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Staking Out a Place Amidst Shifting Soils

Understanding Contemporary South Africa Through Social Memory

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in Human Rights and Democratisation



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UNDERSTANDING CONTEMPORARY SOUTH AFRICA
THROUGH SOCIAL MEMORY

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Arriving in South Africa in mid-2015, little did I know that this country would soon both capture me and feel like home. Here I am, in July 2017, completing my Master's thesis centring around the pulse of the nation. I suppose it is true, unyawo alunampumlo, your feet have no nose.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank those who helped make this work possible. Firstly, thank you to uGogo Sizani Ngubane, without her I would never have come to South Africa in the first place. She continues to be a model of hard-work, creativity, leadership and integrity. Secondly, thank you to all the interviewees for their time and honesty. Without all of you, this work would not have been possible.

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BIOGRAPHY

Raised in Canada, Richard Raber's writing has been featured by platforms including Daily Maverick, Open Democracy, Thought Leader, Ricochet and New Politics. In addition to his E.MA Degree, he holds a Bachelor of Arts Honours Degree in History from the University of Winnipeg. He aims to further this research in the pursuit of a Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

Staking Out a Place Amidst Shifting Soils: Understanding Contemporary South Africa Through Social Memory begins with the premise of global turbulence. The End of History as the global modus operandi rests on unstable ground. Within this context, South Africa is explored, as the nation's transition has been held up as emblematic of the new and final epoch of human history.

The work aims to understand the ways in which various actors conceive their place in society, the state of the nation, as well as visions for the future through story-telling and memory, primarily obtained through interviews. Directly researched issues are apartheid amnesia and discursive limits, performative memory, familial legacies of the past, Rainbowism, Democracy, and contemporary memory. Thematically woven into the research are themes of competing temporalities, debates pertaining to current student movements, the nation's transitional period, the Truth and Reconciliation process, controversies over public space and semiotics, and the Marikana Massacre.

The work concludes by highlighting a state of uncertainty across different segments of society, a nervousness of sorts. In this context, the work calls for reconceptualising and redefining progress, as well as a new theoretical engagement between human rights and equity.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMCU	Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union
ANC	African National Congress
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
RMF	#RhodesMustFall
RWM	Rural Women's Movement
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UCT	University of Cape Town

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1.

INTRODUCTION: MEMORY AND VULNERABILITY
IN TURBULENT TIMES

Despair? I brooded. To despair, you should have had knowledge before. You should have gone through the tart sensations of experience, have felt the first flush of knowledge, the first stabs of hope, have encountered reality and toyed with the shifting, tantalizing promises that shadow-play across life's tapestries, have stretched out, first tentative arms, then wildly grasping hands, and have discovered the disappointment of the evanescence of all things that come from the voids to tickle men's fancies, sharpen men's appetites and rouse futile aspirations, only to vanish back into the voids. Ultimately, you should have looked into the face of death and known the paralysing power of fear.¹
Can Themba, *The Will to Die*

I would hurl words into this darkness and wait for an echo, and if an echo sounded, no matter how faintly, I would send other words to tell, to march, to fight, to create a sense of the hunger for life that gnaws in us all, to keep alive in our hearts a sense of the inexpressibly human.²
Richard Wright, *Black Boy*

Our current historical moment is one of flux, of teetering. Globally, we face the rise of authoritarianism embodied in the ascendance of Trump, Duterte, Modi and the triumph of the xenophobic leadership behind Brexit.³ The global order conceived by Francis Fukuyama in his

¹ Can Themba, *The Will to Die* (Donald Stuart and Roy Holland (eds), first published 1972, Creda Press 1985) 21 (emphasis added).

² Richard Wright, *Black Boy (American Hunger): A Record of Childhood and Youth* (first published 1944, Harper Collins 2009 eBook) 920 (emphasis added).

³ Richard Raber, 'We Are Talking at Rather Than to Each Other' *Daily Maverick* (Johannesburg, 2 December 2016) <<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2016-12-02-we-are-talking-at-rather-than-to-each-other>> accessed 5 March 2017.

notable work, *The End of History*, is being undermined from both the left and the right; chauvinism from the right, as well as calls for a new paradigm reflected by leftist hails in the name of decolonisation. While questions such as *will our institutions remain? how will they change?* and *what kind of societies will emerge in the near future?* are outside the scope of this work, the aim is that this research will contribute to the work of others in pursuing such prescient issues.

Chief to Fukuyama's narrative is that the equalising force of liberal democracy will continue to spread throughout the world; indeed, that a democratising Progress is inevitable. For Fukuyama, this reflects the failures of particularistic (as opposed to universalistic) ideologies such as 20th century fascism which overlooked or 'denied the existence of a common humanity or equality of human rights.'⁴ The current wave of authoritarianism highlights that not only was Fukuyama's historicity dangerously linear but perhaps more importantly, that the vision he predicted -a world respectful of human rights, liberal democracy- is receding away.

South Africa is a potent unit for analysing our changing times as the nation's democratic transition and post-apartheid era is often held up as emblematic of *The End of History*. Accordingly, the first decade of post-apartheid South Africa is often conceived as being characterised by reconciliation and the fostering of the Rainbow Nation. The following decade can be considered to be one of constitutionalism – challenging cultural and political issues were deemed to be negotiable or mediated through the courts. Moreover, South Africa's international image during these periods was projected to be shaped around the rule of law, liberal internationalism as well as a lesson in the possibilities of forgiveness, compassion and democratisation.

Placing South Africa within our contemporary circumstances raises the spectre of (at least) two competing visions. Firstly, a shift away from the values of liberalism and the rule of law, demonstrated in the international realm by the nation's intent to exit the International Criminal Court and shown domestically by accusations against President Zuma of state capture as well as recurring periods of xenophobic violence. Secondly, a vision articulated by Sisonke Msimang of a *new* New South Africa

⁴ Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and The Last Man* (Macmillan, 1992), 16, 279-80, 338-39.

reflecting a collapse of compromise as a tenant of political practice and discourse led by (amongst others) the *born-free* generation.⁵ This raises the central issue of this work, *within such shifting soils, how do various actors in South Africa conceive of reality and indeed their place in society. Moreover, how does memory shape and reflect such conceptions?*

In seeking to further understand the current political atmosphere in South Africa, social memory amongst disparate communities and actors in the nation will be investigated. *How do communities remember and why are specific memories emphasised? How does a particular social actor's memory shape their conception of reality? How does memory promote one of many competing visions for society? And which ethics or understandings of ostensibly shared values are reflected in memory?* Such questions must be considered in understanding contemporary debates over public space and semiotics, traditional governance, education, reconciliation, leadership, human rights, postracialism, xenophobia and land rights.

In our contemporary era, marked by the rising institutionalisation of chauvinism, the ethics underscoring this research is reflected in Paul Gilroy's seminal work, *Postcolonial Melancholia*:

it is important to ask what critical perspectives might nurture the ability and the desire to live with difference on an increasingly divided but also convergent planet? We need to know what sorts of insight and reflection might actually help increasingly differentiated societies and anxious individuals to cope successfully with the challenges involved in dwelling comfortably in proximity to the unfamiliar without becoming fearful and hostile. We need to consider whether the scale upon which sameness and difference are calculated might be altered productively so that the strangeness of strangers goes out of focus and other dimensions of a basic sameness can be acknowledged and made significant.⁶

We occupy a world that is paradoxically both increasingly connected and divided. Yet what continues to thread humanity together is vulnerability: *to be is to be vulnerable*. Memory is one of the best tools in

⁵ Sisonke Msimang, 'Shutdown – On the Death of Compromise in South Africa' (*Africa is a Country*, 11 October 2016) <<http://africasacountry.com/2016/10/shutdown-on-the-death-of-compromise-in-south-africa/>> accessed 10 May 2017.

⁶ Paul Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholia* (Columbia University Press 2005) 3-4 (emphasis added).

understanding this as it is our collective and personal repository of pain, trauma and triumph. The vulnerability captured or reflected in memory (or lack thereof) serves as an ingredient in the glue to bind us together.

Recognition of commonalities is vital in preventing drifts towards the safe-havens of stability, the manufactured differences that all-too-often help us make sense of an often senseless world: race, gender, sexuality, ability, religion and the like. Gilroy correctly notes the power in crafting humanness or who is deemed to be a person deserving of dignity rather than 'a sub- or inhuman'; vulnerability continues to be highlighted as a foundational tenant to a universal humanity. In this respect, this research project is inextricably linked to my political pursuit of a cosmopolitan future while rejecting a politics of despair and division as embodied in Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*.⁷

Moving forward, global solidarity efforts must consciously build '*translocal connections*'⁸ predicated on common vulnerability and shared responsibility. This research aims to contribute in some small way towards this by shaping and demonstrating lessons to be gleaned from South African experiences for those of us in Europe, North America and elsewhere. While the notion of localising human rights is gaining momentum, this research serves as a corollary to this intellectual and practical configuration. Humility and reflexivity inevitably must underpin the importation of knowledge, experience and wisdom from human rights struggles abroad.

This research will be consciously guided by reflexivity; Adam Hochschild's work, *The Mirror at Midnight*, exemplifies the necessity for an ethic of positionality to thread the course of research, passing through the researcher themselves as well as the interviewees. Positionality will be evinced in the open-ended (and often autobiographic) nature of the interview questions. Further, the positionality and ideological foundation is undoubtedly ingrained and reflected in the researcher's theoretical interpretation.

⁷ Huntington famously claimed 'that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural.' Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (Simon & Schuster, 1996) 32. To underscore the dangers of this thinking, please see, Gilroy, P. *Postcolonial Melancholia* (Columbia University Press 2005) 37.

⁸ Gilroy, P. *Postcolonial Melancholia* (Columbia University Press 2005) 5 (emphasis added).

Social and popular media analysis will also be used. An interesting example of this is demonstrated by comments made on Facebook in relation to a recent *Daily Maverick* piece. The wide range of comments reflect competing conceptions of entitlement to land, race relations and indeed citizenship.⁹

⁹ Daily Maverick to Facebook Web Forum, 'Parliament: Zuma Calls on ANC to Unite with EFF to Change Constitution on Land Issues' (*Facebook*, 3 March 2017) <[https://www.facebook.com/dailymaverick/posts/%20%20%20%20%20%20%2010155554829555839](https://www.facebook.com/dailymaverick/posts/%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%2010155554829555839)> accessed 4 March 2017.

2.

AUTHOR'S NOTE ON REFLEXIVITY

In keeping with vital tenants of positionality, reflexivity and intellectual humility, it is important to note how my previous experiences and ideological foundations may impact this research.

As this research centres around South Africa, it is important to note my affiliations there. I have been involved with the Rural Women's Movement (RWM) since 2015; my experiences working with rural communities has inevitably shaped my understandings of equity, justice as well as other themes coursing this context. Further, some of the interviewees are friends, colleagues and acquaintances from my time there, again, while this colours my interpretation, this will be noted where applicable. Lastly, as a journalist and political commentator, my writing has been featured in prominent South African media including *Daily Maverick* and the Mail & Guardian's *Thought Leader* platform; in this way, I serve as a small fold in the fabric this research examines.

Inextricably linked to my interpretations are my upbringing, education and associated ideological outlook. I often refer to my hometown, Winnipeg, Canada, as the proverbial urban ground-zero for the settler state. Hosting many of the poorest urban communities in Canada, as a child, Winnipeg sensitised me to the often racialised nature of economic, political, social and representational exclusion. Undoubtedly, this has markedly impacted my readings of political contexts in Canada, South Africa and elsewhere. For instance, after arriving in South Africa, I recognised some of the (at times intentional)¹⁰ parallels between reservations in my country of birth and apartheid's

¹⁰ Yves Engler, 'Our Shame: Canada Supported Apartheid South Africa' (*Canadian Dimension*, 26 December 2013) <<https://canadiandimension.com/articles/view/our-shame-canada-supported-apartheid-south-africa1>> accessed 8 March 2017.

homeland system. Within such contexts, sometimes there is familiarity in difference; the familiar becomes understood through the foreign.

Shaping my intellectual outlook has also been the education imparted to me by educators at my alma mater, the University of Winnipeg, as well as by my family. Educators such as Professors Paul Lawrie, Eliakim Sibanda, Ahmet Seyhun, Lloyd Kornelsen, Jason Hannan and Ray Silvius taught me the value of intellectual reflexivity as well as academic work as political work. In this vein, through many actions, my mother demonstrated to me empathy in practice, always holding it as a privileged value. Lastly, the experience of my paternal grandparents as Holocaust survivors underpins the urgency of my efforts towards a future of justice and the realisation of human rights. Accordingly, this pursuit follows a dynamic re-evaluation or ‘negation and transformation’¹¹ reflected in calls by the great (and often misunderstood or misrepresented) Frantz Fanon, that ‘the last shall be first.’¹²

In honestly and openly recognising my own biases, complete objectivity is impossible. The nature of this research embraces this as memory both in formation and application is subjective. While this may be the case, I conceive of this as an opportunity for readers to be provoked, to become engaged, to form their own interpretations and contribute their own findings.

¹¹ Cornel West, *Prophesy Deliverance! An Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity* (first published 1982, Westminster John Knox Press 2002) 18.

¹² Frantz Fanon, Richard Philcox (tr), *The Wretched of the Earth*. Trans. Richard Philcox (first published 1963, Grove Press 1963) 2.

3.

METHODOLOGY

As this work is more concerned with what various actors think, how they feel as opposed to an objective or hard truth, the methodology used is qualitative rather than quantitative in nature. This methodology and one aim of this research is to serve, in a small way, to rectify a consistent instrumentalisation of South Africa's modern history (particularly its transition period), by outsiders: many South Africans are spoken for and to, rather than heard. This work is largely concerned with expanding the conversation surrounding both South Africa's present and past.

Much of the foundation for this work is based on interviews conducted in South Africa during March and April 2017. The selected interviewees, as well as a brief biography for each, will be listed following this section. The interviewees were selected in an attempt to have a diverse range of voices. Unfortunately, though I reached out to some ultra-conservative actors, none responded to my interview requests. This could be related to my position in South African media; however, this is only speculation.

The interviews themselves were open-ended and free-flowing, although there were recurring themes which I tried to include in the process: apartheid amnesia; legacies and memories of apartheid; conceptions of Rainbowism and Democracy; and interpretations of the present. Within these themes, many other issues emerged, including intergenerational memory and temporalities, current student movements, the transition to Democracy, the Truth and Reconciliation process, debates over public space and semiotics, as well as the Marikana Massacre. The over-arching themes were selected as they are either of great public debate and controversy or particularly salient for understanding competing conceptions as to how society ought to be designed and shaped.

Perhaps the rationale behind each dominant theme ought to be

explored. Often the present is an ideal starting point for the past, in this vein, apartheid amnesia, denialism and apologetics is an interesting point of departure. Many cleavages and contemporary controversies arise as to how colonialism/apartheid *is and ought to be remembered*. Highlighting this was the scandal surrounding the tweets of the Democratic Alliance icon and Western Cape Premier, Helen Zille, wherein she claimed that not ‘EVERY aspect of colonialism was bad’¹³ and that colonialism brought Progress such as the ‘independent judiciary, transport infrastructure, piped water etc.’¹⁴ Some rushed to the defence of Zille while others viewed the comments as racist. Much of the response was laced with political and racial connotations embodying the problematic of negotiating the contemporary settler state.

In addressing the legacies of apartheid, perceptions of transformation become clear through one’s place and role in society; *what has changed, what has not, has emancipation taken place, if so, how?* Addressing this in theoretical as well as personal terms, competing visions for society crystallise. In addressing this, it is fascinating to observe whether legacies are spoken of in and through aesthetic, economic, spatial, collective, singular or psychological terms.

Rainbowism (and non-racialism) has been a dominant theme in post-apartheid South Africa. Moreover, it is one of the most prominent themes in international discourse surrounding South Africa, particularly the nation’s miraculous transition led by Nelson Mandela. *Has it worked, what does it look like and where is it?* These are vital questions in understanding how various South African actors conceive of the state of the nation as well as integration both conceptually and in practice.

A generation beyond minority-rule, *how effective has Democracy been, what does it look like, does it exist, what has or has not changed and what work needs to be done?* These questions pulse through many contemporary debates while reflecting generational shifts, ideological disparities and competing social visions.

Threading the entirety of the research are interpretations of the present

¹³ Helen Zille, ‘Getting onto an aeroplane now and won’t get onto the wi-fi so that I can cut off those who think EVERY aspect of colonial legacy was bad.’ (*Twitter*, 16 March 2017) <<https://twitter.com/helenzille/status/842273359740178432>> accessed 17 March 2017.

¹⁴ Helen Zille, ‘For those claiming legacy of colonialism was ONLY negative, think of our independent judiciary, transport infrastructure, piped water etc.’ (*Twitter*, 15 March 2017) <<https://twitter.com/helenzille/status/842260539644497921>> accessed 17 March 2017.

as memory is often imputed with values, challenges and the like from the current moment. However, at the conclusion of each interview, each interviewee was asked *what characterises the present period, how will it be remembered?* In this way, responses directly displayed various conceptions as to one's place in society, illuminating their hopes, worries and despairs. The responses are also implicitly a prediction for the future as a period is partially remembered by anticipations for what the future holds.

The ideas, stories and opinions gleaned from this independent research will then be put in dialogue with competing and complementary narratives found in social media, traditional media and organisational statements.

This research deals with memory, both *past* and *contemporary*: *how does one remember the previous era, their own life's transition, and, how is the present understood?* In this way, it should be re-emphasised that this work deals both with conventional memory and history as well as with contemporary memory and history. Interviewees responded in various ways, some through story, others theory, some were incredibly open with their personal and familial lives, others relatively closed. To reflect this variation, both story-telling, as well as various forms of analysis including comparative, interpretive and historical frameworks, will be utilised.

As the research is rooted in memories gleaned (largely) from the interviews, it is vital to consider a few factors. Until relatively recently, within a lifetime, the South African state was formally exclusionary to the majority of the population; primarily on the lines of race (articulated in law and through space) but also gender, religion, sexuality and the like. Accordingly, the vast majority of the population (like other marginalised communities) not only had their human rights denied but their histories, experiences and worldviews. Essentially, the vast majority of people were instrumentalised, 'inserted into history (or in this case, History) by negation, backwards and upside down...dispossessed and disinherited from a past which was never properly [theirs].'¹⁵

Accordingly, the distinction between memory and history must be understood. This distinction is perhaps best illustrated by Wendell Hassan Marsh:

Because memory is so often developed from non-written texts, these

¹⁵ Stuart Hall & Bill Schwarz, *Familiar Strangers: Life Between Two Islands*, (Duke University Press 2017) 61.

narratives are more difficult to trace because of the scarcity of traces; but deep in the ideologies, practices, and politics of those denied history is an ethereal yet very real memory that is un-stated but nonetheless dis-static. In other words, History is the science of the state, while memory is the art of the stateless.¹⁶

Historical forces shape, structure and formalise our lives. Conversely, memory is how we experience, feel and meaningfully express our existence. Fusing memory with historical discourse provides the potential for a reintroduction of personal and collective agency as well as for an expanded sense of the public. This is particularly pertinent given the context of continued hyper-inequity¹⁷ in contemporary South Africa.

Most importantly, memory and stories contain a reservoir of knowledge, emotion, feelings and worldviews, specifically in this context. As uGogo Sizani Ngubane explains ‘the South African people are storytellers. The grandmothers, if you don’t have a grandmother, you have a mother, like during supper time, they’ll tell stories.’¹⁸

In an attempt to move our collective knowledge forward, this work tries, through interpretation as well as contemporary and historical comparison, to harness the expressions of memory collected into a format understood through historical terms. Undoubtedly, such an exercise requires a certain flexibility in historicity; dominant narratives, norms, and the like must be open for contestation and reconsideration both by the writer and hopefully by an open-minded reader. It must be reiterated that for the purposes of this research, emotive and experiential lenses (while not inherently in conflict with) trump factuality (or at least the search for it).

It is important to note that beyond the interviews other primary sources have shaped this work and may be utilised throughout. These will be outlined in the next section.

Lastly, threading this research will be insights gained from participant observation. Ideas, insights and happenings can be gleaned beyond

¹⁶ Wendell Hassan Marsh, ‘Re-Membering the Name of God’ (*Chimurenga Chronic*, 19 March 2015) <<http://chimurengachronic.co.za/re-membering-the-name-of-god/>> accessed 14 March 2017 (emphasis added).

¹⁷ For more on this see, Marais, H. *South Africa Pushed to the Limit: The Political Economy of Change* (Zed Books 2011) 203.

¹⁸ Interview with Sizani Ngubane, Founder & Director, Rural Women’s Movement (Johannesburg, South Africa, 30 March 2017).

words, through environment, intonations, absences and the like. As a foreign white activist, I have been very fortunate to have had access to diverse settings within the country that many South Africans (for various reasons) have not; from townships to deep rural communities to wealthy (historically white) suburbs across seven provinces. I have lived in rural KwaZulu-Natal as well as a predominantly coloured Johannesburg community and have travelled using all forms of transport: flight, car, train, bus and communal-taxi. Throughout this process, I have been able to engage in numerous interactions of substance, shaping my understanding of the subject matter and indeed this work. To ignore these experiences would be irresponsible as undoubtedly they have helped inform my interpretations. In this way, when relevant, anecdotes, observations and the like will also be reported.

3.1. ADDITIONAL PRIMARY SOURCES

Below are additional primary sources that helped to shape the nature of this research.

Video footage obtained of both members and leaders of RWM singing revolutionary songs has helped shaped this work's understanding of temporal relationships to revolutionary Struggle while demonstrating the use of these songs by activists to highlight a historical continuity or thread from apartheid to the present. These recordings date back to 2015 and 2016; they can be found on the organisation's Facebook page. Details are available in the bibliography.

Sisonke Msimang's 2016 article, *Shutdown on the Death of Compromise in South Africa*, demonstrates how a leading activist and storyteller makes sense of current student movements, intergenerational memory and the like.

The March 15–16 2017 tweets of the Western Cape's Premier, Helen Zille, are vital to this piece as they became a centrepiece for debate over the (dis)continued role of race and racism in South Africa during this research. The tweets frame colonialism as being not wholly abhorrent, as Zille sees the nation as having benefitted from western institutions such as the independent judiciary and technologies such as plumbing.

Justice, Redress & Restitution: Voices of Widows of the Marikana Massacre published in 2017 by the Khulumani Support Group provided a first-hand account of the devastating personal consequences for the

victims' families. The work is a collection of stories and paintings by widows. The work poignantly highlights the continuation of apartheid-era institutions, despair in the age of Democracy and intergenerational pain. Most importantly, it humanises the nation's largest government-sanctioned butchery since the 1976 Soweto Massacre. It is important to note that while published in 2017, it is based on a 2013 workshop.

Rebecca Davis' May 2017 article in the *Daily Maverick*, *What's the Urgency? Revival of Decade-Old Proposal on Human Rights Bodies Raises Questions* sheds light on one of many scandals currently plaguing the African National Congress (ANC).

Reflecting on #ZumaMustFall is an April 2017 article by Chad Johnston in the *Student News Grid* that astutely highlights the social tensions surrounding calls for the President to step down.

A Taste for Strife: How a Right-Wing Boycott Has Lost Spur Millions and Counting by Rebecca Davis published in May 2017 by the *Daily Maverick* shows how some parts of the community have responded to the Spur controversy.

Spur Incident: Eyewitness Explains What Happened Before Cameras Rolled by Bianca Pindral featured in the *Citizen* in March 2017 demonstrates one narrative of the prominent incident threading much controversy related to race and gender.

Reclaim the City's website serves as an excellent source towards understanding how community activists conceive their struggle and place in society.

Ashleigh Furlong's May 2017 *Ground Up* article, *Biggest Land Occupation in Cape Town in Recent Years is Taking Place*, gives voice to land occupiers as the current occupations are taking place.

3.2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Frantz Fanon's 1961 classic, *The Wretched of the Earth*, psychoanalyses the structure of colonialism as well as the mental state of coloniality. Poignantly, Fanon anticipates the failure of the liberation parties as governing parties in the postcolonial era due largely to their maintenance of colonial structures. Much of this analysis' reading of the degradation of the ANC as well as the country's institutional failures is informed by this work. Moreover, the work's understanding of narratives of oppression from both the historically oppressed and oppressors is shaped by Fanon,

particularly by *The Wretched of the Earth's* final chapter, *Colonial Disorders* as well as his collapsing of Manichean lenses. Fanon is also important to engage with, as his writing is frequently cited by South African Fallists.¹⁹

Albert Memmi's 1965 work, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, psychologically engages with the damage colonialism inflicts upon both the coloniser and the colonised. In this way, Memmi informs this research's understanding of cultures of resistance, privilege, oppression and suppression that arise as a means to alleviate, justify or pacify continued pain and trauma. In terms of understanding the psychiatric damage of colonialism/apartheid, this text complements Fanon insofar as it includes a greater analysis of settler psyches as well.

Adam Hochschild's seminal work, *The Mirror at Midnight: A South African Journey*, first published in 1990, takes the reader through a journey with the American journalist as he documents the final years of apartheid. This work serves as a foundation insofar as engaging with changes (or lack thereof) in memory and attitudes but also as a guiding text in self-reflexive research as a foreign observer. This work also serves as a bridge for understanding various cleavages in psychological, social and conceptual forms within South African society from the generation of the anti-colonial literature of Fanon, Memmi and ilk, with the present.

Roger Southall's 2016 work, *The New Black Middle Class in South Africa*, explores the development and political role of the nation's black middle class. It has provided a basis for this research's understanding of current class dynamics. Through the work's analysis of the growth of the nation's black middle class as well as patronage politics, the work furthers Fanon's scholarship on the shortcomings of postcolonial governance by the liberation party.

Leon Fink's 2003 book, *The Maya of Morganton: Work and Community in the Nuevo New South*, follows the path of Mayan refugees from the Guatemalan civil war as they resettle, adjust and ultimately engage in a labour struggle in North Carolina's poultry industry. This text helped guide the research concerning challenges resulting from intercultural engagement and representation. It also provided a further model of social change brought about by migratory labour processes elucidated in this work's analysis of familial memory.

¹⁹ It should also be noted that Fanon had a profound influence on my thinking, my first published work was a letter to him: <http://newpol.org/content/endurance-race-postracial-world-letter-fanon>.

Antjie Krog's 1998 classic, *Country of My Skull*, follows her experience as a journalist and Afrikaner covering the nation's Truth and Reconciliation process. The book raises pertinent questions as to the limits and processes of forgiveness and transformation while providing insights into the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as it developed. The work greatly informed this research's understanding of the transitional period as well as current racial tensions. Krog's work examines and unpacks the trauma of colonialism/apartheid previously theorised by Fanon and Memmi.

Run Racist Run: Journeys into the Heart of Racism, is a 2015 text by leading radio personality and public intellectual, Eusebius McKaiser. The work delves into the intricacies of contemporary racism and race in South Africa. It also engages with contemporary settler amnesias and subtle racisms, thus engaging with the racist mentalities previously evinced by Fanon and Memmi. The work both reflects while (due to his public his stature) has shaped current discourse on race and racism.

William Beinart's 1994 historical work, *Twentieth-Century South Africa*, takes a thematic approach to South African history through material, cultural, social and spatial lenses. It provides much of the background knowledge necessary for this research.

Jacob Dlamini's 2009 work, *Native Nostalgia*, uses the memories of everyday black South Africans to re-evaluate pervasive narratives of life under apartheid. Dlamini challenges hegemonic periodisation while complicating leading narratives and memories of the past particularly in black townships. Vitaly, the work demonstrates the formation of everyday relationships conducive to building momentum and vision of laypeople mobilised against apartheid. Finally, this work helped in understanding constructions and memories of the past, particularly in relation to state strength and authority. It also speaks to the shortcomings of the postcolonial era, in many ways mirroring Fanon's predictions.

Leading South African author, Kevin Bloom's 2009 work, *Ways of Staying*, uses stories gleaned from his journalistic assignments to understand why various actors decide to stay, leave or migrate from South Africa in an age of violent crime (the brutal murder of his cousin spawned the work), xenophobia and rising populist sentiments. In terms of both substance and style, this work served as part of the basis for this research. Like Fanon, Bloom engages with issues of national consciousness.

Timothy J. Keegan's 1996 cornerstone text, *Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order*, traces the development of racial

stratification in South Africa, serving to provide much needed theoretical, historical foundations for this research.

Achille Mbembe's seminal 2001 text, *On the Postcolony*, challenges prevailing notions of Africa and Africans in terms of historical development and representation, lived existence as well as (amongst others) theoretical and philosophical traditions. This work helped expand the conceptual lens through which this research was conducted.

Paul Gilroy's 2005 work, *Postcolonial Melancholia*, explores the crisis of postcoloniality, particularly within the British context. Gilroy engages themes including multiculturalism, human rights, self-image and corrupted institutions, in this way shaping this research's understanding of constitutionalism, valuation of life, memory and amnesia as well as the tensions of living together in diverse communities. By demonstrating colonial antecedents to contemporary political institutions, it engages with Fanon's anticipation of a neocolonialism guided by and for the liberation party in the service of global capitalism.

Published following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Francis Fukuyama's highly influential 1992 text, *The End of History and the Last Man*, argues that humanity has reached a new epoch, indeed the end of history. Accordingly, a future marked by market economies, respect for human rights and rule by liberal democracy will continue to sweep across the globe. In this way, Fukuyama counters Fanon with a unidirectional progressive inevitability of history as well as an unwavering support for the ostensible rationality of capitalism.

Steve Biko's 1978 text, *I Write What I Like*, is a seminal work in South African Black Consciousness. In its exploration of superiority, liberal and inferiority complexes, Biko served in many ways as a localisation of many of the ideas previously put forward by Fanon and Memmi. Like Fanon, Biko is a cornerstone figure in much of South African civil society, particularly present student movements.

3.3. INTERVIEWEE LIST

Below is a brief outline and listing of each interviewee. A short outline of their character, history as well as the reason for the interview is provided. Their last name will simply be an initial unless they are a public figure. Further, some interviewees asked to remain anonymous, and a pseudonym will be provided and noted.

Kuda Matiza

Born in Zimbabwe, at 31 years old, Matiza has been living in South Africa for thirteen years. He is a reputable fashion designer and founder of the brand *House of Hobwa*. His brand's newest launch is a line called *Winds of Change*, in reference to former British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's 1960 tour across Africa in which he spoke of the inevitability of the wave of decolonisation rushing across the continent. Matiza was chosen for two main reasons: firstly, his location of self and (Pan-African) community through fashion; secondly, he speaks from a position that is perhaps fraught and often silenced in contemporary South Africa, as a Zimbabwean Creative in the age of recurring xenophobic violence. He has experienced diaspora, hybrid identity and insofar as xenophobia is concerned, outsidersness and marginalisation.

Dr Marjorie Jobson

Dr Jobson is currently National Director of the Khulumani Support Group. She was a particularly interesting interviewee given her experience and position. Trained as a medical doctor, she became involved in the anti-apartheid struggle as a Black Sash member. She helped organise the desegregation of public transport in Pretoria and presently leads a nation-wide non-profit organisation seeking reparations for gross human rights abuses occurring both during and post-apartheid. Presently, the organisation is working with the widows of the Marikana Massacre. Amongst other issues, she provided unique insight on feelings of momentum and despair in activism and the challenges or failures of many white activists in the new dispensation. Moreover, due to her training as a doctor and her work with the Khulumani Support Group, she shared many unique positions on communal healing. Lastly, she personally knows many actors on the national stage, including the former leader of the Democratic Alliance and current Premier of the Western Cape, Helen Zille.

Thanduxolo Bbuti

Originally from the Eastern Cape, Thanduxolo both follows and diverges from a long lineage of migration to Johannesburg. He is part of a new generation of youth migrating to the city not simply for employment but involvement in the worlds of art and culture. Thanduxolo currently operates an online health, wellness and culture magazine entitled *BlackLight*. Previously he ran a cultural guide called

Jozi Jols. Very well-connected in the arts community, Thanduxolo is part of a generation experiencing the new opportunities and challenges of life (in his case, in the arts) in post-apartheid South Africa.

Bella Maake

Born in Polokwane, Limpopo, but raised on a farm, 24-year-old Bella, like Thanduxolo, moved to Johannesburg to pursue a career in the arts. Trained as a graphic designer, she founded and operates a clothing company, *Africanah*. She provided interesting insights particularly on generational gaps informed by her own experience.

Bonga Jwambi

Born and raised in the nation's second largest township, Khayelitsha, outside of Cape Town, Bonga is a renowned artist and furniture designer. His own sense of memory and place in society has been shaped by many factors: his mother was a domestic worker in a white family's home for many years, his family was forcibly relocated during the final years of apartheid, however unlike many in his community he has built close relationships with white individuals in the art community. Bonga is insightful, part of a hybrid generation (too old to be 'born free', too young to have been active during apartheid) and outspoken.

Toka Hlongwane

Much of Toka's career path as a filmmaker has been shaped by his experience growing up in Thokoza township in the final days of apartheid. During this time, Thokoza and neighbouring townships were ripped apart by the war between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC. While this conflict wreaked havoc not only in Thokoza but other townships in Gauteng and across many communities in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), it is rarely spoken about in popular media or conversation. Toka is in the process of completing a film about the conflict.

Sizani Ngubane

Born in the Midlands of KZN, Founder and Director of the 50,000-strong member RWM, Sizani Ngubane offers a wealth of experience and insight. During the Struggle, she was the Provincial Coordinator for the South African Women's Coalition in today's KZN. She was also an organiser for the ANC and the ANC's Women's League; this included opening the first ANC office in northern KZN. Shortly

after the 1994 elections, she left the ANC due to what she perceived as their neglect of gendered injustices. Since then she has worked tirelessly to improve the livelihoods of rural women in KZN. Her experiences enable her to offer refined political insight as well as deeply personal stories related to the trials, traumas and triumphs of a seasoned activist. It should be noted that I have been involved with her organisation since 2015 and have a very close relationship with her, I affectionately refer to her as ‘uGogo’, isiZulu for ‘my/our grandmother’.

Kuhle Nkosi:

Kuhle is a jack of all trades – entrepreneur, producer, radio personality and writer. Kuhle was approached not only because of his public presence and unique resume but also his familial experience. At the age of 34, Kuhle remembers relocating from Soweto to the suburbs of Johannesburg in the 1980s; he claims his family was only the third black family to move to the suburbs of Johannesburg. He was part of the very first generation of black students to attend previously entirely white schools. Throughout this period, Kuhle had to negotiate insider/outsider dilemmas in school, familial contexts and life in general.

Langalizwe (Langa) Ngubane

Grandson of Sizani Ngubane, at the age of 20 Langa was the first *born-free* person in his notably politically active family. Through these lenses, he brings with him unique insights on activism, politics and generational disconnects. Professionally, he attended an agricultural school and is in the process of developing his *Blaq Rising* project aimed at encouraging rural youth empowerment through pig production. His work comes at a time of rapid urbanisation.

Naledi

Daughter of a prominent member of the ANC, Naledi occupies a unique position in South African society. At the age of 20, she qualifies both as a *born-free* but is also a part of the *nouveau-riche* black elite. She is currently a student at Stellenbosch University, traditionally seen as the intellectual hub of Afrikaner identity. Coming of age in such contexts, like Kuhle, she has had to negotiate various insider/outsider dilemmas. Naledi is a pseudonym provided as she requested anonymity.

Kagisho Nkadimeng

Presently an Uber driver, until recently Kagisho was a leading member of the University of the Witwatersrand's #FeesMustFallMovement. Though technically enrolled, due to his political activities Kagisho is one of the select few students interdicted by the institution, the highest punishment (except expulsion) the institution gives out. He offers a unique perspective of generational disconnects and discontent, contemporary political struggle and the temporality of student activists.

Michael Abrahams

Known by some as 'Mike Attitude', we first met at a jazz event, he approached me and jokingly asked if I had 'a white man to beat up'; we have remained friends since. In his typical eccentricity, Michael inquired as to the nature of the research, refused to take questions and poignantly spoke at large on the rise of an *antipolitics-politics*²⁰ as well as what he saw as the failures of modernity. He specifically asked that his biography simply be the story of how we met.

Thulani N.

Born and raised in a rural community in northern KZN, Thulani offers the unique perspective of a young rural entrepreneur. Moreover, at the age of 24, Thulani is already looked upon as a community leader. I first met Thulani at a conference on land rights and the extraction industry in Durban in March 2016. It should also be noted that Thulani's community is still a stronghold of the Inkatha Freedom Party; the violence of the late apartheid era continues to shape his community.

Lungelo and Skhumbuzo:

It should be noted that the names of these two interviewees have been changed for their safety. Lungelo, 44 years old, and Skhumbuzo, 35 years old, live in a deep rural community bordering Mozambique and Swaziland. Living on Ingonyama Trust land, these men carry the experiences of intergenerational dispossession, post-apartheid dispossession, rural marginalisation, and the corruption of traditional governance.²¹ Their respective pseudonyms have been chosen to reflect

²⁰ To be elaborated later.

²¹ For more details of the situation facing these two, see my recent article: Richard Raber, «Self-Sufficient Communities Are Being Forced into Becoming Capital-Dependent,» *Daily*

how their stories highlight the failures of the post-apartheid age: Lungelo is isiZulu for 'Right' (as in human or constitutional) as their human rights continue to be violated; Skhumbuzo translates to 'Reminder' as their story is a reminder that the Struggle is far from over. Please note these interviews were conducted in isiZulu, while I understood the majority of the discussion, I also had a trusted translator. The translator's name will be withheld for their safety as Lungelo and Skhumbuzo's story is one of immense injustice in a volatile and corrupt area.

Judi M:

Now in her fifties, Judi M brings with her the unique experience of growing up coloured in apartheid-era Gauteng and discovering Black Consciousness in the 1980's. Moreover, Judi M spoke at length about the transition period, the professionalisation of activism (and its shortcomings) as well as intergenerational memory. Professionally, Judi M works in the realm of social change and transformation, particularly in women's public health policy. I first met Judi M at a conference in Durban in August 2015 wherein many non-profit organisations gathered to discuss the potential creation of a national women's health policy, she facilitated the dialogue.

Itani Thalefi:

Thalefi is a Johannesburg-based musician and member of the band *Children of the Wind*. In his late twenties, Itani was raised in Soweto but attended both historically white as well as black institutions. Moreover, as a member of prominent musical acts, he is arguably part of the cultural vanguard. Highly educated, Itani spoke at length about hybridity of identity.

Thuli T:

Thuli T is a 29-year-old living in Johannesburg. She has spent roughly half of her life in South Africa, half in Swaziland. She offers unique insights regarding modern South Africa through these transnational lenses. Moreover, she recalls the tribalism promoted in her northern KZN community during the late apartheid period. Recently she works

Maverick (Johannesburg, South Africa), April 19, 2017, accessed May 18, 2017, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2017-04-19-self-sufficient-communities-are-being-forced-into-becoming-capital-dependent>.

at a bank but previously has bartended and owned a short-lived art gallery.

Bukhosi

Born in Zimbabwe, 32-year-old Bukhosi watched his country fall into the malaise of sanctions, hyperinflation and the like. He relocated to South Africa where he has spent the past decade. He has become an integral part of Johannesburg's art community through his politically-charged work influenced by his previous life experiences as well as the experience of cultural hybridity. He asked to be simply referred to by his first name.

Khosi

The name used is a pseudonym as requested by the interviewee. Khosi is a 22-year-old journalism student at the University of the Witwatersrand. He is also a member of the ANC Youth League organisation at the school while a participant in #FeesMustFall. These affiliations ordinarily do not mix as journalists are often not party members and even more so, #FeesMustFall points to the failures of ANC rule insofar as post-secondary and decolonised education are concerned. Khosi was interviewed partially to see how he reconciles these competing interests.

Bongani

Born in Zimbabwe, Bongani relocated to South Africa in the early 2000s to join his mother living in Cape Town. He was selected because as an editor of a Cape Town-based Pan-African platform, he offers unique analyses through his distinct position as both an observer and cultural producer of contemporary South Africa. He provided many unique insights, particularly in the realm of competing temporalities insofar as intergenerational memory and #FeesMustFall is concerned. He requested only his first name be used.

