An investigation into political apathy amongst students: A case study of Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

By

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Preface

“Man is by nature a political animal” (Aristotle cited in Heywood, 2001:1). “Politics are exciting because people disagree. They disagree about how they should live. Who should get what? How should power and other resource be distributed? Should society be based on co-operation or conflict? And so on. They also disagree about how such matters should be resolved. How should collective decisions be made? Who should have a say? How much influence should each person have? And so forth. For Aristotle, this made politics a ‘master science’: that is, nothing less than the activity through which human beings attempt to improve their lives and create good society” (Heywood, 2002:1).

“Young people are politically disengaged. On Friday, the drinking starts in earnest. Drinking at parties, at taverns, with friends and with the drinking the violence comes. Fights between young men, fights over women, fights over belongings, sneers and prejudice. The sexual violence begins as well, beatings, rape and sometimes murder” (Foley, in Development Update, 2000:125).
Acknowledgements

First and foremost I want to thank my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, for making it possible for me to complete this research.

Secondly, a huge thanks goes to my mother Nomalungelo Heather Breakfast, she has supported me financially and emotionally throughout the years. I wish to dedicate this research work to her, I love her so much.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Gavin Bradshaw, for his supervision, guidance and support in facilitating the completion of this research, may God bless him and his family.

"I can do all things through Christ who gives me strength". Philippians 4:13

"No eye has seen, no ear has heard, no mind has conceived what God has prepared for those who love him” (Corinthians 2:9, New international version of the Holy Bible).
Declaration

I declare that:

An investigation into political apathy amongst students: A case study of Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

Is my own original work, that all the sources used or quoted have been acknowledged by means of complete references, and that this dissertation was not previously submitted by me for a degree at another university.

Signed: ___________________________

Date: ____________________________
Abstract

The primary motivation for this research was to examine political apathy amongst students at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. The secondary motivation was to question whether youth political apathy threatens the consolidation of democracy. More specifically, the purpose of the study was to critically analyze contemporary literature on the politics of young people in post-apartheid South Africa, in order to identify its shortcomings and give an in-depth explanation for youth political apathy, and how it impacts democracy.

The writer has employed a qualitative method. Four focus groups were arranged by the researcher at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. All participants of the study were Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) undergraduate and postgraduate black students aged 21-35. The sample of this study included fifty participants. Thus the researcher has utilized a purposive sampling technique. Participants were encouraged by the researcher to have maximum participation in the focus group deliberations. The researcher also made use of elite interviews in the study. The findings of this study suggest that political apathy amongst students at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University does exist. Most of the participants in the focus groups indicated that young people in post-apartheid South Africa have no interest in politics.
Abbreviations and Acronyms

ANC: African National Congress
ANCYL: African National Congress Youth League
BC: Black Consciousness
BCM: Black Consciousness Movement
BEE: Black Economic Empowerment
COSAS: Congress of South African Students
COSATU: Congress of South African Trade Union
DA: Democratic Alliance
GEAR: Growth, Employment and Redistribution
IDASA: Institute for Democracy in South Africa
MERG: Macro-Economic Research Group
NMMU: Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
NUSAS: National Union of South Africa Students
PAC: Pan Africanist Congress
PASMA: Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania
RDP: Reconstruction and Development Program
SACP: South African Communist Party
SASO: South African Student Organisation
SRC: Student Representative Council
UDF: United Democratic Front
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CHAPTER 1

CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE STUDY

"Human beings are by nature curious. They want to know about things to satisfy their curiosity. The importance of research is closely related to the search for knowledge and the understanding of phenomena" (Brynard and Hanekom, 2005: 1).

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the field of inquiry relevant to the current study and the framework of the research. Firstly, this dissertation presents the background to the study, followed by the motivation for the study, research objectives and research methodology. Lastly, this introductory chapter ends with the layout of the study, which outlines the principal issues discussed in each chapter.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Following the unbanning of the national liberation movements and releasing of political prisoners announced in February 1990, the entire South African political landscape changed significantly. Subsequently, youth political organisations began a vigorous attack on the media, scholars and others who so easily wrote off black youth as a “lost generation” (Everatt, 2000:2). Levin (2005:90) writes that South Africa’s third democratic general election in 2004 has been documented and analyzed by both media and academic intellectuals. Moreover, he argues that the most interesting aspect of the 2004 election was the failure of the young people to vote. He goes further to say that registration amongst the country’s youth was very low in the 2004 national election. This evidence pointed out above, leads one to conclude that political apathy amongst young people does exist in South Africa. Post-apartheid South Africa offers an opportunity to study some of the most interesting questions that will be raised in the study.
Theorists like Everatt (2005:89) have formulated some questions that stimulate our thinking around apathy. These questions include: (1) what are the causes of political apathy amongst young people in post-apartheid South Africa (2) does it matter whether young people are involved in politics or not? These questions are critical to the scholars of political science in South Africa because not much has been written about political apathy amongst young people. Thus a study has to be conducted on political apathy amongst young people within the context of consolidation of democracy. This study will attempt to answer the questions pointed out above. According to Development Update (2000: 91) “freedom does not imply the right to be complacent, sitting back in a situation of acquired wealth or inherited poverty”.

Levin (2000: 91) goes further to say that young people are opting out of organized politics in order to take part in the “pretty spectacle” of Adidas, BMW, Nike, Puma, Reebok, Levis and Calvin Klein. Everatt (2000:74) supports this position by asserting that young people in South Africa are apolitical and extremely materialistic. Furthermore, he maintains that due to consumption-driven capitalism in post-apartheid South Africa, the youth have become disengaged from politics. He goes on to say that young people may have returned to the status of a lost or violent generation but critically they spend a lot of money, and they spend it only on hip, big names, expensive clothes. The central research question of this thesis is: How does political apathy amongst students at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University impact on democracy and can democracy be consolidated without young people? Everatt (2000:75) points out that in a country such as South Africa, in which the youth played an important role in achieving historical changes through major political struggles, one needs to think seriously what political apathy implies about the youth’s participation in future change.

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1 See also Van Dyk- Robertson (1999:8)
1.3 Motivation for the study

Levin (2000:95) points out that no one seems to be interested in conducting research about political apathy amongst young people in the post-apartheid South Africa. Everatt concurs with Levin’s view that there has been a strange silence about what is happening to young people in the new South Africa (Levin, 2000:83, Everatt, 2005:16). The primary motivation for this research is to examine political apathy amongst students at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. The secondary motivation is to question whether youth political apathy threatens consolidation of democracy. Pridham & Lewis (1996:2) argue that “consolidation of democracy is a lengthier stage, but also one with wider and probably deeper effect. It involves the full rooting of the new democracy, the internalisation of its rules and procedures and the dissemination of democratic values”\(^2\)

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Firstly, the primary aim of this study is to gain a thorough understanding of the causes of political apathy amongst black students at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.\(^3\) Secondly, the study aims at developing a more encompassing analytical structure than what has been available thus far in the literature of Political Science. By taking aspects of existing conceptual frameworks and combining them, the capacity for an explanatory and analytical study of youth political apathy is vastly improved (Van Dyk- Robertson, 1999:8). More specifically, the purpose of the study is to critically analyze contemporary literature on the politics of young people in the post-apartheid South Africa, in order to identify its shortcomings and give an in-depth explanation of youth political apathy, and how it impacts on democracy.

\(^2\) See also Professor Susan Booysen (2006:17)

\(^3\) See footnote in page 10
1.5 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Apathy

According to the Oxford dictionary (2004:384) apathy is defined as lack of interest, feeling, passion or a desire to take strong action. On the other hand, Cloete (1993:67) defines political apathy as lack of interest in politics. Furthermore, Hanekom (1987:103) argues that this lack of political interest could lead to ineffective examination of government policies; thereby giving the politicians and public officials the impression that the public shows little interest in their activities, and that they can therefore partake in corruption. “The perception might arise that nobody would want to become involved in exposing their government” (Hanekom, 1987:103).

Youth

According to Frith (in Wyn & White) “the term “youth” became widely used in the 1950’s in industrialized countries to refer to young men from the working class background. It has become common to see youth as a homogenous group and to define them primarily by their age” (Jennings, cited in Development Update, 2000:102). According to Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality (2008:3), “in the National Youth Commission Act (2004) youth are defined as those people who are between 14 and 35 years of age (this is the definition that has been used in all youth planning and statistical representations)”. Wyn and White argue that the term youth based solely on people’s age, is a problem when the experiences and consciousness of youth differ fundamentally (Jennings, cited in Development, 2000:102).

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Democracy

Birch (1996:45-47) is of the opinion that the term democracy emanates from the Greek and literal means rule by the people. He goes on to say that the Greeks only coined the term not the model. He asserts that the Greeks did not respect the culture of human right. He concludes by saying that political rights in Greece were only granted to a small minority of people. According to Professor Themba Sono "democracy is not an ethical ideal, but rather a system of government". He goes further to say that democratic countries should be free of corruption (1993:3-11). Ersson and Jan-Erik Lane (2003:2) make an interesting point when they argue that democratic decisions made by the government of the day should reflect the views of the majority.

Professor Robert Dahl lays out four requirements for democracy:

1. Effective participation in policy-making process
2. Voting equality for all citizens
3. Transparence
4. Accountability

Don Nardo (1994:119) argues that democracy is a government which guarantees equal opportunities for all citizens through free and elections. Political theorist Samuel Huntington asserts that democratic countries should embrace the culture of human rights (1997:3-13). McQuoid-Mason et al (1994:16) suggests that democracy systems should always embrace politically tolerance. He goes on to say that the views of the minorities should be respected in a democratic country.

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5 Cloete (1993:3-15) follows the same line of thinking when he argues that women and slaves were excluded in public affairs.


See also McQuoid-Mason et al (1994:16-19) on this matter.
Democratic Consolidation

Professor David Welsh quotes Przeworski when he argues that “democracy is consolidated when under given political and economic conditions a particular system of institutions becomes the only game in town, when no one can imagine acting outside the democratic institutions, when all the losers want to do is to try within the same institutions under which they have just lost” (2004:7). Dirk Kotze (2004:22) follows the same line of thinking when he asserts that consolidation of democracy, as a reflection of the state of democracy, cannot be completely separated from the nature of democracy. He argues that democratic consolidation focuses on institutionalization, democratic procedures and an acceptance of the practice of democracy. He goes on to say this means that public institutions have developed the ability to govern, that procedures for governing have been established and are embraced as legitimate.

Political Participation

Hilliard and Kemp are of the opinion that political participation is essential to sustaining participatory democracy, good governance and effective administration system (1999:64). According to Hoffman (2004:98), political participation is directly linked to citizenship. For instance, only South African citizens are allowed to vote during the South African elections. This principle is not only confined to South Africa, it applies to all democratic countries. Hoffman argues that “being a citizen means being responsible for policies made in your name” (2004:98). Zimmerman (1986:2) echoes the above sentiments when he argues political participation should be permanent and start at the planning stage of public policies.
APARTHEID

Nattrass and Seekings (2006:18) state that the term apartheid is generally perceived as comprising a set of racial segregation policies and enforced racial discrimination. They claim that apartheid covered three fundamental areas, political apartheid, social apartheid, and what might be called labour- market apartheid. They go further to say the concept apartheid (Afrikaans for separateness) came to fore during the 1948 election, won by the Nationalist Party. According to Marais (1998:19), apartheid also enforced laws which outlawed sexual union between whites and blacks.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The researcher has followed a phenomenological paradigm in the study. Babbie and Mouton (2005: 28) state that within this methodological tradition the principal aim of social sciences is defined as understanding people. Human beings are conceived of not primarily as biological organisms, but as rational, self-directing, symbolic individuals (Babbie and Mouton, 2005: 28). They further argue that the phenomenologist emphasises that all people are involved in the process of making sense of their world. They maintain that researchers of phenomenology interpret, create, and give meaning to situations alongside justifying and rationalizing actions of participants.7 Johan Snyman (1997:127) echoes the above sentiments when he states that the phenomenological method is descriptive in nature. Leedy and Ormrod (2001:153) state that phenomenological study is a technique that attempts to understand people’s perspectives, analysis and interpretations of a particular situation or context.

7 Reflecting upon this context, McMillan and Schumacher (2006:315) follow the same line of thinking when they argue that the phenomenological tradition is based on a constructivist philosophy that assumes that reality is a multilayered, interactive, shared socio-political experience interpreted by individuals. Furthermore, Alston and Bowles (2003: 9-10) reaffirm the arguments above when they assert that the principal aim of the phenomenological paradigm is to provide context and in-depth analysis of the phenomenon examined.
The phenomenological tradition is directly linked to the qualitative method. Babbie and Mouton (2005:271) emphasize this point by arguing that phenomenology has its philosophical roots in the qualitative research paradigm. The qualitative researcher, moreover, should attempt to become more than just observer in the natural setting that is being examined (Babbie and Mouton, 2005:271). He or she also makes a deliberate attempt to put him or herself in the shoes of the people under examination and scientific study and understand the participant’s actions, decisions, behaviour, practices, and rituals from their point of view (Babbie and Mouton, 2005:271). Brynard and Hanekom (2005:29) are of the opinion that the qualitative paradigm refers to research which outlines descriptive data (“generally people’s own written or spoken words”). They further argue that the fundamental basis of qualitative investigation is a phenomenological one, where the participant perspective is the empirical point of departure. “It is a focus upon the real-life experience of people” (Brynard and Hanekom, 2005:29).

South Africa’s prominent research expert, Professor Johann Mouton (2005:194) proposes three important strengths of qualitative method:

1. The qualitative research examines people in terms of their own views of the world (the insider perspective).
2. It concentrates on the experiences of the participants
3. It is sensitive to the contexts in which people interact with each other.\(^8\)

According to Leedy (cited in Steyn, 2002:4), “this methodology is aimed at description, that is the disclosure of the nature of certain processes, and thus the impact these processes have in contemporary times”. Moreover, Struwig and Stead (2001:18) state that descriptive study attempts to give a full and precise explanation of a situation.

Mertens (in Pieterse, 2004:40) maintains that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense or interpret social phenomena. Rhodes (cited in Steyn, 2002:4) writes that “in qualitative studies conclusions are draw from repeated observations, that is letting facts speak for themselves”. Brynard and Hanekom (2005:30) suggest that case studies, in-depth interviews, literature review, questionnaires and focus group discussions are employed in qualitative studies. This study has utilized a focus group research method. Neuman (2003:396) is of the opinion that the focus group is a thorough qualitative technique in which participants are informally interviewed in a group-discussion setting.9

Earl Babbie (2004:302) suggests that the focus group technique, which is also called group interviewing, is basically a qualitative method. Research expert Professor Susan Booysen (1999:39) is of the opinion that the focus group technique is one of the most accurate and helpful forms of qualitative research. She goes further to say that the focus group method has found widespread application in the fields of participatory democracy, public policy, elections and government assessment research. Neuman (2003:396) provides four reasons for using a focus group research method:

1. Focus groups allow people to express views/ideas freely
2. Open expression among members of sidelined social groups is encouraged in the focus group discussions
3. Participants tend to feel free, especially in action oriented scientific research.
4. People in focus groups may query one another and explain thoroughly their answers to each other Neuman (2003:396).

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9 This matter is also touched upon by Leedy and Ormrod (2001:159) when they argue that to undertake a focus group, the qualitative researcher gathers people into groups of four or seven to discuss a specific issue for one to two hours.
According to Susan Booysen (1999:39), focus groups generally consist of four to ten participants in a group, engaging in guided deliberations. Furthermore, she argues that the conversation is guided by a meticulously composed discussion guide and is facilitated by a trained researcher (Booysen, 1999:39, Haupt, 2001:7). Booysen (1999:39) suggests that focus group deliberations are open-ended in nature and the responses are spontaneous. She goes further to say “discussions are recorded and transcribed”. The sample of this study consists of fifty undergraduate and postgraduate black students\(^\text{10}\) of Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University aged 21 – 35.\(^\text{11}\)

Arkava and Land (1983) in De Vos et al (1998:191) define a sample as the element of the population carefully considered for actual inclusion in the research. Thus, the researcher has used a non-probability sampling technique. This means that the study has employed a purposive sampling technique.

According to Neuman (2003:213), purposive sampling occurs when a qualitative researcher wants to identify particular types of cases for in-depth investigation.\(^\text{12}\) The focus group method used in the study provides an in-depth analysis of political apathy amongst students at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU). Susan Booysen (1999:39) asserts that focus group discussions provide insights into the way people feel and think about their own socio-political situations.

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\(^{10}\) Student political activism pre-1994 was a struggle of black people fighting for equality, freedom, and justice and quality education. Also, in order to keep a tighter focus, a concentration on the tradition of black protest makes the study more manageable. Hence, the researcher selected only black students and excluded whites, coloured and Asians.

\(^{11}\) The focus group discussions in this study were held at Student Representative Council (SRC) offices, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (South campus). This study reflected gender representation at the University. The researcher included both men and women from working class and middle class backgrounds. All participants were given an opportunity to speak in the focus groups. Deliberations in the focus groups lasted for two hours. All focus group deliberations were facilitated by the researcher.

\(^{12}\) Dalphin et al (2007:104) state that purposive sampling is a general term for judgmental sampling in which the qualitative researcher purposely selects specific groups or individuals. Alston and Bowles (2003:90) suggest that purposive sampling gives insights into a particular issue related to the research area. Furthermore, they conclude that judgmental sampling is chosen for a specific purpose.
McMillan and Schumacher (2001:455) are of the opinion that focus groups are a strategy for obtaining an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon or an assessment of a problem. Babbie (2004:302) suggests that a focus group is a group of individuals interviewed together, prompting a robust discussion. In the course of this study fifty questionnaires were distributed to four focus groups. These focus groups were arranged by the researcher. The questionnaire of this study included both open-ended questions and closed-ended questions. The open-ended questions provided primarily qualitative data in relation to the central research question and close-ended questions aimed to establish biographical data from the participants (Pieterse, 2004:9). According to McMillan & Schumacher (2001:239) a questionnaire is the most widely used method for obtaining information, as it is relatively economical. It has standardized questions, ensures anonymity and questionnaires can be tailor made to fit the research objectives. The researcher has also made use of unstructured individual interviews to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon examined (Pieterse, 2004:9).

Mertens (1998:333) argues that unstructured interviews include formal and informal interviewing in which the researcher freely answers questions asked by the participants and expresses his or her own feelings during the interview. Babbie (2004:300) states that a qualitative interview is an interaction between an interviewer and a participant in which the interviewer has a general plan of inquiry but not a specific set of questions that must be asked with particular words and in a particular way. Booysen (1999:27) suggests that successful unstructured interviews require that the qualitative researcher manage to get relevant, dependable and valid information from the interviewees. She goes further to say that the “interviewer is an active participant”. “Through questions, probes, even modest and appropriate body language and signals, the interviewer will strive to unleash a flow of information and potential insights” (Booysen, 1999:27).
Marie Poggenpoel (2003) in Rossouw (2003:143) states that an unstructured interview is a discussion between the qualitative researcher and a participant or participants with the specific aim of gathering information about an issue that is being examined. She suggests that the researcher should project himself or herself as honest, polite, sincere, intelligent and warm. Babbie and Mouton (2005:289) further emphasise this point by arguing that a qualitative interview is an interaction between an interviewer and a participant in which the interviewer has a clear plan of inquiry but not a specific set of questions that must be asked in particular words or sequence.

Brynard and Hanekom (2005:33) suggest that when qualitative researchers are preparing for unstructured interviews it is always better to make appointments for interviews in advance, either telephonically or by electronic letter. Poggenpoel (2003) in Rossouw (2003:144) outlines four important guidelines of unstructured interviews:

1. The qualitative researcher should accept participants without passing moral judgment.

2. Respect is associated with unconditional acceptance. The qualitative interviewer shows respect by taking the participant's situation (social environment, language, cultural practice, and status, religion and political ideology) into account.

3. The qualitative interviewer shows empathy in an unstructured interview by placing him or herself in the position of the participants and then conveys this understanding to the situation of the participants.


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13 Ranjit Kuman (1999: 109) follows the same line of thinking when he argues that “unstructured interviews are also known as in-depth interviews”.
The researcher has also made use of elite interviews in the study. Susan Booysen (1999:28) argues that elite unstructured interviews are identified for interview purposes on the basis of their access to important information, information or facts that represent a certain type or category of politically and socially prominent individual. She goes further to exhaustively list politically, economically, and socially relevant persons, organizations or institutions which might constitute targets for elite unstructured interviews. The researcher interviewed one political analyst, one historian, one economist, one professional psychologist, and young political leaders from various political parties.14

Brynard and Hanekom (2005:34) provide four important guidelines for elite interviewers:

1. Good attitude is vitally important in elite interviews. The most important thrust should be to breed confidence-to be confidently humble in the interview, balanced by individual understanding and sympathy.

2. It is generally accepted that first impressions are lasting in elite unstructured interviews. The qualitative interviewer should therefore always behave appropriately.

3. “Dress should be in keeping with what is expected by a society or community. Careless attire or overdressing can cause harm. The researcher should dress according to the environment in which the interview is going to take place.

4. Mannerisms can interfere with interviewing because they detract from what is being said. For instance, chewing gum, tapping the floor with some one’s shoes, twisting one’s mouth, slouching in the chair and excessive interruption” (Brynard and Hanekom, 2005:34).

14 All the elite unstructured interviews lasted for thirty minutes each. The purpose of these elite interviews was to acquire an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon examined. McMillan and Schumacher (2006:352) argue that elite unstructured interviews are a special application of interviewing that focuses on individuals perceived to be influential and prominent in society.
1.7 ETHICAL MEASURES

The researcher has adhered strictly to all ethical considerations during and after the execution of this study (Pieterse, 2004:9). Johann Mouton (2005:240) suggests that social science researchers should adhere to the highest standards of academia or the scientific community. He goes further to say that throughout the years scientists have developed codes of conduct in order to regulate the behavior of members of the scientific community (Mouton, 2005:240, Babbie and Mouton, 2005:520). Brynard and Hanekom (2005:4) emphasize this point by stating that “there are two overarching ethical requirements for a researcher, honesty and confidentiality”. They go further to say that honesty in academia pertains to the manner of reporting about research findings.

Mouton (2005:15) reaffirms this point by arguing that the principal aim of all scientific research is the search for the truth. Participation was voluntary in this study. Information from questionnaires, focus groups and elite unstructured interviews was kept anonymous in order to ensure confidentiality (Pieterse, 2004:9). Before embarking upon the study, the researcher outlined orally that participants were not forced to take part in the research. Furthermore, the researcher explained to the participations that the study was not going to cause harm to them. Finally, the researcher pointed out to the participants that they were not going to receive any remuneration (see Appendix A).

Haupt (2001:97) lays down four ethical considerations for qualitative researchers conducting focus group discussions:

1. There are no right or wrong answers in the focus group discussions, just ideas and opinions.
2. Participants should feel free to disagree with each other in the focus group deliberations.
3. It is imperative for qualitative researchers to explain to the participants that focus group discussions are confidential. The names of the participants in the focus group discussions should not be disclosed in the research report.
4. Only one person should speak at a time in the focus group deliberations, and allow opportunities for others.
1.8 Trustworthiness\textsuperscript{16}: Measures to ensure credibility\textsuperscript{17}-validity\textsuperscript{18} and reliability

Neuman (2003:184) asserts that most qualitative researchers uphold the principles of credibility-validity and reliability, but employ the terms infrequently because of their linkage with quantitative measurements. He goes further to say that qualitative researchers apply these principles differently in scientific research. Botes (2003) in Rossouw (2003:178) points out that credibility and validity are directly linked to the standards of true reflection concerning the findings of the research. This means that the qualitative researcher should avoid misinterpreting research findings. Reflecting upon this context, Brynard and Hanekom (2005:41-42) assert that in order for qualitative researchers to produce credible findings they need to avoid three things when embarking upon empirical research:

1. Using leading questions deliberately and unfamiliar vocabulary during focus group deliberations and elite unstructured interviews.
2. Deliberate misinterpretation of research findings.
3. The philosophical orientation of researchers as well as their political ideologies and racial prejudices in the presentation of results (Brynard and Hanekom, 2005:41-42).

According to Neuman (2003:185), validity simply means the truth. Botes (2003) in Rossouw (2003:176) follows the same line of thinking when she argues that validity should be understood as truth.

\textsuperscript{16} Babbie and Mouton (2005:276) suggest that the fundamental issue of trustworthiness is simple or clear: “How can the researcher convince his or her audience (including him or herself) that the findings of the research are valid?” (Babbie and Mouton, 2005:276)

\textsuperscript{17} Botes (2003) in Rossouw (2003:178) points out that credibility and validity are directly linked to the standards of true reflection concerning the findings of the research. This means that the qualitative researcher should avoid misinterpreting research findings. Reflecting upon this context, Brynard and Hanekom (2005:41-42) assert that in order for qualitative researchers to produce credible findings they need to avoid three things when embarking upon empirical research:

\textsuperscript{18} Neuman (2003:185), validity simply means the truth. Botes (2003) in Rossouw (2003:176) follows the same line of thinking when she argues that validity should be understood as truth.
Botes (2003) in Rossouw (2003:181) asserts that triangulation serves as confirmation of data by employing more than one approach of data collection, “more than one source of data analysis and more than one perspective”.\(^{19}\) The fieldwork\(^{20}\) of this study constitutes the main research instrument (Taylor, 1999:61). Furthermore, a mechanical device, namely, a tape recorder was utilized to capture all unstructured interviews and serves as the primary tool for ensuring credibility-validity.\(^{21}\) When collecting, analyzing, interpreting and reporting in qualitative study\(^{22}\), dependability can be particularly enhanced by mechanically recording unstructured interviews, so that a verbatim recording can be examined (Burger, 2003: 67).\(^{23}\)

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\(^{19}\) Babbie and Mouton (2005:277) suggest four ways of achieving credible findings in qualitative research:
1. Prolonged involvement: Stay in the field until data saturation happens.
2. Consistent observation: Qualitative researchers should consistently pursue interpretations and analysis in different ways. Qualitative researchers should look for multiple approaches, and search for what counts and what do not.
3. Triangulation: Employing different methodological traditions in order to arrive at different conclusions.
4. Referential adequacy: What materials are available to document the findings of the study? For instance, audio digital taping makes a good record.

\(^{20}\) Van der Waal (2003) in Rossouw (2003:151) states that fieldwork is a unique way of doing research in social sciences because of contact with the participants. Professor Earl Babbie (2004: 309) follows the same line of thinking when he argues that fieldwork involves direct observation of social phenomena. He goes further to say that in fieldwork, observation, data processing, and data analysis are interwoven, and this is called a cyclical process. He concludes by saying that in order to create a focus group, qualitative researchers bring participants together and observe their interaction as they explore a specific phenomenon.

\(^{21}\) For more discussion on this matter, see Burger (2003:67)

\(^{22}\) Neuman (2003:185) argues that qualitative researchers are interested in the authenticity of research findings. He goes further to say that authenticity in this context refers to fair, honest, and balanced accounts of social life from the perspective of the participant or interviewee. He concludes by saying that qualitative researchers focus on ways to capture an inside view and provide a detailed explanation of how those being studied feel about a particular phenomenon.

\(^{23}\) Babbie and Mouton (2005:277) are of the opinion that qualitative researchers need to uphold the principle of transferability. They argue that transferability is the extent to which the findings can be applied in other contexts or with other participants. Babbie and Mouton (2005:277) quote Guba and Lincoln that “transferability in a qualitative study depends on similarities between the sending and receiving contexts, the researcher collects sufficiently detailed descriptions of data in contexts and reports them, with sufficient detail and precision, to allow judgments about transferability to be made by the reader”. Reflecting upon this matter, Botes (2003) in Rossouw (2003:20) asserts that in qualitative research attempts are made to understand a phenomenon within a specific context. She goes further to say that it is for this reason that the notion of transferability is employed rather than the idea of generalisation. Brynard and Hanekom (2005:42) suggest that it is of paramount importance to eliminate all errors in qualitative research.
1.9 DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative data analysis in this study is presented in the form of texts, phrases, written words and direct quotations emanating from the participants (Neuman, 2003:438). Questionnaire responses were read and re-read in order to gain a contextual understanding of the collected data. This gave an indication of issues that needed further explanation during individual follow-up unstructured interviews. Audiotapes from the focus groups and individual unstructured interviews were transcribed verbatim. The data analysis process employed coding technique of open and axial coding (Pieterse, 2004:11). Verwey (2003) in Rossouw (2003:166) argues that “coding is a process whereby raw data is processed”. He goes further to say that latent coding is a more subjective approach that calls for an interpretation or analysis of the underlying symbolic meaning. He concludes by stating that latent coding needs deeper insight and requires that value judgments about the measurements be made.

Neuman (2003:478) points out that qualitative data analyses are presented in the form of words, pictures, or sentences and include many quotes and examples from participants. He goes further to say that qualitative researchers try to create a subjective sense of empathy and clear understanding among readers in addition to presenting factual evidence and interpretation or analysis.24 He concludes that qualitative researchers attempt to transport the reader into the subjective world point of view and meaning system of a natural social setting. Earl Babbie (2004:318) is of the opinion that “coding is the process whereby raw data is transformed into a standardized form”. He goes further to say that coding also involves content analysis. Hence, it was relevant to the study precisely because the writer followed a qualitative content analysis technique.

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24 Discussions were very robust in the focus groups which formed part of this study. The researcher explained all the ground rules to the participants before the focus group discussions.
Verwey (2003) in Rossouw (2003:160) understands content analysis as a systematic technique of studying the content of clear messages and how they are examined. He goes further to say that it is more than just a systematic method; it is a technique of direct observation. He concludes by stating that qualitative content analysis is appropriate for both descriptive and explanatory scientific research. Babbie and Mouton (2005:388) argue that qualitative content analysis is fundamentally a coding operation. They go further by saying that clear communication, oral and written, or other coded messages are classified according to a conceptual analysis (Babbie and Mouton, 2005:388, Babbie, 2004:318). Verwey (2003) in Rossouw (2003:164) argues that the structure of a content analysis is analytical in the sense that it directs the examination of research findings.

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25 Because the researcher has used a qualitative method, the study has employed a qualitative content analysis technique. Tables are also used in the study to illustrate research findings. Ranjit Kumar (1999:225) suggests that tables are the most common technique of presenting qualitative data. He goes further to say that tables should have a title; this normally indicates clearly the table’s number and the type of data outlined. Leedy (1993:215) points out that “data are of no value merely as data”. Data should be analyzed, interpreted and be located in a proper context. Grinnell and Richard (1993:63) concur with the view above when they argue that qualitative researchers must somehow boil down the raw text, summarize it, and emerge with a clear description of the study’s questions, research findings and implications. They conclude that “conclusions must be fully supported by the data, and possible exceptions must be noted and explained”. Martella, Nancy and Martella (1999:262) assert that a qualitative approach is descriptive in nature. They state that qualitative researchers are concerned with understanding and analyzing the context in which behavior occurs. They go further to say that “interpretation of findings is subjective in nature in that the dependent variables are not necessarily defined in observable terms”. “In fact, qualitative researchers are not concerned with a few narrowly defined variables” (Martella, Nancy and Martella, 1999:262). They conclude that data in qualitative studies are laid out or summarized in narrative or verbal forms. Alston and Bowles (2003:207) outline three important aspects of qualitative data analysis:

1. Qualitative data analysis aims at capturing the richness and complexity of lived experience.
2. Qualitative data analysis includes the experience of the researcher, both before and during the study.
3. Qualitative data analysis has three fundamental stages which follow one another in a continuous cycle: data reduction, data organization and interpretation or analysis (Alston and Bowles, 2003:207).

Kumar (1999:194) reminds us that bias on the part of the qualitative researcher is unacceptable in the scientific community. He argues that bias is different to subjectivity in scientific research. He goes further to say that subjectivity is related to the scholarly background, training and competence in research and the philosophical perspective of the qualitative researcher. He concludes that bias is a deliberate attempt either to hide what the research found in the study or highlight something disproportionately irrelevant to its true existence. The analysis and interpretation of this study is not informed by bias. The arguments advanced by the writer emanated from focus groups observation and elite unstructured interviews.
1.0 LAYOUT OF THE STUDY

Chapter 2
This chapter will examine the participation of young people in the post-apartheid South Africa. This will be done by defining democracy and its requirements of public participation with particular reference to students at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

Chapter 3
This chapter will present a literature review relevant to the study. Attention will be paid to three fundamental issues. Firstly, the contribution made by young people in defeating apartheid will be addressed. Secondly, participation of young people in the transition to democracy will be scrutinized. Thirdly, this chapter employs Black Consciousness and Marxism as theoretical frameworks.

Chapter 4
In this chapter the main objective will be to gain an in-depth understanding of the macro-economic policy of government and further seek to establish the implications of Growth, Employment, and Redistribution on young people in South Africa. Politics and the economy are interrelated; hence the writer will examine the correlation between “youth political apathy” and “youth economic development”.

