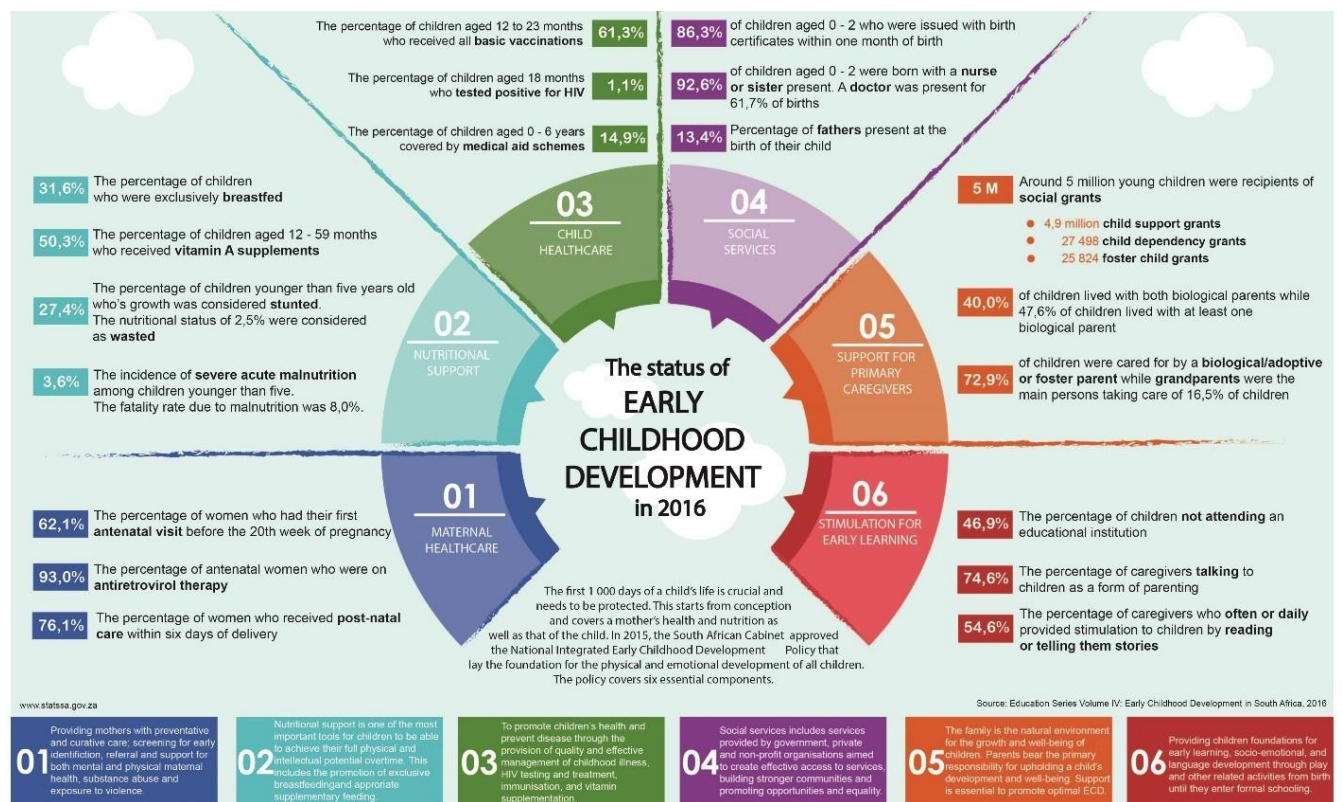

Fig 6: The Status of early childhood development in 2016, StatsSA.

In terms of the above figure, StatsSA presented the key indicators for early childhood development –

- Maternal Healthcare
- Nutritional Support
- Child Healthcare

Only a little over 14% of children in South Africa, are supported on medical aids. This does not unpack how many of those children are from disadvantaged backgrounds i.e Black families. Some of these health blockages are discussed relevantly in the health section below.

- <u>Social Services</u>

- <u>Support for primary caregivers</u>

At least 5 million children are raised on R420 a month or less.