Ayanda K:

Born in the Eastern Cape, Ayanda falls into a relatively new category in the nation; in his mid-thirties, Ayanda is a member of the precarious new black middle class. He has worked as a chef as well as in the field of marketing. Moreover, Ayanda has made a home for himself in Cape Town and has interesting insights as to how someone like himself

negotiates the tensions accompanying his place in society within the vacuity of transformation that is *fortress* Cape Town.

Sam

Having requested anonymity, Sam is not this interviewee's real name. The interview with Sam explores the complications of a Jewish male in his early thirties growing up in the final years of minority-rule and coming of age in the post-apartheid era. Sam explores intergenerational tensions, coming to terms with privilege, mediations as a white and Jewish male in contemporary South Africa, concerns over the present political situation as well as memories of white flight from childhood.

Palesa Kunene and Bongani Xezwi

Palesa and Bongani are activists in the employ of the *Right2Know* campaign, an organisation centred around freedom of information particularly insofar as human rights and development processes are concerned. Palesa and Bongani took different paths towards becoming activists. In telling their stories, Palesa and Bongani demonstrate thematic issues that are continuing to pierce South African society and activism.

Sobantu Mzwakali

Sobantu is a 24-year-old activist, writer and researcher. At the time of research, he was working for the Land and Accountability Research Centre housed at the University of Cape Town. Sobantu has the unique insights of having been raised in Welkom by a politically active family, working in Johannesburg as well as Cape Town and conducting research in rural communities nation-wide in six of the nation's 11 official languages. He has previously worked with the Bench Marks Foundation and as a teenager was a leading member of the Gold and Uranium Belt Impact Censoring Organisation. His writing has been featured by platforms such as *Open Democracy*, *Customs Contested*, *Pambazuka* and *Ground Up*. Sobantu provided unique insights related to all the issues at hand and the personal costs of activism. I first met Sobantu at a workshop for mine-hosting communities set in Durban in March 2016. Since then we have become good friends, often reviewing each other's writing.

Florus P:

Of Afrikaner descent but born and raised in Kenya, in 1975, at the

age of 20, Florus relocated to South Africa with his mother. Florus spoke of discovering race upon arrival in South Africa, making a home there, his reactions to the Truth and Reconciliation process, witnessing the country's transition, affirmative action programs and his hopes for the country. Speaking entirely in a personal capacity, Florus presently works for the Western Cape provincial government in the facilitation of apprenticeship programming.

Abongile Ntsane:

Abongile is a Cape Town-based ceramics artist originally hailing from the Eastern Cape. At the age of 36, she has witnessed the nation's transition as she was coming of age. Abongile's responses largely included the effects of political economy on families. She has two young children herself. She also has navigated various settings included rural areas, a formerly-white all-girls etiquette boarding school and the liminal space for black artists in contemporary Cape Town.

Loyiso M:

Loyiso is currently completing a doctorate in economics and working at a Cape Town firm. Raised in the Eastern Cape, 29-year-old Loyiso embodies a point of departure generationally; he has access to opportunities previously unavailable to his community but recalls the police presence or armed 'hippo' vehicles during the final days of apartheid.

Sarah Summers and Kelly-Eve Koopman:

This young couple, both in their twenties, work together as filmmakers and artists. Their most recent project, *Coloured Mentality*, is a collection of online videos exploring the tensions and conflicts in coloured identity. The questions examined in this series often deal with issues marginalised in public discourse or simply framed in the austerity of stereotypes. This series is reflective of a general struggle within the country: *how to make sense of the past while crafting a new future?*

4.

RELEVANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS

As the audience for this research is not limited to South Africa, a few relevant contemporary events should be introduced as they are either referenced directly, indirectly or are a backdrop to the ongoing discourse.

A continuous theme in contemporary South Africa is the decline or malaise of the liberation-turned-governing party, the ANC. For roughly one decade,²² various segments of society have expressed concern over Jacob Zuma's leadership, often framing him as having chauvinist, populist or authoritarian sensibilities, as being a corrupting force threatening the judiciary and civil society. Recently, such concerns have been expressed by the national government's rushed proposal to enact legislation concerning human rights bodies that had been dormant for a decade. Using out-of-date information, the government is attempting to justify a consolidation of the government's nine human rights agencies into one.²³

The ANC's alleged fall from grace has recently been centred largely around the firing of Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan. Gordhan was sacked following his refusal to sign-off on a lucrative (and unpopular) nuclear deal. Accordingly, various rating agencies lowered the nation's credit ranking to so-called 'junk status', many observers place this moment as the beginning of the #ZumaMustFall protest movement, at least in middle and upper-class communities.²⁴ Responses to this

²² Kevin Bloom, *Ways of Staying* (Picador Africa 2009) 114-17, 129.

²³ Rebecca Davis, 'What's the Urgency? Revival of Decades-Old Proposal on Human Rights Bodies Raises Questions' *Daily Maverick* (Johannesburg, 17 May 2017) <<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-05-17-whats-the-urgency-revival-of-decade-old-proposal-on-human-rights-bodies-raises-questions/>> accessed 26 May 2017.

²⁴ Chad Johnson, 'Reflecting on #ZumaMustFall' (*Student News Grid*, 12 April 2017) <<http://studentnewsgrid.com/2017/04/reflecting-on-zumamustfall/>> accessed 26 May 2017.

movement have varied from unwavering support for the President to the haranguing of *too little, too late* against the (largely white) middle and upper classes, to a belief that this signals a new chapter of non-racial civic participation and responsibility.

Simply a blemish or a revelation of the failures of Democracy? The Marikana Massacre continues to be a sensitive topic in a nation with a past so deeply shaped by the imperatives of the extraction industry. One's memory of this event deeply reflects their position on the pace of change as well as their relationship to the migratory working class. The Marikana Massacre, of course, refers to the slaughter of 34 miners participating in a wildcat strike in the North West province's platinum belt on August 16, 2012.

Often the centrepiece around polarised debates quite literally is a physical centrepiece. This is perhaps best demonstrated by the #RhodesMustFall student movement, which harnessed the controversy of an on-campus statue of Cecil Rhodes to bring a larger conversation surrounding decolonisation to the forefront. These debates are often heated and surround public art, statues and the renaming of streets as well as public institutions. *What are the values in these debates? Is the renaming of streets and the like important, if so is it being done correctly?* Responses to these issues demonstrated a wide range of opinions between the nexus or lack thereof between the past and the present as well as symbolism with material politics and collective consciousness.

The government is presently trying to push through a piece of legislation entitled the Traditional Khoi-San Leadership Bill that would further empower traditional leadership in former Bantustans while bringing Khoi-San leadership into the fold of recognised traditional leadership. This proposed legislation has come under fire (including by me)²⁵ as a tool for dispossession exploitation, distortion of culture, reification of apartheid boundaries, an infringement on freedom of association, a continuation of colonial rural patronage systems and the empowerment of traditional leadership often corrupted by amongst others, the extraction industry. Proponents of the bill view it in terms of Khoi-San recognition, respect for traditional governance and a means to resolve land claims in rural

²⁵ My most recent criticisms of the Bill can be found here: Richard Raber, 'Rural Patronage, Dehumanisation and the Traditional Khoi-San Leadership Bill' *Daily Maverick* (Johannesburg, 10 May 2017) <<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2017-05-10-rural-patronage-dehumanisation-and-the-traditional-khoi-san-leadership-bill>> accessed 26 May 2017.

communities. The bill will directly affect an estimated 18 million South Africans.²⁶

In March 2017, at a Spur franchise (South African family restaurant), an incident was recorded causing national headlines and spurring debates over race, privilege, reverse racism and gendered discrepancies. Accordingly, a white male grabbed a black child 'in an aggressive manner' after approaching the boy's mother alleging that the boy had hit his daughter.²⁷ The mother swore at the man, leading to him placing his hands on the boy. Subsequently, the man was banned from Spur. South African social media became heated around this incident, and a boycott by conservative Afrikaner communities has subsequently affected the company's functioning.²⁸

Underscoring many political conflicts is the nation's history of dispossession and continued inequity, sloth-like redistribution processes and the denial of property rights to much of the black majority. Presently, two events in Cape Town highlight the battles for space and land. The first, the rise of the *Reclaim the City* movement, a coalition 'of domestic workers and low-income earners in Sea Point, supporters among poor tenants in Woodstock and Salt River, young professionals, high school pupils, students and workers from across Cape Town.'²⁹ This movement seeks to end Cape Town's continued spatial apartheid³⁰ and gentrification processes.³¹ A corollary to this movement are the recent land occupations in Khayelitsha, framed as the region's largest in recent memory.³² This event highlights many tensions, particularly in regards to policy and community action between gradualism and immediacy as well as the limits of patience.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Bianca Pindral, 'Spur Incident: Eyewitness Explains What Happened Before Cameras Rolled' *The Citizen* (Johannesburg, 22 March 2017) <<http://citizen.co.za/news/news-national/1464869/spur-incident-eyewitness-account-really-happened/>> accessed 26 May 2017.

²⁸ Rebecca Davis, 'A Taste for Strife: How a Right-Wing Boycott Has Lost Spur Millions and Counting' *Daily Maverick* (Johannesburg, 17 May 2017) <<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-05-17-a-taste-for-strife-how-a-right-wing-boycott-has-lost-spur-millions-and-counting/>> accessed 26 May 2017.

²⁹ Reclaim the City, 'Reclaim The City: Land for People, Not for Profit' (*Reclaim the City*, 2017) <<http://reclaimthecity.org.za>> accessed 26 May 2017.

³⁰ Alice McCool, 'End Spatial Apartheid: Why Housing Activists are Occupying Cape Town' *The Guardian* (London, 25 May 2017) <<https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/may/25/spatial-apartheid-housing-activists-occupy-cape-town-gentrification>> accessed 26 May 2017.

³¹ Reclaim the City, 'Reclaim The City: Land for People, Not for Profit' (*Reclaim the City*, 2017).

³² Ashleigh Furlong, 'Biggest Land Occupation in Cape Town in Recent Years is Taking Place' (*GroundUp*, 23 May 2017) <<http://www.groundup.org.za/article/biggest-land-occupation-cape-town-recent-times-taking-place/>> accessed 26 May 2017.

5.

ON FORGETTING, DENIALISM AND FOND MEMORIES

Amnesia, nostalgia, denialism and forgetting, are mechanisms used to socially and individually come to terms with, manage, mitigate or keep trauma at bay. The inverse to memory is to revise and to forget. Surrounding many controversies, including Zille's recent tweets, is this issue of historical amnesia, denialism and apologetics. Moreover, apartheid is often problematised as something that blacks simply ought to '...get over.'³³ This begs the question, *how is this trend of negotiating the collective trauma of apartheid/colonialism understood by South African actors and how to comprehend ostensibly positive memories from that era?*

5.1. THE LENSES OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND COMPLICATED ETHICS

Perhaps this work is guilty of re-centring whiteness but it may be best to begin by introducing the most empathic responses to this issue by an interviewee. When asked as to how he makes sense of this phenomenon, Florus P complicated dominant, perhaps opaque notions of the era as simply oppression and resistance. This interviewee introduced a few different ways of thinking about this retrenchment along the lines of the individual or personal experience. Firstly, he noted that often these attitudes are simply derived from a fear of change or a craving for stability particularly as that change involves including many more voices. Although he was unequivocal that this discomfort is '...the price

³³ Siphso Hlongwane, 'Should South Africa's Black People Get Over Apartheid? Hell No!' (*Daily Maverick*, 4 July 2011) <<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2011-07-04-should-south-africas-black-people-get-over-apartheid-hell-no>> accessed 30 May 2017.

of progress.’ The second point raised by Florus is that these attitudes may reflect a pining perhaps not for apartheid itself but an aspect of an individual’s own life.³⁴ While these notions could be construed as excuses or outliers for apartheid amnesia, it is better understood as introducing views of a period of collective or structural oppression through individualised and experiential lenses.

The complication of narratives surrounding life under apartheid is also existent in black communities as demonstrated by author Jacob Dlamini. In his work, *Native Nostalgia*, Dlamini notes interviews with township elders that while rejecting apartheid perhaps miss the relative order of the time. One woman tells Dlamini, ‘There are too many outsiders. I don’t even know where they come from.’³⁵ Such statements reflect the failures of the postcolonial government in stemming crime but also complicate understandings of the period; the notion of the inherently *evil* or *collaborative* police that implement population management and racial control, and the inherently valiant *people* is challenged.

This textured relationship of black community members and the state was also expressed during apartheid by Can Themba in his writing of the police officer, *Ten-Ten*. Known for his impressive physique, Ten-Ten both worked with the archetypical corrupt black officers yet remained a popular community member, both as an officer as well as an athlete.³⁶ In many ways, this story mirrors another interview by Dlamini wherein a community member yearns for an apartheid-era officer that kept order by invoking the utmost fear in criminals while remaining cordial with the community.³⁷ Popular narratives of honourable and dishonourable, ethical and unethical are again complicated. Moreover, these stories serve as a testament both to the everyday normalcy of apartheid but also to the capacity for vibrancy, imagination and prosperity during oppression. Sometimes the heroes and the villains are not clear-cut, and indeed, sometimes there are neither.

³⁴ Interview with Florus P. (Cape Town, South Africa, 10 April 2017).

³⁵ Jacob Dlamini, *Native Nostalgia* (Jacana Media, 2009), 2-6.

³⁶ Can Themba *The Will to Die* (Donald Stuart and Roy Holland (eds), first published 1972, Creda Press 1985) 46-56.

³⁷ Jacob Dlamini, *Native Nostalgia* (Jacana Media, 2009), 6-7.

5.2. ALUTA CONTINUA: NOSTALGIA IN STRUGGLE

Cracking up with laughter, uGogo Sizani Ngubane loves to share stories of everyday resistance. Vibrating with giggles, uGogo narrates “There was this man who was told by the Magistrate that your fine is going to be an X amount of money because you were found in town after 11pm. He asks, “how much [is] 11pm going to pay? He was in front of me, I was behind him. Why is he not here in court? I was after him...” With pride and amusement, she also explains how her mother and aunts feigned ignorance and illiteracy when confronted by a police officer while using bus benches reserved for whites.³⁸ Another activist, deeply involved in black consciousness, piercing with laughter once relayed to me how she accidentally found herself at an Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) meeting wherein destabilising KwaZulu was the discussion topic.

Everyday stories of resistance such as that of uGogo’s family and the bus benches requires hindsight to think upon positively; at the time ‘we didn’t even see it as a victory.’³⁹ Similarly, the activist who found herself at the IFP meeting laughs about the experience now but at the time (understandably) was quite frightened. Finding humour in such circumstances requires time, as uGogo notes that even everyday acts of resistance were perceived as ‘serious and life threatening.’⁴⁰

Such stories texturise apartheid memories by demonstrating the absurdity of racist logic and rule. Vitaly, these stories serve as proverbial emotional calories consumed by the activist in their struggle. While driving with uGogo, we began discussing the recent set of controversial tweets by Zille; uGogo broke into laughter as to the unprovoked nature of the controversy. In this way, finding humour in struggle, past and present, in everyday resistance and top-level missteps, continues to help propel many seasoned activists forward.

Other stories laced with nostalgia serve a similar purpose but operate differently as the fondness of their memory may have been more immediate but decreased with time. With a smile on her face, Dr Jobson proudly explains the strategy behind the successful campaign she took

³⁸ Interview with Sizani Ngubane, Founder & Director, Rural Women’s Movement (Johannesburg, South Africa, 30 March 2017).

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

part in that desegregated Pretoria's buses after three days, 'we did not expect that in three days.' She then spoke of how this led to a single-day campaign that successfully desegregated Pretoria's hospitals, 'this was like decades where people couldn't conceptualise it was possible.' One moment particularly sticks out for Dr Jobson, it is of a black woman in a previously white ward, 'with her head just peeping out of the sheets.'⁴¹ In this way, Dr Jobson portrayed a sense of seemingly inevitable momentum and quite visible change at the time. However, stories of success were immediately preceded by expressions of disappointment in 'so many of these religious people who were real activists for peace and justice, who've been, like, what do you call it? Co-opted into being beneficiaries of post-apartheid,' she pauses, 'wealth accumulation.'⁴²

The stains on Dr Jobson's memories speaks to both the failure of well-intentioned post-apartheid efforts, a loss of integrity in much leadership and the retrenchment of an existing economy guided by and for inequity. Toka Hlongwane traces this to a relaxation in activism and a collapse of community structures, citing civic complacency, 'yoh, we're tired, we fought, we won our freedom, government do shit for us.'⁴³ Community mobilisation stagnated; Progress slipped.

While this could be read simply through Fanonian terms, this would ignore the experiences of those working towards freedom external to the leading liberation movement. The contemporary disillusionment of Dr Jobson (and others) with leading figures and institutions from the Struggle is directly informed by what followed. Activist Judi M maps her personal trajectory with that of the nation's resistance and civil society. Accordingly, there was great 'leftist infighting and disarray' later causing her shift of focus towards development. She shifted because 'what we thought were vehicles for transformation were, became co-opted (sic). Whether it was the church ... the trade union movement, whether it was the student movement – everything became co-opted under the democratic, um, agenda. And diluted. And it lacked political analysis, it lacked critical thinking.' Professionally, she 'very naively' worked on women's policy for ten years but 'realised when it came to

⁴¹ Interview with Dr Marjorie Jobson, National Director, Khulumani Support Group (Johannesburg, South Africa, 20 March 2017).

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Interview with Toka Hlongwane, Independent Filmmaker (Cape Town, South Africa, 13 April 2017).

implementation of laws, nothing was changing because structurally nothing was changing the economic complex, we were so caught up in it that there was no money to reorientate (sic) and restructure.⁴⁴

In this way, the interplay of momentum and disillusion in these memories follows the intricate dance of hope and despair, imagination and stagnation. For Dr Jobson this reflects her 'subversive streak', she learned from standing up to 'white bullies' and continues to do this with 'post-apartheid political bullies'.⁴⁵ While Judi M laments the alleged purposeful abandonment by the international community, creating a gap in funding for independent and antagonistic civil society.⁴⁶ Indeed, strides forwards and backwards lace our memories of triumph as well as trauma.

5.3. DENIALISM, NOSTALGIA AND IMPLICIT GUILT

Popular Afrikaans musician, Steve Hofmeyr, may be best known outside Afrikaans-speaking communities for expressing white victimhood narratives. Hofmeyr articulates the underlying anxieties of conservative white communities both in claims of a 'white genocide'⁴⁷ but also in performance. With over a quarter of a million Twitter followers,⁴⁸ Hofmeyr uses the stage to harness a denialist and nostalgic apartheid imagination, resonating with a significant number of white South Africans. He is known to sing the apartheid-era national anthem to enthusiastic audiences.⁴⁹

In identifying with the former national anthem, Hofmeyr and his supporters identify with the previous dispensation, viewing it as a period of light and pride rather than dark shame. The gross human rights abuses characterising apartheid are minimised or sanitised. Perhaps

⁴⁴ Interview with Judi M (Johannesburg, South Africa, 29 March 2017).

⁴⁵ Interview with Dr Marjorie Jobson, National Director, Khulumani Support Group (Johannesburg, South Africa, 20 March 2017).

⁴⁶ Interview with Judi M. (Johannesburg, South Africa, 29 March 2017).

⁴⁷ Rebecca Davis, 'President Trump: SA's White Right's White Knight?' *Daily Maverick* (Johannesburg, 17 January 2017) <<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-01-17-president-trump-sas-white-rights-white-knight/>> accessed 1 June 2017.

⁴⁸ Twitter, '@steve_hofmeyr' (*Twitter*, 1 June 2017) <https://twitter.com/steve_hofmeyr> accessed 1 June 2017.

⁴⁹ Benjamin Zand post to YouTube 'Is There a Future for White Afrikaners?' (*British Broadcasting Corporation*, 2 November 2016) <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YH329UbQokY>> accessed 1 June 2017.

this intense pining for or restoration of the past is not simply amnesia but rather an implicit expression of guilt and fear. This act speaks to current racial anxieties reflected by feelings of precariousness but also a rejection of relative privilege having been gained through oppression.⁵⁰ Perhaps Hofmeyr and his supporters deep-down realise as Antjie Krog aptly stated, ‘what we have done will never be undone’⁵¹ and in the starkest terms, fear a postponed ‘necessary tax of history.’⁵² Rather than confront these challenging, intricate and reflexively complicated issues, perhaps these folks are following an all-too-common trend; to retreat to *the stable*.

Hofmeyr and his followers mark a continuation of nation-building and its accompanying mythologies dating back to the colonial/apartheid era. During that time, there were large-scale efforts at historical revisionism through props, symbols, celebration and monuments. Particularly striking were both the government-sponsored as well as private re-enactments of the Battle of Blood River and the Great Trek.⁵³ In teleological terms, these activities sanitise the settler state and Historicise the settler community. This provides purpose for the violence of colonialism/apartheid while justifying continued inequity and privilege.

Organisations such as *Solidariteit* promote similar denialist narratives. A recent promotional video of theirs follows white, primarily women and children, reacting to small portions of speeches by President Zuma and the leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), Julius Malema, speaking about reparations.⁵⁴ Doom-and-gloom music plays in the background, implicitly painting a familiar colonial narrative of the black male coming not simply for land but indeed, white families. The video concludes by encouraging supporters to show solidarity by texting-in ‘racism’ to the organisation. The tragic irony is that the families filmed are watching these speeches on devices economically inaccessible to much of the country. Such calls of so-called reverse-

⁵⁰ Kevin Bloom, *Ways of Staying* (Picador Africa 2009) 220.

⁵¹ Antjie Krog, *Country of My Skull* (first published 1998, Vintage Books 1999) 197.

⁵² Kevin Bloom, *Ways of Staying* (Picador Africa 2009) 18.

⁵³ For more details, please refer to Adam Hochschild, *The Mirror at Midnight: A South African Journey* (first published 1990, Mariner Books 2007) 222, 252-58.

⁵⁴ Solidariteit, ‘Selektiewe rassisme in Suid-Afrika moet gestop word #StopRassisme’ (*Solidariteit*, 4 April 2017) <<https://solidariteit.co.za/en/stop-rasism-collective-complaint/>> accessed 1 June 2017.

racism reflect a common snub of the nation's past; one could point to the insulated nature of these allegations as some scoff at notions of reverse-racism, 'Black people can't be racist.'⁵⁵ While individual prejudice may exist, structural inequity against whites does not, videos such as that by *Solidariteit* only serve to ignore inconvenient truths instead of actively engaging and dealing with them. It is a form of class and racial maintenance as well as personal relief of responsibility. Accordingly, denialism does not always take the form of overt apartheid nostalgia but calls of reverse racism, white fragility and urges to simply *get over it*.

Apartheid nostalgia also takes quieter, ostensibly more innocuous forms. Sam highlighted conversations surrounding the functioning of government and daily life. Discomforted by these narratives, he framed exchanges about the superior quality of infrastructure and state services during apartheid as 'wilful ignorance.' For Sam, this boils down to the fact that obviously it is 'very easy to take care' of only the minority. Moreover, he slammed notions that corruption is a creation of post-apartheid South Africa.⁵⁶ Such nostalgia reflects a limited scope of *who* deserves quality services (or at least priority) and thus an inequitable citizenship.

Kuhle Nkosi traces a denialist narrative embodied by tropes to simply 'get over it,' it being apartheid, to the 'hope and optimism' of 1994–95. Accordingly, leadership including Mandela and Tambo privileged unity while side-lining feelings of 'bitterness' and the like. Kuhle feels this optimism has retreated with time due to continued inequity. This trope of *apartheid transcendence*, Kuhle frames as white reaction against calls for historical correctives:

after five years it was like, 'ok but you know its five years, don't you think you guys [blacks] should like, you know, start like moving on' and then ten years 'like maybe you should start getting over it,' fifteen years 'it's like really now, it's been fifteen years, I think it's time you guys should look at, like, building your own opportunities, and duh duh duh...' and now it's like twenty years it's like 'aw for fucks sake, it's been twenty years, like when will you guys get over it...' but it's like you [whites] have never actually acknowledged the past.

⁵⁵ Sobantu Mzwakali, 'Black People Can't Be Racist' (*Pambazuka*, 13 October 2015) <<https://www.pambazuka.org/governance/black-people-can-t-be-racist>> accessed 1 June 2017.

⁵⁶ Interview with 'Sam' (Johannesburg, South Africa, 25 April 2017).

Further, Kuhle considers *apartheid transcendence* as reflecting white South Africa's failure to ask for forgiveness. He traces the failure to recognise (or perhaps the denial of) black pain to contemporary anger, particularly amongst the youth.⁵⁷ Evidently Kuhle's reading of white denialism and its corollary of contemporary racial tension is in a similar vein to Msimang's;⁵⁸ governing understandings of gradualism, compromise and living together, are teetering and may not hold. The compromise of the majority to privilege unity is collapsing under the weight of white denialism and black pain.

Kuhle also places denialism as an issue as to how whites view racism '[transformation] will require white South Africans to, you know, stop individualising, and kind of, like, "uh I didn't do this. I don't do that. I'm not racist. I've got black friends" it's like, we're not talking about you. If you feel that you do not, you're not part of that equation, then, you know, don't take it personally.' Kuhle follows by comparing these responses to those of rape, claiming the same person would readily state, 'rape's bad. Rape's horrible. You hardly ever find a guy saying, "I'm not a rapist, I've never raped anyone."' He makes this comparison to highlight the absurdity of immediately defensive responses when race is brought up, viewing it as 'guilt', thus an avoidance of responsibility. This has had personal ramifications; his only remaining white friend is German. He believes the tension sowed in his previous white friendships stems from this trend of white individualisation viewing his 'opinion[s] as an attack on their whiteness.'⁵⁹

Abongile Ntsane places narratives of apartheid nostalgia, denialism and the like within the changing dynamics of the present. She claims there has been an expansion of discourse from all parties facilitated by the rise of #RhodesMustFall. Accordingly, this movement has created a space wherein 'we could all be that brutal about how we feel.' For Abongile, social media has been a crucial platform in this regard wherein many (but she notes not all) whites have increasingly clamoured for the previous dispensation, going so far as to state that some have viewed

⁵⁷ Interview with Kuhle Nkosi, Entrepreneur, Radio Personality, Writer and Producer (Johannesburg, South Africa, 28 March 2017).

⁵⁸ Sisonke Msimang, 'Shutdown – On the Death of Compromise in South Africa' (*Africa is a Country*, 11 October 2016) <<http://africasacountry.com/2016/10/shutdown-on-the-death-of-compromise-in-south-africa/>> accessed 10 May 2017.

⁵⁹ Interview with Kuhle Nkosi, Entrepreneur, Radio Personality, Writer and Producer (Johannesburg, South Africa, 28 March 2017).

apartheid as having a second-coming with the Democratic Alliance. Abongile views this shift from a period characterised by ‘kumbaya’ as positive; speaking about Zille, ‘how we really feel, is starting to surface, glad she said it, now we know.’ For Abongile, the recent polarity in discourse particularly on social media is productive, ‘now the real colours are coming through and now that they are coming through, the real conversations can start happening.’⁶⁰

Bongani feels that ‘nostalgia for me tends not to always be about the past, in fact it’s very little about the past, it’s about the present. It is about our own anxieties, the prism that we sort of start looking backwards.’ Accordingly, uncertainty about the present generates appeals to the certainty of the past. He further notes, it is ‘increasingly difficult for white people to imagine a future in this country’ particularly in reaction to the rise of unapologetic decolonisation projects such as #RhodesMustFall (RMF). Bongani claims ‘we’re not all living in the same time’; while social movements such as RMF point towards a new vision or era, nostalgia stems from a fear of being left out or lacking a place in this change. He also frames white anxieties to institutionalised gradualism such as Black Economic Empowerment as ‘a failure of imagination’ to consider their place in a changing country. According to Bongani, the future is ‘black’, as colonialism/apartheid’s placing of whiteness at society’s core *will* and *must* change. White apartheid nostalgia is viewed as speaking to white feelings of exclusion rather than white attempts to seek involvement.⁶¹

While humanising these narratives of apartheid nostalgia, Bongani finds them ‘unforgiveable.’⁶² Most poignant is Bongani’s understanding of apartheid nostalgia as a reflection of the various and perhaps competing temporalities and, indeed, worlds that South Africans occupy. This shapes a diverse range in understandings of the present, temporality, citizenship and indeed, progress.

⁶⁰ Interview with Abongile Ntsane, Independent Ceramics Artist (Cape Town, South Africa, 13 April 2017).

⁶¹ Interview with Bongani, Editor, Pan-African Platform (Cape Town, South Africa, 6 April 2017).

⁶² Ibid.

5.4. FORGOTTEN FIGHTS

A major violent aspect of apartheid commands little public attention or discourse, this, of course, being the Border War. Shortly after arriving in South Africa, Florus P was conscripted into the military. Fortuitously, he was assigned to technical work and avoided frontline exposure. When asked about the place of the conflict's memory in contemporary discourse, Florus noted its relative absence except perhaps in ultra-nationalist Afrikaner circles. While recognising this has been informed by his own experience, he also proposes that the Truth and Reconciliation process had a role in the nation coming to terms with it as well as a general 'normalisation' leading to sentiments described as 'agh man, let's just move on.'⁶³ This is similarly reflected in Sam's observation of his father's silence regarding his conscription.⁶⁴

The relative silence around the Border War is deafening as roughly 600,000 were conscripted into the conflict.⁶⁵ While some, like Florus P, did not face active duty, there are challenges for veterans of a war viewed almost universally negatively, as soldiers fought on behalf of oppression. This has affected veterans, one claiming, 'There is a lot of unresolved trauma, a misunderstanding between different sides, we haven't talked enough about how we feel and we need to.'⁶⁶ Perhaps this experience and the accompanying psychological trauma is treated by some in the finding of meaning for such brutality. This includes retrenched Cold War narratives as one son of a veteran relayed to me or in the nationalist memories explored previously. The corollary to such silence may also reflect a lack of substantial justice for the victims; to what extent is justice as well as meaningful apologies possible without acknowledgement leading to discussion?

⁶³ Interview with Florus P. (Cape Town, South Africa, 10 April 2017).

⁶⁴ Interview with 'Sam' (Johannesburg, South Africa, 25 April 2017).

⁶⁵ David Williams, *On the Border: The White South African Military Experience* (Tafelberg, 2008) 21.

⁶⁶ Louise Redvers, 'Breaking the Silence on the Border War' *Mail and Guardian* (Johannesburg, 26 March 2012) <<https://mg.co.za/article/2012-03-26-breaking-the-silence-on-border-war>> accessed 2 June 2017.

5.5. RULES OF ENGAGEMENT: DISCOURSE AND APARTHEID

As a sensitive, politically and emotionally loaded issue, apartheid affected all South Africans, but the discourse surrounding it varies immensely. This raises the following question: *what, if any, are the rules or limits, governing how apartheid/colonialism are and ought to be discussed?*

Understandings of this issue differ amongst various segments of society reflecting differing levels of comfort and conceptions of inter-community engagement and integration. Florus P views discourse in South Africa both about apartheid and otherwise, as unrestricted or relatively ‘free-flowing’ adding that ‘a lot of white people have become much more, expressive, because they’ve learned from the black person.’ Barring hate speech and the like, he welcomes what he sees as an increasingly expanded discursive atmosphere.⁶⁷ One could read this sentiment on a personal level as a testament to Florus P’s open-mindedness or willingness to learn from his black peers, or it could be viewed cynically in general terms, as the discourse is still normatively catering to or shaped by the minority. The latter position may be inferred by arguments about the effects of disproportionate white ownership of media, resulting in a lack of interrogations of legacies of the past.⁶⁸

Toka Hlongwane believes discourse surrounding apartheid is governed by the dynamics of the participants, particularly along racial lines. ‘As black people we can talk about apartheid freely amongst ourselves, express ourselves and cuss, and bleed and do whatever...’. He feels that once a discussion includes a white person, ‘it becomes sensitive. I need to consider their feelings...watch what I’m saying.’ For Toka, this difference is from a frequent disavowal of participation and a refusal to acknowledge continued benefit by the white participant. Toka finds ‘defensive’ responses common and makes clear that he is not seeking an apology but rather recognition of pain. For Toka, defensive responses to conversations surrounding apartheid extend to issues of historical correction such as rejection of or complaints related to affirmative

⁶⁷ Interview with Florus P. (Cape Town, South Africa, 10 April 2017).

⁶⁸ Nic Muirhead, ‘A View From the Outside: Is South Africa’s Media Transformed?’ *Daily Maverick* (Johannesburg, 8 March 2016) <<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2016-03-08-a-view-from-outside-is-south-africas-media-transformed/>> accessed 3 June 2017.

action.⁶⁹ Perhaps this speaks again to differing conceptions of time: the white opponent of affirmative action conceives of the programme in immediate terms rather than deeply ingrained exclusion. In this way, the white person who makes discourse around apartheid about themselves is operating through the lens of immediacy and personalisation of action rather than viewing apartheid in collective or structural as well as historical terms.

The ‘sensitivity’ of whites towards responsibility and acknowledgement of apartheid as elaborated by Toka demonstrates a larger point he made earlier, ‘white people are detached from South African life. White people do not know what South African life is. They just know white people’s lives.’ Toka demonstrates white insularity by contrasting the fact that his white colleague has only been to a township twice, with black people’s familiarity with white culture, for instance, John Lennon. He also highlights black familiarity with white life through economic necessity as well as linguistics; he speaks English while claiming most whites do not bother to learn an African language.⁷⁰ Toka perceives a continued centrality of whiteness in South African life, undoubtedly filtering into accommodations or discomfort in interracial interactions around apartheid.

Similarly, Sobantu Mzwakali views much of the popular and public discourse around apartheid as limited. He feels the narrative or understanding of apartheid is governed or limited by present debates. Competing conceptions of apartheid’s legacies shape the spectrum of the discourse. Popularly, Sobantu feels that apartheid and its abuses are largely limited to the issues least controversial or polarising, those that have been ostensibly solved: spatial segregation and legal inequity. To recognise apartheid as more, implicitly requires the recognition of unresolved legacies and thus continued suffering.⁷¹ Sobantu’s visible frustration with this perhaps mirrors the unresolved legacies of apartheid he engages with professionally including land rights.

Abongile echoes these concerns, claiming interracial communication about the past is ‘nice until then (sic) you start talking about, how to

⁶⁹ Interview with Toka Hlongwane, Independent Filmmaker (Cape Town, South Africa, 13 April 2017).

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Interview with Sobantu Mzwakali, Writer, Land and Accountability Research Centre, (Cape Town, South Africa, 7 April 2017).

make the economy corrected for the people it was taken away from.’ Land and economic inequity are fault lines in interracial interaction, ‘There is still from the white community I have seen, there is still a huge thing of protecting wealth... “but let’s still come and have a braai [barbeque] together Abs. Come over to my house but let’s not talk about my money and my wealth, that I’ll protect. We gave you your country back and look at it now, worst leadership.” You know, they say. “But I worked hard for that,” they say. There is a barrier... “let’s talk about this justice thing and this race thing but until this far.”’⁷² Evidently, Abongile feels discourse about the past is welcomed until it challenges or threatens the white person’s privileged class position. She was visibly frustrated with the limited or superficial nature of these discussions.

Bongani offered a different reading on the dictates of apartheid discourse, noting the immensity of the exercise. Highlighting the sheer size and emotional bearing of apartheid, he asks ‘can somebody really tell you what it was like? Is it a story that they are able to tell?’ and can both parties communicate effectively? For Bongani, many of the historical signboards, such as *1994*, are incredibly ‘packed’ from popular culture, liberation tales, education etc that ‘we know where it starts and where it ends...’. With so much emotional, thematic and informational-laden exposure, he asks ‘do we even have space to allow another person’s story into it?...Are they able to tell it against all of this?’ Regarding this challenge for nuanced, intricate and new ways of discussing apartheid, he laughingly recalled an exchange where a colleague during an editorial meeting asked, ‘once you drop the word apartheid, where do you go from there?’⁷³

The question raised by Bongani’s colleague speaks to a larger challenge, how to meaningfully address (and redress) the past, and can this be done imaginatively rather than simply falling into the pitfalls of meta-narration? This may be particularly pertinent to issues including *mblaba*, land. Both symbolically and economically (chiefly as an asset or collateral), land continues to reflect the legacies of exclusion embodied by apartheid. The limited discourse expressed by Sobantu and the

⁷² Interview with Abongile Ntsane, Independent Ceramics Artist (Cape Town, South Africa, 13 April 2017).

⁷³ Interview with Bongani, Editor, Pan-African Platform (Cape Town, South Africa, 6 April 2017).

centrality of whiteness noted by Toka, fused with the sheer immensity of apartheid as alluded to above, clouds debates concerning reparations and redistribution. These factors stifle conversations about difficult historical correctives as they leave out colonialism/apartheid's nature as a project of capital expansion requiring dispossession.

6.

PERFORMATIVE MEMORY

6.1. IDENTIFICATION THROUGH SONG, DANCE AND VERNACULAR

Having gathered an understanding as to the *ways of forgetting or selectively remembering* apartheid as well as the terms of contemporary apartheid engagement, attention shifts to how the period is remembered and its legacies understood. This exploration should begin by examining memory *in* and *as* praxis; specifically, the *ways* or *acts*⁷⁴ in which memory is expressed in daily life as a form of agency and location of self.

As noted earlier, story-telling is central to South African life. A story can be expressed through song, beading, fashion or the like. Having been intimately involved with the RWM for over two years, song as a locus in community gathering and building has become evident. While partaking in workshops and protests on issues ranging from human and constitutional rights, gender-based violence, land rights etc, community members have sprung into song on countless occasions. As will become clear, song places one's self (and indeed the community) into a longer lineage while also being a tool to nourish the bonds of collectivism underpinning grassroots activism.

One video I shot is of RWM members, led by a youth leader, Samke, singing the song *Kubi Kubi Kubi* after spontaneously breaking into this Struggle-era song. The song's title translates to *It's Dangerous, It's Dangerous, It's Dangerous*, and outlines resistance in the face of violent oppression.⁷⁵ Another video shot in October 2015 shows RWM

⁷⁴ Mieke Bal, 'Performance and Performativity' in Balkema A. and Slager H. (eds), *Exploding Aesthetics*, trans. Global Vernunft, vol 16. (Dutch Society of Aesthetics 2001) 110-113.

⁷⁵ Rural Women's Movement, South Africa to Facebook Forum, 'RWM singing "Khubi

members marching as part of the Rural Women's Assembly of South Africa towards the Union Buildings in Pretoria while singing *Sizovota Kanjani* or *How do we vote when we are starving?*⁷⁶ A March 2016 video at a conference hosted by the Alliance for Rural Democracy shows RWM Chairperson, uMama Shabalala, leading the group in singing *Hulumeni Senzeni*, or *Government, what did we do to provoke you?*⁷⁷

The participants are wide-ranging in age but coalescing *in and through* song. Pre-dating Democracy, these songs maintain relevance for these rural female activists. This reflects a conception of continued Struggle and as a rural women's organisation, highlights that racial, spatial and undoubtedly, gendered oppression continues. Such songs mirror the relationship between rural communities, specifically rural women and the government. The songs indicate a distrust, lack of faith or distance from a national government currently promoting legislation directly affecting communities with grossly inadequate consultation.⁷⁸ The songs both reflect and propel legal actions against the government while supporting local development models that serve to operate externally to (and thus delegitimise) the state. One activist expressed their dismay by informing me that in one region of KZN, her organisation is the only agent of development as the government

Khubi Khubi" which translates to "It's dangerous, it's dangerous, it's dangerous." The song is from the apartheid era and speaks of strength and bravery during the revolutionary struggle for democracy in the face of murder and rape. This rendition is led by young RWM leader Samkelisiwe Nzimande at our three-day workshop in conjunction with Womens Legal Centre (Cape Town & Johannesburg) on constitutional rights.' (*Facebook*, 23 October 2015) <<https://www.facebook.com/ruralwomensmovement/videos/915615185185643/>> accessed 25 May 2017.

