Chapter One

Summary of the Event

In 2011 the construction of a shopping complex in Diepkloof in the Greater Soweto Township began, thus Diepkloof Square was being built. What sparked my initial interest in the project was the knowledge that the land where the complex was to be built was formerly a squatter camp, and the residents of the land had been removed and displaced to other areas away from Diepkloof in the early 2000s. The piece of land was initially to house a R60 million Gated residential complex and a shopping facility, and the particular project in question belonged to unidentified private consortiums. In the end the Diepkloof Square was built after some of the residents threatened to protest, thus bringing forth the notion that building a residential complex in the area was not going to benefit the community going forward. Further interest in the project was sparked when the building and opening of the Diepkloof Square was overshadowed by media scandals and uproar from residents, with some members demanding to be employed as contractors and later as workers at the stores. The tension alluded to the fact that not enough people from the area were employed as allegedly promised by the councillor, and thus the residents felt the failure by their leaders to deliver on the promise for jobs afforded them the right to protest and share their grievances. In conjunction with South Africa's processes and procedures on mass action the residents first submitted a memorandum of demands to the councillors and those managing the construction process, and the protestors claimed this was a step meant to establish a line of communication with their leaders and the mall owners. The protestors at hand were demanding better salaries for Diepkloof workers and for more residents to be employed at the site of the project, and when their demands were not met they organised fully fledged protest matches outside the construction site. Throughout September of 2012 the unsatisfied residents of Diepkloof engaged in protests that resulted in the temporary halting of the

construction of Diepkloof Square. At the centre of their grievances was the claim that the construction companies were not making use of 'enough' local contractors and subcontractors for the project, and the protestors expressed an entitlement to the jobs because the project was taking place in their area of residents.

The complex was built by McCormick properties in partnership with the Shanduka Group, which is a leading African Black, owned and managed investment holding company owned by businessman and Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa. The new debates around the Square before and after it was opened revolved around notions of employment, thus there was a continued believe by the locals that they had a claim to the space and ought to have been hired to work there. Shanduka Chief Executive Phuti Mahanyele had previously expressed in the Sunday world during the protests that 70% of the workers will be hired from the Diepkloof area, and remarked that the private developers had a shared sense of ethical responsibility towards the Township. The press reported her claims that "15% of the R52 million spent to build the mall had been earmarked for small businesses in the Diepkloof area", and in retrospect the developers expressed an ethical stance and position on their social responsibility to the Township in the media.

The construction was disrupted by protestors deemed to be Diepkloof residents led by the ANC Youth League of the area, and "they were outraged that local contractors and labourers were not used to build the mall. They protested that 70% of construction workers and 51% of sub-contracted companies were not from Diepkloof" (Sibanyoni 2012)[1]. Noting that the protests received a great deal of local media coverage, and where the spokesperson of Shanduka was reported claiming in the mist of the strikes that a great deal of the local residents would benefit in the form of jobs from the project. The residents pointed out that

[1] "*Shanduka sinks R8m into Diepkloof*", *Sunday world*, 29/10/2012

before the process of constructions started the councillor in the area called a ‘community’ meeting, where representatives of the developers, the state, Small Medium Enterprises and the residents were present. The unsatisfied residents claimed they were informed that when the project began the unemployed members of Diepkloof would be the first to be placed or considered for employment, and when this did not materialise they ‘took to the streets’ as it were. The expectation of mass employment opportunities seems to have taken shape within a political and business framework, with competing ideologies from politicians and business pupils in the Township.

Before the opening of the Square the community took to the streets once again to demand that residents be employed to work in the stores as managers and cashiers, thus delaying the opening further. The constructions continued a month later and the mall was then opened on the 10th of December 2012, and this was a month later than it was initially scheduled. However, rather than an isolated event the protests in Diepkloof were simply one instance of a growing number of disputes and discontent over issues of redistribution of employment, and claims to certain privileges and resources that have characterised the South African political and economic sphere post-apartheid. They has been widespread dissatisfaction and debates amongst South Africans in general over the past few years that have been documented, and reaching what some of the local press have termed a ‘culture of entitlement’, with many complaints and protests over lack of service delivery in townships around the country. Based on this specific case study the aim is to investigate how some of the Diepkloof residents had come to make certain claims about who should have been given access to work, and to ask how they understand and make sense of the processes which were taken to distribute employment in their area of residents.

Problem Statement

The report has used the Diepkloof Square as a case study to illustrate how those that participated in the protests formulated their entitlements to employment, and ways other residents in the process responded to those claims. It has attempted to establish how the protestors and residents alike understand their citizenship and its relations to access to work? Tokyo Sexwale who is former Minister of Human Settlements has in the past been broadcasted in public and the media claiming that there is development in townships as a result of all the malls being built there, and the ideal has been reiterated through government policies. This popular version of development and progress has been visualised by the city of Johannesburg as a part of their plan to 'develop and grow Soweto's economy'. The idea that Soweto has changed greatly post-apartheid as a result of the many malls and shopping facilities erected there, and alluding to the fact that their presence in the Township create employment and improve local resident's material conditions. Miller (2005) has argued in his work on shopping malls in Zambia that unlike there, shopping spaces in South Africa have become re-imagined as visible signs of post-apartheid development and as 'spaces of hope'.

The research was centred on a protest that took place as result of imagined entitlements to claim for jobs at the Diepkloof Square, and the unemployed residents proclaimed it their constitutional right to make their demands heard since they lived near the site of the project. Questions of citizenship and social justice were raised by unemployed residents in the process of the fieldwork. The report has attempted to respond to the following questions: how did the unemployed members of Diepkloof come to evoke the notion of citizenship to justify their claims to work in their area of residents, and how they imagined the relationship between citizenship and work? Barcheisi (2011:3) has argued that the "connections of citizenship and labour are vital to an understanding of the redemptive message of South Africa's democratization", and this has led me to wonder what it entails to be a member or

citizen in Diepkloof. How were debates about work or employment used in the contemporary understanding of social justice and citizenship? The report has analysed the ways in which decisions got made about who got employment and who didn't, and which arguments were framed about who should have been employed and the contestations that arose. It has served to make sense of the ethical obligations and responsibilities the private companies that build the Square were understood to have in the context of previously disadvantaged communities. Is there a common understanding of citizenship shared by the developers, state representatives and those residents who are already employed outside the Township?

During the preliminary fieldwork they were looming suggestions by those who didn't have employment interests at the mall that those who protested for employment didn't possess the required skills to be employed there, and this alluded to a fracture within the Township. Through the report I was able to delve further into the issue of the existing divide within Diepkloof, and this has led me to question factors around social class and generational differences encountered during fieldwork. There is an apparent division between the poor, middle-working class and the rich within the Township, and this I believe was adopted from apartheid. The report has looked at how the different members of Diepkloof understood ideas of class of difference and their relationship to the work and citizenship nexus.

The report has given a historical background to highlight the manner in which Diepkloof and the rest of Soweto has changed post-apartheid, and it has illustrated how the field-site has come to be imagined by the state within the wider changing face of the Greater Township. The new image of the Township has led me to wonder how it has happened that the members of Diepkloof had come to describe their lack of work as social injustice, and how that injustice has been linked to the market. The report has illustrated the forms of social practices the claims to rights were embedded in, and how the various social actors in the field

understood the diverse claims and 'community' privileges articulated in the language of human rights (Wilson 2006:2).

Literature Review

Work

The notion of work in contemporary debates has become contested as a result of the different meanings and understandings which have been attached to the concept by Scholars in different fields, times and contexts. Wallman (1979:2) has argued that "we need not only to ask what activities are called 'work' and how their economic value means to work has been computed in that setting, we need also to know which forms of work are, in that setting, thought to be socially worthy and personally fulfilling". Scholars like Max Weber had written a great deal from a Western perspective on the concept, thus theorised work as a means to belong in society and a tool used to negotiate access and keep social membership. In that context work and earning a living was perceived as a moral and ethical priority, and a responsibility that was expected of men within the society (Weber 1930:105). Although the practice of Calvinism began during Benjamin Franklin's time, by the 1900 it had become a booming ideology in Europe. The notion of men holding down jobs was a dominant ideology which followers had to abide by to be accepted by the society, and as members they needed to be providers for their families in order to be respected and taken seriously. Work was still at the centre and foundation of the society, and it was the link that connected people and created their shared sense of community membership. The ideology of Calvinism had concluded that those without work were alienated and perceived as living outside the system as 'non-citizens'. I found though that in my field-site the concept of work took a different shape, and this took into account the fact that the area of research forms part of a wider society that has been overwhelmed with high rates of unemployment.

In Diepkloof the notion of belonging through work did not appear to be a dominant ideology during the research, and if work had defined membership then the greater part of the population wouldn't have had a sense of belonging. This is not to say the above theory was wrong though, thus the results and findings within the field-site varied and were a lot more complex because the variables were different. Although the people in the field didn't identify strongly with belonging through work, in reality, there was still a sense of exclusion taking place amongst the residents. Hence, the unemployed members were still being alienated because they lived outside the popular discourse of the neoliberal market, and as result were not able to participate in market relations. The capitalistic system has had increased control over everyday social relations and social life (Lefebvre 1996), therefore, it has also come to shape and influence how people think about their sense of citizenship. Mark Purcell (2003:564) argued that "in order to resist the growing dominance of capital in the global political economy, one critical project is to develop new notions of citizenship that extend the limits of politics and expand the decision making control of citizens". The unemployed participants who were looking to find work were aware of the notion of belonging through work and the relationship that has been established by the market system between work and citizenship. The unemployed residents have been known to use their social membership as a means to get access to work, and evoked their citizenship to assert their political identity. Being employed in Diepkloof was regarded as a means to earn a living, but seizing not to define unemployment as social alienation. The unemployed were still included and perceived as full citizens, and their unemployed state did not affect their social membership. They claimed that their citizenship was determined by their social connections and emotional attachments to and with the people in the Township, and not through their ability or lack thereof to find work. This point proved interesting because I had observed that the residents themselves didn't necessarily have an emotional attachment to the place itself.

There is a variety of Scholarly works produced in Anthropology and other Social Science fields that look at different topics on work , most of which focus on how people think about ideas of a future in employment differently, and the way in which young people imagine and articulate their future prospects. Some Scholars have argued that the near future is eliminated in a way that is just as disorienting, and yet, internally logical as its secular counterpart in economics under neoliberalism (see Guyer 2007:414; Mbembe & Roitman 1993, and Mbembe 2001). The notion that in different regions in Africa people have different methods of coping with being unemployed, and if not they tend to find factors to blame for this anxiety. Michael Ralph (2008:4) noticed that during his research in Senegal when he did his work on the labour crisis there, that "people typically associated high rates of unemployment with young men not simply unable but unwilling to secure work". Whereas young people blamed their unemployment on the bad economy and the government, thus resorting to taking up drinking tea as an activity they used to kill time and a mechanism to help them cope with their circumstances. In contexts like Senegal coming together as a group of unemployed young people gave the participants a sense of belonging somewhere, and a sense of a collective identity. Over many years Scholars had produced masses of literature that looked at how work was seen as a form of membership into society, and where employment served as a means to which young people could be seen as having grown from the category of youth into adulthood. The fact that now in many parts of the world youth unemployment has become a crisis has come to problematize such ideals, and thus creating tensions between the generations.

Bridget Kenny (2007) has done some extensive work of labour movements, but I found that her research on the increase in casual employment in the retail sector in South Africa since the 1990s has helped me understand the nature of work, and how the manner in which people relate to it has changed or shifted within the country. Her work has extensively discussed the

processes of collective construction of contingent worker identity in the workplace (Kenny 2007:2). It has made the argument that both casual and contract workers in her field felt a sense of marginalization, and they contested it through the articulation of alternative constructions of collective worker identity which was structured through claims to rights and claims of skills acquisition (Kenny 2007:2). The argument has given me perspective because there were tensions around subcontracted labour, acquisition of fulltime employment and skills transference in the field. Her research also further revealed that claims and contestations to certain privileges were not only formulated by the unemployed seeking employment, but rather, these processes occur at different levels depending on who wants to evoke citizenship privileges.

Karl Marx (1978) in the '*Critique of Capitalism*' theorised work as a commodity and an object with use and exchange value to be bought and sold on the market. He declared it a commodity that was exchangeable and easily measured through time spend producing a product of value. I found that many of the people in the field didn't care much about the kind of jobs at offer nor their value, and this was more prevalent with those residents who only had a High school education, but it was important to find something that earned them a salary. The salary in this case became a form of value which they planned their purchases and consumerism around, and even though they didn't find value in their 'piece jobs' they valued the rewards. Many of the participants found themselves applying and settling for any available jobs at the mall, and although, they hoped to get something that was a little more long- term. Their perception and relation to work was different from the popular rhetoric because they imagined it as a source for survival, and not an indicator of how they belong in society.

Citizenship

In South Africa different people now relate differently with the state, and they don't seem to relate to it as individuals but as collectives in communities or organizations. They come together as groups to express their concerns against the state through protest, with Partha Chatterjee (2006) arguing that the poor relate to post-colonial states as populations demanding services rather than individuals demanding rights. The power of his argument lay in the fact that he questioned forms of political subjectivities rather than the liberal citizen, and the contemporary techniques of discipline and socio-economic relations they have produced. Hence, Diepkloof residents joined together to protest against the councillor and business stakeholders who had not produced the jobs the residents claimed they had been promised. Chatterjee (2006) expressed in his paper that few people could deny the fact most individuals, even in industrially advanced liberal democracies led their lives within an inherited network of social attachments that could be described as community. There is the popular notion that 'there is value in numbers', and people feel that they are more likely to make an impact and be heard when voicing out their concerns as a collective. With Chatterjee's ideas in mind the question of what people and the state imply by the concept of citizenship arises. In the broadest sense it entails having claims to rights, duties and membership in a political community of some kind (Brown 1994, Purcell 2003).

Many contemporary theorists have framed citizenship as an "amalgam of the legal and commercial activity of states and business and individual acts of participation and consumption, an effective state where attachments take place" (Berlant 2006:274). The idea was that one fully becomes a citizen when they earn their way, and that work gives individuals a sense of value and worth. For the purpose of the report I had gone back to much older understandings of the concept of citizenship, with Dagger (1981) illustrating that the concept has had some origins and traces of the Latin and Greek concepts for *civitas* and *polis*.

Scholars like Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Hannah Arendt had respectively argued in their works that to be a citizen meant being a part of a political community in a way that others were not, and the implication was that others were just perceived as subjects in relation to the citizens (Dagger 1981:716).

Those classified as citizens were able to enjoy privileges like rights within the community, but the rights were not afforded to slaves, women and children. To be a citizen meant that one had to own some form of property, and the implication was that citizenship was exclusive to a small minority of people. Scholars like Aristotle articulated during their time that citizenship was a natural born right, with the notion that not all were born with that right because people were either 'inherently' meant to be slaves, subjects and masters. "The essential feature of citizenship, though, was that the citizen, and only the citizen, was entitled by law to take a part in the government of his community-and thus in the government of his life" (Dagger 1981:716), and this feature was for Aristotle the centre and heart of citizenship. Today in modern societies the concept has only retained some of its definitions, but lost its ethical and natural import and implications (Dagger 1981:717). Those classified as citizens in modern nation-states have rights to cast an electoral vote and participate in public affairs of a particular state (Dagger 1981:717), and thus someone with a nationality of that state either by birth or law. Hence, in the field-site the notion of citizenship was evoked to make legal claims and entitlements to jobs, and their societal membership allowed for grounds to make these demands. In democratic states it is imagined as a constitutional right to be employed, where the governed could easily perceive unemployment as a form of social injustice.

