

**Black unemployed township youth in the era of Julius Malema:
A study in Alexandra and Orlando, Johannesburg**

Ayanda Mbokazi

January 2016

Mini-Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of
MSocSci (Industrial Sociology and Labour Studies)
in the
Faculty of Humanities
at the
University of Pretoria

Supervisor: Dr Irma du Plessis

Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work. Where secondary material has been used (either from printed sources or the internet), this has been carefully acknowledged and referenced in accordance with the requirements of the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria.

Acknowledgements

I give gratitude to the one whom all things come from, my Maker.

I would like to express my appreciation to Professor Sakhela Buhlungu, my original supervisor, for imparting professional advice on the topic at a time when this study was but a distant idea. Thank you Sir, for encouraging me to believe in my work.

My deepest gratitude extends to my supervisor, Dr Irma du Plessis who took over when Professor Buhlungu took up the Humanities Deanship at UCT. Thank you for the guidance, patience and selfless care that you have demonstrated towards me and this study. You have not only redefined for me what it means to be a student of life, you have also equally renewed my passion for Sociology. Thank you.

I'm thankful to the young women and men of Alexandra and Orlando, Johannesburg, together with other participants who gave their valuable time to contribute to this work.

I acknowledge and remain grateful to Mr and Mrs Mbokazi, Mr Mandla Maphumulo and my siblings for their continuous support in my endeavours. Or at least to the endeavours that make sense!

This work is dedicated to the memory of my late sister, Nompumelelo Zuma.

Abstract

Julius Sello Malema has persistently presented himself through his statements and actions as a significant voice for the economically disenfranchised in South Africa, particularly the youth. As a former African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) President, Malema's popularity was once uncontested, both in the political and public landscape of South Africa, and in 2013 when this research was conducted – that is, after his expulsion from the ANC and before the establishment of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) – he seemed to be a man descending from the height of his powers. This study unpacks the predicament of unemployed township youth in Johannesburg and how they understand their circumstances against the backdrop of and in relation to broader politics, in particular the politics and political vision of Malema. Drawing on research material from four sets of focus groups, two conducted in Alexandra and two in Orlando (Soweto), involving 32 participants in total, this study reveals that the discourse of unemployed township youth is not fully usurped by Malema's programme and extends beyond his politics. Malema's discourse is relevant to young people in Johannesburg townships in so far as poverty and lack of opportunity is a South African reality for township youth. The unemployed black youth of Alexandra and Orlando craft and present their own explanations and solutions to their everyday lived experience of unemployment and poverty as they reflect on themselves as a collective with no economic power but as one with legitimate voting power. The study illuminates the battered self-esteem of unemployed black youth. It is argued that the injury to their self-esteem seems to provide a source of sufficient agency in that they express ideas that entail attempts to restore dignity by means of collective action.

Key words: youth; black; township; unemployed; South Africa; Orlando; Soweto; Alexandra; Johannesburg; Julius Malema; politics; collective action.

Table of Contents

Declaration of authenticity	2
Acknowledgements	3
Abstract	4
Table of Contents	5
Chapter One: The research study	7
1. Introduction.....	7
1.1 Research Question.....	7
1.2 Rationale.....	8
1.3 Location of the struggle.....	9
1.3.1 Orlando, Soweto Township.....	9
1.3.2 Alexandra Township.....	11
1.4 Julius Malema as a rising political actor in the South African political landscape.....	13
1.5 Conclusion.....	19
Chapter Two: South African youth and crisis – A literature review	20
2.1 Introduction.....	20
2.2 South African youth as historical political actors.....	21
2.3 The youth unemployment crisis in post-apartheid South Africa.....	22
2.3.1 The state’s capacity and its response to South Africa’s youth unemployment crisis and poverty.....	25
2.3.2 South Africa’s Youth Policy.....	28
2.4. Conclusion.....	29
Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework	30
3.1 Introduction.....	30
3.2 Structure and Agency.....	31
3.3 Subalterns and Social Movements.....	33
3.4 Conclusion.....	37
Chapter Four: Research Methodology	38
4.1 Qualitative Approach.....	38
4.2 Participation selection: Snowball Sampling.....	38

4.3 Profile of participants.....	38
4.4 Focus groups as a research method and a research practice.....	39
4.5 In-depth interviews as a research method and a research practice.....	43
4.6 Data Analysis.....	44
4.7 Ethical Considerations.....	44
4.8 Conclusion.....	45
Chapter Five: Findings and Conclusion.....	46
5.1 Introduction.....	46
5.2 Township youth and political participation.....	46
5.3 Accepting responsibility: Unemployment and youth agency.....	49
5.4 Shifting the blame: Perceived external causes of youth unemployment.....	53
5.5 Sources of their wrath: Anger at institutions of power and the possibility of violent resistance.....	57
5.6 Education: An alternative way out of the current crisis?	60
5.7 Markers of an uprising.....	65
5.8 Malema speaks back: The narrative of a man on the rise	70
5.9 Conclusion.....	74
References.....	79

Chapter One: The research study

1. Introduction

Mouton & Marais (1993) argue that it is an essential part of being human to strive continually to know oneself and one's environment better. In an important sense, I therefore want to affirm that everybody is a philosopher – a lover of wisdom. My interest in current affairs sparked my keenness to study Julius Malema's 'politics' and how his 'politics' are perceived and understood, specifically by unemployed black South African youth living in the townships. Drawing on the period leading up to 2013, when this research was conducted, Malema seemed to be a man descending from the height of his powers. As a former African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) President, Malema's popularity was once uncontested, both in the political and public landscape of South Africa. However this study explores the politics of Malema after his exit from the presidential office of the ANCYL in February 2012, a role which in large parts he still identified with when I interviewed him for this study. Equally important, this study is situated in a small slice of time, and focuses on Malema's politics as well as young people's perceptions of Malema prior to the birth of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) in July 2013.

Malema is not only a locally recognisable character; he has become an international symbol of controversy. He was the first ANCYL President to be expelled from the party at the hands of the African National Congress (ANC) National Disciplinary Committee (Forde, 2011). Malema's expulsion from the ANC was a result of his politics, which will be discussed in this research report. Malema's mode of fighting back, his non-conformist and dissident spirit has seen his political and personal profile elevated since his expulsion.

This study seeks to investigate what it is that Malema was saying that made the country and, in particular, black youth listen. Malema continued, post his exit from the ANCYL, to be invited as a speaker at lecture seminars and at public, interest group and strike gatherings. It is evident that a particular segment of society in South Africa continued to have an ear for the voice of Malema and this study explored this phenomenon in two Johannesburg townships.

1.1 Research Question

The question that gave shape to this research report is: *In what ways and to what extent do the politics of Julius Malema resonate, or not, with the plight of unemployed black youth of Alexandra and Orlando, Johannesburg?*

1.2 Rationale

This study entitled '*Black unemployed township youth in the era of Julius Malema: A study in Alexandra and Orlando, Johannesburg*' explored from a sociological position issues related to race, marginalisation, class, poverty and inequality and the perceptions of young people in two contemporary urban township settings.

The focus of this research report is thus anchored in the intersecting fields of political sociology and youth studies. Politics and youth have been subjects that have prominently occupied the realm of sociology for decades. In South Africa in particular, youth have played a significant historical role in politics and the link between youth studies and political sociologies is therefore not new. South African youth were at times victims and at times agents of social and political change. We have seen a renewed interest in youth studies in South Africa since the advent of democracy. This has been sparked largely by an interest in risk factors faced by black youth in South Africa that cannot be ignored, such as unemployment, HIV/Aids, poverty and crime. Regrettably, far less work has been conducted in which the South African youth is considered as political agents in post-apartheid South Africa.

Against this background, the specific focus of this study is an attempt to understand the politics of Malema and how people, in particular, the youth, viewed him and his ideas in the period before the establishment of the EFF.

In terms of a delineation of the category 'youth', the National Youth Policy 2015-2020 (April, 2015) uses this term inclusively to refer to young people, or youth, as those falling within the age group of 14 to 35 years. Given South Africa's very high level of unemployment and its disproportionate impact on people below the age of 35, this classification has been adopted into my study.

Alexandra and Orlando townships, both located in Johannesburg, made for practical and appropriate environments to conduct the research, given that both townships have historic backgrounds that denote the youth's fight for democratic ideals in South Africa. Campbell (1994) affirms that since the mid-1970s, youth have played a key role in grassroots political activities in a country that was characterised by high levels of political conflict.

1.3 Location of the struggle

The two townships selected for the study are characterised by rich social and political histories. Alexandra Township is situated close to the wealthy area of Sandton in Northern Johannesburg and Orlando Township is located in Soweto, the South West area of the City of Johannesburg, bordering the city's former 'mining belt' in the south. The history of both townships is utilised to link the study to a long-standing tradition of political activism amongst young people in the townships. It made for a logical undertaking to focus on these two townships, as one may view them as birthplaces of resistance in South Africa from where an onslaught was declared on the framework of the system of apartheid.

The objective of the study was to explore the political disposition of the contemporary youth in these townships, to explore the extent to which they still harboured undertones of a persevering attitude towards democratic ideals and if these attitudes at all made for spirited support of Malema or not. At the time that the study was considered, it was reported that Malema had a 42% support base that was not generation or age specific in Soweto (City Press, 2012).

1.3.1 Orlando, Soweto Township

Phillips (2014) engages in detail with the formation of Soweto and cites the pneumonic plague epidemic of 1904 as having played a definitive role that reshaped the racial geography of Johannesburg in its entirety. The panic which the epidemic caused saw the Indian and African inhabitants of the inner city 'Coolie Location' forcibly removed to Klipspruit Farm a few kilometres outside of the city as a health emergency measure. Phillips (2014) notes that people stayed on in the area even after the epidemic had diminished, making it the officially designated site for their residence. The growth of the site took place on an epic scale and in 1963 the site was officially named South Western Townships (Soweto).

Orlando was founded in 1931, before the official demarcation of what is today known as Soweto (Nieftagodien & Gaule, 2012). Orlando forms part of the greater Soweto and is described by Pohlandt-McCormick (2006) as having been gradually created at different times in response to different needs to form African residential areas. The township was named after Edwin Orlando Leake, the Chairman of the Native Affairs Committee at the time. The government intended to create a 'model native township'. The creation of the township formed part of a programme meant to accommodate a growing demand for housing, as there were thousands of African families that had been evicted from urban slums in and around the city centre that needed to be housed. It also

formed part of a broader apartheid programme to sift blacks into ethnic groupings that would set the tone for 'independent' homelands. Orlando is divided into two main areas: Orlando West and Orlando East (Nieftagodien & Gaule, 2012). The research for the study took place in Orlando East specifically.