- <u>Stimulation for early learning</u>

Almost half of the child population (46.9%) in South Africa is not receiving educational access. Then Native Affairs Minister under apartheid, Hendrik Verwoed said *There is no place for [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice?*

It is also interesting to see that it was the extra-curricula that the children were starved at home that helped develop their interests and talents and developed them as children and ushering them into young adulthood. A lack of critical investment in the South African education provision for the marginalized majority is needed, as without which, the future and indeed the development of the children will in no doubt be compromised. In the National Budget Speech, [66] learning and culture receives the largest share of spending, with R30 billion allocated to building new schools and maintaining schooling infrastructure. Christie's and Collins' seminal article "*Bantu Education and the Reproduction of Apartheid Ideology*" (1979), argues that apartheid schooling (was)is designed and motivated to ensure that white South Africans are schooled in order to take on managerial positions in society and to be dominant in economic, political and social arenas of South African society, whilst Black South Africans were being schooled explicitly to take on menial, un/semi-skilled, interiorized positions, particularly in the economy. For Christie and Collins (1979) apartheid education was an ideology of apartheid and tied integrally to the maintenance and development of the system of apartheid. While deserving of the largest share of national spending, an education policy reform, strategically reversing the logic of apartheid, should be a priority if South Africa is to raise its early childhood development.

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[66]Ibid, note 57

4.7   Health – a social study

I was interested in finding out more about the health status of the participants and their families. I note trends across the responses received.

HIV in South Africa, and indeed the African continent, is a deeply political issue. To share   some perspective, *Ruri's* mother was HIV positive around the time when, according to Statistics South Africa's Mid-year Population Estimates, 2017[67] reported the years   2005/2006 to have been the years when the most deaths from HIV were recorded. The report states that the decline in the percentage of AIDS-related deaths from 2007 can be attributed to the increase in the roll-out of anti-retroviral treatment (ART) over time. National rollout of ART only began in 2005. The number of AIDS-related deaths declined consistently from 2007 from its highest figure of 345 185 deaths in 2006 to almost half that figure, 126 755 AIDS related deaths in 2017. Access to antiretroviral treatment has changed historical patterns of mortality. Access to ART has thus extended the lifespan of many in South Africa, who would have otherwise died at an earlier age.[68]

> (From Ruri) I am healthy, we don't have any chronic illnesses in the family. My mom was HIV positive. She passed on. It was a kept secret from the public, the fear of stigma, being judged by others. [In] 2005, HIV meant something different in the community, my gran was insistent to hide the reality of my mother's HIV – In the home, HIV meant that the person was as good as dead, their life no longer has life and significance. She could have lived longer. It was easier for my mom to die because she was as good as dead in the eyes of the family. The emotional illness eventually also becomes physical. Sometimes I think, we, as family, are also bad for each other. My mother was kept indoors, incubated, only exiting the bedroom to go to the toilet – her last wish was to see people, my aunt took her to a park one day, she died shortly thereafter. My grandmother thought she could pray the virus away. She [my mother] died at 34. Funny

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[67]www.statssa/gov.za Statistical Release P0302, 2017
[68]Ibid.

enough, the man who infected my mom is still alive. It makes me think, it really was not the HIV that killed my mom, but the emotional burden she had to wear.

Ruri's mother died at 34 years of age, in 2005, when ART was just starting to be rolled out nationally. A 2012 study shows Black women, aged between 20 and 35, still remain the group that holds the highest HIV prevalence in South Africa, at 31.6%. [69]

I asked the participants questions about their health and diet/nutrition, as a way to gather from them what choices their families made regarding food. Low income, restricts the choices that poor families have to make when it comes to food, but also how this compromise in nutrition also breeds health consequences.

Tumi responds –

> We ate a lot of sugar and a lot of processed food – Mielie Meal was a daily staple, white sugar, Meat, always cooked in oil, high salt content in our meals – vegetables were occasional and always overcooked. This is what we could afford, really.

Thuli responds, note-worthingly similar –

> Staple food was Pap, bread, meat - this is a daily food. Times were tough to feed a large family, so we had to choose our meals carefully. There was a lot of demand, school fees, lunch for the children, transport money, we had to stretch the little we had.