For many years in South Africa the notion of citizenship was a controversial subject that was overshadowed and framed through racial biased. Citizenship during apartheid was based on skin colour, and it was a context where Africans didn't have rights to vote nor have a say in government. They were perceived as subjects of their 'white masters', and as a result treated

like foreigners in their own country. Citizenship was a white privilege, and this trend was not new to South Africa because it was widely documented in European colonies throughout history. Mamhood Mamdani (2012) in his book '*Define and rule'* talks about how African leaders like Julius Nyerere perceived citizenship as something that afforded everyone equal rights and justice, thus during his reign he attempted to change the existing narrow definition of citizenship. He had argued that citizenship ought to be an all inclusive idea that accommodates all races of groups born and living within the borders of a specific nation state, and not limited to race. There was a proliferating need to overthrow and undermine the traditional notions of citizenship, hence, "helping to loosen the traditional ties between citizenship and the nation-state, the national scale, and the nation" (Purcell 2003:564). The idea being that people should be able to feel like they belong to a place despite their political and cultural differences.

Social Membership and Belonging

The notion of belonging or what it means to belong to a place has been largely debated in the field of anthropology (Borneman 1992) and in the Social Science as a whole. Over the years the understanding of what it means to belong has changed depending on what is trending, and historically it was about shared beliefs, traditions, values and being part of a collective in the area that one lives in. Barcheisi (2011:7) has argued that the concept of social citizenship and belonging "appears as a clear cut line separating the regularly employed from the unemployed", and alluded to the fact that those with access to community citizenship in the South African context were the regularly employed. But then I found that it's not as clear within Diepkloof, because they were many unemployed residents who still had a sense of belonging. The traditional sense of belonging and citizenship in Diepkloof proved problematic because the residents all came from somewhere else before residing there, therefore, there was no clear sense of a 'common origin' (Lovell 1998:x). Lovell (1998:1)

argued that “belonging to a particular locality evokes the notion of loyalty to a place, a loyalty that may be expressed through oral or written histories, narratives of origin as belonging”. I found that many of the people who were residents in this ‘imagined community’ (Anderson 2006 (1983)) identify more with the places where they came from before residing in Diepkloof.

Some Scholars understood belonging to be accessible through personal experience and imagined it as a phenomenon of locality that seeks to create, mould and reflect a perceived ideal surrounding place (Schama 1995, Tilley 1994). Trying to figure out what it means to belong is relevant because it leads the discussion to understanding the notion of social citizenship that was evoked by the residents during protests, and raising concerns about who had ‘claims’ and ‘entitlements’ to jobs at the newly built mall. Their argument was that ‘we belong here, therefore, we should benefit from a project taking place on a land that we ‘own’’. Barcheisi (2011:5) argued that the claims-making and contestations that occurred in the country were as a result of the new spaces that were opened by the state through democratic promises of citizenship, social rights, and workers protections post-1994.

Methodology and Ethics

The research was conducted in Diepkloof, which is one of the suburbs in the Greater Soweto Township. Diepkloof was the last area added to the Township in the late 1940s, and it is easily accessible through the Freeway and the Soweto Highway. It is described by others as a ‘rising affluent’ society that houses a new black middleclass. The research was specifically conducted in Zone 3 around the shopping complex, and was officially opened to the public in December of 2012. Through fieldwork I was able to look into the processes which were used in the implementation of work redistribution in the area, and to understand who got access to which jobs and the types of jobs which were at offer to unemployed Diepkloof residents.

The research officially began in June of 2013 and ended in December of 2013, and as part of the research I frequently spend time on the site to interact with the interlocutors and the space. The research participants were males and females between the ages of 18-70 years, and resided in Diepkloof during the period of the fieldwork. I made an attempt to get the views of three Generations of Diepkloof residents to cover all the positions. It included Diepkloof residents employed elsewhere, those who were employed at the complex during the research and those who could not get work. Some of the participants were from different political parties which were active within the area and members of the Diepkloof Business Forum. Many of the participants were chosen at random as I got in touch with them through other participants, but nonetheless, I made an attempt to include different demographics of residents to cover the variety of social classes that existed within Diepkloof. Going in to do the research I was already aware that there was a category of class differences that already existed between the residents themselves, and therefore, tried to conduct a research that was inclusive and open to different demographics and opinions from residents on the protests. The research encompassed the younger and older generation, the employed and unemployed, and the middleclass and the underprivileged of the region.

My first few participants were from the Diepkloof Business Forum and the local political parties which were involved in the protest, and they were able to get me in touch with willing Diepkloof residents who partook in the protests. I became aware of the Forum and the relevant political parties through the newspaper archives which reported on the events at hand. There was difficulty getting residents to participate in the research, and even those that did eventually volunteer information surrounding the protest were cautious in my presence. They were only willing to speak to me and share their experiences based on who referred me to them, and if an ‘incorrect’ referee was mentioned they declined participation. The other issue that limited access was the fact there was political rifts and competition within

Diepkloof, and some of the potential participants involved in politics suspected me of working for oppositional political parties. There was a common anxiety with the unwilling and willing unemployed residents that made them belief that I could be working for the opposition, and thus a potential for 'threat'.

The field-site was in many respects inaccessible to me as a researcher even though I was a resident of Diepkloof, and in many instances I was perceived as a 'threat or spy' of sort. On more than one occasion my intension came under question and some criticism, and was accused of planning to sell the potentially acquired information to the private companies that built the complex. Even though I stayed in and out of Diepkloof for years, I was still perceived as a stranger because I didn't have a permanent presence in the area. The participants had never seen me in Diepkloof until they met me during the research, and thus questioned whether I was in fact a resident at all.

The fieldwork made use of ethnography, extensive interviews and newspaper archives as part of the methodology. The ethnography involved attending gatherings like parties, braais and meetings organized by some of my participants, and this was one of the ways I was able to meet and speak to more people in a relaxed environment. It also came to my attention that there was a sufficient amount of press coverage by prominent national newspapers surrounding the scandals that overshadowed the building and the opening of the shopping centre, therefore, as part of the research methodology I began by looking through the newspaper archives covered by the media. This has assisted in the reconstruction of a timeline to retrace the events that occurred around the Diepkloof Square, and to deconstruct the chain of events leading to the hiring of workers and the opening of the place. The media reports gathered have played a role in the recreation of the narrative around the Diepkloof Square project. The press coverage has assisted with the research in a sense that I was able to

know which people were involved in the project, and therefore, a lead regarding the right people to talk to about the protests and the different processes followed.

Through the research I was able to implement a variety of sources and communicate with people in and outside the township. The basis of the protests was around the idea that councillors allegedly promised the unemployed residents of Diepkloof jobs as subcontractors, labourers and permanent employees for the stores once the constructions were complemented. The ANC Youth League and Diepkloof Business Forum were apparently leading the protest actions to petition and demand that people in the area be hired as allegedly promised. The idea that expectations were created by those governing the Township to convince them that work was going to be available to them, and as residents they were to take first priority when the appointment of contractors, security personnel, cleaners, managers and cashiers for the mall were put in place. During the fieldwork there were unsuccessful attempts to speak to the councillor regarding the protests and allegations of jobs, and this was to help me understand the conditions which led to the almost hostile relation which was apparent between the residents and their leaders. The research has attempted to understand and analyse the discrepancies and miscommunications that arose in the field-site, and used the data collected to recreate a narrative around the events. The recreation process has afforded me the opportunity to understand the relationships and interactions, if any, that existed between the state representatives in the area and residents during negotiations and protests.

Lastly, I have spoken to people living in the Township to investigate their perceived notion of the shopping complex as a source of employment, and this was done through interactions with those who have been employed at the Square. I had spoken to the residents with the intent to understand the diverse views which have been formulated by the people on the relationship between social membership, work and the role of the state. It is vital to note that

the participants had used the concept of ‘community’ when talking about the area and it was used loosely to refer to Township/suburb. Thus ‘community’ was the word they used in their everyday language and interaction with one another, and thus their understanding of the concept is not academically bound.

There were minor ethical difficulties which I faced in the field-site, and they were mainly issues of protecting the identity of the participants. Thus I had to find ways around finding participants without using referee’s real names when they refer me to potential participants, and this was especially asked of me by participants who had political connections. Another challenge I came across was getting people to co-operate, in the sense of showing up for meetings when they claimed they would and answering questions they thought controversial. I was fully aware that the project examines a contentious situation and I have ensured that the people were guaranteed anonymity, and their personal information was securely handled during and after the fieldwork.

Summary of Chapters and Conclusion

In post-apartheid South Africa the link that was erected between citizenship and work was a political project. The process was meant to rectify centuries of inequality and social injustice to ‘non-whites’, and this took into account the fact that for a long time being a citizen was only a privilege of the minority. Those classified as ‘people of colour’ who did manage to get work during apartheid were not fairly compensated for, and this was based on their race. The relationship between work and citizenship has always been a contested sphere, but the two concepts were structured in such a way that they try and complement one another in democratic societies. It is regarded as a constitutional right of every citizen to have access and opportunities to work and the right is also observed and expected even in undemocratic societies. The citizens in these societies thereof look to the governments that govern them to

provide these jobs, and it is regarded as the responsibility of those they have put in charge to deliver on these resources.

The residents and many people in the country have come to imagine creation of employment as a service to be delivered by the state, and it has become somewhat of an expectation even. Talking about job creation and especially for the youth has become almost like a gospel by the South African government. The rest of the world post-the-2008 economic crisis has come to describe the global trend of youth unemployment as a 'global crisis', one that has come to affect even those in the so called 'developed world'. In places like Egypt and Tanzania the dissatisfaction from young people as a result of unemployment in their respective countries has amounted to unrest and 'revolutions' in recent years, with statesmen being overthrown in some instances.

The report has been divided into three main chapters: the first chapter introduces concepts, a brief literature review, methods used to gather the data and the problem statement, whilst the second chapter has given a detailed ethnographic and historical background. It has given a wider history of the Soweto Township through looking at the conditions under which it was founded, traced the changing face of Soweto post-apartheid and the way the residents and the state have come to re-imagine it overtime. The chapter has also highlighted the social class divisions which came into play as a result of the increased inequality in the Township, and the way in which the differences had come to influence the resident's perceptions of citizenship and social membership. It shows the manner in which the development of the Diepkloof Square had only served to reinforce existing social differences imagined between the employed and the unemployed residents, and also goes further to explore the role played by generational differences which had been observed in Diepkloof.

Chapter three has focused on the existing paradox between the employed and unemployed residents, and it has discussed and analysed the two groups of resident's perspective on work

and citizenship. It has made an attempt to understand the contestations that both groups have created around the protests that occurred in their area of resident, and has explored the diverse factors that influenced the claims and entitlements to jobs at the Diepkloof Square development. It has looked at the way in which the unemployed had created methods to cope with their dispossession, thus explored the ideas around the perceived potential for threats and anxieties which I had observed from some of the participants. The chapter has argued that there was a need to want to assign blame to someone or something for their inability to get jobs; hence, there was a sense of unexpressed resentment towards the working and middleclass residents. It has showed the way in which the employed had also come to resent the unemployed, and thus perceived them as agents against 'community progress' and development. It explores the way in which unemployment had come to be perceived as a result of the unwillingness by the unemployed to get an education and acquire skills. Chapter four has looked at the dynamics that I had observed between Diepkloof Business Forum (DBF) and the Developers, and it has discussed and highlighted many of their contradictions which I came across during the research. It has focused more on how the DBF had managed to isolate the unemployed members of an area they had claimed to represent, thus argued that at a closer look their ideas of citizenship were similar to those of the people they claimed to protest against. The manner in which they had founded an organization which had served to marginalise those who seek to find jobs that allow them to put food on the table, and with that, frowning upon those who did not share their ideals on visualising a future of empowerment and business ownership.

Chapter Two

The Fundamental Social Class and Generational Differences in Diepkloof

The chapter has first given a description of the field-site to contextualise the research, that being a historical background of Soweto and Diepkloof in detail. It will explore how the Township came into being; therefore, introduce to the reader the different kinds of people who had lived in the Township overtime. It looks into the processes which have influenced the changing image of Soweto, and how its evolution has played into its initially intended design of the area as a place of exclusion. The chapter will also analyse the new tensions and contradictions that have emerged in the Township, and the manner in which their occurrence had resulted in Social class divisions and Generational differences amongst the residents. It will explore two reoccurring themes: Social class divisions and Generational differences, and the themes were there to help me understand the modern day Diepkloof and what it means to be a member of this Township. The most important part of the chapter is the discussion on the different existing definitions of citizenship and how they had come to be connected to who got permitted access to work within Diepkloof. The last part of the chapter will look into the variables which have made divisions within the Township possible, and will explore the ways in which the residents themselves had been talking about the issues around Social class distinctions and Generational gaps.

Ethnographic and Historical Background of Soweto and Diepkloof

South Western Townships which are today known as Soweto were created by the Apartheid State as a group of townships outside of Johannesburg for ‘non-white’ labourers, and it was constructed in such a way that black people were divided into enclaves within the area depending on language and ethnicity. The Township was designed as a space of exclusion for those structurally marginalised by the society, thus the system institutionally segregated those

deemed inferior to their white counterparts. The project of segregating cultural and racial groups was erected as part of the architecture and planning of the divide and rule system which enforced ‘separate development’, and the design was meant to make it easier for those in power to maintain control and implement racial policies against the so called ‘non-whites’ at the time. In creating places like Soweto and Homelands the state was seeking to feed into a system based on stereotyping whole groups of people. During apartheid Soweto had become a place of political struggle, and many of the popular activists of that period hailed from there. The Township was imagined as symbol of the anti-apartheid movement as it represented and embodied the wider cultural, social, economic and physical divisions of the system. Today Soweto still constitutes of a very diverse community of people who embody the inequalities that seize to persist in the post-apartheid state, with a combination of middle, lower and high class residents who are deeply fractured.

In those days leisure activities and commercial development were restricted and regulated within the townships, and there was not even any ‘public spaces’ in the surrounding areas built for cultural, social and political gatherings (Findley & Ogbu 2011). Mass gatherings were not permitted for those classified as black, and they were constituted as illegal activities. Even as economic growth and employment prospects remain unpredictable in the post-apartheid state, the people in the Township are pushing to transform these formally marginalised settlements into important hubs of commerce, leisure and political power with diverse social agendas. There has been a great deal of improvement in infrastructure and the transportation system, and the changes have come to model Soweto into a vibrant popular tourist destination born out of its rich political heritage. A global consumer culture has made an appearance in different parts of the Township, with a rise in mega air-conditioned shopping malls like Jabulani and Maponya mall and not to mention the erection of Gated commercial communities/complexes (Findley & Ogbu 2011). Soweto has gone from just

being a place of residents for African labourers to an ‘Urban Suburb’, and a place of leisure and entertainment for people of diverse races and cultures from the shores of South Africa and overseas. It has now become a popular tourist’s destination, and it is home to famous historical museums, galleries, clubs, and malls and parks to name a few.

The face of Soweto has changed and evolved greatly over the years, and the residents have come to imagine themselves differently. Consumption has become the dominant way to which this new imaginings have come to life and adopted as popular discourse. People have gradually come to create their sense of being and belonging which is constructed around notions of consumerism, and the malls being at the centre of the things that make the imaginings possible. Walters Benjamin’s reflections were able to capture the aesthetic and cultural practices of commodification within the arcades, with that, their interactive nature. He described how one is “drawn into the arcades (contemporary shopping malls) of mid-nineteenth-century Paris, there to find a heady mix of commodities and spectacles that transform the covered walkways into another world” (Benjamin 1977).

I have encountered many people during the research that think of Soweto as having grown away from what it was initially designed for by the apartheid state, and the idea being that it has been repurposed. The residents and the government in their policy documents refer to it as a suburb, and thus imagining the area as possessing ‘everything to offer for residents and tourists’. There is also a downside to the recreated image of Soweto as a growing middleclass because the perpetual struggle of the less privileged becomes overshadowed and downplayed. The malls erected everywhere in the Township are meant to symbolise progress and growth, but also to some, they are perceived as a ‘dark cloud’ because the malls are seen as taking food from their tables. The argument being that the commercial business enterprises are now taking clients from the small local entrepreneurs in the Township. Some people think of them as contributing to more poverty, the argument takes into account the fact that people spend

money they don't have, and those that had small stores in the areas no longer have a customer base. One of the participants argued that malls in townships served as monopolies, thus "they swallow-up all the smaller businesses, and they do not benefit entrepreneurs. We have sold our souls to white capital". The sentiments were shared by a young man from Dobsonville Soweto on *Aljazeera news*, and he was also of the view that "malls are the end to Africa's found freedom".