The township of Orlando is renowned for and associated with some of the most important events in South African history. One such significant event that remains embedded in the way youth politics and history was shaped is the 1976 Soweto Uprising. This event awakened the political consciousness of the youth and a wider audience in South Africa including beyond national borders.

According to Carr (1990), on 16 June 1976 pupils from Naledi and Thomas Mofolo High Schools in Naledi Extension, Soweto organised a protest march which saw pupils from other schools within Soweto participating. Carr (1990) puts forward that approximately 10 000 pupils converged at Orlando West High School. Conflict ensued between police officers who released tear gas into the crowd and the pupils retaliated by throwing stones at the officers. This retaliation from the students caused the officers to open live ammunition on the pupils.

Carr (1990) maintains that following the shooting, violent conflict spread throughout Soweto causing serious damage to administration board offices. Vehicles, liquor shops and beer halls owned and operated by the West Rand Administration Board, an organ of the apartheid state, were looted and damaged. Bus services were suspended and all schools and clinics in Soweto and surrounds were closed.

Carr (1990) states that by the end of June 1976, the official death toll stood at 176, over 1000 people had been injured and 908 people had been arrested. A total of 67 beer halls and 53 administration board offices had been burnt down. This as a consequence of other townships and universities in the country having embarked on sympathy strikes to show solidarity. Unrest had spread to GaRankuwa, KwaThema and Nelspruit with minor outbreaks in Klerksdorp and at Langa in the Cape.

This period of turmoil in Soweto symbolised not only the youth's influence but also the socio-political power that the youth of that time possessed. The Uprising resurrected black consciousness and set the scene for an expansion of the liberation movements in South Africa. Equally and consequently, it drew attention to the ruling Afrikaner nationalist ideology (Ndlovu, 2010). Bea Von (2004) affirms Soweto's character as having been moulded by landslide political shifts.

Today, Orlando is revered as a place of connectedness and a former home to interesting people in South African history who identified and made Orlando a preferred place of residence. Orlando is also intimately linked with the lives of political struggle heroes in South Africa, including former President Nelson Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Walter Sisulu, Zeph Mothopeng and the student protestor, Hector Peterson who became the subject of an iconic photographic image of the 1976 Soweto Uprising internationally.

By 2011, Orlando carried a total population of 108 813, according to Community Profile Databases (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

1.3.2 Alexandra Township

The township of Alexandra was established in 1912 and is situated in close proximity to the centre of Johannesburg and Sandton. It covers an area of over 800 ha (including East Bank) and its infrastructure was designed for a population of about 70 000. Population estimates vary widely and have been put at figures ranging from 180 000 to 750 000 according to the last generated report on population statistics of the Alexandra township from the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (2000). According to Community Profile Databases Census released in 2011, Alexandra's population stood at 179 624 in the same year.

According to the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (2000), there has been a considerable population increase in Alexandra from within South Africa and from neighbouring countries since the end of apartheid, primarily because of people seeking employment opportunities and because of Alexandra's close proximity to business areas. This has resulted not only in overcrowding in hostels but also in the development of informal settlements. The rapid developments of backyard shacks have caused high densities and essentially unplanned population has overloaded Alexandra's infrastructure causing utility services to deteriorate.

In a study conducted by Wilson (2002), it is advocated that Alexandra should not be seen as a homogenous township area. In contrast, it is diverse, comprising of disparate area overburdened by a history of poverty and over-crowding. Alexandra Township is made up of 3 different parts, according to Wilson (2002). Old Alexandra lies to the West of the Jukskei River and consists of a large number of informal dwellings, hostels, and blocks of flats. To the east of the Jukskei River is the East Bank, which was developed in the 1980s and consists mostly of conventional middle class homes. The Far East Bank is newer and boasts post-apartheid RDP houses, as well as Tsutsumani Village that was built in 1999 (to house athletes that were participating in the All Africa Games)

and other housing developments. Alexandra is considered to be an established township, and just over a decade ago, 54% of residents living there indicated that they had been there for at least 10 years (Wilson, 2002).

Alexandra too is synonymous with urban political traditions as well as what Bonner and Nieftagodien (2008) coin as a new ‘popular civic culture’ that emerged in the 1980s.

Perhaps what is distinctly fascinating about Alexandra is its history dating back to 1912, when it was declared as a freehold township for black Africans and coloureds (Bonner & Nieftagodien, 2008). This was an uncommon right and privilege given the white minority rule in South Africa. Retaining land and property meant independence, self-worth and respectability for the black African people living in Alexandra (Bonner & Nieftagodien, 2008).

To be owners of freehold land, translated into the residents of Alexandra understanding their status as ‘civilised’ or ‘middle class’, which not only encouraged the ethos of self-governance but also endorsed their claim to the right of political representation. According to Bonner and Nieftagodien (2008) Alexandra’s citizenry could be identified as the educated and professional black elite. Paradoxically its citizenry was equally representative of farmers and industrial labourers.

Bonner and Nieftagodien (2008) speak of Alexandra’s peri-urban status as a key historical characteristic of the township, which informs much of its subsequent history. Thousands of people that were displaced from the countryside or sought new livelihood opportunities in the cities, following the enforcement of the Land Act of 1913 and subsequent apartheid legislation that set up homes in Alexandra. A wave of new immigrants rented sub-let shacks or rooms from stand holders who had been allowed to build homes on land that had been leased and not purchased from the municipality.

The effects of mass migration bred its own set of problems, according to Bonner and Nieftagodien (2008); resentment towards stand holders for inflated rent and gang behaviour all led to stringent influx control measures to be employed by the government. Bonner and Nieftagodien (2008) argue that the typical conflict points in Alexandra were caused by police raiding homes for illegal alcohol, tax receipts and various permits that were bureaucratically non-negotiable; all these measures were aligned with strengthening the pillars of an oppressive regime. The stringency saw young people in Alexandra becoming politically mobilised and flocking to the ranks of the ANC in the spirit of radical resistance that punctuated the 1950s. Resentment and rebellion were directed at the

municipality more so than the state and this produced, a unique political culture in Alexandra (Bonner & Nieftagodien, 2008).

The 1980s in Alexandra were punctuated by the 1986 rent boycott, aimed at challenging the status quo that saw all accommodation owned by Council coming into question (Gerhart & Glaser, 2010). The politics of the 1980s, which had its roots in the contestations between former land-owners expropriated by the state, tenants and the state, left its imprint on the post-apartheid landscape. To date, tensions still exist between the government as owner of land in the township and many 'land-owner groups' who claim ownership of land in Alexandra.

Like Orlando, Soweto, Alexandra possesses its own rich political history and claims in its own right a history of resistance and political movements. There is a proud tradition and history of community organisation in Alexandra (Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell, 2000). Florence Moposho, Richard Baloyi, Reverend Sam Buti, Alfred Nzo, Josias Madzunya, Obed Bapela, Mzwanele Mayekiso and Meshack Kunene emerged as prominent leaders in Alexandra who opposed apartheid, but were also responsible for developing the township in the fields of sport, education, politics, culture, social life and business. Bonner and Nieftagodien (2008) concur that an enduring pride is generally evinced by the people of Alexandra.

1.4 Julius Malema as a rising political actor in the South African political landscape

I argue that Malema, in the period from 2008 to 2012, rose to being more than just a political figure. Malema has represented as well as produced much of what is celebrated in South African youth popular culture. Malema has crafted a persona that can be illustrated with reference to his signature beret hat, which was popular in the 1980s and is also identifiable as an item that forms part of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe's military regalia. The beret has made a return *en vogue*, popularised by Malema. Likewise, a dance song was released in 2010 with no lyrics but carrying only snippets of Malema's outburst during an infamous altercation with Jonah Fisher, a BBC journalist. The widely publicised incident not only entertained but transformed South Africa's present-day youth's disposition from a perceived lack of interest in 'current affairs' to one of close attentiveness and engagement. Malema has a certain charisma that sees him consistently achieving not only media attention but also a copious amount of public attention.

This research report will focus on whether and how the politics of Malema have authentically resonated with what appears to be his target market, the poverty-stricken, economically disenfranchised and marginalised youth of South Africa. By 2012, Malema seemed to have

cornered a niche market in targeting the youth in South Africa's political landscape, but also a youthful audience well beyond the borders of South Africa as the vignette discussed below indicates.

On 20 June 2012 'MTV Base Meets...' – a South African based youth music show, showcased an interview that the MTV Base station had recorded with Julius Malema. Malema's interviewers comprised of university students (youth) from across the continent of Africa. In the trailer for the show, Malema was described as 'a quintessential figure of our time' (MTV Base Meets Julius Malema with MTN, 2012). One of the youth panel members that participated in the show described Malema as 'a living legend', whilst another argued that he was also a symbol of loathing in that he was a man that everyone, especially white people, loved to hate. Daniel Friedman, a participant in the show continued to describe Malema as a passionate man who believed in his own convictions unquestionably (MTV Base Meets Julius Malema with MTN, 2012).

During the MTV Base Meets Julius Malema with MTN interview (2012), Malema stated that his passion lay in the economic emancipation of South Africa's people. It also emerged that some of the participants felt that Malema was doing an important service to South Africans by bringing 'racism' back or at least the discourse of racism back. That is, back into South Africans' consciousness, back into public fora and back into public debate. Malema pointed out that he sang contentious struggle songs not with the intention of provoking white people per se, but as his way of affirming defiance against an oppressive system (MTV Base Meets Julius Malema with MTN, 2012).

A white participant in the show suggested that Malema challenged the mind-set that white South Africans have, a mind-set that represented the 'struggle' as over, whereas there still remained social and economic disparities that continued to cripple South Africa at particular groups of people's expense (MTV Base Meets Julius Malema with MTN, 2012). One needs only to consider Malema's notion of the transferring of economic power from the minority to the majority to understand the attraction of this perspective.

Malema was once described by South African President Jacob Zuma as 'a future leader of South Africa' (Mohlhlana, 2010). Perhaps it was in the premise of this observation that President Zuma had identified something distinct in Malema, for his politics seemed to be loaded with a sense of empathy towards South Africa's poor and troubled.

Malema persistently presents himself through his remarks, statements and outbursts as a significant voice of poor people, particularly the youth in South Africa. One might ponder on whether this is a genuine stance or a stance directed at achieving attention and popularity in the interest of self-advancement. Whatever the answers might be, ‘campaign’ appeared to be at the heart of Malema’s politics, at least in his early rise as a political figure.