⁷⁶ Rural Women's Movement, South Africa to Facebook Forum, 'Today RWM members joined other member organizations of the Rural Women's Assembly of Southern Africa on a 5 KM march in Pretoria that culminated at the Union Buildings. The song featured in this video "Sizovota Kanjani" translates to "how do we vote when we're starving?" #FoodSove reigny#NoMiningWithoutConsultation #WomensLandRights #InvestigateAbusesByTraditionalLeaders#SayNoToGMO' (*Facebook*, 29 October 2015) <<https://www.facebook.com/ruralwomensmovement/videos/918104238270071/>> accessed 6 June 2017.

⁷⁷ Rural Women's Movement, South Africa to Facebook Forum, 'Our Chairperson Mama Shabalala leading a song at today's conference hosted by Association for Rural Democracy (of which RWM is a founding member) on the topic of the Traditional Khoisan Leadership Bill. This song Hulumeni Senzeni, roughly translates to "Government, what did we do to provoke you?" #SharedStruggle #Amandla #ImplementationNotLegislation' (*Facebook*, 18 March 2016) <<https://www.facebook.com/ruralwomensmovement/videos/996036940476800/>> accessed 6 June 2017.

⁷⁸ Sobantu Mzwakali, 'Traditional and Khoi-San Leadership Bill: MPs Failed Dismally to Consult the Public' (*GroundUp*, 5 April 2017) <<http://www.groundup.org.za/article/traditional-and-khoi-san-leadership-bill-mps-failed-dismally-consult-public/>> accessed 6 June 2017.

is absent in this realm. Transformation, a renewed sense of hope in government and the promises of Democracy are perceived as having skipped many rural communities.

For these rural female activists, young and old, a continued necessity for communal organisation and support that is external and at times, oppositional to, the government is intergenerational. Although Pastor Mbhekiseni Mavuso considers current present activism as breaking with the past. Disillusioned with the ANC, the present 'is the second phase of our freedom.' Further, songs affiliated with the ANC are tainted by the counter-revolutionary present, 'this government is oppressing us... If we still sing their songs, they will think we are praising them.' He urges, '[w]e must compose our own songs to keep us motivated and strong.' Mavuso calls for consistent re-evaluation, (re-)creation as well as ownership *in* and *of* Struggle.⁷⁹

Uniting all aforementioned activists is that their actions support leading Deep House Producer Black Coffee's claim that 'Song played a big role in liberating South Africa.'⁸⁰ Indeed, it has and will continue to be a tool for local activists to come together in harnessing the past to imagine a world beyond the present.

Song can also be instrumentalised in gaining and consolidating political power. President Jacob Zuma has previously generated controversy for resurrecting the song *Letha Umshini Wami* or *Bring me my Machine Gun*.⁸¹ In building his image, Zuma used the song to further exemplify his Struggle credentials as a member of *uMkhonto we Sizwe* while also fostering a sense of (perhaps chauvinist in nature) strength and patriotism. This image is used to tackle those deemed agents of 'white monopoly capital' including sacked Finance Minister Gordhan.⁸²

⁷⁹ Marelise Van Der Merwe, 'Review: 'This Land' Is Whose Land Exactly?' *Daily Maverick* (Johannesburg, 8 June 2017) <<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-06-08-review-this-land-is-whose-land-exactly>> accessed 10 June 2017.

⁸⁰ Ben Beaumont-Thomson, 'Black Coffee: Song Played a Big Role in Liberating South Africa' *The Guardian* (London, 24 August 2016) <<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/aug/24/black-coffee-interview-nathi-maphumulo-south-africa-aparthied-house-music>> accessed 6 June 2017.

⁸¹ MyNews24 to News24 newsgroup, 'Will Zuma's 'Letha Umshini Wami' (Bring Me My Machine Gun) Song Win Him Second Term?' (*News24*, 14 May 2012) <<http://www.news24.com/mynews24/will-zumas-letha-umshini-wami-bring-my-machine-gun-song-win-him-second-term-20120514>> accessed 6 June 2017.

⁸² Sean Jacobs and Benjamin Fogel, 'Zuma is Not the Only Problem' (*Jacobin*, 8 April 2017) <<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2017/04/jacob-zuma-anc-south-africa-guptas-corruption-protests/>> accessed 6 June 2017.

At all levels, day-to-day actions and language are used to place one's self in line with Struggle or as a reminder of sacrifice. Shouts of *Amandla*, followed by *Awethu*, roughly translating to *Power to the People* can be heard in meetings of both civil society as well as government. Further, it is common to hear males of all generations greet or refer to one another as *comrade*, again utilising the language of the Struggle while elucidating a shared political consciousness.⁸³ ANC members in Gauteng identify themselves by greeting or referring to the males around them as *Nkosi* or *Chief*. Moreover, even in formal contexts, the ANC, as well as the EFF, will preface a message with the term *revolutionary*. For instance, a speech by the Limpopo ANC Chairperson begins with 'revolutionary greetings',⁸⁴ and following Ahmed Kathrada's death, the EFF issued 'Revolutionary Condolences'.⁸⁵

I have observed many apolitical or unaffiliated South Africans ridicule these actions. Rather than viewing it as patriotism or continued struggle, it is perceived merely as theatrics. One person I spoke to expressed his disillusionment with these political practices by fusing it with his critique of non-racialism. In joking that white *comrades* would be incapable of pronouncing *Amandla*, raising a fist in the air, he teasingly proclaimed, 'ama-power!' He was ridiculing partisan politics as well as the failures of whites to learn African languages and integrate towards black society. This joke is a criticism of Rainbowism as well as the lack of honest representation in formal politics.

6.2. CAT-WALKING DOWN MEMORY LANE: POSITIONALITY AND SUBJECTIVITY IN PATTERN

Memory is carried both subtly and overtly, in and through the body as well as aesthetics. In this way, the following question arises: *how do*

⁸³ Though overt, these social codes operate similarly to: George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World 1890-1940* (BasicBooks, 1994) 16-17, 187-188.

⁸⁴ Cassel Mathale 'Address by Limpopo ANC Chairperson Cde Cassel Mathale During the ANC Peter Mokaba Regional Conference, Peter Mokaba Region' (*African National Congress Limpopo*, 27 May 2012), <<http://limpopo.anc.org.za/show.php?id=9640>> accessed 6 June 2017.

⁸⁵ Mbuyiseni Quinton Ndlozi, 'EFF Sends Revolutionary Condolences on the Passing of Ahmed Kathrada' (*Economic Freedom Fighters*, 28 March 2017) <<http://www.effonline.org/single-post/2017/03/28/EFF-SENDS-REVOLUTIONARY-CONDOLENCES-ON-THE-PASSING-OF-AHMED-KATHRADA>> accessed 6 June 2017.

various South African actors place themselves socially and historically through garb?

Every year amaHlubi community members gather from across the country to celebrate the memory of anti-colonial King Langalibalele. Key to the event are traditional dance performances by young community members clad in traditional garb.⁸⁶ With people of all ages attending, the rhythms of song fuse with customary clothing to bind everyone together in cultural pride and autonomy as well as in an anti-colonial lineage. While the criticism could be made that this event is topical or merely token, it clearly holds deeper meaning for the thousands present. Many travel from as far as Johannesburg as well as the Eastern Cape to this mountainous rural community bordering Lesotho. In this way, the performativity of tradition and culture holds a deep place for many amaHlubi, signalling a textured reality for members of this relatively small community, especially those residing in distant urban centres.

In cities, engagements with the past through fashion may look a little different. Often there is a fusion of memory with more overt signals of urban life. For instance, it is common to find synthetic or faux leopard-print shirts in largely amaZulu neighbourhoods such as Johannesburg's Marshall Town. In this way, urbanites are fusing traditional associations of the leopard with strength into a fashion conforming to the dictates of urban life.

Most striking may be the role of fashion in the ascendance of the EFF. This largely urban and youth-based political party uses red berets as an identifier. The berets provide a sense of belonging to combat the disorientation faced by youth flocking to urban centres. Moreover, the beret, often associated with revolutionary figures such as Che Guevara, helps link the organisation's revolutionary rhetoric to a revolutionary lineage; its followers can place their struggle along previous struggles. Additionally, the distinctness of red increases the party's visibility, complementing its controversial rhetoric as well as presenting a deep contrast to the disillusionment many associate with the ANC's black, green and gold. In this way, the EFF both utilises an aesthetic connected

⁸⁶ Rural Women's Movement, South Africa to Facebook Forum, 'Thank you to the community at aMahlubi for inviting us to today's celebration in memory of 19th anti-colonial King Langalibalele. Featured here is the award winning Esibayeni Sobuciko Traditional Group instructed and choreographed by RWM member Bheki Ntombela. Thank you to National Lotteries Board for sponsoring their outfits!' (*Facebook*, 4 October 2015) <<https://www.facebook.com/ruralwomensmovement/videos/907517985995363/>> accessed 7 June 2017.

with previous revolutionary struggles while visually creating a break from the past.

Fashion is also a means for many youths to express their political consciousness both through the clothing itself as well as by delving into an industry denied to other generations. Designer Kuda Matiza's work is intentionally and overtly political, beginning with the name of his brand *House of Hohwa*. *Hohwa* is Shona for 'mushroom', which for Kuda represents the diversity of African cultures and stories. His work and organisational strategy holds a textured relationship between a Pan-African experience and that of the diversity of African cultures. While the brand's name speaks to the latter, the brand's newest line, *Winds of Change*, centres on common African experience. According to Kuda, the line pays homage to former British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan's 1960 tour, where he spoke of the inevitability of African liberation. For Kuda, the tour's message remains true today, 'it is time for Africa.'⁸⁷

Kuda views design as a part of African liberation dating back to colonialism 'every part of your life as an African is dependent on everything that was done before. So your true Africa story... only comes into effect when you speak about it.' Accordingly, colonialism hijacked fashion while side-lining African creativity. Attempting to restore African agency and identity in dress, Kuda views his work as 'taking the revolution or political movements into fashion.' After *Winds of Change*, he intends to turn towards the unique languages of and stories expressed by individual African communities.⁸⁸ Evidently, a perspective emerges of African unity through common history and appreciation for continental cultural diversity.

Fashion designer and Founder of *Africanah*, Bella Maake also views fashion as political. Citing inferiority complexes within black Africans as a vestige of apartheid, Bella uses her brand to 'encourage them [Africans] to have pride in where they are from, instead of looking to the world.' She continues to express dismay as many Africans seek style from abroad, missing the myriad cultures and the vibrancy or 'colour' of Africa, 'we should embrace, rather than forget.'⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Interview with Kuda Matiza, Founder, House of Hohwa (Johannesburg, South Africa, 17 March 2017).

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Interview with Bella Maake, Founder, Africanah (Johannesburg, South Africa, 1 April 2017).

For Bella, *Africanah* is also an act of ethical community engagement and uplift. She localises all levels of production and supply in order to ensure ethical business practices and prevent exploitation while helping to build the local economy.⁹⁰

Fashion and garb as memory's interlocutor can clearly be expressed differently. As the EFF politically instrumentalises fashion to tap into a revolutionary appeal of days-gone-by, others remember through clothing in contexts that do not cater to the dictates of electoral zero-sum politics. AmaHlubi community members wear traditional apparel for cultural pride, agency and dignity just as Kuda and Bella's creations are guided by a similar pursuit. Fashion is grounds for a transformation, restoration as well as assertion of (collective) self in the aftermath of the trauma of colonialism/apartheid. These actions are, as singer Monique Bingham melodically articulated, to 'Make a social life out of social death.'⁹¹ Evidently, cloth, fabric, fashion and indeed bodies, continue⁹² to be a site of political and identity practice and contestation.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ MoniqueBinghamVEVO post to YouTube, 'Monique Bingham & Black Coffee - Deep in The Bottom (of Africa)' (*YouTube*, 27 November 2015) <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BEKiRcCC1XY>> accessed 17 June 2017.

⁹² As Jean and John L. Comaroff have demonstrated, since the colonial era these have been means of shaping and reflecting political subjectivities. See: Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*, vol. 2 (University of Chicago Press, 1997), 218-222.

7.

IT'S ALL IN THE FAMILY: THE PAST
AND ITS FAMILIAL LEGACIES

Memory pulses through our most intimate relationships, shaping child-rearing and our conceptions of our most intimate social unit, our families. Experience and memories of the past have the capacity to limit, extend and totally recreate bonds between one another. This raises the issue as to the impact of South Africa's past on families.

7.1. SMELTING FAMILIAL BREAKDOWN: MIGRANT LABOUR AND MINING

In terms of familial legacies of the past, Abongile first spoke of failures during the transition to Democracy that left directly linked apartheid pain unresolved. Accordingly, wounds from political violence have been opened 'people still had family members murdered by the apartheid system with no justice for that' while others were 'unable to come back from exile to bury their parents.'⁹³ In this way, not only justice but also closure has been denied. However, the conversation shifted away from the most overt attacks on families.

Addressing the legacies of the extraction industry and migrant labour, Abongile traces many contemporary maladies to this issue. Accordingly, 'That was the start and beginning of so many things in society today that are wrong. Firstly, breakdown of family that happened with migrant labour. Secondly, sexism, because now I [the male mine worker], can go and marry whoever I want... because of the money.' She roots the effects on poor families as particularly acute as the introduction of a deeper

⁹³ Interview with Abongile Ntsane, Independent Ceramics Artist (Cape Town, South Africa, 13 April 2017).

class-divide broke traditional ‘gender roles and power that women had’, lending itself to poor women having to enter into unwanted marriages. Moreover, migrant labour introduced HIV/AIDS with disastrous effects in many communities leading to ‘child-headed households’ that had to fend for themselves against ‘uncles and neighbours that come and rape children.’⁹⁴ Abongile frames the valuation of women and femininity, bodily autonomy and the right to childhood as casualties of migrant labour.

Abongile also traces a death of sorts in fatherhood and male mentorship to the extraction industry and migrant labour. This industry created an intergenerational breakdown of family and contemporary familial challenges, ‘and you deal with it now with men who were never fathered. It’s a huge thing in South Africa. Because the priority is work, because that’s what they were told. And so even when the father’s there, sometimes he’s not really *there*. Absentee fathers, big problem.’⁹⁵ This was again reflected in her concern over what she views as the present’s revolutionary or transformational potential lacking a leader to guide it, ‘it speaks again to the fatherlessness.’ Now the nation is ‘dealing with these absent-fathered children, that’s dangerous, so if somebody doesn’t come up soon and look at the leadership, or lack thereof...it could go south really quickly.’⁹⁶

7.2. DISPOSSESSION, STORYTELLING AND REDISCOVERING FAMILY

In preparing a paper on the *Gift Economy* concept, uGogo Sizani Ngubane unearthed family history previously untold to her, revealing how in her own community the concept of family has changed. During the research, uGogo shared the following account, ‘I asked my mom about how in her younger days, they used to practice gift economy. It was only then that I realised that all the aunties and uncles and cousins that she would talk about, they were not biologically uncles and aunties. They were people, some of them coming from [the] Eastern Cape who were in a desperate situation. Maybe walking from [the] Eastern Cape to get to Johannesburg, on foot. To be able to do that, they have to stop

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

and stay with a family for a week or two or a month or two, because their feet would be swollen. The uncles she used to talk about, a person would come this time of night and ask for a place to stay and wake up in the morning, their feet are so swollen and the grandmother would say “you can’t walk like this, stay in the house until you feel better then you can make a decision about what you want to do.” And the warmth they used to get at my mother’s home, they changed their mind and never went to Johannesburg. When they feel better, when they rested, they would go and join the family to work the fields. And that’s how they became the uncles.’ She emphasises, ‘and they were part of the family!’ She alludes to a generational shift brought about by apartheid, ‘those days, there was nothing like biological. If you were the children in this community, you were brothers and sisters.’ Prior to the influence of apartheid, she claims that ‘We were not wealthy people but we were wealthy inside. We would share our food, share whatever we had.’⁹⁷ In this way, *blood is thicker than water* or similar phrases would have fallen flat to previous generations as family based on biology or genetics is painted as a western concept.

While uGogo herself had assumed community members labelled in familial terms were blood relatives, she does highlight a continuity in some perceptions of family. During our discussion on a survey of RWM members about definitions of family she enthusiastically proclaims ‘would you believe me if I said that the women said one of their families is RWM!’ In further expanding the concept of family, she notes that while it is often associated with genetics, family is an act or a relationship, ‘it is about how you relate with that human being and how that human being responds when you ask for assistance or when you are in trouble.’⁹⁸

The relatively flexible and empathic conceptualisation of family offered by uGogo should provide hope to those concerned about segmentation and re-tribalisation;⁹⁹ for many South Africans, notions of family, community and the like are still laced with elements of tradition such as Ubuntu. In her own life, she has witnessed a cross-cultural and interracial creation of family in and through struggle. She notes that

⁹⁷ Interview with Sizani Ngubane, Founder & Director, Rural Women’s Movement (Johannesburg, South Africa, 30 March 2017).

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Sthembiso Msomi, ‘Tribalism Threatens to Take SA Backwards’ *The Sowetan* (Johannesburg, 10 January 2017). <<http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2017/01/10/tribalism-threatens-to-take-sa-backwards>> accessed 12 June 2017.

while absent elsewhere, there is a miniature ‘Rainbow Nation within our land [rights] sector...the movement binds the people and they become a family.’¹⁰⁰ Further, during the Struggle ‘we knew white people who were on our side, and we did not see them as white people. We saw them as part of us in a Struggle to fight against oppression.’¹⁰¹ In essence, recognition of shared fates and common struggle facilitates support, cooperation and meaningful emotional bonds; family is birthed and each other’s humanity valued.

Underpinning uGogo’s understanding of family is the tradition of Ubuntu; in her words, ‘Ubuntu is loving. Ubuntu is taking care of your own environment...everybody, your family, your neighbours. Ubuntu would not allow one to have breakfast here when next door they are not eating.’ She further explores examples of Ubuntu in practice, ardently believing that it has survived colonial/apartheid intervention.¹⁰² The smile on uGogo’s face while she discusses this demonstrates a reinforced faith in South Africa and humanity generally.

Like Abongile, uGogo Sizani traces attacks on familial life through economic lenses, specifically dispossession. Speaking of the value of storytelling and fables, uGogo shares, ‘at that time there was a connection between the elders and the little ones, which has disappeared now. Because most people live in the informal settlement where it is just a nuclear family, they live in townships and the government made sure that the townships, you saw how small the houses, it is not even enough for a nuclear family. When we still had our land, when you get married as a son here, you build your house here. Until it is like a township, just the Rabers... and the family would become as big as 200. That culture was taken away from us when the land was taken away.’¹⁰³

For uGogo Sizani, land represents more than simply economic and cultural autonomy but also familial health and functioning. She links the rise of domestic abuse to dispossession of land, ‘how are you going to practice domestic violence in a family where grandfather is here, his house, he can hear the screams, grandmother, great grandmother, great grandfather. And they were like judges in this family, if there is a

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Sizani Ngubane, Founder & Director, Rural Women’s Movement (Johannesburg, South Africa, 30 March 2017)

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

dispute, everyone will go to the grandmother...can you imagine being called to a family meeting of 200 people to try to explain why you gave your wife a slap on her face? It was embarrassing. And like a curse in the family...if you have a problem we have elders, to assist you to resolve your problem. All of that was taken away.¹⁰⁴

Dispossession is viewed as an attack on familial structures and conflict resolution methodology resulting in intergenerational trauma. Moreover, language such as uGogo's use of 'curse' demonstrates the visceral nature of domestic abuse as an indignity resulting from dispossession. Such indignities accompanying dispossession she feels are intergenerational, 'The majority of people who are dying in this country as we are speaking now, it's the youth... where would people like [her grandchildren] Langa and Sanele be provided guidance? By whom?' She further speaks about her own grandchildren, whom after her daughter died, she would place in a hotel while travelling. Torn by this memory, she says, 'Sanele ten years old, Langa five years old, all by themselves' with the hotel staff tasked with ensuring they leave for school. She asserts that this 'would not have happened, if we were left by the apartheid and the colonial regimes and be allowed to live our own traditions, our own living culture. Can you imagine as a five-year-old kid, having to go to school from a hotel, huh? There's no guidance.'¹⁰⁵ Bravely, uGogo shares with us how a systemic attack on family structures has personally affected her and her grandchildren.

7.3. COMPETING OBLIGATIONS AND A LINEAGE OF ACTIVISM

As an activist, uGogo faced tensions between privileging justice, human rights, the collective and family, 'Sometimes, yes I am glad I was part of the people who in their own little way were able to [be] part of the people who liberated this country but when I look back at my own children, my grandchildren, I'm not the grandmother that my grandmother was. I don't even have time to tell them stories. How do they connect with me? When I come home, I am nice and tired... When I wake up I am out of the house.' She shares a story about her

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

deceased daughter, '[she] was five-years-old when she came to me and said "Ma, who are your kids?" I said it's you and Dudu. She said "we are not your kids; all mothers are staying at home with their children. Who are your children?" It's you [I say]. "Did you ever tell these ANC women that you are working with that you have got children?" ...I think she was wondering "I wonder what will happen if she tells these women that she's got kids? She will be with us at home." I sat with her and told her that I don't want you to grow up or if you have children, I don't want your children to grow up under apartheid. It's a painful situation, I want your kids, you, to grow up in a democratic country. I thought we had resolved that – when she was 21-years-old I was going to do a presentation in a conference on women and girls human rights, she said "where are you going Ma?" oh I have a presentation, "where?" I told her the venue. "Are you going to speak about women's and children's human rights?" I said yes. "What about your children's human rights? A basic one, of having a parent. Why are you denying us our right to have a mother?" At 21, she said it jokingly, but it was coming from her heart. She laughed about it and said "you know what I am going to do, I am going to go to these conferences, when they start calling your name to come forward and start speaking about women and girl's rights, I will raise my hand until the chairperson sees and say don't allow her to speak because she is violating by speaking here, she is violating her children's rights back home. She's never home." Sanele's [her granddaughter] still complaining about that.'¹⁰⁶

This anecdote demonstrates unfair compromises between activism and family, an intergenerational indignity evidenced by her granddaughter raising the same complaint as her daughter had. She clearly frames such challenges in the context of the destruction of traditional familial structures tied to land but also the unfinished business of rural black female empowerment. The story also reflects a catch twenty-two situation that no parent (most often women) should have to experience: to fight for a better future at the expense of care and attention for their children, or to be present but knowingly hand down an unjust society to their children. Evident from the interview, this continues to be a source of pain for uGogo Sizani. The dilemma presented is similar for many human rights defenders: to fight for human rights and dignity but at

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

the possible expense of their children's right to a childhood and familial rights more generally.

Speaking with uGogo's grandson, Langelizwe, a lineage of responsibility emerges. Beginning with his name, chosen by his father, Langelizwe translates to *Sun of the Nation*; 'he aimed for me...wanted me to be the person who like has an impact on people's lives, not only people around me, but the whole nation.' Further, he values his family's Struggle legacy, the challenges associated with it have helped shaped him, 'It helps me understand how life operates.' In discussing his father's role in violently protecting the community from IFP attacks, Langelizwe feels 'that alone [his father's heroism], that my father, had, played that role as a protector, if he can do it, I can do like even bigger things.'¹⁰⁷ He notes apartheid played another role in literally distancing family, as his grandmother and father were politically active and forced to change locations often. Intimidation extended towards violence against their relatives. Currently, Langelizwe feels he always must 'watch my back' due to his family's political activities.¹⁰⁸ This results in a double-edged legacy, one of pride and responsibility but also of continued threats and intimidation. Though his face lights up while discussing his current venture, the threats are very real for the Ngubanes, they recently received funding from *Front Line Defenders* to relocate due to death threats and vandalism.

7.4. A CHILDHOOD OF CONTRADICTION

Sharing her experiences growing up during apartheid, Judi M recalls her friend Lucky returning home mid cricket matches due to the Pass Laws, 'I'd go home and say to my Dad, "I'm really upset because Lucky always takes off when the cop cars run into the neighbourhood." And he would say to me, "well, that's not a bad thing, do you want our suburb to look like Soweto?" So even though, we were Black by all manner of identity in terms of class and race, there was this division where Coloured people, so-called, had bought into the project of apartheid. And so our relationship with black people was one of power, you know

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Langelizwe Ngubane, Founder, Blaq Rising (Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, 25 March 2017).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

and so as a child it was very difficult making sense of that. And then we get put into a school...and all of us were on bursaries because they hunted academic, um, talent in disadvantaged communities... and we were taught *Das Kapital* in our second year of high school.' Laughing, Judi M continues, 'I mean I had an amazing English and History teacher who were (sic) planting seeds of doubt, well critical thinking about our circumstance and where we all come from. I can remember the first day when I went to that school they were saying "ok all the African children put up your hand, all the Coloured children put up your hand" and I didn't put up my hand' between laughs she adds, "cause I thought this was a trick question. And that was the first lesson about our common humanity...But I think it was important that even though our parents were putting us on paths of other consciousness, they themselves remain untransformed. So when we started dating outside our "race group" it was problematised in our home you know. I would take off to Soweto and go visit boyfriends I was pursuing and my mother would say to me "everybody's trying to get out of Soweto, you're trying to get in...why don't you just settle for your own type?" so you always lived with these contradictions. And then of course, um, my mother was extremely fair and my sister was extremely fair and we were dark and I remember as children going off to nature reserves, when we get to the gate, the security guard would say "those two can go in," the rest of us couldn't you know, because we looked so different as a family...so I mean growing up under those days was extreme. And I mean when Soweto burned I could see it from my back stoep because it was just 5Ks away, I could see the smoke rising. And the narrative that was led in our home, even though we were Christian was that "look at how these black people were destroying their own property, their institutions, their libraries, their schools"...and funny enough, my father came from Sophiatown¹⁰⁹ which was a mixed community, he was a musician, a principal at the time of his death, a very well-rounded individual...but when it came to racial cohesion, or cohesion just as a society, there were definite lines drawn and we were taught that we were not like other people.' Moreover, she speaks of further confusion as to having relatives 'playing white side' to marry abroad in order to escape apartheid. However,

¹⁰⁹ Prior to its apartheid-era destruction, Sophiatown was famed for its cosmopolitan nature.

‘once I understood my identity as Black, I mean in a political sense, it just kind of lifted a lot of stuff that we were raised with.’¹¹⁰ Growing up under the absurdity of apartheid racial logic was an existence for Judi M fraught with contradictions, one that only the identification with blackness could resolve.

Exploring the similarities and differences between that of her childhood and that of her children’s, Judi M shares, ‘they grew up in a home where politics was being discussed all the time and they would turn around and say “you guys have the issue, your generation is sitting with baggage. For us it is natural, we do not see colour. We’re all just people and we’re all just friends.” Well that kind of naivety played itself up until they got to Junior High, Middle High. And then I realised, that all my daughter’s friends, were her colour...the segregation was taking place even at that level...[b]ut...when we sit back and look at footage, sometimes documentaries on apartheid, they’re gobsmacked to think that was an era that we lived under. It’s inconceivable for them, it’s absolutely out there, unrecognisable and it’s very difficult to actually entrench any emotion or feeling that was connected with that oppression because they don’t experience it, mostly in terms of class...we moved up. Our struggles became more and more disconnected by virtue of our class position.’¹¹¹ In this way, within her family, segregation has persisted though there is a major generational disjunction in experience: from the absurdity of apartheid boundaries towards a process of relative self-segregation. This has created generational differences in consciousness.

7.5. THE DOMESTIC’S SON

Many of the aforementioned issues of family-life thread Bonga Jwambi’s memory of his upbringing. Beginning with gross inequity, he recalls growing up with his four siblings, ‘we grew up in a, I could say a house where you can see all four walls.’ Bonga adds that at one point there were ‘nine people living in the same house...privacy is something that you don’t even imagine.’ Social mobility in this context was not abstract but a simple alleviation of stress and enjoyment of basic

¹¹⁰ Interview with Judi M. (Johannesburg, South Africa, 29 March 2017).

¹¹¹ Ibid.

comforts. In the 7th grade, Bonga began working by creating greeting cards, claiming 'I never knew how much I made because they paid my mother', emphasising 'but she seemed happy.'¹¹²

Bonga spoke of his mother's hard-work to support the family and the little available time to share together, 'my mother, she used to work as a domestic worker, and I think since I was born she was a domestic worker. And she used to come home on Fridays...Friday in the evening, then she would leave on a Sunday evening. So I used to see her once a week...I was taken care of by my older sisters. They used to prepare for me to go to school and stuff.' But he emphasises 'I was raised in a house that was always full of love, that's why it's easy for me to share.' For Bonga, this extends beyond his nuclear family to the community, citing his long-term friendships.¹¹³

Having a domestic worker for a mother was often difficult. Asked about how he felt having his mother working in another family's home, he responds 'I only realised it when I knew why she was not there. That's when it kind of hit me and made me angry...I was upset. Because I couldn't understand why someone cannot be at his (sic) home with their children, she has to be somewhere else to take care of someone's children. Whereas the parents are also, at the same house. But I remember sometimes, they used to invite me, when they were having a birthday, something like that, so they used to ask my mother to bring me to the birthday, party whatever was happening. I think they realised I was not a good guest to invite. Because, they were called Madams, the people who employed my mother, the boy – her son would cry from one side of the pool, he would cry...and then run straight to my mother...then I knew. I used to push him away. "Like, no dude, this is my mother." I didn't understand that she has to take care... I didn't understand that she was employed to do that kind of job.' In his community, it was uncommon to hold someone else's child, as one's own children will 'demand attention as well.'¹¹⁴ *Emotional labour*¹¹⁵ or the commodification of parental love was a foreign and perhaps threatening or hurtful notion for Bonga.

¹¹² Interview with Bonga Jwambi, Independent Artist and Designer (Cape Town, South Africa, 4 April 2017).

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ For more on this concept, see: Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*, 2012 ed. (University of California Press, 1983) 11.

Once financially stable, Bonga and his siblings experienced difficulty convincing their mother to quit her job; 'I remember when I was making enough money, and my sisters were working as well, my mother she had pride, she didn't want to take anything from us. For her, getting money from her children didn't make sense. For her, she believed she was the one to provide for us instead of it being the other way. We had to force my mother to accept money from me.' He recalls, 'at school we were given calendars, I brought a calendar home and I marked out all the days that she's not at home...I marked out all the days, I gave her the calendar days...I wrote the number of days she is at home a year...she broke down then.' Until then, the situation was normal for her. Bonga bitterly notes, 'she worked there for almost twenty years, when she left she got nothing. That's when you realise that equality for some people, it's like a dream...that's when you learn no one else owes you a favour, you better take care of your own.' Bonga pauses, 'Democracy was there for five years.'¹¹⁶ Central tenets of Democracy are illusory for Bonga insofar as his family life is concerned; continued economic inequity denied him and his siblings a mother at home for quite literally, most of the calendar year. Perhaps the promises of Democracy have not been so inevitable after all.

Bonga's disillusionment with his mother's relationship with her former employer points to the emotive nature of the relationship between domestic worker and employer. There are roughly 1.1 million domestic workers nationwide, a vestigial inequity foisted by colonialism/apartheid. Employers often frame these labourers as 'part of our family', sanitising the exploitation¹¹⁷ or lack of material appreciation; in Bonga's mother's case, this may have justified the absence of a retirement package. For the employers, the affection of a familial labelling may feel real, however, it operates in an environment wherein the ubiquitous uniform, relegates the worker to 'sameness.'¹¹⁸ Workers also often experience a tension or contradiction in emotions of love and affection

¹¹⁶ Interview with Bonga Jwambi, Independent Artist and Designer (Cape Town, South Africa, 4 April 2017).

¹¹⁷ For more on this, see: Maria Hengeveld, 'South Africa's Domestic Workers: Invisible Labor in Plain Sight' (*Africa is a Country*, 12 March 2015) <<http://africasacountry.com/2015/03/south-africas-domestic-workers-bonded-labor-in-plain-sight/>> accessed 13 June 2017.

¹¹⁸ Hlonipha Mokoena, 'Anybody Can Be A Maid' (*Africa is a Country*, 10 December 2010) <<http://africasacountry.com/2010/12/anybody-can-be-a-maid/>> accessed 17 June 2017.

with anxiety and resentment. A song by Thembi Mtshali and Barney Simon reflects this:

*My sister breast-fed my baby
While I took care of you
We met when you were three months old
and I a woman of forty-two...
Your first word was my name
Your first song was in Zulu...*

*My children watched Soweto burn
while I took care of you
My children breathed tear-gas smoke
while I took care of you*

*Your eyes are bright and clever now
Your legs are straight and strong...
my children sing at funerals*

*while I take care of you...
child of my flesh
May God protect my children from you.*¹¹⁹

Bonga's story also speaks to both the plague of absentee fatherhood but also the best of meaningful community. Without knowing his father, Bonga shares, 'I felt like I needed to, to find myself a father figure, someone I can look up to. Then for me, I think being street-wise, or lame, or lucky, I managed to surround myself with people that I thought would add value to my life, who guide me, who I learn from. So as an early boy, instead of going to my mother or someone to ask for a toy, I go to my neighbour that is older than me, if I am doing DIY... I ask for a screw driver...I started wanting to make my own cars because I couldn't afford cars. The thing with a car is... it gets lost. I wanted to make my own [toy] car so that it would be easy to identify if it got lost...That's where my hand-working started.'¹²⁰ From lending young Bonga tools to taking him on-site to observe handiwork and the like, an environment conducive to his current professional life as an artist was fostered. These

¹¹⁹ Found here: Adam Hochschild, *The Mirror at Midnight: A South African Journey*, 2007 ed. (Mariner Books, 1990), 23-24.

¹²⁰ Interview with Bonga Jwambi, Independent Artist and Designer (Cape Town, South Africa, 4 April 2017).

community members physically and metaphorically provided him with the tools for an outlet ultimately transferring into commercial success.

Bonga's story highlights many common threads, beginning with the role of economic processes in shaping familial life; in his case reflected by both inadequate housing and his antagonism to his mother's former employer. Like others, Bonga's memories of family life hold many paradoxes: an absent father but a loving home with a supportive community; a mother who's a domestic worker, yet rarely in *their* home. Conceptions of family life are always complicated, particularly when set within a backdrop of continued legacies of dispossession, migrant labour, the Struggle as well as the rise of Democracy, and the ubiquity of a racialised as well as gendered domestic labour.¹²¹ Especially with family, when considering another's memories and their inherent emotions towards them, a careful balance must be struck between privileging individual cases without losing track of thematic or structural processes.

¹²¹ For more on this, see: Maria Hengeveld, 'South Africa's Domestic Workers: Invisible Labor in Plain Sight' (*Africa is a Country*, 12 March 2015) <<http://africasacountry.com/2015/03/south-africas-domestic-workers-bonded-labor-in-plain-sight/>> accessed 13 June 2017; Also see: International Labour Organization, 'Domestic Workers Across the World: Global and Regional Statistics and the Extent of Legal Protection' (*International Labour Organization*, 2013) <http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_173363.pdf> accessed 13 June 2017.

8.

ON RAINBOWISM

Central to the post-apartheid era has been the commitment to non-racialism conceived as fostering the *Rainbow Nation*. Heralded globally as a scheme of compassion, tolerance and integration, as proof that *we* really can live together, *Rainbowism* takes hold in many different ways within the imagination of South Africans. Competing interpretations and associations with the concept reflect various emotions and perspectives towards the state of contemporary race relations, justice, the state of the project, and indeed, the nation, now over two decades beyond minority rule.

8.1. NINETIES NOSTALGIA

Flying back to Europe, I struck up a conversation with the passenger next to me. Olivia, a mid-30s white woman, was travelling to Italy with clients on a promotional trip. During the 11-hour flight, we discussed the state of the nation. She frequently alluded to increasing anxieties facing white South Africans. Speaking fondly of the 1990s as a period *without* racism, she cautioned that anti-white racism was rising. Informing me that though her husband had considered relocating the family, she firmly intends on staying. Indicating that she is both a proud South African but also influenced by witnessing her brother's challenges in relocating to Australia; the family could not afford to hire a domestic worker there.

Olivia's sentiments reflect a multitude of positions: an association of the transitionary period as one of collective momentum; a lack of consideration for structural racism alluded to by her notion that racism was previously *absent*; and lastly, white anxieties in a changing nation,

wherein as Bongani spoke of earlier, a decentring of whiteness and a shift towards blackness is inevitable. Lamenting her brother's inability to employ a domestic worker mirrors her concerns that the safeguard for her and her standard of living, Rainbowism, has been relegated to the past. In this way, Rainbowism evokes both nostalgia and a sense of stability.

8.2. AN ELUSIVE RAINBOW

Abongile feels the concept reflects the failure of the transition to Democracy: it is 'really elusive to me.' She remembers it as 'Mandela came out, and the only "freedom" that we exercised as black people was that, we were integrated in spaces. We could walk to town, we could live in Sandton,¹²² if we could afford it...there was actually no real freedom in, undoing the injustices. So it was this illusion of freedom to sort of "there, there, let's all be good. And move on. Springboks will play rugby and they won the World Cup..." it was an all an illusion because there was no deliberate fixing of things.'¹²³ By her words and tone, Abongile does not believe that Rainbowism resulted in justice while questioning if it was simply a tool for stability. Her frustration with the 'elusive' nature of Rainbowism may be that her understanding of the concept is that Rainbowism implicitly *problematizes* racism; she sees it as an idea that believes that legal equity, spatial integration and the like *is* a complete historical corrective. In this way, Rainbowism is flawed insofar as it views racism as simply *solvable* while ignoring its structural and systemic manifestations.

The creators of *Coloured Mentality*, Sarah Summers and Kelly-Eve Koopman, echo many of Abongile's criticisms of Rainbowism. Sarah shares that 'I just feel that people cannot conceive of a conversation outside of something that they are comfortable with that is obviously necessary...which just shows how brainwashed we are by the Rainbow Nation notion. People are all kind of having like these issues with race among each other, with themselves, with the way other people should identify, but as long as there's like this piece, this layer of like paint on top

¹²² An affluent suburb of Johannesburg.

¹²³ Interview with Abongile Ntsane, Independent Ceramics Artist (Cape Town, South Africa, 13 April 2017).

of it where we don't make racial issues or discuss racial things, everything will be fine. And just to broach that skin and to get to where the issues are, is something people don't want to happen.' Kelly further condemns Rainbowism as stifling vital conversations 'people will acknowledge that there are tensions that exist between marginalised identities like black and coloured which is a terrible thing but then it's kind of like, "let's not go into that territory because it becomes divisive."'124 Evidently, they view Rainbowism as a faulty remnant of temperance that must be shed in order to repair the proverbial home, the nation.

Similarly, Thanduxolo believes the Rainbow Nation prevented meaningful emotional confrontation. He highlights Rainbowism as being complicit in the current state of a society wherein 'no one is okay.'¹²⁵ Asked about the notion, he explains that 'it's a false representation, I think it's like a, the Rainbow Nation is not good for us. This whole concept of the Rainbow Nation is the reason why we are here right now as country. 'Cause I feel like it was, this concept it was forced, because nothing was dealt with. So everyone just said "hold hands together," it's like, it's such a funny thing like when we had the 2010 FIFA World Cup, there was the Rainbow Nation! And it's like, I don't know if it's like, for cameras ... but for a moment it was sort of like there and then when the FIFA World Cup went away everyone sort of went back to how it was, everything just sort of automatically went back. Everyone, different races went back to how they were living – if you were a white person you go back to the suburbs, if you are Coloured you go to your area, if you're Indian you go to, to your area. But for that period, there was some sense of like, oneness – if they were acting then it was a great job. But I did feel it for a moment. But then it's like, it never lasted. So I don't know if this whole Rainbow Nation thing is something for the cameras or for show or, if it is something that really truly does exist, that it is something we truly believe we are.' Noting this moment of solidarity in sport, Thanduxolo reinforces that there is work to do, 'we're called the Rainbow Nation but we still haven't dealt with the race issues.'¹²⁶

Thanduxolo believes moving forward requires 'everyone owning

¹²⁴ Interview with Sarah Summers and Kelly-Eve Koopman, Founders, Coloured Mentality (Johannesburg, South Africa, 21 April 2017).