Chapter 5
This chapter will lay out the findings of the study. This is an important aspect of the study because it allows for a deeper understanding of the feelings and views of students within Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

Chapter 6
This chapter will outline the conclusion of the study and further make policy recommendations.
“Democracy is one of the most durable ideas in politics, and it has become, in the twentieth century, one of the most central. It is not likely to lose that centrality, nor its meaning is likely to become static or fixed” (Arblaster, 1991:5).

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a theoretical framework for democracy. Secondly, the intention is to spell out theories of political participation which are interlinked with democracy. Thirdly, this chapter will grapple with the issue of whether democracy can be consolidated without young people.

2.2 CLASSICAL THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy means different things to different people. It is essentially a contested concept. Arblaster (1991:5) supports this position by asserting that democracy is an inherently debatable and changeable idea. “Like “freedom”, “equality”, “justice”, “human rights”, and so forth, democracy is a term which, whatever its precise meaning, will always signify for many a cherished political principle or ideal, and for that reason alone it is never likely to achieve a single agreed meaning” (Arblaster, 1991:5). The writer will spell out the historical development of democracy, before outlining the broader theoretical framework of the concept. This matter is touched upon by Professor Andre Heywood (2002:68) when he points out that the concept democracy and the classical notion of democratic rule are firmly rooted in Greek. He argues that like other terms that end in “cracy” such as autocracy, aristocracy and bureaucracy, democracy is emanating from the Greek word kratos, meaning power or rule by the masses.
“Democracy therefore means ruled by the demos, demos standing for the many or people” (Heywood, 2004; 221). Nonetheless, people should not confuse these historical origins with the practice of democracy. As pointed out above, the term democracy comes from Ancient Greece, but on the other hand, the practice of democracy also emanates from Africa. Before colonialism, black people in Africa used to sit around the fire and debate issues until they would reach consensus. This approach to decision making was democratic in nature, because people were allowed to express their views and deliberate around issues affecting the community. This was democracy at its best and it started in Africa. This view is echoed by Nelson Mandela (1996:14) when he states that ordinary people in the African continent held regular meetings with a group of councilors of high rank who functioned as legislature and judiciary. According to Mandela (1996: 14), “they were wise people who retained the knowledge of tribal history and custom in their heads and whose opinion carried great weight”. These people reflected the views of the majority.

Furthermore, he maintains that “everyone who wanted to speak did so; it was democracy in its purest form. There may have been a hierarchy of importance among the speakers, but everyone was heard: chief and subject, warrior and medicine man, shopkeeper and farmer, landowner and labourer. The foundation of self – government was that all men were free to voice their views and were equal as citizens, women, I am afraid, were deemed second – class citizens” (Mandela, 1996:14). Just to put Mandela’s argument in context, Africans did not subscribe to human rights; the concept of equality was foreign to African people. Hence women were regarded as second class citizens, according to Nelson Mandela discrimination against women in this context was not a bad thing, and men were expected to provide leadership for their families as the heads of the household.
However, for the purpose of this study the writer will examine three classical theories of democracy. Scholars of Political Science argue that there are three conceptual frameworks of democracy, polyarchy procedural and substantive democracy (Mangu, 2005:319, Yeye, 1996:74, De Villiers, 1993:28). Inkeles (1991:470) writes that, “the term polyarchy was originally coined in Dahl and Lindblom (1953), but was developed most fully in Dahl (1971)”. Inkeles (1991:47) defines polyarchy as the set of institutional arrangements that allows opposition parties and establishes the right to participate in government public policies. As formulated in polyarchy (Dahl, 1971: 3, cited in Inkeles, 1991: 48) outlines the minimum requirements for constitutional democracy:

1. Freedom to form and join political organizations
2. Freedom of expression
3. The right to vote
4. Rule of law
5. The right of political leaders to compete for support
6. Alternative sources of information

Diamond, Linz and Lipset (1989:64) concur with the view above; by pointing out that Robert Dahl’s term polyarchy lays out a system of government that meets three essential conditions. “(1) Meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and organized groups (especially political parties) for all effective positions of government power, at regular intervals and excluding the use of force, (2) a highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders and policies, at least through regular and fair elections, and (3) a sufficient level of civil and political liberties, freedom of the press and freedom to form and join organizations to ensure the integrity of political competition and participation” (Diamond, Linz and Lipset, 1989: 64, Yeye, 1996:74, De Villiers, 1993:28, De Villiers and Weldrick, 2006:10, Van Dyk-Robertson 1999: 28).
Beetham (cited in Bastian and Luckham, 2003:19) argues that democratic culture require not only political contestation, but also that contestation be tempered by certain basic and political principles, including popular control (over government departments and political elites) and political equality (among the people). According to Bastian and Luckham (2003:19), the objective is to hold democratic organisations to their democratic promise, by:

- Ensuring open and effective challenges to governments and their public policies through free and fair elections, the party system and other forms of political competition,
- Increasing maximum political participation, so that the exercise of power at all government levels of political authority is based so far as possible in citizens,
- Maximizing public accountability and transparency of the holders of political power and administrative office, at all levels of government,
- Guaranteeing equal political rights for all citizens, together with the basic social and economic entitlements that enable them to fully exercise these human rights,
- Ensuring fully inclusive all citizenship, based on respect for gender equality, cultural practice and other differences,
- Providing accessible democratic procedures through which these socio-political rights and entitlements can be guaranteed, not just through the courts, but also in day-to-day relationship with agents of the state machinery,
- Assuring effective citizen redress against infringements of rights by private (especially business) interests as well as by the organs the state,
- Increasing the accountability of such commercial interests, above all where they impinge upon the public domain and citizens rights (Bastian and Luckham).
According to Inkeles (1991:190), this conceptual framework of democracy focuses specifically upon the conditions and the actions of the populations within society. Diamond et al (1986:75) in De Villiers (1993:45) support this position by asserting that polyarchy entails those processes which enable all citizens to exert a relatively high degree of control over politicians and public officials (Dahl, 1956:3). Dirk Kotze (2004:33) supports the procedural view\(^\text{26}\) of democracy outlined by Adam Przeworski.\(^\text{27}\) Professor Andre Mangu suggests that the conception of procedural democracy is associated with Robert Dahl’s idea of polyarchy (2005:318-320). Procedural democracy makes it easy to measure the level of participation; hence it is relevant to this study.

Prudhomme (2004:9) is of the opinion that procedural democracy adopts a narrower view which posits that democracy can be effectively assessed by considering technocratic and institutional arrangements of a society. She goes further to say that procedural democracy puts a greater emphasis on factors such as elections, the executive, and the legislature. “Practically, all adults have the right to vote in these elections. Most adults also have the right to run for the public offices for which candidates run in these elections. Citizens have an effectively enforced right to freedom of expression, including criticism of the officials, the conduct of the government, the prevailing political, economic and social system and the dominant ideology” (Dahl, 1989: 45, Mangu, 2005:318-320, De Villiers, 1993:45, De Villiers and Weldrick, 2006:10).

\(^\text{26}\) Dirk Kotze (2004:32) argues that the procedural conceptual framework finds most of its support in American Political Science scholarship.

\(^\text{27}\) Professor Andre Mangu (2005:319) is of the opinion that procedural democracy is formal and institutional in nature. He goes on to say that procedural democracy should be linked to the substantive form of democracy. He concludes by arguing that substantive democracy is essentially about socio-economic changes. Dirk Kotze (2004:30) asserts that substantive democracy is supported by few scholars of Political Science. He asserts that substantive democracy is an instrument to eradicate socio-economic conditions and promote equity. “Socio-economic equity is therefore treated as either an integral characteristic of democracy or as one of the most important criteria for assessing democratic performance”.
Hadenius (1992:15) claims that democracy implies that the people have the opportunity of accepting or refusing the men who are to govern them. Arblaster (1991:2) states that one common conception of democracy is that it means “government by the people or at least by the people’s elected representative.” Dahl (1998:45) point out that democracy produces the following desirable outcomes:

1. Avoiding tyranny
2. Essential rights
3. General freedom
4. Self determination
5. Moral autonomy
6. Human development
7. Protecting essential personal interests
8. Political equality
9. Prosperity
10. Maximum participation (Dahl, 1998:45)

In this context, Dahl is spelling out the benefits of democracy. Van Dyk-Robertson (1999:28) points out that the moral values and beliefs outlined by Robert Dahl are linked with stable democracies and include:

“Tolerance for opposing parties;

willingness to compromise with political opponents,

a minimum level of trust in the political environment

and co-operation among political competitors,

moderation in political positions and partisan identification,

Taylor (1998:23) suggests that political tolerance cannot take place unless individuals come to an understanding that different value priorities could possibly lead to different forms of behavior and are a result of largely different political socialization. He concludes that, like political tolerance, nation-building is also a fundamental element of democratic government and will be effectively improved by some sort of moral political values consensus among people as to the appropriate and desirable political, legal, economic and arrangements for society. According to Dahl in De Villiers (1993:45) “criteria only constitute a procedural minimum and they therefore need to be supplanted by two additional criteria”. Firstly, he argues that popularly elected politicians and public officials must be able to exercise their constitutionally mandated control over government public policies without being subjected to informal, overriding constraints imposed by non-elected officials (Anstey, 2004: 243, Bastian and Luckham, 2003: 14, Cunningham, 2002:15, De Villiers, 1993: 45, Inkeles, 1991:190).

Secondly, he points out that the state must be autonomous; it must possess a minimal ability to act independently from constraints imposed by some other overarching, political system. On the other hand, Professor Andre Mangu argues that maximalist political theorists, such as Ake, propagate a social democracy which places an emphasis on concrete political, socio-economic rights, as opposed to a minimal conception of democracy (2005:320). Dahl (cited in Bradshaw, 2007: 274) outlines “the strengths of political pluralism, arguing that competing groups in society have ... served to educate citizens in political life, strengthened them in their relations with the state, helped to ensure that no single interest would regularly prevail on all important decisions, and by providing information, discussion, negotiation and compromise, even helped to make public decisions more rational and acceptable”.
Blaug writes that, trying to comprehend democracy system is like reaching into a black plastic bag. He argues that you can feel a large object, but precise description is complex precisely because the shape is extremely difficult. “In particular, it seems to be in two directions” (Blaug, 2002: 104). On one side, democracy practice appears as a decision-making technique (Schumpeter, 1996), and as a set of political institutions that embody, to varying extent, certain fundamental democratic views (Blaug, 2002: 104). On the other hand, Blaug (2002: 104) concludes that we see a revival of the classical conception of democracy as civic virtue, “as a way of life, as a mode of interpersonal conduct oriented to what is good for all, in other words, as an ethical ideal”. According to Falcoff (1990:67), true democracy means liberty, effective citizen control over government policies by citizen, good governance, honesty, transparency and openness in politics, informed and robust debates, maximum participation, and various other civic virtues.

2.3 Tension between Liberty and Equality

In this section the writer will discuss the tension between liberty and equality. This will be done by providing the philosophical perspectives of political theorists such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau and Nicolai Machiavelli. Baradat (2002:64) states that the most basic conception in democracy is that people are essentially equal, and that thus each person has a right to have a say in who governs and how they implement public policies. He argues that the notion of popular consent to government is explained by political theories of popular sovereignty and the social contract.

28 Professor David Barber (1995:4) concurs that democracy must provide freedom and equality before the law. He reaffirms this point by arguing that the fundamental aspect of democracy is freedom. “The representatives of the people are to create and sustain liberty, rather than dictatorship. The government must therefore limit its governing. The bill of rights is to define freedom that will be protected, not infringed, by government” (Barber, 1995:4).
Heywood (2002:89) points out that a social contract is a voluntary agreement made amongst the people through which the public at large, or state, is brought into existence.

He points out that in its traditional form; social-contract theory has three aspects:

1. The image of a theoretical stateless society (a 'state of nature') is established, unrestrained liberty implies that life is friendless, poor, nasty, brutish and short (Hobbes).

2. People therefore want to run away from the state of nature by entering into a social contract, “recognizing that only a sovereign power can secure order and stability,

3. The social contract obliges citizens to respect and obey the laws of the state, ultimately in gratitude for the stability and security that only a system of political rule can deliver” (Heywood, 2002:89).

According to Connolly, Coleman and Ryan (1995:478), at the heart of social contract theoretical framework is the conception that legitimate government is the artificial product of the voluntary agreement of free moral agents that there is no such thing as a natural political authority to govern over masses. “Thus Michael Oakeshott is right to call contractarianism a doctrine of ‘will and artifice’; indeed one might epitomize the theory in Locke’s assertion that voluntary agreement gives political power to governors” (Connolly, Coleman and Ryan 1995:478). Baradat (2002:64) states that social contract political philosophers, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau each held the view that masses had lived without government at some point and that they had been ruled by natural law in the state of nature. “Each also believed that people were capable of understanding natural law and organizing a government that served their interests better than did the state of nature” (Baradat, 2002:64).
According to Baradat (2002:64), “the process of organizing society and creating government was called the social contract. In addition, social contract philosophers believed that people were essentially equal under natural law and that legitimate political power was derived from the people. Nevertheless, while these philosophers agreed on many points, there were also many areas in which they differed” (Baradat, 2002:64). For instance, Williams (1991:54) points out that Machiavelli held the view that politics is the fundamental influence on people’s lives, without the order it brings, life in all its variety, pleasure and fulfillment will decline into chaos and unhappiness. On the other hand, Professor Mark Anstey (2004:248) argues that Hobbes gave early credibility to the conception of government by consent, but his vision was hardly optimistic of the fundamental nature of mankind. “Man’s natural state, he argued, was in an ongoing state of war of all against all-essentially he argued that man was in a state of perpetual conflict over competing needs for gain, security, reputation and that there were few rules in such exchanges” (Anstey, 2004:248).

McClelland (1996: 177) goes further to say that Hobbes held the view that human beings can not really make laws by social contract but can only choose a law-giver by agreement. Hobbes stressed the fundamental importance of the legislative institution (McClelland, 1996:177). According to Baradat (2002:65), the conservative Hobbes suggested that freedom was possible only when people in society subjected themselves entirely to the democratic government. He states that Hobbes thought that since the masses were driven to excess by their insecurity, they could experience liberty only when they were controlled by a superior authority. Moreover, he maintains that Hobbes was very negative about human nature. Hobbes held the view that human beings were evil by nature and would harm each other if they were not subject to the control of an independent authority.
The second philosophical perspective on the notion of the social contract comes from John Locke. Professor Mark Anstey (2004:248) points out that Locke argued that all people are naturally free, equal and autonomous, but that their liberty to pursue ends should not be confused with licence. John Locke (cited in Anstey, 2004:248) held the view that that all men are equal in the state of nature, but an “enforcer” is required to protect lives, freedom and property. Williams (1991:76) states that what is very clear is that, before government, human beings in their natural state were free, equal and independent in their logical thinking. He argues “that they were free, not being subject to another, but, more importantly, they were within a structured way of living provided by the existence of natural laws, the expression of God’s will to human beings”.

“Just as freedom in a civil society can only be achieved where there is law, so in nature men are free where there is natural law. Given our possession of reason, which enables us to understand these laws, we can be free beings ordering our lives, not according to the will of others, but according to a natural morality which separates us from the rest of the animal world. Our freedom is thus due to our rationality; completely unreasonable behaviour is not free but is non-human. Thus man’s natural state is one where his freedom through his use of reason points to a moral state of affairs” (Williams, 1991:76). Connelly, Coleman and Ryan (1991:292) state that this point view forms the context to the argument of the Second Treatise. They argue that the starting-point of Locke’s political philosophy is that by nature, people are equal and autonomous.
McClelland (1996:180) is of the opinion that Locke held the view that the social contract has to begin with political engineering, so that rational people will give their first attention to the business of setting up state institutions properly. He goes further to say that “Locke said something rather different, the life of society is much tougher than has hitherto been supposed, in that sense society is natural, arises more or less spontaneously, and has a life which is independent of the law and order mechanism which men create to cope with inconveniencies which arise out of the incompleteness of society’s own self-regulatory mechanism”. Anstey (2004:249) states that Locke also coined the conception of government by approval of the people, a power of government restricted by the masses. He further states that to this effect laws would have to be reliable, not least to restrict the power of a state to make arbitrary laws, and this major task should be given to qualified judges.

Leon Baradat (2002:74) is of the opinion that John Locke believed strongly in natural law and that masses could discover its principles by employing rationality. He argues “that natural law, according to Locke, guaranteed each individual certain natural rights that could not legally be taken away, or estranged without due process of law. Because all people are equally subject to the natural law (the same moral strictures), each person owes every other person a degree of respect and consideration not owed to unequals” (Baradat, 2002:74). Moreover, Baradat points out that Locke summarized these fundamental rights as “life, freedom, estate”. McClelland (1996:235) argues that John Locke held a strong that view that human beings in society expect to enjoy the exercise of their natural rights. “Locke believed that individual freedom was an essential right” (Baradat, 2002:74).
McClelland (1996:235) points out that it is part of God’s purpose for people to enjoy their fundamental rights in society. He goes further to say that government exists to protect human rights and should confine itself to that function of looking after the citizens. Baradat (2002:74) echoes the above sentiment when he states that Locke believed that governmental restraints on people were largely pointless. “In fact, he argued that people were most free when they were left unfettered by government. Thus, to Locke, freedom was found in the absence of restraint” (Baradat 2002:74).

The third philosophical standpoint concerning social contract theory comes from Jean Jacques Rousseau. Bauer (2003:33) argues that “the main concern of social contract was the fundamental issue of political obligation, with the problem being, according to Rousseau, to find a form of association which will defend and protect with whole common force, the person and goods of each associate, and in which, while uniting herself with all, man shall obey himself alone and remain as free as before” (Ebenstein, cited in Bauer, 2003:33). Williams (1991:92) is of the opinion that “Rousseau believed that all men are equal, there are no superiors and inferiors, no individuals or groups are called on to rule others or be ruled by them, this is real social bond whose alternative tends towards, indeed is itself, a manifestation of slavery.”29 “No one obeys another but all are subject to the one law. In this way, through law as willed by the sovereign citizen-body, men can obey without being commanded, serve without having a master and thus be truly free. By obeying only laws which we have made ourselves, we can be both united within the community and remain independent of other individuals” (Williams, 1991:92).

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29 Professor William Ebenstein (1969:450) makes an interesting point when he quotes Rousseau: “man is born free, but the social order is a sacred right which is the basis of all other rights”.
Anstey (2004:249) is of the view that “Rousseau agreed that rule should be by the wisest and, like Plato, he agreed that rule required skills but, unlike him, he argued that this should not be confined to the few and that a measure of a democratic state would be the value it placed on educating citizens”. Connelly, Coleman and Ryan (1991:165) state that Rousseau coined the theory of “General Will”. “This means that law is valid when it aims at the general interest; each of us is free only when we obey law. If we set out to break the laws we have helped to make, we shall be forced into obedience by the executive power of the state and in the process we shall be forced to be free” (Connelly, Coleman and Ryan, 1991:165).

Baradat (2002:81) points out that “Rousseau was convinced that while people had the capacity to be good, they were more likely to become immoral as the community became more sophisticated”. He argues that Rousseau held the view that the right to private property encourages greed and selfishness in society. In agreement with Rousseau, rights concerning private property come with capitalism and it benefits only few rich people to acquire wealth. This leads to social inequality, whereby only few people are able to own the means of production at the expense of the poor. The right to private property right goes against the essence of democracy which is equality; it benefits only capitalists while on the other hand poor people are in perpetual poverty. It is unfair for a few people to enjoy freedom and happiness in society while the majority of people are poor. This phenomenon is linked to the practice of liberal democracy. This matter is touched upon Gavin Bradshaw when he states that liberal democracy allows the privileged elite to rule on their own behalf.
Heywood (2002:30) points out that liberal democracy is based on the principle of restricted government against the notion of popular consent. He goes further to say that the defining aspects of this type of governments are summarized below:

- Constitutional government that upholds the rule of law
- Guarantees of freedom and human rights, especially political rights
- Institutionalized fragmentation and checks and balances in state institutions
- Regular elections should be held based on the principle of ‘one man, one vote, one vote, one value’
- Multi-party system in society
- Liberal democracy encourages civil society to function independently
- It also embraces the free market system (Heywood, 2002:30).

Constitutionalism is the cornerstone of liberal democracy. Professor Devenish (2004:34-35) is of the opinion that constitutionalism entails that governmental power only be exercised through a practice of conceptualized procedures and restrictions and that all human rights are sustained and exercised in accordance with the legal framework (called the constitution). He goes further to say that constitutionalism is closely linked to ideas such as the rule of law and equality in society. According to Rautenbach and Malherbe (1999:10) rule of law entails two things:

- “Nobody may be deprived of human rights and freedom through the arbitrary exercise of wide discretionary powers. This may only be done by ordinary courts deciding that a person has violated a legal rule.
- Nobody is above the law and everybody is subject to the constitution” (Rautenbach and Malherbe, 1999:10, Devenish, 2004:10).
The conception of separation of powers is also related to liberal democracy. Rautenbach and Malherbe (1999:10) point out that “the doctrine of separation of powers entails that the freedom of citizens of a state can be ensured only if a concentration of power, which can lead to abuse of power by the government, is prevented by a division of government authority into legislature, executive, judicial authority”. Professor Devenish (2004:12) points out that the highly praised French political philosopher, Montesquieu; in his celebrated book *L’Esprit de Lois* coined the principle of separation of powers. He goes further to say that Montesquieu’s conception was that the separation of executive, legislature and judicial power was a prerequisite for freedom. Rautenbach and Malherbe (1999:87) argue that the meaning of the terms legislative, executive and judicial is of paramount importance to constitutionalism:

- “Legislative authority is the power to make, amend and revoke laws
- Executive authority is the power to execute and enforce rules of law
- Judicial authority is the power, in disputes, to determine what the law is and how it should be applied in the dispute” (Rautenbach and Malherbe, 1999:87, Heywood, 2002:312).30

Liberal democracy differs greatly from direct democracy. This view is echoed by Andrew Heywood (2002:70) when he argues that direct democracy (sometimes called participatory democracy) is based on the direct, maximum participation of citizens in public policies. Baradat (2003:115) follows the same line of thinking when he states “that direct democracy exists when the people make the laws themselves”.

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30 For an in-depth discussion on this matter, see also Labuschagne (2005:87) quoting Rautenbach and Malherbe (1996) and Van der Vyver (1993)
Heywood (2002:70) states that the qualities of direct democracy include the following aspects:

- It advocates the control that citizens can exercise over their personal interest.
- “It creates a better-informed and more politically sophisticated citizenry, and thus it has educational benefits.
- It enables the public to express their political views and interests without having to rely on self-serving politicians.
- It ensures that rule is legitimate in the sense that people are more likely to accept decisions that they have made themselves”. (Heywood, 2002:70)

On the other hand, liberal democracy puts great emphasis on human rights, particularly on first generation rights. Heywood (2002:302) points out that “human rights are rights to which people are entitled by virtue of being human; they are a modern and secular version of natural rights”. Grobbelaar (2004:2) argues that “every person is born with human rights”. MacFarlane (cited in Van der Westhuizen, 1993:3) states that “human rights are those moral rights which are owed to each man or woman by every man or woman solely by reason of being human”. Kleyn and Viljoen (1998:253) provide some examples of first generation rights:

- “The right to life
Grobbelaar (2004: 4) points out that Marxism and the socialist revolutionary theory clearly showed that first generation rights are meaningless without education, health, water, employment and social improvement (Kleyn and Viljoen, 1998:253, Van de Westhuizen, 2004). First generation rights focus on political rights, with no emphasis on the socio-economic conditions of poor people. Thus liberal democracy is perceived to be a system that benefits the middle-class and the ruling elite (capitalist classes). It is pointless to have freedom without any of the economic benefits of democracy. No liberal democracy can establish a classless society. It will always create disparities in society. Capitalism is anti-poor; its main objective is maximization of profit at the expense of the working class.

2.4 The outcomes of democracy

In this section the writer will discuss the outcomes of democracy. Drawing on the work of Anstey (2004), De Villiers (1993), Hibell (2008), Sibanyoni (1999) and Shils (1990) on the outcomes of democracy, are arguing that there is growing agreement between the meaning of a democratic practice and a demonstrable dominance of market system.31 Chris Sibanyoni points out that the ‘third wave’ of democratization has stimulated, extensive comparative literature on democracy. He goes further to say “that there is an ongoing debate about the impact of levels of socio-economic development and current socio-economic performance on the viability of democracy”. He argues that scholars of Political Science concur that democracy is more likely to be stable in countries with a high level of socio-economic development and positive socio-economic situation (Sibanyoni, cited in Politeia, 1999:101).

31 See also, Naomi Klein (2007:23)
Sibanyoni (1999:101) poses the question whether democracy can be strengthened in a low-income country with high disparity, such as South Africa? This matter will be discussed later on in the study. Sibanyoni (1999:101) is of the opinion that in the literature on socio-economic conditions conducive to democracy there are two main perspectives, one emphasizing socio-economic precondition views and the other emphasizing aggregate performance. He argues that the socio-economic preconditions perspective states that socio-economic development makes democracy work (Lipset 1959, 1994). He goes further to say “that aggregate performance perspective accepts that democracy is more likely to survive in countries that have a high level of socio-economic development, and that democratic consolidation is possible at relatively lower levels of development if socio-economic performance is improving” (Sibanyoni, 1999:101, Przeworski and Limongi, 1997:157-159, Przeworki, 1996:42).

Martina Hibell (2008:1) is of the opinion that the strengthening of the middle class is considered by a number of scholars in Political Science, especially within the context of modernization, as an important aspect for democratization. She goes further to say that increasing marginalization is opposed to the conception of a strong middle class in society, which is one of the reasons why it may be considered a negative approach or phenomenon. The concept of establishing a strong middle-class in a liberal democracy comes from modernization. According to Andrain (1984:88), modernization theory became a necessary reference point for later work on the link between liberal democracy and socio-economic development. Coetzee et al (2004:27) points out that modernization theory often refers to the change which takes place when a traditional or pre-modern society changes to such an extent that new forms of technologies, institutions, or socio-economic characteristics appear.
According to Jackson and Jackson (1997:411), traditional liberal economists back up this idea of modernization by arguing that the way for Third World countries to develop is by competition with First World countries in worldwide free trade and a free market system. Martina Hibell (2008:4) argues that within Political Science the modernization theory has mainly focused on the question of the correlation between economic growth and democratization. She goes further to say that “Martin Lipset believed that "economic development leads to increased income, greater economic security, and higher education" (Lipset, 1959:83). Chris Sibanyoni (1999:102) points out that “this view rests on Lipset’s classic article on the social requisites of democracy in which he divided a number of countries into two groups: ‘more democratic’ and ‘less democratic’, and examined indices of wealth, industrialization, education and urbanization in each group to demonstrate a relationship between democratization and economic development” (Lipset, 1959:76).

Sibanyoni (1999:102) argues that Lipset believed that democracy is strongly linked to economic development. “The more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy, only in a wealthy society in which relatively few citizens lived at the level of real poverty could there be a situation in which the mass of the population intelligently participate in politics and develop the self-restraint necessary to avoid succumbing to the appeals of irresponsible demagogues, new democracies have to maintain/ create strong economics” (Sibanyoni, 1999:102, Lipset, 1959:49). Hibell (2008:5) points out that the elite in society is often vehemently opposed to the conceptual framework of democracy since it means they would have to share their power and privileges with poor people (Lipset, 1959:83-84). Hibell (2008:5) argues that Lipset strongly believed that one of the fundamental requirements for democratization is that economic growth promotes a higher level of education in society.
Hibell (2008: 6) is of the opinion that the modernization theoretical framework at first prompted great optimism, but was soon the concept of sustainable development and democratization through political liberalization was strongly criticized, mainly for being typical of Western liberal scholars. She goes further to say that Western principles are presumed to be natural and undoubtedly the “best” in the world, which is an expression of Western superiority. She argues that developing countries are presumed to want Western culture and alternative views are not considered. She (2008:6) concludes by asking interesting questions, such as is liberal democracy really fundamental for economic development? Can Third World countries create their own theoretical framework? (Hibell, 2008:6, So, 1990:54-55). This matter will be discussed later on in the study.

Sibanyoni (1999:103) suggests that democracies whose income disparity is decreasing tend to last longer than democracies with increasing social inequality (Przeworski et al, 1996:42-43, Przeworski and Limongi, 1997:159). He goes further to say that democracy and economic fairness are linked, and thus social disparity represents a weak base for democracy (Sibanyoni, 1999:103, Diamond et al, 1995:24). Lindblom (cited in De Villiers, 1993:67) identified a clear connection between democracy and free market system. He goes on to say that “only within a market-orientated system does political democracy arise” (Lindblom 1977:116, Andrain, 1984:88, De Villiers, 1993:67). Usher (1981:77), however, points out that not all free market system are democratic in nature. Fukuyama (1992:110) argues that “for reasons that are not wholly understood, political democracy has been unable to exist except when coupled with the market” (De Villiers, 1993:67, Fukuyama, 1992:110). For De Villiers (1993: 67) a direct correlation can also be made between a free market system or capitalism and liberal democracy.
De Villiers (1993:67) writes that critics have advanced four main arguments to counter the connection between rampant capitalism and democracy:

- The correlation is only convincing if it can be shown that the connection between the free market system and democracy is not accidental.
- There are few cases of societies which have moved from a free market system to a socialist state planned economy.
- Free market system even at a stage of advanced development is not a sufficient condition for democracy.
- “The more general argument is that this view can be seen as representative of pluralist theory, which is itself so broad that almost any finding can be accommodated within it”. (De Villiers, 1993:67)

Martina Hibell (2008:5) states that some scholars of Political Science subscribe to the conception that the foundation for the connection is the expanded and strengthened middle class. She argues that a society has a better opportunity at fighting or even avoiding radical violent groups if the hierarchy is diamond shaped instead of triangular. Hibell (2008:6) writes that, as a response to the above argument that extremism would reduce through an emerged middle class, Huntington, as one of its main critics, asserts that through modernization societal and socio-political frictions aggravate rather than diminish. Huntington was also one of those who argued that socio-economic modernization theory does not automatically lead to democracy, but rather to new socio-political conflicts impossible to deal with in society (Hibel, 2008:6, Tornquist, 1996:6).
Martina Hibell (2008:8) argues that part of the modernization conceptual framework that emphasizes economic growth is directly linked to neo-liberalism. Scholars of social science seem to disagree around the definition of neo-liberalism and the year in which it originated. This matter will be reflected on later on in the study. Gavin Bradshaw understands neo-liberalism as rampant capitalism which reflects free market reforms. Coetzee et al (2004:215) defines neo-liberalism as policies advocated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank that recommend adherence to free market economic principles. Anderson et al (1983:100) are of the opinion that “neo-liberalism simply means new liberalism”. They go further to say that the label is appropriate to John Stuart Mill, and to others who were persuaded that the free market system did not promote the survival of the fittest but only ensured the exploitation of the many.\(^{32}\)

Professor Andrew Heywood (2002:49) is of the opinion that neo-liberalism is an updated description of the conventional Economic Development found in the writings of free-market economist such as Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman and Robert Nozich. Coetzee et al (2004:215) points out that “neo-liberalism refers to minimal government intervention in the economy, privatization of state enterprises, a balanced budget and low interest rates”. Hibell (2008:1) suggests that “neo-liberalism has spread around the world since the 1970’s”. She argues that “the first example we saw was the experiment carried out by the Chicago Boys in Chile during the Pinochet regime”. She goes further to say that neo-liberal economic policies are not a desirable alternative for social development. She maintains that neo-liberal economic policies breeds income disparity which in its turn is a threat to democracy.

\(^{32}\) For an in-depth discussion on this matter, see Naomi Klein (2007:23)
Boron (cited in Hibell, 2008: 8) states that neo-liberal policies are mainly based on economic liberalization, the dismantling of the state, deregulation, and financial speculation. Hill (2008:10) points out that “social reform must be revised since both an unequal situation and poverty are both ethically unacceptable”. She states that people living in poverty are shut off from education, decent jobs, proper healthcare, and a decent quality of life that are every person’s right. She concludes that politically it is a fundamental problem because the working class cannot become responsible citizens to involve in the political process unless they are full partners in social development and business apparatus. Capitalism in its nature is against democracy; it is based on maximization of profit and creates different classes in society. On the other hand, democracy promotes equality for everyone.