In 2002, as Congress of South African Students (COSAS) President, Malema successfully mobilised thousands of pupils (the youth) to march into the Johannesburg city centre against the Education Department’s proposal for all school gates to be locked during school hours as a safety measure against crime (Forde, 2011).

Nine years later, in 2011, Malema, in his capacity as ANCYL President, garnered support from 15 000 ‘young people’, according to Chauke (2011) to march for ‘Economic Freedom’ from Johannesburg to Pretoria and along the way deliver memorandums to the Chamber of Mines and the Johannesburg Stock Exchange entities. The number of young people that participated in the 2011 march varies from one media article to the next. The lowest number recorded 2 000 participants and the highest 15 000.

In 2010, Malema’s call for the nationalisation of South African mines for the purpose of eradicating poverty, unemployment and the culture of youth dependency on what he termed ‘white capitalists’ and the state, became more conspicuous.

In both notable events, i.e. the COSAS march and the march for Economic Freedom, Malema’s target market and audience had been ‘the youth’. He apparently identifies with the youth and they in response relate to him and seemingly support his endeavours. The march for Economic Freedom was a historic moment in the country in which the predicament of youth unemployment was highlighted and a voice was given to voiceless youth in South Africa.

Although one may argue that Malema creates sensation where print and electronic media commentators are concerned, it is interesting to note that collectively, these media institutions seem to generally display hostile sentiments towards him. Malema is often portrayed as irresponsible, foolish, confrontational and rash in his dialogue. He was accused of having characteristics and ideologies that model those of Idi Amin Dada (Tabane, 2010). Idi Amin Dada is a former president of Uganda whose leadership style was characterised by military dictatorship. Critics generally underscore this and have been predisposed to describe Malema as a ‘reckless populist’ with the potential to destabilise South Africa and incite racial conflict (Govender, 2010). Likewise, South

Africa's political opposition party to the ANC-led government, the Democratic Alliance (DA), has called Malema, a 'Frankenstein monster' who was created by President Zuma (Mail & Guardian, 2012). Admittedly, Malema labelled himself as a 'decoy' that distracted the opposition while Zuma ascended to the Presidency. The DA believed this notion and was convinced that it was not coincidental that Malema was given a rather large stage to perform on within the ANC.

I have identified seven dominant impressions about Malema that circulated up until 2013, based in particular on the way in which he has come to be understood in secondary literature and in the media. These impressions or facets speak to Malema as a figure that represents (a) racial politics; (b) insensitivity or crassness towards women; (c) close family ties and philanthropic enterprises; (d) deep disdain for journalists; (e) a concern and involvement with the politics of neighbouring countries and the idea of resource nationalisation; (f) an appetite for consumption; and g) self-styling as a working class South African and a champion of the poor. These seven facets are briefly discussed below.

Malema is widely known to demonstrate intolerance towards certain groups. His persistent singing of the 'Kill the Boer' struggle song at public forums is testament to this. He was once quoted at a rally asserting that white people should be treated as 'criminals' for 'stealing' land from black people in South Africa (De Lange, 2011). In a separate episode, Malema referred to DA leader, Helen Zille as a 'racist girl' and her cabinet as 'her boyfriends, tea girls and concubines' (Nombembe, 2012). Malema has become known for his outspoken thoughts, which have been known to be racially charged, but to also sometimes contain a particular brand of sexism. It is my contention that race issues in South Africa are generally suppressed as these naturally carry not only connotations to the country's dark apartheid past but also to the latent resentment felt amongst the existing racial groups, which make it a subject that raises discomfort when discussed or interrogated. This is perhaps the reason why most people listen to Malema with sensitive ears and hearts.

Yet, whilst Malema has been labelled a 'racist' by critics, even his own black senior political colleagues have been on the receiving end of his brashness. In 2009, Malema accused the former Education Minister, Naledi Pandor of speaking with a 'fake American accent' instead of bringing real change to peoples' lives. He further threatened former Reserve Bank Governor, Tito Mboweni with political ostracism when he challenged Malema's suggestion to nationalise South Africa's mines.

Malema is often perceived to be a callous individual. He triggered an outcry from gender-interest groups and women's rights movements during the time of President Zuma's rape trial in 2006. Malema implied that the victim of the alleged rape must have appreciated her time with her alleged perpetrator, President Zuma, if she had the courage to stay for breakfast and to ask for a taxi fare allowance on the morning after the night of the alleged rape (Maughan, 2009). Interest groups feared that comments of such a nature were undermining to the enormity of the social ill, and contended that this would lead to victimisation of the aggrieved and to the under-reporting of rape cases in South Africa (Maughan, 2009).

Regardless of Malema's apparent insensitivity towards women, a seemingly softer side to Malema is also reported to exist. He built the Seshego Baptist Church in 2009 in his hometown of Seshego, Limpopo. It is alleged that Malema funded the construction of the church in honour of his late mother Mahlodi, through his Ratanang Family Trust (Basson & Rampedi, 2011).

The ambiguity and ambivalence around the persona of Malema can be understood as the outcome of a perceived contradiction between the images of the man who made cutting remarks about an alleged female rape victim, but who also built a religious landmark in honour of a female figure.

Malema has been observed to harbour a deep dislike for journalists. He is commonly remembered for having 'lost his cool' in an altercation with a BBC journalist, Jonah Fisher in April 2010 (Mahlangu, 2010). Malema referred to Fisher as a 'small boy', a 'thing' and an 'agent', implying that Fisher was acting on behalf of a bigger and possibly anti-revolutionary entity (Mahlangu, 2010). There were subsequent arguments pertaining to the incident, raising questions about whether journalists have the right to be aggressive or discourteous in their attempts to solicit answers, since it was this kind of attitude that Malema claimed to have experienced from Fisher and which, as a result, he explained, aggravated him to retaliate.

Malema is notorious for being vocal on local matters as well as the affairs of South Africa's neighbouring countries. In 2010, Malema articulated his support for nationalising South Africa's mining industry, and also called for the formation of new policy to accelerate the redistribution of white-owned land using Zimbabwe's Zanu-PF model of land seizure (Flanagan, 2010). In a separate incident, Malema launched an attack on Botswana where he claimed that Botswana was a serious security threat to Africa, amid his speculation that it was going to erect a US military base. Malema was cited as saying that Ian Khama, the President of Botswana and the Botswana Democratic Party, were 'foot stool(s) of imperialism' (Chauke, 2011). Forces that may be seen as

having undertones of colonial sentiment or can be said to represent or preserve colonial interests may well be a threat to independent African states, but for Malema to be supportive or critical of the affairs of other African states was, in itself, contentious.

The appetite for commercial indulgence has been tantamount to the name of Malema and to the interest in this public figure. Malema started dabbling in business bids when he was still a teenager in high school when he and his friends competed against their teachers to provide school uniforms for hundreds of pupils and Malema and his peers won the bid (Forde, 2011). Rightly or wrongly, in his adult life and based on a perception of a cross between a politician and a businessman, Malema has been painted as a representation of excess. Malema has become popular for exuding opulent taste in expensive champagne, expensive wrist watches and upmarket brands in clothes and cars alike (Forde, 2011). This perception was vitalised by the South African Revenue Service (SARS) whose submission to have Malema sequestered over owed monies to the institution had been unsuccessful (Quintal, 2015).

Malema has confirmed in the past that he is a shareholder in a number of businesses but has been adamant that his affluence was accrued through legal means. He challenged public perceptions that implied that his overt consumption tendencies reflect those of a person who might not have acquired his wealth legally, taking into consideration that his job in the ANCYL at the time, was said to have provided him an average remuneration of just R20 000 per month (Mail & Guardian, 2010). Malema is known to be highly protective of this side of his life, asserting that he is a private citizen who is allowed rights to privacy (Forde, 2011).

The dilemma lies in Malema's portrayal of himself as a working class South African citizen who is the voice for the poor, whilst in essence he seems to be subscribing to a lifestyle of opulence, far removed from the lifestyle of an average working class person.

In instances where Malema's sharp tongue threatened to cause irrevocable harm to his reputation and threatened to position him as a 'spent force', his saving grace often has been his transparent position on what poor South Africans deserve in their country of birth, from both an entitlement and a quality of life point of view. Malema's views on economic freedom are no secret.

In 2012, Malema accused President Zuma of 'hijacking' the ANCYL's Economic Freedom Campaign by 'dressing it up in the new clothes of a Second Transition' (Davis & Ndenze, 2012). He laid claim to the ANCYL and himself as being at the forefront of the Economic Freedom Campaign, which further called for nationalisation of South African mines and other economic

sectors and for the expropriation of land without compensation. Malema is daring in his position and relationship with politics and this, to a large extent, fermented tensions between the ANCYL and its mother-body, the ANC.

I would argue that different segments of people in our society host an array of viewpoints about Malema's politics. What we did not know, however, as he was on the rise from his fall following his expulsion from the ANCYL and effectively the ANC, was what Malema's chosen constituency, the youth, actually thought about the man and his politics. This constitutes a gap or a 'problem' and therefore opens up a point for investigation. For that reason, this study investigated if and why the unemployed black youth of Alexandra and Orlando, Johannesburg found Malema's politics appealing based on research conducted and concluded in 2013.

1.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I outlined the area of study and central research question, and situated the project in relation to Malema as a public figure and the history of two Johannesburg townships where the research was conducted. Chapter two comprises a literature review that explores scholarly accounts of the contemporary crisis of South African youth. It also provides an outline of key moments in South African history where the youth had positioned themselves as historical and political actors. In addition, the chapter reviews the democratic state's response to the challenge of unemployment that is facing the youth. Chapter three outlines the theoretical framework of the study, drawing in particular on the notion of contentious politics, a key aspect of social movement studies, as well as the notion of subaltern groups, particularly as deployed by Gramsci and Spivak. This chapter also explores the notion of structure and agency, drawing on the debate between Archer and Giddens. Chapter four discusses the research methodology, a qualitative design using focus group methods as its main source of data, coupled with two in-depth interviews. Chapter five unpacks the findings and conclusion of the study. In this chapter, the voices of the young men and women interviewed for the study are made audible. I deliberate on whether and how the thoughts and perceptions of unemployed black youth in Alexandra and Orlando, Johannesburg resonate with the Malema political project following his expulsion as the ANCYL President in April 2012 and prior to the birth of the EFF in July 2013.

Chapter Two: South African youth and crisis – A literature review

2.1 Introduction

The focus in this chapter is on a number of burning questions that face South African youth, two decades after the dawn of democracy as brought into the spotlight by Malema. It is my opinion that South Africa's youth face challenges that inhibit them from effectively participating in democracy; because although they have voting power, for the vast majority, economic power remains far out of reach.