¹²⁵ Interview with Thanduxolo Bhuti, Co-Founder, BlackLight Magazine (Johannesburg, South Africa, 22 March 2017).

¹²⁶ Ibid.

their feelings, first of all. And being able to express their feelings and not silencing each other for the sake of the Rainbow Nation...But knowing that when we play the Rainbow Nation card we still have hatred, these feelings that we harbour about each other's races...even our cultures. Like the different cultures we have, tribes...being separated as black people. We even see it in government like "we don't want another Xhosa President" so it's... also about tribe...so we have the race issue, we also have tribalism.¹²⁷ This mirrors Brij Maharaj's anxieties as to the lack of integration and racism facing the Indian community.¹²⁸ Evidently, Thanduxolo believes in the possibility of living together but healing has been postponed by the ethic of stability inherent to Rainbowism. He stresses the urgency in this, claiming race relations are at a point of 'bubbling, slowly bubbling...it will explode, I think we are getting instances where it is slowly exploding...'.¹²⁹

8.3. A DUBIOUS BRAND: THE RAINBOW NATION

Others view the Rainbow Nation as being indicative of postcolonial corruption and continued inequity. Similar to Kim Wale,¹³⁰ Bonga frames the Rainbow Nation as an instrumentalisation of memory under the banners of both reconciliation and national liberation legitimising ANC governance. Discussing the transition to Democracy, Bonga shares 'we, we were so optimistic, not being realistic. In a way that we were so hopeful things would be better, instead of dealing with things, instead of dealing with affairs at that time...we had so much hope... with the signatures of the papers that were signed of our leaders which have not been effected or not been effected enough.' Further, Bonga criticises the spatial and experiential distance between the masses and politicians, claiming all members of parliament live in the suburbs. His disillusionment with politicians is again expressed, 'those people

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Brij Maharaj, 'Anti-Indian Statements Are Racism of the Worst Order' *Daily Maverick* (Johannesburg, 15 November 2015) <<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2015-11-15-anti-indian-statements-are-racism-of-the-worst-order/>> accessed 22 June 2017.

¹²⁹ Interview with Thanduxolo Bhuti, Co-Founder, BlackLight Magazine (Johannesburg, South Africa, 22 March 2017).

¹³⁰ Kim Wale, *South Africa's Struggle to Remember: Contested Memories of Squatter Resistance in the Western Cape*, Europa Perspectives in Transitional Justice (Routledge, 2016) 38.

that signed those papers, to allow (sic), they said “you are all Rainbow Nation” and stuff, or “the so-called Rainbow Nation,” I think, they have reason to believe it’s still working because for them they are living a better life than those people still in the township who also stood up against apartheid. For me, I also have an issue with idolising certain leaders, I always say, I have said this many times in public platforms, for me I’ll never go to Robben Island ’cause for me I feel like idolising one man, whereas there were many other people, leaders and stuff you know, who are still living in poverty. But some of them, they fought hard for the democracy we have...I’m interested in the stories I’ve never heard.’¹³¹

Bonga’s beliefs are Fanonian in character, expressing a critique of the nation’s postcolonial leadership as having hijacked narratives of Rainbowism and liberation for personal gain while maintaining colonial institutions. His insights point to the ANC project of de-racialising the nation’s capitalist economy. This required the use of the state to create economic opportunities as the lion’s share of economic power continued to rest in white hands. This inevitably created a system of party-associated patronage.¹³² Bonga draws a connection between the falsehood of Rainbowism, idolatry of ANC liberation narratives and a New South Africa only benefitting the few.

8.4. WHITE ANXIETIES, WHITE FLIGHT

Rainbowism has been painted as a tool for collective ‘belonging’ in a neoliberal New South Africa. The concept ostensibly constructs a sense of place for *all* while maintaining systemic (racialised) inequity; ‘the symbolic nation may “belong” to all, but its land does not.’¹³³ It is an attempt to reconcile ideological equality with material inequity, democracy with capitalism. The success of Rainbowism may be in

¹³¹ Interview with Thanduxolo Bhuti, Co-Founder, BlackLight Magazine (Johannesburg, South Africa, 22 March 2017).

¹³² Roger Southall, *The New Black Middle Class in South Africa* (Jacana Media, 2016), xiv, 35-40, 47, 58-61, 65, 69-72, 79, 83, 87, 89-90, 92-95, 127-131, 158-161, 198, 200-208, 219-220, 228.

¹³³ Melissa Tandiwe Myambo, ‘Capitalism Disguised as Democracy: A Theory of ‘Belonging,’ Not Belongings, in the New South Africa’ *Comparative Literature* vol. 63, no. 1 (2011): 67.

stemming white (and capital) flight; though 304,112 white South Africans emigrated between 1986 and 2000,¹³⁴ many are returning.¹³⁵

Growing up during transitional years, Sam shares childhood memories of white flight, ‘when I was four or five...[it was as though] you meet a friend based on we both like dinosaurs or we both have the same name, something stupid. But that becomes your best friend. And then I would make a friend and then they’d be leaving the country, and then I make a friend and they’d be leaving the country...for a long time. Even my mom jokes about it now, for many years every time I’d meet a new kid, they finally would disappear pretty soon afterwards.’¹³⁶ The trend of returning white South Africans highlights that while many previously (such as during Sam’s childhood) felt unsure of their future in the country, the success of Rainbowism has been alleviating these anxieties, at least enough to encourage many whites to feel as though there is a place for them to return to. Many left while the adhesive qualities of Rainbowism were settling but returning to find their own mould.

While many whites are returning, Sam speaks of contemporary feelings of white precariousness, ‘Maybe not directly and maybe not consciously but I think there is a lot of anger towards the amount of people who got with, who got away scot-free [from apartheid-era crimes]...there is a need to find somebody to direct that anger at. And I think a big part of the uncertainty, in the country at the moment is, down to people trying to find, somebody to blame. And I mean all people, like white, rich people, everyone is looking for somebody to say that’s whose fault it is. If I were going to lay a blame to that I would say it’s the previous government’s fault...they are to blame...they didn’t really suffer for playing that part, there was no repercussions for that, so you can’t blame them, but you want to blame somebody, you want to take your frustrations out on somebody, and that’s becoming a big problem now, I think, if I was to say something went wrong, it’s that the transition was too easy.’ He recalls feelings of uncertainty during the transition but feels that now ‘is the actual recourse for then.’ Claiming

¹³⁴ Staff Writer, ‘South Africa’s Young White Population is Shrinking’ (*BusinessTech*, 18 April 2016) <<https://businesstech.co.za/news/lifestyle/120767/south-africas-young-white-population-is-shrinking/>> accessed 24 June 2017.

¹³⁵ Jane Flanagan, ‘Why White South Africans Are Coming Home’ (*BBC News*, 3 May 2014) <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-27252307>> accessed 24 June 2017.

¹³⁶ Interview with ‘Sam’ (Johannesburg, South Africa, 25 April 2017).

that while all are angry, Sam feels black anger is ‘justified’ and that white people need to say ‘we did wrong.’¹³⁷ Sam’s conception of Rainbowism is as less of a historical bridge but a postponement.

Florus P shared his thoughts on Rainbowism and emigration, between chuckles, claiming he had considered leaving but ‘never for any sort of economic or social reason or anything, I really wanted to leave for rugby.’¹³⁸ Evidently, he feels at home in South Africa. Otherwise, he views the project of the Rainbow Nation as having chequered successes and challenges at different levels of society. Asked about the ability for people of diverse backgrounds to ‘see themselves in each other’, Florus P shares, ‘it’s what’s missing at the moment. Because I think a lot of that has to take place...at the community level, which is small. And there’s a (sic) probably, the way the country’s structured at the moment, there’s a municipality, within municipalities there are these things called wards which are small groupings of area – I think that’s the level...where, where you know, households, neighbours, things like that, try to (sic), we don’t have that, we’re struggling with that ay (sic). We’re a long way from that, normality. But I think that’s the bit end that’s missing in our Rainbow Nation model. I think national government, provincial government, maybe even in big city metro district level, I think it’s fine...when you get below that, it breaks down. I think that’s probably where we have to focus now. Sometimes I see that. Where I live, in the George environment, I live in a community or ward area which is, has become, fortunately, I think, very interracial. And I enjoy it...you need a lot of tolerance for that.’¹³⁹ Florus P views institutional Rainbowism as a relative success but meaningful relationships and empathic labour are necessary to localise the concept into daily life; institutional *belonging* has succeeded while integrated social *belonging* is limited.

While the issue of *belonging* as it pertains to minorities forms much of the backbone of Rainbowism, it may shift the discourse away from material issues. Above, Sam and Florus P respectively spoke of moral responsibility and institutional Rainbowism yet economic inequity remained conspicuously absent from the responses of these relatively progressive and self-reflective people. Perhaps this speaks to Myambo’s notion of Rainbowism as a tool for inequity: ‘If South Africa now

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Interview with Florus P. (Cape Town, South Africa, 10 April 2017).

¹³⁹ Ibid.

“*belongs*” to both blacks and whites, on what grounds can one require that *stolen* land be returned—as the Charter stipulates—to its “rightful owners” (blacks)? In other words, the symbolic nation may “*belong*” to all, but its land does not.¹⁴⁰ Historic dispossession and present ownership are legitimised and notions of redistribution largely marginalised. Perhaps inadvertently, this absence reinforces conceptualisations that Rainbowism is not transformational but a charade.

8.5. BIRTHED UNDER THE RAINBOW

As the daughter of a high-ranking ANC member, having attended formerly white schools and currently studying at Stellenbosch, Naledi offers unique views on Rainbowism. She would be part of the first *born free* black South Africans to negotiate the challenges of growing up black in relatively affluent (and white) circles. She views many challenges of racial integration as being based on the long-term rejection of each other’s humanity.

Naledi shares her own discovery of race, discussing her childhood friendship group, ‘two were white, one was Asian and I was black, so now we are a group of friends, but the white girls bully us...it will be something stupid like we have arts class, we have arts and crafts, so now at the end of class you have to like clean your tables. And then like, um, the group that cleans their table the fastest gets stickers and then these two white girls will sit and be like “you, you clean the table quickly” and then if we don’t win then like they’ll yell at us and won’t talk to us for the rest of the day. You know, we’re like six years old. So that’s when you start noticing that “oh maybe it’s because I don’t look like them.”’¹⁴¹ In nursery school, she recalls that she and her friend (the only other non-white student) were given different coloured mugs to drink out of, the teachers would also wipe them with a different cloth. The message was clear ‘you don’t fit in there.’¹⁴²

Naledi shares that her relative privilege has created challenges in

¹⁴⁰ Myambo, Melissa Tandiwe Myambo, ‘Capitalism Disguised as Democracy: A Theory of ‘Belonging,’ Not Belongings, in the New South Africa’ in *Comparative Literature*, vol. 63, no. 1, (2011) 67 (emphases added).

¹⁴¹ Interview with ‘Naledi’, Student, Stellenbosch University (Cape Town, South Africa, 4 April 2017).

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

her relationships with other black South Africans including relatives in rural Limpopo. When she was 11 years old, her cousins asked to see her phone, after noticing the background photo of her and her white friend, a cousin charged, ‘oh, do you think you’re better than us because you’re friends with people that are white? Or do you think you’re better than us because you can speak English?’¹⁴³ This experience reflects Thanduxolo’s previous observation of intra-racial schism, or in this case, division within family.

Naledi further notes how deeply entrenched racist ideas are. Speaking about the Truth and Reconciliation process, she thought it brought monstrous acts into the open, though forgiveness and amnesty lacked transformation and justice. Accordingly, ‘some people might even interpret it as almost like letting you brag. Like I got to do so much during apartheid. That’s if the people aren’t remorseful...the principle’s already founded in them...some people won’t appreciate what they did was wrong because it wasn’t wrong the whole time.’¹⁴⁴ Naledi evinces that racial and community separation persists, framing white apartheid amnesia as ‘[well] if you don’t think of people as people’,¹⁴⁵ while also sharing a black student’s surprise that after sitting with a white student, her friend exclaimed, ‘I realise he’s just like me.’¹⁴⁶

In many ways, Naledi embodies the best of non-racialism while her experience speaks to the faults in the Rainbow Nation. As an individual, her surprise with her friend’s late recognition of commonality with a white classmate signals to her general ethic of judging an individual based on their merit, rather than status or affiliation. However, the consistent experience of *being in between* many worlds demonstrated by the memories above reveal that while she may not fit any neat or static categorisation, social relations remain largely dictated by labels.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

9.

ON DEMOCRACY

South Africa's 1994 elections are often conceived as the nation's final break with the past as minority-rule fell to the dictates of liberal democracy. More than two decades have since passed, raising the issue as to *how successful this project has been* and *how is democracy understood by those in the country*.

9.1. BLACK LIVES DON'T MATTER: MASSACRE IN THE AGE OF DEMOCRACY

Though the nation's current constitution has legal equality firmly instilled in non-discrimination clauses and the like, many feel a distance between legal and lived realities. Sentiments of exclusion and competing valuations of life are often voiced in discussions surrounding the Marikana Massacre. Agnes Makopano Thelejane, widowed by the Marikana Massacre, evinces disposability. Though her deceased husband gave 'his life's strength and blood to the mines', the company has failed to pay out his benefits to her and the government has failed to assist her. She claims there has been a failure 'to exercise fairness, Ubuntu and justice... It stands out clearly to me that the SA government and Lonmin employers, and the mine industry as a whole, would be very happy to see workers working hard for no income, nothing, as long as they themselves become richer, while workers become poor and poorer, and die with poverty as their reward.'¹⁴⁷ She paints a picture wherein basic human rights and dignity, indeed, the promises of Democracy, are denied to people like her and her late husband.

¹⁴⁷ Khulumani Support Group, *Justice, Redress & Restitution: Voices of Widows of the Marikana Massacre* (Khulumani Support Group 2017), 8.

The Marikana Massacre resonates with many critical of the failures of Democracy. Abongile understands the Massacre as resulting from ignoring voices of migrant workers toiling in miserable conditions, ‘the least you could do is hear them out. And then because you refuse, because of greed, you decided to kill people in cold blood. People who you removed from their families to work for you in the first place...and then you kill them, because of protecting your own economic interests. That’s when I feel everybody should have joined and marched, white people should have started the marches, the integrated marches then, it doesn’t count when people are saying “Zuma must go, Zuma must go” that doesn’t count...people died and you said nothing, because you probably have shares there, so it’s still protecting your own wealth.’¹⁴⁸ Abongile highlights an incompatibility between an equitable valuation of life and racial integration with an inherited system of migrant labour and racialised wealth.

Sobantu traces contemporary inequity and human rights abuses to the transitional period and a dislocation between peace and justice. Quoting Thabo Mbeki, Sobantu shares ‘justice cannot drive peace’ adding ‘We had that, we had TRC. But justice finds itself in [a] legal framework and then the legal framework is controlled by power. Law is based on power and law is meant to protect nothing but the interest of the property owners. And the interest of the property owners is still protected today.’¹⁴⁹ The ostensible disjunction between justice conceived in legal terms and the horrors of the Marikana Massacre is not an aberration, but rather reflective of a system designed and maintained for power.

Bongani Xezwi mirrors these criticisms, chiefly that the nation continues to use colonial/apartheid institutions. On the President, he notes, ‘the challenge is that he [is] also running the country in a capitalist way...the things that he does does not really benefit us all. It benefits those that are rich...’. He points to adoption of inherited institutions as limiting transformative potential, ‘if this my house. As much as this is my house, when I get into this house with my own furniture and do my own laws. But if I get into your house where there’s already furniture

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Abongile Ntsane, Independent Ceramics Artist (Cape Town, South Africa, 13 April 2017).

¹⁴⁹ Interview with Sobantu Mzwakali, Writer, Land and Accountability Research Centre, (Cape Town, South Africa, 7 April 2017).

inside and laws are there and adopted it, that means, it's my house but like I'm not really running my house and I should run it! It's being run by the previous owner because the furniture and the laws are the previous ones, so that means it's the very same system, that it's a matter of skin now but in the very same system as the previous apartheid government.¹⁵⁰ Bongani paints Democracy as a capitalist wolf in sheep's clothing.

Returning to the Marikana Massacre directly, Kagisho sums up much of this disillusionment, 'I don't think a mine worker, like say, Mambush [the Massacre's icon], who 12, many kilometres underground, went to work and say "I live in a free country." No.'¹⁵¹ Thulani has a brother working in the mines, he added 'they [the company] is getting resources and that's ok. But we want something in exchange. Which is equal, I labour, how many feet down, for you, and you aren't giving me something to match? That's not fair, that's not fair. The fact that I'm a labour (sic) and I don't have so-called rights...that's not fair.'¹⁵² The denial of freedom expressed by Kagisho and that of rights by Thulani points to a mining sector that extracts not simply metals but also human dignity.

Michael Abrahams stresses the importance of the Marikana Massacre as a signifier of new responses to a 'reorganisation of capital accumulation' in the neoliberal age. He views it as part of a global rise of an 'antipolitics-politics' that eschews and operates external to traditional political channels and processes. He understands the contemporary period in South Africa and globally as 'citizenry...[having] been excluded from politics despite the appearance of democracy.' He marks the beginnings of 'antipolitics-politics' movements in the country with the first land occupations of the early 2000s, a reaction by people 'tired waiting for the state and ruling party...to honour the social contract...' He connects these land occupations to the Marikana Massacre, 'the significance from the point of view of analysis is not the massacre itself... the analytical value or political value doesn't lie unfortunately, in the number of people that was killed. The value for point of analysis was the

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Bongani Xezwi and Palesa Kunene, Activists, Right2Know (Johannesburg, South Africa, 24 April 2017).

¹⁵¹ Interview with Kagisho Nkadimeng, Student Activist, The University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg, South Africa, 17 April 2017).

¹⁵² Interview with Thulani N. (Jozini, South Africa, 26 March 2017).

expression, a recital of workers basically saying “*the existing architecture of industrial relations doesn’t serve us. It doesn’t serve us as workers.*” So, even AMCU [Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union] which subsequently becomes a representative of the workers, they were not the driving force of that strike. It was workers’ committees, across unions...that organised...that decided to go on strike and occupy the koppie in the end...the workers asked the AMCU leaders to leave. They listened to them and they said “ok now you go”, that’s the day before the Massacre. But that moment of saying “*you go*” is also telling these union organisations “*because you cannot solve our problems*” that’s why they asked them to leave.¹⁵³

Fundamentally, Michael assesses antipolitics–politics as breaking with the past, pointing towards a decolonial project, ‘the way that we engage with you doesn’t hold anymore.’¹⁵⁴ A nexus between continued inequity, disillusionment with governing political and economic institutions as well as industrial relations, and the rise of an ‘antipolitics–politics’ or political mobilisation external to traditional or formal processes and channels, the Massacre was a product of democratic yearnings by those otherwise denied voice tragically confronted by entrenched capital interests and a corporatised state.

9.2. A FALSE DEMOCRACY

Viewing the New South Africa as ‘false’, Thanduxolo believes the present period is of utmost importance. He claims ‘This is the time, we have a shot of making the real democracy work. If all of this explodes, it will be a mess obviously, but if we allow this moment to let us go back and do what we were supposed to do in the first place, then perhaps we may have a chance for the real democracy. But if we keep overlooking it, blind to everything around us, this could also be the death.’ This requires ‘more dialogues about what happened. They shouldn’t be censored; they shouldn’t be told about how they should speak or what they should say...even if it may be painful to (sic) other people to hear...I don’t think the TRC did that.’¹⁵⁵ Like Sobantu, Thanduxolo places the

¹⁵³ Interview with Michael Abrahams (Johannesburg, South Africa, 18 April 2017).

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Thanduxolo Bhuti, Co-Founder, BlackLight Magazine (Johannesburg,

‘false’ state of Democracy in the transitional mechanisms though for reasons of psychology and sociology. When asked as to what democracy means or looks like, Thanduxolo responds in terms mirroring Amartya Sen’s capability approach,¹⁵⁶ ‘to be allowed the space to be whatever you want to be. To have resources put into space that can help you be the best version of who you are.’¹⁵⁷

Kagisho understands the theory of democracy as ‘the masses ruling themselves, sort of having, what you call, access to... or shaping society for themselves by themselves.’ However, in terms of South African Democracy, ‘I am not free in any sense. What Democracy means to me is that I can move around, I can date a white person, I can go to university and have access to these public institutions...within the democratic benefits that I enjoy today, the democratic institutions themselves are oppressing me further, oppressing my relation to society. Further making me realise how unfree I am. So, perhaps Democracy for me is a *false freedom* because I am in Wits University but the structure is oppressing me further so because I cannot afford the fees inside Wits... I have limited democratic benefits but I am consistently oppressed by... the democratic social structure that I find myself in.’¹⁵⁸

Understanding Democracy as empty or vacuous, may be best reflected by Bukhosi, stating that Democracy is ‘just a word, for me it has no meaning... If everyone treated everyone in a positive way, um, I think then it would have a different meaning.’ He feels that ‘now we are trapped in a system that has made the people that we rely on as our fathers or as our leaders but these people are actually benefitting themselves as opposed to what the people want.’¹⁵⁹

Not everyone feels that the Democratic project is hopeless; Dr Jobson shares an account of registering Khulumani members to be election observers in 2009. After securing funding to train 90 members as election observers across the ten provinces, ‘the IEC¹⁶⁰ trained all

South Africa, 22 March 2017).

¹⁵⁶ Amartya Sen, ‘Equality of What?’ (*Amartya Sen Lecture at Stanford University*, 22 May 1979) <http://www.ophi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/Sen-1979_Equality-of-What.pdf> accessed 1 June 2017.

¹⁵⁷ Interview with Thanduxolo Bhuti, Co-Founder, BlackLight Magazine (Johannesburg, South Africa, 22 March 2017).

¹⁵⁸ Interview with Kagisho Nkadimeng, Student Activist, The University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg, South Africa, 17 April 2017).

¹⁵⁹ Interview with Bukhosi, Artist (Johannesburg, South Africa, 29 March 2017).

¹⁶⁰ Independent Electoral Commission.

our people, in election observation and then printed a formal nametag which had the IEC logo and the Khulumani logo. That was *huge*, that was absolutely huge, because under [former President] Mbeki, Mbeki's discourse about victims was the most derogatory, insulting language...'.¹⁶¹ Though the head of the government re-victimised many Khulumani members, the electoral institution integrated and *included* them in the democratic process. Following this, 'suddenly...there was like new respect for Khulumani and Khulumani members because there was Khulumani and IEC showing up... [members felt] "suddenly we can take charge." And that was just the beginning of what for me it became a whole turnaround.'¹⁶²

9.3. DEMOCRACY, SPACE AND SEMIOTICS

Public space matters, it is both form and function of social processes¹⁶³ while reflective of the state of democratic governance.¹⁶⁴ Various opinions on the urgency and success (or lack thereof) of spatial and symbolic transformation speak not simply to the condition of public space but indeed of the public and Democracy itself. In other words, *how do various actors conceive the relationship between representative or symbolic inclusion and a democratic society?*

While finding relevance in re-appropriating public space, Dr Jobson feels 'the thing that saddens me with the renaming is that you get the same few names...you go through these towns, and you'll find that the one that goes North to South is called Mandela Drive and the one that goes East to West is called Thabo Mbeki Drive. Town after Town... not their local activists. I mean there is such a rendering invisible of the incredible things that local people did. And because its controlled by government and government has had this superior attitude...this political leadership actually called people "the great unwashed".' She

¹⁶¹ Interview with Dr Marjorie Jobson, National Director, Khulumani Support Group (Johannesburg, South Africa, 20 March 2017).

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ David Harvey, 'Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* vol. 80, no. 3 (1990): 418.

¹⁶⁴ David Harvey, 'The Political Economy of Public Space' in *The Politics of Public Space*, ed. Seth Low and Neil Smith (Routledge, 2006), 17.

connects this to corruption, elitism and ‘tenderpreneurs’¹⁶⁵ and the spending of victims’ reparations on other projects that have existing funds allotted to them.¹⁶⁶ Dr Jobson connects the unrepresentative use of public space with a government neglecting the populace.

As an artist focusing on the ‘abuse of power’, Bukhosi emphasises transformation of public space. Accordingly, ‘there are so many things that, um, carry apartheid even today...we have structures that remind us you know subconsciously, that “you, you are, you are a slave...You are nothing, without me.” It’s sad to see that, it’s just like saying, if you come into my house and you bring your photos you know photos of yourself, photos of your family and you hang them up on the wall you know, and you mistreat me...at the end of the day after you’ve left, you [we] still have them there, surrounding you [us], and even if you’re not there, I’m still suffering from traumatic experiences and these are a reminder of what you did to me.’¹⁶⁷ Similarly, a leading member of the EFF stated ‘Black South Africans are reminded of the oppression every day by names and statues that cannot be changed or removed. It’s like a rape victim that has to look their rapist in the eyes every day...’.¹⁶⁸ Such sentiments evince not only a relationship between spatial surroundings and basic dignity but a need for its transformation in healing.

Sobantu feels that addressing the physical and spatial legacies of apartheid are important ‘people assimilate with their environment. And the environment...right now is a representation of, the continuing regime, I don’t even want to say the past regime...when people get into these spaces, they fail to be who they are unless they assimilate to something else.’ He feels authentic selfhood is impossible within apartheid architecture. Though spatial transformation is important, ‘I don’t think we are at that level where we can say this will bring revolution but I think it will bring some sort of sense of belonging and... people will have something to assimilate with that is closer to them...also these statues, these streets present nothing but violence, nothing but

¹⁶⁵ This term refers to those that through corrupt means, attain government tenders or contracts.

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Dr Marjorie Jobson, National Director, Khulumani Support Group (Johannesburg, South Africa, 20 March 2017).

¹⁶⁷ Interview with Bukhosi, Artist (Johannesburg, South Africa, 29 March 2017).

¹⁶⁸ Michéle O’Connor, ‘EFF wants 40 Western Cape towns renamed’ (*News24*, 4 June 2015) <<http://m.news24.com/news24/SouthAfrica/News/EFF-wants-40-Western-Cape-towns-renamed-20150604>> accessed 27 June 2017.

extortion... all the ideas society is trying to get past...they still represent our suffering.’ He feels there is great value in ‘starting to write our own history.’ When asked if the efforts to transform space is being done correctly, Sobantu responds, ‘for now, to say something is being done properly is almost to say there is a manual...We have lost ourselves, we are still trying to recover...people are engaged in a process of recovering themselves and...understanding themselves and trying to come up with their own narrative. So to say, it’s been done correctly or it’s been done wrong, I think is a question of, ’cause once I say it’s been done correctly or wrong I’d be standing on ideological perspective. There are a lot of ideological narratives that exist right now amongst black people...so where I am speaking from and what privilege level?’ Across the board, he feels that ‘right now there is the idea that we cannot reimagine ourselves in absence of safe spaces.’ Accordingly, he feels the challenge is ‘to have enough time to imagine ourselves...to cut the idea this of assimilating, create safe spaces for ourselves, and then have conversations in safe spaces and then something will come out from there.’¹⁶⁹ Evidently, Sobantu shares Bukhosi’s emphasis on spatial representation insofar as dignity is perceived but takes it a step further it, viewing it as necessary for creating environments which enable productive discourse.

Khosi also highlights the relationship between reclamation of space and politically productive discourse as well as mobilisation while drawing #FeesMustFall’s origins to #RhodesMustFall. He contends, ‘symbolism has been spoken about a lot. In fact, #FeesMustFall started post-#RhodesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall was a decolonial project which had its inception with a lot of talking in UCT [University of Cape Town] and amongst students, but...the first initial act, was throwing poo at a statue. So symbolism means a lot to this generation, it’s something... we cannot compromise.’¹⁷⁰

Sam also places great importance on transforming public space, ‘it’s really weird that you still have some streets named after apartheid leaders...those names, you can keep them in the history books but remove them from streets and public places. Getting a street named after you is an honour and, I don’t feel like those are people we should be

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Sobantu Mzwakali, Writer, Land and Accountability Research Centre, (Cape Town, South Africa, 7 April 2017).

¹⁷⁰ Interview with “Khosi,” Journalism Student, The University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg, South Africa, 30 March 2017).

honouring. I've been to Germany and if you went to Germany and saw a Goebbels Avenue...you'd be very upset. And I don't think you have to be Jewish to get upset about that, I think anyone would be upset to see Hitler Square.' Further, he feels opposition to reclamation projects is 'nonsense. Nobody's history is being erased. But it's being, given its rightful position in history, it's shameful...Large parts of this country's history are embarrassing, why would we want to make a big deal about it? Why would we want to celebrate these things? You still hear people who fly the old South African flag in certain places at certain times, it's gross, they shouldn't be doing that. That flag is representative of a bad time and a bad thing...like flying a Nazi flag...And the old apartheid flag definitely represents the apartheid government. And anyone who claims it represents their heritage and history, is, essentially saying their heritage and history is apartheid. They should not be proud of that.'¹⁷¹ Evidently, Sam feels symbols of the old regime celebrate values which have no place in a Democratic South Africa.

Though the issue of spatial transformation is not as stressing for all in South Africa. While Florus P recognises the reparative and restitutive value of re-appropriating public space in the context of historical dispossession, he feels 'you really have to be careful about money. So you gonna have to balance this thing, about ok, (sic) is this that critical that we can spend whatever the amount of money is, or can we take that money and maybe build another house or train another person or something like that...an enormous amount of what we are doing right now in South Africa is a socio-economic debate...you're always going to have to balance this all the time...'¹⁷² Essentially the value in spatial transformation but must be balanced as a priority with development.

Others criticise the reclamation of space, Naledi feels 'the re-naming for me is really just a waste of money at this point. They really should focus on the more material like we can see people suffering but I don't see my dad driving like "I don't want to drive on Botha Avenue" even though my dad was someone greatly affected by apartheid.'¹⁷³

While discussing the #RhodesMustFall student movement, Loyiso claimed, 'I think people were not honest enough. Now, if you are saying

¹⁷¹ Interview with "Sam" (Johannesburg, South Africa, 25 April 2017).

¹⁷² Interview with Florus P. (Cape Town, South Africa, 10 April 2017).

¹⁷³ Interview with 'Naledi,' Student, Stellenbosch University (Cape Town, South Africa, 4 April 2017).

to me “Rhodes Must Fall”, it also means the benefits that come with the name should fall. And I will speak specifically about the Rhodes Scholarship. Benefits of the Rhodes Scholarship are [directed towards the] most brilliant people in South Africa and most people that I know are blacks and are beneficiaries of the scholarship...if you are saying that statue is not representing us today, it represents A, B, C, D it means also the benefits of that name should be discarded in the system.’ He perceives a disconnect between benefitting from the institutions originating from colonial circumstances and desiring to re-name them; essentially, Loyiso’s opinion is that it cannot be both ways.¹⁷⁴

Asked about controversies over public space, Judi M laughed, ‘Firstly, at a very simplistic level I hate that because now I have to remember streets that are no longer the names that I knew...even the GPS sometimes doesn’t work because of it.’ Though she feels ‘it’s an important thing because at the psychological level you need to remove that and you need people back, you know the acknowledgement of those who contributed.’ However, its shortcomings are, ‘there’s an overt recognition of people who come from a particular political persuasion. Very few women are recognised and we know of the contribution women make to society and the nation liberation struggle so I think that’s a bit of an irritation.’¹⁷⁵

Judi M also notes an issue of prioritisation and what she feels is a generational disconnect, ‘I was also at one point quite big on memorialising and putting up you know statues...I thought it was important for our national psyche but I do think that you have to be circumspect about where the need is right now. And funny enough... even though my children grew up with overt political education in the home, by the time the AIDS epidemic hit and I was lugging my son into AIDS rallies. He threw down the banner one day and said “I don’t care if these people get fucking AIDS, I’m tired of struggling and singing your songs.” Because I think young people today are just not interested, they’re not interested in their history, they’re not interested in the perspective and the importance of knowing where you come from as it informs where you are going, they just don’t see. Because you know the world today is very individualistic, it’s all electronic...it’s just

¹⁷⁴ Interview with Loyiso M., PhD Candidate (Cape Town, South Africa, 11 April 2017).

¹⁷⁵ Interview with Judi M. (Johannesburg, South Africa, 29 March 2017).

a completely different ball game. Less intelligence.¹⁷⁶ Judi M evinces concern for Democracy in a disunited or atomised society with ill or uninformed youth.

Though a wide range of opinions on public space signals to a healthy political discourse, any action (or lack thereof) invariably will create feelings of exclusion or of lacking a place in society. In this way, gradualism is pitted against senses of urgency, governmental priorities differ between the material and the intangible, and in the transformative actions themselves, a tension to privilege the representation of national (and largely male) figures as opposed to local activists. Indeed, the many debates over representation reflect larger debates as to the future of Democratic South Africa.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

10.

UNDERSTANDING THE PRESENT

Lacing interpretations of the past are feelings towards the present. Hope, despair, optimism and cynicism for the future are reflected in understandings of the present. More precisely, this can be gleaned by exploring *how individuals feel the present will be remembered*.

10.1. A GROWLING STOMACH

Thuli T cynically feels the present will be remembered by ‘Marikana. We will remember Andile Mngxitama, he’s a vocalist of perpetual bullshit.’¹⁷⁷ We will remember Julius Malema as somebody who put Zuma in power and somebody who put Zuma out of power, I hope. And, um, for me, it’s a very complex moment. I can’t remember it in a political sense. I can only remember it in...[a] *household* sense, it’s such a difficult time to live... he [Zuma] fucked us over. Him and his comrades. I’m gonna remember it as an era of *the politics of the stomach*. Everybody wants to be there so that they can get something to put in their stomach.¹⁷⁸ Describing the present in terms of hunger is double-faceted, both the insatiable appetite of corruption and patronage as well as the hunger to make-ends-meet. She expresses disillusionment with those responsible for feeding the nation as they

¹⁷⁷ Since this interview, many accusations of the Founder of Black First Land First and former Economic Freedom Fighter being funded by the Gupta family (allegedly behind much state capture) have surfaced. See: Siphle Macanda and Kyle Cowan, ‘Revealed: How BLF’s Mngxitama Asked Guptas For Funding’ *Times Live* (Johannesburg, 31 May 2017) <<https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2017-05-31-revealed-how-blfs-mngxitama-asked-guptas-for-funding/>> accessed 27 June 2017.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Thuli T. (Johannesburg, South Africa, 26 April 2017).

continue to shovel calories into their own mouths while the public struggles.

Florus P also senses tenuousness, ‘South Africa generally is a bit confused...’ noting a ‘growth in expressionism amongst people...that have never really been all that vocal...’. Further, he expresses anxieties as to ‘where are we going with this project?’ Any mention or rumblings of violence makes him feel quite uneasy, he emphasises ‘that’s something we should avoid at all costs.’ Generally framing the present is ‘maybe nervousness.’¹⁷⁹ For both Florus P and Thuli T, the present is a time of existential anxiety, reflected in Thuli T’s concerns over governance, personal livelihoods and Florus P’s alarm with violent rhetoric. It appears that both apprehensively welcome change. In an era of unpredictability, or as Bongani remarked, a time wherein ‘we’re no longer at ease’,¹⁸⁰ the question looming is *what’s next?*

10.2. A DISTANT LIBERATION

Sobantu is ‘very pessimistic about liberation.’ Feeling the present lacks in emancipatory potential, ‘I don’t think there is any platform for revolution in South Africa right now that is taking place...for now we are not speaking to each other. The problem is we’ve been speaking, we’ve been saying what we think we want but no one is willing to listen.’ For Sobantu, this speaks to a fundamental fault in race relations, highlighting notions of white genocide and the murder of Terre Blanche, ‘is it possible to negotiate or speak with your oppressor?’ Within this context, he shares, ‘I think I have lost my feelings for South Africa... my hope. I think South Africa is, *it’s the world I find myself in but it’s not the world I’m imagining*. And the more I’m imagining another world the more difficult it is for me to appreciate South Africa.’ On a personal level, ‘I wish I was the guy who believed that law is a good thing and went to law school and studied law, or I’m a teacher, go to teach English in primary school, I think I’m engaged in a good cause and unaware of the structural, systematic design. I think *consciousness itself is death* and...ignorance is bliss...So I think, why did I get to know

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Florus P. (Cape Town, South Africa, 10 April 2017).

¹⁸⁰ Interview with Bongani, Editor, Pan-African Platform (Cape Town, South Africa, 6 April 2017).

this?...see post-apartheid a lot of black conscious people are committing suicide among other things and no one is questioning...our national consciousness is somewhere else.¹⁸¹ Sobantu expresses not simply a disillusionment with the size of the nation's challenges but with its divided or displaced national psyche; the path towards liberation faces a seemingly insurmountable roadblock.

Judi M offers a similar disenchantment though expressed through a lack of imagination in and a corruption of governance. Accordingly, South Africa has found itself in a similar neocolonial paradigm to other African countries wherein 'it seems as if they [African governments] have all run out of ideas...[they] continued to deal with mining and mineral wealth exchange between Europe and Africa in the very same way where a few profit, and there is no development for the rest of the people and the wealth is not being shared...Twenty years down the line the ANC has basically run itself into the ground – morally, ethically, um, in all ways. And that is how it will be remembered. I think Jacob Zuma particularly epitomised it but, the policies of Nelson Mandela and Mbeki were no different...he just took extreme individual gain to an extreme...but it didn't start with him.'¹⁸² Judi M's view is similar to many criticisms of contemporary state capture though unlike many popular voices,¹⁸³ she lays blame dating back to Madiba.

10.3. RECTIFYING OUR FAILURES

Michael Abrahams places South Africa's present in a global context, as reflective of the fault lines in Modernity demonstrated by the rise of an 'antipolitics-politics.' Accordingly, 'What we really see, in a very stark way, is perhaps the end of history as we know it, we should tell Fukuyama.' He laughs, 'what we have here is at a global level, an expression of the failure of Modernity. Not a failure as in a collapse, Modernity was never a path for emancipation, it was a path for Europe.

¹⁸¹ Interview with Sobantu Mzwakali, Writer, Land and Accountability Research Centre, (Cape Town, South Africa, 7 April 2017).

¹⁸² Interview with Judi M. (Johannesburg, South Africa, 29 March 2017).

¹⁸³ Lynsey Chutel and Lily Kuo 'What the "State Capture" report tells us about Zuma, the Guptas and Corruption in South Africa' (*Quartz Africa*, 3 November 2016) <<https://qz.com/825789/state-capture-jacob-zuma-the-guptas-and-corruption-in-south-africa/>> accessed 28 June 2017.

But it was never a path for global emancipation...the South will never catch up...' Contending that Modernity has failed, he continues, 'it is the opposite of what some are saying is the entering of Postmodernism. You cannot have an era of Postmodernism if Modernity failed.' He places less of an emotive framing or even a tangible valuation on the contemporary period, rather he highlights the urgency to repair Modernity through an intellectual re-imagination, 'to redefine the beginning, to begin from the beginning again but not at the start.'¹⁸⁴ In essence, core components of the governing paradigm are corrupted thus advancement requires extensive re-evaluation.

10.4. REVOLUTIONARY MOMENT

Sarah and Kelly reiterate this call for re-evaluation, creation and destruction. Viewing the failures of the nation's governing structures and ideological foundations as expressed through Fallism, Sarah feels that the present will be remembered as 'when destruction no longer seemed evil, you know and bad. So when we can go, "actually we can make people feel uncomfortable and that doesn't mean there is something wrong." And when anger isn't bad...where all these things that we have been told to...put out of the way, "that's not what you bring to the table," has been accepted.' Kelly feels the period will be remembered for when 'we will realise that being deconstructive is entirely constructive...and I don't think it should be vilified, it should be celebrated.' A sense of momentum and energy is associated with the present, as if work previously delayed is finally taking place; that the nation is maturing. Though they also share discomfort with the question as the country's textured nature means that such trends are not consistent everywhere.¹⁸⁵

Bonga laments a lack of change since apartheid, 'I think many people will feel like they've been failed by their leaders, their so-called leaders... freedom, we want to call it Democracy...' He explains, 'South Africa was one of the last countries in Africa, we should of (sic) learned from the other countries...the [re]conciliation period I can say plus/minus five

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Michael Abrahams (Johannesburg, South Africa, 18 April 2017).