Diepkloof is one of the many townships founded in Soweto around the late 1950s, and today Diepkloof is described by observers, developers and some residents as a rising middleclass residential area. It was one of the last to be added to Soweto for residents from Sophiatown, and some of the first 'cheap matchbox' houses there were completed in the 1960s (Marks 1995; Marx and Rubin 2008). During the research I noticed that many of the poor residents still lived in the matchbox houses today, although, the few lucky ones managed to extent theirs further with extra rooms. Diepkloof like many of the townships in Soweto has been divided into different zones, and it is particularly layered out into six zones. It is argued that there were also cultural distinctions between Diepkloof residents and the rest of the Sowetans, and especially in youth culture because the majority of Diepkloof youth spoke a 'tsotsi-taal' sprinkled with Afrikaans. Their language was brought from the Afrikaans influenced home of Sophiatown, whilst the rest of their peers in the rest of Soweto spoke a home-brewed version of Zulu (Marks 1993). Today the youth of Diepkloof still imagine themselves to be distinct from those living in other parts of Soweto, and they also think of themselves as better than their peers.

The area was also home to some very politically active young people during apartheid, and many of them participated in the student riots of 1976 and in the 1980s (Marx and Rubin 2008). Today the area is very much divided between the Diepkloof extension that is colloquially known as 'Diepkloof Expensive', and the six zones in the much older areas of

the Township (Chomboko 2008; Marx and Rubin 2008). The division between the residents' extents further now as a result of the new facilities in the area, and it has manifested economically and physically. The Diepkloof extension was and still viewed by the residents as a place where people with a lot of money live, thus for 'upper class' residents. These ideals are based on the fact that the houses are much bigger and the residents drive big expensive cars, and they have access to material wealth. The Township has changed a lot since the 1990s, with the addition of recreational areas and transport systems like the Rea Vaya buses. Over the past 60 years since the area was created Diepkloof has become home to over 2000 households (Statistics South Africa, Census 2011), and many of whom are unemployed and others have never been employed.

Today Diepkloof enjoys a heterogeneous population, with a mix of different races and language groups. It possesses a ruptured political history emerging out of apartheid, and continuous to show political activism in the present. There is a variety of political parties competing over dominance and residents fighting for recognition and inclusion. When I went into the field-site in July 2013 there was a calm presence in the atmosphere, and a stranger wouldn't have guessed what had taken place at that shopping centre the year before. People were walking in and out of the stores as they had done many more times since the opening in December of 2012, and everyone seemed to be minding their own business as they shopped away. The shoppers there were not only from Diepkloof but different parts of Soweto, with many available parking spaces to accommodate those driving through.

The construction of the Diepkloof Square began in November of 2011, before that, they were plans made by the municipality and unknown developers to built R60 million Town-houses on that piece of land. The shopping complex was built by different consortiums, hence, McCormick properties in partnership with the Shanduka Group. One of the interlocutors explained that the reason the residential complex project didn't materialise was that as

residents they felt the development was not in their interest, thus there was mutual consent amongst residents from the different social class groups that they were not going to benefit from such a project, and so then later, the mall project was born to serve as a suitable replacement that was to benefit all the locals. The notion of ‘mutual benefit’ of cause is proven to be relative later in the research, thus as I have shown that the residents all expected different things from the Square.

The Square was built in an area some had come to describe as epitomising a rising black middleclass, although, during the research there was a great deal of poverty that continued to exist in most parts of the Township. It is the first suburb in the Greater Soweto area that is situated closer to the inner-city of Johannesburg, and the Township has facilities like schools, recreational parks, halls, clinics, hospitals, police station and now the shopping centre. The mall has become the centre of the area, with a beautifully designed modern architecture which has drawn in people from other areas for some convenient shopping. The Square has cemented walls painted with greys and browns, with some spacious and paved walkways, parking spaces and a fence surrounding the structure. It has become home to stores like Pick ‘n Pay, Food Lover’s market, McDonalds, Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC), Clicks, Banks and furniture stores just to name a few, thus it has many fast food restaurants.

Figure 1 (Diepkloof Square)

Diepkloof Square is just one of many of its kind in the Soweto region, and at a close proximity there are existing shopping facilities which are even bigger than it. Like Diepkloof Square these shopping complexes were initiated by the City of Johannesburg as part of their "2008-2013 Vision for Soweto". The vision was described as their "Five Year Soweto Economic Development Plan: Towards building a productive and competitive regional economy". The idea was imagined and envisioned by the city as a model that will capitalise on the boom of the retail industry, and they believed the projects would serve as some of the big ways to which Soweto was to create 'a diversity of jobs and career opportunities'. The state was of the idea that through these projects only few people would be out of work, and that they would improve the material living conditions of people in the townships. Through the boom in the retail industry Soweto "will be a region were previously disadvantaged individuals will be in productive employment and run their own successful businesses" (City

of Johannesburg 2004:37). Meanwhile, when the abovementioned ideals do not materialise it becomes problematic for the communities were the retail centres are erected. In many ways the malls had come to symbolise ‘progress and development’ for the state and those in business.

Before the Diepkloof project was constructed they were some consultations that occurred between the residents, the councillor, and the representatives from Shanduka and McCormick properties. At the meetings issues about who will potentially be supplying labour and services to the construction were raised, and the interlocutors who were present there have informed me that agreements were reached with the various stakeholders, and thus concluded that sub-contractors and the labour was to be sourced from Diepkloof. The negotiations and arrangements took months to try and settle, yet, even at the end the residents and the stakeholders could not agree on a way forward. The members, labourers and subcontractors from the area in question claimed ‘foul-play’, and argued that none of the things they agreed on at the consultations were provided. One of the interlocutors I call Thabo also had his company hired by the developers to render services as a subcontractor with three other subcontracting companies. Thabo was a resident of Diepkloof and lived not far from the shopping centre itself during the research, and he rented out a one bedroom concrete floor shack at the back of a house. He lived in one open space which he utilised as a bedroom; bath place, kitchen and meeting place, and we often met at his place during the research because that is where he entertained his friends and colleagues. He was studying part-time with University of South Africa and had a subcontracting company registered, but it was not doing too well and that forced him to live from hand to mouth. When his company was not bringing any jobs, he would often do what he called ‘odd jobs’ to help him pay rent and buy food. Thabo explained that “my subcontracting company was one of the three which was to provide services for the Diepkloof Square, but as a result of contractual and payment issues with the

contractor I was forced to quit the contract a few months later. The companies in charge of our contract would not sign a letter acknowledging that they were using my services". He claimed that they also couldn't agree on the costs of the services he was being asked to render, and made the accusation that "the main contractor expected us to do cheap labour as if we didn't know what we were doing". Thus after a few months of disagreement with those in charge Thabo and one other subcontractor ended their services at Diepkloof Square, and the end only one of the three subcontracted companies remained to complete the project.

Thabo had alluded that the subcontracting gig was meant to be his big opportunity to improve on his company's experience, thus "being involved in such a big project would have made people aware of my company and exposed it to a bigger market, and this way I would have made more contacts". He explained that he believed in creating employment not working for other people, and "this would have given me the independence and break I so wanted for myself". Boldly remarking on many occasions that "I do not want to work for anyone; I cannot understand people in this Township. They are just happy doing manual labour that doesn't pay much money and it's not like anyone really needs experience to work at Pick 'n Pay". I have observed that his rhetoric was much more popular amongst those classified as 'middle-class' residents of Diepkloof, and it would seem that even though he didn't have the material conditions of a middleclass person his ideologies aligned with the group. Thus he saw himself as working towards a life of material abundance, and his subcontracting company was to help him achieve his desires.

Thabo always seemed rather frustrated with the private consortiums, lamented that "those McCormick people kept insisting that the people in the community didn't have the right skills to pull off such a job, and I have certificates that prove that I am qualified to do the job as a subcontractor". Thabo was one example of many business owners who felt that the project ought to have done more for entrepreneurship and businesses in Diepkloof, but none of those

people included the unemployed residents. The idea was that developing and growing entrepreneurs would result in more sustainable solutions for the poverty in the area, and thus impart skills which the residents can use to improve their living conditions and break the cycle of poverty. Thabo had been one of the many people that participated in the Diepkloof protests, and he got involved through the Diepkloof Business Forum because he was a member. The DBF was participating in the protests to negotiate for entrepreneurs and not for job creation.

The dissatisfactions over money, contracts and a sense of being sidelined led to the first protest around the Diepkloof Square project. The first protest was by the people already working at the construction site as labourers, and they were claiming that their working conditions were poor and salaries were below minimum wage **(**Motumi 2012)[2]. The Diepkloof Business Forum which was founded in 2012 during the protests was to act as 'chief negotiator' for the many Diepkloof organisations that were also involved in a 'common cause', and the basis of their involvement was that they felt "the project was not in the interest of the local entrepreneurs". An argument was made by one DBF member that "local businesses didn't benefit from the project and not enough local subcontractors were employed. When we attended the consultations as individual business owners we were informed that 15% of the project will be outsourced to local contractors and 70% of work was to be allocated to local labourers", said Sipho from Diepkloof Business Forum. Sipho was a permanent middleclass resident of Diepkloof who owned a construction company during the proceedings of the research, and he was also one of the unsuccessful local companies that applied to render services at the site of the project. He had also gone further to argue that "the Diepkloof residents were not even able to rent out space for their businesses at the mall because the rent was just way too high for them, and only the dry cleaner is owned by a black

[2] *"Diepkloof wages row", The Star,* 6/11/2012

person from Soweto but the rest is white capital". When we had the conversation Sipho and I were walking around the finished product of the Diepkloof Square, and as it stood tall within the bustle the protests were a distant memory for many. For business owners like Sipho the battle with 'white capital' was ongoing, and thus as he pointed around with his finger at the stores owned by big corporations there was dismay painted on his face.

The Diepkloof Square protests had given over 50 protestors the space to threaten another 'Marikana' and a 'xenophobic' attack against foreign nationals who offered cheap labour to the construction site, and they felt their actions would have been justified if the demands against the consortiums were not met. "Foreigners who were likely to be illegal in this country had jobs and our people didn't in their own backyard, what else could we have done since our demands fell on deaf ears and maybe the threat of violence would have been the only language the companies understood?" When Smangelo made this remark a year after the protests, he still seemed quite angry about how things had turned up. In my enquiring about his continued anger and discontent, he just looked at me pensively and remarked "...sisi you wouldn't understand". During the research the 22 years old young man was still unemployed, and he had dropped out of High school when he was 16 years old for reasons he was not willing to share with me. He stayed with his grandparents, mother and siblings at the older part of Diepkloof, and I had made his acquaintance through a member of the ANC Youth League. Smangelo perceived me as an outsider and as someone who wasn't a part of 'them', and in some ways he was resentful towards me because even though we were the same age our circumstances were different.

A great deal of tension, dissatisfaction and anger continued to be embodied by some of the people, with a conflict that was born out of 'claims' and 'entitlements' between the Developers, the state and some of the local residents. As a former member of the ANC Youth League had explained "the community had run thin on patience including our member local

contractors, and the situation had led to a myriad of challenges that led to the umpteenth protest march, whose intention at that time would have led to the mall being a white elephant if no solutions were made immediately. The project even in its finality is still nothing but a robbery to our community and our people, the issue of the mall became envisioned as something personal for many people who would have benefitted greatly if promises were delivered". The participant in question claimed to have quit the Youth League shortly after they had abundant the final protest, and he remarked that he did so because he felt the organization had sold out to 'white capital'. He made allegations that his former organization had accepted bribes, hence, "they were paid to end the protests and I refuse to be associated with an organization which led their community down to enrich their own pockets". There was also the dominant notion that there was a sense of a perceived betrayal in the minds of the unemployment residents, thus the idea that their 'leaders' had led them down.

I had wondered about what had sparked the tensions when I began the research? It all began when a piece of land which was home to long time residents that lived in shacks were displaced, and moved to other townships further away from Diepkloof. Interesting enough though, the other residents in Diepkloof did not even seem to care about the displacement of the residents that lived at the land they expect jobs and retail benefits from. As indicated they were initial plans to use the land to built Townhouses which were to attract a demographic of young professionals to the area, and this was prevented by the residents in the early stages of the project. It was finally changed to a shopping centre that promised to benefit the region and its people, and these the unemployed residents believed it was to be done through job creation and skills transference. One should note that the stance on creating jobs and 'improving communities' through promises of jobs is neither a new trend nor exception to Diepkloof. It seems that it has become the popular political requisite of doing business in post-apartheid South Africa, and what would the implications of this trend be in the long run?

The biggest and the most documented of these protests was from September to October 2012, where workers, unemployed residents, ANC Youth League members and Small Medium Enterprise (SME) owners came together and prepared to protest. The workers were demanding “more money and safer working conditions”, the unemployed demanded “inclusion in the project” and the SME’s demanded “equal participation in the construction industry within their proximity” as indicated to me by a DBF member. Even though at the end many of the demands were still not fulfilled, the construction was still stopped for over a month and this led to a delayed opening of the Square. The area was just harbouring contradictions, and this took into account the fact that the protestors were led by the ANC Youth League in a Ward (municipal area) ran by the ANC, and they were protesting against a project which the Deputy President of the ANC has a majority stake in.

The unemployed members had argued that the councillor and the developers had promised to create jobs for the residents, and the failure to do so led to the tensions. The unemployed and the DBF members claimed that the councillor had refused to meet and hear their demands because “she was allocated a financial stake in the project in order for her to turn the other cheek”. The lack of communication between the parties in question had caused a conflict of interest. An interlocutor had explained that during the meetings with the stakeholders before the project began, they were led to believe that “the community will benefit 40% of the project value which is supposed to be retained there through the use of local labour, local suppliers and local plant hire companies”. Alluded that their knowledge on the project value of the Square was based on an existing City of Johannesburg policy that indicates how much townships should benefit when there is a commercial development in their areas of residents.

There was a list of demands and conditions that accompanied the protest, and they were as follows provided to me by one of the organisers: The Main Contractor, The Developer and the Johannesburg Property Company Must:

1. Dissolve the current Steering Committee which comprises of ward councillors.
2. Stop all production/construction until all remedial processes/resolutions are met.
3. Review all Subcontractors and apply Health and Safety Measures on site.
4. Submit a Total Project Audit to our Organisation, and help to jointly appoint a Quantity Surveyor who will independently compile current Scope of Work and reimburse the QS.
5. Review the list of Local Suppliers and local plant hire.
6. Ensure that 40% of the total value of the project is given to the local contractors and the community.
7. Submit the working rates of local labourers.
8. Allow a new Steering committee to be appointed by all including our organization.
9. Review the recruitment process by Sizanani.
10. Submit a Programme of Action of Empowering our community after the project (employment of local people, tenants etc).

It's hard not to think about these protests in the larger scheme of things, and taking into account the wider post-apartheid South African context within which the claims to jobs are possible. In thinking about the entitlements within the framework of the country, it allows me the possibility to make sense of the variables that make the protests permissible because this case study was just one of many. The protests were two of the many which have been documented in South Africa over the last five years, and all of which share the same pattern of dissatisfaction with the State. With unhappy community members and groups evoking their citizenship to demand for certain necessities within their communities, and the demands range from jobs, wage increases to service delivery. It is interesting to note that many of the documented protests were by employees seeking more wages, thus those with jobs seem much more inclined to protest than those who are unemployed. It would seem protests have become a trend in South Africa and many of the so called developing countries, and they are

being used as an acceptable language to help people express frustration and to allow them to participate as active citizens with rights and expectations.