I argue that youth without economic power is a restless youth. The restlessness may be expressed in direct, or more subtle and layered ways, for example through collective action and protest. The township youth's participation in municipal service delivery strikes and their participation in attacks on foreign nationals in the townships are all forms of protest manifesting from a state of restlessness and contempt birthed as a result of the state of impoverishment that they find themselves in. For example Von Holdt, Langa, Molapo, Mogapi, Ngubeni, Dlamini and Kirsten (2011) argue that the 2008 xenophobic attacks were organised by a combination of formal organisational leadership and informal groups and networks, including South African small and informal business and unemployed youths who were in a fight for material improvements to their lives as well as for their rights to be heard by government. South African township youth encounter poverty as a harsh and unforgiving lived experience on a daily basis.

The argument that can be put forth, therefore, is that although the youth of 1976's struggle narrative focused on freedom from oppression, the present-day's youth's struggle is one that exists in a time where the country's constitution makes provision for equal opportunity and access to resources for all its people, yet economic oppression remains a struggle for today's youth.

With South Africa boasting a National Youth Policy that is comprehensive and indeed wide-ranging, it is contentious that the constituency that is meant to be relieved from socio-economic challenges, is the same constituency that appears to continually suffer under the impact of socio-economic disadvantages. This state of affairs requires a closer analysis.

Democratic South Africa, to date, has experienced three administrations respectively; that of former state President Nelson Mandela, former state President Thabo Mbeki and the sitting President Jacob Zuma. It is thus interesting and important to analyse the position of each administration in terms of their emphasis as well as approaches adopted in addressing the plight of economically disenfranchised young people.

The chapter starts out with a brief outline of the role of South African youth, and particularly its black youth, in the history of political struggle in the country. In addition, the crisis of youth unemployment in post-apartheid South Africa is underscored, making use of existing research to indicate the key features of this crisis. Finally, the chapter considers the state's response in the democratic era to the challenges facing the youth of South Africa, with a specific emphasis on youth policy. The capacity of the state and in particular its ability to implement the policy is also discussed.

2.2 South African youth as historical political actors

South African black township youth and the topographies of crisis are not strangers. Black township youth have gained a place in history as being at the forefront of championing a course for justice and equality in the fight for a democratic and non-racial South Africa. According to Seekings (1996) during the 1980s, the slogan 'liberation before education' carried black youth in their unremitting efforts to challenge and destabilise apartheid.

Malema himself appears to have modelled his persona on the bold and militant characters of an earlier period of youth politics, drawing on the legacy of people such as Peter Mokaba whose activism in the fight against the apartheid regime in the early 1980s to the early 1990s will always be associated with militancy and fortitude. According to Seekings (1996:104):

"Young black South Africans were the so called 'shock troops' or 'foot soldiers' in the struggle for political change. They boycotted school classes, demonstrated, built barricades and fought street battles against the state's security forces, and took action against alleged collaborators. The 'comrades' rendered whole areas 'ungovernable' and helped build structures of 'people's power.'"

This is the youth who had become synonymous with destruction and danger and, to this end, had secured a place in the political struggle. For that reason, Panday, Ranchod, Ngcaweni and Seedat (2012) refer to the political agency of the youth of the past as one that was celebrated during the 1976 Soweto Uprising. The perspective of Panday et al. (2012) on the history of youth activism is to a degree informed by the work of Seekings (1996). They argue that it isn't surprising that the Soweto Uprising took place, as black youth increasingly had become aware that the quality of education and the medium of instruction in the class room would not only serve to hinder development but also represented the broader narrative of oppression.

Hyslop (1999) notes that Bantu Education as an instrument was designed to produce cheap labour to capitalist classes in South Africa during the time of white minority rule. Simpson (2010) affirms this and argues that by the mid-1980s, school boycotts, rent strikes and general resistance to the apartheid government had become widespread throughout black townships. This resistance was propagated and sustained by black township youth.

Seekings (1996) argues that South Africa experienced an era between 1989 to mid-1993 in which black youth was seen to have brought about a 'moral panic' as they posed a political and social threat to certain values and 'civilised' institutions according to pro-apartheid political leaders. 'Moral panic', 'youth problem' and the 'lost generation' were all terminology that carried racist undertones used to describe black youth, who were viewed as destructive and dangerous and essentially as a disrupting force to the strides and intentions of the apartheid government (Seekings, 1996). Panday et al. (2012) maintain that from the time leading to the unbanning of political organisations to the time of engagements on a new democratic South Africa, young black people had played a progressively vigorous and dynamic role in the political struggle.

The birth of a South African democracy in 1994 however produced a new position accompanied by a new set of challenges for South African youth. No longer were the challenges linked to political oppression; instead the major challenge became that of socio-economic oppression. With the exception of youth participation in sporadic service delivery strikes across the country, the political voice of township black youth appears to be faint.

The strength of the literature reviewed is that it positions black youth as once having played a participatory and significant role in South African politics, particularly in the liberation struggle. It is meaningful to appreciate the different political, social and psychological factors that led to the emergence of a defiant and dissident black youth in the townships. A weakness in the literature relates to the poor link to and articulation with contemporary literature, which makes it somewhat challenging to draw parallels and to provide a comparative analysis of whether the fortitude and resilience that was carried by South African black township youth of the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990's still prevails in the spirits of the South African black township youth of today in terms of their awareness to politics and socio-economic struggles.

2.3 The youth unemployment crisis in post-apartheid South Africa

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 racially separated people in South Africa in terms of the quality of education people were entitled to receive. Badat (1999) suggests that the ideology of white rule

and superiority was designed to be reflected in African education. The quality of education in terms of the curricula and educational facilities meant for black people was inferior and were designed to pull black people into the unskilled labour market with the exception of specific tertiary and technical training institutions reserved for blacks which were also under direct state control. On the other hand, white people had exposure to resources and training that would commission them towards professional employment.

The sacrifice of black youth to the apartheid struggle has been viewed to have been at the expense of their personal and future prospects. Seekings (1996) alludes to the notion that the black youth of the apartheid struggle placed liberation as a priority before education, albeit education of questionable standards and quality. Consequently, this affected their likelihood of employability. As a result the economic standing of families was affected. If one is a breadwinner at home and earns unskilled labour wages, this means that one's own children get enrolled at schools and tertiary institutions that boast little or no pedigree, which in turn affects employability thus stimulating the cycle and keeping the legacy of the outcomes of Bantu Education alive.

Apartheid and its related laws and policies therefore have left a sector of black people that were unemployable (in an economy that was struggling to create jobs) or that could only participate in the formal economy at a semi-skilled or unskilled level.

Kingdon and Knight's (2005) work illustrates, however, that in the post democratic South Africa, the legacies of apartheid can no longer be cited as an exclusive or select cause of youth idleness or joblessness. Here, a few positions on the subject of youth unemployment in contemporary South Africa will be discussed.

Du Toit (2003) is settled in the position that deems the lack of skills of young people coupled with the lack of demand for youth labour as a crippling contributing factor to the pandemic of youth unemployment. Du Toit's (2003) position is backed up by the Discussion Paper for Public Comment by the National Treasury, *Confronting Youth Unemployment: Policy Options for South Africa* (2011), which outlines prominent reasons that pertain, firstly, to employers viewing youth who are inexperienced and unskilled as a risky labour investment and secondly education or academic training considered as being vaguely complementary to capabilities but not as a substitute to skills. The two elements exist in tension, even though they should be complementary, are therefore issues relating to education and skills.

Five years ago the picture was as grave as it is in present day. Studies revealed that South Africa's unemployment rate stood at 25% in the fourth quarter of 2010 (Statistics South Africa, 2011) rating amongst the highest in the world. Suggestively, unemployment is concentrated in the 14–35 age brackets, which accounted for 72% of the unemployed in 2010 (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

Consequently, the country's unemployment crisis is in essence a youth unemployment crisis. Mayer, Gordham, Manxeba, Hughes, Foley, Maroc, Lolwana and Nell (2011) argue that South Africa faces a dilemma of stunted economic growth that exacerbates poverty and inequality. Mayer et al. (2011), further reveal that Gauteng accounts for a high proportion of the country's economic productivity and as such tends to experience high levels of in-migration from other provinces thus exerting new pressures on the economy and labour market at a regional scale.

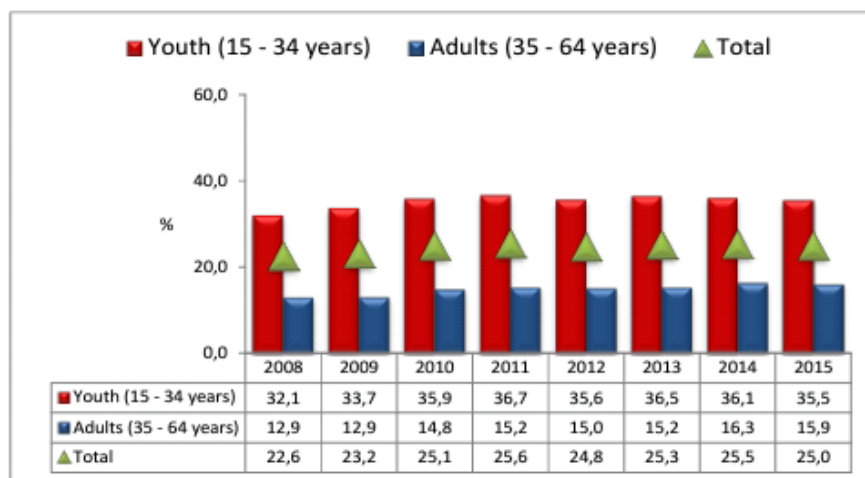
Mayer et al. (2011) also contends that South Africa's formal education system has failed to fulfil its mandate of equipping young people with the relevant educational competencies and skills sets required to access available job opportunities in the formal and informal labour markets. Scholars such as Lam, Leibbrandt and Mlatsheni (2008) speak of young people that typically encounter difficulty in making the transition from school to work because of the gap in terms of what the workforce expects and requires versus the training received at school.

There are more opportunities than weaknesses as such in the literature that speaks to youth unemployment. Youth development and participatory structures must form part of any work that touches on youth unemployment. Scholars, see Govindjee and Olivier (2013), Perold, Cloete and Papier (2012) have written on the youth and the general unemployment challenge that South Africa faces. Work has also been undertaken in 2011 by establishments like the Development Planning Division of the Development Bank of South Africa.