¹⁸⁵ Interview with Sarah Summers and Kelly-Eve Koopman, Founders, Coloured Mentality (Johannesburg, South Africa, 21 April 2017).

years I can say, then everything went back to what it was...five people hold up 90% of the country's economy...so will you say it's really a Democracy?' He stresses the danger of this situation, 'Radical change if it's not done now, it's like a ticking bomb...in the township people are still talking about surviving.'¹⁸⁶ Palesa shares a similar opinion, urging 'radical economical (sic) transformation' stating 'we are very, very tired of this concept that black people are not informed yet, black people cannot take the leading role.' Though uncertain as to its results, she believes in effecting change and re-evaluating later.¹⁸⁷

Abongile fears the present's potential for 'good energy gone bad' without leadership. Speaking of current student movements, 'so now you are dealing with these "absent-fathered children," that is dangerous... you're dealing with this anger, these things that are bubbling under... there's no leader directing it, and that energy could go south quickly.' Though even with this risk, she insists 'I love it. I think we've been playing it safe because we grew up in another era. But these young ones, these born-frees, they are not fazed by white people and their opinion. They've also got their opinion, so I respect that about them.'¹⁸⁸ The present is marked by both uncertainties but also excitement and transformative potential.

¹⁸⁶ Interview with Bonga Jwambi, Independent Artist and Designer (Cape Town, South Africa, 4 April 2017).

¹⁸⁷ Interview with Bongani Xezwi and Palesa Kunene, Activists, Right2Know (Johannesburg, South Africa, 24 April 2017).

¹⁸⁸ Interview with Abongile Ntsane, Independent Ceramics Artist (Cape Town, South Africa, 13 April 2017).

CONCLUSION: PROBLEMATISING PROGRESS AND REBIRTHING IMAGINATION

In researching this work, I had the pleasure to interview a diverse range of thoughtful and critical minds. While engaging through memory and story-telling, the general sense gleaned across all lines mirrors contemporary global turbulence, as my grandmother would say, ‘something’s not kosher.’ A generation beyond minority-rule, challenges persist, notably extreme (racialised) inequity.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, there is often a breakdown in discursive lenses between communities; it appears that the privileged often view debates in singular or individualised terms while other communities tend to frame issues in structural, traumatic, material or collective terms. This breakdown is reflected by Sobantu’s feeling that ‘white people are not ready to listen...to understand our pain...to them my pain is imaginary...’¹⁹⁰ As the nation struggles with continued economic inequity, this manifests itself in different existences from education to space to temporality. Within this context, it is challenging to meaningfully engage with each other.

Many of the nation’s most marginalised continue to endure human rights violations and affronts to human dignity. This is embodied in the Marikana Massacre, uGogo remembers her grown son calling in tears, ‘We never expected it under a democratic country...’¹⁹¹ The *march of progress*¹⁹² has tragically evaded many in this country largely because

¹⁸⁹ Kate Wilkinson, ‘Race, Poverty and Inequality: Black First Land First Claims Fact-Checked’ (*Africa Check*, 27 August 2015) <<https://africacheck.org/reports/race-poverty-and-inequality-black-first-land-first-claims-fact-checked/>> accessed 28 June 2017.

¹⁹⁰ Interview with Sobantu Mzwakali, Writer, Land and Accountability Research Centre, (Cape Town, South Africa, 7 April 2017).

¹⁹¹ Interview with Sizani Ngubane, Founder & Director, Rural Women’s Movement (Johannesburg, South Africa, 30 March 2017).

¹⁹² Richard Raber, ‘Progress and Making the Native Disappear in South Africa’ (*The Hampton Institute*, 29 June 2017) <<http://www.hamptoninstitution.org/progress-and-making->

hegemonic institutions remain untransformed. However, a point of unity across lines is that the present is a moment of excitement - for better or worse. Moreover, the potential for meaningful change is present, the issues are similar to that of the past, thus, nominally well understood but deeply entrenched.

Uniting all, perhaps perversely, is that as Thanduxolo previously claimed, 'no one is ok.' With hard work and patience there is an opportunity for meaningful healing and progress. Presently, much of the discourse regarding transformation (or lack thereof) centres around spaces of consumption, boardrooms, and student movements at historically white universities. Powerfully, these discussions demonstrate the reach of racism beyond the most marginalised spaces, as Eusebius McKaiser explains, it is not as if 'we parked parts of our own identities at home when we came to school'.¹⁹³ They also highlight legacies in spaces directly confronting white South Africans, making these concerns perhaps easier to negotiate. While there is value in these discussions, the risk is that the discourse may (and often does) ignore the plight and voices of the most excluded. Similarly, social mobility can be understood, in the words of Sobantu, as a way of 'managing suffering...' thus preventing greater political mobilisation.¹⁹⁴ This risks overlooking the radical political praxis articulated by grassroots activism such as the RWM, Zenzeleni¹⁹⁵ and Abahlali.¹⁹⁶ This also runs the risk of ignoring, dismissing and fuelling feelings of exclusion as well as disregarding 'antipolitics-politics' as an expression affirming that equal rights and constitutionalism do not completely fulfil the 'struggle for recognition.'¹⁹⁷

The corollary to 'antipolitics-politics' is the current rise of reactionary

the-native-disappear-in-south-africa.html> accessed 10 July 2017.

¹⁹³ Eusebius McKaiser, *Run Racist Run: Journeys into the Heart of Racism* (Bookstorm 2015) 53.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Sobantu Mzwakali, Writer, Land and Accountability Research Centre, (Cape Town, South Africa, 7 April 2017).

¹⁹⁵ Zenzeleni translates from isiXhosa to "do it ourselves." It is a project in rural Eastern Cape wherein a community created its own internet and telecommunications infrastructure. See: Zenzeleni, 'Home' (*Zenzeleni*) accessed <<http://zenzeleni.net>> accessed 28 June 2017.

¹⁹⁶ Founded in 2005, Abahlali is an organisation by and for those living in informal settlements. See: Abahlali baseMjondolo, 'Guide for NGOs, Academics, Activists and Churches Seeking a Relationship with the Movement' (*Abahlali*, 22 May 2007) <<http://abahlali.org/node/1391/>> accessed 28 June 2017.

¹⁹⁷ Fukuyama, F. *The End of History and the Last Man* (Macmillan, 1992) 194-195, 202, 311.

populism. The age of technocracy has led decision-makers to exclude many from the conversation,¹⁹⁸ as possession of ostensible ‘competence’ guides policy.¹⁹⁹ The supposed *End of History* signifies a larger retreat from political and moral imagination. An alternative vision must be crafted.

Due to its transition, South Africa has been upheld as reflective of the post-cold war era of global Progress. However, many feel this wave has missed them and issues that have been forced under the proverbial table are coming to the forefront. This situation is occurring globally and South Africa’s experience is of particular importance as its transitional model has informed Truth and Reconciliation processes elsewhere, including in my country, Canada. Though there have been advances in both countries, challenges persist and a meaningfully repaired, healthy society remains elusive. Voices such as Anishinaabe musician Leonard Sumner frame the present as one of continued pain, a lack of justice and continued settler confusion, ‘I know you’re sorry but... You’re more lost than me...’²⁰⁰

Resolving present tensions requires a collective concession that something has gone awry. Moreover, this also evinces a distance between policy-makers and those having the policies made for them. New forms of democratic consultation and decision-making ought to be considered. Many governing assumptions must be problematised, starting with that of Fukuyama’s largely linear Progress; this does nothing to alleviate present suffering that may generate further manifestations of antipolitics-politics, curving Progress’s trajectory. Most importantly, inequity must be addressed. While most acute in South Africa, this is global in nature. New economic models must urgently be considered and a new relationship between human rights discourse and that of inequity formed. Lastly, there ought to be an examination as to the extent in which human rights are compatible with a capitalist system

¹⁹⁸ Richard Raber, ‘We Are Talking at Rather Than to Each Other’ *Daily Maverick* (Johannesburg, 2 December 2016) <<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2016-12-02-we-are-talking-at-rather-than-to-each-other>> accessed 5 March 2017.

¹⁹⁹ Emmett Rensin, ‘The Blathering Superego at the End of History’ (*The Los Angeles Review of Books*, 18 June 2017) <<https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/the-blathering-superego-at-the-end-of-history/>> accessed 28 June 2017.

²⁰⁰ Leonard Sumner, ‘I Know You’re Sorry:’ One Anishinaabe MC and Poet’s Response to All of Canada’s Apologies’ (*Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*, 9 June 2017) <<http://www.cbc.ca/2017/i-know-you-re-sorry-one-anishinaabe-mc-and-poet-s-response-to-all-of-canada-s-apologies>> accessed 30 June 2017.

that invariably values life according to wealth. In the age of Marikana, what is the relationship between capitalist economy and state capture? How could a democratic transition informed by human rights neglect the property rights of so many?²⁰¹

Moving forward requires recognising the gains made through legal equality as well as its shortcomings in addressing inequity insofar as the economic, representative and social valuation of life is concerned. A neutral sameness or equality in treatment, as well as legal recognition, may (and perhaps should) manifest itself differently than that of action founded upon equity or *of the same value*. This may require more active historical correctives. Addressing this requires attending to the question of *belonging*. Configurations of social or national belonging ought to shift towards emphasising meaningful community engagement when tackling such grand disparities in wealth rather than simply traditional notions of ownership. Through greater redistribution, or sharing, not only will a multitude have resources, but a sense of belonging will be heightened. Introducing a community-oriented ethic of merit and togetherness²⁰² when addressing the land question may provide the adhesive necessary to keep the Rainbow Nation together. While all South Africans have a right to citizenship and the like, protections for land procured through historical theft ought to be problematised. Folks ought not simply *exist* in an equitable legal system but *feel* a sense of equity. This requires an open and innovative discussion of reparations and the re-creation of society. Only through cooperation and sharing will a reconceptualisation of each other and thus a collective healing of centuries of trauma take place; common humanity can only be restored through each other. The nation's policies and institutions must reflect this.

Presently, few South Africans are feeling optimistic about the future, with limited prospects for uplift. There has never been a better time for a regeneration in conceptual and political imagination inclusive of all voices.

²⁰¹ Cheryl Walker, 'Finite Land: Challenges Institutionalising Land Restitution in South Africa, 1995–2000' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 38, no. 4 (December 2012): 809–812.

²⁰² Joleen Steyn Kotze, 'University Students Are Becoming a New Kind of Democratic Citizen' (*The Conversation Africa*, 4 November 2015) <<https://theconversation.com/university-students-are-becoming-a-new-kind-of-democratic-citizen-49916?sa=pg2&sq%20%20%20%20%20=civil+right>> accessed 30 June 2015.

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APPENDIX

The following transcripts have been recorded as verbatim as possible.

1. APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH UGOGO SIZANI NGUBANE

Interview with uGogo Sizani Ngubane conducted by Richard Raber in Johannesburg, South Africa on March 30, 2017.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 1

6:55 – 7:17, Sizani: As a black person, if I was found in town, at around 11 PM at night. I would be picked up by a police van and be locked in. The next morning, I will greet the magistrate and I will be pay a fine of having been in town after 11 PM.

7:18 – 7:26, Richard: You know, um, there's a story, if you could share it that would be great that I recall you told me –

7:26, Sizani – Uh-huh.

7:26 – 7:35, Richard: about a person who was, uh, arrested for that charge. And in front of the magistrate –

7:35, Sizani: Oh yeah!

We both laugh.

7:38: - 8:17, Sizani: There was this man who was told by the Magistrate that your fine is going to be an X amount of money because you were found in town after 11 PM. He asks, 'how much [is] 11 PM going to pay? He was in front of me, I was behind him. Why is he not here in court? I was after him. How much fine is he going to pay?

We both laugh.

8:20 – 8:29, Sizani: He asked the magistrate but that didn't help. The magistrate wouldn't listen to any stories, he wanted the fine.

8:30 – 8:51, Richard: But, I mean, as a, I mean you have a pretty serious track record as an activist – which we'll get to, but these small acts of resistance or humor, maintenance of humanity, um, what did that look like? And what was the value of that? Especially during apartheid.

8:52 – 8:54, Sizani: The value, of? of resistance?

8:55 – 8:59, Richard: Well and these everyday kind of things, like these, you know, where's 11 PM?

9:00- 10:35, Sizani: And why is he not here? Even in town, at the bus stops, we used to have shelters. And it would be two shelters, there'd be those which are written 'Non-Europeans,' which was us, and then there'd be those who are written 'Europeans Only'. My mother's sisters, my mother and her sisters, they were kind of naughty. They went and sat, on (laughter), a 'European Only' bench. That's in the street. It's out there, under a shelter. They went and sat. Here comes a white man with a policeman, with his chest out, pointing at the word 'European Only', 'why are you sitting here' and my aunt pretended like [s]he can't read, [s]he can't read what he's talking about. (laughter) And he didn't know what to do because, they were not, they were not getting one another, he kept on pointing, pointing at European and they'd 'and so?', I am waiting for a bus.' She acted stupid. And he walked away.

10:35-10:37, Richard: But that's a bit of a victory.

10:38 – 10:39, Sizani: That was a victory.

10:40 – 10:50, Richard: So, you know, what was the, I mean these victories, um, at the time, you know, what did that mean to those involved and to those that shared it?

10:51 – 11:14, Sizani: For us, we couldn't even feel. I'm only seeing it now as a victory. Because there was a lot of things that were happening and we just grew up in a struggle. So it was just one of those things. We didn't even see it as, as a victory.

11:15 – 11:17, Richard: It was just a, a part of life?

11:17-11:19, Sizani: It was just a part of life.

11:20-11:27, Richard: But there was something that must of made your aunts and your mother do that. And the man that says, you know 'where's 11 PM?' What do you think it was?

11:27 – 11:43, Sizani: Why judge me when 11 PM was right in front of me? Why judge me and not bring 11 PM here to come and tell us why.

(laughter)

12:05, Sizani: I was behind him, why are you not charging him? (laughter)

12:10-12:27, Richard: So, um, my question being, now that, looking back, you see them as victories, what do you think caused kind everyday people to do these small, you know relatively small, acts of resistance? And, I mean both cases we see humor in now.

12:29 – 12:39, Sizani: That was the only way we could survive. To just resist our way out of this oppression.

12:40-12:41, Richard: But you weren't laughing about these things at the time.

12:42-12:49, Sizani: Not at the time. We weren't laughing about it. It was serious and was life threatening.

13:55, Sizani: I think I was traumatized, because I have not forgotten.

13:57, Richard: How old were you?

14:00, Sizani: Five or six. I was still very young but I haven't forgotten.

14:08, Richard: And you were conscious of race at the time?

14:11 – 14:54, Sizani: Very conscious! My mom used to tell us, like, they, the South African people are storytellers. The grandmothers, if you don't have a grandmother, you have a mother, like during supper time, they'll tell stories. She used to tell me 'never trust a white person, they are liars. They can lie about ANYTHING. Never trust them.' So they were not trusted by us as black people and there was that gap.

14:55 – 15:25, Richard: So, then it raises the question in terms of kind of multiracial cooperation and actually resistance. You were, pretty serious and high level member of the ANC during the struggle. Which was a nonracial movement - nonracial or multiracial?

15:25 – 15:34, Sizani: Nonracial. Remember we had people like Albie Sachs who was bombed in Mozambique and luckily he survived. We had Ruth Fast.

15:35 – 15:50, Richard: So when people were getting these messages, obviously in both communities, I mean white folks clearly were told that black

folks were inferior and you were getting messages that white people were not to be trusted, how

15:50 – 16:25, Sizani: And there were white people, who were taking their children out of, their sons out of the country when they become 18. Because at 18, you have to be, you had go and be trained in the army. They didn't want their children to be trained how to kill the black people. So they would just take their children out of, some of them just left the country, because of that. Because they were saving their children and not wanting them to go to the army.

16:26 – 16:40, Richard; So um, I mean my question then being, when you worked with the ANC, how did you bridge this gap between deep socialisation of mistrust and for white folks, power complexes of superiority and stuff like this.

16:40 – 18:00, Sizani: It's like now. I cannot associate myself with white farmers. They are oppressing the people, not only the African people, the indigenous people but in Cape Town just now we were talking about them making good money. Robertson Wine you can find it anywhere in any country, but they are exploiting the so-called Coloured community. They are not paying them for the job they do, they give them a bottle of wine. What do you do with a bottle of wine? Can you take your kids to school? You can't. So even during that time, we knew white people who were on our side, and we did not see them as white people. We saw them as part of us in a Struggle to fight against oppression. Of both the colonial and the apartheid regimes.

Video 3

23:55 – 27:21, Sizani: There were, lot of stories which today, I consider, this was just a story, it cannot happen. But as a child, we used to believe those stories because Granny would be sitting like this, and we will all be sitting all around her. And she would be telling these stories. And we will be asking her questions until we feel sleepy. And at that time there was a connection between the elders and the little ones, which has disappeared now. Because most people live in the informal settlement where it is just a nuclear family, they live in townships and the government made sure that the townships, you saw how small the houses, it is not even enough for a nuclear family. When we still had our land, when you get married as a son here, you build your house here. Until it is like a township, just the Raber. They grow up and build their house, they grow up, get married, build their house, have their children and the family would become as big as 200. That culture was taken away from us when the land was taken away. Even domestic violence, how are you going to practice domestic violence in a family where grandfather is here, his house, he can hear the screams, grandmother, great grandmother, great grandfather. And they were like judges in this family, if there is a dispute, everyone will go to the grandmother. And the grandmother will call a family meeting, can you imagine being called to a family meeting of 200 people to try to explain why you gave your wife a slap on her face? It was

embarrassing. And like a curse in the family. So people would, like suppress their anger, because how are you going to take it out? You can't. There's a rule in this family, that you don't raise your voice, you don't raise your hand, if you have a problem we have elders, to assist you to resolve your problem. All of that was taken away. There was no teenage pregnancy.

Video 4

00:00 – 7:10, These issues are individualised. And as a direct result of that individualisation, we're seeing a lot of teenage pregnancy. We're seeing a lot of, uh, unwanted children. We're seeing a lot of sexually transmitted diseases. The majority of people who are dying in this country as we are speaking now, it's the youth. Without guidance! Where would people like [her grandchildren] Langa and Sanele be provided guidance? By whom? Right now I'm here. You know what I used to do when their mother passed on in 2002? I used to book a hotel, close to their school. And they would stay in a hotel because I was scared for them to be at home all by themselves. Sanele ten years old, Langa five years old, all by themselves, I will book I a hotel and tell the hotel that 'I'm not going to be here, these kids start school at such and such a time, please wake them up. This is something that would not have happened, if we were left by the apartheid and the colonial regimes and be allowed to live our own traditions, our own living culture. Can you imagine as a five-year-old kid, having to go to school from a hotel, huh? There's no guidance. Sometimes, yes I am glad I was part of the people who in their own little way were able to part of the people who liberated this country but when I look back at my own children, my grandchildren, I'm not the grandmother that my grandmother was. I don't even have time to tell them stories. How do they connect with me? When I come home, I am nice and tired. If I'm not on a computer, I'm sleeping. When I wake up I am out of the house. My daughter, Sanele's mother was five-years-old when she came to me and said 'Ma, who are your kids?' I said it's you and Dudu. She said 'we are not your kids; all mothers are staying at home with their children. Who are your children?' It's you. 'Did you ever tell these ANC women that you are working with that you have got children? Do they know?' It was bothering her. I think she was wondering 'I wonder what will happen if she tells these women that she's got kids? She will be with us at home.' I sat with her and told her that I don't want you to grow up or if you have children, I don't want your children to grow up under apartheid. It's a painful situation, I want your kids, you, to grow up in a democratic country. I thought we had resolved that – when she was 21 years-old I was going to do a presentation in a conference on women and girls human rights, she said 'where are you going Ma?' oh I have a presentation, 'where?' I told her the venue. 'Are you going to speak about women's and children's human rights?' I said yes. 'What about your children's human rights? A basic one, of having a parent. Why are you denying us our right to have a mother?' At 21, she said it jokingly, but it was coming from her heart. She laughed about it and said 'you know what I am going to do, I am going to go to these conferences, when they start calling your name to come forward and start speaking about women and girl's rights,

I will raise my hand until the chairperson sees and say don't allow her to speak because she is violating by speaking here, she is violating her children's rights back home. She's never home.' [her granddaughter] Sanele's still complaining about that. I can see she's cheeky, she hasn't dealt with it. Not long ago, she was reminding me, that when she looks back and think about how when she and Langa would stay in a hotel, and she had to hold Langa's hand and Langa was in kindergarten, and she was in a lower primary school. And after their mother have past, she was the one who picked them up from school, she was also a teacher, she was finishing school around 3ish. And she would go and pick up the kids. I would still be in the office and at that time I didn't have the cell phone, they didn't have any cell phones. They used to walk a long distance in Maritzburg to get to my office. I have forgotten that my daughter isn't there to go and pick them up because I am like this into my work. I will only remember when they pushed the door open, 'oh my god I didn't pick up the kids.'

8:30 – 8:53, Richard: Let me ask you another thing, on a different note. And people talk about it here, outsiders talk about it, um, Ubuntu. What is it? What does it look like? Does it exist?

8:54 – 10:38, Sizani: It does exist. For me, Ubuntu is loving. Ubuntu is taking care of your own environment. The trees, your little creatures, everybody, your family, your neighbours. Ubuntu would not allow one to have breakfast here, when next door they are not eating. Our culture is, if we know that the Rabers do not have enough food to eat, when we cook breakfast we invite them, when we cook lunch we invite them, when we cook supper we invite them for supper. That, it's still there. I remember when we conducted the research in 2011, after we had lost 100 women who were living positively with HIV and AIDS but did not have enough to eat. In Empageni, we came across a group of young women, your age, who were in high school, no income. And, they shared their stories that neighbours had cooked their meal, 'they invited us on a daily basis.'

10:39, Richard: So its, a, Ubuntu survived the colonial/apartheid?

10:40 – 11:12, Sizani: Exactly, exactly. Can you imagine how those girls would be schooling without food if there was no Ubuntu in Empangeni. They were going to be on their own. But Ubuntu kept them going without their parents.

Video 5

1:30 – 4:12, Sizani: And if we had our own land and sufficient food to eat, that's all we needed. We were not wealthy people. But we were wealthy inside. Because we would share our food, share whatever we had. Even our houses, we could share. My mom used to talk about so many aunties, so many uncles. I only learned in 1998, I was invited by Jann, to speak in a Gift Economy conference, women's conference. And I asked my mom about how in her younger days, they used to practice gift economy. It was only then that I realised that all the aunties

and uncles and cousins that she would talk about, they were not biologically uncles and aunties. They were people, some of them coming from Eastern Cape who were in a desperate situation. Maybe walking from Eastern Cape to get to Johannesburg, on foot. To be able to do that, they have to stop and stay with a family for a week or two or a month or two, because their feet would be swollen. The uncles she used to talk about, a person would come this time of night and ask for a place to stay and wake up in the morning, their feet are so swollen and the grandmother would say 'you can't walk like this, stay in the house until you feel better then you can make a decision about what you want to do.' And the warmth they used to get at my mother's home, they changed their mind and never went to Johannesburg. When they feel better, when they rested, they would go and join the family to work the fields. And that's how they became the uncles.

4:12, Richard: So they became part of the family.

4:13 – 4:47Sizani: They became part, and they were part of the family! If it wasn't for that, that paper that I was preparing, my mom would have died without having told us that they were not biological. Because those days, there was nothing biological. If you are the children in this community, you were brothers and sisters.

4:47, Richard: So family as an act or a relationship?

4:49 – 6:55, Sizani: And women, Helly, oh you haven't met Helly, she's a volunteer. She came down beginning of, um, when. Before you join us, in 2015. She came down here to conduct her research, she visited groups of RWM women. She, she's a Roman Catholic, she had a child, and she was an unmarried woman and was treated badly by the Church. And some people. So, in her questionnaire, she had a question about 'what do people think a term family means?' Would you believe me if I said that the women said one of their families is RWM! For them, the family has nothing to do with being biological. For them, a family is a person who supports you when you need her or him. A family who is there for you. A Family is a person who is there for you. Biologically, nu-uh. They say no, it's not about biological. It's about how you relate with that human being. And how that human being responds when you ask for assistance or when you are in trouble.

6:55 – 7:15, Richard: So I guess on a, kind of national scale, just now that we've talked about family, like you know, if you're going to talk about a family, the Rainbow Nation. What's it mean to you? Is there a Rainbow Nation?

7:15 – 7:37, Sizani: Yes, within our land sector there is a Rainbow Nation. Within our land sector there is. The Anninkas, the Hanks, the whoever who is in the movement. I think the movement the movement binds the people and they become a family.

7:37, Richard: But nation-wide do you see a Rainbow Nation?

7:39, Sizani: Oh, it's possible.

7:40, Richard: But do you see it existing?

7:41-7:44, Sizani: For now, no. For now, no.

11:07 – 11:17, Richard: I have two more questions for you, I'll start with one. I kind of veered away from it earlier, but I'll go back to the topic. Um, Marikana.

11:18, Sizani: Marikana.

Pause.

11:22, Richard; What can you say?

11:23 – 12:26, Sizani: I don't even have the words. I don't know what language, I would speak in. To express how I feel about Marikana. Because the word disgrace, does not, mean exactly what I mean. What I mean is more than disgrace, it's, I don't even have a word for it even in my own mother tongue. I don't have a word for it. And I was not the only one. When Dudu saw it on TV, he drove to my place and said 'Ma, you're busy working on a computer, you don't know what has happened in this country.' And he was in tears. A lot of people, a lot of people are still paining.

12:27 – 12:34, Richard: So why do you think it's affected so many people? Even not directly. Perhaps.

12:34 – 13:06, Sizani: We never expected it under a democratic country, we would be, a practice which we thought we've gone past it. Which is colonial and apartheid. We never thought that any senior person would give an order for police, to, to kill people.

13:06 - , Richard: And so,

13:07 – 13:27, Sizani: Because we don't believe that those police just woke up in the morning and say 'let's shoot them.' We think, somebody, some people had a meeting, somewhere, where the decision was taken.

13:28 – 13:37, Richard: And so, sorry I have three more questions. Um, the first is, what does democracy mean to you?

13:38 – 14:38, Sizani: Democracy means that there would be no Marikana. People would live a safe life. There would be no domestic violence, no socio-economic issues. Government will deliver. There'd be roads, schools enough schools for kids to go to school. There would be enough hospitals, clinics. Yeah, people would live not an expensive life, but they won't have to, kids won't have to travel twenty kilometres to go to school. People won't have to travel more

than ten kilometres to get to the clinic. People won't have to go to the clinic and find that there's no medication in the clinic.

14:38, Richard: So is there democracy now?

14:40, Sizani: That isn't what we're seeing, democracy.

14:42, Richard: So there isn't democracy now?

14:45 – 16:55, Sizani: I would say it isn't full democracy. It is democracy because in this country it's not law of the country that because I am black I should be treated this way. We have laws, we have a constitution, I can challenge a person in a court. And that person will be held accountable. During those days, a white person would beat me up, a magistrate would be a white person and police would be a white person, who would care? Nobody would care. A lot of people were killed, but no one was held accountable. It's still happening on farms. We haven't been to areas to write stories about people on farms. It's still happening and nobody's getting arrested. So which is why I'm saying, it is democracy because in terms of the policies, no farmer would just, maybe give me a slap on my face because, on a street, I accidentally, maybe bumped him with my shoulder. He can't do that, not anymore. But during those days on a pavement, you had to make sure you give way. It's still happening in the farming areas. With commercial farmers and they're still killing the people.

2 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH FLORUS P.

Interview with Florus P. conducted by Richard Raber in Cape Town, South Africa on March 10, 2017.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 1

5:40 – 6:50, Florus: After I'd been here, about, I think it was about two years or something, uh, my mother said at that time, 'ok we're in south Africa now, that's it, this is where we're gonna stay, I'm taking on South African citizenship which means you as my children, you need to do this.' So it wasn't a big deal, 'whatever let's go for it,' but, that then resulted in conscription. You know there was, you'd get called up. So, uh, if I'm not mistaken, I think I was, uh, called up in '77, right around there. So, uh, did the two years, um, yeah. It was two years in the army. Fortunately, um, I don't know how, but I didn't get any active duty. I didn't go out to like where people got killed. I landed up in a technical division and I was the Stallman. And I never got beyond corporal.

He laughs.

6:51 – 7:24, Florus: I don't know how that happened, but in retrospect I think it was probably the best place. It was probably the best for me. I'm not really into the violence thing, so you know. It would have been difficult for me to go and actually kill people. So I spent two years in a place called Valhalla which is sort of slightly towards Midrand area or Pretoria, I suppose. I was a Stallman, I used to issue pots and things for tanks, yeah.

7:25 – 7:50, Richard: That period of South African history and um, especially you know I guess the context of the Border War, around then, do you think, it's spoken about? And in which ways is it kind of reflected in media? Or do, people, I guess your generation, kind of talk to each other about it? And in which ways?

7:53 – 9:36, Florus: A lot less. In fact, I'm really trying hard to remember a conversation about it. There's an occasional guy whose kind of like my age, you know, and, um, we'd meet and he'd say a thing like 'did you go up on the Border, were you a part of the South West thing?' or 'did you go to Namibia? Or Mozambique?' you know, up there. But uh, I really struggle to actually, I think there's only one guy I can actually think of, who actually has those conversations. And even him, he kind of rarely raises it. So, I think the answer to that question, is its kind of probably just about disappeared. Certainly in my circle of friends, but my circle of friends are, we're not that, I think of my kind of, the people I associate with, none of us are kind of like seriously gung-ho nationalistic type people, we're all easy going, kind of individuals, we're all sort of more socialistic inclined as opposed to hard core nationalistic kind. So, um, yeah, that's actually a really good question. I'm suspecting that right now, in South Africa it's very rarely discussed, maybe in very, some real, die-hard Afrikaans hands, maybe. Personally the circle I'm in, I can't even remember a conversation about it actually. It's kind of just gone.

9:36 – 10:04, Richard: And, do you think given, the scale and um, the um, I mean even just the amount of people conscripted, um, in even though experiences varied from active front line kind of things to Stallman, do you think it's something that's, like the ways it's kind of disappearing is a good or do you think there's some things that probably should be talked about?

10:04 – 11:22, Florus: Look, there was this, this process in South Africa, called the Truth and Reconciliation Committee, Commission, where a lot of that stuff was spoken about and I'm suspecting that, that probably took a lot of that stuff, the conversations around that, went in there. And then sort of started to dissipate. Um, I actually really don't have a view on it. I mean I, I, it never really sat well with me the whole conscription thing because of where I come from, you know the whole Kenya thing. But, my nature by person is to go along with the flow, I'm not really a, but that's why, I'm glad I didn't land up in an environment where I'd be forced to make decisions about whether I'm gonna take a life or not. But yeah, I think to a large degree, there's been a normalisation of the South African society, where a lot of that stuff is 'agh man,

let's just move on.' Get on with it. Certainly again, in the social zones where I'm moving, certainly 'come on, let's just get on with it.'

14:10-14:44, Richard: I guess having, you know, you've been, I guess, obviously it was powerful to learn about such abuses [through the TRC]. So, when you hear sort of narratives of apartheid amnesia or apologetics, you know, pining for the old days, number one, where do you think that comes from? And, how does it make you feel? As someone who obviously has been moved.

14:44-16:37, Florus: So, like, when people say things like 'oh the old days it was like this?' that kind of thing. What happens, where that comes from a lot is change. Change is never easy you know, so when people change and of course when you have many more people, many different ideas and ideologies and so forth, changing gets harder. 'Cause you have to now adapt to so many things, I think this whole thing about sometimes when people pine back to what was, I think it's because right there in that particular set of circumstances, they're in a changing environment is really now uncomfortable. That sort of thing. I haven't had particular issues with that, personally. And I think that's 'cause I like, I enjoy change. I consider myself a change agent and, reasonably applicable with some of the stuff I learned in apprenticeships and so on, I'm still trying to change that as well. Change our way of healing in the country. So I don't particularly, I certainly don't pine back for anything. In fact, we're doing quite well, even in the latest developments set aside or whatever, but politically I think, generally, quality of life is better for, a larger group of people, I think, you know. By far not right, I mean we got a long way to go before everybody gets to, but I think there is an improvement there is no doubt about it. And so I think, so yeah, I think it's kind of being slowed down at the moment. Maybe the global economy is doing it? But I don't know but I think we are still going in the right direction.

16:37-16:44, Richard: But you think, again back to those people, back to those folks pining back, it's out of, um, a desire for stability?

16:45-17:07, Florus: Yes, yah, that's a very good way of putting it. So, I would suspect, that they would sort of reference to a certain point in their own life, where there they were comfortable there. And now they've gone beyond that and I reckon, 'ok now if I can get back to that comfort zone then I'll be ok,' whatever that was.

17:08-17:27, Richard: See that's an interesting issue, right, because, someone might be, asides from living under, I mean a regime that did such terrible things that are in the TRC, someone could, on their own level, kind of be doing well during that period.

17:28 – 18:07, Florus: Yah, yah, you could be, you could be in a very deep rural area, and be living in extremely comfortable life because...you'd be forgotten. And you know, you know you were happy. And suddenly the whole

new world comes and suddenly there's new developments and so on, and you are required now to be part of the whole new change. But kind of like 'I was like quite happy, now I've got to do this other stuff'. But sometimes that's, that's the price of, um, not improvement, progress, sometimes that's the price of progress.

18:07 – 18:29, Richard: So just one last issue, uh, question about that. When you think, when you hear discussions about the last dispensation, what do you think are kind of the rules or limits of the discussion? Like things that people feel that they must say or must not say? Or do you think that it's pretty free-flowing?

18:30 – 19:40, Florus: No, no, no, I think South Africa has become pretty free-flowing. And um, first of all, I welcome it. But I think it's also we've been, maybe, um, I think, this is really a personal view, you know, but I think a lot of white people have become much more, expressive, because they've learned from the black person. To be like that. I've always, the black person is much more expressive, white people are kind of like, talk silent, you know whisper in the corners, where black people just talk. You know. That's my experience. And you know, white people have just said, 'hey, so what's wrong with that? It's just talk.' You know. So I think there's, I don't think there's, there's a lot more freedom of expression you know obviously compared to what it used to be, and I think that's a good thing, within limits of course, derogatory...

24:05 – 24:29, Richard: One interesting set of debates or conversations, controversies is over public space. So the renaming of streets, institutions, a statue at a university here, what do you, I mean, is this something worth doing, is it being done correctly, what, or a waste of money? I mean, what's your, your general thoughts?

24:30 – 25:04, Florus: I uh, first of all, let me, I really feel for people that have had stuff taken away from them. I really feel for people who have had stuff taken away from them you know. So, I think a lot of that has to do with a certain area or a certain street related to where people used to live many years ago and now they're back there and it wasn't, I mean when they were here it wasn't called whatever it's called now it was called something else and so on. Like town names and so on.

25:05, Richard: Like Pretoria – Tshwane?

25:06 – 28:29, Florus: Yeah, etc. I feel for that. I mean anybody that has anything taken away from that, agh it's just wrong. Principally wrong thing. So in that sense I think it's a good thing, in that sense. If you can somehow get back to your comfort zone if it helps. That is one side of it, the other side of it, because I'm reasonably practical is I think we've reached a certain point in South Africa where you really have to be careful about money. So you gonna have to balance this thing, about ok, is this that critical that we can spend whatever the amount of money is, or can we take that money and maybe build another house or train another person or

something like that. That is, I think, a, so your what would you call that? A socio-economic debate. I think, an enormous amount of what we are doing right now in South Africa is a socio-economic debate. Some people would call it a social-political-economic debate you know. But, I think that's our thing right now, you're always going to have to balance this all the time, 'say guys, if we keep the money and we use it to grow the economy maybe later on we try to fix the social issues or is the social issue that critical that we got to fix it anyway?' I actually don't know. You gotta look at both. I had the pleasure of and it is quite a pleasure, the Human Science Research Council, a very big research organisation in South Africa and about research and human science and learning and teaching and so on. I, have a couple friends there and every now and then they'll send me a document to 'just do us a favour, have a look and see if we've got anything wrong here.' Ok, so I just recently, they asked me to do something recently about the concept of what they call tracing, tracing learners. What happens when they're done studying, does he get a job that kind of thing. So there was this recent paper that they've done, I, it's a good paper. Uh, having a look at what they call the institutionalisation of tracing. Can you get a system in place where people are sort of automatically are traced and should they be? That sort of thing. Currently tracing studies are done on a kind of cohort basis, so, from a certain point in time you look back at what happened to those guys. They were looking at the pros and cons of that. When I first read that, the entire paper was more on the social needs of people and I was going back 'and I think you need to balance social and economic. You know you gotta look at the both, you're always going to have to balance this all the time it's never going to be one or the other.' So I don't have an answer there but you always gotta look at both.

Video 2

1:45 - 2:08, Richard: So I mean, when we're talking about these things, it seems to me, that part of it is getting people from different backgrounds to see themselves in each other. Um, where do you see that feeling taking place? Um, or the, that sort of, the seeds of that?

2:10 - 3:51, Florus: I think that, and that's a good question, Richard. 'Cause it's what's missing at the moment. Because I think a lot of that has to take place, I don't know, at the community level, which is small. And there's a probably, the way the country's structured at the moment, there's a municipality, within municipalities there are these things called wards which are small groupings of area - I think that's the level, it's really that kind of level, where, where you know, households, neighbours, things like that, try to, we don't have that, we're struggling with that ay. We're a long way from that, normality. But I think that's the bit end that's missing in our Rainbow Nation model. I think national government, provincial government, maybe even in big city metro district level, I think it's fine, it's kind of like those kinds of levels. But when you get below that, it breaks down. I think that's probably where we have to focus now. Sometimes I see that. Where I live, in the George environment, I live in a community or ward area which is, has become, fortunately, I think, very interracial. And I enjoy it, you know. I think that's probably the level that you

need to get to. And you need a lot of tolerance for that. Ay, a lot of tolerance.

Chuckles.

5:03, Richard: Well, and, had you ever thought about leaving?

5:07- 5:56, Florus: Um, yeah, but uh, I'm being very honest with you here, uh, never for any sort of economic or social reason or anything, I really wanted to leave for rugby. No, it sounds weird, doesn't it? I do, I do have a dream, I want to go and live in Dunedin, you know where that is? Dunedin is on the South Island of New Zealand, right on the border. It's the area where the, um, there were three movies about huge mountains and orks,

5:56, Richard: The Lord of the Rings?

5:57 – 6:03, Florus: The Lord of the Rings movies were made inn that areas, magnificent scenery as well. Cold country because you're pretty south. I think um, friend the end of the South Island, next stop is Antarctica.

Video 4

05:42 – 5:53, Richard: Um, again, so you've, you've been in this country through some changing times.

5:53 – 6:00, Florus: Yeah, it's been interesting. That's why I like the place because you never know what's next ay.

Laughs.

6:00 – 6:12, Richard: I think that makes two of us. What, what characterises the present, like how will the temporary period be remembered?

6:13 – 6:32, Florus: Ah, I think at the moment there is um, there's an English word called 'conflation'? Yeah. I kind of think. Yeah, I personally am a bit conflated at the moment. Sure guys, geez, where are we going to go? What's going to happen next?

6:33, Richard: Oh, confounded?