Liberal democracy does not reflect the views of the majority; it reflects the views of the minority or elite. For instance, in South Africa, the majority of people would like the death penalty to be brought back. This is according to a referendum conducted in early 2000. However, the South African government is vehemently opposed to the popular view of the majority. The state of South Africa’s economy is in crisis, Stephen and Smith (2003:26) point out that income inequality in South Africa is one the highest in the world. This is due to neo-liberal economic policies implemented in the post-apartheid South Africa. With regard to the role of young people, Everett (2000:17) argues that youth unemployment remains high and appears to be growing due to the free market economic system. He argues that the inability of large segments of South African young people to participate in the economy is a key feature of their exclusion from, and an obstacle to their integration into society. Large numbers of people also remain trapped in poverty in South Africa (Everatt, 2000:17).
“A relative majority of young people perceived an improvement in their financial situation in the past ten years, others, in particular those who grew up under conditions of severe impoverishment and those belonging to historically disadvantage groups, saw their financial positions as having deteriorated over time. All of these developments hinder the integration of young people into society and their active participation in growing our democracy” (Everatt cited in Development update, 2000:7). Paul argues that empowerment in society is one of the important aspects of public participation and it is argued that community development that encourages maximum participation but lacks the aspect of empowerment is meaningless (Paul 1987:3, Ngcola, 2000:16).

Secondly, he (1987:3) states that empowerment is the principal aim of public participation and therefore it is correct to argue that all community development programmes must lead to empowerment which has become a buzzword in South Africa in socio-political discourse. The practice of public participation has also taken up this notion as its key element (Ngcola, 2000:16). Moreover, Ngcola (2000:16) argues “the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) document emphasizes the need to involve people in development projects that will affect them. This document claims that development must come from within societies”. Everatt (2005:3) points out that “the ANC-led government only gave the youth less than two pages in the Reconstruction and Development Programme, and much of that comprised references to youth as possible recruits for programmes such as public work. Sympathy for the youth has almost entirely dissipated”.

2.5 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

According to Ngcola (2000:12) the concept of public participation is a sort of buzzword that is very difficult to explain, because different scholars provide different explanations of this concept. The theoretical framework of public participation has been acknowledged over the past three decades by scholars, but the question that has to be asked, is whether there have been, or are any practical actions that accompany this acknowledgement (Ngcola, 2000:12). This matter is also touched upon by Professor Reuben Masango when he states “that public participation lies at the heart of democracy. In democratizing the governing process, public participation conveys information about public needs and demands from the public to policy-makers and implementers, and vice versa” (Politeia, 2002: 52). According to Hilliard and Kemp (1999:42) since the advent of democracy in 1994, the new democratic government has set out in earnest to ensure that South African citizens have the opportunity of making a contribution to public policy-making process. Masango (2002:52) writes that participatory democracy is a people-driven process in which political participation plays a central role. He argues that, in democratic states, good governance is a product of political participation. Masango follows the same line of reasoning as Hilliard and Kemp when he states that the introduction of a democratic order in South Africa drew the notion of maximum political participation in public affairs into the spotlight (2002:52).

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33 Day, Moyser and Parry (1992:17) argue that “participation is a word which is probably more in use amongst practitioners and students of politics than it is amongst members of the public”.
Furthermore, Masango (2002: 52) points out that ever since a democratic culture was introduced in South Africa, politicians and public officials have been calling for political participation in government affairs. Their calls are accompanied by the promulgation of legislation which embraces political participation in governance and politics, indicating that public participation has a fundamental role to play in democracy (Politeia, 2002:52). Friedman (1992:9) points out that there is some uncertainty that surfaces when it comes to the interpretation and the understanding of this concept and people are left with more ambiguity as to what political participation means. “Participation should not mean the mere involvement of the communities in terms of just being informed of the decisions being taken by a certain bureaucracy or being told what to do” (Ngcola, 2000:12).

Masango (2002: 53) writes that political participation should therefore involve the members of the public who are involved and interested about politics. Craythorne (cited in Masango, 2002: 53) concludes that, “… the secret of public participation is to ensure that the relevant “public” is approached on any particular issue”. Masango (2002: 53) points out that political participation is a broad concept, which includes other forms of economic participation and social participation (Langton 1978: 20), hence, political participation could include citizen, workers and community participation. Thomas (1992:15) maintains that a “participatory approach is followed by some of the voluntary agencies and the general masses in certain societies in achieving the desired goals in the development process of the community. Public participation in this sense allows people to have a fair share in the decision-making process, because they are involved from the initial stages of development” (Thomas, 1992:15, Ngcola, 2000:14). According to Ngcola (2000:14) “the partially participatory approach is an approach in which certain voluntary agencies are involved in the development of their village or community”.
Thomas (1992:15) goes further to say that “general masses participate through their moral support and labour; the voluntary agencies operating in these areas are not keen in involving people in the decision-making process. Though there are distinctions between these two approaches, they nonetheless represent some aspects of participation of the general masses and the grassroots level leaders in the development process. What is of crucial importance is that participation must be a practical reality not only rhetoric” (Ngcola, 2000:12). Masango (2002:53) writes that political participation can therefore be conceptualized as a process in which members of the public – as individuals, members of groups, or group representatives-deliberately take part in a goal-oriented government activity. Moreover, Hilliard and Kemp (1999:47) point out that political participation decreases the gap between the emergent, mostly economic elite, politicians and ordinary citizens.

De Villiers and Weldrick (2000: 11) point out that political participation refers to the inclusion of the public in democratic practice. “Primarily, this means the right to vote in elections - i.e. a universal adult franchise” (De Villiers and Weldrick, 2001:11). They go further to say that political participation is based on fundamental political equality between the people, popularly expressed as “one man, one vote”. Political Participation also means that all citizens of the country have the right to be selected, and to stand for election as political candidates for public office (De Villiers and Weldrick, 2000: 11). According to Masango (2002:57), for politicians and public officials in South Africa to actually be responsive to people’s needs, there should be practical methods through which the people can express their concerns. He argues that techniques of political participation such as consultation and committee meetings could contribute towards enhancing the responsiveness of politicians and public officials to people’s needs.
He goes further to say that the White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (Batho Pele White Paper Notice 1459 of 1997) was promulgated for the express purpose of promoting the responsiveness to citizens needs in the new South Africa. Masango (2002:57) outlines that the White Paper lists eight fundamental principles for service delivery to guide public officials, specifically in the national and provincial spheres of government, to serve citizens in a responsive manner. These are summarized below:

- **Public consultation**
The public should be told what level and quality of services they will receive and, wherever possible, should be given a choice about the services offered to them by the government (Masango, 2002:57-58).

- **Service delivery**
The public should be told what level and quality of service they will receive so that they are fully aware of what to expect from the government (Masango, 2002:57-58).

- **Access to resources**
Inhabitants should have equal access to the resources to which they are entitled (Masango, 2002:57-58).

- **Courtesy**
Inhabitants should be treated with courtesy and care (Masango, 2002:57-58).

- **Disseminating information**
The public should be given full, precise information about the public services they are entitled to receive from the government (Masango, 2002:57-58).

- **Good governance and transparency**
The public should be told how national and provincial institutions are run, how much they cost, and who is in charge of government departments (Masango, 2002:57-58).

- Remedies
If the promised quality of services is not delivered, the public should be offered an apology, a thorough clarification and a speedy and effective remedy; and when complaints are made, inhabitance should receive a sympathetic response from the government (Masango, 2002:57-58).

- The importance of money
Government services should be provided economically and effective in order to give inhabitants the best possible value for money (Masango, 2002:57-58).

Furthermore, Masango (2002:58) argues that the principal aim of the Batho Pele (People First) White Paper is to encourage civil servants to respond to people’s needs by:

1. Listening attentively to their views and taking cognizance of them in making public policies about what services should be provided.
2. Treating citizens with utmost respect
3. Responding quickly and empathically when of service does not meet with the highest standards (Masango, 2002:58).

Hilliard & Kemp (1999:41) writes that it is said that post-apartheid South Africa has one of the most liberal constitutions in the world. They state that one of the most fundamental constitutional provisions in the national governmental sphere is public access to services, and engagement in the National Assembly (the lower house).
Hilliard & Kemp (1999:41) write that, according to Section 59 (1) of the 1996 South African Constitution Act (108), the National legislative body must:

(a) Facilitate public participation in the legislative and other processes of the legislature and its parliamentary committees; and
(b) Conduct its business in an open and transparent manner, and hold its public meetings, and those of its parliamentary committees, in public. (Hilliard and Kemp, 1999:43)

Section 72 (1) prescribes that the National Council of Provinces (the upper house) in the national governmental sphere must:

(a) Facilitate public participation in the legislative and other processes of the Council and its committees.
(b) Conduct its business in an open and transparent manner, and hold its sittings and those of its committees, in public. (Hilliard and Kemp, 1999:43)

At provincial level, section 118 of the 1996 South African Constitution Act (108) provides for the public access to, and engagement in the provincial parliament in South Africa.

(a) Facilitate public participation in the legislative and other processes of the parliament and its provincial committees.
(b) Conduct its business in an open and transparent manner, and hold its public meetings and those of its provisional committees, in public. (Hilliard & Kemp, 1999:43)

Masango (2002: 63) claims that “public participation is an essential ingredient for good governance in any democracy. It is a broad and relative concept which includes various forms of participation, examples of which include citizens and community participation” (Masango, 2002:63).
The fundamental role of political participation in facilitating the relationship between members of the public on the one hand and politicians and civil servants on the other hand it shows that it should be encouraging and preserved (Masango, 2002:63). He goes further to say that “this becomes more apparent when the role of public participation in democratizing and controlling the making and implementation of policy, facilitating the exchange of information between the government and members of the public, promoting responsiveness to public needs, facilitating the processes of policy implementation and community development, is considered”. Another element of democracy is the media, which is key to the consolidation of democracy.

This view is echoed by Cloete and Meyer when pointing out that media institutions have an influence in shaping public opinion and the policy agenda. Bauer (2005: 99) supports this position by asserting that “the most usual way in which the public can exercise control is the media”. He goes further to say that “the press and other news media form useful channels for the expression of public opinion”. He states that, in a democracy, it is essential for politicians and civil servants to remain aware of public opinion as they function in a political environment, and the people use the media to express their views on government public policies—thus contributing to the control of public affairs (Bauer, 2005: 99). The media is the mirror of society; it should be allowed to operate freely without any political interference. In this way checks and balances will be created, to hold the government accountable. Hilliard (cited in Bauer, 2005:50) concurs with the views above when he states that public accountability by both civil servants and politicians can be regarded as forming the cornerstone of democracy.

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Aina (cited in Bauer, 2005: 50) concludes that the media and public awareness on the part of the public are fundamental measures for fighting corruption with Caiden summing up this point best by stating that “people get the government they deserve”. “If they are diligent, demanding, inquisitive and caring, they will get good government, if they allow themselves to be intimidated, bullied, deceived and ignored, they will get bad government” (As a quoted in Aina, cited in Bauer, 2005: 50). This view pointed out above re-enforces the importance of public participation in a democracy. Masango (2002:54) echoes the sentiments when he states that in any democratic state, political participation in the policy-making and implementation processes is essential.35

Moreover, Masango writes that, factors that can substantiate this include the provision of information to politicians and inhabitants, change of the policy-making and implementation processes, advocating responsiveness to public needs, facilitating the processes of policy implementation and the establishment of control instruments for policy-making and implementation (2002:54). De Beer in (Hilliard and Kemp, 1999: 57) point out that political participation is an important part of social development, “what he calls participatory development”. Furthermore, he stresses the need for a strong intervention method to political participation which would temper the top-down approach and prevent it from becoming part of society. They argue that, today a more extreme view of political participation is usual advocated; development is in the hands of the public.

35 Day, Moyser and Parry (1992:16) concur with Professor Masango when they argue that scholars of political science should adopt a broad conceptualisation of political participation as taking part in the processes of formulation, passage and implementation of public policies. They go further to say that it is concerned with actions by citizens which are aimed at influencing public policies which are, in most cases, ultimately made by politicians and civil servants. They conclude by saying this “may be action which seeks to shape the attitudes of decision makers to matters yet to be decided, or it may be action in protest against the outcome of the decisions”.
De Beer (cited in Hilliard and Kemp, 1999: 57) points out that, “those who are involved in development acquire the ability to manage and utilize local resources to their own benefit. This sort of involvement is linked to empowerment strategies and capacity-building, participation is not a means, but an end in itself” (De Beer, cited in Hilliard and Kemp, 1999: 57).

Public participation should be made compulsory for everyone. In this way young people will be duty-bound to participate in the political affairs of their country. This view is echoed by Hill (2002:81) when she states that one strength of compulsory political participation especially voting is the ability to answer rationality choice critiques of the rationality/duty of voting in voluntary democracy systems. “Because compulsion makes voting work more efficiently as a system, many, if not all, the claims about the irrationality of voting disappear under such a framework” (Hill, 2002: 81). According to Hill (2002, 81), “the problem of voting cannot be understood as an abstract problem to be resolved using methodological individualism. Voting is, by its nature, a social activity, a problem of collective, not individual action”. Masango (2002:62) suggests that a culture of political participation could be deeply embedded in communities if the inhabitance could participate in government activities not only in a reactive manner, but also in a pro-active way or better yet, if they could participate in government activities in a pro-active way. He goes further that “community institutions should be properly organized, in such a way that a public participation attention is paid, among other things, to the significance of: (1) the continuity and strength of their leadership and/or delegation, (2) working with local leadership, and decentralization”.

Public participation is key to community development; this is democracy at its best. The public should engage political representatives on public policy issues. This will enhance the democratic practice in a country. In this way democracy can also be consolidated. There can never be a consolidation of democracy without public participation. Midgley et al (cited in Masango, 2002: 59) states that “public participation paves the way for the process of public implementation to run smoothly”. He goes further to suggest that “for purpose of community development, policy implementation requires the support of the community. Public participation fosters a sense of ownership and commitment to the outcomes of the process” (Clappper, cited in Masango, 2002: 59). He concludes that maximum political participation can contribute to policy implementation by building support and eliminating resistance. In addition, he maintains that it could save costs by minimizing and / or removing the call for policy implementation to be monitored.

Hilliard and Kemp (2002: 42) goes further to say that “public participation is an active process in which participants take initiatives and actions that are stimulated by their own thinking and deliberation and over which they can exert effective control… participation goes beyond the mere provision of labour and other input … it is an empowering process” (Liebenberg and Stewart, cited in Hilliard and Kemp, 2002: 42). Davids, Theron, and Maphunye (2005:205) point out that “people’s capacity for participation in the creation of sustainable communities must be strengthened through efforts to rapidly expand people’s organization and awareness”.
Cloete and Meyer (2000: 104) points out that political participation in development can be defined as the engagement of members of a community in government activities in order to:

- Ensure a positive influence of government activities.
- Obtain as much benefits as possible from the consequences of government activities. (Cloete and Meyer, 2000:104)

Hilliard and Kemp (2002: 42) argues that political participation could be explained as the engagement of citizens in a wide range of government activities, including the determination of levels of government service, budget priorities, and the acceptability of building projects in order to orient government programmes towards community development, build support, and embrace a sense of social cohesion (Fox and Meyer, cited in Hilliard and Kemp ,2002: 42). Another element of public participation is election. Flanagan & Faison (2001:4) point out that “voting provides the barometer of the public’s trust in the political process and in the government”. With regard to youth participation, Zaff and Michelsen (2002:2) state that the “electoral trend since 1994 has been indicative of a withdrawal of South African youth from political participation. Moreover, they state that “only about a quarter of the South African youth between 18 and 35 voted in the local government elections in 2000” (Zaff and Michelsen 2002:2). However, young people voted in large numbers in the first democratic elections of 1994.

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According to Levin (2005:102) the interest of young people in politics disappeared by the second general election in 1999. In the run up to the 2004 general election, concerns were expressed about the withdrawal of young South Africans from, and disenchantment with politics (Everatt, 2005:225, Zaff and Michelsen, see also Mail and Guardian, 2004:5). “A leading article early in 2004 by the Mail & Guardian posed the question whether the young lions of the 1980’s had been replaced by a generation of youth “yawners”. In just 10 years arguably one of the most highly politicized generations of young people has given way to one in which apathy is unprecedented and disenchantment with politics is acute” (Mail & Guardian, 2004:5). Furthermore, Everatt (2005:225) points out that young South Africans seem to be less engaged in political participation, including registering to vote and voting. “Involvement in youth and community organizations is regarded as an important indicator of youth civic engagement, as well as a predictor of involvement in civic and political affairs in later life” (Zaff & Michelsen, 2002:5).

Levin (2005:175) states that analyses of the social programs of South African youths show limited political participation in organized government activities with, for example 66 percent never having participated in the community sports team, 75 percent never having been involved in a community society or club and 80 percent never having been a member of a civic or community organization. Finally, “while much has changed since the early 1990s, concerns continue to be expressed about the youth. A decade later, many young South Africans are seen as disengaged and individualistic” (Levin, 2005:175). This is a worldwide trend. Less people seem to be involved these days (in the liberal democracies) in public life. People seem to be too ‘busy’ making a living, or distracted by the media ‘show’ to bother about playing an active role-the youth more so.
2.6 Democratisation a sign of Democracy

Writing from a conflict resolution perspective, Professor Mark Anstey (2004:23) defines democratisation as “transition from authoritarian rule to democracy”. Democratisation is an indicator of democracy. It is a first step to democracy. It reflects the political commitment of political contenders. Pridham and Lewis (1996:2) support this line of thinking when they point out that “democratisation as a term generally denotes the overall process of regime change from start to completion, from the end of the previous authoritarian regime to the stabilisation and rooting of the new democracies”. Bauer and De Villiers (2003:49) concur with the view above by stating that theoreticians of democratisation have argued that liberal democracy is the product of a process of negotiations. In this process, they point that “mass-based political contenders such as social movements struggle for democracy against the authoritarian regime”.

Bauer and De Villiers (2003:49) further maintain that “in terms of this perspective, mass based, popular struggle from below is a critical ingredient in bringing about democratization”. In this context, South Africa can be seen as an example of the democratic process highlighted above. Vanhanen (1992:7) argues that “there are two principal means to affect the process of democratisation by conscious political efforts: (1) by changing social conditions affecting the distribution of power resources, and (2) by adapting political institutions to a social environment in such a way that it becomes easier for competing groups to share power and institutionalize the sharing of power”. Moreover, he states that political negotiation is as fundamental in social building as in political action.
Thus, according to Lindblom (cited in De Villiers, 1993:44), “democratisation refers to a trend towards democracy.” More specifically, he goes further to say that “democratisation involves the implementation of the substantive aspects of political transaction”. He argues that this implies the expansion of citizenship in the society during the course of democratic transitions. “Theorists of democratisation argue that democracy’s guiding principle is citizenship. The principle of citizenship involves both the right to be treated with respect by fellow humans when making collective choices and the obligation of those implementing such choices to be equally accountable and accessible to all members of the polity” (De Villiers, 1993:45).

O’Donnell & Schmitter (1989,15-16) make an interesting distinction regarding democratisation between “hard-liners” and “soft-liners.” O’Donnell & Schmitter (1989:16) describe “the first as those who, contrary to this period in world history, believe that the perpetuation of authoritarian rule is possible and desirable, if not by rejecting all democratic forms then by erecting some façade behind which they can maintain inviolate the hierarchical and authoritarian nature of their political power”. Furthermore, they assert that “these hard-liners are usually composed of several factions. Some adopting this position out opportunism, indifferent to longer term political projects.”

37 For more insight see Diamandouros, Gunther and Puhle (1995:3) who state that political transition and consolidation of democracy are theoretically distinct elements of democratisation, despite the fact that in practice they may temporally overlap or sometimes even coincide with each other. They go further to say that political transition begins with the breakdown of the undemocratic government and ends with the establishment of a relatively stable configuration of political institutions within a democratic state. On the other hand, they argue that consolidation of democracy (which will be discussed later on in the study) refers to the achievement of substantial attitudinal support and behavioral culture with the new democratic institutions in society.. Moreover, they point out that in most cases, the consolidation of democracy requires more time than the political transition (despite the fact that the amount of time required for consolidation differs fundamentally). They conclude that “consolidation is much more complex and involves a much larger number of actors in a wider array of political arenas” (Diamandouros, Gunther and Puhle, 1995:3).
On the other hand, O'Donnell & Schmitter (1989:16) argue that soft liners may be difficulty to differentiate from the hard liners in the first, “reactive” stage of the authoritarian government. They may be equally inclined to use suppression and to tolerate the arbitrary acts of the appropriate department or security agency (O'Donnell & Schmitter, 1989:16). The hard liners and the soft liners have a key role to play in bringing about a transition to democracy (O'Donnell & Schmitter, 1986:16). According to Pridham and Lewis (1996:2) “democratic transition refers to a stage that commences when a previous totalitarian or authoritarian system begins to collapse or disintegrate, leading to a situation when, with a new constitution in place, the democratic structures begin to become routinised”.

According to Vanhanen (1992:22) “two theoretical dimensions of democratization public contestation and the right to participate examined by Robert A Dahl (1971) seem to correspond to those characteristics of political systems that differentiate more democratic systems from less democratic ones”. Vanhanen (1990:8) goes further to say that “a regime may be located anywhere in the space bounded by the two dimensions”. Vanhanen (1990:8) maintains that a government which is characterized by a high level of public competition and the theoretical framework of democracy. Furthermore, De Villiers (1993:47) concludes that democratisation is thus a time for working out fundamental economically issues about the character and conduct of politics in the democracy which is being established by different political contenders.
Linz & Stepan (1996: 1) draw a clear distinction between political liberalisation and democratisation. Moreover, Linz & Stepan (1991:1) argue that “in a non-democratic setting, liberalisation may entail a mix of polity and social changes, such as less censorship of the media, somewhat greater space for the organisation of autonomous working activities, the introduction of some legal safeguards for individuals such as *habeas corpus*, the releasing of most political prisoners, the return of most exiles, perhaps measure for improving the distribution of income, and most importantly the toleration of opposition”. On the other hand, Linz & Stepan (1996:1) point out that “democratisation entails liberalisation but is a wider and more specifically political concept”.

O’Donnell and Schmitter (cited in De Villiers and Weldrick, 2000:25) outline six generalizations to clarify the complex link between political liberalisation and democratisation. These are summarized below:

1. Political liberalisation is a matter of extent. It depends largely on the scope of the guarantees that are extended by the undemocratic government (O’Donnell and Schmitter, 1986:9, De Villiers and Weldrick, 2000:25, De Villiers, 1993:50).

2. Democratisation on the other hand is also a matter of degree. Nonetheless, two aspects seem particularly important with regard to the construction of liberal democracy. First and foremost, those affecting electoral system or limiting political party competition (e.g. banning certain political parties or ideological orientations, fixing prohibitively high thresholds for their political formation, restricting admissible political contenders, rigging constituency boundaries and over-representing specific districts and interests, and or limiting the means of
Secondly, the ultimate creation of a “second tier” of consultative and decisional processes, more or less explicitly designed to circumvent accountability to popularly elected politicians by placing specific issues out of their reach (e.g. by establishing autonomous parastatal institutions, corporatist organisations and or consociational arrangements) (O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986:9-10, De Villiers and Weldrick, 2000: 25, De Villiers, 1993:50).

3. “liberalisation can exist without democratisation. Here O'Donnell and Schmitter (1986:10) observe fundamental guarantees can be accorded while impeding individuals or groups from participation in competitive elections, from access to policy deliberations, and or exercising the rights that may make the rulers reasonably accountable to them. ...Nevertheless, the case studied in these volumes suggests that once some individual and collective rights have been granted, it becomes increasingly difficult to justify withholding others. Moreover, as liberalisation advances so does the strength of demands for democratization”, (cited in De Villiers and Weldrick, 2000:25, De Villiers, 1993:50).

4. The achievement of liberal democracy is always preceded by significant political liberalization. While these phases may be almost simultaneous in rapid political transitions (e.g. Portugal and Greece) political liberalisation starts before democratisation. Prominent individuals and collective rights must be made effective before the convocation of multi-party elections, the political organisation of effective interest representation or the submission of executive authority to public accountability (O'Donnell and Schmitter, 1986:10-11, De Villiers and Weldrick, 2000:25, De Villiers, 1993:50).
5. “A point of no return is reached the moment the authoritarian incumbents announce their plan to extend significantly the sphere of protected individual and group rights and they are believed by the democratic opposition. In other words, the intention of liberalising must be sufficiently credible to provoke a change in the strategies of other actors” (O'Donnell and Schmitter, 1986:10-11, De Villiers and Weldrick, 2000:25, De Villiers, 1993:50).

6. It is both practically possible and desirable that liberal democracy is achieved without mobilized violence or dramatic discontinuity. Despite the fact that these threats of violence (usually including regular civil protests, boycotts, strikes and mass political demonstrations) are almost always present, if violence becomes widespread and recurrent, the prospects of liberal democracy are drastically reduced. They go further to say that “a transfer of power”, in which new political leaders hand over control of the state institutions to some faction of their supporters, or a ‘surrender of power’, where they discuss the political transition with some of their non-maximalist opponents, seems more propitious for the installation and democratic consolidation than an “overthrow of power” by cruel antagonists. The latter option is hardly ever available in political transition because the undemocratic incumbents are usually able to keep the support of the military (O'Donnell and Schmitter, 1986:10-11, De Villiers and Weldrick, 2000:25, De Villiers, 1993:50)
2.7 CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY

Consolidation of democracy is a process, not an event (De Villiers, 1993:45). It is a process of strengthening democratic institutions and allowing them to operate independently. Prudhomme (2004: 7) goes further to say that “democratic consolidation is, in concrete terms, the strengthening and deepening of democracy in a country that is moving away from an authoritarian government to a much more democratic society.”

Haggard and Kaufman (1995: 15) understand democratic consolidation as a process through which acceptance of a given set of constitutional principles becomes less directly contingent on immediate rewards and sanctions and increasingly widespread and routinized. In Philippe Schmitter’s point of view, it is a transition of the institutional arrangements and understandings that emerged at the time of the political transition into relations of co-operation and political competition that are reliably known and regularly practiced (Haggard and Kaufman, 1995: 15).

Professor Tom Lodge (1999:1) makes an interesting point when he says that “that starting democracy is easier than keeping it”. Stepan and Linz (1996:10) follow the same line of thinking when pointing out that in order to achieve consolidation of democracy, a level of autonomy and independence of civil-political society must further be embedded in and supported by the rule of law in society. Furthermore, they argue that all important political actors- especially the democratic government and the state leaders must respect and uphold the rule of law. In this context rule of law simply means that every one is equal before the law and that no one is above the law.

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38 Diamandouros, Gunther and Puhle (1995:3) are of the opinion that the extent to which new democracies have become consolidated is of both practical and theoretical significance and has given rise to considerable scholarly debate in Political Science. “Although, in some respects, this debate is a reflection of differing substantive conclusions about the extent of consolidation of various democratic regimes, it is also clear that one reason why no clear consensus has emerged is that scholars have used different definitions of democratic consolidations”. (Diamandouros, Gunther and Puhle, 1995:3).
Stepan and Linz (1996: 7) outline five aspects of consolidated democracy. Firstly, they state that “conditions must exist for the development of a free and lively civil society”. On this point, Abercrombie, Hill and Turner (2000: 48) argue that civil society is an intermediate social institution between the family and the political relations of state institutions. They further maintain that “there is a more basic dichotomy between civil society (the ensemble of socio-economic relations and force of the production) and the state (the superstructural manifestation of class relations inside civil society”). According to Martinussen (2004: 289), “the core of civil society is the household, but the concept refers also to the social life of citizens within the households, and the interaction of households in the local community and in the various other forms of social organizations outside the formal political system and the corporate economy”. Heywood provides examples of civil society that which include autonomous bodies such as academia, business, trade unions, media, clubs, families and religious institutions (2004:8).

Secondly, Stepan and Linz (1996: 7) point out that there must be a relatively autonomous and valued political society in a democracy. Thirdly, they argue that there must be a rule of law to provide legal protection for citizen’s freedoms and autonomous associational life. Fourthly, they point out that there must be state machinery that is usable by the new democratic practice. Finally, they conclude that there must be an institutionalized economic system in the country. Elections are a key indicator of democracy (De Villiers, 1993:300). This reflects how democracy can be consolidated. However; this does not mean that elections are the only form of public participation in a democracy. There are other forms of public participation which have been discussed before in the chapter such as the role of the media, robust public debates about policy matters and the mutual independence of democratic institutions such as the judiciary, executive and legislature.
South Africa has had fourteen years of democracy and it is faced with a number of challenges with regard to democratic consolidation. South Africa has a long way to go in consolidating democracy. The country has held two democratic elections which were declared free and fair by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) despite the fact that there were few complaints against the ruling party by opposition parties especially the Democratic Alliance (Prudhomme, 2004:7). Moreover, she writes that “South Africa has been undergoing a process of transition away from apartheid since the early 1990’s which has been approximated with the consolidation of democracy”.39

Prudhomme (2004: 1) points out that “elections are a central and important feature of a country undergoing a democratic transition as they afford the electorate an opportunity to effectively participate in the process, in terms of choosing public representatives, which is a basic requirement of a democratic society”. This has been the case in South Africa. The country has moved away from the dark days of apartheid and has ushered in a new democratic dispensation with regular elections. According to De Villiers (1993:276), elections are a fundamental ingredient of democracy and they form part of the consolidation of democracy. He argues that in liberal democracies across the globe, elections are the principal method for deciding who will constitute the government of day. He goes further to say that “once elected; public officials exercise their authority within constitutionally determined limits”. He argues that relatively frequent, competitive party elections render the government of the day accountable to the inhabitants. He argues that in liberal democracies, voting is the fundamental form of political participation for most inhabitants (Held, 1987:193, De Villiers, 1993:276).

39 Diamandouros, Gunther and Puhle (1995:3) assert that political transition to democracy results in the creation of a new form of government. On the other hand, they conclude that consolidation of democracy results in the stability and persistence of that government, even in the face of severe socio-political challenges in the country.
De Villiers (1993:276) argues that “in order to be classified as democratic; elections need to meet certain procedural requirements”. Booysen (2006: 15) argues that “…the consolidation of democracy is a prevalent contemporary focus in debates on democratization.”

She writes that Diamond has advocated the notion that a second turnover defines the moment of consolidation of democracy. Linz and Stepan (cited in Booysen, 2006: 15) makes a direct link of democratic consolidation with the associated political institutions, rules, and patterned incentives/disincentives of becoming the “only game in town”. Furthermore, she concludes that “this statement, however, makes the institutionalization of democracy contingent upon a change in electoral rules and creates a perception that the absence of such change implies the absence of freedom of expression”. De Villiers (1993:277) writes that “in addition to the normal democratic functions as summarized above, elections during transitions to democracy fulfill many additional functions”.

Professor Joseph Schumpeter (cited in Heywood, 2002:229) points out that “consolidation of democracy means that the people have the opportunity of accepting or refusing the government who rule them”. De Villiers (1993:277) is of the opinion that regular elections are playing an important role in liberalizing and democratizing authoritarian governments. “In a democratization process, elections are a direction to democracy” (De Villiers, 1993:277). Booysen (2006: 11) writes that regular elections have played major roles in the political and economic transitions of the states in Africa. “Elections in the far South of Africa also acquire additional meaning through their processes of supplementing and alternating with the politics of liberation struggles and post–colonial internal wars” (Booysen, 2006: 11).

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40 Diamandouros, Gunther and Puhle (1995:5) state that democratic consolidation also contributes to political stability by reducing the intensity of the expression of political conflict and by restricting it to peaceful institutionalized democratic channels.
In order to consolidate democracy\(^{41}\) elections should be free and fair. This matter is touched upon by Van Dyk-Robertson (1999:29) when he asserts that free and fair election refers to the ability of individuals to associate in political organizations and advocate policies of their choice without political intimidation. He goes further to say that “every citizen should be able to express his or her choice of party or candidate freely\(^{42}\).”

De Villiers (1993:278) argues that the convoking of general elections broadens the role of political parties in the process of political transition. He goes further to say that regular elections serve to assess the legitimacy of political parties in that election results establish just how much support political contenders and political parties receive. Furthermore, he argues that “calling elections thus enables political parties to emerge as the principle political contenders in the transition.”\(^{43}\)

Elections are an important element of democracy in society (De Villiers, 1993:278). Without elections democracy can never be consolidated, precisely because elections provide an opportunity for the electorate to choose its political leaders. De Villiers (1993:279) points out that “the prospect of democratic elections serves to shift attention to a new set of issues on the transition agenda; i.e. the definition of the rules under which the electoral contest will take place”.

\(^{41}\) Diamandouros, Gunther and Puhle (1995:78) assert that one of the most important differences in studies of democratization is between political transition and consolidation of democracy. They go further to say that democratic transitions relate to the establishment of democratic government in which there is open political competition of the right to win control of government institutions, and this in turn requires free and fair elections, the results of which determine who governs the country. Furthermore, they argue that democratic consolidation involves three aspects:

1. “Structural: It posits that no significant reserved domains of power should exist that preclude important public policies from being determined by the laws.
2. Attitudinal: When a strong majority of public opinion acknowledges that the regime’s democratic procedures and institutions are appropriate and legitimate


Van Dyk-Robertson (1999:27) makes an interesting point when she affirms that regular democratic elections are often regarded as a criterion for the consolidation of democracy. She goes further to say that Hayward suggests five fundamental principles for democratic elections:

- “Law-abiding adult citizens all qualify to vote
- Political parties are free to nominate their candidates
- The contestation for power is unrestricted
- Voters can freely cast their votes with the understanding that the ballots will be counted and reported in a transparent way
- Losing political contenders do not try to employ force to alter the democratic outcomes or prevent the victor from taking office”.