The popular discourse is that those who were previously disadvantaged expected a dramatic change to occur when the transition from the old to the new state was implemented, with better living conditions and quality jobs as a priority. Fast forward to 20 years into a democracy there are more people in this country who are unemployed or living below the minimum wage than before the end of apartheid, and this of cause has unsettled the status quoi over the years. The tensions have resulted in dissatisfactions that have been expressed through violent protests and looting in many cases in the past, and even though many of these protests never meet the desired results for the protestors. The Southern African region alone has been reported to have the highest rates of unemployment, and they peaked at 24.5 % in 2012 as reported by the economic report on Africa. An official estimate was 4.5 million South Africans being unemployed and with the number expected to be higher than the reported statistics (Statistics South Africa, Census 2011). The statistics are reflected in the vast inequalities documented all over the country, and they were reinforced in Diepkloof in the form of social class divisions between those who have material commodities and those who do not. There was a sense of an imagined social difference that existed in the Township, which also played itself out through Generational differences.

Social Class Divisions in Diepkloof

During the research I noticed that there was a heightened sense of class differentiation that existed within the Township, and between the residents there and the rest of Sowetans. Some of the interlocutors in that Township had a sense of 'exceptionalism', as James a participant had said in passing that "Diepkloof is superior to the rest of Soweto and other townships in the country, and it is much more progressive and well developed". James and many other Diepkloof residents across the social class bar had often claimed that they didn't think themselves to be a part of Soweto just because their Township is much closer to the inner-city. James had gone as far as to say "Diepkloof is three years ahead of other areas in townships in this country, whereas they are still constituted as townships we are a suburb. We have business people, celebrities, and known government officials and sports personalities living here, and that just prove that it is much more evolved". James was a University student during the research, and he constituted the minority group of the middle to higher class residents of the Township. He stayed at his family home housed at the Diepkloof extension with his parents, and I was acquainted with him because we studied at the same educational institution. Part of his argument was also based on the fact that the area called Diepkloof extension is said to have very expensive housing, and seen as much more 'evolved' in relation to the rest of Diepkloof and Soweto at large. What was interesting is that the assumed progress and superiority of Diepkloof is articulated in the same language that the state uses to speak of 'development' (Ferguson 1994) in the rest of the country. Miller (2005) has argued in his work on shopping malls in Zambia that unlike there, shopping spaces in South Africa have become re-imagined as visible signs of Post-apartheid development. Thus James had argued "...we live closer to the city, we have better roads, housing, more schools, the Square and areas of entertainment (night clubs)", but he didn't mention the fact that the Township

has a great number of people who are unemployed as it's so in most South African townships.

The social class difference was reproduced in different forms in the Township, and two of the ways being through levels of education and skills. Hence, many of the interlocutors in support of the mall project and the people responsible for the management of the place who came from Diepkloof had argued on a lot of occasions that the protestors had no grounds for their claims, and this they argued was based on the fact that "they didn't even possess the required skills to pull off the labour required". One participant going by Jabu went further and claimed "....many of the protestors only had Grade 11, they just want things given to them yet they don't take time to improve themselves professionally. They don't show any potential, if I was an employer I wouldn't hire someone that wasn't able to express himself. The funny thing is they didn't even know what kind of jobs they were applying for, and when you ask them they just reply with...'any'".

The residential area was divided into enclaves: they were the Small Medium Enterprise groups that expected to benefit in terms of finances from the developers, the supporters of the project who majorly worked elsewhere outside Diepkloof and the unemployed/the vulnerable in the Township. The former was the group that was majorly ignored or left behind as a result of those residents who like to classify themselves as 'middleclass', and thus the Township was perceived and treated as a middleclass area by the consortiums. Those who did not embody the category of middleclass were mostly seen as a kind of 'annoyance' or as one participants declared "...agents against community progresses and change". The participant in question was working as a cashier at the Square, and she had argued "the protestors only wanted charity; the mall was never going to be able to accommodate everyone in the first place. They cannot expect stores to just hire people with no experience, this is a business". The participant was one of those Diepkloof residents who were relocated from other stores

away from the Township, thus she already had a job but it was just away from her area of resident. Even though the unemployed group of residents were the only ones who were personally affected by the lack of jobs that 'failed to materialise' from the development, they were also harshly judged by their fellow employed residents. A question arose as a result of these findings: how come did a Township become categorised as middleclass when a greater part of its inhabitants were unemployed? Was work potentially at the centre of this imagined difference or just the material commodities that come with being employed? The questions take into account the fact that the unemployed residents perceived the middleclass bar as a category that came with living at specific parts of the Township, the kind of education received, the type and size of a house and just materiality in general.

When I communicated with some of the participants about what they thought distinguished the 'middleclass' from the 'others' in the Township, many argued that "the middleclass don't live in matchbox houses nor the older parts of the area which were built at the height of apartheid. The older parts of Diepkloof have houses that look the same and the people there still have a sense of a community, and the neighbours also still get to borrow things from each other". They were speaking about the notion of the 'communal and the collective' as though it is some sort of 'native and outdated behaviour', and an activity only seen amongst the non-middleclass. Even some of the unemployed spoke of the practice as though its vile behaviour which they only practice out of circumstances. One of the participants who lived at the older part of the Township had said "sometimes I feel forced into dodging and avoiding my neighbours because they always seem to want to ask me for things, so I try to avoid them when it's possible". The participant Thandi was in her 30s and she and her son lived in her grandmother's house, and at the time of the research she worked as a cleaner in the inner-city.

I was struck by the idea that they felt compelled to maintain somewhat 'superficial' relationships with their neighbours just because they lacked material wealth compared to their

middleclass counterparts. It seemingly came across as if the sense of the collective was maintained out of a sense of duty and responsibility, and this was practiced just in case one needed to ask for a favour from their neighbour in the future. Whereas, in the other parts of the Township were residents in their everyday interactions call ‘the new houses’ and ‘expensive extensions’ the people there apparently have a sense of ‘individuality’. The perception alluded to the fact that most of the people who lived in the middle to higher class areas probably only see their neighbours on weekends, if ever, therefore it was not common to have the neighbours there borrowing things from each other. There was a sense of admiration taking place in Diepkloof, with those classified as underprivileged desiring the kind of freedom and individuality they imagine came with being on the other side of their residential area, and that gave me a sense that they were ‘small communities’ within the larger ‘community’. The ‘not borrowing things from each other’ attitude was imagined as a behaviour for ‘forward thinkers’ as it may, thus Thandi declared “I don’t even think people at extension and the new houses know everyone who lives on their streets”. Her remark to my surprise came out as a compliment, and so in her view not having a relationship with one’s neighbours is perceived as a character embodied by those perceived as the ‘civilised and evolved’ of Diepkloof. But from research and observation I can say that one of the many reasons there was no sense of shared community at Diepkloof extension was because some of the houses there were only used as Guesthouses, and whereas the owners of some of the other houses were found to have other homes in the North of Johannesburg were they spend most of their time.

It was interesting though that those who were not classified as middleclass used the middleclass groups to argue the point of Diepkloof as being more evolved in relations to the other Sowetan counterparts, yet, when making observations from within Diepkloof I could easily see the tensions that existed between the social class groups. The Diepkloof Square

construction turned out to be the catalysed that allowed the residents to vend out their long standing frustrations at each other, and the site fuelled and created a platform that brought their imagined differences to light. In some cases the tension came off as a kind of resentment, thus “living in a community with people that can afford to avoid their neighbours but still get to have full membership as Diepkloof residents”, and it was a contradiction because the both poor admired and looked down on the middleclass for this reason. From the research it didn’t seem like work was popularly the way to belong, because one of my interlocutors indicated to me that within Diepkloof there were those residents who had lived there their whole lives and had never worked. So they all had different understandings of what it meant to belong in Diepkloof, and what it was to have social membership in the Township.

The middleclass residents constituted the minority group that held permanent jobs in the city and in other areas in and outside the province. During the construction of the Square project there was a very visible divide that was highlighted and demonstrated, those who already worked elsewhere supported the project for its purpose to them as a convenient shopping facility. I had a participant who proclaimed “a re satla go ya South-Gate for grocery (Sotho for: we wouldn’t have to go to South-Gate for groceries anymore)”. The sentiments of convenience were shared by a German lady and her husband who had been tenants in the area for over a year when I was conducting the research. Meanwhile the unemployed didn’t necessarily disapprove of the Square per say, and their support was just conditional in a sense that they expected its presence in their area of residence to materially change their living conditions for the better.

It is important to note that the divide within the Township is not a new phenomenon, and this takes into account the fact that the apartheid state structured townships in such a way that they were divided into small enclaves of cultural groups from various parts of the country.

The residential area is home to a diversity of people from different cultures and languages from different parts of South Africa, and recently to Africans, Indians and Pakistanis running businesses and trading in the area. It would seem though that the cause of the divide now has just simply changed to materiality and market related issues, and thus the social and political circumstances in the country have changed and so have the issues in the Township. Many of those residents constituted as middleclass or higher had subsequently secured their homes behind higher walls over the years, with a few that have installed electric fences. From within the Township I was faced with a region filled with contradictions which were reflected greatly in the light of vast inequalities. It came to my attention that many of the Diepkloof residents who were employed were in the older generation group, with a major problem of unemployment documented amongst their youth group. It was argued that even many of those that participated in the 2012 employment protests were the youth of the Township, and they demanded to be included in a life of material abundance and participation in the market.

Persistent Generational Differences

The chapter will attempt to explore and demonstrate the different ways Diepkloof residents understood and negotiated their social membership, and will also delve into what it means to be a citizen in that Township. It was a fascinating experience because their grasp of the concept of citizenship seemed to change depending on individual's positions within the Township, and employment status and age proved to be the leading factors which influenced the perceptions. Many Scholars have played around with the concept of citizenship over decades of research, yet none has managed to come up with a universal understanding of the concept. The findings have shown that citizenship proves to be a fluid concept that changes depending on time and context, and that it is universally used to represent different ideals. T.H Marshall (1950:54) defined citizenship as a "status which is enjoyed by a person who is a full member of a community" in his essay '*Citizenship and Social Class'*. Scholars to the likes of Helve (2001) and Wallace (2005) had argued that the concept of citizenship today has become much more broad, from the traditional narrow meaning of political, legal and welfare rights analysed by Marshall, to being used to encompass and accommodate concepts like 'cultural citizenship', 'race citizenship', 'global citizenship' and etc.

In the field-site the idea of possessing membership of the Township was not set in stone, and this took into account the fact that there was a great number of people who were unemployed and those who had never been employed. This was highly visible with the younger people who were always seen sitting at street corners, hanging out at the mall just in case someone would offer 'piece' jobs, and outside the local spaza shops throughout the area during the day. Some of the unemployed young people of Diepkloof whom I had attempted conversation with had suggested on many occasions that they would only have discussions with me if I were to offer them jobs, compensation or refer them to people that could help them with employment.

It came across during the research that different members of the Township took different positions regarding how they understood work and citizenship, and some of the individual stances were influenced by the generational differences amongst the residents. First of all I had noticed that for the older generation citizenship was mostly defined on the basis of the relationships and connections they had established within the area over the years, and thus one of the participants who had been living in the Township since the 1970s had said "young people forget that our neighbours and friends make this place a community, and we should always treat each other well because you never know when you might need other people. You young people forget what is important". The woman in question was the grandmother of one of my other participants whom I had called Thandi in the paper, thus she and her grandmother had very different views when it came to the notion of 'community'. Her grandmother had moved to Diepkloof from Mpumalanga during apartheid, and thus she proclaimed "my neighbours and I come far together and even when I moved here back in the day they made me feel welcome. I didn't feel the gap left by my family being so far because my neighbours became like family. When I moved here I couldn't even own a house, I was just a tenant in the Township, but a lot has changed since then". I got the sense that belonging in the Township was imagined as a personal process; hence, individuals had different positions of what constituted belonging. For Thandi possessing material wealth which would potentially allow her to live at the part of the Township were she desired constituted her social membership, and she believed economic freedom would make her independent of her neighbours. She proclaimed "I can understand why the unemployed felt the need to protest for jobs, there is a kind of freedom that could come with having a job. I think I belong here because I grew-up in Diepkloof and I have friends living around here, if I had a well paying job I would still buy a house in the Township and probably at the new houses or extensions. I

know though that some of the people my age in the Township would rather buy houses in the North, but I like it here".

In many cases the older generation of residents who have lived there from Sophiatown since the beginning had homes in the rural areas of South Africa, and they unlike their kids and grandchildren were not making plans to move to the Northern suburbs. Once they retire from their jobs in the city some of the older people had planned to move to the former 'homelands' or just stay in the Township. I had noticed a similar trend within my own family because I have grandparents who lived in Soweto since they were forcefully removed from Sophiatown in the 50s, and thus after retirement they moved to the rural areas of South Africa. Some of the younger generation of residents had plans and or at least an interest to move to the former white areas when they could afford to, but most of those who made these future plans were those who got to receive a tertiary education. The participant I called James was shocked when I asked him if he planned to continue to live in Diepkloof when he got a job after graduating, thus defensively said "of cause not" and reacted as though I was asking him an obvious question. As he later also explained that if it were up to him he would have rented an apartment or stayed at the University in the North during his studies if his parents had not interjected, and he made it a point to explain that his life and friends were in the North. The youth understood their citizenship there to be grounded on the basis that they were born and or raised in Diepkloof, thus for the unemployed this idea gave them the 'license' to make demands of the place.

They were residents who were born in Diepkloof from parents who were moved there from Sophiatown when the residency was established, and the group felt a sense of ownership towards the place but not necessarily an emotional connection. Thus one of the third generation residents of Diepkloof had said "unlike with my parents and grandparents, Diepkloof is the only home I know. I was born and grew up here, and this is for me is 'home

home'. My parents grew up in Limpopo and moved to Diepkloof for work, and they think of Limpopo as 'home home' and Diepkloof as home away from home". As indicated her generation imagined Diepkloof as 'home home' instead of home away from home, and that was unlike many of the 'original' residents that had homes in rural areas and in other parts of South Africa. It was interesting to observe that although the first generation didn't frequently go to their rural homes as it were, they still imagined the rural areas to be their 'real homes'. They were also those residents who moved to the area in the 1980s and 1990s from outside the province and other parts of Soweto, and many of them had come to establish their sense of belonging in the Township. But this was the group that only thought of Diepkloof as a temporary resident even though they had houses there. Diepkloof is being imagined as a place where they stay because it's closer to work, but they intend to move back to their 'homes' in the rural areas when they retire and their children are all grown-up.

The generations of residents didn't seem to have a rooted attachment to the suburb though, there was just some level of an emotional connection to the place, and this was more so with the older generation. There was a sense that their loyalty in Johannesburg lay with Diepkloof and that was the only place they were willing to live at until some of them move to the rural areas. Where one finds that in some cases the young people who received a tertiary education felt inclined to agree with their elder counterparts and this was in terms of the purpose of the Diepkloof Square. Thus they have received a tertiary education and thereof working at a mall was not something they imagined themselves doing. I had a participant in her early 20s who was studying at a University at the time, and when asked about envisioning the mall as a place of employment she said "I don't understand what the fuss is about. I personally think you don't exactly need skills to work at a mall, and I wouldn't want to waste my education working there".

It seemed that the older generation of residents that moved and lived in Soweto throughout apartheid had a distinct understanding and definition of citizenship, and it appeared to be influenced by their experience of the struggle. The meanings and ideas they had come to attach to what it meant to be a citizen of a place was fundamentally formulated through that experience in their lives, thus they remembered a time when the government of the day refused to classify them as citizens and permanent residents in urban areas. But although they were classified as temporary residents in the city during the struggle, they still imagined themselves and their neighbours to be a community within the Township. “The neighbours were people we could depend on when we needed help”, as indicated by one of the participants who had lived in Diepkloof throughout apartheid. “Everyone saw themselves as a collective community that looked after each other’s interests”, hence John argued that the Township had changed greatly since his childhood. He claimed that people had become much more individualistically driven, and that “the collective good is no longer the driver of the community”. John alluded that he didn’t understand why some of the residents didn’t want foreign nationals acquiring jobs at the Diepkloof Square and in his view “if they had the experience to offer the necessary labour, why shouldn’t they be employed? The young people in this country have become spoiled by the illusions of democracy, and they think everyone owes them something. They should first go to school and get the required skills before they can make demands. They are misrepresenting the ideals that this community stood and fought for, community membership is not about who lived here longer, it’s about embracing your neighbours and the collective network. People should get jobs because they have earned them, and not any other reason. I have seen what the ANC has turned this country into, giving jobs to their friends and families, and I can tell you now that they will be the end of us”. In his concluding remarks he exclaimed that “this is not what we fought for”. But then again he works in the city of Johannesburg like many of the middleclass residents, and like many in

his position he was reluctant to discuss issues around the protest. It seemed that the middleclass found it difficult to relate to the unemployed and their difficulties. There was a common pattern in their remarks that they "don't want to involve themselves in community politics", and the irony there was that although John seemed nostalgic for the past he didn't embody the ideals he claimed the Township had stood for. Like so many of his neighbours his home was protected behind high walls the locals call 'stop-nonsense', and they separated him from his neighbours. The walls had become a popular rhetoric in the most parts of the Township, and they were seen erected even around many households throughout Soweto. They had come to represent the evolving post-apartheid image of Soweto.