Bobo responds also very similar response –

> We mostly ate the usual low-budget meals that all township families had: pap, rice, meat, sandwiches.

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[69]South African National HIV Prevalence, Incidence and Behaviour Survey 2012.

The above responses point to the social reality of everyday nutrition in most Black, particularly lower income earners, being relatively cheap.

StatsSA has revealed that, as at 2015, 30.4 million South Africans were living in poverty. These figures were calculated using the upper-bound poverty line of R992 per person per month.[70] In a population of a little over 55 million people, these figures tell us that more than half of South Africa's population is living in poverty.

Melie Meal, as reflected by the above narratives shared by the participants, is a staple in Black homes, no doubt because it is inexpensive and delivered in large quantity. R50, give or take, buys a 10kg bag of meilie pap, enough to feed a large family for a month. In larger families, and because of the frequency of intake, (twice or three times daily per family) the family may need to get another bag to ensure they don't run out of meilie pap during the month. The other staple is bread, delivered into the townships daily, at give or take R14 per loaf. Typically, in most homes, if they are not having bread at meal-time, they are having meilie-pap. In an article by Dr Ingrid van Heerden (2016), she explains that meiliepap (maize meal porridge) is easily the most consumed staple food eaten in South Africa. Bread baked with wheat flour is, according to Dr van Heerden, the second most popular staple food in South Africa and expresses her concern that meliepap and white breads, among others, all have a high GI-value (van Heerden, 2016). Dr van Heerden expresses concern that the two most commonly eaten staple food in South Africa have a high GI-value and whether this may be contributing to increased insulin levels; insulin resistance and ultimately to type 2 diabetes and metabolic syndrome (van Heerden, 2016). What happens when one eats meiliepap everyday of their lives twice or three times daily? What happens when one cannot afford nutrition their whole lives and the lives of their family? A devastating compromise of health.

When one is to feed an entire family on a below poverty income, choices on what to eat have to be limited to what one can afford, which is, as above indicated, next to nothing. Mphahlele writes, that in his household, growing up in the Pretoria township location of Marabastad during formal apartheid in South Africa, they were so many in the home, that he had to cook meilie meal porridge twice in the same big pot, he adds, week-days supper was very simple: just porridge and meat,

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[70]Ibid, note 60.

when there was no money for meat, they fried tomatoes to eat with their porridge. They never ate vegetables, except on Sundays (Mphahlele, 1959, 27). This way of living, as can be gleaned from the research participants, worryingly, is exactly the same in township homes to this very day.

Most of the participants to this research expressed how members in their families were struggling through diabetes and high blood pressure. Health issues that are for the large majority of South Africans, managing through a public health system, that reports suggests, is bordering on crippled. Augustine Shutte (2001) acknowledges and advances argument that health is a central requisite that allows human individuals and communities to develop and flourish, and a precondition for acquiring humanity and personhood. For Shutte, an individual's health status depends to degree on where and how we live, the work we do and the food we eat and consequently a government has the duty to ensure that there is sufficient professional health care to meet the people's reasonable need and the duty to create living conditions that will keep people as healthy as possible by securing a supply of clean water, safe sanitation, a good diet and proper housing (Shutte, 2001,129; 140-141)

StatsSA reports that white people are more likely than those in other population groups to have visited a health worker in the past month.[71]Figures show that 84% of white women and 82.6% of white males are most likely to use private health facilities. Only about 32.3% Black African women and men use private health facilities, which means almost 70% of Black people depend primarily on public health facilities for their well-being.[72] We are talking here of a public healthcare system that is to cater for approximately 45 million people who do not have medical aid. This public healthcare system comprises of 422 hospitals, 3 841 clinics and health centers as at 2015/2016 financial year end.[73] This is so, because only around 9% of Black people have access to medical aid, while 70% of white people have access to medical aid.[74]The South African government

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[71]Ibid, note 62.