According to Jackson and Jackson (1997:365), “without some form of election there is no consolidation of democracy”. They further state that elections must be free and fair, which means that they must satisfy certain political criteria. Furthermore, they argue that “these include ample opportunity for citizens to form political parties and put forward candidates”. They maintain that there must also be open and fair political competition between those seeking elections so that the electorate can be presented with meaningful political choices. They conclude that political contenders must be allowed to campaign freely and within the same set of political rules in society (Jackson and Jackson, 1997:365).
Mark Anstey (2004:256), conflict resolution practitioner, outlines the fundamental aspects of the consolidation of democracy as follows:

- Free and fair elections
- Freedom to organize
- Freedom of expression
- Inclusionary
- Politics of accommodation
- Universal suffrage
- Right to run for office
- Alternative source of information
- Contingent consent
- Independent court
- Freedom of association
- Constitutional rights

Whitehead (1992:154) writes that consolidation of democracy refers to the effective functioning of the new democratic regime. De Villiers (1993:299) supports this position by asserting that “successful consolidation of a new democracy is a difficult and lengthy process”. He goes further to say that scholars of Political Science have suggested that shifts in power after an election is a key indicator of successful democratic consolidation.
Professor David Robertson (1993:429) points out that Schumpeter holds the view that consolidation of democracy is more than holding regular elections. He goes further in saying it is about involving the public in shaping government public policies. According to Fox and Meyer (1996:20) consolidation of democracy is the involvement of inhabitants in a wide range of administrative policy making activities, including the determination of levels of service, budget priorities, and the acceptability of physical construction government projects. This in order to orient government activities toward people’s needs, the building of public support, and embracing a sense of cohesiveness within society (Fox and Meyer, 1996:20).

De Villiers and Weldrick (2000:67) argue “that democratic consolidation also entails economic reform” (Dahl 1989, Haggard and Kaufman 1992, Sorenson 1993). De Villiers and Weldrick (2000:67) assert that “democratic consolidation is not a purely political process but also demands social and economic change” (Sorenson, 1993:46). They go further to say that “democracy would be meaningless if there was no social and economic change”. Furthermore, they argue that while the nature of economic reform is difficult to specify in that it differs from situation to situation, it includes achieving economic growth and instituting welfare measures which eradicate poverty in society (De Villiers and Weldrick, 2000:67). Davids, Theron and Maphunye (2005:204) point out that “consolidation of democracy resides with the people, the real social actors of positive change. Freedom and democracy are universal human aspirations. The sovereignty of the people is the foundation of democracy. The legitimate role of government is to enable the people to set and pursue their own agenda” (Davids, Theron and Maphunye, 2005:204).
De Villiers (1993:300) maintains that in addition to focusing on elections and party political systems, some studies of new democracies prospects for consolidation, have focused on institutional variables. He goes further to say that these studies have been called “New Institutionalism” in order to differentiate them from the earlier institutional approach. With regard to the role of young people, Levin (2004:25) argues that “democracy can never be consolidated without young people”. Flanagan & Faison (2001:5) support this position by asserting that “consolidation of democracy in South Africa depends, in large part, on the socialization of youth into a good adult citizenry and their integration into the society and polity”. According to Development Update (2000:28) the engagement of youth and their integration into society plays a key role in determining whether young people will develop trust in their fellow citizens and the institutions of their society and will contribute to the common good.

Levin (2004:25) points out that “prior to the 1994 election, young South Africans seemed to be as determined as their older counterparts to vote”. According to the Umsobomvu Youth Fund (2007:231) “there were, however, statistically significant differences in the extent to which the different age groups believed that their votes would make a difference to the outcome of the 1994 election, with young people far more likely to believe that their votes would make a difference than their older counterparts” (Coxco and Mlatsheni, 2007:231). “While both the 18-24 and 25-35 year age groups were more optimistic about their votes making a difference than people older than 24-35 years, this trend tended to be slightly more pronounced among the youngest age group” (Umsobomvu Fund, 2007, Coxco and Mlatsheni, 2007:231). Levin (2000:89) concludes that South Africa’s second democratic general election in 1999 was documented and analyzed by the media, scholars and research institutions.
“But perhaps the most interesting aspect of these elections was the failure of the youth to vote. No one tried very hard to get young people to vote for them, and no one seems to have worried much when young people neither registered nor voted in great numbers. Newspapers had given their perspective on the election as a whole and two books were written analyzing party campaign, government and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), polling, the media and gender. But there is nothing on youth political apathy” (Levin, 2000:90).

According to Development Update (2000:90) “South Africa, in its last two general elections, had managed to defy international experience. In most multi-party elections, the more marginalized a group is the less likely it is to vote. In South Africa, more women voted than men, more poor people voted than rich, more black people voted than white. This differed from the rest of the world break-down, however, in young people, far fewer of whom voted in the 1999 election than adults. Within the youthful age cohorts, the global trend is evident. More young men voted than young women and more urban youth voted than rural. In a country such as South Africa, in which the young played a significant role in achieving historical changes through major struggles, one needs to consider seriously what this voting pattern implies about the youth’s participation in South Africa’s democracy” (Development Update, 2000:90). Everatt (2000:91) writes that, when the first democratic election was held in South Africa, in 1994, it was the youth that worked day and night to deliver the democratic election, and voted in their millions for political freedom. He goes further to say that over the last five years this commitment has disappeared. He concludes that “registration amongst the country’s youth in the 1999 election was particularly low” (Everatt, 2000:91).
Levin (2004:189) concurs with the above view, “that prior to the 1994 election, young South Africans seemed to be as determined as their older counterparts to vote”. He argues that “during the general election in 1999, the Independent Electoral Commission reported that 42.6 percent of 21-30 old eligible voters had registered for the election. This meant about 3.3 million eligible young voters did not register for the election”. According to the Mail and Guardian (1999:233), given the overall 85 percent general turnout figure, it was estimated that a further 877,000 registered young people did not cast their votes. “Older people who lived in urban areas were most likely to register. A pattern one might witness almost anywhere in the world. But what is important is firstly that rural registration was very high and secondly that more women registered than men, despite the fact that organized politics in South Africa is very much “men’s business.” (Development Update, 2000:93). Flanagan & Faison (2000) in the Umsobomvu Youth Fund report (2007:231) point out that political parties failed to develop creative ways of enlisting the energy and commitment of the youth in the politics of the interregnum. Coxco & Mlatsheni (2007:2) support this position by asserting that religious institutions and political parties were the two key means of reaching youth in the 1999 election, both failed to mount any major campaigns that the gave youth a constructive role to play.

2.8 2004 ELECTIONS AND THE YOUTH

Prudhomme (2004:19) points out that “the third democratic election marked the ten years of transition to democracy in April 2004. A discernible feature of the election was apparent voter abstention. The 15,863,554 people who voted accounted for 76.7 percent of the country’s 20.7 million registered voters. That is 58.7 percent of the estimated 27 million South Africans who were eligible to vote” (Prudhomme, 2004:20).
The most significant feature of the election was voter apathy amongst young people (Prudhomme, 2004:20). Southall (2004:6-7) writes that one glaring trend discovered in the 2004 election which has serious and negative consequences for South Africa’s democratization process is high voter abstention amongst young people (Prudhomme 2004:63, Southall, 2004:6-7). Prudhomme (2004:63) argues that in 1999 young voter turnout was 89.30 percent whilst in 2004 it slumped to 76.73 percent. She goes further to say that this difference of 12.27 percent of eligible young voters not participating in the 2004 elections is quite serious. In addition she argues that it is estimated that 7 million young voters did not bother to register for the elections.

Sachs (2007:1) supports this position by asserting that youth political organisations stood at the forefront of political engagement at the time of the struggle against apartheid. “Why is it that in the democratic order the youth are often believed to be disengaged from political institutions?” (Sachs, 2007:1) Furthermore, he (2007:1) argues that youth political disengagement from democratic institutions is sometimes explained by scientific evidence. According to IDASA (2007:1) discourse surrounding the issue of “youth political apathy” is usually presented against the backdrop of a political history characterized by highly politicized and engaged young people, the so-called “young lions” of the struggle against apartheid. “Given this history of youth at the forefront of political organization in South Africa, it is unsurprising that many people are concerned about lack of participation and interest in politics amongst young people” (According to IDASA, 2007:1, Banda and Faull, 2007:2).
Banda & Faull (2007:10) point out that during the apartheid struggle many liberation movements recruited and politicized young people. Moreover, Banda & Faull (2007:1) state that one of the outcomes of the Soweto uprisings was that young people left South Africa to join the liberation forces in exile. Many of those who stayed behind became important advocates of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the foot-soldiers of the struggle through the 1970s and 80s (Banda & Faull, 2007:1).

The advent of democracy in post-apartheid South Africa has changed the political landscape. Firstly, at this juncture young people in South Africa have rights; they can decide to engage or disengaged in politics, unlike in the past where the political environment demanded they be active. Secondly, globalization is a phenomenon that has influenced the thinking of young people in South Africa in relation to politics. Young people in the post-apartheid era are influenced by American music, foreign clothing labels and enjoy spending a lot of money. This has resulted in a new culture of materialism in South Africa. Indeed, young people are controlled by market forces. Thirdly, the South African media is biased towards the American culture of globalization. Sachs (2007:2) is of the opinion that youth political institutions of the democratic state have been burdened with capacity problems, infighting and high levels of leadership turnover. According to IDASA (2007:2) a survey conducted by YFM radio station found that only 25% of young people aged 18 to 35 believed politics to be interesting (IDASA, 2007:2, Banda and Faull, 2007:1, Sachs, 2007:2).
“In 2004, 67% of the youth said they belonged to no organization. In 1992, 15% of youth said they belonged to no organization, 17% said they belonged to a youth organization and 5% to civic organizations. In 2005, only 4% said they belonged to a political organization, 7% to a youth organization and 1% to a civic. Church and sports organizations remain the most popular in terms of youth membership today, but also well down from the high levels of membership associated with the social ferment of the late 1980s and early 90s” (Sachs, 2007:5). Banda & Faull (2007:1) argue that it is important to locate the issue of “youth political apathy” in South Africa within the global context. Banda & Faull (2007:1) state that lack of interest in politics, low registration and turnout of young people in elections is an international phenomenon.

According to IDASA (2007:2) “in the United Kingdom only about three in five young people aged 18-35 are on the electoral register. According to a study conducted in 2000, over two fifths of British youth reported that they had “no interest” in politics. In the US Presidential elections of 2000, 30% of 18-35 year olds voted. Another survey found that only 17 percent of American first-year college students agreed that it is essential or very important to influence the political structure” (Banda & Faull, 2007:2). Banda & Faull (2007:2), however, argue that these statistics from established democracies should not be compared to South Africa without considering the differences in our specific democratic circumstances, South Africa remains a country in political transition, which is an ongoing process. Sachs (2007:5) concurs with the view, that lower levels of youth political participation are not a uniquely South African phenomenon. He argues that “youth political apathy” is a common and increasingly worrying feature of so-called mature democracies.
Banda & Faull (2007:2) conclude that the pervasiveness of political apathy in our young people should raise pertinent questions about our developing democracy. South African youth consume too much hip-hop and kwaito music that does not address political concerns such as poverty, education, crime and unemployment. According to Prudhomme (2004:64) there are two broad perspectives that may explain the apathetic behavior of young voters, “(1) that South African democracy is entering a mature stage where generally young voters who are satisfied with the political environment are not animated by political participation as happens in most democracies, and (2) the contrary view that young voters are actually disenchanted with the direction the country is taking.”

“One way our country gets to look like other democracies (older ones) is to have a rather apathetic voting public and a couple of percentage points that a lot of young people are opting out of elections. South Africa’s democracy is proving that it is no longer an infantile democracy and you can see this in the 2004 election results, people understand South Africa as a democracy, despite their choosing to vote or not.” (Friedman, cited in Prudhomme, 2004:64)
On the other hand, Prudhomme (2004:64) states that on balance of probabilities given the serious and many socio-economic problems that underline South Africa's political transition to democracy-the probability is that the latter is more plausible: young voters are discontented. Furthermore, she (2004:65) maintains that the disinterest of youth voters is potentially a destructive element concerning the entrenchment of democracy in South Africa. The reasons for youth voter apathy in 2004 have been preliminarily examined by academics such as Tom Lodge who surmise that there is silent dissent amongst the voting public (2004:65). According to Prudhomme (2004:65) one of the dangers inherent in youth voter apathy is the possibility that some sectors of society will feel that they are being excluded from the political process, especially if these exclusions are articulated on a racial basis. For example, Prudhomme (2004:65) points out that most of the young voters who absented themselves from the polls were white young voters.

Young white South Africans have expressed strong views against affirmative action. They have argued that the current government is marginalizing them economically. Many young white South Africans have left the country due to discontentment about affirmative action. The official opposition party, the Democratic Alliance, has accused the ANC-government of perpetuating racist policies such as affirmative action and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE). On the other hand, the ruling party has lambasted the DA for protecting the interests of whites. The ANC upholds the view that the DA is not committed to social transformation in South Africa. According to Sachs (2007:30) “a quarter-million of young whites have emigrated since the end of apartheid a decade ago. Some English young whites have the right to British or other passports through ancestral ties” (Sachs 2007:30). This makes it easier for young whites to leave the country.
Hidden (2007:2) states that like many other young white South Africans overseas, he believes that while the country looks stable politically, he fears it could go the way of Zimbabwe where the white minority have one farm and businesses and the economy is in ruins. The exodus of young white South Africans has been the result of political discontentment (Hidden, 2007:2, Sachs 2007:30). This is an indicator of political withdrawal amongst young white South Africans (Hidden, 2007:30).
2.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented a conceptual analysis of democracy. This was done by spelling out the requirements of democracy, namely public participation, elections, freedom of expression and the right of opposition party.\textsuperscript{44} Secondly, a broader theoretical framework for consolidation of democracy was pointed out. One observes that democracy is not an event; it is a process that needs to be consolidated by everyone, young and old\textsuperscript{45}. However, one draws the conclusion that young people in South Africa are a “lost generation”, opting out of organized politics, rebelling in order to take part in the “pretty spectacle” of BMW, Nike, Levis, Puma and Calvin Klein (Development Update, 2000:91).\textsuperscript{46} This view is informed by the lower turnout of young voters in the 1999 and 2004 elections. Young people in South Africa played a pivotal role in defeating apartheid. On the other hand, the advent of democracy in South Africa has changed the political environment.

\textsuperscript{44}Professor David Barber (1995:3) summarizes three essentials of democracy:

1. Democracy is a national government elected by the inhabitants. The executive and the legislature make the rules of the nation, but the citizens decide through regular elections, who will be the executive and who will be in the legislature. Those elections must be free and fair, regular, honest and transparent.
2. Democracy requires a constitution. The legislature makes public policies, but the constitution is above all the laws. Established at the birth of democracy, it sets forth procedures: how elections will be conducted and how the government must act. The constitution must be known to the public and truly implemented not just asserted. The constitution can be changed, but only by a difficult procedure requiring far more discussion and votes than ordinary laws.
3. Democracy requires a culture of human rights. The constitution establishes rules of procedure, but a bill of rights awards the fundamental rights, typically including freedom of religion, speech and the press, the right of assembly and equality of all citizens under the law.

\textsuperscript{45}De Villiers (1993:74)

\textsuperscript{46}The term lost generation is used by Everatt, it means that young people in the new South Africa are politically disengaged, materialistic, abuse alcohol and have a neo-liberal outlook on life. John Hoffman (2004:103) suggests that “youth political apathy” is an expression of atomistic individualism. It embraces the argument that what is happening is basically satisfactory so there is no need to participate in politics, or what is more likely, governmental activities seem remote, alien and irrelevant to the daily struggle to survive, therefore “youth political apathy” seems legitimate a expression of self-interest (Hoffman,2004:103). Furthermore, Hoffman concludes that those defending political apathy on elitist grounds have a negative view of the capacity of people to govern their own lives.
CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

“The Western bourgeoisie, though fundamentally racist, most often manages to mask this racism by a multiplicity of nuances which allow it to preserve intact its proclamation of mankind’s outstanding dignity” (Fanon, 1967:163).

“In addition, this new humanism cannot do otherwise than define a new humanism, both for itself and for others. It (this new humanism) is prefigured in the objectives and methods of the struggle of young people” (Fanon, 1967:246).

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter lays out the historical development of student’s movements in South Africa. It is imperative to examine the historical trajectory of youth politics when one seeks to understand the current problem that South Africa is experiencing in relation to youth political apathy. The main aim of this chapter is to discuss the ideological influences on young people during apartheid.

3.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF YOUTH POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA

There were a number of philosophical traditions which informed the orientation of youth politics in South Africa during the apartheid era. These philosophical traditions include Black Consciousness which was greatly influenced by Steve Biko, Frantz Fanon, Marxism and Pan Africanism. This view is echoed by political journalist Mark Gevisser when he states that after the youth had observed segregation in the education system of South Africa, Black Consciousness and Marxism were employed as tools of analysis in describing the political situation in South Africa.

47 See for instance, Haupt (2001:13) who spells out a clear conceptualisation of apartheid. She also discusses the impact of Bantu education on young people during apartheid.

Reflecting upon this context, Badat (1999:79) reminds us that the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League was the first political formation to be established by young people in South Africa. This view is echoed by Odendaal (1984:53) when he states that the establishment of the ANC Youth League in December, 1943 was largely a reaction against apartheid. Odendaal (1984:53) further argues that “the driving force behind the formation of the Youth League was Anton Lembede, Nelson Mandela, Robert Sobukwe and Walter Sisulu.” These young people understood that apartheid was evil and had to be defeated. Vuyo Toto ANC Regional Secretary General (Nelson Mandela Metropole), states that “….these young people were highly politicized, highly politically aware about social problems. They knew who the enemy was. These young people were exposed to politics at the University of Fort Hare”. Furthermore, Toto argues that these young people grew under the tough political system of apartheid (Vuyo Toto, interview conducted 19 September 2008).

Gerhart writes that chief among these young people was Anton Lembede. “He had given up his teaching post in Heilbron in 1943 and moved up to Johannesburg, where the aging lawyer, Pixely Seme, agreed to article him as a clerk” (1978: 58). Louw (1986:78) supports this position by asserting that Lembede was particularly upset by what he saw in the black townships when he arrived from Zululand. He argues that “what most aspiring young men looked for in the attractions and excitement of city life—flashy clothes, cinemas, jazz and jive, liquor and the search of money stood out clearly to Lembede as signs of degeneracy and cultural confusion”.

Benjamin Pogrung (2006:23) echoes the above sentiments when he argues that young people were mainly in their early twenties when they intended to transform the ANC and fight against white rule. He states that in December 1942 the ANC’s annual conference agreed to the establishment of the ANC Youth League. He goes further to say that this group of young people was led by Anton Lembede who was to become revered before, and after, his death. He concludes by saying that “the dozen or so involved with the him included Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Robert Sobukwe, and A.P. Mda”. See also, (Butler, 2007:49, Turok, 2008:34, Davenport, 1977:34, Lipton, 1985, Vagenas, 1986).
Moreover, Louw (1986:79) points out that Lembede identified these political trends as major threats to the African way of life, and the reason why blacks were taking to these Western ideas so readily was because they did not have a strong African ideology which they could follow. This matter is also touched upon by Mark Gevisser (2007: 37) when he states that Lembede’s ideas came from the reading of WEB du Bois and Marcus Garvey great scholars of Pan Africanism.50 Furthermore, Van den Berge (1970:168) writes that Lembede’s political philosophy, which was the cornerstone of the ideology of Pan-Africanism, was anti-white, anti-Indian and anti-coloured.51

“Co-operation between Africans and other non-Europeans on common problems and issues may be highly desirable. But this occasional co-operation can only take place between Africans as a single unit and other non-European as separate units…non-European unity is a fantastic dream which has no foundation in reality. (Karis & Carter, 1986:318)

Bernenstein (1987:12) echoes the above sentiments when he points out “that in 1946 Lembede prepared a policy document for the ANCYL in which he rejected co-operation between Africans and other groups”. While this might be highly desirable, he said, it could only take place between Africans organized as a single unit and other non-European groups conceived of as separate units. Non-European unity is a fantastic dream which has no foundation in reality” (Lembede, cited in Bernenstein, 1987:12).

50 Professor Robert Sobukwe follows the same line of thinking when he quotes Marcus Garvey “you can not grow beyond your thoughts, if your thoughts are those of a slave, you will remain a slave” (cited in Pogrund, 2007: 36).

According to Nolutshungu (1982:22), this was the central idea of Pan Africanism, “Africa was for the Africans and only Africans would be restored to their glorious past, would be an undiluted Africanist only struggle”. Moreover, he argues that after Lembede’s death, the ANC Youth League continued the political movement which Lembede had started, “away from the idea of Nationalism as defined by the ANC’s old guard”. Ranuga (1982:22) goes further to say that this brought up the question of what would be the place of white people in a future political order in South Africa. Gerhart (1978:70-71) asserts that within the ANC Youth League there were two views on this matter. Firstly, he argues the one view, “which was typified by Jordan K Ngubane at this period of his own political development, was that whites had to be excluded from participation in the struggle in order for Africans to build up their own spirit of self-reliance”.

“Once he had done this, the African could meet liberal whites and work out the detail of a future non-racist state” (Gerhart, 1978:71). On the other hand, Gerhart (1978:71) points out that the more radical members of the ANC League stuck to Lembede’s position. “Liberal whites, they argued, had been responsible for stifling the African spirit of self-reliant nationalism and any concession or association with enlightened whites was, therefore, an indulgence with one’s enemy. “After blacks had attained their freedom, any white who accepted the African government could stay in South Africa, while those whites who rejected majority rule could leave” (Gerhart 1978:503). Van der Merwe (1978:66) argues that the ANC entered the 1950s with its leadership divided between different nationalist ideologies. On the other hand, Vagenas (1986:23) writes that Africans felt that the multi-nationalist Freedom charter was destroying its 1949 political programme of action.
Vagenas (1986:23), points out that P K Leballo, who lead the Transvaal group, regarded the Freedom Charter as a "political bluff."

“It promises a little wonderful heaven if not utopia around the corner…it is utterly useless to go around shouting “The people shall govern “. “The people shall share”, without practical steps towards that government. We are merely made tools and stooges of interested parties that are anxious to maintain the status quo” (Karis & Carter, 1986:503).

According to Wagstaff (1969:66), Lembede believed that it was essential that the African masses be instilled with black pride, confidence and a spirit of self reliance. Furthermore, Wagstaff (1969:66) argues that it was believed that such a vast mass of non-conformist Africans would bring down the pillars of white rule, through repeated political programmes of actions, strikes, boycotts, marches, demonstrations, etc. Finally, he (1969:44) argues that in order to reach that stage a fundamental frontier had to be crossed: “the need to reach out to Africans psychologically, to tell them that they are inferior to no other race, and that they should stand tall and proud”. Kunnie (2000:17) concurs with the view, that Lembede puts a great emphasis on African nationhood, unity and the infusion of a new spirit of “Africanism”. Bernstein (1987: 12) goes further to say that “Lembede died young, but some of the strands from ideas he propounded were taken up the the Pan Africanist Congress when it split away from the ANC at the end of 1958”. According to Bernstein (1987: 12), the PAC rejected cooperation with other groups and emphasized Pan Africanism. The PAC believed in an “Africanist” struggle for liberation of black people (Bernstein, 1987:12).

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52 Robert Sobukwe makes an interesting point when he argues that “world civilization will not be completed until the African has made his full contribution” (quoted by Pogrund, 2006:37).
Karis and Carter (1986:314) point out that the Africanist broke away and established the Pan Africanist Congress at a three day conference in Orlando in April 1959. De Jong (1982:27) writes that the PAC’s increasing political militancy and the PAC’s no bail, no defence, no fine campaign on March 21 1960, led to the nationwide political instability which caused the ANC and the PAC to be banned on 8 April 1960. According to Kunnie (2000:20), the PAC subscribes to the philosophy of Pan Africanism\(^ {53}\), “analyzing the South African situation as one of colonialism, whereby Europeans had stolen the land of the African people by force and conquest, and the solution was to repossess this stolen land through armed struggle”. The PAC youth movement will be discussed later on in this chapter.

### 3.3 STEVE BIKO’S INVOLVEMENT IN YOUTH POLITICS

In this section this writer will briefly discuss the impact of apartheid on higher education and how Steve Biko introduced Black Consciousness to South Africa. Guelke (2005:4) points out that “apartheid took off as a political idea during the 1940’s precisely because that was a time the erosion of segregation – in part through the impact of the Second World War – was becoming most evident”. This matter is also touched by Giliomee and Schlemmer (1993:40) when they state that apartheid was adopted by the National Party as part of its election manifesto of 1948. The rationale behind apartheid was separate development. This meant blacks and whites had to be separated in order for white people to maintain their identity. Black people were also expected to develop separately without interacting with white people and with limited resources.

\(^ {53}\) According to the Pan African Student Movement of Azania (2005:1), “Pan Africanism is the total unification of the people of Africa, home and abroad under scientific socialism”. Pan Africanism is the philosophical tradition of the Pan Africanist Congress. The Pan African Student Movement of Azania (PASMA) is a component structure of the PAC. It exists in institutions of higher learning in South Africa. Scientific socialism will be discussed later on in the study.
Lintvelt et al (2001:65) argues that in order to put the apartheid policy into practice, the National Party began to pass several Acts whereby a division between population groups was brought about:

- In 1949 the Mixed Marriages Act, whereby marriage between whites and blacks, coloureds and Indians was prohibited by the apartheid regime.
- The Population Groups Registration Act of 1950 placed every citizen of South Africa in a certain racial group, either white, blacks, coloured or Asian.
- The Group Areas Act (1950) empowered the apartheid government to reserve certain areas for certain population.
- The open universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town were forbidden by the separate Universities Act of 1959 to enroll any students other than white ones, Xhosa speaking people were required to attend Fort Hare, while universities were established for the other ethnic groups, for Sotho speaking at Turffloop, the Asians at Westville; Zulu-speakers at Ngoye (Lintvelt et al, 2001:65).54

The Separate Universities Act was informed by the Bantu education policy of 1953. It was meant to give black people inferior education; whilst white people on the other hand were getting a good education. Black people were regarded as stupid by the Nationalist government. Hence a huge amount of money was allocated for whites; this was the justification of Bantu education by the National Party.

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“The Natives will be taught from childhood to realize that equality with Europeans is not for them. There is no place for the Bantu child above the level of certain forms of labour. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze.”

Hendrik Verwoerd 1953 Minister of Native Affairs

(Nuttal, 1999:32, as quoted by Haupt, 2001: 19)

According to Haupt (2001:19), the Bantu Education Act was meant to serve the wider goals of apartheid. She goes further to say that Verwoerd was against the ideal of educating black people, as it would make them question things that they saw in the world around them which he saw as very dangerous. Furthermore, she concludes that “black children were cheated on in education as the governments at that time spent far more per head on education for white children than they did for black children”. Badat (1999:53) argues that “the effect of this was that black learners were excluded from middle and high-level training in scientific and technical fields and higher education was restricted to fields of study (mainly liberal arts) that would not undermine the existing racial division of labour”. Secondly, he argues that these institutions of higher learning were meant to produce the administrative corps for the black separate development bureaucracies and to assist in the formation of a black petit bourgeoisie that would, it was hoped, collaborate in the project of separate development. Such historical developments led to the establishment of a new student movement called the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). The primary aim of this movement was to bring on board blacks and whites and to fight apartheid. The ideological underpinning of NUSAS was liberalism.
NUSAS was constituted by a majority of white liberals who were committed to fighting apartheid. According to Bernestein (1987:8) Steve Biko initially involved himself in the activities of NUSAS, but he and others felt increasingly that NUSAS was dominated by white liberals. De Jong (1982:21) writes that this dissatisfaction led to the establishment of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) in December 1968, with Steve Biko becoming its first president in July 1969 (De Jong, 1982:21, Bernestein, 1987:8). SASO adopted Black Consciousness as a political ideology. Vagenas (1986:29) argues that SASO called for a united front of black people, coloureds and Indians against whites. On the other hand, Badat (1999:79) argues that SASO was not the first manifestation of student politics among black higher education students or black institutions of higher learning. According to him, in 1948, a branch of the ANC youth league (ANCYL) was established at University of Fort Hare by African students and staff.

He argues that the ANCYL of the University of Fort Hare played a fundamental role in the Eastern Cape protests against the advent of Bantu Education and after the mid 1980’s was the premier organization among Fort Hare students. He writes that “a Student Representative Council (SRC) also existed at Fort Hare, for much of the 1950’s under the sway of ANCYL members and was at the fore-front of student’s actions” (1999:79). Daniel (1978:29) saw a spiritual link between Anton Lembede’s Pan Africanism and Steve Biko’s use of black consciousness; both should be understood within the context of this separatist philosophical tradition. Biko (1971:88) argues that, regarding the psychological nature of black consciousness, the principal aim of the philosophy is to affect a psychological change within the masses. Daniel (1978:72) writes that “being black, according to Biko is a reflection of a mental attitude”. 55

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55 See also Vagenas (1986:29)
Bernestein (1987:13) points out that Black Consciousness aimed to overcome feelings of black inferiority, to instill black pride. According to Bernestein, “black consciousness was declared a way of life, an attitude of mind, with the basic tenet that the black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity”. “It implied awareness by black people of the power they wield, both economically and politically, and that the black man must build his own values system, see himself as self-defined and not defined by others. Liberation of the black man begins first with liberation from psychological oppression by himself through an inferiority complex” (1987: 13). Kunnie (2000:30) points out that black cohesion was thus a solution to the pathology of white racist unity. Kunnie (2000:30) writes that Biko clearly explained the intrinsic exigency of black solidarity as a prerequisite for liberation praxis on the part of the black oppressed. Kunnie (2000:30) makes an interesting point that “the Black Consciousness Movement fostered a new sense of cultural pride and power, replacing the European colonial definition of ethnicity among the various black communities in South Africa”.

Vagenas (1986:42) argues that “black consciousness follows a two-step strategy to liberation”. He argues that “psychological liberation is a precondition for national liberation and masses have lost their personality”. Biko (1971:19) argues that the departure point of black consciousness is that blacks are psychologically ill-equipped to fight a successful political struggle. Biko goes further to say that “black society” is psychologically sick. Karis and Carter (1977:43) points out that for the first time, the psychological impact which white rule was apparently having on the black mind was highlighted by Anton Lembede. 56

56 See also Vagenas (1986:46)
Bernestein (1987:12) writes that Lembede spoke of the pathological state brought about among blacks by white racism, the loss of self-confidence, an inferiority complex, frustration, and idolization of whites. Gerhart (1978:62) points out that “Lembede also described the inferiority complex which Africans had, as a psychological problem, the opium that dulls their mental faculties and represses our physical energy”. He argues that this is a psychological problem which black consciousness seeks to overcome. Louw (1986:43) writes that a “second psychological aspect, concerns the relationship between those who have the correct mental attitude and those who should, but don’t”. He goes further to say that the latter refers to the unaware masses whereas the former refers to those who know the way. Biko (1971:19) argued that “the masses were living in ignorance, bearing the yoke of oppression”.

Vagenas (1986:43) writes that a major study into the psychological driving forces behind the political development of a black consciousness student movement has been undertaken by the American analyst, Ann Wortham. Her study concentrated specifically on ethno-race consciousness in the United States; however, her findings are also relevant to analysis of black consciousness political movement in South Africa. “Wortham labels the black consciousness exponents as spiritual separatists” (Vagenas, 1986:44). Wortham (1981: 211) points out in her study that blackness (as defined by black consciousness) is a concept concerning an attitude of the mind, values and a method of awareness peculiar to certain blacks. She argues that it is not an idea of human biology and thus does not apply to everyone of African descent. Furthermore, she argued that it is rather a notion of psycho-intellectual orientation that designates how certain individuals perceive themselves and their existential circumstances.\(^\text{57}\)

\(^{57}\) For an in-depth analysis on this matter, see Vagenas (1986:43)
Wortham (1981:44) points out that since the self-identity of the spiritualist is frustrated by what he perceives as a mistaken belief of him by whites, he or she turns to his race for some kind of identity and, in this case, it is a black identity. This is the philosophy that inspired millions of young people in South Africa. Stephen Biko was at the fore-front of inspiring these young people (Vagenas, 1986:5).