From the observations made I found that there was a social class distinction that also fed into the generational differences, thus in understanding the relationship between the work and citizenship nexus. There seemed to be an occurring relationship between the two variables, and this took into account the fact the majority of the employed within the Township were the elders. There was a lack of understanding between the generations, thus those who lived through a time where they were marginalised and felt they had to work hard in a tough regime, and a group that grew up in a democratic state and in some ways have a sense of entitlement. The youth grew up in a society that shaped them in such a way that they felt they could make demands for things, with the illusion that their citizenship should result to material benefits. They cannot relate to their parent's ideals and past experience, and this was because material entitlements were imagined as their reality and rights.

During apartheid those classified as citizens because of their race could get good jobs that paid well, but Africans who were only seen as temporary residents in the city of Johannesburg were forced to live on the edge. The state only imagined them as cheap labourers who could not be classified as citizens in South Africa, thus Africans were not seen as being in possession of their full humanity in relation to white people. Citizenship had a

close relationship to work even back then, and in retrospect one's race determined their possession or lack of citizenship and that in return determined the kind of jobs people could get. In post-apartheid South Africa the locals are still trying to enforce those ideals, except this time the black South Africans are trying to use ideas of citizenship privileges against their African neighbours. The idea being that their lack of citizenship as foreigners should disqualify them from working in South Africa, with the belief that all available jobs should be reserved to those with citizenship entitlements. Although the labour market was deracialized post-apartheid the recent threats of more attacks on foreign labours in the field showed that the locals were seeking to nationalise access to employment.

Conclusion

Post-apartheid Soweto has become a place filled with contradictions, and it has come to embody different ideals and tensions that have come to represent the modern day South Africa. Soweto has become a space of inclusion and exclusion as it is now being sold as a rising middleclass Township, although, there are many residents who get sidelined through this image. Many have come to perceive the image as a deception because of its unaccommodating nature to the poor of the Township. Soweto has come to reflect the many inequalities that exist between the rich and the poor which have been widely observed and documented in the rest of the country, with a trend of social class divisions and generational differences among residents. The work and citizenship nexus has come to be used as a tool to voice out dissatisfactions, and one finds the unemployed in townships using their role as members to demand jobs from projects taking place in their area of residents. With claims and entitlements expressed by those who seek to 'benefit' materially from their citizenship, hence, there were expectations of economic prosperity post-1994. The failure to satisfy these expectations has resulted in many protest actions around the country in the last decade, thus finding citizens who have now come to disapprove of a state they feel owes them services

and resources. The notion that they have put a government in place that promised to serve their interest; therefore, the failure to do so has now come to be viewed as a kind of betrayal. With members of Diepkloof who felt that the post-apartheid government was only seeking to meet its own interests, and exclaimed that it had forgotten about its service to the people that put it in power.

Chapter Three

The Economy of Work and Consumerism

The chapter will first give a background context that played a role in the events which occurred in Diepkloof, and it will explore the ideas surrounding the phenomenon of youth unemployment in South Africa and the continent. Secondly, it will try to understand the pattern of events and the context leading to the protests that occurred in the area. Through the chapter I was able to assess the claims which had been raised in the field, and this helped me to understand how the unemployed residents formulated their entitlements to employment and citizenship rights. The chapter will discuss the way in which the unemployed residents had imagined and perceived the process which took place when consultations between the private consortiums, residents, political parties and the councillor occurred, and it will analyse the events surrounding the construction and opening of the shopping complex. The report will uncover questions surrounding the role played by kinship networks in helping people get access to work, and has made an attempt to understand how they had imagined the relationship between work and citizenship. It will finally delve into issues around political rivalry which occurred at the field-site, and explore the version of events from the perspective of those residents already employed outside the Township.

The relationship between work and citizenship has remained highly contested and elusive, with Scholars who think the two variables complement each other and those who oppose the connection between the concepts. In the field there were a lot of claims to resources and work which were made, and they were in many instances formulated in the name of citizen entitlements and rights. The participants who were willing to speak to me felt deprived and robbed off by the private consortiums that owned and rented the Diepkloof Square, and there was a sense of an imagined social injustice on the part of the unemployed. The unsatisfied

residents and the organised groups in the Township were quick to point out that the "contractors employed foreign workers who didn't have rights to be there in the first place". The idea of using foreign labourers has been widely debated by many unemployed black South Africans, and that had resulted in the 2008 xenophobic attacks. The claims were formulated with the concession that the locals were unemployed because 'foreigners were taking their jobs'. Holt and Scott (2000:16) argued though that "a claim made in terms of citizenship ratifies an elite's image of itself even as it potentially constraints that elites options". The idea that the constitution of the country gives its people the grounds to make claims and protest as citizens with rights, although this does not mean those claims would be satisfied in return. The constitution becomes an imaginary idea and an illusion, thus it promises citizens unattainable objectives and comes off as a theoretical vision inapplicable in the real world. This is shown in the sense that although the constitution states that citizens have equal rights, opportunities and fair distribution of resources, thus the manner in which the economy is structured doesn't allow for the ideals to be achieved. The condition under which South Africa's very freedom was founded and exists is in alignment with the free market, and this allows only the few with specific skills and resources to participate and benefit from it.

South Africa's democracy was implemented alongside economic policies which were meant to allow the country to compete with 'developed' economies. The economy became structured through neoliberal ideals which exposed and opened the country to trade on the global market, with that came the opportunity to consume commodities from all over the world. The change in the markets came with the exploration of a popular culture which young South Africans were not familiar with, and so the 'Generation Y' group became known for its consumerist tendencies. The idea being that the post-apartheid society had to recreate and reassemble new ways for the youth to express their new found identities beyond the colour

line (Weiss 2009), and consumerism was adopted as a way to help them belong in an otherwise exclusive world. Commodities became redefined as a source and or model to assist young people in the process of identity formation, and this took into account the fact that the youth of the post-apartheid society found themselves thrown into a capitalist world that has historically defined identity and notions of belonging through work. Young people at this time became a target for upcoming brands by companies wanting to release and sell new products, and thus a generation of consumers was created. This was and is not just a South African trend because the same pattern has been documented in many parts of the continent post-independence by Scholars like Brad Weiss (2009) in Tanzania and Jennifer Cole (2004) in Madagascar. Over the years the idea of participation in the consumer market became imagined by the youth as more of an expectation, and with expectations comes a great deal of pressure. The pressure to take part was mostly caused by the fact more young people found it difficult to find employment, therefore, this made it hard to be able to purchase commodities and participate in any market exchanges. Thus commodities became fashioned as a tool to both create and reinstate spaces of exclusion and inclusion, and those without the means to consume existed outside the community of popular culture. Today the youth find themselves excluded through their inability to find work and not being able to participate in the consumer culture, whereas work would have enabled them to have some sense of belonging. Finding authors like Janice Perlman (1976, 2003, and 2010) and Leslie Bank (2011) alleging that "new forms of marginality have emerged in the world of neoliberal capitalism" which have created 'misfits' and the 'maladapted' who are marginalised to the edges of society as outsiders in a mainstream economy.

The found culture of commodities was used to get young people to define themselves in consumer terms, and this is more in the present time where there are not enough jobs to support the trend. This is very relevant to the research because the majority of the protestors

in Diepkloof were the unemployed, and a similar trend of mass unemployment amongst young people was documented in the rest of the country. The lack of the means to participate in the mainstream economy may result in the unemployed being destined to a life of material deprivation, and the implication would be that they would not be able to compete in the world of consumer commodities which was meant to assist them in their process of identity formation. The conditions under which the youth find themselves have led me to conclude that the promises of economic emancipation of the previously disadvantaged made by the post-apartheid state have not materialised, and thus unemployment has become a symptom of 'failing system' as it were. Thus Smangelo had remarked "the government only pretends to care about our interest when they need our votes, just a few months ago we had the ANC's ward councillor candidate coming into our homes because she wanted to be voted in as a councillor. But when we wanted her to intervene with the private consortiums for our jobs she couldn't be bothered, and she was nowhere to be found". The decrease in employment opportunities proves to have caused a gradual restlessness in the young nation, hence, the condition under which South Africa's freedom was founded and exists is in alignment with the free market, and the market is grounded through a great deal hierarchy and inequality. Is this an indication that the capitalist society needs to rethink the notion of a society connected through the culture of employment and consumption, and do we need to create new ways for young people to belong in an otherwise economically bound society?

It has been documented in South Africa and many parts of the continent in recent years that work has become a rare commodity on the market (Barcheisi 2011:245), and this is during a time when those in government have made 'creation of work' a major priority. Yet, at least 52% of the young adult population in the country is faced with unemployability and scarcity of work (Statistics South Africa 2013), and unemployment has now become the norm instead of the exception. Hence, there are higher numbers of people out of work in South Africa, on

the continent and in most parts of Europe today in relation to those who actually have jobs. The decrease in employment opportunities has made the link between the work and citizenship nexus somewhat peculiar. Ndijo (2005:24) argued that the "dominant work centred citizenship discourse provides, in the end, ammunition to authoritarian yearnings in response to imagined threats from impure and anarchic, popular practices of insubordination and impoliteness". There is young tsotsi's who avoid work to teenage mothers that receive grants (Barchiesi 2011:247), and school kids who protest and attack foreign shop keepers just so they can loot as a result of their 'entitlement culture'. The events in the field-site were being evoked in the background of these opposing and yet complementary forces between work and citizenship, and they were being used to reflect and express the ideals and expectations of the employed and unemployed of Diepkloof.

Context of the Unemployed

> *"The big companies don't care about improving our lives, they just think of us black people as consumers, they didn't even give us a chance to rent out some of the space in the mall*" (Interlocutor August 2013).

The events in Diepkloof accelerated and took a turn in 2012 at the beginning of the year when people who were unemployed in the area were urged through word-of-mouth and the community newspaper to deliver their resumes to the local shops and businesses, and they were to be picked up by recruiters responsible for the hiring of staff for the mall stores. David who participated in the research had said "I was called for interviews by two of the stores at the Square, but I never heard back from either of them again. I only realised I was not successful when the mall proceeded to open and I had not been contacted. When I went back to ask at one of the stores I was informed that I did not have enough experience". David claims though that he was aware that a friend of his from the Township had been hired without the experience, and so could not understand what differentiated his lack of

experience to that of his friend. This was not just a concern of one individual, thus many of the unemployed also had the same concern about the criteria used to employ people. David also informed me that later on he found out that the same stores in question had offered those without experience and skills some training, and yet the option of training was not presented to him. As I had indicated that his concerns and questions were not exceptions, hence, they were many residents who had applied that wondered the same and this was one of the many reasons that led to the protests. David claimed “what drove me over the edge was that when we were protesting we found many of our resumes and documents dumped at the back of one of the Township’s halls, and there was no one to explain why this had happened”.

In September of 2012 a group of over 50 residents who had been looking to find work as cashiers, security guards, cleaners, waiters and managers at the Diepkloof Square received text massages inviting them to a school hall at the Township. A participant who was one of the residents claimed that he “was under the impression that the meeting was so they can inform them of available job openings at the Square, and some of the other residents who had previously already attended interviews thought they were to be given feedback about that”. The day after the texts the residents gathered at the school hall where they were summoned by the ANC Youth League committee of Diepkloof, and members of the Diepkloof Business Forum. The attendees went there hoping to receive positive news, but only to find that they were to be asked to join a protest action against the private consortiums. The argument made by some of the participants was that “they were just used by the organisers to get their own way, and this is because at the end of the day the leaders benefited from the protest and we didn’t”. Temba who attended the gathering claimed that when he arrived the hall was filled with people he recognised, and during the proceedings “the organisers promised to help us get answers from those in charge of hiring when we asked about our jobs”. They were informed by the leaders that a protest had been planned, and it was to halt the construction

process until the developers and the councillors listened to their grievances. The unemployed residents were informed that the extended protest was going to enable them to stop constructions until promised jobs materialised, and so on the same day of the meeting the crowd of residents matched to the mall construction site with demands. When they arrived on site management negotiated with those leading the protest, and whilst the unemployed residents were told to wait on the streets surrounding the construction site. During the research though Temba like the many who attended the proceedings had become convinced that "their leaders were paid off to drop the protest from going any further", and this they concluded based on the fact that an hour into the negotiations the crowd was summoned and told to disperse until further notice. Temba claimed that "we were told the group would be called back for further action once the negotiations were completed, but the call back never happened to this day and we still don't have jobs. It only makes sense to us to think that they must have been paid off to keep us from protesting again, you know we had faith in the Youth League before they screwed us over. It surprising because they were the once who organised us to protest, and I guess it's safe to assume they were just using us". Those in Temba and David's position who didn't have jobs before the protests were still in the same position after, and they were left convinced that in the end access to work was based on "who you knew and how those personal connections could be utilised to assist in making one's chances at finding work easier".

The Relationship between Access to Employment and Social Networks

Many of the unemployed residents of Diepkloof had concluded that they were just used by the Youth League to negotiate jobs for themselves and their people, and also to gain votes for the ANC, hence, there was to be a municipal election to select new ward councillors in the region at the time. There was a marked consensus amongst the unemployed participants highlighting that "the majority of those residents that ended up with jobs had social connections to those in charge, and access to the jobs became about who you knew". The popular discourse was that some of the protestors that had friends and relatives in the ANC's local structures ended up with jobs post-protest, whereas, the leaders of the party in the area were seen with fancy new cars. Temba had argued that "those that didn't have jobs before the protest could still negotiate access to jobs, but the rhetoric became more about-'if I give you a job what will I get in return!' Others went as far as to access jobs through promises of sexual favours". Temba had also informed me that some people promised to sacrifice half of their first salaries to give to the people who got them jobs because of the precarious nature of work, and this just proves that the unemployed would have done just about anything to secure jobs. There was a sense of desperation influenced by the anxiety of not when they will get another opportunity like that, and those in positions of power somewhat preyed on their insecurity. The access to work and knowledge about open positions became about social connections and favours, and it was about 'who you knew and what you will give them once they get you a job'. Grieco (1987:1) argued in her book that the "economic chances of the individual are strongly affected by his or her membership of a particular kinship", and that kinship networks play a vital role even in modern societies to help those that utilise them to get access to resources and information in places where there is a scarcity.

I recall on one of the days that I was meeting with David at the mall in August of 2012, and there was a group of young men busking under the sun there. They stood outside McDonalds

at 8:00 in the morning on a freezing winter, and they had left the warmth of their houses to occupy an empty wall. When we walked passed them David had asked me to take note of them, and explained that practices of that were common at the new Square. It was brought to my attention that young people were often seen gathering outside the same wall at random times since the Square was opened, and the participant was certain that they had connections to people that had access to job opportunities at the mall. He explained that "they were probably informed or tipped off by someone in the inside to be there that morning for a piece job", and that sometimes contracted day jobs would come up and the people hanging around the Square would be employed. This further supports the notion that access to jobs and resources had become about connections, and that of cause was no exception to Diepkloof. The post-apartheid ambiance like many parts of the continent has become infamous and imagined as spaces were people gain access to resources only when they have connections, and this trend has become popularised. It has become somewhat of a popular discourse in the media were the ruling ANC party are accused of employing their comrades and families into positions of power when they don't have the right skills and experience. Scholars who conducted research on African city spaces like Abdoumalig Simone wrote about networks and social practices that get developed by Africans on the continent to get access to scarce resources, and argued that in countries all over the continent those with political power control access to space, resources and employment opportunities (Simone 2001:365). The trend has widely been documented by Scholars in different schools of thought, and it seems the approach has become a normal practice in post-independence states. Thus the citizens and non-citizens perceive this way of life as the only way to survive in places where there is not enough resources to go around.