[72] Ibid, note 62.
[73]www.statssa.gov.za 10548 October 2017.
74 Ibid.

expenditure on health is on average R3 332 per person during the 2015/2016 financial year end, for the approximate 45 million South Africans who do not have medical cover. [75]

What quality of life does one have when they cannot even afford to keep themselves healthy? It is so unfortunate, that a marginalized majority battle multiple illness that they have to overlook because, there is simply no money to treat themselves. A visit to the doctor, is a privilege. If this is the case, what reality does this spell for those 45 million people who aren't as privileged? Life or death, it seems.

Thuli added during her interview:

> I developed Arthritis, which eventually lead me to leave my job. At Pick n Pay I worked inside fridges for a long time (29 years) this has meant bad things for my health. I'm also diabetic and am treating chronic High Blood Pressure, like my entire family. Since I am not working, accessing healthcare becomes a struggle. My children help me with some money for medication. I am not working, my children are taking care of me. I have put them through school so they at least have jobs and are able to take care of me and the home.

Thuli during her interview brings up something quite popular among Black people. The discourse of what is so-called 'Black Tax'. The children in families are, very early in their lives, required to become economically active, and stabilize the destitution of family at home. This has been the picture also painted by one of the other project participants, who is a very recent graduate at the University of Pretoria, with dreams of advancing herself and her career. Already, and without children of her own, *Ruri,* much like *Thuli's* children above, are forced to take care of the family, having barely started becoming economically independent themselves. The family's grinding poverty becomes a "Tax" that children of Black families inherit. All the daily needs of the family fall on young individual members of the family, who often are forced by circumstance to not pursue their own visions of their own life, but to settle very quickly for the first job that offers a salary. A very humble salary, it often is, to meet structural and generational poverty in the home. Many young Black people are trapped in this very reality. Many Black people cannot pursue vast interests and opportunities outside of an immediate monetary interest as doing so literally takes

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75 Ibid.

food out of their families mouths, so they do what is best for the well -being of the family at the expense of their own individual pursuits. Just like that, their lives and what they are able to do for their own selves becomes limited. This breeds, as one can imagine, feelings of depression and constant anxiety about the constant negotiations with lack at the basic level.

Because memory of lived experience informs my research and writing and as an ethnographic contribution, I recall a speech I had heard once, presented by a grade 11 female pupil in a classroom I once taught. The high school is based in the township, also in Meadowlands. I had asked the pupils to prepare an essay to present in class about anything they would like to do in their lives. This pupil stood up in front of the class, sharing her aspirations to finish school, get a job so that she can buy her mother a house. Another male learner simply said, *'mam, I just want a lot of money, like one million rand'.* The confusion is plenty here. It became obvious to me that the learners are not conceptualizing their lives as bigger than survival.

All that the learners seemed to do was place survival at the base of how they imagine their lives. Poverty does this. If one is barely eating month to month, how can one know better what life is actually about? These children's lives are cut before they even get a chance to dip their toe into the experience of life. Funny, how limited their thinking is, a million rand to this learner feels like the world of wealth and a bus ride out of poverty, when in reality, it would take more than a million rand to reverse the poverty that binds his home.

4.8 Alcohol in South African township communities

Under apartheid, namely the Apartheid Liquor Act, 1927 and other restrictions, Black people were prohibited from selling or buying liquor and from entering public licensed premises were alcohol was consumed, which restriction led the way for the emergence of shebeens in township communities. I understand the word "*shebeen"* to be of Irish descent meaning "an unlicensed house selling alcoholic beverages". I advance that the drinking culture in township communities is institutionalized. Mphahlele (1959) wrote, that his aunt brewed beer for (primarily) men in the township, as a way to make a living for herself in a time when the Black women was barred from

any economic participation. To take care of their families, most Black women were servants to white people. Those Black women that didn't wash the white woman's clothing, or scrub her floors were brewing beer for sale in their homes. The Black men would return from their factory work or similar labour under apartheid to the shebeens, where they would drown their every sorrows until the waking day, when they had to catch the train and return to their labour.