Vagenas (1986: 5) points out that Steve Biko at the age of 19 studied at the Medical School of Natal University (Non-white section). He argues that this section of the Medical School kept for Africans, Coloureds and Indians, was called Wentworth. Bernstein (1987:80) indicate that “Biko was soon elected to the SRC and in July 1967, he was a delegate at the NUSAS annual conference hosted that year by Rhodes University”. Deegan (2005:53) argues that at the university the accommodation and eating facilities were segregated and Biko questioned the situation of Black-White student’s relations at the conference. Lodge (1983:17) agrees with the above view, “that Biko was studying at a segregated medical school and he belonged to a multi-racial student organization, where he had to sleep and eat separately from the white delegates”. Biko used black consciousness as a tool of analysis to interpret South Africa’s situation. Biko (1971:19) argued that “the African mind operates differently to the western mind”. He goes further to say that the western mind is geared towards the use of a problem-solving approach following sharp analyses, whereas black consciousness refers to the experience of black people. According to Biko (1971: 21), “the difference which he sees between Westerners and Africans is their approach to life, which is not environmental. It goes deeper than that and therefore, it cannot be altered” (Biko, 1971:21, Vagenas, 1986:5).
Biko (1971:22) writes that, “just as whites had tried to protect their pseudo self-esteem”\(^{58}\) by means of apartheid, so spiritual separatism looks for protection in the separatism of a special kind of consciousness, black consciousness”. “Just as whites had placed “whites” and “non-whites” signs on trains, waiting rooms and toilets, so the spiritualist places labels on such fields as journalism, history, sociology, literature, music and art. This calls for the rewriting of history, black history cannot be understood or written by whites. We have to rewrite our history and describe in it the heroes who formed the core resistance to white invaders. The same goes for politics. Whites cannot possibly know what is good for blacks. The Progressives (PFP) had never been a black man’s real hope. They have always been a white party at heart, fighting for a more lasting way of preserving white values in this Southern tip of Africa” (Biko, 1971:24, Vagenas, 1986:5).

Ranugar (1982: 105) concurs with the view above, “that Black Consciousness and Black awareness are really substitutes for self awareness”. He argues that “the symbol black is a symbol of contempt for individual identity and achievement”. He goes further to say that black is used to reduce the relevance of individual character, personality, performance, social status, and academic qualifications by using black, though the community may differ in actual skin colour (see also Vagenas, 1986:5-6).\(^{59}\)

\(^{58}\) Frantz Fanon, in his book: *Black skin, white masks*, quotes Professor Westermann “black inferiority complex is particularly intensified among the most educated. Their wearing of European clothes, whether rags or the most-up-to-date style, using European furniture and European forms of social intercourse, adorning the Native language with European expression, using bombastic phrases in speaking or writing English. They think that all this contributes to a feeling of equality with the European” (1993:25). Fanon (1993:17) argues that “what matters for black people is not to know the world but to change it”. He states that black people should free themselves from the mindset created by the colonial environment. He goes further to say that some blacks think that God cannot be black. “He is a white man with bright pink cheeks. From black to white is the course of mutation. One is white as one is rich, as one is beautiful as one is intelligent”.

\(^{59}\) Anthony Butler (2007:25) follows the same line of thinking when he argues that "Black Consciousness was founded primarily in cultural and educational settings where it was an extension of the traditional generational critique of young people".
Kunnie (2000:28) points out that such a definition of blackness outlines a number of things:

1. “Being black is not a matter of pigmentation – being black is a reflection of mental attitude.”

2. Merely by describing yourself as black you have started on a road to emancipation, you have committed yourself to fight against all forces that seek to use your blackness as a stamp that marks you out as a subservient being.

3. Black is not necessarily inclusive, the fact that we are all not white does not necessary mean that we are all black. Non-whites do exist and continue to exist for quite a long time. If some aspiration is whiteness but his pigmentation makes attainment of this impossible, then that person is a non-white.

4. Any man who calls a white man “Baas”, any man who serves in the police force or Security Branch is *ipso facto* non-white.

5. Black people – real black people are those who can manage to hold their heads high in defiance rather than willingly surrender their soul to the white man.” (Kunnie, 2000:28)

### 3.4 FRANTZ FANON AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Vagenas (1986:68) points out that “Steve Biko’s writings were influenced greatly by Frantz Fanon and Steve Biko adopted parts of Fanon’s analysis in order to show direct relevance to specifics in South African society”. He goes further to say that the analyses of Frantz Fanon occupy a fundamental place in the philosophical departure point of black consciousness.

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60 See also Xolela Mangcu (2008:3), on this matter quoting Steve Bantu Biko.
“In fact, black consciousness students (of the late 1960 and early 1970s) would have been hard-pressed to find a foreign analysis of social oppression more appropriate to South African experiences. Fanon was a black psychiatrist born in Martinique, who became an Algerian citizen by choice. As head of the psychiatric service, in an Algerian hospital, he led a double life for a period, caring for French policemen by day while training saboteurs by night” (Gordon, 1988:11, Vagenas, 1986:68).

Feaver (1970:68) writes that, Fanon set out to analyze and interpret the situation in Algeria from a psychological point of view. Baldwin (1968:71) goes further to say that Fanon referred to the foreigners as colonizers and to the indigenous population as the colonized, and compared the different psychological perspectives of each group. Baldwin (1968:71) argues that “Fanon sees the colonized as having been damned to an ostensibly hopeless position, from which escape is only possible through psychological liberation brought about by the colonized rediscovering themselves. He states “that Fanon’s work was banned in South Africa”. De Jong (1982:69) provides three reasons for the banning of Fanon’s work in South Africa during the apartheid era. Firstly, he argues “it was owing to the similarities between the former Algerian colony and contemporary South Africa: This refers to white “foreigners” in control over the black “indigenous” population. The methods of control include a firm hold by the police and military over the locals, who live in slum areas outside the white cities” (De Jong, 1982:69). “All forms of protest or resistance are put down harshly by the authorities, which lead inevitably to deaths in detention, torture and the accidental deaths of innocent bystanders during riots and unrest” (Vagenas, 1986:275).

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62 See also Fanon (1993:1-5), Goddard (2009:2)
“This, in turn, leads to the authorities setting up commissions of inquiry, which end up declaring the police not guilty. Fanon published a book that deals extensively with mechanisms which the whites use to control the blacks, including institutionalized racism” (Vagenas, 1986:275). Secondly; he goes further to say “that Fanon does not write the book from the viewpoint of an objective observer, instead he sides completely with the colonized”. “Describing their oppression and suffering as if it were his, the book creates a black-white frame of reference from which every action is judged. Everything the whites do is evil, whereas the colonized can do no evil. Every action taken by the oppressed is morally justifiable” (Vagenas, 1986: 275). Thirdly; he argues that the book broke new ground on the issue of political violence. “Not only is Fanon strongly in favour of violence against the regime, but violence becomes the cornerstone of Fanon’s revolutionary approach” (De Jong, 1982:69, Gordon, 1988:11, Vagenas, 1986: 275).

Wagstaff (1969:125) is of the opinion that the Wretched of the Earth was fundamental reading material for the study groups of SASO and helped the students to formulate significant ideas which form the cornerstone of black consciousness. Fanon (1965:33) argued that “everything that the colonized do to hasten their psychological and physical liberation is good. His social division between “the natives” and “the foreigners” helped black consciousness in South Africa interpret the situation here as one between colonizer and colonized” (Fanon, 1965:33).63

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63 For an in-depth discussion on this matter, see also (Vagenas, 1986:275)
“The settler’s town is a strongly-built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly-lit town; the streets are tarred and the refuse bins swallow all the left-overs. The settler’s feet are never visible, except perhaps in the sea; but there you’re never close enough to them. His feet are protected by strong shoes although the streets of his town are clean and even, with no holes or stones. The settler’s town is always a well-fed town...its belly is always full of good things. This settler’s town is a town of white people, of foreigners.”

(Fanon, 1965:34)

Furthermore, Daniel (1975:81) argues that “the town belonging to the colonized people, or at least the native town, the negro village, the medina, the reservation, is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute....it is a world without spaciousness; men live on top of each other and their huts are built on top of the other⁶⁴. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light, it is a town wallowing in the mire” (Daniel, 1975:81, De Jong, 1982:69, Gordon, 1988:11, Vagenas, 1986: 275).

⁶⁴ Fanon (1993:6) argues that the “struggle against colonial oppression changes not the direction of Western history, but challenges its historicist idea’ of time as a progressive, ordered whole. The analysis of colonial depersonalization alienates not only the Enlightenment idea of “Man”, but challenges the transparency of social reality, as a pre-given image of human knowledge. If the order of Western historicism is disturbed in the colonial states of emergency, even more deeply disturbed is the social and psychic representation of the human subject. For the very nature of humanity becomes estranged in the colonial condition”.
Wortham (1981:109) writes that having analyzed and interpreted the outward appearances of the colonized state, Fanon’s work moves to the next stage, which is the effect that the coloniser’s measures have on the colonised’s psychological well being. Vegenas goes further to say that “this is because blackness--the skin colour of the oppressed-comes to be associated with something wicked and animal-like. Consequently, the black man perceives so much hatred and hardship – because of his skin colour – that he begins to hate his blackness” (Vagenas, 1986:276). Fanon (1965:78) writes that just as the working class becomes alienated in Marx’s revolutionary theory, so the black man becomes alienated from himself. “The challenge with which he is now faced is how to escape from this psychological tension. And when he sees no way out for him, he becomes a despondent person. For every solution he sees, he discovers his blackness to be a stumbling block. He desires white things and white institutions” (Wortham 1981:109). Kotze (1975:92) is of the opinion that is practically impossible-which only further increases frustration, bitterness and despair. “This psychological pain which is inflicted on the colonized, causes-what Fanon describes as “a state of permanent tension within the native” (Kotze, 1975: 92, Vagenas, 1986:276).

“When the native is confronted with the colonial order of things, he finds he is in a state of permanent tension. The settler’s world is a hostile world, which spurns the native, but at the same time it is a world of which he is envious not of becoming the settler, but of substituting himself as the settler” (Fanon 1965:42).
Vagenas (1986:73) concurs with the above views that since blacks are in a permanent state of tension, they become psychologically affected. Furthermore, he argues that this is expressed in such maladies as depression, feelings of inferiority and dreams in which they want to become like white people. “They begin to believe that they are less human. The question which now arises is how to put an end to the situation. But before a solution can be offered, Fanon first analyses the coloniser’s mechanism for perpetuating the colonised’s oppression” (Wortham 1981:109, Vagenas, 1986: 73).

According to Fanon (1965:78), firstly the colonizers use a particular ideological tool to maintain their control over the country and its masses. “In the Fanonesque analysis racism is not a psychological aberration, but – just like Marx’s views on religion – racism is an instrument used to keep the masses oppressed” (Vagenas, 1986:73). “But what are the features of this tool? It takes various forms: denigration of the African’s values and tradition, attacking his way of life, and basically destroying his frame of reference” (Fanon, 1965:78).

“Consequently the colonized become easily influenced, easily influenced, easily swayed. This results in the creation of a new value system: that is one of the superior – inferior mentality. The colonizer is always superior, better educated, more cultured and always “right”, whereas the colonized are made to feel inferior, thus falling into the “racist trap”. It now becomes easier for the colonizers to maintain their privileged position, forcing the indigenous population into a “permanent state of subjugation” but this state of tension has another goal as well. And that is the further weakening of the masses’ revolutionary potential by causing the colonized to direct their frustration and aggression towards their own kind”(Fanon 1965:42-3).
Gerhart (1978:174) concurs “that the colonized will first manifest this aggressiveness which has been deposited in his bones against his own people”. The native’s muscular tension finds outlet regularly in bloodthirsty explosion – in tribal warfare, in feuds between sects and in quarrels between individuals (Vagenas, 1986:47). He writes that, individuality is seen by the spiritual separatist as a white men’s idea used to weaken black solidarity. “While the symbol black is used to reduce or eliminate differences in individual achievements among Africans, so called coloureds and Indians, it is also used to distort the meaning of pride which is derived from achievements” (Vagenas, 1986:47). Reflecting upon this context, Mark Gevisser (2007: 319) points out that “this was a direct response to a fundamental precept of BC, that it was a philosophical rather than simply a political position, an attitude of the mind, as SASO the policy Manifesto put it, this organization will liberate black people first from psychological oppression by themselves through an inferiority complex and secondly from physical oppression accruing out of living in a white a racist society”.

Black consciousness was interpreted in conjunction with Marxism in South Africa. One needs to acknowledge the role played by white communists during apartheid. Hamilton (1968:78) writes that, the South African Communist Party (SACP) was established by whites, who counted blacks as well as whites under the same oppressed class. According to Hamilton (1968:78), however, “if Africans were to adopt Marxism, it would mean that they would continually be corrected, just as white missionaries had done before” (see also Vagenas, 1986). Precisely because this study examines political apathy of blacks amongst students at NMMU, the writer will not dwell much on the role played by the SACP and Progressive Party in fighting apartheid. A greater emphasis is put on black consciousness and the historical development of youth political organizations in South Africa.
Black Consciousness motivated the youth of 1976 to engage in mass action. Deegan (2005:53) writes that, thirty years before, on June 16 1976, thousands of Soweto high school learners took to the streets in disobedience over the government’s intention to impose Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. Everatt (2000:16) supports this position by asserting that “the uprisings that convulsed South Africa from 1976 until the onset of negotiations in the 1990s were led by young people, who came out in ever greater numbers to take on the security forces and to try to make South Africa ungovernable”. Kotze and Lourens (cited in Donaldson, 1993:157) write that, “although the 1976 revolt was brutally repressed, various measures were undertaken to minimize the threat that disenfranchised blacks were perceived as holding for the state. With the major Black Consciousness organization banned, scores of blacks were killed and detained and many more forced into exile, the government complemented its repressive policies with a strategy of co-operation” (Swilling, as quoted in Donaldson, 1993: 157).

After 1976, many young people left the country to go into exile; they wanted to take South Africa by means of armed struggle. All those young people who were in exile received military training, in preparation for such a struggle. Some of them died in exile, young people in post-apartheid South Africa need to honour these heroes by participating in politics. If young people in this day and age do not participate in politics it would mean that they do not acknowledge the contribution and sacrifices made by the youth of 1976. Young people in post-apartheid South Africa need to remember that the democracy they enjoy did not come cheap, a price was paid for it and people laid down their lives for freedom.65

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According to the Weekend Post (2006:10), “former Robben Island prisoner and Municipal councilor, Mike Xego said that the Soweto uprising had prompted a simmering in Port Elizabeth that culminated in a student march on 18 August 1976 started by a group of pupils.\footnote{Dolby (2001:23) asserts that the advent of Afrikaans language policy in 1976 led to small, limited school boycotts that eventually grew into the historical event known as the Soweto uprisings. “With hundreds of children dead following the protests of June 1976, schools became a key site for political organizing and resistance” (Dolby, 2001:23). According to the African National Congress (2008:5), “the South African Students Movement (SASM), one of the first organizations of black high school students, played an important role in the 1976 uprising. There were also small groups of student activists who were linked to ANC members and the ANC underground. ANC underground structures issued pamphlets calling on the community to support the students and linking the student struggle to the struggle for national liberation. Thousands of youth flooded the ranks of MK after the 1976 uprising. The violence used by the security forces to quell the uprising made the youth determined to come back and fight. The 1976 uprising also led the regime to change its strategy. For the first time reforms were introduced. These aimed to win some support from the black community without substantial changes”.
} By the end of the 1980’s young black male, urban youth at least had come to symbolize the massive social movement that was derailing apartheid” (cited in Weekend Post, 2006: 10). Deegan (2005:69) states that President de Klerk took office in September 1989 and immediately declared that he would seek a political solution to the demands of black opponents rather than a military one.

Deegan (2005: 71) writes that, on 2 February 1990, de Klerk made a speech to parliament that was to dramatically change South Africa’s political landscape. He declared the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Pan African Congress (PAC) and a number of subsidiary organizations (Deegan, 2005:71). A prominent leader of the ANC, Dr. Nelson Mandela, who served twenty seven years in Robben Island, was released in the same month; his release changed the entire political landscape in South Africa in the early 1990’s. Young people who were in exile came back to South Africa after the release of Nelson Mandela. Some of those young people did not have any formal education. Nelson Mandela called for these young people to go back to school (Deegan, 2005).
Only a few of them responded to the call made by Nelson Mandela, for a number of reasons. Some were too old to go back to school to finish their studies. Some of them had other commitments such a families etc; some did not have enough money to register at institutions of higher learning in South Africa. Some of the young people who could not study further, who are, as a result, uneducated are still unemployed due their level of skill. Another controversial issue was the decision taken by leadership of the ANC to suspend the armed struggle. This decision was taken without consulting other component structures of the ANC such as the military wing Umkonto Wesizwe (spear of the nation) and ANCYL. This made some of the members of the ANC angry; they felt that they were undermined by the leadership of the ANC. This matter is also touched upon by Chazan et al (1999: 481) when he states that the ANC encountered tough opposition from militants within the party such as Winnie Mandela, Harry Gwala, and Peter Mokaba, then head of the ANCYL.

Chazan et al (1999: 481) goes further to say that they lambasted the top leadership of the ANC, especially those who represented the ANC at multi-party negotiations (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) individuals such as Nelson Mandela and Cyril Ramaphosa, for selling out the goal of fundamental revolutionary change. He concludes that three years of violence and dashed expectation had poisoned many youths in the ANC. Peter Mokaba warned that the leadership had failed to gain the support of the youth, who could destroy any political settlement (Chazen et al, 1999: 481). One should not forget the role played by the Congress of South Africa Students (COSAS) in fighting apartheid. Knowles (2001:41) makes an interesting point that, “it can be argued that post-1976, in other words subsequent to the Soweto riots, parents became wary in the wake of the increased militancy displayed by the youth”.
Parents became much more aware of the mortal consequences of the students and youth challenging the state (Knowles, 2001:41). However, it became apparent that should students and youth political structures be successful, then the support of the older generation was required (Knowles, 2001:41). Donaldson (1993:166) states that COSAS was established in 1979 by radical young people in black townships. He goes on to say that “COSAS stood in conscious opposition to those organizations inspired by black consciousness ideology and a concomitant identification with the ANC’s Freedom Charter by many of the emerging political organizations”.

Knowles (2001: 42) observed that, “COSAS developed a well-organized structure with branches in nearly fifty centers. The non-racial direction that COSAS took represented a mutation from the activists who led the youth movement prior and subsequent to 1976. Whereas the student movement prior to the launch of COSAS was largely a black consciousness movement, the move was now to move toward establishing a non-racial student movement. Moreover, he concludes that this led to COSAS expanding its political operations into the near coloured and Indian townships. Donaldson (1993:200) writes that, “at the beginning of 1984 a series of school boycotts began in response to a number of educational grievances”. He points out that “the main issue at stake was the marking of the 1983 matriculation examination which was allegedly incompetent and corrupt”.

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67 Dolby (2001:25) follows the same line of thinking when she argues that in the early 1980s, the apartheid regime was collapsing on multiple fronts, including education. She goes on to say that “mass democratic movements, such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) had irretrievably altered the political climate”. She concludes by saying that Bantu Education policy, as a system designed to control the views of black people, and school them for subservience, had failed. Instead the black youth made South Africa ungovernable and regime change was immanent (Dolby, 2001:25).

68 According to the African National Congress (2008:5), “one of the biggest organizations formed at the time was the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) with branches in towns and cities throughout South Africa. In many cases civic organizations developed out of parents and students committees which had been formed to support school boycotts in black townships”.
The matriculation results were extremely poor and the situation was escalated by the refusal of the authorities to readmit average pupils or, in the case of particularly overcrowded schools, children who had failed the examination (Donaldson 1993: 201). Furthermore, he goes on to say that under the leadership of the COSAS, a clear set of demands was promoted, the institution of democratically elected Student Representative Councils (SRC), an end to corporal punishment, sexual harassment of pupils by the teachers and the age limit rule, free books and stationary and a ban on the use of unqualified teachers (Donaldson, 1993: 201). In addition, he concludes that these dissatisfactions would finally merge with wider political grievances, resulting in the youth being at the forefront of the political struggle against the state.

3.5 The Relevance of the Marxist Approach

In this section the writer will link two ideological pillars which are black consciousness and Marxism. A great emphasis will be put on Marxism, precisely because the writer has already discussed black consciousness in this chapter. Black consciousness can never be understood alone, it has to be located within the context of Marxism. Black consciousness on one hand focuses on the psychological aspect, whilst Marxism on the other had concentrates on the economic aspect. These two ideologies inspired the generation of young people in the 1970’s. The writer will also examine the relevance of Marxism in the post- apartheid South Africa. Marxism is a political program for the working class. It is a tool of analysis that guides the communist party internationally. Marxism can also be regarded as a political ideology.
Baradat (2002:1) outlines five definitions for the term of ideology:

1. The concept ideology can be employed in many situations, but unless otherwise specified, it is appropriate to give it a political meaning.

2. All ideologies provide an interpretation and analysis of the present and a view of a desired future. The expected future is usually portrayed as materially better than the present, and it is thought to be achievable within a single generation.

3. Each ideology includes a list of specific steps that can be taken to accomplish its objectives.

4. Ideologies are oriented toward the people.

5. Ideologies are simply stated and presented in a motivational way. (Baradat, 2002:1)

Heywood (2002:42) points out that the concept of ideology was developed in 1796 by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836). "He used it to refer to a new science of ideas (literally an idea – ology) that set out to uncover the origins of conscious thought and ideas" (Heywood 2002:42). Furthermore, Jackson and Jackson understand an ideology as a set of political ideas and beliefs which makes unambiguous what is valued and what is not, what must be maintained and what must be changed, and what shapes the attitudes of those who share it. "In other words, political ideologies are belief systems that aim to cure the ills of societies" (Jackson & Jackson, 1997: 151). However, one should take note that there is no consensus around the definition of ideology. It can be interpreted in different ways. Nonetheless, for the purpose of this study, the concept ideology should be understood as a set of political, economic, cultural and social ideas. Political ideology shapes the way people think and how they perceive things around them, politics, the economy, poverty, unemployment and so on. This is relevant to a study of political apathy amongst students at NMMU.
According to Wikipedia (2006:7) Marxism is the revolutionary theory and political practice based on the works of Karl Marx, a 19th century economist, political scientist, journalist, philosopher and revolutionary.69 Baradat (2002:177) argues that the most important assumption in Marxism theory is economic determination. “On this premise Marx built the rest of his theory. Economic determinism suggests that the primary human motivation is economic” (Baradat, 2002, 177). “It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, Marx argued, but their social existence that determines their consciousness, that is what we do politically is determined by our economic circumstance” (Marx cited by Baradat, 2002:177).

Karl Marx meant that human behavior is informed by the economic situation. He also meant that political decisions are influenced by the economic environment. This means that politicians get elected to serve the interest of the ruling class. According to Professor Andrew Heywood, “Marxism has constituted the principal alternative to the liberal rationalism that has dominated Western culture and intellectual enquiry in the modern period. It’s a political force, in the form of the international communist movement; Marxism has also been seen as the major enemy of western capitalism at least in the period 1917-91” (Heywood, 2002:52-53). Burns (1976:3) states that “Marxism is a general theory of the world in which we live, and of human society as a part of that world”. “It takes its name from Karl Marx (1818-1883) who together with Friedrich Engels (1870-1895), worked out the theory during the middle and latter part of last century” (Wikipedia,2006:7).

69 Professor George Ritzer (2008: 65) is of the opinion that Marx was able to lambaste capitalism on the premise of its future because of his belief that history would take a predictable course. He goes further to say that “the basis of all of Marx’s work on social structure, and the place in which that work is most clearly tied to his views on human potential, is his analysis of commodities, or products of labor intended primarily for exchange”.
Karl Marx and Engels published the Communist Manifesto in 1848. This document outlines strategies and tactics for the working class and how the proletariat should overthrow the ruling class. Both of them were tasked by the workers to develop a comprehensive document for the working class of Britain. Burns (1976:3) argues that Marx applied this general notion to the society in which he lived (mainly Capitalist Britain) and it was in this context that he worked out the economic theory of capitalism by which his most widely known. “But he always insisted that his economic theories could not be separated from his historical and social theories. Profits and wages can be studied up to a certain point as purely economic problems, but the students who set out to study real life and not abstractions soon realize that profits and wages can only be understood when employers are brought into the picture and this in turn leads on to a study of the historical stages in which they (the students) live” (Burns, 1976:3).

Heywood (2002:53) writes that “the cornerstone of Marxist philosophy is what Engels called the materialist conception of history”. Heywood states “that this highlighted the importance of economic life and the conditions under which people produce and reproduce their means of existence”. He goes further to say that “Marx held that the economic base, consisting essentially of the mode of production or economic system, conditions or determines the ideological and political superstructure”. This means that social, political and historical development can be explained in terms of economic and class factors (Heywood, 2002:53). Reflecting upon this context, Peter Cunningham argues that “Karl Marx viewed industrial relations as part of the totality of social relations which are determined by the relations of production.”

Historical materialism examines the historical trajectory of capitalism and the relationship between the working class and the ruling class. According to Marx and Engels (1848:1-2):

“The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-masters and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves: in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradation.” (Marx and Engels, 1848:1-2)

Heywood (2002:420) argues that “bourgeoisie is a Marxist term, denoting the ruling class of a capitalist society, the owners of productive wealth”. In a nutshell, bourgeoisie refers to the ideas of the ruling class. These ideas dominate all aspects of life. On the other hand, the concept working class refers to those who do not own the means of production. According to Marxism these are there two contending classes in society.\footnote{Cunningham (1979:37) explains that “the source of conflict lies in the divergent interests that exist between the classes under capitalism. Marx identified two major classes whose interests are in conflict. Membership to a class is determined by an individual’s position towards the means of production”.}
Marx and Engels developed the Communist Manifesto owing to their love for humanity. In their view capitalism is evil, anti-poor, and barbaric. It only benefits the ruling class at the expense of the working class. For this reason young people should be involved in politics and fight against capitalism.

Jackson & Jackson (1997:161) point out four basic elements to Marxist ideology.

1. “Capitalism is unjust and doomed.
2. Capitalism has internal contradictions which create economic depression.
3. Capitalism should be abolished and replaced with the collective ownership of the means of production; and
4. The Communist party, the instrument of the working class, will provide the means to carry out the overthrow of capitalism, which will lead to the new society and the withering away of the state.” (Jackson & Jackson, 1997:161)

The bourgeoisie class also controls the media in society. Media institutions are funded by big multi-national companies. In this way the media’s influence reflects the ideas of one class (the ruling class). This has a negative effect on young people; it makes them selfish and less engaged in politics because of individualism. In a capitalist society people are concerned about working for the bourgeoisie class for survival. On the other hand, capitalists are maximizing profit by using the working class.  

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72 For more discourse on this matter Marxist political economist Chris Harman (1997:24) asserts that “in everyday language people often say that workers are paid for their labour. But Marx pointed out that the phrase “their labour” means two different things. It means the labour they do, but it also means their capacity to work, which Marx regarded as labour power. The two things are very different. People’s capacity to work depends on them getting enough food, shelter, clothing and rest time to enable to arrive at work each day fresh enough to put in the required effort and pay sufficient attention to the tasks facing them. They will be physically incapable of work unless they get paid enough to buy these things. Capitalists try to raise the level of exploitation in order to counter the fall in the rate of profit”.
According to Engels and Marx (1848:43), “the less the skill and exertion of strength implied in manual labour, in other words, the more modern industry becomes developed, the more the labour of men is superseded by that of women. Differences of age and sex no longer have any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labour, more or less expensive to use according to their age and sex. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population” (Engels and Marx, 1848:43-44). In this context Marx and Engels are pointing out how brutal capitalism is, in that it has no respect for gender and age. Its main focus is exploitation of the working class.

Burns (1976:4) argues that “the history of mankind is often presented in the form of a record of wars between nations and the exploits of individual monarchs, generals or statesmen. Sometimes the motives of these individuals are described in a purely personal way – their ambition led them to conquer territory or their moral or immoral outlook caused them to adopt certain policies. Sometimes they are described as acting for the sake of the country’s honour or prestige or from some motive of religion. Marxism is not satisfied with such an approach to history. In the first place it considers that the real science of history must deal with the peoples” (Burns, 1976:4). Religion has been used by capitalists to advance the agenda of capitalism through the church. However, this does not mean that there is something wrong with the word of God (Bible) or Christianity. The problem is the way in which people interpret the Bible. For instance, in South Africa, some preachers are telling their members, including young people, not to be involved in politics. The motive behind this is to maintain the status quo of capitalism. Many churches in South Africa are influenced by the ideology of capitalism.

73 According to Chris Harman (1997:22), “the idea that labour is the source of all values, including that which goes to the capitalist as profit, interest and rent became increasingly embarrassing to apologists for capitalism after the time of Adam Smith. It implied that the capitalists were just as parasitic as the feudalists they replaced”.
These churches are teaching young people to become rich quickly with no social responsibility. This simply means that churches are operating in a framework of capitalism. “So Marxism approaches the study of history in order to trace the natural laws which run through all human history and for this purpose it looks not at individuals but at people and when it looks at peoples (after the stage of primitive society) it finds that there are different sections of people, some pulling one way and some another, not as individuals but as classes” (Burn, 1997:5).

According to Engels and Marx (1848:45), “….every class struggle is a political struggle”. This means that the working class should be class conscious. Mill, as quoted by Donaldson (1993:12) points out that “class consciousness is understood as a political consciousness of one’s own rational class interests and their opposition to the interests of other classes. It is thus a rational awareness and identification with one’s own class interests, an awareness of and rejection of other class interests as illegitimate and an awareness of and readiness to use collective political means to realize common goals” (Mills, cited in Donaldson, 1993:12, See also Cunningham, 1979:40).

The working class should be politically aware concerning their own problems. In this way the working class will be able to fight against the system of capitalism. “Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trade Unions) against the bourgeoisie, they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages, they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots” (Engels and Marx, 1848:45). Donaldson (1993:14) argues that in “analyzing the collective readiness of a class to act, Marx attached great importance to the durability of communications within the class, to the visible presence of a class enemy”.
According to Marx and Engels (1848:40), “the bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralized means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralization. Independent, or loosely connected, provinces with separated interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class interest, one frontier and one customs-tariff. The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature’s forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground – what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour”.

Control of the state machinery by the bourgeoisie is not a new phenomenon in society. Burns (1976:7) points out that the king and the old landed nobility also controlled state machinery, built prisons, and determined public policies. According to Marxism a state is a bourgeoisie instrument, because it serves the interest of the ruling class. Moreover, radical Marxists have argued that the state should be abandoned in society, because it benefits the ruling class. These radical Marxists are called Trotskyists. Mandel (1995:1) argues that “Marxist economists point out that the state is above all, a permanent institution, this refers to the army (general staff, special troops, the police, special police, secret police) the top administrators of government departments key civil servants; the national security bodies, the judges, etc)".
Heywood (2002:91) argues that the state “cannot be understood separately from the economic structure of society. This view has usually been understood in terms of the classic formulation that the state is nothing but an instrument of class oppression” (Heywood, 2002:90). For this reason Marxists advocate change in society. Vincent (1994:169) makes an interesting point when he argues that the state is a fundamental arena of struggle and possesses relative independence from the economic base. “It is also not just a set of institutions but rather a dominant intellectual ethos an idea which harks back to Hegel (Vincent, 1994:169).

The aims of Marxism as outlined in the communist manifesto:

1. “Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State: the bringing into cultivation of wastelands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture (Marx and Engels, 1848:59).
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of population over the country.

10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children’s factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc” (Marx and Engels, 1848:59).

Central to these objectives is the question of education, (as pointed out above there will be free education in a socialist state). Education is key towards any development. It is an instrument that can transform society. It is also a way of empowering people, particularly the youth. Haralambos & Holborn (1991:228) write that, in its broadest sense, education is simply one aspect of the socialization of young people. Moreover, they make a controversial point that “education helps to shape beliefs and moral values”. In agreement with Haralambos & Holborn education is not neutral in society; it reflects the interest or ideas of a specific class. In a South African context, the education system of South Africa reflects the ideas of a capitalist class. Young people are made to believe that good ideas only come from capitalism or liberalism. This argument is fallacious and misleading. The heavy emphasis on capitalist values such as individualism, promotes crises within the education system in South Africa. This can also be linked to HIV and Aids. Firstly, violence has escalated amongst learners in high schools in South Africa. It is clear that young people have moved away from the values of ubuntu, which means that a person is a person because of other persons. This concept can be linked to black consciousness, Pan Africanism and Marxism. This is what young people are not taught in their schools. They are only taught about capitalist values such as individualism, selfishness and maximization of profit with no love for humanity.
In 2007, the South African media reported many incidents where young people at high schools had stabbed each other. Secondly, looking at the HIV and AIDS crises, young people are after material things, in particular women. As a result of this they are willing to sleep with whomever, as long as they get money from a man. The root cause here is capitalism. Young people should take up these matters with government. Coming back to the issue of education in a capitalist society, institutions of higher learning in South Africa are producing academic intellectuals who are one-sided in their thinking.