Literature on this subject addresses issues related to the lack of access to workplace skills, work experience (workplace exposure), and job placement for youth as well as how business can be incentivised outside the prescriptive and critical measures that are entailed as part of the requirements to attaining skills development points as a means to absorb qualified but unemployed youth.

The figures below, from the Statistics SA Youth Labour Market Report (Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Quarter 2, 2015) illustrate that youth unemployment has worsened since 2008 when it was reported to be at 32.1%. It increased to 35.5% in 2015. The report further reveals that essentially, 3.6 million young people were actively looking for work due to unemployment in 2015.

Figure 1. Trend in the unemployment rate 2008 – 2015: Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Quarter 2, 2015



2.3.1 The state's capacity and its response to South Africa's youth unemployment crisis and poverty

On a macro level, the socio-economic challenges that face South African youth are often attributed, unfairly or fairly, to the positions adopted as well as the inefficiencies and the ineffectiveness of the South African state. The key policy shifts that we have seen in the ANC since 1994 are here briefly discussed.

According to Visser (2004), the Nelson Mandela administration has not only been heralded as one that inspired unity and reconciliation in the advent of democracy, it is also prevalently known to have driven an economic policy for 'growth through redistribution' in the form of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The policy, though people-oriented, lacked a focus on youth development and came with its own unique package of harsh obstinate challenges in alleviating poverty.

Visser (2004:08) contends that the abolishing of the RDP in 1996 gave way to a new macro-economic strategy, called Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), which was driven by then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who later assumed Presidency and continued to forge the strategy of 'redistribution through growth' – in desolate contrast to the RDP – in pursuit of stimulating the South African economy and promoting unemployment. With the failure of GEAR to save the country from its economic recession, Mbeki introduced the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) in 2003 (Altman, 2004:63). The Mbeki administration was also instrumental in driving youth development and empowerment by means of this Programme's apparatus. Mbeki's

administration also promoted interchange-based platforms like the Youth Development Forum and the National Youth Service. The draft finalisation of the National Youth Policy, according to Mbeki (2008) was a distinctive showmanship of the state's concerted effort to address youth unemployment amongst other issues affecting youth.

In addition, Lewis, Nyalashe, Hartley and Naicker (2008) highlight that economic policy under the Mbeki administration that followed GEAR, namely the Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (ASGISA) explicitly acknowledged the role that young people played in the apartheid struggle and thus recognised youth as exclusive benefactors. The initiative was designed to halve unemployment by 2014 through the formal training of youth and the facilitation of skills programmes to assist in equipping the youth with useful skills sets and professional acumen against the backdrop of an improved environment that allows for labour absorption. It is widely known that critical state owned institutions like Eskom still, to date have existing policies that draw on and promulgate the spirit of ASGISA.

In the wake of Zuma's ascension to national leadership, succeeding Mbeki, his administration was proclaimed as one that would manage the effective roll out of improved service delivery to the poor. The ANC's 2009 manifesto had set the tone that the state would play a more vigorous role in economic policy formulation (Parsons, 2009). The ANC's political discourse has for a significant period referred to the 'developmental state'. The National Development Plan (NDP) was formulated on this objective. According to Van Nieuwkerk (2014) the NDP promotes a shift from a passive citizenry that receives services from the state to one that systematically includes the socially and economically excluded, to as a result, groom a people that champion their own development and where government works effectively to develop people's capabilities to lead the lives that they desire.

Kondlo and Maserumule (2010) argue that the prerogative of the Zuma administration was to realize the developmental state through increasing legitimacy and effectiveness. In this sense, expectations of the administration centred on a 'pro-poor' approach to economic policy as well as a commitment to ANC's engagements through continued dialogue with ordinary citizens of South Africa. Kondlo and Maserumule (2010) give some insight into the reasons for the fundamental problems that are plaguing the state's institutional capacity. The writers cite weak governance, corruption and the void between policy formulation and implementation as the forces that counter any substantive shift towards a developmental state. Kondlo and Maserumule (2010) maintain that the Zuma administration operates on the premise of a malfunctioning developmental state. They

further argue that restrictions to a successful developmental state affects service delivery, which in turn breeds poverty and gives leeway to numerous social problems where youth is most vulnerable.

The weakness in the assumed position pertains to the absence of a detailed ‘how’ in the effective implementation of economic policies to ultimately deliver sustainable and monitored development programmes to stimulate the economy and create employment opportunities. Parsons (2009) suggests that the developmental state is aspirational but achievable, and that it is the weak state institutional capacity that cripples service delivery. Parsons (2009) in this sense, represents a pro-developmental state school of thought.

In a direct and intentional move to address youth unemployment, the youth wage subsidy otherwise known as the Employment Tax Incentive Act was signed into law to take effect as of 1 January 2014 (Ensor, 2014) by President Jacob Zuma. The Act stipulates that employers will receive a tax incentive to employ young workers for a maximum of two years in conformity to certain policy conditions. Ensor (2014) suggests that the Act had been wildly debated with some left wing political parties arguing that the enforcement of the Act would create a two-tier labour market. Nonetheless the Act was seen as a critical tool into fortifying credibility into the country’s youth employment plan and the bill was consequently promulgated in late 2013.

South Africa’s overarching pro-youth policies that are key in the welfare of youth and in combating the youth’s state of poverty are mapped out below. South Africa has a framework that caters for children through the child support grant which is paid to caregivers; whether it be an adult or a teenage parent, for the benefit of children living in low income homes. This is crucial as according to Willan (2013) approximately 30% of female teenagers in South Africa responded positively to the question of ‘ever having been pregnant.’

The National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), places priority on the welfare and development of South African youth in as far as education is concerned. The mandate of NSFAS on a broader framework is to provide loan and bursaries to eligible students in post-school education and to raise funding for loans and bursaries for students in higher education (NSFAS Annual Report, 2014).

According to the Human Resource Development Council (HRDC, 2014), to address the gaps that exist within the education system, Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) colleges, formerly known as Further Education and Training colleges that were formed following the FET Act of 1998 (Papier, Needham & McBride, 2012) to provide career-oriented education and training,

which would translate to the provision of intermediate to higher level functional skills that are required to support economic growth and development. TVET colleges in essence train and provide young school leavers with the skills, knowledge and attitudes necessary for employment into the labour market (HRDC, 2014).

The most ambitious of the youth support policies so far is the National Youth Policy 2015-2020, which I will discuss below.

2.3.2 South Africa's Youth Policy

The National Youth Policy (NYP) 2015-2020 builds on South Africa's first NYP of 2009-2014. The establishment and maintenance of the policy is informed by the South African Constitution, the African Youth Charter and the National Development Plan. This is a policy that guides South Africa's approach to youth development, built on the confidence that South Africa has the potential and capacity to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality over the next two decades (National Youth Policy, 2015). The policy has under its umbrella youth development institutions like the South African Youth Council and the National Youth Development Agency.

The objectives of the NYP 2015-2020 as outlined in the National Youth Policy (2015) document are to; (a) consolidate and integrate youth development into the mainstream of government policies, programmes and the national budget; (b) strengthen the capacity of key youth development institutions and ensure integration and coordination in the delivery of youth services; (c) build the capacity of young people to enable them to take charge of their own well-being by building their assets and realising their potential; (d) strengthen a culture of patriotic citizenship among young people and to help them become responsible adults who care for their families and communities; (e) foster a sense of national cohesion, while acknowledging the country's diversity, and (f) inculcate a spirit of patriotism by encouraging visible and active participation in different youth initiatives, projects and nation building activities.

Essentially the NYP 2015-2020 is in place and in effect for the purposes of facilitating and endorsing integrated, inclusive and sustainable youth development programmes that through various structures will take into cognisance historical and present-day inequalities.

2.4 Conclusion

I have argued that, at present, the absence of robust dialogue on policies that are meant to drive economic development inhibit youth from understanding the government's 'game plan' towards service delivery, eradication of poverty and job creation. This however does not necessarily mean that the state is not the custodian of innovative programmes to address the mentioned challenges. I argue that the state has been proactive in launching initiatives that have targeted issues of growing the economy, improving the education system, creating employment opportunities and reducing poverty and in an all-encompassing intention; improving the lives of South Africans through the National Development Plan currently. These structures and policies that have emerged in the advent of a democratic era are meant to make provision for reparation and capacity building for the youth to participate meaningfully in citizenry and the country's economy. It is important therefore that dialogue is introduced to the affected constituencies to communicate more effectively this broad policy orientation. It is equally important, though, that the state solicits youth's input and support over and above the monitoring and evaluation apparatuses that need to be implemented to address the socio-economic challenges that directly affect the youth. The voices of those directly affected by socio-economic challenges are significantly important.

I argue that government owes its youth opportunities to participate in inclusive engagement platforms where it reports back on not only its responsive but proactive efforts to eradicate the challenges facing young people, particularly in terms of unemployment. It is my belief that although lack of engagement with the public can be cited as a cause for the tension between the state and the unemployed and resentful youth, that if policies to stimulate economic growth and employment were actually effective then engagement to position and articulate the policies would not be a requirement in absolute. In this light, I concur with Kondlo and Maserumule's (2010) notion of the void between policy formulation and implementation.

A broad environmental scanning therefore seems to support the idea that the state is responsive to its youth's needs. This indicates that at macro-economic policy level, South Africa looks relatively decent, however, this not to say that the policies are working.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

Studying the youth is an integral part of this study. Many contemporary writers on youth studies deploy a ‘language’ that allows researchers to explore the mental, physical and emotional state of youth and how they go about navigating various stages of life. The fundamental concept that provides a framework for this ‘language’ is the notion of “transitions”. Cohen (1997), Spence (2005), Cieslik and Simpson (2013) engage this notion as a means of unpacking the complexities associated with the behaviours of young people and their practices in relation to how they view and understand themselves.

In this study, although the concept of transitions is acknowledged as a key mechanism for studying the socio-cultural process of moving through childhood to adulthood, the notion of youth informing this study is broad-based, focusing in general on post-school youth in the context of severe economic deprivation. As a result, the key concept through which youth is viewed in this study is that of exclusion. In twentieth and twenty-first century writings, perspectives on youth strongly focus on the question of socio-economic marginalisation and on the social exclusion of youth.

It is argued that the exclusion of youth, whether in economic or social spheres, produces a sense of vulnerability that is often countered by the formation of communes or collectives. The works of Cohen (1955), which speaks of the ability of young people who have no status or direction to organise themselves into forming collective norms and rituals which are not always seen to be morally correct, is therefore brought into conversation with Hodkinson’s (2007) work, which illuminates youth culture as ‘collective trouble-making’.