Some Scholars in the field have found that the use of kinship and friendship ties to get work is only possible in most sectors that require migrant labour, and that the trend is not

documented in all ethnic groups. Grieco makes a claim for 'exceptionality', thus the idea that there is a persisting importance of personal contact in securing employment in the fish industry (Grieco 1987:35), construction and security jobs. But I found that the patterns that were used in the field-site are much more complex than the once reflected by these Scholars, and the connections people have used to get jobs were neither as forthcoming nor easy to establish. I found it interesting that those that used networks were not open to divulge the information about how and who helped them get their jobs, and there was a continued sense of anxiety and a need for secrecy that I had observed in the field.

The Personal Reflections of the Unemployed Residents: Perception is Reality?

> *"You don't know these people; they have blood on their hands"* (Interlocutor September 2012)

Some of the unemployed residents I interacted with had their own perceptions of reality, and their notion on what had happened and imagined was still going on in their Township caught my attention. Their version of events is vital to the research, and it takes into considering that all the parties in position of power claimed to be speaking for them and 'doing what was in their best interest'. There was the Diepkloof Business Forum, the political parties, councillors and the developers playing tit-for-tat with their present reality as prospective candidates for employment, and so their perspective completes the version of events.

It was fascinating to see that considering the fact that I had stayed in and out of the Township for many years my continuous presence during the fieldwork made some residents uneasy, thus to the interlocutors I occupied the role of the outsider, a potential spy for the opposition and or the private consortiums. Making the observation that the residents were not the only people that felt there was a potential threat lurking in the air, and this was made clear when on occasion a prominent member of the Diepkloof Business Forum would joke that

"for all I know you probably work for a political party". He used humour to mask his suppressed anxieties about me; hence, he wasn't sure what to make of my interest in the particular topic even though he was keen to help. His suspicions were expressed whenever he was inclined to say something thought to be radical about the state of politics in the country, and he used his remark and question of my position to observe my reaction on the matter. The statement he employed in the name of 'humour' allowed him to get a sense of reassurance and an understanding as to whether I could be spying for politicians or not, thus the anxiety was deeply entrenched. I noticed that the levels of anxiety were different for different people, and it all varied depending on the position of the participant.

It was interesting to make sense of the idea that most of the organised groups and residents involved in the Diepkloof event questioned my motive, and yet, it was never clearly established what fuelled the suspicions. The DBF suspected that "politicians were trying to get information out of them as co-organizers of the protests", and the politicians suspected that the business stakeholders had them on a leash and the people working for the mall suspected that the unemployed and the politicians were attempting to get them fired from their positions. Jabu who was in a position of management at the Square had claimed on more than one occasion that "...I was involved in politics before I acquired the job at the Square, and now my fellow comrades are jealous and are trying to get me fired from my job. A lot of people seem to be after my job and they don't realise that I have earned this position". There was an interesting dynamic that had taken shape within the Township, with different parties which had an interest in the Diepkloof Square budding heads and accusing each other of potential sabotage. As a researcher and a perceived stranger I easily fit the role of the suspected spy, and that was from the position of all those involved in this matter. At times I was asked whether I "was not trying to capitalise on the community's plight in the name of research".

The emotional anxiety and suspicion played itself out in very interesting ways, thus as a researcher I had to be aware of what I said and to who I said it too. Some of the residents would only speak to me depending on who I knew and who I said referred me to them, and it came down to knowing the 'right people' as it were. The trend of referral was more popular with the participants who were politically active, and they were more anxious than most. Hence, each time I called them to arrange a meeting for the first time they would interrogate me about who I said I was and how I found out about their involvement in the Diepkloof Square protests. They expected me to name drop so they can protect 'their interests' and the information they knew, and it was used as a protective wall of sort. It happened that whenever I was considered to have said the 'wrong name' my request for an interview would be blatantly denied. It was never clear what sparked the need to be protective, thus they were convinced that they were people out to sabotage them in some way and even though the protest had long passed. Thus on one occasion someone had hanged up on me after I had given them the unexpected/unacceptable referral, and so the meeting never took place. They were constant presumptions and suspicions of a preconceived threat from the people that had gained something and those that had expected a stake in the Diepkloof project. The suspicious lived under the expectation and presumption of a potential malice (Ashforth 2005).

I noticed that the anxieties appeared to be were grounded in the notion that people had a need to blame and hold something or someone responsible for their misfortunes, and illustrated that there was a presumption of malice driven by some suppressed jealousy and admiration caused by underpinning issues in the Township. At times some of the participants cautioned me about this perceived eminent danger, thus the idea that my probe into the events of the protests may turn me into a target of those in charge of the Diepkloof Square. Hence Thabo had suggested that I should not use my real name when doing interviews with people

for safety reasons, and that in his view was meant to protect my identity. “If this people hear and know about what you’re doing there may be trouble, and don’t let anyone know where you live”. Whenever we would discuss the issue of the protest in public spaces around Diepkloof he would caution me to lower my voice, and this in his own words was because “you never know who is listening”. He expressed that it made him anxious that I wasn’t too concerned as to who knew about the research I was conducting in the Township, and it seemed that my lack of fear of ‘potential malice’ sometimes made him perceive me with suspicion. The idea being that there was a preconceived fear of a potential for harm imagined by the participants in the field. Although it came to my attention that the question of how a person might harm one was less important than the fact that they can potentially cause harm, hence, Ashforth (2005:86) argued that when the harm in question is imagined to have occurred the demand for justice inevitably irises. In the case of the Diepkloof events the protests were meant to serve as a form of social justice, and the unemployed had hoped to be allocated jobs to appease their dissatisfactions.

During the research the residents were constantly aware and vigilant of their surrounding as they believed there was a potential for harm lurking everywhere, and that it may be inflicted upon them if they are not careful. They imagined that there was a sense of injustice sprang upon them when their claim for work and resources were not realised, and now there was a sense that someone needed to be held responsible for their misfortune. Thabo often claimed that “management of the Square was dangerous pupil”. I got the impression that the unemployed residents and members of organised groups imagined they can use their knowledge on procedures they thought weren’t followed in terms of hiring to protect themselves against potential danger. There was a deep desire to hold someone responsible for their continued employment, and so they felt the information they had acquired about the protests may come in handy someday if not in the present.

There was an imagined eminent and future threat, and some have gone as far as to suggest that the perceived 'enemy' may use force and violence to keep them quiet. Moreover, Ashforth (2005) argued that witchcraft like emotional and social anxiety seems to thrive in places where recent socio-political transitions have differentiated the black middleclass from their poorer counterparts, and in this case the unemployed viewed the employed, developers, councillors and the politicians as a threat to their potential livelihood. I indicated in chapter two that the Township was divided between those members who had material wealth and the poor, and both groups of residents lived in the aftermath of a conflict that was grounded in the fact that the unemployed of the Township had envisioned the mall as a place of potential employment. Hence, there was a need for the unemployed residents to make sense of their continued unemployment, and anxiety was a tool that helped them cope with their misfortune. Thus the fortunate residents and groups all possessed what the unemployed wanted for themselves, and this led me to wonder whether the suspicions and accusations could have been born out of admiration, jealousy and desire.

It is important to remember that blaming external forces for individual misfortunes is not new to Soweto; thus trend was historically documented by Scholars like the Comaroffs (1991,1993 and 1997), Evans Pritchard (1937) and Deborah Durham (1998) in parts of Africa and South Africa from the 1980s to the present. It is an occurring pattern which has resulted in violence and killings of those suspected of external practices like witchcraft, and inflicting brutal violence against the accused has been imagined as a form of justice. The claim was that there is a sense of an illegitimate production and reproduction that has pervaded the youthful discourse of witchcraft in much of South Africa, and found that many young black men now feel emasculated and in turn blame their incapacity to ensure a future for themselves on an all consuming aged elite (Comaroffs 1997:289).

The level of anxiety that I have observed from some of the unemployed residents throughout the research reproduced itself differently from that of the organized groups, and many of whom think of 'Management' as the figure of the 'big brother'. In Orwell's (1949) fictional novel the figure of the big brother is a fictional and almost mythical character that is imagined as a dictator within the ruling party, and he is perceived as watching over everything the society is doing. Big brother is imagined as a character capable of mass surveillance throughout the society in the novel, and the idea of the existence of this larger than life character is used as a form of propaganda control. In the field 'Management' was imagined as a figure that had the ability to gaze over and spy on everyone's movements and interactions (Foucault), and as the figure that always had ears and eyes on the ground through his workers. Foucault looked at the institutional gaze that led the people to participate in their own subjectivity, thus "he who is subject to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself, he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles. He becomes and embodies the principles of his own subjection" (Foucault 202-203). What he described was a form of self policing, and it's a kind of oppression that becomes internalised to the extent that it's worn as natural. The argument being that the thought of surveillance makes people aware and self monitor their own behaviour.

Some of the participants believed that they were those who were just patiently waiting for them "in every corner to slip-up about the information that they have on management and their 'corruption'". Even though the construction process, the mass hiring of new people and protests had ended a year earlier, the unemployed residents were still convinced that the 'war' was not over and that there was still a score to be settled. As indicated earlier that I was constantly reminded to be careful who I spoke to about the research and the participants were very wary of whom they spoke to, what they spoke about and where the meetings took place.

There was especially caution around the Diepkloof Square as a participant had argued that "those that got employed there for 'menial work' are always looking to get better positions and so they are always listening out for people with conspiracies against management. Some of the workers now occupy the role spies, and they are always on the guard". The anxiety and suspicion has been one of the reasons some of the unemployed residents had provided to not take part in the research, and the presumption was that the information could find its way back to management and put them at risk. David had argued though that he wanted to participate in the research because "I want to prove that I am not afraid who knows that I have been speaking to you, and besides since I didn't get the job I wanted now I have nothing to lose anymore". The participants were in a democratic space that groomed their ideals and allowed them the freedom to formulate these kinds of perspectives, and their fears and claims were grounded in notions of freedom of speech. Their allegations and accusations were only founded as rumours and gossip. Their perception of what they imagined had or could occur was their everyday reality, and it was more real for them because it was a collective perception.

Political Competitiveness over Territory

I had observed that there was a great deal of political rivalry and competition that existed within the Township, with different political parties fighting over control of the territory. The wards in the Township were being run by the ANC, and so members from other political parties felt that the ANC's councillors in the region had benefitted greatly from the mall project. Their accusations take into account that the Deputy President of the ANC has a majority stake in the project, and apparently he owns 52% of shares of the Square's revenue. The residents from the other political parties felt that the ANC members benefitted from the project through "receiving bribes to stop the public from continuing with more protests, and from being given high ranking job positions as managers and supervisors".

The rivalry appeared to run deep and it seemed that everyone was trying to sabotage and speak ill of everybody else to meet their individual ends, and the parties involved were concerned about the fact that they did not personally benefit from the Diepkloof Square project. A participant who was a former member of the ANC had joined Agang after the protests ended, and he left the party because he didn't benefit financially like his fellow comrades. He claimed that his new mission at his political home was to make sure that a new protest was organised so the functioning Square would be closed down, and this was so "they can hold the developers accountable for the jobs they failed to create. The mall as it stands it doesn't benefit the community; it just takes away from it". The claim was that the current state of the Square undermined the unemployed resident's social membership, but I got the impression that he was only resentful because he lost out during the negotiation process. It was apparent that the Township got caught in the middle of a political conflict, and was played like a pawn by people meant to be leading. When the protests were first organised the ANC Youth League members in the Township took part, and yet the participants that took part in the protest believe that they were only used by the ANC to grab the attention of those

in charge at the mall construction. The dominant claim that the unemployed residents were used as a bargaining chip to receive a financial settlement for their individual pockets, and the negotiators 'betrayed the cause of the poor'. The idea that the protest was never about the Township's best interest in the first place, and the unemployed residents based their argument on the grounds that one of the people who was in the ANC's Mother-Body at the time was later employed as senior manager of the Square.

I found the whole concept of political rivalry particularly interesting as neither of the parties had acknowledged it, and everyone had argued that the continued efforts made to voice out concerns were in the benefit of the Township even though the Square had been open for over a year. A group from the Agang political party I had met with in August of 2012 were planning a follow-up protest, and they claimed that the purpose of the proposed protest was to get the mall closed for three months until their grievances were heard. They had argued "we want to negotiate renewed benefits for the community", ironically though, the residents themselves had no knowledge of this. The reformed plan to protest was only known to those within the party, and the information was shared with me because I was expected to document it in my report. Much to the party member's dismay though, the protest never materialised. It seemed that the intension to protest was meant to serve a stance from the new political party, thus it would have allowed them to make their mark in politics and in the Township if it had passed. The idea being that the process would have restored the balance of power between the political parties in the area.

In a News24 article a DA member in the region was quoted saying the "ANC has abandoned Soweto youth. A clear pattern emerged almost in every family I visited, they all had a young member who could not find work, or who was concerned about not being able to find work in the future". He said that many of the youth in Soweto had accepted that they "would be indefinitely unemployed". But during fieldwork I didn't get the sense that young people had

just given up, and the group that participated in the research had not accepted nor given into their dispossession even when faced with a possible future of unemployability. Participation in the protest was a way for them to show that they had not given up on their future, and they were hopeful that their circumstances might change. The residents were not acting nor coming off as victims, but as active citizens in a democratic environment.

They were very few jobs which were created for the local residents by the project, and most of which were only part-time or for a short-term. During the research I discovered that some of the small stores like furniture shops and butcheries only employed less than two people at a time, which didn't make a great deal of difference in a Township with a great deal of unemployment. Places like McDonalds trained and employed few people from the area, but majority of the Diepkloof residents working there were transferred from other branches around the city, and they were just relocated to the Township to give the illusion that Diepkloof had benefited. This takes into consideration the fact the developers and the renters had never established how and which people from Diepkloof would work there, and they argued that they never promised to train new people in the first place. The idea that the companies did not want to have to spend more money training more new people, hence, many of the other employees came from other parts of Soweto. The knowledge that some of the other employees came from around the Township was not a consolation to the unemployed residents of Diepkloof, although, I found that many of the people that shop at the Square came from different parts of the Soweto as well. Hence a participant had remarked "I don't care that they employed people from Soweto, how is that any of my concern? I live here and yet I still don't have a job to speak off, and now I will have to go elsewhere to find work. I would have to spend money travelling back and forth just to make a little money, meanwhile, I could have been working at the Square if weren't for corrupt politicians".

The Positionality of Residents Employed outside Diepkloof

There was a small population within the Township that constituted the working, middle and higher class, and those groups were the minority in the region. The minority in the area had an elitist view of the relationship between work and citizenship, and even though they did not approve of the current state of politics their concerns were different to their poorer counterparts. They strongly believed that the state did not owe the governed anything; hence a 'tenderpreneur' with connections in government living at the Diepkloof extension had remarked "the government can only create an environment that is conducive for people to do business and make money, but they are not responsible to babysit and spoon-feed people into making their lives productive. There is only so much the state can do, opportunities are out there and people just simply need to do their homework, your life is what you make it". He argued that he and others were able to find work and business outside Diepkloof, therefore, "the unemployed have no excuse. The only way to sustaining South Africa's democracy is through the empowerment of the people", and that this would be the only way to build and keep our found freedom.