6:34 – 8:05, Florus: No, no not confounded. A bit confused. Yeah yeah yeah, like we're kind of like a bit confused, South Africa generally is a bit confused. We've got a, there seems to be a growth in expressionism amongst people in South Africa right now that have never really been all that vocal, um, and maybe white people, have never been that vocal. Um, that seems to be going. But I must say I'm also a little bit nervous about, where are we going with this project? The contemporary presence in South Africa. Um, you know one thing Richard, we have a, I don't know if it's serendipity or define or whatever, I have

no sort of opinions on that sort of thing, but you know we've never ended up in civil war. Never had that in South Africa for whatever reason. A part from way back you know the English and Afrikaners and so on. That's one thing we just don't want. I'm not saying that's where we're going, you know. Every now and then I hear the occasional kind of reference to violence and that's something we should avoid at all costs. Maybe that's what I'm saying, the contemporary position is maybe nervousness. Yeah.

3 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH DR MARJORIE JOBSON

Interview with Dr Marjorie Jobson in Johannesburg, South Africa on March 20, 2017.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 1

14:00-18:15, Dr Jobson: Black Sash became a part of the Standing for the Truth Campaign, you must tell me if you know these things. No? Ok. So it was like, the only people who were willing to be in this were like Black Sash which was white women, COSATU and all COSATU people who were willing to be part of it were black men, and Bishop Richard Kraft who was the Anglican Bishop of um, Pretoria, and Bishop Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, who's become a different person post-apartheid like so many of these, religious people, who were real activists for peace and justice, who've been like, um, what would you call it? Co-opted into being beneficiaries, post-apartheid, wealth accumulation. Even though they're religious people. And so, we had, we designed this, this um, campaign for Pretoria. 'Let's see how long it will take us to desegregate the buses' you see, so from the city centre, like we charted 7-kilometre radius, and then we, um, marked out the bus stops, the public (sic). And at 7 o'clock that Monday morning at every bus stop on this periphery, like coming into town, we had one black person and one white person to get onto the bus and now you don't need many people to do this and Black Sash was very small. And, um, it was all, 7 o'clock on the dot. So these police went crazy, like rushing from one bus stop to another around the whole periphery, pulling, trying to pull the couples off the bus. And, um, but the next day, you know, um, people showed up again. And by the Wednesday they [government] gave up! 'So let's declare the buses open', we thought like 'yoh, that, we didn't expect that in three days.' You see, like, we never actually conceptualised that like that was part of, the civil rights movement strategy, like in the 60's and we only thought of it in 1987 or something. We never traced the, you know the continuities, it was like, afterwards somebody said 'but that's what they did in the Civil Rights movement.' And then the next, so then we had to think 'so we won that, so what do we do now?' and I was working in the, nearly always worked in state hospitals. And so, they decided, 'we're going to desegregate the hospitals. Yoh, that was like 'that's where I work' you see and there was a black section and a

white section. And white out patients and black out patients. White theatres and black theatres. So they said 'ok we will come on Monday and we will bring all the black patients from the black section to come and occupy the white out patients. Took one day and the hospital was desegregated! I mean, it was like, this was like decades where people couldn't conceptualise it was possible. And, I mean, when I had to do my anaesthetic pre-Med rounds, that afternoon the Wards there, it was the old hospital which is still functioning but they built a new one, the Wards were like these old twenty beds down each side of the room, long-long wards, and there was this one, one black woman half way down one side with her head just peeping out of the sheets. I mean, first black woman to be admitted to a white ward you see! She was like, it must have been more terrifying for her than anyone.

21:15 – 22:05, Dr Jobson: I think we had a sense that the place that most needs transformation in this country is Pretoria. As the Pretoria regime. It was like the centre of, where all the apartheid policies and things were formulated. So, yeah, I think, I have this subversive streak, that I enjoy being in these tough places. And standing up to these bullies and now we have to stand up to so many post-apartheid political bullies. Just like I think I learned very well with the white bullies and now they are black bullies.

Video 2

7:45 – 9:06, Dr Jobson: Zuma was perceived as a man of the people, common touch and all of that. And, but, something shifted in Khulumani when people decided we can help to make change with this national election. Um, so what was wonderful was that the Independent Electoral Commission accepted, um, training Khulumani lead facilitators from the provinces. So, we, I mean, we, always have to find your own money, they'll train you but you have to support all the election observers. So I thought, we could manage to, um submit names of ten election observers for each province which made it 90. So it was quite a good coverage. And so the the IEC trained all our people, in election observation and then printed a formal nametag which had the IEC logo and the Khulumani logo. That was *huge*, that was absolutely huge, because under Mbeki, Mbeki's discourse about victims was the most derogatory, insulting language about victims.

Answers text message.

9:09 – 12:45, Dr Jobson: Sorry it's all these things going on around the country. I don't need to answer them but sometimes I have to do something urgent. And so, um, like, in all these places 'cause now we'd already had like ten years, 2009, it was more because it was '94, like 15 years, this is the turning point for Khulumani, because that attitude of Mbeki was, it was toxic everywhere. So everywhere if you ever said you were a victim of a gross human rights violations, you were like basically pushed aside. Even though the preamble says um 'we honour those who suffered for freedom and justice' you know the preamble, the words are really

amazing. Nothing like that happened. I mean it was, um, like basically ‘don’t ever claim’ and we’ve had a lot of discussion because our members don’t like to be called ‘victims’ but then there was this whole debate within Khulumani and then they decided um, until the last victim has received reparations, the last victim of a recognised gross human rights violation, ‘we’ll be willing to call ourselves victims. We’re not victims but we’ll endure the label’ because in international law and all, there are, you are meant to get remedies for being a ‘victim.’ But it’s very very interesting because you have to live with this label if you are going to claim some of these legal remedies which so far haven’t been delivered. And, um, yeah, so, suddenly, all these local, and of course it’s mainly in rural areas and small towns and townships, suddenly there was like new respect for Khulumani and Khulumani members because there was Khulumani and IEC showing up. And I got that calls, people were monitoring the vote counting, it was like ‘actually we can take charge’ you know it was an extraordinary thing. And it came from people you see. And that was just the beginning of what for me it became a whole turnaround. I think working in a social movement, is it’s like trying to track where the breakthroughs come, how you sustain a very large movement. One of the things that we found most helpful was, we were like saying ‘it’s twenty years, it’s twenty two years, like what keeps people connected? What keeps people meeting? What’s going on? They have monthly meetings, some places they meet once a week. What is it of value, you know.’ Because you think, you know like, there’s gotta be something that’s nurturing or giving people hope or something, and so we started to explore more. Try to work out what exactly we were observing and somehow at that time I came across the work of this psychiatrist called Sandra Bloom who founded what’s called, I don’t know if you know her work, the Sanctuary Movement.

Video 3

1:10 – 1:45, Richard: I mean in terms of transitional justice, there’s two issues dealing with the public I’d be interested in your thoughts on. The first one has to do with symbolism, you know the re-naming of institutions and streets, these sorts of controversies or at least media and social media discussions, right. And the other one being about land.

1:45-5:55, Dr Jobson: They’re both quite big questions. I mean, the thing that saddens me with the renaming is that you get the same few names. Like, I don’t know if you’ve, you go through these towns, and you’ll find that the one that goes North to South is called Mandela Drive and the one that goes East to West is called Thabo Mbeki Drive. Town after Town after town after town, not their local activists. I mean there is such a rendering invisible of the incredible things that local people did. And because its controlled by government and government has had this superior attitude about um, they treat people, in the, even one of these politicians said ‘you’re just the great unwashed’ which I thought was Dickensian, you know it was used by Dickens, ‘the great unwashed’ but they’re actually, this political leadership actually called people ‘the great unwashed’ who don’t know what’s good for them. That’s the attitude. And so when you work, when you are in those kinds of spaces, it’s,

I mean, it's very very very difficult to stand up to these political elite who are so arrogant. So, yeah, I'm, I think, I always have to accept there's a point, and I'm not in the context and I'm white so I'm not living in a community but for instance, last week, I was getting messages in real time about a meeting where, where, um, the TRC unit, the Chief of the TRC unit who is an attorney, was in Uitenhage, and she was telling people, like how the government is going to spend the victims reparation money. 1.9 billion in the fund but it's not, with, it's not, everything that they're doing is around taking their money basically for construction which is not what the money is meant to be for, it's meant to be for rehabilitation and psychosocial processes and reparation, real reparations. And, so she is, um, going around communities telling them she's going to give them 35 million but they don't, it's not going to come to them and they're not going to control the budgets. Because it's going to be given to the tenderpreneurs who in cohorts with the government, who will build, what they want to is use the money to build community centres and everywhere they have disclosed what they want to do, victims have said 'we don't want another white elephant' you see. This is why I've got this interdict, they want to disperse all the money by the 31st. It's very very serious. Um, and, everytime she goes to a meeting, she finds out, she wants to know who from Khulumani is here because she is terrified of Khulumani because we've told them 'you don't plunder the victims funds, you don't have the right to disperse it. You have no regulations allowing you to do what you're going around communities saying you are going to do.' And the big problem, 'cause she calls it projects, but it's like, it's it's projects for which municipalities have municipal infrastructure grants, don't use victims precious money that they've waited so many years for to do what there is, what other government money is required to do. That's the biggest argument we have.

4 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH TOKA HLONGWANE

Interview with Toka Hlongwane conducted by Richard Raber, April 13, 2017 in Cape Town, South Africa.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 1

15:10 – 15:19, Richard: When we look at the transition, you've alluded to it, but, what went right, what went wrong?

15:20 – 16:53, Toka: It's so interesting that you're asking me this because I spoke to a guy who was the first councillor of Thokoza after '94 and he's like 'what we did wrong as the ANC in '94 was allow people to say 'yoh we tired. We fought. And now we've won the freedom. Government do shit for us.' You know what I mean? Because, look at our societies, we were very, like mobilised, you know, churches were active in fighting apartheid, stuff like stock falls were there to fight off apartheid, soccer teams were used to fight apartheid. You know what I mean? After '94 all these structures broke away. And people were

like ‘we tired’ you know what I mean? And ANC neglected those community structures to propel us forward, ‘cause had they actually invested in those things and continued to mobilising those people (sic), we’d be in a better place as black people in this country. ‘Cause we’d know that, ‘cause each and every black person was fighting, wasn’t fighting for the whole of South Africa, they were fighting for them self, ‘like I deserve this right, I deserve this land or I deserve this house or I deserve this freedom’ you know what I mean? Post ’94 it was like, no black person said I anymore. It was, ‘government do for us’, you know what I mean? So I think that’s where we went wrong.

16:53 – 19:02, Toka: And in terms of integrating black and white, I was talking to a white colleague of mine and I asked him ‘how many times have you been to a township? In your life time.’ He’s thirty. He’s been there twice. And I was like, that’s the exact issue that black people have with white people in modern day south Africa. Although they’re probably unaware of it. But I think that’s the underlying problem where I know more about white people’s culture and white people’s lifestyle than white people know about black people’s lives, you know what I mean. I know John Lennon, Guy. You know what I mean, typical shit like that. White people are detached from South African life. I think that’s the problem. White people do not know what South African life is. They just know white people’s lives; they have no idea about what South African life is. And black people, we know all the spheres of South African life – we know the poverty, we know the rich, we know the hard labour, we know the injustices, we know everything because I’m still a labourer you know, I’m still a serviceman to a white person you know what I mean? Whereas a white kid will grow up and the only black person that he sees or she sees is the maid, the gardener, the guy at the filling station, the guy at the supermarket, the guy at the mall and all these people are servicemen. And they’ll never understand where a black person is coming from in terms of, their households, how they run their families and how their families structure and how dysfunctional their families are, you know what I mean? But I as a black person know a shit load about white people, you know what I mean? I can define white people’s problems because I’ve been in touch with white people’s lives so much, that I am fluent in their language. Where a vast majority of South African white people can’t even speak, Sotho or Zulu you know what I mean? But they’re like, ‘oh our Rainbow Nation’ so the Rainbow Nation is just a banner.

Video 2

0:00 - 00:19, Richard: So I want to ask you about, um, actually, do you think there are any sort of conventional limits or rules that are kind of placed on dialogue about apartheid?

00:20 – 3:00, Toka: Def. There’s like a lot of, ‘cause as black people we can talk about apartheid freely amongst ourselves, express ourselves and cuss, and

bleed and do whatever you know slit our wrists and shit about it. But as soon as I talk about apartheid with a white person it becomes sensitive. I need to consider their feelings you know what I mean I need to watch what I'm saying. And like 'I wasn't there' and I'm like 'yeah but you're still benefitting from it.' You know what I mean. And I'm still suffering from it you know what I mean. Ok well I was but I was, a good six years of my life but still, I'm still suffering from that shit because my mom was denied an education. And in turn, she can't provide for the family. So years later, when apartheid changed, the ripple effect is still affecting my life. And you as a white person, you are provided with this good education and good school and whatever, and environment to live in and the businesses that you had and exploitation as well, cheap labour and so forth. And years later you're still benefitting from that shit you know what I mean. So when I talk to white people about apartheid they come from a defensive point of view, where I'm not expecting that. I'm expecting you to say like 'yeah guy, I actually get that shit and yeah,' don't apologise, 'cause like you said, you're not there. Understand. Understanding is very deep, it's like, me saying 'I know you're a criminal you know what I mean, and I'm gonna judge you because you're a criminal but then I understand why you're a criminal you know what I mean?' 'cause understanding is me saying 'I'm comprehending this shit and I'm making sense of it, you know, I'm rationalising it in my head to a point where I'm, where I can meet you on your level, I can stoop to your level. But I'm not agreeing with you, understanding does not mean agreeing with you.' All we want from white people is just a simple understanding, like understand where we're coming from. Understand affirmative action and why it's there, don't be pissed about it. You know what I mean. 'Cause my bosses telling me 'uh there's going to be no jobs for my kids when they come out of school' and I'm like 'but still though, you people are still getting paid more than darkies in South Africa and in the same positions' you know what I mean. There was a rise now in white owned businesses in the JSE in the last three years, so what are you saying? You know what I mean.

5 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH JUDI M.

Interview with Judi M. conducted by Richard Raber in Johannesburg, South Africa on March 29th, 2017.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 1

12:07 – 14:50, Judi: And I think in the 1990s as um, organisations got to be unbanned everybody was caught off guard with that transition. And I think that the socialist left was, um, in disarray, they didn't anticipate it, the ANC was making huge strides in a negotiated settlement. Um, it became, there was a lot of infighting. You know amongst leftist parties, on ideological lines whether you were a Trotskyist or whether you were a Marxian or whether you were, and it

became a point of disillusionment for me in terms of political interest. And it was where I kind of shifted focus towards more people-centred development, community development work. But it was always underpinned by an ideological base. Um, and um, you know what we thought were vehicles for transformation were, became co-opted. Whether it was the church, whether it was the trade union movement, whether it was the student movement – everything became co-opted under the democratic, um, agenda. And diluted. And it lacked political analysis, it lacked critical thinking. And I myself even and a lot of other people, were with very good-intent, through a lot of work behind the new government. Um, I mean, for ten years of my life I spent working in policy development on women's rights, because I actually saw the political opportunity with the constitution to actually make real change and make real access for people who are marginalised. And so, very naively I went into that project for a while. And realised when it came to implementation of laws, nothing was changing because structurally nothing was changing the economic complex, we were so caught up in it that there was no money to reorientate (sic) and restructure. There was no money, it was an ongoing depletion of resources. And then of course became the bilateral relationships with what were historically donors who were sensitive to the plight, started to channel money into the government directly and once it went to government coffers, um, you know, under Thabo Mbeki particularly, very little money started to flow to the NGO sector. And I mean, that was also *very deliberate to neuter, to demobilise*, to um, you know to take away the voice of civil society. And so you found, in the last twenty years particularly the women's movement was really hard hit on that, there was actually no money to, to run programs with.

22:47, Richard: So the follow-up question to that is, um, just in terms of race relations, do you think this changing at all with the born free or young folks?

22:56 – 23:13, Judi: It was very difficult for me because you know, my kids started to grow up and go to mixed race schools. And, um, I used to watch very attentively to see how they were going to experience that, because it was new at the time.

23:13, Richard: Sorry, how old are your kids?

23:14 – 24:55, Judi: Right now? Um, my son's thirty, my daughter's twenty-two. Obviously I mean they grew up in a home where politics was being discussed all the time and they would turn around and say 'you guys have the issue, your generation is sitting with baggage. For us it is natural, we do not see colour. We're all just people and we're all just friends.' Well that kind of naivety played itself up until they got to Junior High, Middle High. And then I realised, that all my daughter's friends, were her colour. When she would show me pictures of what happens in schools, I saw the segregation was taking place even at that level. You know there was very little interaction. But, I don't think that because when we sit back and look at footage, sometimes documentaries on apartheid, they're gobsmacked to think that was an era that we lived under.

It's inconceivable for them, it's absolutely out there, unrecognisable and it's very difficult to actually entrench any emotion or feeling that was connected with that oppression because they don't experience it, mostly in terms of class because part of the project of the ANC was to build quite a strong middle class. While it wasn't very big, but we moved up. Our struggles became more and more disconnected by virtue of our class position.

Video 2

0:00 – 6:20, Judi: So when I was younger, growing up in Bosmont. The children of domestic workers were my friends, right. And we would go out into the open space and then place cricket. And at a certain time of day, police vans would ride around the neighbourhood because under the Pass Law, you were not allowed to be in certain suburbs after a certain time if you did not have a pass. And when the police van would take the corner, I can remember this friend of mine, Lucky, would take his cricket bat and run home. And I always used to say to him 'just when the game's hotting up you run! Like why do you do this?' And he'll say 'no the police van's on the patrol' and I'd go home and say to my Dad, 'I'm really upset because Lucky always takes off when the cop cars run into the neighbourhood.' And he would say to me, 'well, that's not a bad thing, do you want our suburb to look like Soweto?' So even though, we were Black by all manner of identity in terms of class and race, there was this division where Coloured people, so-called, had bought into the project of apartheid. And so our relationship with black people was one of power, you know and so as a child it was very difficult making sense of that. And then we get put into a school which was funded by Anglo-American, the mining company and all of us were on bursaries because they hunted academic, um, talent in disadvantaged communities. And so we were put through the International Board Examination which was, um, external, and we were taught *Das Kapital* in our second year of high school. And we were learning, I mean I had an amazing English and History teacher who were planting seeds of doubt, well critical thinking about our circumstance and where we all come from. I can remember the first day when I went to that school they were saying 'ok all the African children put up your hand, all the Coloured children put up your hand' and I didn't put up my hand, 'cause I thought this was a trick question. And that was the first lesson about our common humanity. And I'm glad I didn't put up my hand 'cause they had master lectured us. But I think it was important that even though our parents were putting us on paths of other consciousness, they themselves remain untransformed. So when we started dating outside our 'race group' it was problematised in our home you know. I would take off to Soweto and go visit boyfriends I was pursuing and my mother would say to me 'everybody's trying to get out of Soweto, you're trying to get in. You know and why don't you just settle for your own type?' so you always lived with these contradictions. And then of course, um, my mother was extremely fair and my sister was extremely fair and we were dark and I remember as children going off to nature reserves, when we get to the gate, the security guard would say 'those two can go in,' the rest of us couldn't you know, because we looked so different

as a family. So it was, I mean, so I mean growing up under those days was extreme. And I mean when Soweto burned I could see it from my back stoep because it was just 5 Ks away, I could see the smoke rising. And the narrative that was led in our home, even though we were Christian was that 'look at how these black people were destroying their own property, their institutions, their libraries, their schools' um, you know, so, it was never, and funny enough, my father came from Sophiatown which was a mixed community, he was a musician, a principal at the time of his death, a very well-rounded individual, well-read, into the arts, but when it came to racial cohesion, or cohesion just as a society, there were definite lines drawn and we were taught that we were not like other people. And then we had to play white side also in our family who went off to live more fortuitous lives pretending to be white. Marrying Germans and escaping apartheid, going overseas, enduring a lot of abuse in those relationships you know, just to get out. So it was very perplexing, extremely perplexing. once I understood my identity as Black, I mean in a political sense, it just kind of lifted a lot of stuff that we were raised with. And I found it very strange that even in the Western Cape where Coloured people could organise in the Trade Union Movement around workers' rights, they could not, move on and connect that to racial struggles, they just couldn't. 'A kaffir was a kaffir.' You know. But at work he was my comrade because we fight for workers' rights. But when it comes to housing, when it comes to politics of race, not aligning. And I find that the ANC in its political mobilisation and education organised along racial lines. So we had, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress and the United Crisis Committee of Concern which was a Coloured group in Durban. And I just never understood that because under an umbrella it brought all formations together, people from all walks of life, from all kinds of professions. But when it came to social mobilisation it was very myopic and very segregated. And so today, we sit with a very broken society. Very brutalised. We try to explain sexual violence as being an issue of apartheid but it's also economic violence because, men are being stripped of their dignity to work and lashing out at the most vulnerable. And of course, more recently, drugs ravaging communities and its deliberate because the relationship between state and business and um, you know the illegal is so intertwined. So yeah.

6:20 – 6:40, Richard: Going in a bit of a different direction, um, powerful stories though. An interesting controversy in this country is often around public space and institutions, the renaming, this sort of thing. What are your general thoughts on that?

6:40 – 9:13, Judi: Firstly, at a very simplistic level I hate that because now I have to remember streets that are no longer the names that I knew. But I think it is important, but you know even the GPS sometimes doesn't work because of it. But no, I think it's an important thing because at the psychological level you need to remove that and you need people back, you know the acknowledgement of those who contributed. And so yes, the main road in my community has been changed to Albertina Sisulu and I love it. Um, but I didn't grow up with that name, yeah. No, I think it's important but

I also think there's an overt recognition of people who come from a particular political persuasion. Very few women are recognised and we know of the contribution women make to society and the nation liberation struggle so I think that's a bit of an irritation. But yeah, no I think it's an important thing. I think that the amount of money that goes into it could be better spent, I rather build a school or a clinic actually than change signage. Um, so it's also about prioritisation, one has to find a balance in this stuff. And I mean, I was also at one point quite big on memorialising and putting up you know statues and stuff like that because I thought it was important for our national psyche but I do think that you have to be circumspect about where the need is right now. And funny enough, I mean like, even though my children grew up with overt political education in the home, by the time the AIDS epidemic hit and I was lugging my son into AIDS rallies. He threw down the banner one day and said 'I don't care if these people get fucking AIDS, I'm tired of struggling and singing your songs.' Because I think young people today are just not interested, they're not interested in their history, they're not interested in the perspective and the importance of knowing where you come from as it informs where you are going, they just don't see. Because you know the world today is very individualistic, it's all electronic, it's all technical, it's just a completely different ball game. Less intelligence.

9:14 – 9:24, Richard: So it's not an exhaustion necessarily like your son had, but kind of an amnesia from separation from each other?

9:25 – 10:12, Judi: Yeah, no I think so I think so. And also, I mean he went to an extremely affluent school towards the latter part of his high school schooling. And it wasn't my decision it was his father's decision. Because the school he was going to was beginning to transform from private to public and he kept moaning about standards dropping. And he had a lot of academic potential so we put him in a very snotty school in the end. And I can tell you that was the start of his complete dehumanisation. As I see it. Because the kids from the upper class would pull in with their own sports cars to school and he would take a bus, and he felt extremely done in by the material conditions from whence he was coming from to the people that he was in class with.

Video 3

13:33 – 13:44, Richard: So one final question. You know, what characterises the current, the present, how will our current time period be remembered?

13:45 – 15:08, Judi: God. I don't know if it's any different to any other government in Africa. Because it seems as if they have all run out of ideas. Colonial, ex-colonial countries right, have charted the same path continued to deal with mining and mineral wealth exchange between Europe and Africa in the very same way where a few profit, and there is no development for the rest of the people and the wealth is not being shared. So I think we're not in a unique position. Twenty years down the line the ANC has basically run

itself into the ground – morally, ethically, um, in all ways. And that is how it will be remembered. I think Jacob Zuma particularly epitomised it but, the policies of Nelson Mandela and Mbeki were no different. He inherited what was crafted. And he just took extreme individual gain to an extreme, it was he's belligerent, he doesn't care. He knows his days are numbered and he's continuing to plunder. But, but it didn't start with him.

15:09, Richard: Do you have anything else?

15:10, Judi: No.

6 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH 'SAM'

Interview with "Sam", conducted by Richard Raber on April 25, 2017 in Johannesburg, South Africa.

3:33-3:43, Richard: Um, and you've spoken to me previously about um, about the sort of white flight that took place, if you could speak to that.

3:44 – 4:37, Sam: Um, when I was a kid, from when I was little, from I was in nursery school, so that's like, what you'd call kindergarten, when I was four or five, I remember every time I made a friend, uh, I would make a friend, you know when you're that age you meet a friend based on we both like dinosaurs or we both have the same name, something stupid. But that becomes your best friend. And then I would make a friend and then they'd be leaving the country, and then I make a friend and they'd be leaving the country. I'd make a friend and they'd be leaving the country, for a long time. Even my mom jokes about it now, for many years every time I'd meet a new kid, they finally would disappear pretty soon afterwards. Yeah, explains a lot about me today.

Chuckles.

7:17 – 7:26, Richard: Looking back, what went right, what went wrong with the transition? And also if you can speak about the TRC.

7:27 – 9:50, Sam: So I think the TRC is, is very much what went right and what went wrong with the transition. I think it was a necessary thing, it was good to learn about what happened from the source, to get information, to get the knowledge because we needed that for the history books. But what I think went wrong is that, the people who did bad weren't punished for what they did. They basically, they got away with murder, with mass murder. And I think, that's something that's being felt now. Maybe not directly and maybe not consciously but I think there is a lot of anger towards the amount of people who got with, who got away scot-free and sort of what we were discussing earlier, about there is a need to find somebody to direct that anger at. And I think a big part of the uncertainty, in the country at the moment is, down to people trying to find,

somebody to blame. And I mean all people, like white, rich people, everyone is looking for somebody to say that's whose fault it is. If I were going to lay a blame to that I would say it's the previous government's fault. It's their, they instituted apartheid and carried it out. They're to blame. But as I just said, there was no, they didn't really suffer for playing that part, there was no repercussions for that, so you can't blame them, but you want to blame somebody, you want to take your frustrations out on somebody, and that's becoming a big problem now, I think, if I was to say something went wrong, it's that the transition was too easy. I was a kid at the time and people were pretty scared and nervous, they didn't know what was going to happen. And it all turned out alright. But I think what's happening now is the actual recourse for then.

9:50 – 9:53, Richard: And, when you say about the targeting, can you give an example?

9:54 – 11:11, Sam: Um, it's hard, you know. I can't, I can't tell you a specific example, I think, if you, if you went spent five minutes on twitter you can see a lot of anger, from young black people directed at young black people – at white people in general. You can see a lot of anger of white people directed at black people. And, like I was saying to you earlier, if anybody's anger is justified it's the black people's anger, white people you kind of needed to say 'well, we did wrong.' Not me specifically, but the people who came before, and, it's one of those weird things you know. A lot of people don't want to take responsibility, and I accept that, I don't want to take responsibility. It's not my fault, I didn't do something. But something was done and I benefitted from it and in certain ways, continue to benefit from it. Because of that, there has to be some understanding of, the anger.

11:13 – 11:42, Richard: Let me ask you about this, um, 'cause you spoke about white anger earlier, um you just briefly mentioned it, so, how do you, how do you understand, or what do you make of sort of, apartheid amnesias, denialisms, um, apologetics, you know, pining for the good old days so to speak. When you hear these narratives.

11:43-13:10, Sam: When I hear that it's just wilful ignorance. When people talk about 'in the old days the roads were good and the infrastructure was solid, we had electricity all the time, we had water all the time, we had roads and everything was good', to say that is to ignore the fact that it was only good for a tiny percentage of the population. It just, it's just such an insane way to approach it because, it's very easy for a government and you know you get people who say the previous government was not corrupt, and if you look, you don't have to look that hard, you can find evidence that there was plenty of corruption during that time. Um, and, you say that the government then did everything right for the citizens but like I'm saying that's insane, they did it right for a tiny portion of the citizens. And as a government it's very easy to take care of, a million people, it's very difficult to take care of forty million. It's very easy if you're taking care of your one man and your other forty million you're just putting off into, into,

you're basically sweeping under the carpet, you're forgetting about them. And when you're paying them attention it's only the negative kind.

13:14 – 13:17, Richard: I meant to ask, was anyone in your family conscripted?

13:17 – 17:23, Sam: To the army? My dad was in the army.

17:23 – 17:27, Richard: Does he ever speak about?

17:28 – 14:07, Sam: He talks about it a little bit. Um, yeah I don't think he enjoyed being in the army. Um, yeah. It's not like, you've seen a movie where a guy's been in the military and he's completely shut down. My grandfather fought in World War Two, he never spoke about it, I never heard him mention it. My dad will mention having been in the war. But yeah, I don't think he was really involved in anything major. And if he was, yeah, he's very quiet about that.

14:08 – 14:29, Richard: Um, so I want to ask you a different question, um, in a little bit different of a direction. What, an interesting set of controversies for me is about the renaming of public space, institutions, statues that sort of thing. Number one, do you think there's value in it? And number two, if there is, is it being done properly?

14:30 – 15:35, Sam: I think there is value in it. Um, I think that it's really weird that you still have some streets named after apartheid leaders in some places still named after apartheid leaders. Those names, you can keep them in the history books but remove them from streets and public places. Getting a street named after you is an honour and, I don't feel like those are people we should be honouring. I've been to Germany and if you went to Germany and saw a Goebbels Avenue or a Hitler Square, you'd be very upset. And I don't think you have to be Jewish to get upset about that, I think anyone would be upset to see Hitler Square. Except maybe the alt-right these days. Um, in terms of is it being handled in the right way? I actually have no comment on that.

15:36 – 15:46, Richard: So let me ask you then about the reaction to that, when people think that, they say that their own history's getting erased. What do you make of that?

15:46 – 17:02, Sam: Firstly, I think it's nonsense. Nobody's history is being erased. But it's being, given its rightful position in history, it's shameful. You know, yeah ok, no, no, like, Large parts of this country's history are embarrassing, why would we want to make a big deal about it? Why would we want to celebrate these things? You still hear people in who fly the old South African flag in certain places at certain times, it's gross, they shouldn't be doing that. That flag is representative of a bad time and a bad thing and to make another parallel to Germany, it's like flying a Nazi flag. Because of what it represents. And the old apartheid flag definitely represents the apartheid government. And anyone who

claims it represents their heritage and history, is, essentially saying their heritage and history is apartheid. They should not be proud of that.

7 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH KUHLE NKOSI

Interview with Kuhle Nkosi conducted by Richard Raber on March 28, 2017 in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 1

20:40 - 22:45, Kuhle: As I got older I started to see societal dynamics, and obviously, you start to express yourself and, I, I, as you can see I'm an expressive person. I don't hold back. And I'd start to like express myself, and I'd say you know, what I thought about certain things. Um, it's, it was strange because you'd find, more and more of your white friends, kind of disagreeing, but not even disagreeing because they had a difference of opinion, they're disagreeing because your opinion was viewed as an attack on their whiteness. And you know I think that goes back to the whole sentiment that, that um, and I saw the screen grab just two days ago, this guy said that you know, 'it must be nice being white where you can, where you can separate yourself from the group, you can individualise yourself.' And so where I'm speaking about whiteness in its entirety and not specifically about them, they would take it personally and see it as an attack on their person. And um, gradually, I went from having a large group of white friends, hanging out, going out partying, to, like, I'd say, like now, realistically speaking, I got one white friend. You know I lived with him, for five years up until I moved into my house with my partner. And her kids. Um, and he's German. He was born in Germany, they moved here when he was thirteen. So he's also got a very different, uh, way of thinking. Kind of like what we were saying about white south Africans and non-white south Africans, uh – non South African whites, like foreign white people. Um, there's a very different way of thinking, I tend to end up, uh, connecting with foreign white people.

22:58 – 23:16, Richard: So then I have to ask you, number one, what's the legacies or at least the important legacies of apartheid or colonialism in this country? And number two, you were alluding to it, but if maybe you could go into a bit more detail, the state of race relationships? Especially perhaps since '94.

23:17 – 27:35, Kuhle: Ok, state of race relations since '94, I think, um, '95-95, there was an air of, of, of, what's the word I'm looking for? Like hope, and optimism, so I think, as much as the, the, bitterness, the anger has never subsided, that's why we're seeing so much now. People kind of put it aside, especially when, a respected elder, statesman like Mandela, Sisulu, Tambo says

'guys we need to try to come together, unify, you know, just forgive and build the country together' people were like 'ok let's see what we can do, *Rainbow Nation*, let's, let's come together and be one.' Um, there was that optimism, and I think that as the years have gone by you find cool, people are like 'Rainbow Nation, we are all one,' but you know, jobs, education, health care, you know, all these things would be brought up and it was like after five years it was like, 'ok but you know its five years, don't you think you guys should like, you know, start like moving on' and then ten years 'like maybe you should start getting over it,' fifteen years 'it's like really now, it's been fifteen years, I think it's time you guys should look at, like, building your own opportunities, and duh duh duh...' and now it's like twenty years it's like 'aw for fucks sake, it's been twenty years, like when will you guys get over it...' but it's like you have never actually acknowledged the past." And I guess that goes to, what a lot of my friends, and a lot of other black people, myself included, agree with is, that, um, what we're seeing now, is, an anger, and you're seeing it especially from the youth who, probably turn around and say 'shit man, and you know like, my grandmother told me certain stories, my mother told me certain stories, my older brother, my older sister, my older cousins and uncles told me all these stories, why the hell am I still experiencing the same shit, 22 years later?' And then comes to this is what happens when you forgive people that never asked for forgiveness. And so, I think, what we're seeing today, is um, that anger that was swept under the carpet, now it's just kind of turning into a mole hill. And it's bubbling, it's bubbling man, it's boiling over, and I think it's necessary I think we should have had this back then. You know, but, it's going to require a lot of white south Africans to kind of you know, stop individualising, and kind of like, 'uh I didn't do this. I don't do that, I'm not racist, I've got black friends,' and its like 'we're not talking about you' if you feel that you do not do, you're not part of that equation then, you know, don't take it personally. You know it's just like if I'm talking about rapists, you know. And that's the one thing I always find funny you know is people will always 'like oh no I didn't do this, I'm not racist, I don't do what what what' and you talk about rape, you know, um, same guy who is like 'oh you know, I don't do what what,' will be like 'oh yeah, rape's bad. Rape's horrible. Yes, castrate them. Kill them.' And I'm like, no, you hardly ever find a guy saying 'no, I'm not a rapist. I've never raped anyone.' You know what I'm saying, it's like you get guys saying 'all men'- 'not all men' but when you specifically speak about like rape, you hardly ever find a guy saying, you know when you're saying 'rapists are bad' you hardly ever get a guy saying, you'll never find a guy stand up and say 'ok, you know, I'm not a rapist.' And that's the thing, when you're saying 'racists need to fucking grow up' you'll get someone saying 'but I'm not racist' but it's like, no one's talking about you then. That's where you should be like 'yeah man, you know what? Racism needs to, fuck off.'

27:36 – 27:28, Richard: So it's almost an admission?

27:28 – 28:28 , Kuhle: Yeah, and that's the thing, it's guilt. I think it needs to get to a point where, if you're a white south African, you need to just kind of

look at yourself, question yourself, ask yourself, 'who am, I in this dynamic? Am I racist? Do I think I'm racist? Do I think I'm racist? No I don't, ok so when people speak about white people who do this, white south Africans who are like this, act like that, that doesn't subscribe to me. Alright cool, I'm gonna be a part of the movement to fight that dynamic. To denounce, and to destruct, destroy, white supremacy and misogyny and sexism and, and, and patriarchy.' But the moment you feel the need to say 'I'm not that person' clearly you are.

8 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH ABONGILE NTSANE

Interview with Abongile Ntsane on April 13th, 2017 in Cape Town, South Africa.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 2

3:23-3:33, Richard: Um, you kind of alluded to it, but, like you were a conscious human when the country was transitioning, what went right and what went wrong?

3:34 – 4:35 , Abongile: What went wrong. Is the fact that this was a, not notion of a Rainbow Nation is really elusive to me. It's. So, what went wrong was, Mandela came out, and the only 'freedom' that we exercised as black people was that, we were integrated in spaces. We could walk to town, we could live in Sandton,²⁰³ if we could afford it, um, whatever but there was actually no real freedom in, undoing the injustices. So it was this illusion of freedom to sort of 'there, there, let's all be good. And move on. Springboks will play rugby and they won the World Cup, uh, soccer, African Cup, let's unite.' It was an all an illusion because there was no deliberate fixing of things.

4:35 - 5:00, Abongile: It's really all just an illusion because, there was no deliberate fixing of things. You know. People still had family members that were murdered by the apartheid system with no justice for that. People still couldn't come back, that were exiled, into the country to bury their parents. Because of that. And those wrongs were never corrected. So,

5:22 -5:54, Richard: Um, let me ask you about, in terms of memory, either distortion or amnesia, these sort of apartheid apologetics, amnesias, denialism, um, you know Helen Zille's recent tweets perhaps. Number one, how does that make you feel? And number two, why do you think, where do these tweets, these narratives come from? What provokes them?

²⁰³ An affluent suburb of Johannesburg.

5:55-6:11, Abongile: Like I said, something surfaced, something happened when this #RhodesMustFall thing happened. Now, we all have opinions that we can voice. Because the space opened up, where we could be that brutal about how we feel.

6:12 – 6:13, Richard: Including whites, for racist whites?

6:14 – 7:08, Abongile: Actually not all of them. Not all of them. It's funny because some of them, shame, are wanting to, to be part of these conversations. But most of them just come at social media and go in, 'oh these kaffirs,' about how apartheid was so much better, and when the DA takes over it's going to go back to that, kind of thing. So Helen, even Helen has a space to speak right now, because those conversations are happening. And, how we really feel is starting to surface. So, I'm glad she said it, now we really know what she's thinking. As opposed to before, where, kumbaya thing, 'let's all come together', uh-uh, but now the real colours are coming through. And now that they're coming through, now the real conversations can start happening.

7:09 -7:18, Richard: And what do you think, have been kind of the, if there are any, sort of conventional limits or rules to discussing apartheid?

Abongile shakes head.

7:21 – 7:23, Richard: There are none.

7:24-7:27, Abongile: No, there can't be any. There's gonna be spaces where you,

7:28-7:40, Richard: No, not 'can't be', but what have been, or are? Not what ought to be, but what, are the one's governing, that you, that people feel kind of bound to?

7:41-7:43, Abongile: Bound to having?

7:44-7:48, Richard: Like certain limits within the discussion? If there are any?

7:49-9:20, Abongile: Ok, so if I'm understanding the question, there's conversations where people are like 'uh listen to the other, talk' but there's issues that they don't want to go to. Um, until, like land! Let's talk. Let's learn together, but once you start talking economics, some people are then so guarded or that's when the curses come out. And things like that. So it's nice until then you start talking about, how to make the economy corrected for the people it was taken away from. That's a thing. And there is still from the white community I have seen, there is still a huge thing of protecting wealth, 'I want to protect my wealth but lets but let's still come and have a braai [barbeque] together Abs. Come over to my house but let's not talk about my money and

my wealth, that I'll protect. We gave you your country back and look at it now, worst leadership.' You know, they say. 'But I worked hard for that,' they say. There is a barrier where they feel like 'eish don't cross that let's talk about this justice thing and this race thing but until this far.'

11:45 – 12:03, Richard: I mean, I think, I don't know if you have any familial or personal experience, but, you alluded to migrant labour earlier. So I want to ask you, um, to you, what's the legacies of the mining and extraction industry in this country?

12:04 – 12:08, Abongile: That. Ok. Yho.

12:09, Richard: It's a big question.