As such, this study explores the political opinions, attitudes and behaviours of unemployed black youth and how they understand themselves in relation to the challenges of poverty and marginalisation, which provides potential for a nascent social movement. Arguably, the root of anarchism in so far as black youth is concerned, stems from their lack of participation in an economy that is lodged against a progressive constitution that should be facilitating for an effective democratic order as well as challenges in relation to the implementation of progressive policies. The study therefore speaks to work conducted in realm of the same concerns, such as the work of Phaswana (2009), Mbenga (2012), as well as international studies in similar research conducted by White, Bruce and Ritchie (2000), which assesses young people’s political interest and engagement in England, Wales and Scotland.

The following chapter will provide a theoretical framework within which to think through key aspects of social agency, individual and collective, as well as the way in which agency may or may not sustain and reproduce conditions that exist. The question of agency and structure will be addressed using arguments that have been put forward by contemporary British sociologist Anthony Giddens and Margaret Archer, both of whom devoted a significant amount of their professional time to the problem of structure and agency. The chapter, as a link and as a response to understanding the notion of action as embedded in structure and agency, also discusses the concepts of the subaltern and social movements drawing on the work of the Italian Marxist political activist, Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) (Monasta, 2000) as well as other theorists, including Gayatri Spivak.

3.2. Structure and Agency

In looking at structure and agency, according to Giddens, one is compelled to look through the lens of structuration theory, as it is through this theory that Giddens made a considerable effort to conceptualize the social world and the practices that produce it by integrating the two concepts.

At the core of Giddens structuration theory is the matter of social practices. According to Ritzer (2008), Giddens line of argument starts at the notion that human practices are recursive, in that agents continually produce the conditions that make the activities or practices possible. Thus, activities are not produced by consciousness, social structure or social construction. Rather, in expressing themselves as actors, people engage in practice and it is through that practice that consciousness and structure are produced.

Giddens therefore presents the two concepts as interdependent and deeply implicated in each other (Ritzer, 2008: 526). It is contended that Giddens outlook suggests that agency and structure cannot be conceived apart from one another and should be considered to be interwoven in ongoing human activity or practice. The interwovenness or connectedness in Giddens perspective speaks to the duality of structure (Lamsal, 2012:113).

Ritzer (2008) puts forward that Giddens upholds the notion that the human actor is not only self-conscious, but is also engaged in the monitoring of the ongoing flow of activities and structural conditions. As a result of this perspective, he positions the idea of consciousness as reflexivity. The idea of reflexivity is supported by that of rationalization in Giddens structuration theory. According to Ritzer (2008:523), Giddens sees the development of routines as giving actors a sense of security and effectively helping them deal efficiently with their social lives. He argues that actors also have motivations to act and these motivations are what facilitate the desires to act. It can then be argued,

according to Lamsal (2012:115), that Giddens model of agency has three elements; reflective monitoring, rationalization and motivation.

Ritzer (2008:523) points out that Giddens thus affirms that agency concerns events of which an individual is a perpetrator, essentially expressing the idea that the action would not have taken place had the individual not acted. He is, however, also resolute in separating agency from intentions and takes the position that intentional acts often have unintended consequences. Lamsal (2012:117) captures Giddens notion that individuals or human actors are the elements that enable the creation of our society's structure by means of invented values and norms that are reinforced through social acceptance, yet at the same time, individuals are constrained by our social structure.

Ritzer (2008:523) suggests that, consistent with Giddens emphasis on agency, great power is equally conferred to the agent by Giddens and the agent is deemed to possess the ability to change the world or to create any sort of change. This is the reason perhaps why Giddens asserts that structure exists in and through the activities of human agent as opposed to existing only in time and space. Giddens thus presents structure as rules and resources which makes it possible for social practices to exist across varying spans of time and space. Lamsal (2012:117) notes that the set of rules and resources that engage human action that Giddens refers to, can be understood as 'modalities' and argues that Giddens conceptualizes rules as restricting action facilitated by resources.

Archer, unlike Giddens, is resolute about the idea that structure and agency are different entities (McAnulla, 2002: 285). Archer argues that a clear and concise analytical distinction needs to be developed, as structure operates in particular ways and agency operates in different ways. According to McAnulla (2002), Archer suggests that structure and agency exercise unique powers and as a result are irreducible to one another and therefore there is benefit in examining how agency and structure relate to each other over time.

McAnulla (2002:285) refers to Archer's morphogenetic cycle or approach as basically a model of the relationship between structure and agency. McAnulla (2002:286) describes this relationship as a cycle comprising of three components, which change over time. Firstly, Archer speaks of structural conditioning, which denotes the context in which action consequently or subsequently takes place. Past actions give way for particular conditions to emerge. Secondly, is the issue of social interaction, which sees agents being strongly influenced by the structured conditions. However, they also have at least some degree of independent power to influence or shape events. Archer

outlines that in this component of the cycle, groups and individuals interact and as a result exercise their own abilities, skills and personalities. Because individuals or agents will seek to advance their own interests and affect outcomes, they are likely to naturally engage in a process of conflict and or consensual negotiation with other agents. The third component of the cycle refers to the change of structural conditions to suit their own interests and it is maintained in the same vein that change occurring in structural conditions emerges as an outcome of conflict or compromise.

More importantly, Archer's approach to structure and agency according to McAnulla (2002:287) is unique in that it places culture alongside agency and structure itself as a key meta-theoretical concept. Archer contends that culture is a third component to the agency and structure layer of social reality. She argues that the relationship between culture and agency is similar to that of agency and structure, even though they are all relatively autonomous. As a result, McAnulla (2002:288) explains that Archer crafts and endorses a significant and similar morphogenetic cycle to that of structure and agency, but for culture and agency. Archer speaks of cultural conditioning which she refers to as the cultural context within which action takes place. She emphasizes socio-cultural interaction, indicating that it signifies that agents are strongly influenced by cultural conditions, but groups or individuals may challenge cultural norms by means of independent thinking, campaigning or persuasion. Lastly Archer sketches cultural elaboration as emerging out of socio-cultural interaction where some groups may have been successful in effecting cultural change in line with their own goals and vision. Archer promotes the role of the ideational in social life using culture alongside structure and agency in her explanatory framework. Her model equally provides a practical way to examine the relationship between structure and agency and the properties of each in relation to each other.

3.3 Subalterns and Social Movements

The subaltern

The work of Italian Marxist and political activist, Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) will be used to understand the theoretical concept of the subaltern (Monasta, 2000). Novetzke and Patton (2008:378) argue that the term 'subaltern' is used to signify those that are made subordinate by the hegemonies of power which could be interpreted as the state, class, patriarchy, gender, race etc. Novetzke and Patton (2008:378) convey that the term subaltern can also be used to designate the relationship of two entities to each other, in relation to their access to power or capital from a material and social varieties point of view. Novetzke and Patton (2008:379) further contend that

Gramsci's concern with the state and culture is important in understanding how the term 'subaltern' can denote a person or community in a position 'inferior' to others in some fundamental way e.g. class, gender, location etc. It is in this light that one might reasonably speak of a subaltern or a subalternity as a condition of 'being' translated as everything from a community to a nation, to a particular discourse by means of texts, practices, histories etc. Louai (2012) on the other hand, simplifies the concept, yet remains true to the meaning of the subaltern, when he suggests that subaltern classes refer fundamentally to any low rank person or group of people in a particular society that are suffering under hegemonic domination of a ruling elite class that denies them the basic right of participation in the making of local history and culture as active individuals of the same nation.

Louai's (2012:05) approach also considers two other leading scholars with whom the concept of subaltern is commonly associated, against the backdrop of Gramsci's work. Here, I refer to Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, both of whom are perceived to be important scholars in Indian and South Asian 'subaltern studies'. Their work demonstrates the evolution of the subaltern as a concept and how the concept of the subaltern has come to be understood in postmodern times.

According to Louai (2012:06), Guha, who led the Subaltern Studies Group consisting of twentieth century scholars and who placed a strong focus on studying the disenfranchised people of India through studies of peasantry and historiography, believes that no matter how heterogeneous the subaltern groups may be, there is a constant unchanging character that defines them, which is the notion of resistance to the imposed domination of the elite class.

Varghese (2014), like Louai (2012), suggests that Spivak's work on subaltern studies focusing on gender suppression, namely women as subaltern, highlights and refers to unrepresented groups in society. Spivak's work, particularly in her 1983 essay, 'Can the Subaltern speak?' is significant in that she argues, according to Varghese (2014:117), that the subaltern has no history and cannot speak and she singles out the female subaltern as even more disenfranchised. Spivak's theory formulates that the subaltern can actually speak, but that others do not have the patience to listen to them. The message that is conveyed by the sender is therefore unable to reach the receiver (listener) as it is hindered by various elements e.g. noise which in this context is symbolic rather than literal.

Varghese (2014:118) maintains that Spivak makes an analogy that when the subaltern tries to speak the message that they try to convey becomes totally distorted as a result of the unwillingness of the intended recipients to listen to them. In essence, as people, or the 'elite group', turn a deaf ear to the

pleas of the subalterns, the communication fails and no transaction takes place. Speaking and listening forms part of the communication process, so even though the subaltern makes an effort to speak, it is not heard. It can then be argued that tensions and consequently conflicts are created and social movements arise out of tensions and conflicts that are borne of frustration, deprivation and marginalisation.

Social movements

The extensive work of Della Porta and Diani (2006) will be employed to characterize the concept of social movements. I will also be referring to the work of Von Holdt et al. (2006:20), who see the emergence of social movements in post apartheid South Africa as a distinct social process. The actors that are involved in the collective action are involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents. Della Porta and Diani (2006) contend that because informal networks differentiate social movement processes from the instances in which collective action takes place and is coordinated, a collective identity becomes shared. Della Porta and Diani (2006:32) maintain that social movement actors are engaged in political and or cultural conflicts meant to either promote or oppose social change. Conflictual collective action, thus ensues as actors seek control of power over the same stake.

Della Porta and Diani (2006) deliver collective identity as entailing actors that institute connections between different occurrences that are located at different points in time and space relative to one's experience and as a result locating them into broader narratives. A key argument raised in Della Porta and Diani's concept of social movements (2006:25) is that although social movements are often compared to interest groups and political parties, they are in fact not organizations. They are described as networks which may or may not include formal organizations depending on shifting circumstances.