Some of these academic intellectuals have the highest qualifications such as Masters and Doctorate degrees but are only exposed to liberal theories which are interlinked with capitalism. Some of them are textbook graduates, cannot think critically and give practical solutions to societal problems. Durkheim (cited in Haralambos & Holborn 1991:231) argues that “…education teaches individuals specific skills necessary for their future occupation”. On the other hand, Haralambos & Holborn (1991:231) states that the Durkheimian point of view has been lambasted by modern comprehensive schools. They claim that “contemporary schools place far too much stress on developing the individual, and not enough on the duties and responsibilities that the individual should have towards society” (Haralambos & Holborn 1991:231).

74 According to the Alternative Information Development Center (2007:6), “women’s oppression based on patriarchy is an integral part of capitalist oppression. Neo-liberalism makes use of the sexual division of the working class to drive down the costs of labour and restore profitability. Increasingly the unpaid labour of women at home and in the community is exploited to transfer costs from the state and capital in providing basic social services. Domestic and sexual violence are directly and indirectly related to the increased vulnerability of the working classes under neo-liberal capitalism as joblessness, falling income and pauperization are internalized within the nuclear family. Furthermore, the feminization of organization is about engendering all analysis, demands, and methods of struggle. Women are a central component of a revolutionary struggle for socialism. There can be no socialism without the liberation of women. Women share oppression with each other, however what they share as sexual oppression is differentiated along racial and class lines. Patriarchy has qualitatively very different meanings in different class situations or whether they are white or black. Women constitute the majority of the unemployed and of those who find themselves in insecure casual or temporary employment as transnational companies seek to maximize their profit”.

Furthermore, “many schools fail to produce a sense of dignity for the working-class. If pupils fail to achieve individual success in competitive exams they will tend to rebel and fail to develop a sense of belonging within the school” (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991:231). This is still the case in South Africa; a great emphasis is put upon individualism instead of collectivism.

Haralambos & Holborn (1991:48) argue that “....working-class pupils should be actively involved in shaping their own education”. Young people should refuse to be taught by a capitalist education system. According to Marx and Engels (1848:46), “the bourgeoisie supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education, in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie. The communists have not invented the intervention of society in education, they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention and rescue education from the influence of the ruling class” (Marx & Engels, 1848:55). Furthermore, Marx & Engels (1848:55), “makes an interesting point that the bourgeoisie class-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed, co-relation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labour”. This shows how brutal capitalism is by using people as mere instruments of labour only to make profit75.

75 Cunningham (1979:38) follows the same line of thinking when he argues that the fundamental interest of the owners and controllers of the means of production in a bourgeois system is seen as accumulation of profit at the expense of the exploitation of the proletariat. Eldridge as quoted by Cunningham (1979:38) is of the opinion that “in a capitalist economy, therefore, industrial conflict has to be understood in relation to a concept of exploitation”. Furthermore, Cunningham advances the argument that “it is the exploitation of the working class that builds conflict into the social relations in the means of production”. “In the owner’s pursuit of profit, labour is bought and sold as a commodity; it is thereby forced to sacrifice its interest to the coercive power of the means of production.” (Cunningham, 1979:38).
Another important aspect of education is the role of the intellectual in society. A prominent scholar and revolutionary Antonio Gramsci critiqued the role of intellectuals in society of his time. This matter is also touched upon by David Forgacs (1988:300) when he states that Gramsci’s philosophical interest in intellectualism can be seen as developing out of his early writings on education. Before dwelling much on the role of young intellectuals in society, one needs to define what is meant by intellectualism. Forgacs (1988:301) understands “intellectuals as an autonomous and independent social group”. He argues that “every social group, coming into existence on the original terrain of an essential function in the world of economic production, creates together with itself, organically, one or more strata of intellectuals which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields”.

Professor Nkomo (cited in City Press, 2003:13) points out that “anyone who has acquired advanced education can be called a member of the intelligentsia. By intelligentsia one refers to a pool of intellectuals. In simple terms an intellectual is an independent thinker”. Nkomo (cited in City Press, 2003:13) argues that “intelligentsia refers to a whole corps of technical and professional people”. Furthermore, he argues that the intelligentsia fulfills important productive functions in society.76 “They run schools, attend to our health, build our roads and bridges, make laws and construct regulatory systems of knowledge production in science, arts, culture. They tend to have a critical bent, inquiring minds and are creative and innovative” (Nkomo, cited in City Press, 2003:13).

76 Richard Posner (2001:22) concurs with Professor Nkomo when he argues that an intellectual is a “thinker with a public voice”. He goes further to say the intellectual applies general ideas to matters of public interest, theorizing about public policies, poverty, unemployment, etc. Posner concludes “that an intellectual should be understood as someone seriously and competently interested in the things of the mind”.
One needs to put this definition into context, intellectuals are not only people who have Masters or Doctoral degrees from University. Any one who has a interest in making a positive contribution to society is an intellectual. Forgacs (1988:309) argues that “…every one has the potential of being an intellectual.” Desai (1994:16) asserts that “contemporary traditional intellectuals and their intellectual tradition have their origins in the Enlightenment, when a new stratum of secular intellectuals emerged in the context of the disintegrative social processes generated by the earliest developments of capitalism”.

In broadening up this debate, there are different types of intellectuals such as academic, organic and public intellectuals. All these intellectuals are important in society. Firstly, Nkomo (cited in City Press, 2003:13) argues that “…there are academic intellectuals whose culture, mode of operation and expression are steeped in their disciplines. Academic intellectuals are those who are expressing themselves through disciplinary publications as well as speaking forcefully in the public arena about matters of national concern or otherwise. These represent a tiny fraction of the already small intellectual community” (Nkomo, cited in City Press, 2003:13).

Secondly, there are organic intellectuals who have a direct link with the masses or working class. These intellectuals can be found in socialist parties. Desai (1994:16) states that “…organic intellectuals are defined by their origins in and links to political and economic organization of the classes. These intellectuals are agents, emblem and measure of the self-organization”. Forgacs (1988:309) supports this position by asserting that “the political party for some social groups is nothing other than their specific way of elaborating their own category of organic intellectuals directly in the political and philosophical field rather than in the field of productive techniques”.

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77 Radhika Desai (1994:20) quotes from Antonio Gramsci that “all men are intellectuals… but not all men have in society the same function of intellectuals”. He goes further to say true intellectuals are characterized by their social engagement.
Thirdly, there are public intellectuals who are those who can engage in a public discourse through the media (radio, newspapers and television). Nkomo (cited in City Press, 2003:13) concludes that “South Africa has a small fraction of what can be genuinely described as intellectuals, especially among blacks. South Africa has a long way to go to reach a critical mass of intellectuals so that they, as in mature democratic states can occupy a broader space and discharge their varied functions within their vocation”. South Africa’s democracy does not create a space for young intellectuals to engage the government”. For instance, in 2006 the head of news (Dr Sinuki Zikalala) at the South African Broadcasting Co-operation (SABC) instructed John Pearlman, former SA FM talk show host of Morning Live, not to invite political analysts on radio who have different views from those of government.78

This shows the intolerance of government. Gavin Bradshaw (2007) supports this line of reasoning when he states that “…this is another disturbing development, threatening the freedom of information in the country, which is guaranteed by the constitution”. The SABC is not objective in reporting, and is biased towards the government (see also Mangcu, 2008:44). Sometimes an impression is created that only the ANC fought against apartheid. Other liberation movements to the left of the political spectrum are not acknowledged as freedom fighters. Moreover, in 2007, the Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA) component structure of the PAC proposed a name change for the University of Fort Hare. PASMA motivated its reasons for the name change of University of Fort Hare. The primary reason was that the University of Fort Hare should honour Professor Robert Sobukwe, founder of the PAC. Robert Sobukwe advocated the philosophy of Pan Africanism in South Africa under the umbrella of the PAC.

78 For an in-depth analysis on this matter, see Xolela Mangcu (2008:44-45)
Furthermore, the nationalist government during apartheid feared him to such an extent that they made a law specifically for Professor Robert Sobukwe called the “Sobukwe clauses”. So, obviously, there was a proper rationale behind the idea of the PASMA. Nonetheless, the University of Fort Hare under the leadership of former Vice-Chancellor Prof Derek Swartz rejected the idea vehemently. In an interview with Xolani Gwala on SA FM Current Affairs, Prof Derek Swartz offered an unconvincing argument that Fort Hare is an international university therefore it can not change its name, because it will be unpopular for that reason.

To be frank, this is a poor argument, because the same argument can be used against Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, formerly known as the University of Port Elizabeth (UPE) which was an international University. It was better equipped than University of Fort Hare in terms of facilities because it was a historically white university, however, UPE managed to transform and change its name to Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. The government is applying double standards, when proposals are made by ANC or Tripartite Alliance youth structures, the government listens. For instance, recently the ANC Youth League made a proposal to government that alcohol should not be sold on Sundays, this proposal was welcomed by the government and deliberations are still continuing concerning the proposal. This shows that government only listens to ANC or Alliance structures; this is bad practice for democracy. According to Pheko (cited in the Sunday Times, 2006:8) one of the great indicators of democracy in a society is the vision of its radicals and the accessibility of its eccentrics.
“Equally critical is the tolerance and understanding that our society should show to its dissenters. Dissent and disagreement with ruling parties is necessary for the consolidation of democracy. Dissent presupposes that there are necessary oppositions to power that need to be freely expressed, even if they are perceived as being that of a minority opinion. They are the essence of human freedom. Dissent is critical to our democracy and the Bill of Rights enshrines this right by granting freedom of expression. The Young Communist League (YCL) and ruling party alliance are fast dissolving under a feeble and weak-minded triumphalism and misguided attempts at controlling the narrative on democracy and the sacred right of freedom of expression and association” (Pheko, cited in Sunday Times, 2008:8).

The government needs to create a space for everyone to participate in democracy by allowing people to make policy proposals and suggest name changes—not only in favour of the names of ANC leaders. According to Pheko (cited in the Sunday Times, 2008:8), “South Africa needs intelligent, vigorous, passionate and public debate without fear of political intimidation and vigilantism”. Another important factor is that, people generally should stop associating democracy with capitalism; this aspect will be discussed in detail in chapter four of the study. Liberal democracy does not create a space for poor people to participate in the economy. Hence, socialism is relevant in South Africa. There is a fallacious argument, normally brought to the fore by liberal political parties and academics that socialism has failed in Africa. Socialism has never failed in the world; people have failed socialism by moving away from socialist values. Even those who claim to be socialist never adhered to revolutionary principles. Harman (1986:1) follows the same line of reasoning when he states reasons for the failure of socialism in Developing Countries. Firstly, he argues that “socialist political parties who ruled developing countries were, in essence, the same as that of those who ruled Russia”.
According to Harman (1986:3), these were political structures which ran society in a top-down approach, allegedly in the interests of the (hierarchical way) workers and peasants, but without any references to their wishes. Secondly, Harman (1986:3) is of the opinion that these political organizations were likewise organized without the basic mechanism of internal democracy, namely open discussion and freedom amongst the ranks to criticize the leaders contested elections for leadership bodies and so on. For it was assumed that there was omniscient elite of revolutionaries who could dictate to the rank and file parties the strategy and tactics needed for victory (Harman 1986:3).

These centralized revolutionary organizations were often equated with Stalinism and were rejected because of this (Harman, 1986:3). The ANC was also perceived to be a Stalinist organization under the leadership of former President Thabo Mbeki. Thabo Mbeki in some instances employed Stalinist tactics in the ANC by purging his political enemies who had different views from him. Mark Gevisser in his book, entitled: The dream deferred: Thabo Mbeki, agrees with the view pointed out above when he states that “Thabo Mbeki was sent to the Lenin Institute in Moscow, in 1969, to be taught about Marxism” (2007:150). This was significantly during the era of Stalinism in Soviet Russia. This might be a reason for the ANC overwhelmingly voting for Jacob Zuma at the ANC Conference held in Limpompo, Polukwane. Harman (1986:3) suggests that “there is only one way the leadership of a revolutionary organization can know if its strategy and tactics are correct. If the membership can criticize them and demand change if they do not work in practice” (Harman, 1986:3).
Harman (1986:3) concludes that without freedom to discuss, even to disagree strongly, within the party, there could be no possibility of the party relating in a realistic way to the ups and down of the wider workers movement. The South African Communist Party (SACP) should also be equated with Stalinism. This is because simply, only a few members of the SACP are ideologically grounded in Marxism and those members happen to be in leadership positions. The SACP has failed to educate the majority of people in South Africa about Marxism. It has also followed the Mbeki approach, of dismissing people with different views from the organization.

For instance, in 2007 at the SACP Congress held at Port Elizabeth, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, and those cabinet ministers who were perceived to be loyal to Thabo Mbeki were purged by Dr Blade Nzimande’s faction. They were not elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the SACP. These are pure Stalinist tendencies. Harman (1986:4) argues that Stalinist political organizations act as substitutes for the working class. Harman (1986:4) outlines the characteristics of Stalinist organizations: the denial of internal criticism and debate, the culture of the leader and the denial of aspects of reality which contradict the communist party’s doctrines. Harman (1986:4) suggests that “there is an alternative to any variant of socialism from above; the alternative that insists that socialism can only be built on the basis of a real workers democracy”. He writes that attempts to follow any other direction can only result in the most horrific deformations of the ideal. He is of the opinion that a worker’s democracy is not at all to be equated with the electoral institutions of the capitalism system, which deny workers any control at all over the most fundamental things affecting their lives.
“A Workers democracy is not opposed to the idea of political parties, but presupposes debate and argument between the different parties that arise among workers in struggle. Those who believe in revolution, rather than reform, have to try to build a party of their own to engage in this argument” (Harman, 1986:4). Lane (1981:45) points out that Lenin argued that a specific form of movement is essential for a revolutionary party to secure the interest of the proletariats in any society.

Lane (1981:45) writes that, Lenin’s development of Marxism, specifically in What is to be done? laid in his emphasis on the importance of revolutionary organization. “Lenin adopts a Weberian type of attitude in stressing the importance of organizational structures and he welds this view point to a Marxian analysis of class”. Harman (1986:8) makes an interesting point that what is fundamental for the social democrat is that the party represents the class. Harman (1986:8) states that outside of the party the working class has no political consciousness. He goes further to say that the legislature is the most powerful lever that can be used to raise the proletariat out of its economic, social and moral degradation. He writes that the “use of this by the working class makes parliamentarism begin to change its character; it ceases to be a mere tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie”. However, Rosa Luxemburg, a prominent scholar and socialist, disagrees with Lenin and Kautsky on the important of a working class political organization. Harman (1986:9) points out that Rosa Luxemburg coined a theory of “Spontaneity” that ignores the need for a party.
According to Luxemburg (cited in Harman, 1986:9) the leading role of the party should not be too great and she identified this as the prudent position of a workers democracy. Harman (1986:10) makes an interesting point that Luxemburg, having made the analysis, makes no attempt to locate its application, except in epistemological generalities or to look for organizational remedies. “There is a strong fatalism in her hope that the unconscious will be able to correct the conscious. Despite her superb sensitivity to the peculiar tempo of development of the mass movement particularly in the mass strike, she shies away from trying to work out a clear conception of the sort of political organization that can harvest such spontaneous developments” (Herman, 1986:10).

Trotsky’s fear of a lack of political organization virginity led him to support that tendency in the inner-party struggle in Russia which was historically to prove itself most frightened by the spontaneity of mass action (Harman, 1986:10). Trotsky (cited in Lynch, 1995:86) “criticized the Stalinist approach to socialism”. He argued for “socialism in one country”. Stalinist theory can never succeed in spreading socialism in the world according to Leon Trotsky. According to Lynch (1995:87), he conceptualized his theory of permanent revolution in 1906. Lynch (1995:10) writes that the first use of the concept was by Marx himself, and it is easy to see why committed revolutionaries argued so fiercely over the place it held in Marxist theory. Lynch (1995:88) points out that Trotsky was anxious not simply to criticize Stalinists as individuals, but defines the errors of Stalinism in the context of the revolutionary process. However, “Stalin took the matter personally; he labeled all of those supporting Trotsky arguments as Trotskyist” (cited in Wikepedia, 2006:2).
“Stalin unleashed a political terror against all the people who disagreed with him in the party, he killed all of them” (Wikepedia, 2006:2). Trotskyism is based on the idea that there should be a world revolution in order for socialism to be successful in any country. This means that socialist countries should support each other. Harman (1986:11) points out that many of Lenin’s ideas are, ironically, taken up and given clear and coherent theoretical form by the Italian Antonio Gramsci. “The working class is instinctively social democratic. Lenin said more than once that the masses are to the left of the party, he knew the party was to the left of its own upper layer” (Harman, 1986:11).

Lenin (cited in Harman, 1986:12) believed that “we must draw the masses into the discussion of decision-making. Class conscious workers must take the matter into their own hands, organize the discussion and exert pressure on those at top (Harman, 1986:12). For Lenin, a revolutionary party is something very different from the mass organizations of the whole class. (Harman, 1986:12). According to Harman (1986:12) “it is always a vanguard membership which requires a dedication not be found in most workers, but this does not mean that Lenin ever wanted an organization only of professional revolutionaries”. Lane (1981:48) points out that the second recommendation of Lenin about party organization was concerned with the process of decision-making. According to Lenin (cited in Lane, 1981:48) “decisions should be taken and enforced according to the principle of democratic-centralism. Lenin stresses the need for centralized control of the party. The principle of broad democracy in party organization is nothing more than a useless and harmful toy. It is a useless toy because as a matter of fact, no revolutionary organization has ever practiced, or could practice, broad democracy” (Lane, 1981:48).
“It is harmful because any attempt to practice broad democratic principles will facilitate the work of the police in carrying out large-scale raids. It will perpetuate the prevailing amateurishness; divert the thoughts of the practical workers from the serious imperative tasks of training themselves to become professional revolutionaries and to that of drawing up detailed paper rules for an election system” (Lane, 1981: 48). Democratic centralism means that a decision taken by the highest decision-making body should be binding to subordinate structures. This means that all members must respect this decision and not contest it; they should toe the line of the party. A practical example is the 2007 ANC conference; the party delegates took a decision to incorporate the Scorpion’s into the South African Police Service (SAPS). The decision, according to democratic centralism cannot be contested by members because it is a collective decision. Democratic centralism is in line with the revolutionary party. Harman (1986:16) elaborates further on this matter when he states that “discipline means acceptance of the need to relate individual experience to the total theory and practice of the party. As such it is not opposed to, but is a necessary prerequisite for, the ability to make independent evaluation of concrete situations”.

“That is also why discipline for Lenin does not mean hiding differences that exist within the party, but rather exposing them to the full light of day so as to argue them out. Only in this way can the mass of members make scientific evaluation. The party again must be open to the opinions of those it considers inconsistent” (Harman, 1986:16). Furthermore, he goes on to say that what matters is that there is political clarity and hardness in the political party so as to ensure that all members are brought into this robust debate and understand the relevance of their own activity.
Party discipline does not mean that the leadership will take decisions for the entire membership of the party. Nor does it mean that there won't be any robust debates in the party. The concept of democratic centralism has been misinterpreted by many liberation movements. It has been used to sideline people who have different views in the party. In other Stalinist organizations people are suspended for having different views without being able to challenge a decision taken by the highest decision-making body. Democratic centralism should not be used against party members who have different views. It should be used only when the highest decision-making body has made a decision about a specific matter. Harman (1986:16) makes an interesting point that the class as a whole is constantly engaged in unconscious opposition to the capitalist system; the party is that section of it that is already conscious and unites the class to try to give it a conscious direction.

According to Harman (1986:16) “party discipline is not something imposed from the top downwards, but rather something that is voluntarily accepted by all those who participate in its decisions and who act to implement these”. He points out that political parties exist in order to disseminate a particular world view and the practical actions corresponding to it (1986:14). “They attempt to unite together into a collectivity all those who share a particular world view and to spread it. Man is never without some conception of the world. For his conception of the world always belongs to some grouping and precisely to that of all the social elements who share the same way of thinking and working (Harman, 1986:13). Socialism is still relevant in South Africa. However, few youth organizations subscribe to Marxism. South African Youth organizations need to advocate Marxism to that entire youth of this country.
Morality in South Africa is declining due to the influence of capitalism and American culture. South African youth has a neo-liberal outlook on life. Marxism is a solution to the problems of young people. Marxism should be advocated in conjunction with Pan-Africanism in South Africa. Thus far, there is only one youth political organization that has been able to do that in South Africa. PASMA, the PAC youth wing has been able to do that. “PASMA is guided by the philosophy of Pan-Africanism, which is total unification of the people of Africa at home and abroad under scientific socialism. Pan Africanism is guided and rooted in the philosophy of Marxism – Leninism (dialectical materialism: scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism). This is the total liberation of all humans through the working class revolution and establishment and construction of a class society” (Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania, 2005:1).

The South African youth is materialistic and has little interest in politics. According to Naidoo (cited in the Sunday Times, 2008:6), “South Africa is raising a nation of young, materialistic shopaholics who are finding comfort and acceptance in the latest brand names. The latest Brat Trax study by research group Youth Dynamix has shown that materialism is out of control among teenagers who believe that money buys them status. The study found that a significant number of young people between the age of 13 and 28 displayed developmental insecurities where the need for group acceptance was incredibly high. These young people prefer clothing labels such as a Levis, Billabong, Nike and Puma” (Naidoo, cited in Sunday Times 2008:6). Mngxitama (cited in City Press, 2007:26) points out that one of the unusual, but not surprising developments, of post-apartheid South Africa has been the rapid emergence of influential young people who perceive themselves as neither black nor white.
“There are a minority but certainly are a cultural majority. They are loud and proud. Their voices dominate young radio. Their faces adorn our TV’s and they are over-represented and promoted in glossy magazines. A discussion about this new generation of coconuts is made urgent by the recent love showered on Steve Biko by those who not so long ago called him an enemy agent and have worked tirelessly to eradicate his black consciousness movement. These coconuts can partly be accounted for by a strange alliance between business and the post-apartheid political scene and their need for an indifferent, unthinking generation to perpetuate our celebrated “rainbowism” based on reconciliation without justice. The idea of creating an assimilation elite to maintain things as they are is not a new one. The colonialists for instance undertook to create a “native elite” or what Frantz Fanon called the “mimic man”, who is black outside and white inside – to perpetuate colonialism even after formal independence” (Mngxitama, cited in City Press, 2007:26). Coconuts are black people who are trying to be like white people. These young coconuts imitate whatever the white man does; they are confused and are a lost generation. Most of them went to Model C schools and were taught European values.

Some of them speak English like white people with a British accent. They believe that speaking English like a white person makes you intelligent. They are misguided by capitalism and American culture; they see no relevance in African culture. These coconuts do not want to have anything to do with politics. Mngxitama (cited in City Press, 2007: 26) states that “our coconuts, stripped of their frivolous ways, are nothing but agents of whiteness”.

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79 Azwell Banda (2008:1) follows the same line of thinking when he argues that black people will never be like Europeans no matter how hard they try to speak English. Furthermore, black people particularly, the youth, should stop imitating Europeans and embrace their own culture.

80 A coconut is a black person who aspires to be a white person. According to Xolela Mangcu (2008:42), a coconut is a person who is black on the outside but really white on the inside. Steve Biko in his writings referred to coconuts as non-whites.
“What’s ironic is that black parents pay good money to turn their children into coconuts. Though this is understandable in a world where you need to be a coconut to succeed. Still, this is a bad investment that can only produce short-term gains and long-term losses because these children will in the end denounce their own parents as too black and backward. The coconuts may have a white soul, but they compensate by adorning themselves with material things that are superficially affirm their blackness. Most are BEE children but poor parents don’t want to be left out so their children are encouraged to speak English through the nose and deliberately neglect their own language. After all, where will Xhosa, Zulu or Setswana get you? An evening with some coconuts recently revealed that, among other things, they don’t want to be burdened by history. I was told: “We don’t care what Jan van Riebeeck did”. They declare that they were born free, as if freedom had been attained at no cost. Without an appreciation of how history defines the present, one invariably ends up blaming the poor for their predicament” (Mngxitama, City Press, 2007:26).

Professor Molefi Kete Asante (cited in City Press, 2004:16) echoes the above sentiments when he states that “everything Europe can do, Africa can do”. This means that black people can practice culture effectively without the influence of Europe. He goes further to say that “parents should never allow their children to forget the names of our heroes and heroines. Teach them the truth and rewrite the collective history of South Africa according to our own oral narrative, traditions and sense of values. This is the job of the intellectuals. The job of the politicians and business people is to provide the space, the opportunity, the vision, for this opportunity. The businesses must be brought in to fund the new South Africa “(Asante, cited in City Press, 2004:16).
3.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined the historical trajectory of youth political organizations in South Africa. Secondly, this chapter has presented an overview of the black consciousness movement and its leader Steve Biko. Steve Biko became the first president of the South African Student Organisation (SASO) after he left the National Union of South African Student (NUSAS). Thirdly, the writer does acknowledge the role played by white liberals and socialists in defeating apartheid. It is a myth to argue that all whites in South Africa supported apartheid. NUSAS and some Afrikaner youth movements committed themselves to fighting apartheid. Finally, Marxist theory was used as a body of knowledge to critique South Africa’s situation in relation to young people.

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81 Gavin Bradshaw (2007:124) asserts that “among the ranks of the black students, a new movement; known as Black Consciousness arose, attacking white domination and urging greater black assertiveness”. He goes on to quote Price, that “Steve Biko was the most important leader of this movement”.

82 Advocate George Bizos (1998:43) argues that “Biko’s ideas were expressed in practice. In 1968 he led a walkout from the white dominated National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) to form a black student body, the South African Student’s Organisation (SASO). “He was not racist, he often explains, but stressed the need for blacks to liberate themselves. Black man, you are on your own’ ran SASO’s slogan. Biko also established the Black People’s Convention, of which he became honorary president. Although his political activities were restricted, he became involved in community programs in the township where he lived. One of these was the Zenempilo clinic, situated a few miles out of King William’s Town, which provided medical services to the community. The clinic was run by the former Vice Chancellor of the University of Cape Town Dr. Mamphele Ramphele”. “Increasing militancy among school children finally broke out into open hostility in Soweto, in 1976, when students protesting against the use of Afrikaans in their schools drew an armed and violent response from the police. The Soweto riots, as they became known, spread around the country, leaving more than seven hundred dead and many injured over a period sixteen months” (Bradshaw, 2007:170). Furthermore, political scientist and conflict resolution expert Gavin Bradshaw (2007:125) states that “a group of students at Stellenbosch University were approached at the behest of the ANC, and this time had their passports withdrawn, by the state, when news of their planned meeting was splashed in the press”. He goes further to quote Van der Merwe that the state’s reaction against the students was instrumental in gaining them sympathy from the general white South African public, and that in the long run, this contributed towards a growing feeling in support of talks with the ANC”. He concludes that the publicity also led to a series of robust debates with black student leaders at home, concerning the future of South Africa.
CHAPTER 4

"Under capitalism, man exploits man under
Socialism it is just the opposite" (Fourie and Mohr, 2002:27).

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on three important issues. First and foremost, it examines the origins of the Reconstruction and Development Program. Secondly, it outlines developments around the ushering in of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution program. Thirdly, it discusses the expanded public works program, as a strategic intervention for job creation for young people. Finally, there is a closer examination of the accelerated shared growth initiative. The aim of this chapter is to look at how the macro-economic policy of government has created economic opportunities for young people.

4.2 The form and content of the ANC Economic Policy

Drawing on the work of Landsberg (2005:12) and Steyn-Kotze (2004:44), are suggesting that South Africa’s political transition involved three pillars. Firstly, they argue that there was a regime change from apartheid to liberal democracy. Secondly, they point out that it was transition from a closed, white dominated economy to a more global open economy encouraging maximum economic participation. Thirdly, they assert that it was a political transition from resistance or quasi-civil war and armed struggle to order under democratic rule. In 1994, prior the elections, the African National Congress (ANC) introduced the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as an election manifesto containing an amalgam of developmental approaches mixing neo-liberal prescriptions with some residual Keynesian regulation (Marais, 1998:179).

William Gumede (2005:67) writes that, when apartheid regime ended, South Africa needed to achieve three fundamental goals simultaneously:

1. Constitutional democracy
2. Industrial modernization
3. Economic and social development (Gumede, 2005:67).

Gumede goes further to say that the ANC had no clear plan for the implementation of anything except donning the mantle of power after centuries of colonialism and racial oppression. “There was a strangely naïve expectation that the abolition of apartheid in itself would put an end to black economic deprivation” (2005:67). Siwisa (2005:74) reminds us that in the early 1990s, the ANC argued in favor of welfare-oriented economic policies with strong state intervention in the economy. He goes further to say that the most controversial economic policies that the ANC adhered to then (though briefly) was the nationalization of the major economic resources. “Mandela was confident that the ANC would adhere to the nationalization policy as a matter of political principle underpinned by the equitable redistribution of the economic policies” (Siwisa, 2005:74).

Patrick Bond, scholar of political economy in South Africa concurs with the views above when he states that “in 1990, Mandela insisted that Freedom Charter demands for the nationalization of the mines, banks, and monopoly industry is the policy of the ANC and a change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable” (Bond, 2005:15, Marais, 1998:146). Siwisa (2005:74) argues that “Mandela justified his statement by emphasizing that nationalisation is a demand which is reasonable from our point of view. Where do we get the capital and resources to tackle the national issues facing us?” (Mandela cited in Siwisa, 2005:74).
Gumede (2005:68) states that the Johannesburg Stock Exchange tumbled immediately, but for almost a year afterwards Mandela religiously punt ed the same line as the only way to eradicate the socio-economic disparities of apartheid. He goes further to say that after all, as Mandela would remind his audiences, the National Party had nationalized key industries such as transport and heavy engineering in order to empower the Afrikaner, so why should blacks not do the same thing. The majority of NEC and ANC members shared this view, with the most radical group going on to equate capitalism with apartheid (2005:68). Moreover, Gumede (2005:68) makes an interesting point that by the time Mandela was sworn in as South Africa’s first black president in May 1994, the ANC had undergone a dramatic shift towards market fundamentalism. Siwisa (2005:74) points out that “the pro-nationalisation stance of the ANC caused great concern to the domestic and international business communities and exacerbated the destabilization of the rand and foreign exchange”.

Siwisa (2005:75) maintains that domestic and international capital had been growing agitated over the ruling party’s thinking on macro-economic policies. Moreover, he asserts that the ongoing flight of business from the country further exacerbated South Africa’s economic problems. He states that “the ANC yielded to the pressures exerted on it by the domestic and international capital”. More specifically, he argues that between 1990 and 1992, the ANC economic approach exhibited early signs of a shift from a welfare-oriented approach to a pro-market stance. He points out, that, the ANC’s economic approach of increasing government expenditure on welfare and public services delivery as a means of promoting economic growth changed in favor of fiscal discipline and sustainable redistribution. Gumede (2005:70) supports this position by asserting that “…by the end of ANC’s first year as a legal organization, nationalization had become such an albatross that Thabo Mbeki, senior ANC strategists and the Brenthurst group, as the business group became known, suggested Mandela should refrain from further public reference to the concept”.
Gumede (2005:70) goes further to say that Mandela listened, and addressing business leaders in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, sought to promise potential investors that an ANC government could be trusted. Siwisa (2005:75) argues that the party’s political mantra of growth through redistribution and the promises of massive government expenditure on development had quietly disappeared. He writes that ANC policy guideline for a democratic South Africa, proposed the privatisation of the public services sector. He indicates that the ANC voiced its acknowledgement of the need for joint ventures with private institutions. He (2005:75) argues that the need to involve the private sector to bolster the public sector’s infrastructure and services delivery was later outlined by Thabo Mbeki in the mid-1990s. Moreover, he maintains that Thabo Mbeki urged private institutions to join the government on account of the ailing public services sector and to deal with extensive debt, partly as a result of the outgoing apartheid government.

Reflecting upon this context, Gavin Bradshaw (2007:284) reminds us that during the process of pre-negotiation leading up to the formal negotiation process in South Africa, the ANC gave assurances to the effect that it would not apply nationalization or other leftist economic policies that would threaten business interests in South Africa, should it become the government. Bradshaw is of the opinion that this was one of the fundamental issues which was settled in the pre-negotiation process such that business leadership could back a negotiated settlement and the National Party could enter negotiations. In this regard Bradshaw points out that “this came as a surprise, however, as the ANC had understandably always subscribed to policies that would equalize, democratize and redistribute the wealth in South Africa” (Bradshaw, 2007:285).