Drinking alcohol became routine in townships. The women brewed the beer, the men spent their little wages on beer and pleased themselves this way. Shebeens became woven into the social culture of the township community. From the interviews, interestingly, most said the male figure was the heavier drinker. Shebeens became woven into the social culture of the township community. –

Ruri added during her interview –

> My Gran didn't drink, although my grandfather, we understand to have been a heavy consumer. This was always a source of fighting amongst them [grandparents]. My brother is a heavy consumer of alcohol. The patterns of alcohol also pass down. The men in the home are heavy drinkers. I'm a social drinker.

Tumi says –

> I drink very occasionally, and family members drink very frequently every weekend.

Bobo's response –

> Both parents consumed alcohol (my father was a heavier consumer), and eventually my brothers and I also started consuming.

In the township (shebeens), alcohol is sold in larger volumes and bulk for comparatively lower prices than what you would find in suburban pubs. This makes sense, as the target consumer are low-to-no income earners. Despite the low-to-no income earners residing in the township, in my own noted observations and as somewhat of an ethnographic contribution to this project, drinking

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in the township is alarmingly high. My home, in Meadowlands, is surrounded by at least 12 shebeens, that I can count off the top of my head, these are all within 100 meters, give or take, from each other and from my home. Basically, our residential community is populated with shebeens.

Not only is alcohol a social thing, it is also deeply residential. Alcohol is now also being packaged in vast attractive variants and as a symbol of upward mobility, to appeal to a young Black person. This image is sold to a youth culture driven by excessive consumption, fame, fortune, with many young Black celebrity youths modeling international alcohol brands for consumption by Black people, youths. I recall a scene from the movie, *12 Years a Slave,* where, in the early few minutes of the film, the main character (Black man) is depicted as one minute a praised, gifted and revered musician by the white people, and the next, after being offered ceaseless drink by the very white folks and passes out, wakes up in a cell with chains around his body. Drinks later, he became captive. The pacification of the native. Alcohol.

4.9 A spiritual compromise?

The African sense of spirituality, was wholly compromised by the introduction of institutionalized religion.

Biko (1996) writes, it was first the missionaries who confused people with their new religion. They scared our people with stories of hell. People had to discard their clothes and their customs in order to be accepted in this new religion. With the ultimate acceptance of the western religion, down went our cultural values (Biko, 1996, 103). This for me, is by far the biggest loss. This had the destabilizing effect on people, whose spirituality, historically, anchored them. The participants' reflections on spirituality and their spiritual practices are also similar, Ruri responds when asked to share her spiritual beliefs and practice–

> I am Christian, but also believe in an African ancestry and the role of ancestors in   my daily life. I draw closer to my God from African ancestry, this co-exists with my religion.

Tumi's response –

I have no belief in institutional religion. Although I was raised Christian. I listen to jazz – to connect to my spirituality. I listen to Classic music . I hold a belief in ancestry – there's always evidence of ancestry.

To echo the above sentiments as well, Bobo also responds, holding onto the belief of ancestry as trite –

I grew up in a Christian family, however, I personally am not religious. We (my family) have the usual African spiritual practices (such as giving thanks to the ancestors for a particular event that might have taken place).

Christianity still remains the dominant belief system in South Africa, as introduced by colonial legacies in the continent. With the emergence of Christianity in African societies as an instrument of colonial conquership, and the consequent and devastating historical erasure of indigenous religious practices of African people throughout the continent, African people had their central knowledges taken from them and this has been a significant loss of human dignity and spiritual anchorage, to be separated from one's spiritual grounding observance and belief. African people have historically, always been people of the spirit, truly embodying the sensory, spiritual and physical human experience. Modiri (2017) speaks of the wasted social existence of the Black person, I attribute a loss of spiritual anchoring to have caused this deep and immense existential, psychological and material devastation of Black people. For example, Black people in South Africa, had always, prior to the forced move to townships in urban areas, had always buried their deceased in their own yards, for it is understood, that ancestry is just as integral to living, and so ancestors are kept close, pray to them, pray over them, carry them in daily life. The moves to Soweto and the consequent assigning of burial land by the municipality, removed this way of life. A way of life that is, I would argue, integral to how the Black person comes to life and understand their place in the world.