There was a young man who participated in the research going by Jude, and he had recently completed his degree and was to begin an internship in 2014 in the North of Johannesburg. He was raised in a middleclass family by two parents with stable jobs in the public sector, and when I interacted with him about the conflict in the Township he had argued "our country needs to be able to compete with world economies, and to make this vision a possibility we should be able to welcome foreigners into our land. If I move overseas I want to be able to find work too, and I know that allowing foreign nationals to work here would be extending a lifetime of partnerships with countries we might need someday. I don't think we should burn our bridges by acting undemocratic towards others just because of their citizenship". This view was shared by the educated and those who were also employed

outside the Township, and the educated always made arguments that supported all the parties the unemployed were fighting against. Their support for the Square and foreign nationals working in Diepkloof were always based on the notion of a future, thus the possibilities of a future of work elsewhere.

There was the idea that the "unemployed are uninformed about what it means to be a citizen in a democracy and freedom does not entitle people to things. Rights come with responsibilities; therefore, we cannot make demands to have our rights acknowledged when we want to tumble over other's rights and are not being responsible for our actions". Jude had claimed that "people need to play active roles in their own lives and stop claiming that the government owes them something. We are the government, so if we want our lives to change we should go out and do something about it. I left the Township and went to get myself an education, and I think my peers here should do likewise. I don't want to sound like a hypocrite but People in the community just want to be given things without earning them, and they want everything handed to them on a silver-platter. I am sorry but that does not sound like progress to me. Some people might find my views arrogant but we live in a competitive world, and realistically speaking the state cannot create enough jobs for everyone. People need to build and brand themselves into valuable asserts so they can increase their chances of getting better jobs. I find it interesting that as a pupil we choose to use rights that help argue our cases, and if we understood citizenship and our rights then we wouldn't be demanding to work in places where we live". He like some of the middleclass argued that allowing people to work where they lived was apartheid tendencies, and the notion that as citizens we would be living our lives backwards if we demanded employment in our areas of resident. Is there a wider growing interest from residents in Townships to work in their area of resident as a result of some subjectivity? Or is it that the unemployed have realised that they stood a better chance at getting employment 'at home' in relation to

other parts of the country? Jude explained that he thought it 'unprogressive' to have people that want to "stall development and change, and as a Township we don't want to send the wrong message to corporate entities that might have an interest in bringing business to our community in the future". I found that the young man's thoughts and ideas on work were much more future oriented, and that unlike those that lived from hand-to-mouth he was much more focused on education and skills. The views that he shared on work and citizenship aligned greatly with those of the developers and the middleclass groups. Thus "our people should be empowering themselves and not trying to manipulate the system. If you find that everyone is protesting about something then how do we expect the state to help everyone, and still make money somehow"? It was of interest to observe that the younger residents from middleclass families of Diepkloof often formulated their identity and linked their social membership to their national citizenship, and this was in relation to defining it within the prospects of being a Diepkloof resident. They didn't confine it to their Township, and thus they were not attached to their residential area and they didn't use it to define their sense of social citizenship and belonging. As indicated they always perceived a future of prospects in good jobs and living outside the Township, and thus they envisioned living and belonging elsewhere.

I found it seemingly ironic that the middleclass and the state representatives had focused so much of their attention on the acquisition of an education when only over 7% (South African Higher Education 12 September 2012) of the population has been able to receive a higher education, thus even some of the middleclass residents have only managed to complete matric only. This is also in the light of the fact that the country's current President Jacob Zuma has also not completed a High school education, therefore, the emphasis on education does not seem to be carrying a great deal of substance for those that feel deprived of jobs they feel they deserved. The argument on the link between getting an education and work should

take into account also the fact that the manner in which people acquire work has changed drastically in South Africa and the world, and the scarcity of work as a necessary resource has changed the environment. In the past the acquisition of a higher education came with the promise that the graduate would get a good job, but today things have changed greatly to the extent that the link between getting an education and employment have blurred. Thus one finds that a high number of educated young people have fallen 'prey' to unemployment, and they are being forced to deal with the new reality that getting an education no longer guarantees anyone a good job, if any at all. This off cause contradicts the view that "if only the unemployed residents had acquired an education and improved on their skills then they would be employed", and this would still not have guaranteed them jobs at the mall.

James who was a participant had worked outside the Township during the research, and he had argued that the unemployed were not being rational as they could not expect other Sowetans to only purchase from Diepkloof Square but not be employed there. The logic there was that if the other Sowetans were good enough to bring their money to Diepkloof, and so they should be good enough to work there as well. But this view does not take into account the fact that developers and businesses making money through the mall will not share profits with the Township, therefore, they have nothing to benefit from the mall's revenues.

Conclusion

The chapter has done an in-depth analysis of the data on the reflections and perceptions of the employed and unemployed residents of Diepkloof. The chapter has analysed the changing nature of the relationship between citizenship and employment, thus looked at different debates which have been formulated over the years by different Scholars. It has analysed the different variables which had come into play to influence how and what people think about the nexus between the concepts, and took into account forces like the change in the economy,

government in power and distribution of resources. It dealt with the implication that the slow growth of South Africa's economy has had on the number of jobs being created and the redistribution of resources. It has also looked into the continued anxiety which the unemployed had expressed surrounding the event of the protest, and analysed the changing perception of their reality post the Diepkloof Square. It has argued that there was a sense of an imagined threat of malice amongst some of the unemployed which has probably been influenced by the anxiety of not being able to acquire employment. There was a need to assign blame to someone or something for their inability to get jobs, and with that, there was a sense of unexpressed resentment for the middleclass.

Chapter Four

The Body of Contradictions

The chapter will focus mostly on the organization called the Diepkloof Business Forum, thus the Forum was founded in support of the Diepkloof Square employment protests. The chapter will explore the background and circumstances surrounding its creation, and critically analyse the philosophies to which they claimed their organization abode by. It will explore and discuss the role members of the Forum imagined themselves to have played in the protest and in the Township, with that, attempt to understand what the Forum aimed to do when it was initially created. The chapter will try to understand how as an organization they imagined and expressed their citizenship within the framework of Diepkloof, and how that influenced their views on the developers, state representatives and the unemployed residents. I also used the chapter to align the contradictions that occurred as a result of the ethical stance the developers claimed they would observe, and the fracture between Diepkloof Business Forum's ideals and their actual practices. It will analyse the manner in which the Forum had regressed to a point where they indirectly represented the ideals of the very people they claimed to protest against, and the way in which in the process they managed to isolate the unemployed through their support of empowerment over employment. The chapter will serve to explore and analyse the underlying meanings behind claims made by the developers and the Forum on the subject matter.

The Dynamic Relations between the Diepkloof Business Forum and the Developers

The Diepkloof Business Forum (DBF) is an organisation that was officially established on the 4th of October 2012, and it was born out of the merging of different Independent Business Forums which already existed in Diepkloof. Its founding members were businessmen and women, and most of them were in the group that is demarcated as Youth in South Africa. The

members of the DBF ranged between 21-45 years of age. Since their formation they had been renting offices just were the Diepkloof Township ends, and they imagined the space to be accessible to the residents since there is a big taxi rank situated near the place. They were housed in an area known as Diepkloof zone 6, and it was a walking distance to Lesedi Private Hospital, Chris Hani Baragwaneth Hospital and a main road leading to other shopping malls, Johannesburg city centre and the rest of Soweto.

The DBF was initiated by organized Forums, Cooperatives, Women in Construction, Youth in Business and other empowerment stakeholders in the region. The groups were the individual organizations which were present and participated in the April and the October 2012 protests, and the motivation to create one collective organization was influenced by the need to close the gap and assume the role of negotiator between the people, business Forums, the state representatives and the developers. A member of the DBF explained that one of the things which influenced the formation of the Forum at that time was the difficulties they faced when attempting to establish a clear line of communication with the developers, and that they were notified by the developers that they were too many different business groups in the area which were all trying to engage with the stakeholders about the same thing at different times. I was informed that McCormick property representatives had claimed that there was no clear engagement with the local business organizations because “there were too many of them who wanted to claim a stake in the project, and while at that, didn’t have the right agenda”. The claim that the developers were approached by different interest groups about the same thing, therefore, establishing a centralized organization was meant to prevent further confusion. They believed that the Forum would represent a variety of stakeholders within the Township that all shared a common interest, and that even though the different organizations had discussed a plan to establish a central Forum long before Diepkloof Square the events surrounding the protest gave them the motivation to bring their idea to life. The

Chairperson explained that the aim of the Forum was “to promote ‘true’ and ‘meaningful’ participation of Small Medium Enterprises (SMMEs) into the mainstream economy, and we needed a presence as an organization that represented the community’s interests”.

When it was initially formed the founders had intended for it to serve to “protect, coordinate, develop and create a platform for SMME’s equal participation in the construction industry within the community”. The Forum now functions as a Non-Profit-Organization that “advocates for and advances the needs of local small businesses in the face of commercial and infrastructural developments in the townships, neighbouring areas and the City of Johannesburg and beyond”. The ideals and vision of the Forum were explained to me by the Chairperson of the organization at the time, and he explained that the formation of the Forum during the protest led some people to believe that they had a political agenda. He claimed that their motive was not political even though the protest was initiated by the Forum alongside the ANC Youth League. The question then arises: what constitutes the political and what are its limitations in a case of this nature? Thus the DBF had a difficulty constituting itself as either a politically or a socially driven organization under such conflicting circumstances. The Forum continuously argued that the Youth League only served to help them mobilise the unemployed Diepkloof residents since it had a mass following and influence with the Youth, and pushed for the idea that they approached the local branch of the League to participate in the protest because ‘they also had a vested interest’ in the project as members of Diepkloof. That the ANC Youth League’s involvement was not from a political stand point, but a social one because they were also concerned that the Township they lived in was being deprived off its share by ‘white capital’.

The members of the Forum appeared convinced that their organization would assist in the tackling of unemployment, decreasing of poverty, stimulating local economic growth and development in Diepkloof, and that the ideals can still be achieved post the Diepkloof Square

debacle. During the protest they had argued that the Diepkloof Square project ought to have created more business opportunities, transferred skills and improved the material living conditions of the locals, with the Chairperson alluding that the best way the Township would improve was “if more people became business and entrepreneurial oriented instead of job minded”. For the idea that projects of this nature ought to do more to change and develop the surrounding disadvantaged townships and the people that live in them, and they should leave circumstances more transformed than when they found them. The DBF’s Chairperson argued though that it would make a lot of sense to them if the unemployed aimed at equipping themselves with sustainable solutions, that being, to have more Diepkloof members coming up with their own entrepreneurial projects which would be more long term. He argued that “post-apartheid South African citizens have lost the kind of will the apartheid comrades had; now more people just want to consume instead of producing things that could improve their communities for the better. Our people need to get to a point where they move away from blaming apartheid and the current government for their misfortune, and instead work towards taking responsibility to find ways forward. We need more young people who are ambitious; it makes me sad to see young people just sitting around the Township doing nothing all day”. This argument came off as though he believed that young people’s inability to find work was due to their lack of interest in improving their skills, and seeing it as due to their own doing that they were unemployed. The same trend was documented in Michael Ralph’s (2008:1) research when he conducted fieldwork on the employment crisis in Senegal, where the older people in those communities were of the view that young people were unemployed because of their unwillingness to find work. The older generation there were of the perception that young people were lazy to find work, and not taking into account the fact that the economy had taken a knock and fewer jobs were being created. The DBF alluded to a similar view that

young people in the Township were being lazy, and if they spend less time at street corners they may be able to acquire more skills to become entrepreneurs.

The Chairperson of the DBF was of the view that the Township had become much more dependent on the state, and that this was also true in the rest of post-apartheid South Africa. In his perspective there was high unemployment because people were not self-sufficient, and for the notion that citizens act like the government owed them something. He gave an example that in his late 20s he found himself working for someone, “with a job that was not going anywhere. One day I decided to quit because I knew I had to start my own business, and I knew that it was going to be tough and I have been self employed since. Young people today need to have the same drive and take things into their own hands, and there are plenty of opportunities out there for people willing to take the initiative. Our organization is also ready to assist were necessary. It has been over 10 years since I started my business and I have never looked back, and all inspiring entrepreneurs need is hard work and determination. I am trying to instil the kind of values and ideals I lived by in my own children, and I think young people growing up in the Township really need better role models”.

It has been made apparent that the purpose of the Forum was and is to get commercial projects and developments like the Diepkloof Square which are commissioned within the Township to benefit local businesses and residents economically. During the protests a Shanduka Executive was reported in the papers promising the Diepkloof residents money, and claimed that R8million was to be put back into the Township to sponsor local entrepreneurs and local businesses. Mahanyele said “this was to remedy the situation; a once-off payment of R8million will be channelled into developing skills and businesses in Diepkloof, and 70% of the Diepkloof Square's employees will be locals” (Sibanyoni

29/10/2012).[3] But this remark was only made after the protest had received a great deal of attention from the local print media, and leading to this the members of the DBF had claimed the developers were not willing to neither meet with them nor discuss details of the project. The idea that the developers were not being transparent with the DBF and the residents, and they never identified nor revealed the scope of people they intended to employ from Diepkloof. The research was finalised in December of 2013, and still a year later the money promised to the Township had still not materialised. The knowledge of another failed promise only served to further aggravate the unemployed residents, the Forum and the political parties involved. A member of the DBF argued that "the developers were white collar criminals and fraudsters", and alluded there was an agreement made that the money meant to grow entrepreneurship initiatives was to be paid and channelled through the Diepkloof Business Forum.

There was a popular notion that "the developer's promise for money was only made in the media by the developers just so they can 'save face' in the eyes of the wider public, and this was so they didn't appear as though they were exploiting the community". The Executive from Shanduka reported that they will contribute R3million on top of the R8million to skills development and education as part of their Corporate Social Responsibility initiative. Two schools were to be chosen for upgrades and bursaries were to be awarded to needy students in Diepkloof, but during the research in the Township I was led to believe that the residents had no knowledge of the abovementioned plans. The DBF questioned the lack of transparency and the manner in which the developers had claimed the funds and resources would be distributed. They claimed that a "steering committee which would have comprised of Johannesburg Property Company (JPC), local councillors and developers were to be responsible for ensuring the channelling of the funds", but the DBF was convinced the

[3] "*Shanduka sinks R8m into Diepkloof*", *Sunday world*, 29/10/2012

committee was going to be unfairly handled like the employment process. The developers had promised a share of monetary value to the locals as a stance that proved they were aware that would be expected to observe some social responsibility to the Township. Yet its best to remember that the adoption of an ethical responsibility by a company doing business in a disadvantaged area was not an exception to Shanduka and McCormick, and it appears the stance has become another way the modern cooperates have come to do business in post-apartheid South Africa. It seems that making the promise to improve the material conditions of people in disadvantaged communities by commercial developers has become the new business trend, and that has led me to wonder whether the co-operations should be obligated to give back anything to the communities in the first place. Should the failure to meet these promises be envisioned and termed as social injustice, and do the citizens of Diepkloof have a right to claim for anything from the developers in the first place considering that the land was legally owned by a private company outside Township? The Diepkloof Business Forum claimed that their aim was to "unite against the abuse of our land and people", and this was so even though the land was officially leased by McCormick and Shanduka from Johannesburg Property Company. Therefore, the land in principle did not really belong to the residents of Diepkloof, but it was just physically situated in their area of residents.

McCormick had remarked that it was not their responsibility to train people and transfer skills since they were just a private company doing business, and that rather it was the responsibility of the state to develop and grow communities in the country. They argued that they were only responsible and answered to JPC and not to the residents or business stakeholders, and remarked that "we have fulfilled all our obligations as stated in our lease to the JPC". The DBF Chairperson indicated that the ward councillors used that same line of reason to avoid dealing with the mishaps of the project, and that when they voted in their ward councillor earlier in 2012 she promised to look out for the 'community's interests'. The

claim that she had promised to help them deal with the issues around the Diepkloof development, but once she was in office she argued that she had "no grounds to interfere with the project since it didn't belong to the government". Thus the area is divided into wards and the Square is situated in ward 29, and at the beginning of 2012 their ward councillor was suspended because he had allegedly sold a plot of public land illegally to a private company. As a result of the corruption that occurred under the reign of that councillor an election was held to appoint a new one, but even with the new councillor in place the DBF still believed "our new ward councillor sold us out to white people after we voted her in. It was shocking to see how illusive she became to our people's plight once she was in office". Are the Diepkloof Business Forum and organizations alike in a position to hold cooperates accountable without bias, and this considers the fact that the DBF is made up of members from the Diepkloof residency?