Della Porta and Diani (2006:39) also challenge the notion that social movements ultimately have protest as a core feature. The argument put forward is that although protest is a typical feature in social movements, other new disruptive forms of actions get invented to boldly challenge the state on issues of law and order (Della Porta & Diani, 2006:29). Protest or action is used as a major source of pressure and is commonly adopted to inform the structure and strategy of social movements.

Social movements are often noticed at the point when they threaten to or demonstrate action. Della Porta and Diani (2006) provide insight into factors that compel actors to embark on collective action. It is argued that the evolution and transformation of social structures is at the root cause. Using a broader historical framework, Della Porta and Diani (2006:73) identify the transformation of the economic sphere in terms of the decentralization of industrial production to a relatively advanced services and administrative sector as a reason. They further argue that the legitimacy of the state is challenged in relation to the implications of globalization and localization. Movements signaling discontent have developed in recent years around interests related to the transformations mentioned. These movements give way to new identities and new social group formations and action.

Della Porta and Diani (2006) endorse an approach that signifies identity as a factor that allows the actors to accept themselves as being linked by interests, values and common histories. Della Porta and Diani (2006:78) emphasize values as influencing the actors' sense of motivation in terms of sustaining and engaging the course and costs of action. It is argued that the more intense one's socialization to a particular vision of the world, the stronger the urge to act.

Della Porta and Diani (2006) argue that although feelings of identity are frequently elaborated in reference to specific social traits such as class, gender, territory or ethnicity, the process of collective identity does not necessarily imply homogeneity of the actors sharing that identity or their identification with a distinct social group, but the actors commonly identify with heterogeneous collectives.

It is put forward by Della Porta and Diani (2006:74) that collective action is not borne only from structural tensions. There are complimentary aids that need to be in place – these refer to the availability of adequate organizational resources, the ability of movement leaders to produce appropriate, ideological representatives and the presence of a 'favourable' (contentious in this perspective) political context. In a critical assessment, however, it can be argued that a powerful aid to the existence and functionality of social movements is the production of legislation where the repertoires are engaged and challenged. It would thus be reasonable to accept Della Porta & Diani's (2006) notion that the characteristics of social movements as those that possess the ability to facilitate democratization.

The idea of collective action as a proxy for protest and collective violence in the South African context is a pertinent one, particularly if narrowed to a focus on the environment of urban formal

townships which is the location of research for this study. The work of Della Porta and Diani (2006) draws certain parallels with the work of Von Holdt et al. (2011) who affirm that collective violence is a result of rapid processes of class formation of a new emerging elite at the expense of an underclass. Von Holdt et al. (2011:11) contend that collective action and collective violence in urban formal townships and rural informal townships are a result of the transition from apartheid to democracy and the struggles over inclusion and exclusion to economic participation within the elite, between the elites and subalterns and within subaltern classes themselves. A component that is somewhat distinctive in the South African social movement sphere that is highlighted in Von Holdt et al. (2011) work is collective action to confront and oppose the abuse of state resources and funds which results in the monitoring and scrutiny of politicians and public officials. Von Holdt et al. (2011:27) refer to subaltern collective violence as not only serving to disrupt the dominant order of structures symbolically and physically but as also serving to provide an avenue for the (subaltern) agency. In this light, the structural purpose of community protests and social movements is seen to draw attention to challenges created by poverty, the lack of voice of the poor, the predicament of unemployment and the lack of access to basic human rights.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter introduced four key terms that the study can be perceived through. These concepts speak to structure, agency, the subaltern and social movements. It has been argued that there is a strong debate between Giddens and Archer about the properties and the extent of interrelatedness of structure and agency. In addition the notion of formation of social movements and in particular the kind of contentious ‘politics’ driven by subaltern groups that ignite the movements have been highlighted. Youth agency and its interconnectedness with structure can be understood to limit or to determine the agents’ scope of action. In this respect, the study draws on the work of Gramsci and Spivak, and in the South African context, Von Holdt et al. The notion of the subaltern and social movements as theoretical concepts not only underpin the study, but also serve to guide the narrative of how youth can be understood in this study.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

4.1 A qualitative approach

This study is anchored in the politics of Malema and the perceptions of black unemployed township youth. The chosen approach for this research was a qualitative research design, as the purpose of the study was to gain insight into how people feel and what they think. The strength of the qualitative approach is that it has the ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. It also provides information about the ‘human’ side of an issue (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest & Namey, 2005).

The chosen research methods for this study is primarily the focus groups method, which is seen as effective in eliciting data on the cultural norms of a group and in generating broad overviews of issues of concern to the groups or subgroups represented (Mack et al. 2005). I also made use of the in-depth interview method for my interviews with Julius Malema and author, Fiona Forde. Interviews are considered optimal for collecting data on an individual’s personal history, perspectives, and experiences, particularly when sensitive topics are being explored.

4.2 Participant selection: Snowball Sampling

In relation to the focus group component, snowball sampling was undertaken in order to secure the participation of subjects for the study. The participants of this study are a subaltern group by virtue of their economic circumstances. Snowball sampling was done, which allowed me as the researcher to gain access to the appropriate group. Given the research design, the findings from the research are is not generalizable. It is therefore more appropriate to speak of participant selection, instead of sampling.

4.3 Profile of participants

The criteria for inclusion in the study, i.e. establishing who the eligible participants in the study would be, was fundamentally based on geographic location, age, race, gender and economic position. For example, all the participants were unemployed black youth residing in Alexandra or Orlando, Johannesburg. Freitas, Oliveira, Jenkins and Popjoy (1998) argue for the need to maintain a reasonable homogeneity inside the focus group in order to encourage the discussion so that each participant can have something to contribute to the topic and feel comfortable in expressing their opinions in the presence of the other participants. Of course, this does not mean that they should necessarily share the same thoughts and beliefs as the rest of the group.

A profile chart with key questions relating to geographical location, age, race, and economic position had been developed for recruiting participants and this was used to determine whether the participants possessed the crucial characteristics required for them to participate in the focus group sessions.

All the participants partook in the study firstly on the grounds that they qualified as 'youth'. The definition of youth from the National Youth Policy of 2009 was borrowed as a reference to youth categorisation as the National Youth Policy 2015-2020 had not yet been released at the time of research. The policy defines youth as any persons between the ages of 14 and 35 years (National Youth Policy, 2009). For the purpose of this study, 'youth' was defined as men and women between the ages of 18 and 35 years old for ethical considerations.

My focus was on unemployed black youth only. According to van Zyl Slabbert, Malan, Marais, Olivier, and Riordan (1994) there is a sharp contrast in black youth life compared to white youth life in South Africa. For instance, van Zyl Slabbert et al. (1994) assert that on the economic and labour market front, unemployment has adversely affected black youth, particularly young black females. Black youth in this study had been identified as not only those deeply affected by the legacy of South Africa's racial and social inequalities but they had been identified as a despondent young people of a race that in many ways still feels marginalised.

The participants were all unemployed. The choice to speak to unemployed youth only served as a tool to unpack the economically marginalised or unemployed black youth's orientation to politics against the backdrop of Malema's politics.

4.4 Focus groups as a research method and a research practice

As a method of research, I chose the focus group practice because it is underpinned by two principal perspectives on interaction that exist within the broad research field of sociology and psychology namely, Conversation Analysis and Discursive Psychology (Putchá & Potter, 2004). Putchá and Potter (2004) suggest that Conversation Analysis methods enable one to study the interaction between people to help unlock profound questions in sociology. Freitas, Oliveira, Jenkins and Popjoy (1998) indicate that focus group research method is advisable for exploring ideas for investigation or action in new fields. Given that the study, '*Black unemployed township youth in the era of Julius Malema: A study in Alexandra and Orlando, Johannesburg*', has not been the subject of a previous academic study, using the focus group method was considered the most suitable as the intention was to unlock perceptions through group dialogue and interaction.

In conducting the research, the objective was to establish generally homogenous groups as the more homogeneous the groups were in terms of the background and profiles of the participants, the smaller the number of groups would be needed.

The abstract of this research report makes reference to four focus groups through which the findings were analysed. It is important to note that in point of fact, five focus groups had been conducted in total. The first focus group however had been conducted in Alexandra Township as a trial. The purpose was to get a feel of the environment and to attain insight about the interaction styles of youth. I, together with my guide, walked the streets of Alexandra in an attempt to find young black unemployed youth. We did find many prospective participants, but they were not interested in participating as they felt that their participation would yield no financial returns. Their sense of interest was awakened when it was made known that the focus group would be held at the private lounge of a popular restaurant in Alexandra. When it was further advised that lunch and refreshments would be provided to them at no cost after the session, their level of interest heightened. After walking the streets for approximately two hours, a total of 15 people convened at the venue to participate in the trial focus group.

Because all the participants had arrived at once at the venue, and fearing that they would walk out if split into smaller groups, I proceeded with the large focus group. Ideally, some participants should have waited while I conducted smaller focus group interviews with the other participants. The group principally needs to be small enough so that everybody is afforded the opportunity to articulate their thoughts and perceptions yet big enough to provide diversity of perceptions (Freitas et al. 1998).

In the case of the trial focus group, the group had been too large and as a result the session took longer than I had anticipated. The size of the focus group was attributed to the fact that I might have approached one person on the street and invited them to the session but the approached person would in turn invite two or three more friends to accompany them. This trial focus group was a failure technically. The duration of the interview had been too long and the depth of participation in the case of some of the participants was questionable. Furthermore, it proved to be a highly costly exercise because although the private lounge at the restaurant had been offered by management at no cost, the expenses towards the meals and refreshments bought for the 15 participants were excessive.

In lieu of the events that had unfolded at the trial focus group, I was more thoughtful in choosing a venue for the four official focus groups that followed thereafter.

I solicited two crèches to utilise as venues, The Sister G Crèche in Orlando and the Tshimologo Child Development Centre in Alexandra. The crèches were places with which both township communities were familiar. Importantly, the crèches were easy for the participants to locate and the physical structures provided relief from distractions like large windows, glass doors and noise. I organised the seating setup at the crèches to be in a “U” shape arrangement.

The focus group sessions were conducted in a ratio of two groups per township consisting of eight participants each. The composition of the groups was stranger-based as working with people who know each other socially would have possibly caused difficulty with respect to the participants influencing each other and they might have been inhibited from expressing their true feelings and opinions (Freitas et al. 1998).

My chosen guides in both the townships were familiar with the townships and they had better knowledge of where youth unemployment and poverty is prevalent so finding the participants had not been a problematic task.

In terms of practically running the focus group sessions, my first action was to reveal the list of topics, listed in a logical sequence that would be covered during the session. This assisted in providing a degree of structure to the process and it was a way of advising the participants of what to anticipate.