4.10 Conclusion

The Constitutional guarantee of human dignity includes the right to the human minimum – without which, no person can attain the potential of their individual humanity.

The thematic analysis of the social structure of everyday South Africans is showing –

- *Childhood and upbringing*: a foundational deficit in the early development of South African children, affecting their maturation into productive and competitive economies that require well-skilled and highly educated individuals to lead. The early childhood development deficit among a majority Black population does nothing to reverse the apartheid structure, but only perpetuates under-development and inferiority of Black people in today's social and political economy.

- *Social welfare*: Social welfare-dependency among Black South Africans is keeping poverty in place. The provision of social welfare without the necessary rigorous investment in the infrastructural, social, political and economic development of marginalized groups under apartheid today, maintains South Africa's state as one of the most unequal societies in the world, with a Gini coefficient of 0.63 as at 2015.

- *Education*: Without an education policy reform post 1994, and the carriage of apartheid systems of learning and teaching for Black youths, apartheid is kept in place. Exclusionary and restrictive learning and teaching environments for Black youths entrenched by apartheid is reflected in rising unemployment and social-welfare dependency rates among Black South Africans. Inferior education only prepares the Black majority for inferior occupations and existence.

- *Crime*: The more people are forced structurally to accept poverty as their living condition, the more people will look to other means, legal or not, to sustain and keep themselves occupied. Apartheid racism and design ensured that Black skin was the crime, and so crime still looks very much Black.

- *Housing and living conditions* in the home do not reveal the erasure of apartheid, in fact, are largely revealing the perpetuation of depravity in the home.

- *Diet; Nutrition and Health*: Access to good nutrition from an early age is a key building block to a healthy life. Unfortunately, this basic and vital necessity is subject to lack which sees many having to make grave compromises to their own health. The fact that 17 million people, officially, depend on social welfare alone should be worrying when considering what kind of food these South Africans will be able to afford for their families. The study has shown how having less means buying less and less in this instance is less nutrition and nourishment. The basics for a healthy life. The assumption that, because of poverty and entrenched inequality, families eat what they can afford, as opposed to eat what they should, is substantiated.

- *Alcohol use in the home*: The nexus between alcohol and apartheid is lucid. Alcohol is also increasingly being used a tool to escape the realities of the existential crisis that surrounds the Black, structurally impoverished majority, who have very little way out of their poverty without resources and development. Alcohol offers psychic relief from the everyday devastation.

In his essay, *The Philosophy of Foreign Aid: A Question of the Right to a Human Minimum* (1989) Odera Oruka states,

> For all human beings to function with a significant degree of rationality and self-awareness, they need a certain minimum amount of physical security, health care and subsistence… Below this minimum, one may still be human and alive, but one cannot successfully carry out the functions of a moral agent or engage in creative activity. Access to atleast the human minimum is necessary, for one to be rational and self-conscious (Odera Oruka 1989, quoted from A.Graness and K. Kresse 1997,53)

Many Black South Africans are rendered less than they should have been had it not been for apartheid. The day-to-day life experienced by Black South Africans today, still reflect the legacy of decay as brought on by apartheid in many ways. For Oruka (1989), as described by Ogude (2018), the problem of world poverty is not just a moral question of charity or humanitarian assistance, but a matter of justice and ultimately question of enforceable law, and considers the protection of a minimum standard of living for everyone, which he calls the human minimum, a

basic requirement for global justice, founded on the inalienable right to self-preservation. Following from Oruka's contentions, we can articulate from our study of the research participants' narratives the lack of access to a human minimum of adequate healthcare, adequate housing, adequate and quality education and development, adequate nutrition all systemically brought on the Black people of South Africa through imposed racism, apartheid. To cure this injustice, as Oruka articulates, means to systemically provide access to these human minimums to the marginalized communities of South Africa, in order to realize the Constitutional promise of human dignity, equality and freedom- without which, constitutes a denial of the essential functions of a human being.

The final and concluding chapter of this research looks at opportunities for further expansive solution-based practical social sciences research into the (post) apartheid experience.

CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSION

The root to capture in this research is what inequality, as expressed through a system of institutional racism, means for the lives of those who were and continue to be oppressed by it- that is Black people, to pick up from the earlier attempts at getting to grips with the total effects of institutionalized racism in South Africa, such as the TRC. It was important to understand through this research, how living in/ and being raised in the township under apartheid legacies, a colonial inspiration, materially affect or constrain the choices one makes and continues to make in their lives. I read from the foregrounding literature as well as narratives of the people in the townships that apartheid, has a staying legacy, an adverse one, which continues to stagnate, in covert and overt ways, the lives of Black people, still facing stubborn poverty. When confronted with the social ills and decay consuming Black people in South Africa , the diagnosis is poverty. Poverty as restriction. Poverty as separation. Poverty as alienation. Poverty as racism.

Poverty also means constraint. Life choices are constrained and negotiated around lack. As a way to de-link as Mignolo (2009) has suggested, epistemically and politically, from the web of imperial/modern knowledge and from the colonial matrix of power, this is contribution to critical social and humanities knowledge-making in the South African post-apartheid and democratized state. I include the words of Sindiwe Magona, in a poem, about South Africa's new freedom.

Fear of Change…

April, 1994
With bated breath, we wait;
At last, we join the rest of humanity!
UHURU! INKULULEKO! KIKIKIKIKIKI!
Shall we sing and dance,
Our cup truly overflowing?

Why then, am I not overjoyed,

Frozen, my heart
Shall I with you a secret share?

My biggest fear, what makes me
Tremble, fearing the terrific morrow;
I have seen the Promised Land -
Harlem, US of A!

The world has a memory
Swifter than a blink
Give it a decade or two, if that;
Then fast and full will questions flow…
Why are they not making it?
What's holding them back, now?
After all, apartheid is gone?

I have seen the thick-welted scars
On people rudely plucked from hearth and
Home. Bound hand and bleeding foot;
Kicked, punched, raped and ravaged
Every way you care to think.
Killed - in their millions and
Dumped on icy wave.

And today, those unlucky enough to
Survive the gruesome plunder,
Annoy the world by failing to be quite,
Quite human. By falling short of accepted
Standards of civilization. Never mind that
On these people was performed a
National lobotomy that has left them with no tongue of their own…

No tongue

To call

Their own!

(A poem by Magona, 2012)

Diagnosing the South African social problem today cannot be done without a critical examination of the historical events that brought the country to the point that it is at today, that is – a state where over half of its population are living in poverty, with Black people almost exclusively the bearers of poverty in South Africa. Moving forward, critical social research has to assist the State of South Africa to diagnose and reflect on the social problem and decay if there is to be a proper address of the structural limitations imposed by apartheid on the Black people of South Africa. The South African government's mission to provide for the people of South Africa has to critically take on board and reflect on the deep lesions and wounding of apartheid, in order to effectively redress the structural attack on Black South Africa. Attempts at transformation have left much to be desired two decades into a so-called democracy with daily escalating service delivery protests (the figure is estimated at 195 in 2014) demanding government to make do on the Constitutional promises of restoring dignity to the people of South Africa.   With such social unrest caused by structural poverty, it is critical for government transformation and redress attempts to go beyond the surface and start excavating root causes of poverty and fix it there. The root cause of poverty among the Black population of South Africa is apartheid. To holistically and meaningfully reverse the structural wounding of apartheid and live up to the Constitutional imperatives of equality, human dignity and freedom requires a structural un-doing and not a concealment of the structural wounding under the blanket of democracy and constitutionalism without due and critical excavation. The same schools and curriculum that were used as vehicles for the apartheid agenda of exclusion cannot be the same schools that are to now create holistically developed, meaningfully stimulated Black future leaders and thinkers. The same economy that was engineered under the apartheid agenda of exclusion, cannot be the same economy that the Black majority is now meant to realize their potential and thrive under. Without a holistic and intentional un-doing of structural barriers for Black South Africans, democracy is a long way ahead.