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Bradshaw (2007:284) goes further to say that since coming to power in 1994, however, the ANC tread a path that is extremely business friendly and neo-liberal concerning macro-economic policies. Munck (cited in Siwisa, 2005:75) regards this move more as a way of recognizing and embracing economic pragmatism which in itself was a result of the acknowledgment by the ANC of new global economic conditions. Siwisa (2005:7) argues that the ANC accepted the post-Cold War political economic environment, which favored globalisation, liberalization, deregulation and less state intervention in the economy.

The ANC established a Macro-Economic Research Group (MERG) in 1992 under the leadership of Vella Pillay (Gumede, 2005:74, Coetzee, 2004:226, Marais, 1998:158, Gevisser, 2007:668). “A former advisor to the Bank of China, he was widely expected to be the ANC’s first Reserve Bank governor” (Gumede, 2005:74). Siwisa (2005:81) cites that the purpose of this committee was to develop a new macro-economic policy for South Africa. He points out that “MERG was staffed by Marxist and other left-wing economists aligned with the ANC exile group” (Siwisa, 2005:74, Gevisser, 2007:668). According to Siwisa (2005:81), a huge number of MERG’s economist were part of London University's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). He goes further to say that MERG was intended to train new black economists, to help build capacity for COSATU and its members on economic policy analysis and drafting. “MERG became the National Institute for Economic Policy” (Siwisa, 2005: 82). Gumede (2005:74) points out that MERG’s first report reiterated the concept of growth through redistribution, however, the ANC leadership which had already shifted strongly to the centre, like Mandela and Mbeki, feared it could be construed by the business circles as leftist, and therefore did not welcome the proposal.

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Siwisa (2005:82) claims that the document essentially followed a Keynesian approach, and argued for an industrial policy with strong state intervention. He goes further to say that the document outlined that South Africa’s industrial policy should feature differential taxation, tariffs, subsidies, accelerated depreciation allowances and other special allowances such as the training of workers. According to Gumede (2005:74), “the state apply a strategic mix of incentives and regulations to improve industrial performance and exercise more control over the Reserve Bank”. Siwisa (2005:82) echoes the above sentiments when he states that these policies centered around restructuring the ways conglomerate firms made investment decisions, these involved:

- The regulation of the housing and building supplies market
- State intervention in output and pricing decision in mineral institutions
- The tightening and the extension of control on mergers and acquisitions
- Monitoring the behaviour of participants in oligopolistic markets.
- Creating a supervisory board, consisting of banks, trade unions and other represented interests. (Siwisa, 2005:82)
4.3 RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (RDP)

Bond (2005:89) states that the RDP became official ANC social policy in January 1994 due in large part to the initiative of the Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU) supported by key figures of the South Africa Communist Party (SACP) the broad ANC left as well as ANC oriented social movements and NGO’s like the Mass Democratic Movement. The RDP was a comprehensive programme informed by the history of South Africa. It was meant to respond to socio-economic problems. According to the African National Congress (1994:77) “the RDP was drawn up by the ANC-led alliance in consultation with other key mass-based organizations”. A wide range of non-governmental organizations (NGO’s) and research organizations assisted in the process. Lodge (1994:27) supports this by asserting that the RDP laid out five ways to combine growth with development:

1. Meeting basic needs
2. Upgrading human resources
3. Strengthening the economy
4. Democratising state institutions and society
5. Reorganising the state and the public sector

Furthermore, Motal & Pampallis (2001:61) argue that these types of objectives are associated with high degrees of state intervention in the economy, where the state increases the provision of social services to promote equity. This implies intervention in the economy through expansionary monetary and fiscal policy, in order to promote growth and do away with poverty. “Although inequality can exist in highly interventionist environments, the state is a better provider of equity than the market.

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87 According to the African National Congress (2008:42), “the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) is an integrated, coherent socio-economic framework. It seeks to mobilize all the people of South Africa towards the final eradication of the results of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society”. The philosophical views of non-racialism and non-sexism are also embraced in the Freedom Charter, the “political bible” of the ANC adopted in 1955 at Kliptown.

“The RDP falls into the theoretical category described as a mixed economy with centralized state intervention. Furthermore, after the adoption of the RDP by all the stakeholders of society, business, academia, political parties, NGO’s and social movements, etc, the ANC subsequently used the RDP as the election manifesto to campaign for the first democratic elections of 199489 (Nattrass and Seekings, 2006:347). The rationale behind the RDP was to address the socio-economic problems created by the apartheid system. Nattrass and Seekings (2006:347) echo the above sentiments when they state that the RDP also referred to basic welfare rights, which embrace the rights to basic needs such as shelter, food, healthcare, work opportunities, income security, and all those aspects that promote the physical, social and emotional wellbeing of all people in our country, with special provision made for those who are unable to provide for themselves because of special problems. This matter is also touched upon by Hein Marais (1998:180) when he argues that the RDP was conceived of as an attempt to create a people-centered society which measures progress by the extent to which it successfully secures for each citizen liberty, prosperity and happiness.

The RDP was informed by the historical disparities of South Africa.

According to the African National Congress (2005:4) “…our history has been a bitter one dominated by colonialism, racism, apartheid, sexism and repressive labour policies. The result is that poverty and deprivation exist side by side with modern cities and a developed mining, industrial and commercial infrastructure. Our income distribution is racially distorted and ranks as one of the most unequal in the world. Women are still subject to innumerable forms of discrimination and bias. Rural people are marginalized, throughout; a combination of lavish wealth and abject poverty characterizes our society” (African National Congress, 2005:4).

According to the African National Congress (2005:4) “South Africa’s economy was built on systematically enforced racial division in every sphere of our society. Rural areas were divided into underdeveloped Bantustans and well-developed white-owned commercial farming areas. Towns and cities were divided into townships without basic infrastructure for blacks and well-resourced suburbs for whites. Segregation in education, health, welfare, transport and employment left deep scars of inequality and economic inefficiency” (African National Congress, 2005:4). Patrick Bond (2005:92) in his book entitled: *Elite transition, from apartheid to neo- liberalism in South Africa*, makes an interesting point when he states that “…there was no denying that the RDP document was influenced in part by right-wing ideas, such as maintaining excessively strict limits on state expenditure generally (with a projected stagnation in the education budget in particular), the promotion of international competitiveness and the endorsement of an independent Reserve Bank insulated from democratic policy inputs”.

Among other things raised by the RDP was youth development in the context of South Africa. According to the African National Congress (2005:8), “the problems facing the youth are well known. If we are to develop our human resource potential, then special attention must be paid to the youth, in particular, young women. Our human resource policy should be aimed at reversing youth marginalization by empowering young people and allowing them to reach their full potential. Programmes for training, education and job creation will enable our youth to play a full role in the reconstruction and development of our society” (African National Congress, 2005: 8)

### 4.4 SHORTCOMINGS OF THE RDP

Siwisa (2005:78) points out that the RDP White Paper was vague in outlining its plans for the provision of welfare and other public services, and silent on the schedules and timeframes for the achievement of its stated goals. Adezaldesh & Padayachee (cited in Siwisa, 2005:78) point out that there are simply no numbers in the RDP policy (how many jobs, houses, schools, hospitals, etc), no priorities set out, no targets established and no time-frame.
Siwisa (2005:78) supports this position by asserting that another failure of the RDP was a shift towards market fundamentalism. This market-oriented approach embraced privatization of state institutions. Wiltshire (1987:15) understands privatization as denationalization and load-shedding, meaning, respectively, selling of public enterprises and the transfer of state functions to private institutions. He goes further to say that this is linked to liberalization, meaning relaxation of any statutory monopolies or licensing arrangements that prevent private sector firms from entering markets previously exclusively supplied by public institutions. Feigenbaum, Hamnett and Henig (1999:5) define privatization as a move from government to private ownership, it connotes a reduction in the regulatory role of government. According to Hosking (cited in Institute for Social & System Change, 2002:56), “of all the privatization strategy projections the one that has attracted most criticism is that of job gains. The forecasts were so wrong; jobs were not gained but lost. Clearly the government believed that job creation would be a by-product of growth in the formal economy, although past trends in South Africa were not encouraging on this point.”

“South Africa has a 40 percent unemployment rate with 70 percent of that being young people, the potential and talent of young people cannot go wasted. Recent studies show that only 14% of young people exiting in higher institutions each year find productive work as the rest flood the ranks of the unemployed. The labour absorption rate of industry has only declined sharply over the last 10 years” (Alternative information Development Centre, 2006:1). According to the African National Congress (2006:11), “no political democracy can survive and flourish if the majority of young people remain in poverty, without their basic needs being met and without tangible prospects for a better life. The youth of our land played a major role in the achievement of freedom. The government should consider establishing special programmes aimed at addressing the needs of young people in particular, to address the backlog in education and training, job creation and recreation. Young people are our country’s most important resource. Efforts are required to ensure that they are equipped to play a major role in the reconstruction and development of South Africa.”(African National Congress, 2006:11).
Nicholson (2001:37) points out that employment and unemployment are critical signs of economic performance. An economy that is performing well should be able to provide jobs for its citizens. (Nicholson, 2001:37)

“Privatisation of state institutions has created unemployment amongst young people. Young people have been retrenched at work due to the implementation of privatization.”
(Daniel Haupt, interview conducted 22 September 2008)

Nicholson (2001:40) concurs with the view above; he argues that “South Africa has a very young population. This means that each year large numbers of young people are finishing school and are joining the Economic Active Population (EAP) and looking for work. As many as 86 percent of graduates every year join the ranks of unemployment, up to 70 percent of young people can’t find employment” (Alternative Information Development Centre, 2006:1).

**Ushering in of Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)**

Siwisa (2005:92) writes that the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy was announced in June 1996 as the official macro-economic policy of the government, at a time of disarray within the ruling party. Moreover, he argues that there was no consultation within the ANC on the construction of GEAR and its graduation to official status. Gumede (2005:133) points out that GEAR was presented to parliament as non-negotiable and even prominent leaders within the ANC were not informed about the construction of GEAR. Siwisa (2005:92) states that key ANC figures such as its former Secretary-General, Cyril Ramaphosa and Nelson Mandela, acknowledged that they were unaware of the complete development trajectory of GEAR. “Behind the construction of GEAR was Thabo Mbeki, then South Africa’s first black Deputy President.” (Siwisa, 2005:92)
Marais (1998:28) argues that the lack of consultation on the development of GEAR in fact points to the continuity behind the ruling party’s thinking on South Africa’s macro-economic policy. Furthermore, he argues that the most common understanding of the emergence and maturity of GEAR is steadfastly attached to the idea of the RDP/strong state intervention, breaking up and giving way to the GEAR/pro-market dispensation. Bond, Marais and Gelb (cited in Siwisa, 2005:93) have argued convincingly for the continuity of the ruling party’s thinking on economic development. They have maintained that from the early 1990s, the ANC has been moving towards supporting a pro-market, neo-liberal macro-economic policy.

Siwisa (2005:93) points out different reasons for this development. Firstly, he argues that when the negotiations began in the early 1990s, the world was enveloped in a post-Cold War international economic order characterized by globalisation, economic liberations, deregulation, the flexibility of labour regimes, wage restraint and the emasculation, of trade unions, and minimal state intervention. Secondly, he states that both the ANC and domestic capital were forced to restructure the post-apartheid state within the structure of a South African economy that desperately needed to expand and fortify itself. Jacobs & Calland (2002:16) conclude that “by the early 1990s, South Africa’s conglomerates, especially those active in the financial and mining sectors, pressed for economic liberalization because they needed to expand in a national economy that afforded little hope for sustained expansion”. On the other hand, Siwisa (2005:94) states that the ANC realized that economic liberalization might help South African capital in boosting its productivity and profitability, which might, in turn, help the state in improving the living conditions of the black majority. “The ANC also viewed economic liberalization as an effective way to begin to move black entrepreneurs into the mainstream economy. Economic liberalisation would result in the lifting of capital controls, the approval of offshore listings that would promote unbundling in the corporate sector as global firms would sell off non-core assets in order to raise capital and streamline their operations” (Siwisa, 2005:94).

90 Professor Christopher Landsberg (2005:12) follows the same line of thinking when he argues that GEAR emphasises the need for privatisation to reduce debt and signaled government’s clear commitment to neo-liberal economic policies.
Gelb (cited in Siwisa, 2005:94) asserts that “GEAR aimed to build mutual trust between old South African business and black entrepreneurs, while promoting macro-economic stability, thus creating an environment for generalized gains through rising fixed investment and sustained growth, and reinforcing the alliance between them”. According to Simpson and Sycholt (2003:14), “Gear spells out a program for South Africa to become internationally competitive. The main feature of this program is economic growth as the leading economic priority. They point out that GEAR argues that the most important priority for the South African economy is to increase production. The GEAR view is that growth comes before redistribution, whereas the RDP and other earlier economic policies of the democratic period argued for growth through redistribution” (Simpson and Sycholt, 2005: 14).

According to the African National Congress (2004:16) GEAR is committed to privatizing state institutions, which are often badly run and are not making profit. Nicholson (2001:62) lists some of the major privatization exercises that have been completed:

- The sale of 30% of Telkom to a foreign consortium including the American SBC-Communication and Telkom Malaysia, for R5.6 billion
- The sale of Sun Air, the official airline of the former Bophuthatswana, to a black empowerment group, for R42 million (the airline went into liquidation, so the government only received half of the proceeds).
- The sale of 20% of the Airport Company of South Africa (ACSA), to the Italian Aeroporti di Roma, for R 819 million.” (Nicholson, 2005:63)
Privatization of state institutions did not benefit poor people, particularly the youth. It only benefited foreign based companies and senior members of the ruling party who were close to former President Thabo Mbeki. Professor Patrick Bond (2006:78) in his book titled: *Talk Left, Walk Right*, makes an interesting point when he states in August 2001 and October 2002, COSATU held a two-day mass stay away against privatization of state institutions. He goes further to say that COSATU targeted Trevor Manuel and Minister of public enterprises Jeff Radebe, who was subsequently voted off by the SACP Central committee.91 Another phenomenon associated with Gear is globalization. Globalization is a broad concept; it can mean a number of things to different people. Thus a definition of globalization in this context is called for.

Kegley and Wittkopf (2004:265) define globalization as money, goods, technology, culture and ideas moving across national borders at an accelerating pace. According to Jackson and Sorensen (2003:213-14), globalization refers to interdependence between states, the component parts of the world become smaller and far more numerous. They go further to say that small is beautiful not only in the economic sphere but also in the political sphere. In a nutshell, globalization refers to a new world order of a global village, it is the triumph of capitalism (Simpson and Sycholt, 2003: 7-8, Kegley and Wittkopf 2004:265, Jackson and Sorensen, 2003:213-14). Simpson and Sycholt (2003: 7-8) indicate that globalization is informed by a set of neo-liberal ideas and free market capitalism. “In the globalization debate, free market capitalism is also often called neo-liberalism. The key principle of free market capitalism is that business is the most important force for a country’s development.” (Simpson and Sycholt, 2003:7)

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Bond, P. 2000. *Cities of gold, townships of coal: essays on South Africa’s new urban crisis*, University of Witwatersrand, South Africa.
Gear generally promotes free trade, globalisation, labour market flexibility, privatization, deregulation and dismantling the role of the state (Simpson and Sycholt, 2003: 14). All the above mentioned market elements are informed by globalization. This means that the state does not participate in the economy. It also means that multi-national companies exploit employees by hiring and firing them without taking into account labour laws which protect employees. This phenomenon has negative implications for young people who are unskilled or uneducated. Simpson and Sycholt (2003: 14) point out that there are two main aspects of GEAR which promote deregulation:

1. Fiscal discipline: GEAR promotes cutbacks in government spending. In some instances the cutbacks are undertaken in order to reduce the state’s participation in the economy as a producer. This policy of fiscal discipline is accompanied by a “right-sizing” or reduction of the civil service.

2. Labour market flexibility means that standards and working conditions can vary. For example, in certain sectors the maximum number of working hours per week might be increased. Another measure of flexibility would be to have lower wages for certain workers (e.g. young people, those on farms, and those in certain industries). (Simpson and Sycholt, 2003: 14)

GEAR meant that the government was going to spend less on health, culture, housing and the education young of people. Furthermore, millions of young people in South Africa cannot study at an institution of higher learning due to poverty.
GEAR was imposed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank on the South African government post-apartheid. Van De Westhuizen (2003:27) shows that GEAR accords with the World Bank's structural adjustment programmes (SAP's) elsewhere in Africa, a technocratic macro-economic policy that is driven by the political elite without consultation or democratic test (Lumumba-Kasango, cited in Van De Westhuizen, 2003:27). Sikhakhane (2001:45) supports this position by stating that one of the major concerns of GEAR is so-called fiscal discipline as the reduction of fiscal deficit is a key objective. He goes further to say that, if one considers the aspects of neo-liberal globalization, it is clear the impact this phenomenon has had on the formulation of this policy.

According to the African National Congress (2004:36), “GEAR is a broad-economic policy framework which sets targets for the government, for example a 6% sustainable growth rate and the creation of 400,000 jobs by the 2000”. Patrick Bond (2005:51) makes an interesting point when he argues that “…economic growth in 1996 was more than 10 percent lower than what GEAR predicted, and fixed investment nearly 20 percent lower”. He (2005:51) goes further to say that the real value of the rand fell by 16 percent in 1996, far worse than the 8,5 percent decline predicted by Gear that year. He concludes that, worst of all 71,000 jobs were lost in 1996, a far cry from the 126,000 new jobs predicted by GEAR in June 1996. Bond provides empirical evidence that GEAR failed to achieve its intended objective of creating jobs, particularly for young people.
Gavin Bradshaw (2007:285) states that the emphasis of governmental economic policy has been on building a black business class, rather than on uplifting the poverty-stricken masses, especially the youth. Bradshaw goes further to say that unemployment remains at extremely high levels amongst young people and that macro-economic policies are not being adjusted to address the problem. Nattrass and Seekings (2006:30) support this position by asserting that young people who are part of the black middle-class clearly stand to gain from economic policies whilst the young black industrial working class stands no chance of participating in the economy of South Africa. This is part of the widespread economic marginalization of young people from poor backgrounds.

“The number of young people in historically disadvantaged groups without completing their secondary schooling has risen significantly among large segments of the population. Young people with low levels of education are especially vulnerable to unemployment and exclusion from economic opportunity. Racial and gender inequalities in access to education remain and their effects are evident in determining which young people are able to continue their education. Close to half of black youth who are not studying cite financial reasons for not continuing their education. Unemployment is inversely related to education with better educated young people being less likely to be unemployed” (Umsobomvu Youth Fund, 2006:6, Coxso and Mlatsheni). The largest growth in unemployment since 1996 has been amongst young people without tertiary education. Motal & Pampallis (2001:75) supports this position by asserting that lack of access to institutions of higher learning by young people is a result of a reduction in government expenditure owing to GEAR.
Nicholson (2001:94) agrees that poverty levels amongst young people are closely related to unemployment and lack of education. “Poverty is most severe among African youth with 48 percent of African youth in the 18-24 age group and 35 percent of African youth in the 25-35 age group being classified as poor. Youth poverty analysis shows that children under 18 years of age are the poorest of all age groups.” (Umsobomvu Youth Fund, 2005:133, Coxso and Mlatsheni). Gavin Bradshaw (2007:285) makes an interesting point when he argues that “the neo-liberal economic policies pursued by the government, unemployment and crime are closely related with one other”. With respect to Bradshaw’s view, unemployment amongst young people is deeply linked to the macro-economic policy of government. “Unemployment in any country is the indicator of how the economy is performing” (Nicholson, 2001:92). South Africa’s economic growth does not benefit the poor, especially young people. Economic growth is not tantamount to development. Du Toit (cited in Cape Times, 23\04\07) points out that “Thabo Mbeki has tried to explain why the benefits of economic growth were not tricking down to the poor; he has linked this phenomenon of poverty with the second economy”.

Du Toit poses an intellectual question when he asks what exactly is the first and the second economy? Nattrass and Seekings (2006:342) attempt to answer this question when they argue that the idea of a society comprising two nations is not unique to Thabo Mbeki. They point out that Benjamin Disraeli, former Prime Minister of Britain, is the first person to coin the concept first and second economy in his 1845 novel Sybil. Du Toit criticizes President Thabo Mbeki for confusing the nation by his thesis of first and second economies.92 He argues that “the concept of first and second economy does not exist”. He goes further to say South Africa has only one economy which is a capitalist economy where poverty is a result of disparities and exploitation.

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92 Irvin Jim follows the same line of thinking as Professor Du Toit when he argues that “…there is only one economy in South Africa and it is exploitative in nature” (Ntuli, in Sunday Times, 19/10/08).
Davids et al (2005:44) attributes inequality in South Africa to the macro-economic policy government adopted in 1996. They point out that GEAR signified a shift from the people-centered approach of the RDP to a more growth-centered approach which, if left unchecked would benefit only a few ANC members.\footnote{See also, Bond, P. 2001. Against global apartheid: South Africa meets the World Bank, IMF and international finance. Johannesburg. South Africa.}

Coetzee et al (2004:214) points out that “if GEAR is the answer, why did it not deliver the jobs and growth that was promised during the first four years after it was adopted”. Nattrass and Seekings (2006:344) state that President Thabo Mbeki’s brother Moelesi Mbeki, argued that GEAR has enriched the few and that the same goes for Black Economic Empowerment (BEE).

Mark Gevisser (2007:240) supports the above position by asserting that in mid-2003 Moelesi Mbeki launched a savage attack on BEE, his brother’s cornerstone transformation policy, which he proclaimed an unmitigated disaster. GEAR has not benefited all the people of South Africa, particularly young people. The government should consider reviewing its macro-economic policy, due to its failure to create employment and reduce poverty. According to City Press (9/03/08), “Zuma has argued that the tendency of opportunities going to one and the same kind of people has to end. That must stop because we are not spreading empowerment. Economic opportunities must be given to every one, especially the poor” (City Press, 2008:2).

\footnote{See also, Bond, P. 2001. Against global apartheid: South Africa meets the World Bank, IMF and international finance. Johannesburg. South Africa.}


4.6 Expanded Public Works Programme

The Expanded Public Works Programme is a strategic plan initiated by the South African government to reduce poverty and unemployment amongst young people.⁹⁴ (McCord, 2004:17) According to the Centre for Social Science Research (2004:1), public works are a key component of the current social protection framework in South Africa, constituting the only important form of social support for the able-bodied working age unemployed and are ascribed considerable potential in terms of addressing the central challenges of unemployment and poverty. McCord (2004:17) states that the magnitude of this challenge has been acknowledged by the governments, who have argued that there are no magic solutions. According to the Centre for Social Science Research (2004:7) in July 2002, the Cabinet Lekgotla agreed that a massive expanded public works programme would form a key aspect of a comprehensive employment strategy together with a range of complementary supply side interventions, focusing primarily on training through the expansion of the SETA-based training programme. Since this time, PWPs have almost come to dominate the current social protection and labour market debate, representing the policy instrument of choice to address both the eradication of poverty and unemployment (McCord, 2004:1).

“As an integral part of its effort to address the needs of young people the South Africa government, in 1998, announced its intention to set up the Umsobomvu Youth Fund (UYF). Established in January 2001, the UYF’s objective is to promote and facilitate youth development in general and to build a skills base and enhance the involvement of young people in the economy, in particular. As part of its mandate of youth development, the UYF identified a need for the collection and analysis of information on the status of young South Africans on a regular basis. Such information would be of assistance not only to the UYF in developing and monitoring interventions, but also to a broad range of stakeholders involved with youth, including government departments and agencies involved in youth development” (Umsobomvu Youth Fund, 2007:1, Coxso and Mlatsheni). However, even government has acknowledged that Umsobomvu is not sufficient for poverty eradication and the promotion of entrepreneurship.

⁹⁴ Reflecting upon this context, Margaret Botha in City Press (6/07/2008) argues that the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) started in early 2004 and has not had any significant impact on several South African communities.
According to the African National Congress (2006:1) the main aim of government as set out in 2004 is to halve poverty and unemployment by 2014. “Government objectives for 2014 are feasible, indeed the government hopes to surpass those objectives, because of the steady improvement in the performance and job creating capacity of the economy”. (Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2006:1-2). Furthermore, according to Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, (2006:12) “the Deputy President’s task force included the Ministers of Finance, Trade and Industry and Public Enterprises, the Premiers of Gauteng and the Eastern Cape and the Mayor of Johannesburg, representing SALGA. Many other Ministers and their departments were included in the discussions, as well as organized business, labour, religious leaders, youth and women in various groupings and forums. Government also consulted with domestic and international experts” (African National Congress, 2006:12).

These deliberations led to the adoption of the Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative (ASGISA). Part of the purpose of ASGISA is to focus on skills development and Small Micro Medium Enterprises (SMME’s). “ASGISA also supports the Umsobomvu Youth Fund initiative to register unemployed graduates on their database” (Umsobomvu Youth Fund, 2007:35, Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2006:1-2). “ASGISA does not replace GEAR, what it does is to acknowledge the shortcomings of GEAR. Government has good policies; however, they are not implemented properly. The implementation aspect is very slow. Government is progressing; the pace is not what it should be. Millions of young people in South Africa are not aware of ASGISA” (Vuyo Toto, Interview conducted on 21 September 2008). The Public Works Program only creates temporary jobs for young people. It does not create sustainable jobs for the youth. This is one of the shortcomings of the Public Works Programs. This issue is directly linked to chapter five of this study. More insight into inequality and the political participation of young people is provided in chapter five. Politics cannot be separated from the economy. Political participation amongst young people can not be divorced from economic emancipation. Hence, the writer has linked the evolution of government’s macro- economic policy with youth political apathy.
4.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined the trajectory of the macro-economic policy of government post-1994. The rationale behind this chapter was to examine whether the government is doing enough in helping young people to participate in the economy. The focus of the study is political apathy amongst students at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. However, one cannot separate politics from the economy, precisely because politics is controlled by the economy. Thus the writer has critiqued the macro-economic policy of government in post-apartheid South Africa. In the chapter one finds that Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) has created unemployment amongst young people due to privatization of states assets. Moreover, the government has acknowledged the shortcomings of the RDP/GEAR by introducing the Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative (ASGISA). The architects of GEAR have realized that it is important to introduce a micro-economic policy focusing particularly on skills and development. The truth should be told that the neo-liberal policies of government have marginalized young people from working class backgrounds. Better job opportunities are accessed only by those who come from middle-class background. This phenomenon discourages young people from participating in politics.

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95 According to the Alternative Information Development Centre (2007:6), “South Africa’s liberal democracy is characterized by the adoption of a neo-liberal macro-economic as well as a radical and liberal feminist approach. These policies and laws, whilst seeking equality for women, do not question the economic policies which militate against women achieving such equality. The majority of those having to survive in the informal and shadow economies are young black working class women who are at risk of sexual harassment and gender based violence in precarious employment and safety situations”.

96 Ngonyama (2007:37) argues that “fourteen years after the achievement of democracy, the government has implemented neo-liberal economic policies which undermine the goal of free education. This is far from the Freedom Charter dream that education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children, that higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit. Mass financial exclusion is just one devastating impact of the corporatisation of the university, following the dictates of austere measures stipulated in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy. Working class students without money for accommodation, food, photocopies, printing, credits, stationary, books, etc. are finding it extremely difficult to cope. Furthermore, many students are forced into risky ‘transactional’ sexual relationships with older people mostly married men (this being the backdrop of the devastating HIV and AIDS epidemic). Those fortunate enough to make it despite their circumstances then face yet another neo-liberalism induced crisis, finding secure employment. Classes at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University have dramatically increased in size, and the workload but not the salaries of lecturers has almost doubled, making lecturing extremely difficult and unpleasant” (cited in Amandla, 2007:37). Political economist Mohau Pheko (2008:13) points out that “for neo-liberals, the solution to poverty is getting the poor to work harder, after all, the markets reward those who help themselves, young people, who comprise the vast majority of our country, are no exception” (cited in Amandla, 2008: 13).
CHAPTER 5

Findings and Discussion

“Qualitative researchers analyze and interpret their data using logic, theoretical and methodological principles” (Alston and Bowles, 2003:203).

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will analyze and interpret the findings of the research. Pieterse (2004:49) suggests that verbal accounts from both the questionnaire and unstructured interviews should be employed to validate the trustworthiness of the research. This study was conducted between July and September 2008. All participants of the study were black Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) undergraduate and postgraduate students. The sample of this study consisted of fifty participants. The researcher arranged four focus group discussions with the aim of obtaining primary source information from the participants. In preparation for the discussions, the participants in the focus groups were asked about the political changes in post-apartheid South Africa. The main aim of this chapter is to discuss the causes of “political apathy amongst students” at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

5.2 Political Membership

Question: Are you a member of a political party?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, think political membership is important</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, do not think political membership is important</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have no idea</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Most participants in the focus groups indicated that they do not belong to any political party in South Africa. They describe involvement in party politics as boring and a waste of time. This aspect is emphasized by the following quotations:

“Young people in post-apartheid South Africa believe that the struggle is over and that there is no need for them to be involved in party politics” (Student Representative Council Member at NMMU).

“If political parties would consider the problems of young people it would be worth being a political activist” (NMMU student).

“Why must we be involved in party politics as young people whilst senior party members do not set a good example for us? Politicians like Jacob Zuma and Tony Yengeni are discouraging young people from participating in party politics, politicians should stop being corrupt, in that way young people will be encouraged to participate in politics” (NMMU student).

**Summary**

Forty or eighty percent of the participants in the focus groups indicated that they do not belong to any political party in South Africa. They describe involvement in party politics as boring and a waste of time. This shows that young people in post-apartheid South Africa are politically disengaged. Furthermore, only four or eight percent of the participants regarded party membership as important. They also indicated that political apathy is a problem. Finally, six or 12 percent of the participants in the focus groups indicated that they have no idea what political membership is.
5.3 Electoral Participation

Question: Have you voted before in the local or national government elections?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, think electoral participation is important</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, do not think electoral participation is important</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have no idea</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The participants in the focus groups were asked whether they had participated in a local or national election. This aspect is important because elections are a cornerstone of democracy, without elections there is no democracy. Most participants in the focus groups indicated that they have never voted before in local and national elections, even though they were eligible to do vote.

This aspect is emphasized by the following answers:

“Voting turnout in the 1999 and 2004 elections was very low amongst young people. This evidence leads one to arrive at the conclusion that political apathy amongst young people does exist in South Africa” (Interview).

“Political parties are not doing enough to encourage young people to vote for them”. (NMMU student)
On the other hand, all participants indicated that they would like to vote in the coming 2009 elections. But one young woman felt that there was no point for young people to vote if politicians were not going to deliver on their promises. An Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) official indicated that “…elections are important for consolidating democracy. Furthermore, he pointed out that the IEC at local government level did not have programs that were meant to educate young people about elections”. The IEC officials at branch level are receiving instructions to educate only old people about voting. Also political parties do not go to high schools and higher learning institutions to educate young people about the importance of voting.

Summary

All participants in the focus groups indicated that electoral participation is important in deepening democracy. All of them agreed that voting absenteeism is a problem, because elections provide people with the opportunity of choosing their own leaders. However, one participant was vehemently opposed to the above argument. The participant argued strongly that there is no point for young people to vote because politicians do not deliver on their promises. She went on to say that young people should stop voting because they do not benefit from the elections. One gets the impression from this young, intelligent woman that democracy only exists for business and political elites. Perhaps South Africa needs a participatory democracy so that the government can listen to the views of the majority, particularly the poor. Precisely because at this juncture poor blacks seem to be excluded by neo-liberal policies. The government needs to consider this, if it is serious about the consolidation of democracy and the inclusion of all in our democracy.
5.4 Political Involvement

Question: Do you think it is important for young people to be involved in politics?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, think political involvement is important</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, do not think political involvement is important</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have no idea</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The participants were asked whether it is important to be involved in politics. Most of the participants in the focus groups agreed that politics is important in their lives. This aspect is emphasized by the following quotations:

“The youth has to be involved in shaping our democracy”. (SRC member)

“Politics helps you to know what is happening around you. Young people need to take a stand on socio-political issues. No country can succeed if it does not invest in the future of young people to become tomorrow’s leaders”. (NMMU student)

“Political involvement is important, it makes my voice heard and through political involvement I am able to articulate my political views about the new South Africa”. (NMMU student)
“Politics broadens your mind to know your state better. Politics makes people know each other and discuss social problems. Politics influences our daily lives as young people and we must be able to understand what’s going on, in our nation as young people because we are future leaders” (NMMU student).

Summary

Forty or eighty percent of the participants in the focus groups indicated that political involvement is vitally important. However, in this context, these participants seem to be contradicting themselves. Precisely because initially when they were asked if they belonged to any political party in South Africa many of them said no. Five or ten percent of the participants indicated that political disengagement is not a problem. Lastly, five or ten percent of the other participants had no idea whether political involvement is important or not.