12:10- 14:39, Abongile: It's huge. That was the start and beginning of so many things in society today that are wrong. Firstly, breakdown of family that happened with migrant labour. Secondly, sexism, because now I [the male mine worker], can go and marry whoever I want. It's more power now, because of the money. Before migrant labour, there were gender roles and power that women had. Now, you went and you worked in Gauteng, and then married a woman but not because you had money. Then you also went 'ok I'm also going to marry Sindi. No but I'm also going to marry Abongile.' But that never happened to, the 'Chief's children' or a well-off family. It was family that you could exercise power over because you had money. And so, therefore you've got infiltration of sexism, and all these other isms. Then with it. Then you've also, also another thing was disease. 'Cause you moved to Rustenburg for mining and you met Susan there, and you left your wife Abongile in the village and you met Susan, Susan's got HIV. And you come back to me in the Village and [now] I've got HIV. Now, you're, now I'm dead, eventually I die, because back then medication was not strong. And now you've got child-headed households because everybody has moved to the city to work. Then you've got uncles and neighbours that come and rape children. So all of these ills started from the family breakdown. That's my biggest thing with migrant labour, the legacy of, and you deal with it now with men who were never fathered. It's a huge thing in South Africa. Because the priority's work, because that's what they were told. And so even when the father's there, sometimes he's not really *there*. Absentee fathers, big problem.

14:40, Richard: And um, Marikana?

14:41 – 14:59, Abongile: How much do you wanna know? In terms of what happened? Or what do you mean Marikana?

15:00-15:12, Richard: What does Marikana, I mean your reaction there is very powerful, I mean we're talking about the event not the place, clearly. Um, so what's it represent to you? What happened there.

15:13 – 16:38, Abongile: So again, migrant labour. So they moved from KZN, from the Eastern Cape to go and work at Lonmin, nje. They want a raise from this company that makes billions a year. And they're denied a raise and they work in the most atrocious conditions. To get wealth for other people. But then the least you could do is hear them out. And then because you refuse, because of greed, you decided to kill people in cold blood. People who you removed from their families to work for you in the first place. So there is that damage already, and then you kill them, because of protecting your own economic interests. That's when I feel everybody should have joined and marched, white people should have started the marches, the integrated marches then, it doesn't count when people are saying 'Zuma must go, Zuma must go' that doesn't count. And then you bring your picnic basket and 'honey pass me the salad.' You know after we march for 'Zuma must go', no that doesn't work. Doesn't work, people died and you said nothing, because you probably have shares there, so it's still protecting your own wealth.

Video 3

6:20 – 6:32, Richard: What characterises, the contemporary period? How will it be remembered? The present.

Long pause.

6:43 – 9:29, Abongile: I know this is probably cliché word to choose, revolutionary. Um, if you look at, at the strength of the LGBT community and their unapologetic-ness about that. If you look at, the young kids, the students protesting there, if you look at the EFF and they're fighting for, economic, things. They're fighting like, there's something about this contemporary era that's unapologetic. Which we didn't do, because we were taught to respect and – so there's a part of you, I feel like sometimes these younger people that are doing these things now are saying things that I wanted to say but didn't have a space to say it. Because we had to be 'respectful' you know that 'elders' and 'just be right. Don't say that. Just hold it in.' But these young ones are just saying it, and I love the boldness that they have. It's something we didn't have. It's something that we came into much later, some of us. So, it's quite revolutionary, I love it. But it is a power and energy that does needs a leader, and I don't know if there's a leader grabbing that. 'Cause right now there isn't a Mandela or a Hani or a, a leading energy and revolution. It doesn't have a leader. And it speaks again to the fatherlessness. It doesn't have a leader. So now you're dealing with these 'absent-fathered children,' that's dangerous, so if somebody doesn't come up soon and look at the leadership, or lack thereof. If it's not guided or driven in a certain way, I don't know, it could go south really quick. Because also you're dealing with this anger and these things, that are bubbling under and after conversating they just go and do and burn a library. It's the anger. There's no leader directing it. And that energy could go South quickly, but I love it. I think we've been playing it safe because we grew up in another era. But these young ones, these born frees, they're not fazed by white people

and their opinion. They've also got their opinion, so I respect that about them.

9:29, Richard: Is there anything else you'd like to add?

9:30 – 10:50, Abongile: Yho. Little Richard. (laughs.) We live in very interesting times. So, it's quite an interesting time to be alive in South Africa actually. Our Zimbabwean friends keep saying 'ay guys this is how Zimbabwe started' and we keep ignoring them 'hm guys this is how Zimbabwe started' and we keep ignoring them. And again it seems like it's escalating. So, one of my biggest prayers is for leadership. Because if you don't have just one level-headed person who's going to lead all of this, good energy gone bad because there was no leader. That's exciting and scary. That's exciting and scary. And also, it's interesting to see, how art is documenting everything. It's quite interesting to see the photography, the paintings, the pieces that are performed. You know it's interesting to observe how are is really documenting and capturing all of this, I love that. That's how we speak, like we should.

9 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH BONGANI

Interview with Bongani on April 6th, 2017 in Cape Town, South Africa.
Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 1

13:25 – 13:48, Richard: What do you make of these apartheid amnesias, apologetics, um, nostalgia, sometimes, you know, perhaps the recent Helen Zille Tweets. Number one, what's your response to them? And number two, where, where do you think this thought process comes from?

13:35, Bongani: Uh, yeah yeah yeah.

13:49 – 14:13, Bongani: Another thing is about nostalgia, nostalgia for me tends not to always be about the past, in fact it's very little about the past, it's about the present. It is about our own anxieties, the prism that we sort of start looking backwards. Like even if you do it in your own life, when you're like in a moment of crisis, 'man like 2014, life was really good then'.

Both chuckle.

14:14 – 15:07, Bongani: Because you're so uncertain about the position you find yourself in, that you start looking backwards. Sometimes it's not necessarily about hate, it's about primarily also about fear, about uncertainty with the present that you start looking backwards with a rose-tinted lens because the past is certain, right. If you construct it like that, it being better, it becomes certain so it's a way that you can question the uncertainty of the present. So I think, that's where some of it comes from. But obviously it's completely

unforgiveable. But again, Helen Zille the mistake is putting it on twitter where you, I guess twitter and social media, disallows that kind of empathetic reading or whatever. But I'm not involved that much you know in social media much, I guess there's always a moment to kind of engage more empathetically with that question, but in a public space we're all gonna burn it down. This is, this is it.

15:08 – 15:37, Richard: But I guess you have a bit of an empathetic response, um, but where do you think then, what fears or um, you know these sensibilities and these fears that you're, the foundation of this nostalgia, this stabilised history, what are those? And who is the champion of these narratives largely? I mean I think we have to ask that.

15:38 – 16:32, Bongani: This, I'm going in a, I have to keep writing down, so I don't get lost. I'm going to go a couple ways right. I think one, I think it's becoming increasingly difficult for white people to imagine a future in this country, to kind of project themselves forward maybe, not to say there's one white consciousness but definitely for a certain older generation of white folks it's becoming increasingly difficult for them to imagine themselves having a place here 50, maybe 100 years. Even with students right, like first-years, second-years, when they hear a kind of rhetoric coming out of RMF, when they hear a sort of rhetoric being spoken out by RMF, I imagine, I don't have any concrete proof, I imagine that they imagine themselves being pushed out of the future right. And that's how they become kind of resistant.

16:33 – 16:37, Richard: So written out of the past, pushed out of the future? Or "statued" out of the past?

16:37 – 17:51, Bongani: I don't have any but it's just a feeling. I assume that perhaps that's the case. But, I think, the two points I wanted to make. The one is relationship to time right, there's this idea that apparently, science has never been able to come up with a concrete theory about time and how it moves, like, there's time like how it moves right, but there's also like historical and social processes in the psychological time of human beings, right. So in South Africa, we don't all have the same relationship with time. In a sense that, uh, jeeze, I have no idea, let me just stop. I realise I am tying myself into a knot here, I am tying myself into a knot. I think, there, we're not all living in the same time. I think that's very clear, even from RMF, from the divisions that you see, so the kids of RMF, not the kids of RMF – they're grown men and women, and people who fit in between there, have a different idea of time to Helen Zille. Or what this particular time means.

17:52, Richard: The present?

17:53 – 17:55, Bongani: The present. Yeah. Um, I need to come back to that, you need to ask me a different,

17:56 – 18:16, Richard: So it's a different epoch? For the, so are you saying

that for Helen Zille it's kind of um, a continuation of the same and for these students, it's the beginning of a new epoch?

18:17 – 18:25, Bongani: It's the beginning of a new something and for Helen Zille mainly the sense of an ending and actually there's no future for me here and other people are saying

18:25 – 18:28, Richard: So it's an ending for some, a fresh slate for others?

18:28 – 18:37, Bongani: We are now beginning to enter into the future and so now, you know, we have these disjunctions so you know we might be, what's the date today?

18:37 – 18:39, Richard: The sixth.

18:40 – 18:46, Bongani: It might be the sixth of April 2017, but we're not necessarily speaking from exactly that point. Do you get what I'm saying?

18:46 – 19:04, Richard: Right, right, right. Death and Birth. So, why, number one, why do you think, white folks may not see a future for themselves here?

19:04- 19:49, Bongani: I think, one, you, you find it in the most unlikely of places, not even in the most unlikely, so go on and pick up a newspaper like the Cape Times and go read the letters to the editor right. Or, but, all of that kind of stuff, all of that uncertainty kind of migrated as media digitised to the comment section. But, I like just picking up an old newspaper and finding letters to the editor and you go back even a few years, the emergence of Black Economic Empowerment that kind of for a lot of white folks, even who are in their thirties, say, in the mid-to-late 90's that kind of signified to as if 'we are being pushed out,' have to migrate and that sort of thing. Sorry what was the question?

19:49 – 19:59, Richard: Well I was going to ask about, um, where this kind of fear or their supposed death is coming from? Why they don't see a future in the country?

19:59 – 20:39, Bongani: I think it's a failure of imagination on their part. Those white folks who can't see a future in, who can't see a future for themselves here. But, ok, one of the things that apartheid does right, it decentred the majority from their own life, right. Decentred the majority. So now, we're in a process, where, there's no other way about it, the future is black. Whether it, it may not be so now, but the future is black. Black may not be by skin colour but by centring the majority. Centring the majority and their interests. And there's a place for everybody in that kind of,

20:39 – 20:43, Richard: Is this an inevitability? Or what ought to be?

20:43 – 21:12, Bongani: It's what ought to be but also an inevitability. It's

both. But there is, a, but by that, because you're so used to be centred yourself, you see this process and you see yourself as being excluded rather than find ways in which you can fit into it. So I say it's a failure of imagination.

Video 2

16:10- 16:23, Bongani: So I think one of the questions you should ask yourself is 'can somebody really tell you what it was like? Is it a story they are able to tell?'

16:23, Richard: Well, what do you think?

16:24 – 17:23, Bongani: As somebody who's listening am I able to sort of absorb it and listen to it totally? And as you telling the story, are you able to tell it? Because, even these kinds of phrase like '94, they're so big, it's packed. There's so much information that you come into and be like, it become's so overwritten and stuff. Images, texts, stories. Like do you even have space to allow another person's story into it? Are they able to tell it against all of this huge? I remember someone said, that you know, we were sitting in an editorial meeting and someone was saying 'once you drop the word apartheid, where do you go from there?'

17:24 – 17:32, Richard: What do you think are some of the rules for people, whether they recognise it or not, follow when they discuss apartheid?

17:33 – 17:47, Bongani: Um, I guess, I think, it becomes, very, very difficult because it's a story that's been told so many times. So many times.

17:47, Richard: So many times, in which ways?

17:48 – 17:59, Bongani: Freedom Day is coming up, you just have to sit and watch the TV. Every funeral, masses of our people, ANC's there.

17:59, Richard: So an ANC Struggle?

18:00 – 18:05, Bongani: Yeah, it's there. Everywhere, in schools.

18:05 – 18:16, Richard: But are you saying that the narrative surrounding apartheid is less about apartheid and more about the struggle? Specifically, through an ANC lens? In the public?

18:17 – 18:26, Bongani: No, not through an ANC lens. What I'm trying to say is that it's a story that has been told so many times from different point of views. It becomes so overpowering. Like have you been to Robben Island?

18:26, Richard: No.

18:27 – 18:53, Bongani: No, One of the interesting things when you go to Robben Island or maybe it's just me, because even when you get there, you realise that you've heard this story millions of times. And now, it becomes, and the guy that's telling it has also told it millions of times. So it becomes this kind of interesting thing where you're like you both know where the story's going to go, where it starts and where it ends. Why are we here? So then the question is how do you tell it?

Video 4

1:12 – 1:22, Richard: I guess my final question, um, what, what characterises the present? How will this period be remembered?

1:23 – 2:00, Bongani: Yeah. Ok. Yeah. I think it might even be a cliché, I think it's that you are no longer at ease, no longer at easy. It's a title of a book by Chinua Achebe, I think that's the thing I can really grasp on at the moment. If it's what characterises the present, it's that we're no longer at ease.

10 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH SOBANTU MZWAKALI

Interview with Sobantu Mzwakali conducted by Richard Raber in Cape Town, South Africa on April 7th, 2017.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 1

16:00 – 16:31, Richard: So let me, let me ask you a different question. Um, for yourself, for other people, for mainstream society, what, what do you think that are like the rules that govern the discussion of apartheid? In terms of the dialogue about apartheid, what are the sort of boundaries that people must stay within? If there are any?

16:32, Sobantu: I don't get your question.

16:33 – 16:45, Richard: Like when we have these discussions about apartheid, are there any sorts of limits to those discussions? That you think are socially imposed or politically imposed.

16:46 – 17:50, Sobantu: I think there are. I think there's a question of *what apartheid was*. There's just been change, as if there was a segregation between two groups, these two groups have come together and then apartheid doesn't exist anymore. So, it has been limited toward what was apartheid made for, if there were people really questioning apartheid, what were they really questioning? What was the fight about, there's also the question of what are the impacts of apartheid? So people don't go deep into that level, to say when apartheid was formulated these are the impacts, so then can we assess now

whether we went over them or are we still stuck there? So it's still limited to that segregation on physical level but also not realising there are other factors you know. That happen at that time.

17:51 – 18:06, Richard: So when people talk about apartheid, apartheid is kind of deemed to be strictly the physical separation and the political inequity in a legal sense?

18:07, Sobantu: Yeah.

18:20-18:40, Richard: An interesting set of debates in this country centre around public space, um, the renaming of streets, institutions, #RhodesMustFall these sorts of things. What's the values in these projects to rename, is it being done correctly, should it be done at all? You know comment on the general, um, phenomenon.

18:41 – 19:14, Sobantu: Uh, there's a, why did I forget the philosopher? But there's a philosophy behind overthrowing the statues. Um, I forgot the name, but yeah. I think it speaks to that. The, it shows that there's a structure of violence that came with apartheid. One of the impacts of apartheid was the structural violence that continues today.

19:14 – 19:20, Richard: When you say structural do you mean theoretical or like structures, like physical structures?

19:20 – 21:44, Sobantu: Physical structures and also theoretical but there's also that thing where you, I think, there's an understanding that people assimilate with their environment. And the environment that still exists right now is a representation of, the continuing regime, I don't even want to say the past regime. But the, regime that has been said to be in the past. So when people get into these spaces they fail to be who they are unless they assimilate to something else. So of which, it's what apartheid was meant for. To force people to leave these selective spaces to go back to their own boundaries because they cannot exist there. Unless they exist, they change to what the system expect them to be, so they have to assimilate. So I think, I don't think we are at that level where we can say this will bring revolution but I think it will bring some sort of sense of belonging and sense of, I don't know man, people will have something to assimilate with that is closer to them then something that is very distant to them. And then also these statues, these streets present nothing but violence, nothing but extortion. They represent all the ideas society is trying to get past, trying to get over. So I think everyone else maybe they think that maybe by doing this, they will slowly eliminate the structural violence that comes with these statues and everything else. I think there's an understanding maybe, in people who are like everyday engaged to this, but I think the idea is that like, the physical existence of the streets and everything else they still represent our suffering. So maybe as part of saying, eliminating, recreating, starting to write our own history in our own way.

21:44, Richard: And is it being done properly when it's being done?

21:45 – 24:46, Sobantu: Uh, for now, to say something is being done properly is almost to say there is a manual. I don't think for now, for black resistance or black revolution there is an existing manual. We have lost ourselves, we are still trying to recover so we're trying if, I won't call my street, maybe my great-great-grandfather, maybe 'Bantu' where I don't even relate to him, I have no memory of him. So I rather call it Sobukwe who's closer to me in fighting for something I still aspire to. So I think, I think, now that People are engaged in a process of recovering themselves and recovering or understanding themselves and trying to come up with their own narrative. So to say, it's been done correctly or it's been done wrong, I think is a question of, 'cause once I say it's been done correctly or wrong I'd be standing on ideological perspective. There are a lot of ideological narratives that exist right now amongst black people. If you, though, it'd be a question of saying, if it's right or wrong, so where I am speaking from and what privilege level? So I think everyone else is trying to mobilise in their own spaces to create safe spaces. I think currently right now there is the idea that we cannot reimagine ourselves in absence of safe spaces. So to have to have enough time to imagine ourselves, so we have to cut the idea this of assimilating, create safe spaces for ourselves, and then have conversations in safe spaces and then something will come out from there. I don't think, even if anyone wants to with praxis or anything else there's a question of who are you speaking for? So I don't think there's anyone, who represent, there are similarities and understandings that we need land, and still different when it comes to praxis, it's a question of strategy to get there, you know all those things, other things that even divide black people today. They even divided black people during apartheid, this misunderstanding of these ideas. So I think there is a popular narrative of we all know the problem, the question is 'how do we eradicate from there?' So I think that's the debate right now with black people. It's difficult to go and sit and debate this 'cause you have day-to-day issues to deal with and then you have this structural design that doesn't even allow you enough time to create and have safe spaces.

Video 2

20:20, Richard: And about the TRC?

20:25 – 20:31, Sobantu: It's a liberal position. People say, 'apartheid it's crime against humanity.'

20:31, Richard: Of course.

20:32 – 22:40, Sobantu: But who has been held responsible for that crime? You know, so. TRC was just another buffer for managing anger and then, trying to create, it was just an idea sold to the world, even to the victims, to just say 'but here are victims having conversation. So if victims are having a conversation, another world is possible.' That's what, invited the world to South Africa, 'wow,

after all these years these guys are willing to sit down and talk about their pain and what they went through.’ And everyone was a victim. That’s another problem. So even the perpetrators came as a victim, say ‘I found myself in the ideas and I found myself in the system I found myself in, the system I found myself in,’ yes we understand everything was influenced and everything else, but then everyone is a victim, then no one is liable for this crime. Then here we are. Who’s today, South Africa convicted for the crimes of apartheid? So it also tells us that there’s things we did not deal with in the negotiation, and it was for the sake of us peace you know. And now is the question and this is one of my worst critiques, the guy I critique most is Thabo Mbeki, and I ask myself, he said one of the best things, ‘justice cannot drive peace’. we had that, we had TRC. But justice finds itself in legal framework and then the legal framework is controlled by power. Law is based on power and law is meant to protect nothing but the interest of the property owners. And the interest of the property owners is still protected today.

Video 4

8:10 – 8:40, Sobantu: I think our time will be remembered, then, and also managing suffering because of this social mobility. It assists us to survive worst brutality than the system can, you know, can put us on. And then when we do that, when we do that, it manages the anger of others. You know, when

8:40, Richard: Because there’s a dream?

8:41 -9:27, Sobantu: Yeah, and then people want. When I go back at home, people who are fighting mines, activists who are engaged in fighting mines, some aren’t not interested in fighting mines anymore. They want to come and work in Cape Town. So you see what that do. And the ones that are left behind, the ones who lose, who aren’t able to succeed if that is ‘success’. And then, you can’t fragmentate that, so that’s anything, any story. So, people are suffering and everyone is trying to get themselves out of that, and, they do what they think is the best they can do.

9:30, Richard: Do you have any final thoughts? That you’d like to share.

9:37 – 15:58, Sobantu: I think right now we are engaged in, but I don’t think there is such thing as denialism of apartheid. ‘Cause for someone to deny someone must understand something. So I think white people are not ready to listen. Simple thing to listen. White South Africans are not, not whites, I’ll say white South Africans, I think politically to me. Whites are still not willing to understand our pain. You know. To them it’s, to them my pain is imaginary because I didn’t grow up in apartheid. It’s that, but do you understand the legacy that I’m carrying from that? You know, the black tax I’m paying to this day, you know. So that all those things, white people are not willing to understand. So until white people are willing to understand, not just debate because it’s, every conversation that’s being held right now is not held with an understanding with, with the aim to reach an understanding. Someone wants to win the debate, political commentators, everyone is trying to get

a point across but no one is willing to understand you know. So until white people are ready to understand and black people are able to speak amongst themselves then something maybe will come. But for now I'm very pessimistic about liberation. I'm very pessimistic to think there will be a revolution in my time. And, hence when people try to speak revolutionary, I bring I question myself 'if someone says he or she is a revolutionary, what kind of revolution are they engaged in?' I don't think there is any platform for revolution in South Africa right now that is taking place, there's no way revolution is staged just a lot of noise. So, I think for now we are not speaking to each other. The problem is we've been speaking, we've been saying what we think we want but no one is willing to listen. And now it comes back to, 'is it possible to negotiate or speak with your oppressor?' 'Cause it gets to the point of saying, the oppressor is not willing, you know, to understand. And, this denialism is just ignorance of actual facts. Like currently in South Africa there's a belief that there's a white genocide. I mean that someone will bring Terre Blanche. Terre Blanche was killed by the people he was not willing to pay. Those are his workers. Which he was exploiting and one of them was under age! So someone under age was working for a white farmer, white farmer got pregnant, and that he was even, having sexual intercourse with these people. Not initiated, he was raping them. So you'd think, in a patriarchal state we find ourselves in when men who define the sentences, another man sleep with another man. And then doesn't even give them some sense of integrity. Then what did you think would be the result of that? The death then could be as an attack on white farmers or as white genocide. So there are those things, there's too much ignorance. You know, so, I think, people are willing to shed away the ignorance first, then I don't know. I don't know what I'm saying, I think I have lost my feelings for South Africa, I think I have lost my hope. I think South Africa is, *it's the world I find myself in but it's not the world I'm imagining*. And the more I'm imagining another world the more difficult it is for me to appreciate South Africa. So I don't have anything, I don't even want to call myself a South African. So, 'cause that itself, it has, like I am trying to get away from these tag lines. Sometimes you get to a point where, I wish I was the guy who believed that law is a good thing and went to law school and studied law, or I'm a teacher, go to teach English in primary school, I think I'm engaged in a good cause and unaware of the structural, systematic design. I think *consciousness itself is death* and I think ignorance is bliss and I think people who are ignorant right now, they are flourishing. According to the system. I think people our age, they are wishing, they are living a certain lifestyle, or they are wishing to achieve a certain lifestyle and, I think it's the way to go. The thing is now that someone is aware, it's so difficult to get into that. So I think, why did I get to know this? You know. Why did I get to understand this? You know. So that's why, see post-apartheid a lot of black conscious people are committing suicide among other things and no one is questioning that thing. It's a people where you see our national consciousness it's been divided into something else. You know. So our national consciousness is somewhere else. So when I think, yeah. I should have just been in government, corporate world, another world, thinking profit is a good thing.

11 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH KUDA MATIZA

Interview with Kuda Matiza conducted by Richard Raber in Johannesburg, South Africa on March 17th, 2017.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 1

1:10 – 1:43, Kuda: The name of the brand is House of Hohwa, Hohwa means mushroom in Shona. It's just about the diversity of culture, of African culture. Um, African, and the mushroom itself inspires the shapes. The species, the colours and stuff. So, we find that, you know, as a connotation to our brand itself and how we diversify everything that we make but it's talking about African stories.

1:43 – 1:46, Richard: So what are some of the stories you'd like to get across?

1:46 – 5:35, Kuda: Look, I think there's a lot of history, tradition that a lot of us Africans, don't have. Um, or don't understand. When it comes to, um, where we come from to actually where we're going. And I think most of that actually wasn't taught, most people don't understand how it works and stuff. So we're trying to, as much as we can to put that as a concept, to conceptualise a collection, um, or a garment to make it simpler so that people can understand where we're coming from. One of our, the one that we're actually launching now, our third collection, we're on our third collection by the way. So the one we're launching is called Winds of Change, so its inspired by a speech by Harold MacMillan the then British Prime Minister in 1960. So he came over to Africa on a Winds of Change speech, sorry, Winds of Change tour, and um, in Cape Town made a speech in the House of Assemblies, um, about how it was time for um, oppressed countries to start looking at liberation. So it was more like, 'this has happened all over the world from the Asias and everywhere else, now it's time for Africa. And we should consider that that's historic.' So as you can see, from 1960 going up to present or to 1994, all the African countries started getting liberation, so meaning that most of your, um, most of your, freedom fighters or, you know, basically, what it did was it gave a voice to a lot of people. And it might not have been direct, but it had an effect, because that someone very influential coming from an influential part of the world. Who had one state who had colonised many states in Africa and was calling for the liberation of those states. So at that time, it was a ripple effect, it happened and everyone started getting their liberation and all African countries started becoming more independent. For us as a brand, we're saying, we're putting the whole light into fashion, fashion as a, 'cause we look at the postcolonial era and you know, it takes a lot of years for people to start speaking to start having a voice. And speaking their stories and stuff. And, because it takes much time, every part of, your life, as an African, is, dependent on everything that was done before. So your true African story or whatever it is you have to say, in each and every part of your life only comes into effect when you speak about it. Ok, so, when

it comes to clothing and fashion, as you know, everything is more, everything was colonial and we received that. But I think we don't have that authentic, African, you know, um, inspiration or authentic African creativity to say that put this into clothing and it is our time to talk about it and we want to talk about it in this way.

5:35 – 5:46, Richard: So clothing as an expression of, um, agency, a political act? Is that what you're getting across?

5:46 – 7:35, Kuda: That's what we're getting across. I think we're basically just taking, um, the revolution or political movements into fashion, into clothing. I think, like I said, before colonisation, before liberation, it was colonisation which means everything that you do is dependent on what you were told because you don't have a choice, because you were colonised. So after you're colonised you need to now bring out who you are so that's identity. So the things that identify a country are foods, culture and clothing. That's how you identify African countries usually. But I think it's all countries, you know, in Africa you have your Kenyans you have the Massai and the Massai have this way of dressing. South Africa is a diverse country has African, different, different tribes. And those different tribes have their identity and the way they look. And that identity has a story behind it. So there's always a story, there's somewhere where it started and everything makes sense when you actually go back and look at it. So, I'm just saying, the whole umbrella term, before we start talking about all the African stories is to start talking about where I'm from and how, we, separate ourselves ourselves from that to get back to who we are. And then, we start speaking about all the major different categories of 'I am from this tribe and we wear this because of this and this and this' so these are subcategories that will come in the future.

7:35 – 7:51, Richard: So your current project is more Pan-African in nature of the African experience in kind of, as opposed to a specific community, like Venda for instance. Am I right in understanding this?

7:52 – 8:13, Kuda: Well not necessarily culture specific, but I think we have a lot of diverse because we have, with this collection itself we are trying to take out something that is more, African. Instead of it being one community. So it's like one African voice and after that you can start to sub.

12 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH BELLA MAAKE

Interview with Bella Maake conducted by Richard Raber in Johannesburg, South Africa on April 1st, 2017.

6:00, Richard: Tell me about your brand.

6:02 – 6:53, Bella: Ok, Africanah is um, an, for African people by African people. So, with the brand, I am trying to, um, have people, encourage them to have pride in where they are from, instead of looking to the world. For example, they want to, they want everything to be from either America or Europe but while Africa has so much colour, is a colourful thing. Colours and cultures. I think Africa, something is something we should embrace rather of trying to forget. Yeah.

6:53-6:55, Richard: We should embrace rather than forget.

6:56 – 8:51, Bella: Because some people are ashamed of being African because, I think it is one of the legacies of apartheid. We are considering that African people are not enough, and they are lower than animals. Some people are trying to have the identity rooted in Africa. Ok I am my own person, I want to buy clothes and look like the people there. And I'm, I think also, it can help to, grow jobs and income for - everything I do at Africanah supports local suppliers. I don't buy from overseas just local suppliers or local businesses. When I, buy from, I look for quality suppliers. Also I check for quality and ethical practices because I want to make sure that clothing are sourced, from people that can benefit from it, instead of children for example. None of my clothing have that 'child labour' like out of my products, I think that that people love so much, they don't know all the processes – they just go to the shop and buy them. But they don't know what the fabric is. They don't know who made that clothes, they don't know what it took to make that clothes. So I think it's important that people are informed about that.

13 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH LANGALIZWE NGUBANE

Interview with Langalizwe Ngubane on March 25, 2017 in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. Conducted by Richard Raber.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

0:19 – 0:24, Richard: So, Langelizwe, why were you named Langelizwe?

0:24, Langelizwe: Sun of the Nation.

0:39, Richard: So why did your family choose that name, who named you?

0:40-1:15, Langelizwe: My father named me and like, my Father, he's like, with everything he does he goes deep. And like when he said Sun of the Nation, it's like he aimed for me, as growing up, who wanted me to be the person who like has an impact on people's lives, not only people around me, but the whole nation. Because Langelizwe, you know, everybody needs sun. Without sun, there's no life.

1:27 , Richard: So tell me a little bit about your family and your home.

1:30 – 1:59, Langanizwe: So family, ok, I was raised by my grandmother and my father. My father's an unemployed foreman, and my grandmother is the director of a non-profit organisation. Yeah, she has like a good impact on people's lives, mostly underdeveloped and underprivileged families. She like helps them. And yeah, that's like my family.

2:00-2:16, Richard: And I mean, um, so coming from a family of, um, people who struggled for a better future, I mean your grandmother, you can speak about that and your father as well if you want to speak about that a little bit.

2:17 – 3:14, Langanizwe: For me, I can say it's like a good thing for me, because I didn't grow up in a soft place you know. I wasn't brought up you know on a silver platter. I wasn't. And that helped me grow as a person, you know. My grandmother, everything that she's gone through, you know. Struggle, the deaths of my grandma and grandfather, her brother, you know. The way how he died, and what not, those stories and hearing that and whatnot, helps me grow. It helps me understand how life operates. Things are meant to be done. And my father, he was involved in the apartheid, you know, he was involved big time, big time.

3:15, Richard: What was his involvement?

3:16 - 3:59, Langanizwe: He was like, I can say he was a soldier or community soldier for the area. Because the IFP, the IFP guys they were attacking the place where we were in, where my family was in. It was like near an IFP area. But my family, we were basically ANC you know. And they knew that we were ANC and most people knew one thing, you could get killed. So my father, among his friends, a couple of friends you know, like put something together and formed like an army. And then, Chris Hani, the late Chris Hani, they came and even came to their area and trained them and what not. So they defended their family and their community.

4:00, Richard: And I mean, how has that impacted you?

4:02 – 4:36, Langanizwe: Like, to me, that alone, that my father, had, played that role as a protector, if he can do it, I can do like even bigger things. You know in life, even greater things. There's no more apartheid, ok I don't want to say there's no more apartheid, but let's just say it's like dimmed down now, everybody can live their life now. But like, I can still see those things are coming back a bit now in our time.

4:37, Richard: How so?

4:38 – 5:02, Langanizwe: The way people are treating each other like between the races it's still obvious in this country. The way people like, even, let me just

place it this way, the way whites treat black people. And the way black people even treat white people, there's still that conflict between them. Still hasn't gone away.

5:06-5:20, Richard: So when, for your grandmother and for your father, are those stories from the Struggle, what kind of stories are told and in which ways?

5:21 – 6:47, Langelizwe: Like the stories. Should I like go into detail? Ok well my father, he's like soldiers, you do things, shootings and what not. But my grandmother, she had to run away and move because they knew that my father was like active and my grandmother also worked in the ANC offices you know. They knew that the whole entire family was active in the whole struggle. Against the apartheid government. And yeah, most people came into our house, I say our house, they came and attacked my great grandmother, yeah, even the kids, my cousins they were there. Yeah, they got attacked and they were looking for my grandmother and my father. Two people. And they had to shift to another section, they lived in KwaZulu, they had to shift to another section. Even there, they weren't treated in a good way because they knew of their story. So, they just ended up living that life of shifting, even the family separated. The whole apartheid thing it affected us in a big way, you know. Family split up, people are planted all over South Africa now because they had to run away. You know it's not good at all.

6:48, Richard: Hmm, so that, um, having to go on the run effects now?

6:54 – 7:20, Langelizwe: Even up until today, can't be safe. Say I could settle down in this area, you know. My grandmother up until today is still active in these things, challenging big people. You're not safe, even for me, I don't go around all calm, cool and collected 'cause I know that anytime they know that I'm her grandson and anything could happen. Always have to watch my back anywhere I go.

7:21, Richard: Because of your family's political activities past or present?

7:23-7:29, Langelizwe: I can say both, yeah both.

14 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH BONGA JWAMBI

Interview with Bonga Jwambi conducted by Richard Raber on April 4th, 2017 in Cape Town, South Africa.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 1

1:00, Richard: So how did you, when did you start making art?

1:06 – 1:30, Bonga: I can't remember, I started making art when I was young, I was punished at school for scratching and drawing on desks. 'Cause instead of

listening to teachers, I'd ruin desks. So I can't remember when I started.

1:30, Richard: How old were you when you started working?

1:33-2:19, Bonga: Um, making furniture? 'Cause I was doing grade seven, last year of primary school, I can say I was working because I was bringing money home 'cause I was doing wishing cards. They asked me to do wishing cards, so they would pay me, but they would my mother. So I would ask for whatever I was asking for, I never knew how much I made because they paid my mother. But she seemed happy.

2:20, Richard: Can you tell me a bit about your family? How big's your family, what was it like growing up?

2:23-2:55, Bonga: Wow, well, I have four siblings, I was supposed to have five siblings but my mother's second born passed on as a baby, while she was still a baby. I'm a last born, I have two sisters and two brothers. I, we grew up in a, I could say a house where you can see all four walls.

2:55, Richard: All four walls.

2:56 – 4:02, Bonga: Yes. So if you stand you can see all four walls. You can, you, the distance is ten metres square. Five of us were living there and my sisters' children were also living there. My mother, I think about nine people living in the same house, so in the morning you wouldn't be able to come in because laying down on the floor sleeping. We have to do everything; privacy is something that you don't even imagine. And sometimes, my mother, she used to work as a domestic worker, and I think since I was born she was a domestic worker. And she used to come home on Fridays and Friday, Friday in the evening, then she would leave on a Sunday evening. So I used to see her once a week. Barely, I was taken care of by my older sisters, they used to prepare for me to go to school and stuff. And yeah.

4:03-4:09, Richard: And what was that like as a kid, having your mother in someone else's home?

4:10 – 8:20, Bonga: I think sometimes, when you're younger, you don't feel that, 'cause you, I think for me, the best for me is because, I was raised in a house that was always full of love, that's why it's easy for me to share. Because I have enough love to share. Because I never, I can't remember a day where I didn't feel loved. The community, the people know me, for example, I used to hang out with as a toddler, I'm still friends with now. I didn't feel it, I only realised it when I knew why she was not there. That's when it kind of hit me and made me angry, I can say so. I was upset. Because I couldn't understand why someone cannot be at his home with their children, she has to be somewhere else to take care of someone's children. Whereas the parents are also, at the same house. But I remember sometimes, they used to invite me, when they were

having a birthday, something like that, so they used to ask my mother to bring me to the birthday, party whatever was happening. I think they realised I was not a good guest to invite. Because, they were called Madams, the people who employed my mother, the boy – her son would cry from one side of the pool, he would cry. ‘Cause they used to have a pool, he would cry, or, there were girls and boys, he would cry and then run straight to my mother. Then I was sitting there, then I knew. I used to push him away. ‘Like, no dude, this is my mother.’ I didn’t understand that she has to take care, ‘cause where I grew up you see, you couldn’t hold someone else’s child ‘cause their children were gonna cry, they were gonna demand their attention as well. I remember when I was making enough money, and my sisters were working as well, my mother she had pride, she didn’t want to take anything from us. For her, getting money from her children didn’t make sense. For her, she believed she was the one to provide for us instead of it being the other way. We had to force my mother to accept money from me, especially if you are working, she wanted to work until, I don’t know. But in fact it was like ‘she’s done enough’ we can provide and take care of her. And I particularly, um, I remember at school we were given calendars, I brought a calendar home and I marked out all the days that she’s not at home. And I marked down, because I couldn’t count Friday, sometimes she’d get home on Friday and would sleep. Then she would leave Sunday afternoon, so she was home one day. So I combined Sunday and Friday, then I marked out all the days, I gave her the calendar days, I wrote the number, I can’t remember the number now and, I wrote the number of days she is at home at year. And then she broke down then. And I understood before and it was not for me to break her down, it was for her to understand. ‘Cause she was used to, for her it was normal, something, ‘my son is being taken care of, no complaints’ I’m not sick, I’m well, I’m playing. I’m doing well in school. Then I did it, and, she decided to not work. I’m saying they didn’t even give her anything, I’m not sure for 11, or 12, or 13, or 14, she worked there for almost twenty years, when she left she got nothing. That’s when you realise that equality for some people, it’s like a dream. It’s there for some but there will never be equality, and, appreciation, that’s when you learn no one else owes you a favour, you better take care of your own. Then,

8:22, Richard: I mean, also her employment began and ended first during apartheid and then after.

8:23- 11:07, Bonga: Exactly, I was born in 1988, she was still there. And I think, I can’t remember the year, I was doing grade 7, or grade 8, somewhere around there, so it was maybe 2000. Early 2000s, 2001 or something, 2002 or something I can’t remember when she stopped working. So when people talk about Rainbow Nation or Democracy, Freedom was there, so for five years, Democracy was there for five years. Or six years, something like that. I feel blessed because I grew up in a community where, she was a single parent, I didn’t know my father, he’s someone who could pass by on the street but he passed on now. I never see my father. So being raised by a single parent, I felt like I needed to, to find myself a father figure, someone I can look up to. Then for me, I think being street-wise, or

lame, or lucky, I managed to surround myself with people that I thought would add value to my life, who guide me, who I learn from. So as an early boy, instead of going to my mother or someone to ask for a toy, I go to my neighbour that is older than me, if handy-work DIY something like that, I ask for a screw driver. Whatever I'm doing. I started wanting to make my own cars because I couldn't afford cars. The thing with a car is, you, you might bring a car, it get lost, someone might take it play around, it gets lost. So I wanted to make my own car so that it would be easy to identify if it got lost, toy cars. it gets lost. I wanted to make a car that was easy to identify, no one would steal. That's where my hand-working started. For me, it didn't feel like I was working and the guys I'd borrow from, if they were working they'd invite me and I'd carry a bag with me, if they're putting up a door, or they're fixing a table, or, I could help wherever. Being surrounded, being hands-on, that's where I learned.

19:39 – 20:17, Richard: And when you speak of the, quote, development coming, so, the two effects I think you're alluding to is the ruin of local economies which when you talk of spaza shops and this sort of thing, and the other one is that it keeps people in Khayelitsha from coming into the city. Ok. Um, interesting. I have another question for you, I mean you were a kid, but, what do you think, what do you think went right and what do you think went wrong in the transition to Democracy? And, including the TRC.

20:18 – 21:00, Bonga: I think, honestly, I think, we, were so optimistic, not being realistic. In a way that we were so hopeful things would be better, instead of dealing with things, instead of dealing with affairs at that time. Make things better instead of hoping things would be better, we had so much hope that things would be better. I think, with the signatures of the papers that were signed of our leaders which have not been effected or not been effected enough.

21:00, Richard: What are some of those?

21:01 – 22:20, Bonga: I can't 'cause, I don't have facts. But that's just my thinking. I don't think there's any MP or Parliament Member, that has a child that is studying in the township. I think they're all in the suburbs, so they are not affected, I don't think there is an MP that lives in a township, I think they all live in the suburbs. So, those people that signed those papers, to allow (sic), they said 'you are all Rainbow Nation' and stuff, or 'the so-called Rainbow Nation,' I think, they have reason to believe it's still working because for them they are living a better life than those people still in the township who also stood up against apartheid. For me, I also have an issue with idolising certain leaders, I always say, I have said this many times in public platforms, for me I'll never go to Robben Island 'cause for me I feel like idolising one man, whereas there were many other people, leaders and stuff you know, who are still living in poverty. But some of them, they fought hard for the democracy we have but it's being enjoyed by a few people. I think, my culture won't allow me to do that, I can't idolise people, for me, for me I rather try to learn about my history. I'm interested in the stories I've never heard.