The DBF organised and participated in the protest even though they claimed they were not a political movement, where members of the Forum had argued that their participation was influenced by the fact that they had observed "there was a non-meaningful if any inclusion of local contractors, and local businesses were not given the opportunity to rent spaces at the mall, no health and safety for workers, and lack of transparency in the programme and systems of employing local people at the Diepkloof Square". They claimed that there was an accident that occurred during construction were workers got injured because they were forced to work at night, but never demanded compensation because they were afraid to lose their jobs. There was the notion that the construction workers were forced to accept working under poor conditions as a result of their desperation to earn a living, and that took into account that jobs are rare to come-by. The DBF argued "the workers were being exploited because they were being paid below minimum wage", with the Star newspaper reporting on the 6th of

November 2012 that the labourers were being paid only R60-80 daily[4]. The Chairperson of the DBF also argued that the processes for hiring the sub-contractors were first of all unconstitutional, thus "potential subcontractors were lined up by those in charge of hiring and then randomly picked, and those that demanded to see and sign a contract before the job started were told to leave". This accusation also came up during my conversations with a former subcontractor who claimed he quit before the construction went further because his employers wouldn't sign a contract that acknowledged that his company was rendering them a service, and the employer for the subcontractors in this case was the Main contractor. The claim that the Main contractor on site during the construction was giving him and the other subcontractors the run-around about signing their contract, and he further alleged that "people were not even hired on their credentials or merits. What drove me to quit the project was when the Main contractor tricked us into signing a document without letting us read it first, and told us that we were signing invoices but to our surprise it was some kind of contract. I wasn't going to continue to work for people I couldn't trust, and so I pulled out my company when I realised they tricked us into signing a contract. He knew we wouldn't willingly sign off on a contract that exploited us as subcontractors, and when we informed Mr McCormick about the Main contractor he said he would look into it but never did". But off cause these accusations were just from his individual position, therefore, his narrative of events was subjective. The members of the Forum claimed these abovementioned contestations were what fuelled their involvement in the protest, and that the formation of the Forum was in the interest of Diepkloof. "We were looking to initiate some kind of transparency between the developers and the service providers", and the DBF was inclined to negotiate on behalf of the Township because they could speak the same language of business as the developers.

[4] *"Diepkloof wages row"*, *The Star,* 6/11/2012

The Chairperson had argued that “protesting was a necessary end because we felt bullied by cooperate power, our people’s rights were not being observed and met. Our plea to equal participation and share in the project was ignored by those who were meant to protect our interests”. There was a general idea that in the end people were out to serve their own interests and needs, and pointed that even within their ‘movement’ they had ‘sell-outs’. They felt “the ANC Youth League betrayed the cause by accepting bribes from elected officials and cooperates to prevent further protests that could have completely disrupted the completion of the construction”. Sharing with me that even after the protests were over they and other members of the Forum were threatened for having taken part in the protest. Making claims that they were allegedly warned that “their companies were to be ‘blacklisted’ and would no longer be considered when commissioning tenders for other future projects within the community and Township as a whole”. It seemed that the protests and the contestations surrounding them became personal, thus the Chairperson explained that “people have lost side of what is really important you know, all we wanted and still want to do with our organization is to empower our people. Our participation was not a political stunt; we are legitimate businessmen and women who were well within their rights to lodge a complained when correct procedures were not being followed and corners were being cut”.

The DBF members were of the opinion that “the move to create the Forum was meant to establish a new network that bridges the gap between the people and cooperates, and not to fuel anger and further accelerate the divide between the parties. As an organization we wanted conversation and proper engagement with all parties involved, and this was as a result of the miscommunication and misunderstandings which we had observed. The formation of the organization was not just about Diepkloof Square but about the future, and we want our community to collectively reap the fruits of their democracy. The profound thing about the fallen comrades of the anti-apartheid movement was that they were thinking about the future

of their people, and they were not after individual benefits. We need to start thinking with our heads again and not with our stomach. The people should be able to equally benefit from developments in the community; there is a new water meter project in the pipeline which the community has to be consulted and involved in". The DBF's ideals could have proved profound if executed well, but I realised from their practices that the organization would not have represented the Township if they didn't expect to benefit economically from the relationship/transaction they were trying to formulate.

During the research I was constantly informed that "white capital should not be allowed to undermine the citizen's rights to lay claims to what is clearly 'due to them", but of cause the level of 'what is due to the people' was not something the developers and the DBF members could agree on. The developers were under the impression that they had served and shared with the Township what was due to them, and that was first of all achieved through developing the Diepkloof Square there to improve the region's economic standing. In the developer's view the presence of the Square in the Township had a positive impact because it enabled the residents to have an accessible and convenient shopping facility. Secondly, making the substantial argument that jobs were created even if some were short-term and it was not at the degree that the DBF and unemployed residents had hoped. The company in charge of renting out the space had claimed during the construction that "over 300 temporary jobs were created, and an extra 300 were to be created once the mall was completed", and even though many of the job positions were filled by people from all over Soweto. What should be taken into account is the fact that there was never a formal agreement written and signed between the representatives of the Township and the developers during consultations concerning the number of jobs expected, and the quality of the jobs to be created by and through the project. Therefore, the developers had done what they had intended to do to some level, and even though the local resident's material living conditions have not really been

improved by the presence of development. It would seem that improving the living standards of the Township was never on the agenda for the developers, as they had argued that “they had fulfilled their BEE obligations written on their lease agreement with the landowners”. They made it sound as though they didn’t feel obliged to do any more for the region than they had signed up for with the JPC, and remarked “our role was never to ensure any drastic economic changes for those living in the community. We never intended nor promised to impart skills development and material wealth into Diepkloof during the consultations”. From the research it would seem the expectations and claims were not initially driven nor influenced by something the developers had promised, but rather fuelled by social ideals and external forces. Things were never clearly debated and agreed on between the developers and the residents, and it was never clearly established how much should be expected from the development during the consultation process.

Many of the demands and dissatisfactions only occurred and were expressed several months after the construction process had begun. During the research I had a participant who was a Community Liaison Officer in Diepkloof prior to the project and now managed the mall, and he had argued “the residents did not participate during the consultations and they didn’t come through and express their expectations then. They showed no interest in the development until the construction was already under way, and many people who were present at the consultation had business interests”. The idea that their claims and expectations were unfounded, and as a result, they had no grounds to evoke citizenship rights since they didn’t take responsibility by playing their role as active citizens before the construction started. It seemed during the research that the residents and the DBF evoked citizenship rights at random, and the membership served as a means to an end. I had observed that the notion of citizenship and social membership were taken for granted by both the DBF members and the

residents in Diepkloof, and it was not something they thought about often because it appeared they only resorted to it to justify their claims.

The members of the Forum argued that people in the Township needed to learn new skills, thus “we are not just looking to create plumbers, but ones that have business and management skills. We are looking to create a new generation of entrepreneurs in Diepkloof, and people who would change the material living conditions of the suburb. People’s mindsets need to change first, and that would allow them to be able to come to a point where they can move away from where they are now and desire more than just survival”. The Forum was apparently created to “champion for the ordinary men on the ground and voice-out ordinary people’s concerns”, and yet the organization’s mission and ideals came off as much more ‘elitist’ from an analytical perspective. Their intentions and perceptions reflect those views subscribed to by the developers, councillors and the middleclass residents. Their ideals and values only managed to further isolate the unemployed, and that was also the group that was categorised as the uneducated of the Township. The DBF’s goals and ambitions had served only to segregate their target audience, and they came off as though they frowned upon those who didn’t desire what their organization aimed to accomplish. They were focused on skills development, entrepreneurship and education even though they organised the protest and that has led me to question how it was that the DBF shared similar notions of citizenship with those they claimed to be protest against? It appeared that the DBF was contradicting itself, and there was no fine-line and an all encompassing definition of citizenship in Diepkloof. This took into account the fact that the DBF as an organization was still ran like a business, and it seemed they were also trying to meet their own interests in the name of helping the Township.

During one of the meetings at the DBF offices when I asked the Chairperson about whether they had received the R8million as they were promised by Shanduka, he remarked with

humour that “do you think if we had the R8million I would still be using such an old laptop”. The remark was of interest considering he had previously debated furiously about how some people in the ANC’s Mother-Body and Youth League division had participated in the protest under the guise of representing the Township, but only to later push their ‘self-interests’. The claim that their comrades had accepted bribes, and that allegation led me to wonder whether the organization’s plans to use the money which was suppose to go back into the Township ought to be classified as ‘self-interest’ and misuse of resources. On many occasions the members had frowned and expressed strong views against misuse of public resources and government corruption, and yet it sounded as if they planned to do likewise. It seemed like J-J Rousseau’s (1947(1762)) concept of ‘*Might makes Right’* applied heavily to the South African government and many organizations around, thus a member from the Forum had argued that corruption had become an acceptable practice that is embodied into everyday discourse. Corruption has become the norm with the state and the nature of how things are being done in the country post-apartheid, and as a society we have come to trivialize corruption and have created a space that enables its continued existence. The discussion only serves to highlight one of the many uncertainties behind the organization’s ideals, and shows how they embodied contradicting ideologies.

Even though the DBF had portrayed itself as having taken a stance on fighting for ‘the people’, they were always speaking a different language from that of the people they claimed to be fighting for. Their movement revolved around entrepreneurship, whereas the unemployed participants in the field were just looking to get work. It seemed though that both parties were still using citizenship to ground their arguments for a stake in the project. The DBF was thinking about a future of material abundance through empowering the community, and the unemployed resident’s priority lay in the need to survive and put food on the table on a daily basis. The unemployed and those residents employed elsewhere were not even aware

of the existence of the Diepkloof Business Forum, and the implication was that the Forum proved to be removed on all levels from the Township which it claimed membership to. From observation I noticed that only the few with business interests knew that the Forum existed, and this led me to conclude that the group was serving as a representative of the elites in the region.

The DBF‘s slogan is ‘*economic freedom for all’*, and it was similar to the one used by the National Branch of the ANC Youth League during Julius Malema’s reign in 2012. The DBF seemed to encompass a lot of the ideals the League stood for at the time even though they claimed they were not a politically motivated organization, and on many occasions they had alluded that their Forum was independent of the League. They argued that the only reason they collaborated with the Youth League was because of their mass influence in the Township, and they never alluded to their shared values. Interesting enough their slogan is also motto of the former president of the ANC Youth League’s new political party. It was fascinating to observe that even though our conversations didn’t touch on the DBF member’s political stand point, and they didn’t sound pleased or impressed with the current government. They appeared to have a vested interest in a new political party that aligned with their views, and it seemed their perception and criticism of the current state of government was influenced by this new party which was founded by people who supported them during the Diepkloof protest.

The DBF’s slogan is very loaded with contradictions because in many of their interactions with the councillors and the developers they had threatened a xenophobic attack if their needs were not met. From their view ‘the all in economic freedom for ‘all’’ didn’t include foreign labourers. The implication then was that those who didn’t come from Diepkloof didn’t deserve a future of economic freedom, and that included those residents from other suburbs in Soweto. They seemed to be pushing the notion that economic freedom and a future of

material abundance should only be reserved for those with a social membership to Diepkloof. In one of the DBF's protest letters to the developers and the owners of the land they claimed that if the abovementioned parties didn't comply, they were going to make an example to the Township by organise "a widespread service delivery and xenophobic attack". They wanted to fight for workers rights as long the labourers were local residents, hence, they were "demanding that non-community citizens be replaced with local labourers". Their whole campaign revolved around the fact that the developers were being 'undemocratic', but then their threats of a xenophobia attack and a repeat of another Marikana defeated the purpose of their campaign. It sounded like a contradiction coming from an organization which was fighting for social justice and ethicality. The research had explored the ideals and intentions of the DBF, and has concluded that they served to raise more questions than answers. The Forum proved to be a dynamic organization with a multiplicity of layers, and it came to my attention that the organization like the ordinary residents of Diepkloof tended to evoke their citizenship as a way to asset their political identity and meet individual interests.

Summary and Conclusion

In post-apartheid South Africa the relationship marked between citizenship and work was a political project meant to restore the imbalance created by years of apartheid, and in essence to attempt to compensate for years of inequality. The new found citizenship allowed the so called 'non whites' the opportunity to work in professions they were previously discriminated from, and opened up new opportunities for them to earn the same as their white colleagues. During apartheid people of 'colour' were discriminated against because they were classified as inferior, and they were only allowed to work as cheap labourers. The relationship between work and citizenship has always been contested, but the two concepts were merged in some spheres to get them to complement one other. The idea that being able to work allows citizens to feel like they belong and gives them a sense of social membership to a place, and as a result, access to jobs becomes a right that citizens can lay claim to. The residents of Soweto and many people in the country had come to imagine creation of employment as a service to be delivered by the state, and as an expectation even. Democratic South Africa has come to embody many contradictions and inequalities, with the gap between the rich and the poor widening. I have observed that the inequalities were reflected in the field-site, and they were reproduced in many forms influenced by the rift that was documented between the unemployed and the employed of Diepkloof.

Soweto has become a space of inclusion and exclusion which is now being branded and sold commercially as a rising middleclass Township, and in the process sidelined those that do not fit into the recreated image. Many have come to perceive this new status of Soweto as a deception as a result of its unaccommodating nature of the poor of the Township, and it now reflects a trend of social class divisions and generational differences embodied by the residents. The work and citizenship nexus has come to be used as a tool to voice out the Township's dissatisfactions, with the unemployed in the area using their role as members to

demand for jobs from projects taking place in their residency. It's a place where claims and entitlements were expressed by those who seek to 'benefit' materially from their citizenship, and where expectations of economic prosperity had failed to materialise. The failure to satisfy these expectations had resulted in many protest actions around the country in the last decade, and coming across citizens who have now come to disapprove of the state they feel owes them services and resources.

It has analysed the anxiety and suspicion which the unemployed had expressed surrounding the event of the protest and has highlighted their perception of reality post the Diepkloof Square. It has argued that there was a sense of an imagined potential for threat amongst some of the unemployed which has been influenced by the anxiety of not being able to acquire employment. It has elaborated about the way in which the anxiety and suspicion was being driven by the potential for malice they believed would be inflicted upon them, and it has discussed the different levels at which the anxiety has been reproduced depending on the positionality of the resident. There was a need to assign blame to someone or something for their inability to get jobs, and there was a sense of unexpressed resentment for the middleclass. The resentment was coming from those who were employed elsewhere and the unemployed, thus the employed believed that those seeking to benefit materially from the Square were agents against 'progress and development'. Those employed elsewhere had a 'universal' and elitist view of citizenship, and their ideals were similar and shared by the developers, Diepkloof Business Forum and the state representatives.

The final part of the report has applied detailed ethnographic material from the events that occurred in Diepkloof between the Diepkloof Business Forum, the developers and the ward governors to analyse the roles played the three parties. It has discussed and explored the contradictions that had emerged between the DBF's ideals and the actions they practiced on the ground, and has analysed how the Forum has managed to segregate the unemployed

members of the Township. It has discussed the ways in which the organization had come to embrace the ideals of the people they claimed to be protesting against, and how they had come to share the ideals embodied by the developers and the state representatives. The DBF and the people they represented were on different levels and they spoke a different language. It has also explored the difficulty faced by the organization after its founding when they attempted to distinguish itself as either a social or political organization.

The report has analysed the roles played by different people during the protest, and highlighted the factors that influenced the individual roles played by the residents and organization. It has analysed the multifaceted ways the residents of Diepkloof understood their citizenship and its link to employment. The report concludes that the work and citizenship nexus is not something the residents take for granted in their everyday life, but found that the relationship between the concepts is easily evoked for personal interests. Concluding that the residents did not perceive and think of work as a tool to help them to define their sense of being and belonging in their Township, but just as a way for them to earn a living.

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