5.5 Political interest amongst young people

Question: Do you think young people are interested in politics in today’s society?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, think young people are not interested in politics</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, do not think a lack of interest in politics is a problem</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have no idea</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the participants in the focus groups felt that young people were not interested in politics.
A participant voiced the following:

“…Young people feel it's a waste of time to be involved in politics. The youth of today is more interested in entertainment and popular culture. I suppose globalization has influenced the thinking of young people in this day and age”. (NMMU student)

“The political environment has changed in South Africa. Young people are not motivated by youth structures to participate in politics. The problem is the black middle class. Most young people who have professions do not want to join Trade Unions due to their status. Most of these young people were taught in historically white schools or let me say Model C schools. These young people were taught according to the Western culture of individualism, they do not see the relevance of politics in their lives”. (Interview)

Elements of capitalism were evident in some statements. Another participant shared:

“…The problem is the education system of this country. It is capitalistic in nature and in character. It focuses on individualism not on collectivism. The education we were taught is not objective, it reflects a particular ideology which is capitalism, it is selfish, has no love for humanity. Young people do not participate in politics; they only participate in economic activities such as entrepreneurship”. (SRC member)

“Individualism and cultural confusion are the causes of the political apathy. Young people have an identity crisis. This phenomenon leads to aggression and anger. After that young people blame culture, family and the community” (Interview).
“…Socialization is one factor; young people at this juncture have more things to do. They are interested only in themselves”. (Interview)

“Politics are boring; it is for old people not for us the young people. As young people we are busy with other things like sex, alcohol and money, we do not have time for poverty and unemployment. Governments do as they feel anyway”. (NMMU student)

“Young people are interested in entertainment functions and that leads to them becoming involved in drugs and committing crime”. (NMMU student)

“…Yes young people are not interested in politics, however, I do not blame them. I blame older politicians, they are not exemplary, for instance, look at Jacob Zuma and Tony Yengeni and others, and they are bad examples for us as the young people. If older politicians want us to be involved in politics, they should set a good example for us young people”. (NMMU student)

Summary
Most of the participants in the focus groups felt that young people were not interested in politics. These participants indicated that young people in South Africa have a neoliberal outlook on life. Elements of capitalism were evident in some statements. Forty-two or eighty four percent of the participants indicated that a lack of interest in politics is a problem. On the other hand, six participants felt that lack of political interest was not a problem. They provided one reason, that South Africa is a democratic country, in which young people have rights and political participation should be a choice not an obligation.
5.6 The difference between the youth of 1976 and the youth of today

Question: Is there any difference between the youth of 1976 and the youth of today?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, think there is a difference</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, do not think there is a difference</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have no idea</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The participants in the focus group were asked if there is any difference in political thinking between the youth of today and that of 1976. All the participants in the focus groups felt that there is a difference between the youth of today and the youth of 1976. This aspect is emphasized by the following quotations:

“The youth of 1976 were politically baptized by the youth of 1944. These young people were prepared to die for freedom. Secondly, the youth of 1976 were opposed to the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the use of Afrikaans in schools. However, young people in post apartheid South Africa are facing different challenges like HIV and Aids, Poverty and Unemployment”.

(Interview)

“The youth of 1976 could identify the enemy. They were prepared to lay down their lives for freedom. The youth of today are disengaged from politics”. (NMMU student)
“The youth of 1976 were influenced by black consciousness; they saw the independence of Mozambique as a sign of freedom. Young people today are not really free, due to poverty and unemployment. They should take a stand and involve themselves in politics. Political decisions affect everyone including young people” (NMMU student).

“The youth of 1976 were deeply involved in politics. They grew up with hatred due to the apartheid system. However, the youth of today have rights but they do not exercise them responsibly. Human rights without limitations are a problem. The rights of young people should be limited. Parents should not be overprotective”. (Interview)

“The youth of 1976 were passionate about social issues. On the other hand, the youth of today are concerned about themselves” (Interview).

“The youth of 1976 were dealing with educational issues and apartheid. The struggles of the youth today are teenage pregnancy and the HIV and Aids epidemic” (NMMU student).

“The 1976 youth were committed to what they were doing and they did it to make life easier for today’s youth, they sacrificed their lives”. (NMMU student)

Obviously, the youth of 1976’s struggles are different from today’s youth because the fight in 1976 was for the liberation of those who were oppressed by the apartheid system. Today the struggle is about economic freedom and crime eradication”. (NMMU student)
“The youth of 1976 knew who the enemy was and the youth of today are abusing democracy. They lack political understanding”. (NMMU student)

“Activism is now a past thing, the youth of today are not politically active, not confident in themselves like the youth of 1976, and the youth of today are not informed about politics”. (Interview)

“The youth of today are concerned about enriching themselves. The youth of today lacks political consciousness”. (NMMU student)

Summary
All the participants in the focus groups acknowledged that there is a significant difference between the youth of today and the youth of 1976. The participants indicated that the political environment in South Africa has changed dramatically and that young people at this juncture are facing different challenges like HIV/AIDS, poverty and unemployment. Furthermore, all participants in the focus groups pointed out that the youth of today has lost the passion for politics and they feel that is a problem. Perhaps this lack of passion can be linked to capitalism as political disengagement in this day and age is often caused by entertainment, globalization and individualism.
5.7 Socio economic problems in Nelson Mandela Bay

Question: What kind of problems are young people facing in Nelson Mandela Bay?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV and AIDS</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol abuse</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The participants in the focus groups were asked what kinds of problems are experienced by young people in Nelson Mandela Bay. Most of the participants in the focus groups saw young people faced with huge challenges in Nelson Mandela Bay.

Concerns of participants:

“Unemployment is a major problem in Nelson Mandela Bay, how many university graduates are unemployed? The municipality is not doing enough in creating jobs for young people. Most of the government programs that are meant to reduce unemployment are highly politicized. If you are not an ANC member then you cannot get a job in the Municipality. This phenomenon discourages young people from participating in politics, because politicians are corrupt, they employ their own relatives”.
(NMMU student)
“Not much is done for young people in Nelson Mandela Bay. The municipality is not taking programs to young people. Only those who are politically connected can get jobs in government departments”. (NMMU student)

Elements of nepotism in the Municipality were evident in some statements. Another participant shared:

“I will never vote for the ANC again because its leaders are corrupt. If you are a young woman and are beautiful you must have sex with certain politicians before you can get employment in the Municipality, that is so unethical”. (NMMU student)

 “…Unemployment and poverty are the indicators of low service delivery in the municipality”. (NMMU student)

“Most young people from working class backgrounds cannot access tertiary education due to financial problems”. (NMMU student)

“Young people in Nelson Mandela Bay are faced with a lot of problems such as poverty, unemployment, HIV and AIDS, substance abuse and inadequate education”.
(NMMU student)

“There are no platforms for young people to air their views; older politicians are not giving us space to participate in the economy”. (NMMU student)

“HIV and AIDS is a major problem amongst young people in the Nelson Mandela Metro”. (NMMU student)
Summary

All the participants in the focus groups saw young people faced with huge challenges in Nelson Mandela Bay. Unemployment, poverty, HIV/AIDS, alcohol abuse and crime were the major concerns raised by participants in this regard. Perceptions of nepotism in the municipality were evident in the statements. Participants were angry about the lack of service delivery by the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality. Some participants indicated that they will never vote for the current government due to corruption and the lack of service delivery. Finally, all the participants in the focus groups agreed that these socio-economic challenges are a problem to young people.

5.8 Government response to Youth problems

Question: Government responds to Youth problems?

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<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, very much</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, to an extent</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardly</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The participants in the focus groups were asked if the government is doing enough in responding to youth problems. All of the participants in the focus groups felt that the government was not responding to youth problems. This aspect is emphasized by the following quotations:
“Government is emphasizing internships and co-operatives; there are no social programs for the youth”. (NMMU student)

“Most government programs are characterized by corruption instead of youth development”. (NMMU student)

“Government does not seem to care about young people”. (NMMU student)

“This government is anti-poor. Look at the macro-economic policy; it is a neo-liberal ideology. How can you talk about privatization whilst black people are faced with post-apartheid problems such as poverty and unemployment? The ANC government has sold us out as black people”. (Interview)

“The government has not invested a lot of money in trying to combat socio-economic problems amongst young people. Corruption and incompetence are a stumbling block in youth development”. (NMMU student)

“Government seems to have good policies on youth development. However, they are not implemented properly. The implementation aspect is very slow; the pace is not what it should be”. (NMMU student)

“The youth today are distant from politics because of the government. The government is not doing enough in helping young people to improve their lives”. (NMMU student)
“The government is not really responding to youth problems. I think the government should embark on an extensive campaign on the importance of family. Family is very important in shaping the behaviour of a child. It is the first institution that influences the behaviour of a child. Young people do not have role models at home. Hence they do not care about political participation”. (NMMU student)

“The government is full of denialism. It is denying that it has failed in addressing HIV and AIDS and crime. Older politicians are only concerned about power”. (NMMU student)

Summary
All the participants in the focus groups agreed that the government is not doing enough in responding to youth problems. Participants blamed the government for politicizing the public sector. They raised issues of corruption and nepotism in government appointments. Finally, all the participants in the focus groups felt that lack of response by the government is a problem.

5.9 The relevance of political parties in post-apartheid South Africa

Question: Do you think political parties are relevant in today’s society?

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The participants in the focus groups were asked if political parties are relevant in today’s society. Most participants in the focus groups felt that political parties are still relevant in the new South Africa post 1994. This aspect is emphasized by the following quotations:

“In any democratic society, political parties are relevant or else we could end up having a one party state, with the government pushing policies that no one can object to”. (NMMU student)

“It is very important for any country to have political parties who will put pressure on the ruling party to perform its duties”. (NMMU student)

“A multi party system is always relevant for consolidation of democracy”. (Interview)

“Political parties are needed in order to articulate the issues of young people in parliament. If it was not for youth political organizations we would not have defeated apartheid in South Africa. Steve Biko during his time advocated black consciousness under the umbrella of the South African Student Organization (SASO)”. (Interview)

“Our democracy requires political parties for different ideological views, not for one dogmatic way of thinking in society. Democracy does create a space for people to spell out their views publicly. In order to have good governance and capacity building the country needs political parties”. (Interview)
“Political parties are good at changing the status quo and providing direction to the government of the day”. (NMMU student)

Summary

Most participants in the focus groups felt that political parties are still relevant in the new South Africa post 1994. Moreover, these participants did not perceive a problem with the relevance of political parties in South Africa; forty or eighty percent of them indicated that they believe that a multi-party system is required for consolidation of democracy. On the other hand, ten participants indicated that political parties are not relevant at this juncture in South Africa.

5.10 Political parties and youth problems

Question: Do you think political parties are addressing problems that are faced by young people?

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Participants in the focus groups were asked if political parties in South Africa are addressing youth problems. Most of the participants in the focus groups felt that political parties in this day and age do not address the problems of young people. This aspect is emphasized by the following quotations:
“Political parties are only seen when it is voting time. After elections you do not see them again. Political parties in South Africa do not invite young people to their gatherings. There is no support for youth initiatives”. (NMMU student)

“Political parties are only focusing on occupying seats in Parliament. They only address youth problems when it’s convenient”. (NMMU student)

“Political parties usually care about party politics rather than youth problems”. (NMMU student)

“In South Africa, I believe we do not have political parties with good ideas and a vision for young people. Information is not disseminated properly to young people about youth programs”. (NMMU student)

“The ruling party should amend the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa in favour of the constituency system so that young people can stand as individuals in the national elections” (NMMU student).

**Summary**

Thirty five or seventy percent of the participants in the focus groups felt that political parties in this day and age do not address the problems of young people. These participants also felt that this is a major problem, because political parties are expected to be the voice of young people, particularly the poor. However, on the other hand, fifteen or thirty percent of the participants felt that political parties in South Africa are doing something about the problems faced by the youth.
5.11 Political membership

Question: Do you think it is important for young people to join or become a member of a political party?  

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Participants in the focus groups were asked if they think it is important for young people to join or become members of a political party. Most of the focus groups said that joining or becoming a member of a political party is important. This aspect is emphasized by the following quotations:

“Becoming a member of a political party is important for intellectual and capacity building purposes. Politics helps you to articulate issues properly; it also helps you to be aware of surrounding socio-economic problems”. (NMMU student)

“It is very important for young people to be part of a political structure, because part of the problem faced by this country is a lack of involvement of young people in political structures”. (NMMU student)

“Young people should give input on the issues pertaining to young people”. (NMMU student)
“Political parties under the influence of young people can make changes” (Interview).

“The involvement of young people in political parties will determine what kind of South Africa we are going to have”. (Interview)

“Political involvement will keep young people away from crime and drugs”. (Interview)

“Political knowledge increases one’s own level of thinking and helps us to understand socio-economic problems better”. (Interview)

**Summary**

Forty or eighty percent of the participants in the focus groups said that joining or becoming a member of a political party is important. These participants indicated that becoming a member of a political party is of paramount importance for intellectual and capacity building purposes. Furthermore, these participants also felt that they would have no problem joining or becoming a member of a political party. On the other hand, ten or twenty percent of the participants felt that young people should not join political parties because it’s boring and it’s a waste of time.

5.12 Political rallies or meetings

**Question:** Do you attend political rallies or meetings?

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The participants in the focus groups were asked if they attend political rallies or meetings? Most of the participants in the focus groups said they had never attended a political rally or meeting. Participants indicated:

“…Political meetings are no longer relevant to us young people. There is more to life than politics. Life does not revolve around boring politics. Politics are boring for me, they are for old people”. (NMMU student)

“We don’t benefit in any way from this government as young people. Why should we involve ourselves in politics? Political meetings are called for those who benefiting from the government, not young people from working class backgrounds”. (NMMU student)

A participant voiced:

“Political parties are not doing anything for young people so I see no reason, why young people should attend political gatherings” (NMMU student).

**Summary**

Forty or eighty percent of the participants in the focus groups said they had never attended political rallies or meetings. These participants indicated that political parties are not important for them. Furthermore, these participants pointed out that they had no problem with not attending political meetings. This re-inforces the view that young people are politically apathetic. On the other hand, ten or twenty percent of the participants in the focus group felt that political parties are important in decision making; these participants felt that not attending political meetings is a problem.
5.13 Political columns of the newspapers

Question: Do you read political columns of newspapers?

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Participants in the focus groups were asked if they read political columns in newspapers. Most of the participants in the focus groups said they never read political columns. This aspect is emphasized by the following quotations:

“I think young people are generally not interested in politics. Hence, they do not read political columns in newspapers”. (NMMU student)

“Perhaps political parties should start recruiting young people to join political structures. Participation by young people in political structures will encourage them to read political columns” (NMMU student).

**Summary**

All of the participants in the focus groups said they do not read newspaper columns. They indicated that they felt that not reading political columns is not a concern. This shows that young people in South Africa seem to have no interest in politics. Reading newspapers shows that one is interested in his or her surroundings.
5.14 Writing letters to newspaper editors

Question: Do you write letters to newspaper editors?  No  %

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Participants in the focus groups were asked if they write letters to newspaper editors. All of the participants said they had never written letters to newspaper editors. This aspect is emphasized by the following quotations:

“Writing letters to newspapers is very important. It is a sign of intellectualism, that one is concerned about public issues. I think young people should start doing that frequently. It will show that they are interested about what is happening around them instead of being perpetually silent about political issues”. (NMMU student)

“The media is a platform for public discourse, young people should voice their views by writing letters to the newspapers”. (NMMU student)

Summary

All the participants in the focus groups said they do not write letters to newspaper editors. Moreover, these participants indicated that they do not think failing to write letters to newspapers is an issue. This phenomenon shows that young people in South Africa seem to have no interest in politics. Writing letters to newspaper editors is very important in consolidating democracy. Democracy requires public debate and this can be done through the media particularly the newspapers by writing letters to newspaper editors.
5.15 Letters to political representatives

Questions: Do you write letters to your political representatives?

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Participants in the focus groups were asked if they had written letters to political representatives. All of the participants said they had never written any letters to political representatives. This aspect is emphasized by the following quotations:

“There is no point for us to write letters to political representatives because they don’t do what we say as young people, so it defeats the whole purpose of writing a letter” (NMMU student).

“Political representatives don’t listen to the people. They do their own things. To me that is undemocratic because democracy is about the people (public) not personal interest” (NMMU student).
Summary

All the participants in the focus groups said that they had never written any letters to their political representatives. Furthermore, the participants point out that they do not think it is a problem not to write letters to political representatives. One should interpret this as a lack of political interest in young people. This clearly indicates that young people have no political relationship with their leaders. The question that one should ask is, what are the implications of this for our democracy, can democracy be consolidated without youth participation? There is only one answer to this question; democracy can never be consolidated without young people.  

Young people should hold their political representatives accountable or political leaders will abuse their powers without having to explain anything to their constituency. Writing letters to political representatives can also be regarded as the exercise of freedom of expression, which is a cornerstone of democracy and a fundamental right entrenched in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, section 16.

97 Andrew Heywood is of the opinion that “the starting point from which to consider the nature of democracy is Abraham Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address, delivered in 1863 at the height of the American Civil War. Lincoln extolled the virtues of what he called government of the people, by the people, for the people” (2002:68). Professor Robert Dahl (1971:3) follows the same of line of thinking when he argues that democracy requires maximum participation from a large number of people. According to Dahl, the necessary institutional guarantees are:

1. Freedom to form and join organizations
2. Freedom of expression
3. Right to vote
4. Right of political leaders to compete for support
5. Right to embark on scientific research

Day, Moyser and Parry (1992:3) are also of the view that ‘government by the people’ is the fundamental definition of democracy and one which implies maximum participation by the people. They go further to say political participation takes place in the processes of policy formulation, passage and implementation of public policies. They assert that it is concerned with the action citizens aimed at influencing decisions which are, in most cases, ultimately taken by political representatives and public officials. They conclude that democracy is not possible without maximum participation. This matter is discussed extensively in chapter two of the study. Furthermore, chapter two of the study lays out a theoretical framework for democracy.

98 Gavin Bradshaw (2007:272) makes an interesting point that “even stable Western democracies experience unrest from time to time”.


5.16 Political apathy and the youth

Do you think that political apathy is a problem among the youth of South Africa?

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<td>Yes, to an extent</td>
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The participants in the focus groups were asked if political apathy is a problem amongst the youth of South Africa. Most of the participants in the focus groups felt that political apathy is a problem amongst young people.

A participant indicated:

“Any nation whose youth engages in political activities is likely to find good leaders and unfortunately this is not the case in South Africa”. (NMMU student)

A participant voiced:

“Young people are future leaders and they need to participate in politics. If young people are not part of decision making the country will be leaderless”. (NMMU student)
Summary

Thirty five or seven percent of the participants in the focus groups said that political apathy is a problem amongst the young people of South Africa. These participants pointed out that young people are future leaders and should be involved in decision making processes. On the other hand, fifteen or thirty percent of the participants in the focus groups argued very strongly that it makes no difference whether young people are involved in politics or not, because the government does not listen to people, they do what they like.

5.17 Conclusion

In summary, this research has demonstrated that the majority of students at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University do not belong to any political party and have never voted before even though they were eligible to do so. This shows that young people seem to have no interest in politics. Capitalism was identified as the leading cause of political disengagement amongst young people post 1994. “The problem is the education system of this country; it is capitalistic in nature and in character. It focuses on individualism not on collectivism. The education we were given is not objective, it reflects a particular ideology which is capitalism, it is selfish and has no love or humanity”, (SRC member). Most of the participants agreed with the above point of view. Furthermore, most of the participants in the focus groups indicated that young people have no interest in politics. They perceive politics as boring and a waste of time. Participants in the focus groups lambasted the government for not listening to the people who elected them. Perhaps the government should take this seriously. The other issue raised by the participants was the government’s macro-economic policy,
Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR). Most participants in the focus groups accused the government of implementing neo-liberal policies which are anti-poor.\footnote{Conflict resolution expert Gavin Bradshaw (2007:364) suggests that the government should review its neo-liberal macro-economic policies. Precisely because they do not benefit everyone, particularly the youth.} All of the participants in the focus groups indicated that the government is not responding to youth problems. Perceptions of nepotism in the Municipality were evident in some of the statements made by participants. HIV/AIDS, substance abuse, inadequate education, poverty and unemployment were problems raised by young people in the Nelson Mandela Bay. The rationale behind the study was to examine youth political apathy within the context of consolidation of democracy.\footnote{Professor Tom Lodge (1999:1) is of the opinion that “starting democracy is easier than keeping it”. He goes further to say that democratic consolidation depends entirely on the quality of political culture. “In this respect voters attitudes are of paramount importance. Ideally, free voter choice should not just be the expression of the absence of fear but should also represent choice that is considered and well informed about the alternative policies embodied in different political parties” (Lodge,1991:3). Political theorists Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman (1995:15) understand “democratic consolidation as a process through which acceptance of a given set of constitutional rules becomes less directly contingent on immediate rewards”. They go further to say that consolidation of democracy depends not only on economic performance, but on how representative institutions structure distributive outcome. Linz and Stepan (1996:10) state that democratic consolidation requires a range of parties, one of whose principal tasks is precisely to aggregate and represent difference between democrats. They go on to say that consolidation requires that habituation to the norms, values and procedures of democratic conflict regulation be developed. They conclude that in order for a country to achieve democratic consolidation, the necessary degree of autonomy and independence of civil society and political structures must be further embedded in and supported by the rule of law (Linz and Stepan, 1996:10). Diamandouros, Gunther and Puhle (1995:5) point out that in order to arrive at the conclusion that democratic consolidation has succeeded in a particular case, it is necessary first to ascertain whether the regime is fully democratic and then to determine if that regime is consolidated. They go further to say “that democratic consolidation also contributes to stability by reducing the intensity of the expression of political conflict by restricting it to peaceful institutionalized channels”. Day, Moyser and Parry (1992:3) assert that “government by the people is the fundamental definition of democracy, and one which implies participation by the people. Without public participation there is no democracy.” Public participation is a cornerstone of democracy. Among other things, this includes transparency, accountability, regular elections and public discourse on policy matters. Political theoretician Professor Robert Dahl (1971) echoes the above assertions when he argues that public participation is of paramount importance for consolidation of democracy. Democratic consolidation can never be achieved without the active participation of young people. Young people, particularly those in institutions of higher learning are part of the intelligentsia. Therefore they should speak out against financial exclusion in tertiary institutions and corruption in the public sector. Chapter two of the study lays out a clear conceptualisation of democratic consolidation.}
CHAPTER 6

Limitations, Recommendations and Conclusion

“A research report should end with a solid conclusion of what has been discussed about the subject matter, where future research might be directed” (Babbie, 2004:490).

“Research is like a story that has a beginning, middle, and an end. Scientific research is an intellectual activity in which we search for a solution or answer to a problem” (Lotter, in Rossouw, 2003:84).

In this final chapter the writer will outline the limitations of the study, and subsequently make brief recommendations for future enquiries, followed by the conclusion of this investigation.

6.1 Limitations of this study

This inquiry focused only on black students at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU). It did not include whites, coloureds and Indian students at the University. Moreover, this study only identified NMMU students as participants in the research. Young people who are not students (unemployed and employed) were not included in the sample of this study. It is understood that a different sample might have yielded different results.

6.2 Recommendations for future inquiries

Because the research concentrated only on political apathy amongst students at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU), with black participants, I recommend that future inquiries on “youth political apathy” should include whites, Indians and coloureds. This could be done by employing both qualitative and quantitative methodological traditions. Furthermore, participants in future studies should include unemployed and employed young people. It should not be confined to NMMU.
Other topics and areas of research concerning youth politics should include the socio-economic conditions of young people in post-apartheid South Africa. The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) needs to develop a training program that is designed to educate young people about the importance of voting. Furthermore, any political party victorious in 2009 elections should consider establishing a youth ministry (department).

This ministry will focus specifically on youth issues. Among other things, this new department will look at issues such as the political involvement of young people, young people infected with HIV and AIDS, young people who are impoverished, young people who are abused by their parents as well as skills development amongst young people. This is a practical idea, for instance Uganda has a youth department that concentrates particularly on youth issues. This ministry works very well in Uganda; this idea can be applicable in South Africa. In addition, Political Science and History should be made compulsory by the South African government at high school. This will raise levels of political consciousness amongst young people. Kwaito and South African Hip Pop artists should conscientize young people by making songs that have political messages. These songs should address poverty, unemployment, education, crime, moral values, and entrepreneurship, and HIV and AIDS. Lastly, the government should hold youth forums each and every month with the objective of addressing youth problems.
6.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, the writer will integrate all aspects of the study into one coherent argument. The introductory chapter provided the most important concerns of the research into youth political apathy in the new South Africa. Political apathy amongst young people is a new phenomenon in post apartheid South Africa. The findings of the research have outlined the difference between the youth of 1976 and the youth of today. This study was an attempt to examine the causes of youth political apathy in the post-apartheid South Africa, with specific reference to Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. The target group was NMMU black undergraduate and post-graduate students aged 21-35. The researcher has made use of unstructured individual interviews to gain a deeper understanding of “youth political apathy” and/or clarify issues identified after analyzing the questionnaires.\(^\text{101}\) Moreover, the researcher has utilized a qualitative method so as to be able to gain an in-depth understanding about political apathy amongst young people at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

The researcher has adhered to all ethical measures during and after the execution of the investigation. The privacy of all participants was assured and they were also told of prevalent ethical considerations (Pieterse, 2004:9). According to the participants at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, political apathy amongst students at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University does exist. They say that this is due to the influence of capitalism and the ushering in of democracy in South Africa.

\(^{101}\) See also Pieterse (2004:9)
Young people in the new South Africa have rights; they have a right to participate or not to participate in politics. This research finds that young people in post-apartheid South Africa choose not to be politically active due to the influence of capitalist values such as materialism and individualism. The political environment has changed in South Africa. Young people are not motivated by youth structures to participate in politics. Furthermore, participants in the research blamed the education system for not encouraging young people to participate in politics. They have argued that South Africa has a capitalistic education system which focuses on individual needs. This argument pointed out above leads one to arrive at the conclusion that, individualism and cultural confusion are the causes of youth political apathy in South Africa. Young people are only interested in entertainment and are not in political activities. This research has demonstrated that the youth of today are different from the youth of 1976. The youth of 1976 were politically baptized by the youth of 1944. These young people were prepared to die for freedom.

The youth of 1976 were influenced by black consciousness; they saw the independence of Mozambique as a sign of freedom. However, young people in post-apartheid South Africa are disengaged from politics. The youth of today are faced with different challenges such as HIV/AIDS, poverty, unemployment and illiteracy. Young people should take a stand and be involved in politics. Political decisions affect everyone including young people. Young people should participate in democratic institutions in order to deepen the values of democracy in society. Democracy is not an event; it is a process that needs to be consolidated (De Villiers, 1993:45).
Consolidation of democracy requires everyone to participate in government affairs. Young people are future leaders and they need to participate in politics. Writing letters to newspapers can help young people in expressing their views. The media is a platform for public discourse; young people should take advantage of South Africa’s free press by engaging frequently in public debate. All of the participants in the research indicated that they had never written a letter to a newspaper editor. Writing letters to newspapers is very important. It is a sign of intellectualism, that one is concerned about public issues. Young people should occupy their political space in South Africa’s political discourse. The research has shown that students at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University acknowledge that political apathy is a problem amongst the youth of South Africa. As a participant indicated: “any nation whose youth is engaged in political activities is likely to find good leaders and unfortunately it is not the case in South Africa”.

On the other hand, the government is not doing enough in addressing the socio-economic problems of young people. Most participants in the research pointed out that the government is failing to address youth problems. Unemployment is a major problem in Nelson Mandela Bay. This is due to the current macro-economic policy. “Privatization of state institutions has created unemployment amongst young people. Young people have been retrenched at work due to the implementation of privatization” (Haupt-Bans, interview conducted 17 September 2008). Perhaps the government should consider changing its unfriendly macro-economic policy. Precisely because the current one is neo-liberal and pro-business, it marginalizes young people from poor backgrounds. In this way young people are discouraged from participating in politics.

102 Political decisions made by political leaders affect everyone young and old. Therefore every one should be actively involved in politics. In this way democracy can be consolidated through active participation.
Young people, mostly, from working class backgrounds are not able to study at institutions of higher learning due to the reduction of government expenditure outlined in the GEAR document. This implies that education is only accessed by young people from middle class and bourgeoisie backgrounds. Education is a right not a privilege.\textsuperscript{103} It must be accessed by everyone, the poor and the rich. The economic literature consulted in this study has indicated that the government does not spend a lot of money on education. The government should provide free education to young people who can not afford tertiary education. Education should not be made a commodity.

In preparation for the 2009 election, political parties in South Africa should convince young people to vote for them. This could raise the level of political consciousness amongst young people. Furthermore, this attempt will make young people interested in joining political parties. In addition, political parties should start by helping young people to get Identity Documents (ID). This will also assist young people who are unemployed without (ID’s) to find employment. All political parties, across the political spectrum, should acknowledge that young people in South Africa constitute the majority of the population. This means that political parties in South Africa need to appeal to young people.

\textsuperscript{103} According to the Political bible of the African National Congress, Freedom Charter (1955:5-6), “the doors of learning and culture shall be opened. The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace. Education shall be free; compulsory; universal and equal for all children. Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit.”
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INTERVIEWS

Interview with Professor Howcraft of Psychology, (15, August 2008, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University South Campus, Nelson Mandela Bay), Interviewed by Ntsikelelo Breakfast)

Interview with Crosby Bacela (16 August 2008, Brister House, Nelson Mandela Bay), Interviewed by Ntsikelelo Breakfast.


Interview with Haupt Daniel Political Science Lecturer (22 September 2008, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University Vista Campus, Nelson Mandela Bay), Interviewed by Ntsikelelo Breakfast.

Oral information given to the participants prior the study

Home address
6 Keur Boom Crescent
Algoa Park
Port Elizabeth
6001

Good day Sir/Madam

My name is Ntsikelelo (Benjamin) Breakfast (contact number 0762175159). I am currently doing my final year (Masters in Political Science) at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. My research topic is titled: An investigation into political apathy amongst students: A case study of Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. My supervisor is Dr Gavin Bradshaw (Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political and Governmental Studies) at NMMU, office number 504 2913, door number 04 (11 Floor). Do not hesitate to contact him if you have questions. I would appreciate it if you could participate in the study. Nonetheless, participation is voluntary in this study. No one is forced to take part in this study. All the names of the participants will be kept anonymous in order to ensure confidentiality (Pieterse, 2004:9). Furthermore, participants in this study will not receive any remuneration. The main aim of this study is to gain a thorough understand of the causes of youth political apathy in South Africa with specific reference to Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. The sample of this study consists of undergraduate and post-graduate black students of the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. Please feel free to ask the researcher to clarify anything that is not clearly to you (Research Ethics Committee, 2008). This study will not cause any harm to the participants.
This research is undertaken by Ntsikelelo Breakfast for his Masters dissertation in Political Science at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

Questionnaire

Gender
| Male | Female |

Age
| 21-28 | 28-35 |

Race group
| Black | White | Asian | Coloured |

Under which category do you fall under in the blocks below
| University student | High school learner | Employed | Entrepreneur | Unemployed |

Thinking about political issues in the new South Africa:
Please give your considered answer to the following question

Are you a member of a political party?
| Yes | No |

Have you voted before in the local or national government elections?
| Yes | No |

Do you think it is important for young people to be involved in politics?
| Yes | No |

Please give reasons for your answer

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Do you think young people are interested in politics in today’s society?

| Yes | No |

Please give reasons for your answer
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Is there any difference between the political thinking of the youth of today and the youth of 1976?

| Yes | No |

If you think there are important differences – what would you say these are
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What kind of problems are young people currently facing in the Nelson Mandela Bay (Port Elizabeth)?
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Do you feel that the government is responding to these problems?

| Yes, very much | Yes, to an extent | Unsure | Hardly | Not at all |

Please give reasons for your answer
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Do you think political parties are relevant in today’s society?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes, very much</th>
<th>Yes, to an extent</th>
<th>Unsure</th>
<th>Hardly</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Please give reasons for your answer?

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Do you think political parties are addressing problems that are faced by young people?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes, very much</th>
<th>Yes, to an extent</th>
<th>Unsure</th>
<th>Hardly</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Please give reasons for your answer

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Do you think it is important for young people to join or become a member of a political party?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes, very much</th>
<th>Yes, to an extent</th>
<th>Unsure</th>
<th>Hardly</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Please give reasons for your answer

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Thinking about my recent political activity:
Tick the box most accurately reflects your situation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Frequently</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Hardly at all</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I attend political rallies/meetings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>I read political columns of the newspaper</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I write letters to the newspaper editor</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I write letters to my political representatives</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Do you think that political apathy is a problem among the youth of South Africa?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequently</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Hardly at all</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, very much</td>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
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Please give reasons for your answer?

Commissioned by Mr. Ntsikelelo Breakfast (Masters in Political Science)
Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
2008