Video 3

8:24 – 8:40, Richard: And my final question's this, I might have follow-ups, but my final general question's this. What do you think characterises the contemporary period and how do you think the present will be remembered?

8:46 – 11:42, Bonga: I think many people will feel like they've been failed by their leaders, their so-called leaders. I think, I think people, at the same time, the next generation, will feel like we are giving them politicians too much power. And I think, like, again, that, we should have done better. 'Cause freedom, we want to call it Democracy, South Africa was one of the last countries in Africa, we should have learned from the other countries that got so-called discolonised. We should have learned from them. 'Cause the [re]conciliation period I can say plus/minus five years I can say, then everything went back to what it was. If you look at economy, it's only 90% of black people if you go to Jozi, Joburg, stock exchange it's only 90% of black owned, I mean, it's only eight or ten percent of black owned companies are listed on the JSE. The Johannesburg Stock Exchange. So meaning, five people hold up 90% of the country's economy, the country's wealth, so will you say it's really a Democracy? I think people will like to quote Mandela when he says, 'cause, I think there's a quote, it says, and I love this line, 'each and every one who lives in this country, they must share the wealth of this country.' Not equally, he said 'equally,' maybe that's not possible, but it's possible. But I think Radical change if it's not done now, it's like a ticking bomb I think people are sick and tired, I think people have realised now. Having a job is not enough. I think we should, we should start teaching the upcoming generation it's better to be dependent than independent because, I, because, for example for me, I was lucky enough. I was exposed, to a suburb world. The upperclass world and the lower class world. Like, I used to spend time in town when I was young. I used to hear words like 'building wealth' but in the township people are still talking about surviving. It's to make money to feed yourself. What happens tomorrow you'll see then.

15 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH SARAH SUMMERS
AND KELLY-EVE KOOPMAN

Interview with Sarah Summers and Kelly-eve Koopman in Johannesburg, South Africa on April 21st, 2017. Conducted by Richard Raber

2:15 – 2:21, Kelly-eve: Basically the foundation of many people's questions is, why are you doing this in the first place? Which is not something that you can really engage with.

2:21-2:31, Sarah: It also becomes very personal. It's a very personal attack to why we do this, because it disturbs –

2:31 – 2:38, Kelly-Eve: And I think it's beside, because on our webpage, and our posts, 'its because we want to facilitate critical debate and discussion.

2:44-3:28, Sarah: Um, what I find difficult about it, is that, I just feel that people cannot conceive of a conversation outside of something that they are comfortable with that is obviously necessary. Um, which I think, related to what you do, which just shows how brainwashed we are by the Rainbow Nation notion. People are all kind of having like these issues with race among each other, with themselves, with the way other people should identify, but as long as there's like this piece, this layer of like paint on top of it where we don't make racial issues or discuss racial things, everything will be fine. And just to broach that skin and to get to where the issues are, is something people don't want to happen.

3:29 – 4:03, Kelly-Eve: Specifically, when you talk about marginalised identities because then it's kinds of like, no one wants to, or there are a few people - people will acknowledge that there are tensions that exist between marginalised identities like black and coloured which is a terrible thing but then it's kind of like, 'let's not go into that territory because it becomes divisive. But these tensions exist. And, um, those tensions are identity very much. Or we can start bringing those tensions forward or healing when we talk about identity and the ways that we identify or understand ourselves as marginalised people.

22:05 – 22:15, Richard: So I guess, um, if anything characterises this particular moment, how will the present be remembered?

22:22, Kelly-Eve: How will the present be remembered?

22:23, Sarah: How do you know that from the present? That's like me telling you what I look like right now.

22:39-22:54, Sarah: This moment will be remembered my sun shining down on me. Glass of water here. Kelly smiling. Not being able answer all the questions in a South Africa,

22:54 – 23:47, Kelly-Eve: I think, I think it will be remembered as a moment when, the South African, when the South Africa rainbow painted child of post 94 like grew the fuck up. Where we kind of. Like Fallism is a thing right now, not only with #FeesMustFall but this whole notion that we're deconstructing. Like it's probably going to be remembered as a damage or a damaging age whereby, trying to make, trying to deconstruct things so we can build something new. And if we are remembered as a destructive force then I'm pretty happy for that. Because that does need to happen before we can move,

23:45 – 24:12, Sarah: Oh and when destruction no longer seemed evil, you know and bad. So when we can go, 'actually we can make people feel uncomfortable and that doesn't mean there is something wrong.' And when anger isn't bad. Where all these things that we have been told to like put out of the way, 'that's not what you bring to the table,' has been accepted.

24:13 – 24:20, Kelly-Eve: ‘Yeah, that’s not constructive.’ Literally the opposite, we will realise that being deconstructive is entirely constructive for an entire new way of,

24:20, Richard: So birth and death.

24:21 – 24:38, Kelly-Eve: I mean, I suppose. Or ‘growing up.’ We have to rage and then we mature our ideas and I don’t think it should be vilified, it should be celebrated.

24:40 – 24:45, Sarah: It depends what bracket of people you’re talking about. You know.

24:45, Kelly-Eve: Depends as to which issues we’re speaking about.

24:48, Sarah: There’s a lot of people that don’t even have this conversation.

24:50, Kelly-Eve: I was just going to say, I feel a bit off.

24:55, Sarah: And then we feel like we’re a bit elitist.

24:57, Kelly-Eve: And that’s why it’s an uncomfortable question as well.

25:00-25:20, Sarah: It’s also very reflexive you know. Self-reflective, ‘who are you in this space? How do I understand myself in this space? What is your responsibility in this space? What does this space make you feel?’ So, like, it’s a space where we like contemplate ourselves as much as we contemplate our environment. And we see the relationship between those two things informing the way we believe we must act.

16 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH THANDUXOLO BHUTI

Interview with Thanduxolo Bhuti conducted by Richard Raber in Johannesburg, South Africa on March 22nd, 2017.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 1

18:58, Richard: So, in that line of thinking, what’s, what would you say the state of race relations is in this country?

19:08 – 19:28, Thanduxolo: I think it’s bubbling, slowly bubbling, it’s slowly, it will explode, I think we are getting instances where it is slowly exploding in certain parts. It is going to explode.

19:59 – 20:55, Thanduxolo: I don’t know, do we have democracy? That’s the first question. Is it a democracy or is it just an illusion, of democracy? I think I

struggle with the whole concept especially right now with, where it just seems like, everyone's is some way transitioned, everything's better now – you can go to varsity, you can do this, you know, there's a lot of things that now you can do. At the same time, things are also not ok. And the more, we go forward and the more politically, things are not ok, people are not ok, no one is ok. And for me, I don't know if I can call that democracy. I think that we've been sold a fake democracy.

Video 2

00:00 – 00:18, Richard: So, um, I guess, you know, we keep talking about inequity and race, um, what are your thoughts in terms of the Rainbow Nation as a concept?

00:19 – 2:05, Thanduxolo: Ah, I think It's a false representation, I think it's like a, the Rainbow Nation is not good for us. This whole concept of the Rainbow Nation is the reason why we are here right now as country. 'Cause I feel like it was, this concept it was forced, because nothing was dealt with. So everyone just said 'hold hands together,' it's like, it's such a funny thing like when we had the 2010 FIFA World Cup, there was the Rainbow Nation! And it's like, I don't know if it's like, for cameras or like it was, I don't know, but for a moment it was sort of like there and then when the FIFA World Cup went away everyone sort of went back to how it was, everything just sort of automatically went back. Everyone, different races went back to how they were living – if you were a white person you go back to the suburbs, if you are Coloured you go to your area, if you're Indian you go to, to your area. But for that period, there was some sense of like, oneness – if they were acting then it was a great job. But I did feel it for a moment. But then it's like, it never lasted. So I don't know if this whole Rainbow Nation thing is something for the cameras or for show or, if it is something that really truly does exist, that it is something we truly believe we are.

2:06 - 2:18, Richard: I mean you had pretty harsh words earlier, blaming the Rainbow Nation for some issues now. Why, I mean, what went wrong?

2:19, Thanduxolo: With the Rainbow Nation?

2:19-2:25, Richard: Yeah. I mean it felt forced, but what exactly felt forced?

2:25 – 2:36, Thanduxolo: I think first of all, we're called the Rainbow Nation but we still haven't dealt with the race issues.

2:36 – 2:38, Richard: And what would dealing with those entail?

2:38 – 4:06, Thanduxolo: I think everyone owning their feelings, first of all. And being able to express their feelings and not silencing each other for the sake of the Rainbow Nation, as everyone is saying. But knowing that when

we play the Rainbow Nation card we still have hatred, these feelings that we harbour about each other's races. Not even, also about each other's races, even our cultures. Like the different cultures we have, tribes. Even the different tribes, the conflicts we still have they also have as tribes. 'Cause remember in the apartheid days, we were separated as tribes, if you were Zulu you stay with Zulus, if you're Xhosa you stay with other Xhosas. Also that like being separated as black people. We even see it in government like 'we don't want another Xhosa President' so it's also not about, the qualifications also about tribalism. We want a Zulu President now, we want a Bedi President now, you know. So, we have the race issue, we also have tribalism. It's like a whole.

4:07 – 4:14, Richard: So how does that relate to the current, um, outburst of afro-xenophobia?

4:15 – 4:48, Thanduxolo: It's all, all of these things contribute. Because first of all, we all hate ourselves first. So we hate ourselves and we hate everyone around us. So how can we now embrace everyone from, how can you embrace your neighbour if you hate yourself and you hate the people that you stay with? I don't know. You can't reach out to your neighbour if at home, you guys hate each other.

Video 3

00:21-00:38, Richard: I mean what you seem to have, and correct me if I'm wrong, but when you're speaking of the New South Africa, you're really saying it's,

00:38, Thanduxolo: False.

00:39 – 00:56, Richard: False, yeah and because the old hurt hasn't been dealt with. So at this current moment, how do you think, somewhere down the line they'll remember our current time.

00:56 – 1:36, Thanduxolo: Yeah, I think, this is a very important time. This is time the time, we have a shot of making the real democracy work. If all of this explodes, it will be a mess obviously, but if we allow this moment to let us go back and do what we were supposed to do in the first place, then perhaps we may have a chance for the real democracy. But if we keep overlooking it, blind to everything around us, this could also be the death.

1:37 – 1:44, Richard: And, I mean you're speaking of a certain kind of labour or work that needs to be done. What would that look like?

1:45 – 2:10, Thanduxolo: Uh, someone needs to say that there needs to be more dialogues about what happened. They shouldn't be censored; they shouldn't be told about how they should speak or what they should say. People should just be allowed for a moment to just say whatever what they want to say even if it may be painful to other people to hear.

2:11, Richard: So did the TRC not do that?

2:12 – 2:45, Thanduxolo: I don't think the TRC did that. Which is why we're having, which is why it's coming out again. And right now it's very stronger. Because remember when something has been repressed or silenced for a long time it brews up. And then it explodes. So if the TRC did that, I think we would still have a few problems, but I don't think it would still be this way, there wouldn't be so much anger and hate that it's coming up right now.

Video 4

00:00 – 00:18, Thanduxolo: Not just go to school, but to be allowed the space to be whatever you want to be. To have resources put into space that can help you be the best version of who you are.

00:19 – 00:25, Richard: So, allowing your capabilities to flourish?

00:26 – 1:05, Thanduxolo: Yeah, I think it's not enough to just give someone just the little bits and pieces. I think it's allowing people to reach their full potential, to help them reach their full potential. Because I think all of us, as human beings that's all we want. And if, young people don't get that shot, of reaching or even being allowed to have the dream to actually look forward to a time when they can truly reach their full potential, then what is it that their living for?

17 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH 'NALEDI'

Interview with Naledi conducted by Richard Raber in Cape Town, South Africa on April 4th, 2017.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 1

6:55 – 7:36, Naledi: When I'm at school, like the building names are all these Afrikaans names that might be the names of people. But I don't know what role they played in apartheid. Like they don't elaborate too much for legacies like that to be legacies to me, for me to think I don't want to go sit in the CGW Schumann because Schumann did this and this and this. I don't know who that is. So, it doesn't bother me. So, I don't know, like living legacies like the fact that the majority of the country is all these black people that can't like seem to find their footing, how many, like 25, 27 years later, because because of what happened to them now. Like.

7:36 – 7:43, Richard: So for you the big issues are like material inequity, not like public space? Like the renaming isn't a priority for you,

7:49 – 8:03, Naledi: The re-naming for me is really just a waste of money at this point. They really should focus on the more material like we can see people suffering but I don't see my dad driving like 'I don't want to drive on Botha Avenue' even though my dad was someone greatly affected by apartheid.

9:58 – 10:11, Naledi: So we went to crèche together. We were the only two black kids. So like, yeah, some of the kids would play with us, some would like, yeah, some wouldn't but some would. You know, but like that's when you start noticing. I found, like.

10:12, Richard: So you're saying as young as like in the kindergarten classroom, you felt race, like a difference?

10:13 – 10:38, Naledi: Yeah, like, yeah. I clearly remember at like tea time, they'd give everyone tea in these yellow mugs. And I knew that its plastic yellow mugs, because we had the same ones at home. But my friend and I would get tea in orange ones. So then I'd be like, you'd be like

10:40, Richard: So even from the teacher?

10:40 – 11:03, Naledi: Yeah, and then they'd like wipe the kids before nap time before they'd take everyone to nap they'd like wipe everyone's faces and like, 'cause kids playing in the sun. And then they'd wipe us at the end with a different clothe. Like you know, you don't think it's like a race thing but you do know that there's something about the fact that you don't fit in there.

11:04, Richard: You two were different.

11:05 – 12:00, Naledi: Yeah, but I don't think that I identified it because you're actually black. It's just like 'like, what's up? It's just us though.' Is it because we came later to crèche, so these clothes are for kids who came in January and we came in March? I don't know. I don't know. You know. So then, I don't know, if from then, I still spoke Afrikaans then. I'd still come to school then. But some kids would be mean to me, my mom would fetch me from school, she wears these glasses and then all the white moms would come and they'd be like wearing sun glasses on their heads. And so I thought, 'maybe the kids don't like me because my mom doesn't put her glasses on top of her head.' I'll insist that she does that with her seeing glasses. But then she can't see.

Laughs.

22:18 – 23:41, Naledi: To just forgive them, after some of the most heinous acts that can come out. Like some of the things that people did to other people and then came to the TRC to confess was like a bit, intense. Sometimes I think people said things that could have overwhelmed the committee that had to sit there and listen, you know. But then, to let people say stuff like that or to come clean with stories like that. And now, there's these people who are like 'ok so

you can acknowledge that you took a tire, set it on fire and through it on my brother's neck and watched him burn to death while you stood there with your friends.' And then the court's gonna be like 'ok, we forgive you. Walk free.' Uh, how are these people, how are the oppressed supposed to feel that that's how it's handled? We just let you talk about what you did. Like I don't know, some people might even interpret it as almost like letting you brag. Like I got to do so much during apartheid. That's if the people aren't remorseful. If they're not remorseful for what they did. And yeah, some people did stuff and because by the time apartheid ended, they're old and like the principle's already founded in the them. You know that was how life was when they were there, and so some people won't appreciate what they did was wrong because it wasn't wrong the whole time. So like, now that I'm forty years old, who are you to tell me that it's wrong now, you know? So they don't change their minds.

25:30 – 27:33, Naledi: Like when you think of kids, like the Soweto Uprising. Let's say. Now all of these students are going to go out into the streets and protest that they don't want to learn in Afrikaans. Yeah, they're not going to think 'yeah, how many kids snuck out of their homes and didn't tell mom and dad where they're going and they go to the protests. Like, you know, they planned this and this with their friends and they think this is gonna happen. And they get there and they get shot and they die. But like, and their families' lives fall apart and this and this and this.' Like you don't like humanise every single person who's involved in every single instant to like care like 'woah, that could be me, nah nah nah doing this and this. And I'm 'Naledi', comes from there, has a grandma and grandpa who do this and this and this' Like you know so, if you don't think of people as people, they're just like, little pawns, like I played out this little thing in history. So then, that's where I think that people start saying things like, 'colonialism wasn't all bad' because it's like, you know, they're just like, 'look where we are now, there's Cape Town, there's tall buildings, I mean, yeah, look you're black but you can come sit with me at this guy's house with wooden stairs and this and this and if the country hadn't been colonised, this place wouldn't look like this. Maybe we'd be running around hunting, gathering.' I don't know, like, so then people, like, because, things only played out in this particular way. You know we can't like, look at other realities, where, I don't know, things weren't done in such a hostile manner or maybe, the European settlers never settled and just moved on by and then in India. Or maybe no one ever thought, hey let's build this ship and sail down. You know we can't see what would have happened otherwise.

Video 2

2:30 - 3:30, Naledi: Um, she, poses in my first day of school pictures that my mom takes. So my mom's excited about this little girl, just came and took her daughter's hand and took her in. But then, I used to hang out with these three girls, two were white, one was Asian and I was black, so now we are a group of friends, but the white girls bully us. So like now, it will be something stupid like we have arts class, we have arts and crafts, so now at the end of class you have

to like clean your tables. And then like, um, the group that cleans their table the fastest gets stickers and then these two white girls will sit and be like 'you, you clean the table quickly' and then if we don't win then like they'll yell at us and won't talk to us for the rest of the day. You know, we're like six years old. So that's when you start noticing that 'oh maybe it's because I don't look like them.' You know.

4:30 – 6:39, Naledi: So then I grew up, and I had white friends and I had black friends and I had Indian friends, right. And then, I went to English schools, I speak English with the accent I speak English with. But then you know, how I have family in Limpopo so then every holiday we go back up there. I speak Sepedi but like, I don't know. Um, there came a point where cell phones became a thing that everyone has, so I had a phone. I had my first phone when I was ten. And then, they gave me a nicer phone when I was eleven because like family just hands everything down. So I had a phone with a camera, when I was eleven. So I had a picture of me and one of my really good friends' at the time, Simone, she's still a really good friend of mine. Actually going to see her at home. But then I'll go to Limpopo and then these kids will ask to see my phone. Then they see my wall paper, and I'm with a white girl in the picture, we're smiling together, it's happy. And they're like 'oh, do you think you're better than us because you're friends with people that are white? Or do you think you're better than us because you can speak English?' At this point I haven't said anything to, like, give off that impression. Or at least not as far as I can tell. You know. But then, like, yeah, I don't know, people are like that. Right, so what I learned, after I got to college, so everyone's exposed to all, to this plethora of races, but in Stellenbosch it's more like, everyone's exposed to white people. So, then, in my group of friends, right, um, I don't know, like, we all come from different backgrounds. But then you get people who like, like, I don't know like, I've watched so many of my friends have these realisations where they're like 'I was sitting next to this white guy and we talked about this and I realise he's just like me.' And I'm thinking 'what do you mean? So for the last twenty years what did you think was happening here?'

18 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH BONGANI XEZWI AND PALESA KUNENE

Interview with Bongani Xezwi and Palesa Kunene conducted by Richard Raber on April 24th, 2017 in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 2

1:20 – 2:30, Bongani: Like as I've said, I do condemn who try to justify as to who was better who was worse. Like for instance, I spoke about Jacob Zuma, our President, our black President. Our best President is our black President, running the country and we're happy with that. The challenge is that, like, our black President, the challenge is that he also running the country in a capitalist

way, in the sense that like, how, the things that he does does not really benefit us all. It benefits those that are rich to get more richer. So those are the challenges that we have. Like for instance, we cannot, like, if this my house. As much as this is my house, when I get into this house with my own furniture and do my own laws. But if I get into your house where there's already furniture inside and laws are there and adopted it, that means, it's my house but like I'm not really running my house and I should run it! It's being run by the previous owner because the furniture and the laws are the previous ones, so that means it's the very same system, that it's a matter of skin now but in the very same system as the previous apartheid government.

7:00 – 9:39, Palesa: So to avoid this thing of, if a black man is leading, then the nation is not. Then we are replacing the Master and we're doing it with the same rules. So if we've reached a point where we say 'this is what we want. We want radical economical transformation.' Let's roll with it. Probably going to be in the junk status for a long time but that's something to deal with, right. So for me the most important thing is, economical transformation. If we nationalise the mines, let's nationalise the mines. Right. I mean, I think we're very tired, we are very, very tired of this concept that black people are not informed yet, black people cannot take the leading role. I mean we're doing that every day of our lives. Mainly as black women leading households, we give birth to the nation. How come we cannot lead? That's a leadership role in every way. Every woman, you are the most powerful thing in the entire world. So if we lead with economical transformation in South Africa right now, that is exactly what we need to do. I mean the repercussions of it, are not necessarily fruitful, for now. But also, let's also see where we are going in the near future, and we can take that and work with it. Let's not talk about the grant issue. I have a very serious problem with that. I read somewhere, I don't remember it was in a magazine. So they say that, to have some sort of influence on the majority we have to give them sustainability in the long term. And this is one thing that the ANC has been able to do, where they say 'oh you have a baby, alright. Give a grant.' Of course you're going to vote for the ANC, 'cause you're getting 1.2, 1.3, 1000 something Rand. Right. So bread and butter issues are very important as well but they should not be misused in a different way. To get votes, to get things that we don't necessarily need. So economic transformation is for me, very important.

19 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH KAGISHO NKADIMENG

Interview with Kagisho Nkadimeng conducted by Richard Raber on April 17th, 2017 in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 3

5:37 – 6:35, Kagisho: The great companies that we see today, owe, a, a great part of, I don't think I can even conceptualise what they owe, to people who are

producing labour for these mines. I mean you think of the lives lost. I can't even speak of the contemporary example, I mean I will not say even, I mean, look at Marikana for example. One of, I don't think a mine worker, like say, Mambush who 12, many kilometres underground, went to work and say 'I live in a free country.' No. Even today the mine workers who still die because of those mines, the zama-zamas of the day, it's called illegal mining. But they sell, they still sell whatever they find underground to these huge companies and it gets written off because it does not come through their production channels.

8:40 – 8:46, Richard: So then, this lends me to ask you this question, what does democracy mean to you?

8:47 – 11:42, Kagisho: Hm. Hm. That's the most difficult question you ask today. Hm. I mean. Democracy, I think it comes, origins of the word, it's a Greek word and it comes from the idea of the masses ruling themselves, sort of having, what you call, access to how society or shaping society for themselves by themselves. And in that sense, for me, I, vehemently reject the textbook definition of democracy that has been given to me by my so-called liberators being the ANC. In the sense that they say 'no I am free to do whatever I want' I am not free in any sense. What Democracy means to me is that I can move around, I can date a white person, I can go to university and have access to these public institutions. But it seems, the democratic, within the democratic benefits that I enjoy today, the democratic institutions themselves are oppressing me further, oppressing my relation to society. Further making me realise how unfree I am. So, perhaps Democracy for me is a *false freedom* because I am in Wits University but the structure is oppressing me further so because I cannot afford the fees inside Wits. You know. I have to now go and run cars and lawyers and everything like that, I cannot afford that. And I cannot afford them because 'I'm lazy.' You know. So I mean, democracy for me, I don't know what it means conceptualising what it means, I have limited democratic benefits but I am consistently oppressed by the social structure, the democratic social structure that I find myself in. And so, perhaps the definition I could give, varying from time to time but at the moment, I'm rejecting any form of democratic things made to me. Perhaps democracy means, it's a very insignificant part of my life, you know.

20 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH THULANI N.

Interview with Thulani N. conducted by Richard Raber on March 26th, 2017 in Jozini, South Africa.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 3

3:25-3:56, Thulani: Remember that we talk about the whole South Africa to move forward. You've got the resources as you saw, we've got beautiful stones

and everything. We have the resources, but, instead of us using the resources, the country is being opened for manipulation. Yes, we do understand, we wanted Democracy, we wanted everything to be fair, everyone to be equal in a normal way, we wanted to live perfectly as a Rainbow Nation, yes. But we didn't open South Africa for manipulation. I don't know if I'm putting it clear.

3:56, Richard: No, no, it makes sense.

3:57 – 4:02, Thulani: We wanted everything to be easy, but right now, this easiness, people are manipulating this easiness.

Video 4

3:35 – 4:23, Thulani: Miners, the investors, they want money and that's ok. They take South African mining, which is resources I was saying, we're blessed with resources, they getting resources that's ok. But we want something in exchange which is equal, I labour, how many feet down, for you, and you aren't giving me something to match? That's not fair, that's not fair. The fact that I'm a labour and I don't have so-called rights, and you're an owner you must take advantage, that's not fair. I think that's what went wrong there.

21 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH MICHAEL ABRAHAMS

Interview with Michael Abrahams conducted by Richard Raber on April 18th, 2017 in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 1

5:15 – 8:47, Michael: So, you have, as a result of the reorganisation of capital accumulation, you have reconfigurations of responses to capital accumulation, to marginalisation, to exploitation, to oppression and all sorts of things, right. And the first significant, response in my opinion is the Zapatistas at the beginning of the 90s. Zapatistas take up arms and invade San Cristóbal, descending from the misty mountains in the east of Mexico, right, Chiapas. That is the first response, or an expression of what I understand as the reconfiguration of responses. The significant thing about the Zapatistas, ok, they, actually you might be familiar, they declared their war on the day NAFTA was signed. Right. So they came out of the mountains and they took over parts of Chiapas and San Cristóbal, the big city there in that region, that state. Um, another significant thing about, if you take away the romance of Zapatismo, and the masks, Marcos, flora fauna and everything around that, what do we see in my opinion is, it's first, not necessarily conscious or not, perhaps it becomes conscious later, we can talk about it, it's the first, when I talk about reconfigurations of responses to new regimes of capital accumulation, it's like an *antipolitics-politics* that that Zapatismo represented.

There's catchphrases for it in literature. Marcos when they asked him 'who are you?' the Zapatistas, he points as says 'when we didn't wear masks, nobody noticed us. Now that we hide ourselves, everybody sees us.' But can you see how that plays into a certain kind of politics of visibility and invisibility and presence and all those types of things. But then, in the elections, when was the elections? You'll have to verify the dates, late 90s, the elections where I think after Vicente Fox, where Vicente Fox stepped down. Marcos runs on a platform called 'Candidate Zero' he's not on the ballot. Can you see the notion of a kind of antipolitics-politics? So it's within this kind of context that I'm trying to make sense of these responses and that's why I referred to this reconfiguration of, of um responses to a changing regime of capital accumulation.

10:00 – 12:25, Michael: Now those are the type of indicators that shows you, the power of the regime of capital accumulation and the extent to which citizenry has been excluded from politics despite the appearance of democracy. So you can see that, so you have all sorts of responses to that. Now in South Africa you have, that's why I must, we must explain the issue of corruption beyond the individual wanting to loot the state coffers or things like that. I think we need to provide a much more, a much deeper political economic analysis of this issue of corruption. So in South Africa you have, 2001, or 2003, the first land occupation. Next to the airport, Bredell, spelled B-R-E-D-E-L, I'm not sure it might be double L there, but look to the news reports on that. Here's a community that's tired of waiting for the promise of the decolonial or the postcolonial moment, moment of liberation. Tired of waiting not so much for delivery, waiting for the state and the ruling party in particular, to honour the social contract of the negotiated settlement and the elections. And when you respond to the failure of honouring of pacts made between powers in society, you respond outside of that. So they're ANC members not using ANC organisation structures or even opposition party to occupy that land. It's a big defeat by the way, a massive defeat. But that is the first indicator, of, an antipolitics-politics in South African context.

15:50 – 22:46, Michael: Now this and a set of things culminates in Marikana, you are familiar with the Marikana Massacre. Now, the significance from the point of view of analysis is not the massacre itself, and I think a lot of people get this wrong. They tend to say 'this is the first time since apartheid, we had such a massacre.' Which is correct. But the analytical value or political value doesn't lie unfortunately, in the number of people that was killed. The value for point of analysis was the expression, a recital of workers basically saying '*the existing architecture of industrial relations doesn't serve us. It doesn't serve us as workers*'. So, even AMCU which subsequently becomes a representative of the workers, they were not the driving force of that strike. It was workers' committees, across unions, NUM, AMCU, NUMISA that organised that decided to go on strike and occupy the koppie in the end. Like if you look at the documentary made by Rehad Desai, um, Miner Shot Down it's called. I'm not sure if it can be download, I think you can get it online now. Um, the workers asked the AMCU leaders to leave. They listened to them and they said 'ok now you go', that's

the day before the Massacre. But that moment of saying '*you go*' is also telling these union organisations '*because you cannot solve our problems*' that's why they asked them to leave. It's an increasing awareness that this thing we need to fight ourselves. And, since then, ok, before that we need to have a discussion of what's referred to as service delivery protest, I'm not sure that's an apt description of this expression of class struggle against privatisation of electricity or water, you know the water metres, housing, roads, schools. It lends itself, it's just a blanket, it doesn't lend itself for us to understand, the depths of responses and consciousness of the people and things like that. What is important there though is also is, it's all indicators that says 'listen here, we've signed a contract with you and you're not honouring it.' With the state, with politics with the dispensation, this dispensation, it wasn't supposed, it shouldn't, at a certain level it shouldn't matter whether with the ANC or any other party. Contract was signed, compromise was reached that the first elections were supposed to deliver. Supposed to be delivered a whole range of things. So what do we have, for me, that's why I say, I sat from a different point, what we have is, all these indicators that says, the honouring of contract, the way that we engage with you doesn't hold anymore and it's out of this that you have the decolonial, decolonisation, decoloniality and this. They've been having this conversation in Latin America since the '90s. The whole notion of decoloniality, decolonisation and things like that. Now, and then, you have the #RhodesMustFall and the #FeesMustFall and things like that. Now there's another dilemma here, because the old hasn't been exhausted yet in terms of resistance in terms of organisation. Old forms of struggle, old forms of agreement. So what you have for an example, ok I'll use an absurd example here, in wage negotiations, wage negotiations between workers and bosses. Workers always always go into negotiations saying 'this is our demands' there hasn't been a moment where workers go into negotiations 'what are you offering?' You know what I mean. So they haven't exhausted, the interaction with the state, when they have these marches and hand out petitions in Joburg saying there's 14 days to respond, have another march and then go back to living in the same conditions. So,

Someone enters room, Michael greets them.

Video 2

13:00 – 15:17, Michael: But it's a reopened conversation of what constitutes emancipation. By talking about what constitutes emancipation we will transcend looking at things in a very partisan, parochial, sectarian manner. Instead of looking at housing, education things like that. Beginning to reopen the conversation of what's considered emancipation, then we will begin, to put in place the beginnings of what can constitute a program for social emancipation in this period, which is absent. Making a concluding comment now. And the concluding comment is this. That what we see globally and I started with a point that I made when I spoke about democracy and economics institutions, inclusion/exclusion in the democratic sphere. What we really see, in a very stark way, is perhaps the end of history as we know it, we should tell

Fukuyama. Because what we have here is at a global level, an expression of the failure of Modernity. Not a failure as in a collapse, Modernity was never a path for emancipation, it was a path for Europe. But it was never a path for global emancipation because therefore the South will never catch up with the North. So if we talk about the failure of Modernity, then, it is the opposite of what some are saying is the entering of Postmodernism. You cannot have an era of Postmodernism if Modernity failed.

15:18, Richard: Because Postmodernism's the next step?

15:20 – 19:46, Michael: Yeah, if Modernity failed you cannot have. So I'm not talking of Postmodernity when I talk of the failure of Modernity. I'm talking of having to go back to Magna Carta. Having to go back to the bourgeois democracies, the bourgeois democratic revolutions in the US and France and other parts. And pose the question 'did they really offer the potential for human emancipation?' Instead of, it means, you know this is an awkward question for me and being a Marxist all my conscious life, it means you have to question Marxism as a current in Modernity itself. You see Modernity build and you have to look, like if you look at Marxism pitted against, or see how rooted it is in what is the Age of Enlightenment, Age of Reason things like that. But that, you see. And in, it's a nice piece, I think it's called 'Notes for or Notes by a Publicist' I can't can't get to the name. If you want, you can ask me another time. This is after 1917 when they came up against the first difficulties of reorganising the economy and towards the introduction of the first I think Five Year Plans. Or 1921 or something like that, can be '19 can be something like that, anyways, in it it explains that, that, we have decided and they use a metaphor, to scale this mountain. And it was many, they said 'no you'll never be able to do it.' And they remained at the bottom. And those they believed this is the only way forward, continue scaling the mountain. But now you get, at the bottom of the mountain you cannot see all the difficulties, all the rockfalls. You know all the risks. And then he says you reach a point where you cannot get any further. And, those at the bottom will say 'yes I told you so' and 'we warned you' they said all these things pointing. And he says, but for those who climb the mountain the challenge is now to redefine what will constitute the beginning. To understand, what constitutes the beginning in this new moment given the fact that we've reached an impasse, is to redefine the beginning, to begin from the beginning again but not at the start. So if we take that, it means we have to problematise Modernity the philosophical, cultural, sociological, psychological, all those things we have to look at because it seems to fall in a rational, the Age of Reason. And, and, where I am now, as an individual, we should try and have conversations about what would constitute emancipation. And where is the new beginning, to start from the beginning again. To be able to understand what it is we need to do and go to realise emancipation. There, I'm done.

22 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH BUKHOSI

Interview with Bukhosi conducted by Richard Raber on March 29th, 2017 in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 1

00:50 – 00:58, Richard: And what sorts of ideas or, or feelings do you seek to get across in your art?

00:59 – 2:44, Bukhosi: Um, you know, I work, I work a lot on abuse of power. And, um, migration. Because these are the things that I come across um in my day to day life. Given the fact that I'm a migrant and a lot of people that I meet are migrants and Joburg is a city is a city that is made up of, um, you know migrant workers. And it's uh, you know, formation. So, I feel like these are issues that we need to discuss as people you know. Migration and afrophobia, the things that happen right now. Sometimes, especially with afrophobia-xenophobia for those who call it xenophobia but it's actually afrophobia. Um, you know, it dies down after a few weeks or a month of the attacks. Then people forget about it. But it still lives, you know. So those kind of issues, we keep them alive. Let's have these discussions, let's heal, let's identify what the problem is and let's talk about it. Rather than killing someone.

7:30 – 10:30, Bukhosi: And now, what we're experiencing is the after effects of it. And, we, people never went through a process of, of healing. You know. And, now, we are trapped in a system that has made the people that we rely on as our fathers or as our leaders but these people are actually benefitting themselves as opposed to what the people want. You know. So, I fear, I fear, us, you know, going the wrong direction. Um, in terms of, guiding the younger generation you know, because if you tell them about history, that's a topic that they're not interested in. They'll say like 'who cares about what happened in the past?' You know. So, um, then there's no knowledge of what happened. And also, there are so many things that, um, carry apartheid even today. I mean, we have structures that remind us you know subconsciously, that you, you are, you are a slave you know. You are nothing, without 'me'. It's sad to see that, it's just like saying, if you come into my house and you bring your photos you know photos of yourself, photos of your family and you hang them up on the wall you know, and you mistreat me and I tell you that I'm mistreated. Then at the end of the day after you've left, you still have them there, surrounding you, and even if you're not there, I'm still suffering from traumatic experiences and these are a reminder of what you did to me. You know.

Video 3

12:20 – 12:24, Richard: What does Democracy mean to you?

12:25 – 13:20, Bukhosi: Democracy. I think it's just a word, for me it has

no meaning. If you look at the whole world, it's just a word. For me it has no meaning. If everyone treated everyone in a positive way, um, I think then it would have a different meaning. You know. And who's watching, who's watching us? You know.

23 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH 'KHOSI'

Interview with "Khosi" conducted by Richard Raber on March 30th, 2017 in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

Video 1

4:46-4:50, Richard: So what are these legacies of apartheid that you are trying to transform or decolonise?

4:51 – 5:57, Khosi: Look, a lot of, it's been, symbolism has been spoken about a lot. In fact, #FeesMustFall started post-#RhodesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall was a decolonial project which had its inception with a lot of talking in UCT and amongst students, but the primary, the first initial act, was throwing poo at a statue. So symbolism means a lot to this generation, it's something that we cannot, we cannot compromise. Right. Ok, however the economy is the most important if you ask me. 'Cause it is the driving force of the country. I mean we all wake up in the morning to go works so the economy keeps on functioning. (laughs). Yeah, we hate that. However, that is how the world is structured. And if you're not getting rid of capitalism, then we can transform it. And we can have inclusivity in the economy.

24 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH LOYISO M.

Interview with Loyiso M. conducted by Richard Raber on April 11th, 2017 in Cape Town, Johannesburg.

Due to length, this interview required multiple videos.

00:00 – 00:43, Richard: Um, an interesting set of controversies for me, pertain to public space. So things like the renaming of institutions, renaming streets, statues at universities these sorts of things. Um, first of all, is this something that should be done? Is it something that's being done correctly, or should it just, or is it just futile? I mean, what's your belief on this?

00:43 – 2:45, Loyiso: Um, mine, it will begin at, perhaps, looking at, I don't think we'll have answers to that. In terms of, if you named a street against, a, a Verwoerd for argument's sake. What was the initial idea? Behind that. Now, if you are going to name the same street, uh, as a, as a Thabo Mbeki street, you know, what is the idea? Behind that, what is it we're promoting,

what was that being promoted? For me, uh, many people would disagree with me on this, I, it should not be, just for naming of the streets from person who represented a certain group of people back then to a person who is believed to have represented a certain group today. It should not be about that. Perhaps, there should be a way one would look at it. I'll make an example. The recent positions retained by the youth in South Africa in terms of the marches for example, #RhodesMustFall, the statues that you are referring to. Um, etc. etc. Now, I think people were not honest enough, Now, if you are saying to me 'Rhodes Must Fall', it also means the benefits that come with the name should fall. And I will speak specifically about the Rhodes Scholarship. Benefits of the Rhodes Scholarship are most brilliant people in South Africa and most people that I know are blacks and are beneficiaries of the scholarship.

2:45-2:48, Richard: But if you're talking about Rhodes Scholars, there are Rhodes Scholars all over the world.

2:48 – 4:22, Loyiso: But, it's under that name that marchers were saying should fall, if you are saying that statue is not representing us today, it represents A, B, C, D it means also the benefits of that name should be discarded in the system. To me. That's how I see it. However, however, we don't say that, we don't do that, we say 'the statue must fall, there should be a renaming of the university, to represent us today.' However, when it comes to those benefits, we as the black people we are the same people that are benefitting from, from the Rhodes scholarship. But we are mum in terms of that. Once the benefits are coming in we want to be on the receiving end. Whereas we are saying that the other things, I think there's no consistency in terms of that. Lastly, it should not be about changing of the names from a white person to a black person there is no difference. Let me make an example, if I am a white person, it simply means today 'ok maybe our time is over in South Africa, now the tables are changed you know.' But it should have significance. The question should be why were these towns named after certain people and why are we today changing those names to represent the leaders of today? Should it be the way to go? I don't know, it's just food for thought.

25 APPENDIX: INTERVIEW WITH THULI T.

Interview with Thuli T. conducted by Richard Raber on April 26th, 2017 in Johannesburg, South Africa.

20:38 – 20:55, Richard: And let me ask you, I guess my final question, um, I mean you've lived here half your life, the current period in South Africa, the present. What characterised it, how will it be remembered?

20:56 – 22:12, Thuli: Marikana. We will remember Andile Mngxitama, he's a vocalist of perpetual bullshit. We will remember Julius Malema as somebody who put Zuma in power and somebody who put Zuma out of power, I hope. And, um, for me, it's a very complex moment. I can't remember it in a political

sense. I can only remember it in a political, oh no, *household* sense, it's such a difficult time to live. But also, like, you just wane be like 'no discrimination and hard work and education and duh duh duh you know the English words, it's gonna work' but he fucked us over. Him and his comrades. I'm gonna remember it as an era of *the politics of the stomach*. Everybody wants to be there so that they can get something to put in their stomach.

22:13, Richard: And do you have anything else you want to add?

22:14, Thuli: I think I've, I'll stop here for now.

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