The #FeesMustFall student led movement in South Africa is a critical reflection of the social, economic and spatial blockages in the system for the South African Black youth, who are not able to realize their full potential under the current education system which remains wholly unaffordable and inaccessible for a majority of Black South Africans, the youth especially. This supports my overall contentions that the systems that were meant to exclude, cannot be the same systems we rely on for inclusion. Critical research needs to explore these systems of exclusion further and closer and unpack what a new dispensation ought to actually look like beyond mere policy. How land is to be distributed and adequate housing provided. What and how Black youths are to learn in schools. How access to basic services is to look like. It was and is simply not sufficient to move forward with what has got South Africa here in the first place. The 1994 political transition into "democracy" ought to have tabled a new structure specifically designed to re-engineer the South African political, social and economic design. The Constitution as grounding statute for the new democracy is an appropriate ideal – but, if it is not supported by corresponding means to physically replace apartheid operational methodology in South Africa, it remains an ideal.

It is important for social research to bring Ubuntu back to the table as a central and core ethic for personal growth and community and a response to inequality. A critical evaluation of the implications of Ubuntu on the socio-economic conditions of a society and how, by centralizing Ubuntu as the perspective from which we organize society will be useful. Ubuntu envisages a shared identity and humanity where all the resources of the world are to be utilized for the common good. According to Metz (2010) from an Ubuntu perspective, poverty is understood not only as a lack of material resources, but as an obstacle preventing people from living their social relationships and uses the example that a lack of financial means, appropriate clothes, or education prevents people from taking part in social events. Thus, people living with poverty find themselves at variance with or isolated from other people. From this perspective, poverty manifests itself as a form of social alienation or isolation. Consequently, the distribution of economic goods has to be organized in a way that gives people the opportunity to live well (Metz and Gaie 2010, 277-78). Research looking at Ubuntu as the appropriate response to poverty and inequality in South Africa will be particularly useful for post-apartheid social study and jurisprudence.

Through social study, we are able to articulate and more vividly capture the staying legacies of structural racism in South Africa, entrenched by the mechanics of apartheid. Exploring Soweto through social study presents an opportunity to show how this location, as both an apartheid idea and construct still reflects the mission of apartheid. A typical colonial location that violates the humanity and dignity of those who were forced to inhabit townships and leave the rest of country to the privileged other. Soweto is a site for people from whom life has been taken away through brutal apartheid machinery of violence and violations over and over again, through history and now. Where the South African majority was separated from Nature, and forcefully removed from their indigenous anchorage. The depth of apartheid lesions on Black bodies make it difficult to recognize a current legitimate democratic South Africa. Many Black South Africans are yet to realize the constitutional promise of equality, human dignity and freedom. In this case, apartheid is still trapped in the sinew of South Africa's back. Poverty was the aim, apartheid was the game, we now need a new name.

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APPENDIX   A

Interview Consent Form

I, _____ (name), agree that I am participating

willingly and voluntarily in an interview with [researcher name] from the Wits

Centre for Diversity Studies on this day _____ (date) at

[location]

I understand that these interviews form part diagnostic research on …

I understand the rationale and nature of the research

I understand that I will participate in [i.e. one two- hour focus group]

I understand that I will be given a pseudonym and that my identity will remain anonymous, as far as is possible.

I understand that the interview will be audio recorded so that the researcher may more accurately reflect my views in the report.

I understand that my interview transcript will not be shared with other participants.

I understand that I may discontinue my participation at any stage of the research.

I understand and agree to the above terms and conditions.

Signature (Participant)   _____   Date:

_____

Signature (Researcher) _____   Date:

_____

Appendix B: Interview Questions

- Tell me about how you grew up, where one stayed and with whom did one stay and how home was like growing up.

- What activities did you enjoy as a child?

- Regarding your household income, how much did the family have to live every month?

- Which school did you go to and how was the schooling experience?

- Involvement in criminal activities of you and your family?

- How do you support yourself and your family now, how many people do you now support?

- Let's talk about your health and the health of your family. Are you healthy?

- Please tell me about your and your family's consumption of alcohol

- What did your daily diet mostly consist of growing up?

- Can we talk about your spiritual beliefs?