There are certain negative attitudes that can emerge when sensitive subjects around unemployment, marginalisation, poverty and politics are raised. Caution was exercised so as not to position my themes and topics in a manner that could have incited emotional responses from my participants. This was achieved through intermittently referencing statistical facts before posing a question.

The focus group sessions all took on a similar format: I would introduce myself, my background, present reasons for conducting the research and provide insight into my role as a facilitator / moderator and thereafter proceed to introduce the topic in an honest and generic way. Care was taken not to go through the list of topics or themes in a rigid way so as to encourage flexibility in discussion. I would also at the beginning disclose that the session would be audio recorded for transcription purposes.

I would further give a basic guideline in respect to the rules of engagement, for example, that only one person would be permitted to speak at a time. Essentially, a semi-structured approach was adopted while conducting the focus group interviews which ultimately promoted an interactive and interpersonal ‘chat’ as opposed to a ‘stiff instructional’ conversation.

The sessions started with each person in the group introducing themselves. This was a critical moment of the meeting which often served as an icebreaker. The high-level order of the sessions was that the topic would be introduced and this would be followed by a discussion from the group. The discussion would run for 10 minutes before I would proceed to introduce a subsequent theme / topic and so forth.

Freitas et al. (1998) asserts that the quality of the responses is directly related to the quality of the themes or topics. Ultimately, the questions were the essence of the focus group interviews. They were crafted to appear spontaneous to participants, but they had in fact been carefully constructed as a means of extracting relevant information.

I soon discovered that the topic of my research was fairly controversial among the participants and this led to discussions that were lively and at times complicated to follow, especially when participants would make emotional statements when challenging each other’s opinions. In this regard, I would ask for specific descriptions that would lead to shorter responses and invariably promoted variety and broader participation and as a result, I was able to comfortably exert control over the group.

The questions were in the following order: brief opening questions were asked to ascertain and expose characteristics that the participants had in common, followed by introductory questions with a view to introduce the topic of discussion, trailed by transition questions that moved the conversation toward the key questions, and the key questions being the ones that address the study and naturally carry more weight in attention and analysis. These were followed by a conclusion, confirmation and summary questions which were used to draw the discussion to an end.

Putcha and Potter (2004) place emphasis on a researcher having to possess the ability to identify, use, understand, and manage emotions in positive ways to relieve stress, communicate effectively, empathise with others, overcome challenges and defuse conflict in extracting views, perceptions, opinions and feelings of others. Given this consideration, the concluding questions would be posed to summarise the key questions and main ideas that emerged out of the discussion. My summary

question would typically end with me asking the group, 'Is this an appropriate summary?' after which the final thoughts or overlooked matters regarding the discussion would be tabled.

The goal time for each focus group session was two hours. Freitas et al. (1998) affirms that two hours maximum a day or five hours a week are recommended to conduct focus group sessions as interviewing primarily requires mental discipline, preparation and the ability to interact with a group at a relatable level. The focus group sessions at Alexandra Township were an hour and half each and the Orlando focus group sessions had been two hours each. This might have been attributed to the varying level of political interest or inclination held by the participants in the different townships.

4.5 In-depth interviews as a research method and a research practice

The focus group research methodology was utilised in conducting research for the study but in tandem to this method, in-depth interviews with particular subjects were conducted. Bailey (1987) discusses the in-depth interviewing research methodology as a technique that is able to provide flexibility in the lines of communication between the respondent and the researcher. It is a qualitative method of analysis that takes the shape of a confidential and secure conversation between the two parties.

Julius Malema and Fiona Forde, the author of the 2011 book titled *An Inconvenient Youth, Julius Malema and the 'New' ANC*, were interviewed for this study.

For the in-depth interviews, the original intended selection consisted of Buti Manamela, who at the time was a National Secretary for the Young Communist League, as well as the ANC's Derek Hanekom. My intention was to obtain the Young Communist League's position on youth and unemployment. The intention had also been to learn from Manamela why the youth interviewed at the focus groups did not seem to care much for the Young Communist League's existence as a youth political body. Efforts to solicit Manamela for participation proved unsuccessful.

The sample had also originally consisted of Derek Hanekom, who has served in the ANC's National Executive Committee since 1994 and who was the Deputy Minister of Science and Technology at the time of this research. Hanekom was the Chairperson of the Disciplinary Committee in the ANC that managed Malema's case leading to his expulsion from the party. Hanekom was to be interviewed in his capacity as a senior political figure within the ANC. Again, attempts to speak to Mr Hanekom proved unsuccessful.

As the study proceeded, I became convinced that the two interviews which I could not set up successfully, whilst potentially interesting, would not shed light on the key research question and I therefore did not pursue these further.

In this scenario of conducting in-depth interviews, I offered transparency and this seemingly worked to my advantage as the participants seemed comfortable to participate in academic research in the comfort that I was not a member of the media. Similar to the preparation for the focus group interviews, a list of questions had been prepared that were presented during the course of the time spent with the participants of the in-depth interviews for them to answer. The in-depth interviews were equally successful. The Malema interview was done as a tele-conference as Malema was in Limpopo at the time of the meeting and the Forde interview was conducted face to face in Rosebank, Johannesburg.

4.6 Data Analysis

The types of data that both chosen methods generated were field notes, audio recordings and transcripts. Both the interviews and the focus group sessions were transcribed. Thereafter the transcripts were coded to identify central themes.

4.7 Ethical considerations

In carrying out this research, there were ethical considerations that I had to observe and at times deliberate on. As alluded to earlier in this paper, the National Youth Policy of 2009 defines youth as any persons between the ages of 14 and 35 years but for this study, 'youth' was defined as men and women between the ages of 18 and 35 years old. This was because participants above 18 years old did not need consent from their parents to participate in the study as they are deemed to be young, independent thinking adults with a fair sense of judgement.

Polonski (2004) advises that participation in all research should be voluntary and there should not be any coercion or deception in acquiring the participants consent to be a part of the study. Polonski (2004) further suggests that the most effective way to address the informed consent issue is through the use of an information sheet. This had been provided to all those who were invited to participate in the research.

The participants in both the focus group interviews and in-depth interviews were solicited for their consent for the interviews to be tape-recorded. Polonski (2004) suggests that the participants should be allowed to have some ability to edit their feedback and to also change their opinions and views

during the course of the engagement. The participants were also allowed to withdraw from the process at any given point.

Although I was able to meet Forde for an interview, the study itself places considerable reliance on her 2011 book titled *An Inconvenient Youth, Julius Malema and the 'New' ANC*. The meeting location where she and I had our encounter had been noisy. The location was accepted on my part due to the constraints of Forde's schedule. The noise, coupled with her gentle, soft-spokenness produced an audio recording of poor quality. The material that was audible was transcribed and referenced in this study; however the rest was not used. As a researcher I have an ethical obligation to use material that can be supported by means of physical evidence as opposed to reliance on material from my own personal recollection and memory.

4.8 Conclusion

The field research for this study had been fairly successful, particularly with respect to the focus group sessions. As typical of focus groups, the voices of certain individuals will be stronger or more domineering than others, as will be demonstrated in chapter five. In one of the Soweto focus groups, labelled as Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013, the voice of one participant, 'Andile' comes across very strongly. Suppositions that his voice may have distorted the material or the other participants' viewpoints are not a pertinent concern as his voice seemed to carry strong group support.

Chapter Five: Findings and Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

The argument put forward is that Malema has persistently presented himself, through his statements and actions, as a significant voice for the economically disenfranchised, particularly youth in South Africa. Drawing on research involving 32 participants in total, this chapter reveals that the discourse of unemployed township youth is not completely and necessarily inspired by Malema's programme. They understand and appreciate their challenges as extending beyond his politics. Malema's discourse is relevant to young people in Johannesburg's townships in so far as poverty and lack of opportunity is a South African reality for township youth. The unemployed black youth of Alexandra and Orlando craft and present their own explanations and solutions to their everyday lived experience of unemployment and poverty.

5.2 Township youth and political participation

One way of establishing the degree to which the youth is choosing to engage with their environment and society and the national values embedded in the political system that they are exposed to, is to track their election participation and general levels of political involvement. With exception of one participant who was once a member of the Young Communist League, it was discovered that none of the participants in the focus groups of Alexandra and Orlando, Johannesburg were present-day, card-carrying members of any political organisations or youth political organisations for that matter. The general belief amongst the participants interviewed was that they stood not to benefit anything by being members of youth political organisations or by voting.

The prevalent perception articulated by participants was that the higher the position one occupies in certain youth political organisations, the more exposure and influence one has with, firstly, the political mother body of that youth political organisation and, secondly, with external commercial and state owned entities. Consequently, the participants viewed this access as a pursued means to look after 'the self' rather than the interests that seek to develop the youth.

Some participants felt that through affiliations with certain youth political organisations, they too would end up being engulfed in 'play-acting' as championing the course of youth development when in reality it appears to be an 'each to his own' situation. This sentiment was expressed by Neli:

‘The reason why I’m not a part of any political movement, is because I’m concerned...with the implementation of whatever they promise, to deliver to the youth. And so with me it’s more of a preference, let me not...I’d rather not get involved because now I’m lying to people who put me in power. And also getting to the top you know, being recognised in that movement is really, really hard. That’s why I choose just to not get myself involved. Not to participate.’ (Neli, Focus Group 3, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

The participants of one of the focus groups in Orlando unanimously questioned the role of the ANCYL, citing lack of knowledge about its organic political mandate. The youth also questioned the role of ‘feeder’ organisations, such as the South African Students Congress (SASCO). Participants viewed youth political organisations in distrustful terms, and expressed the view that these organisations seem to appear at ‘election time’ only, both at the level of national politics and at the level of student politics.

The research participants in Alexandra in particular appeared to lack political interest and political inclination. The youth of Orlando, although sharing the disposition of apathy on some issues with the youth of Alexandra, were different in that they seemed to acknowledge that the welfare of the South African youth could be significantly and positively different if the political landscape was likewise different and pro-youth. Overall, with reference to the participants of both the mentioned townships, there was an element of short-sightedness in terms of knowledge about youth structures that do not only interrogate policies that the state passes in the interest of youth but which also serve as a voice to the youth’s plight on the myriad of issues affecting them.

It seems that participants recognised that the nature of youth politics in South Africa is disjointed by virtue of the fact that it is driven by numerous youth political organisations, without necessarily being united around a shared philosophy about youth development or a central focus on a core set of challenges facing the youth. Although our democracy produces the space for political and social diversity, which is reflected in the number of political organisations targeting the youth, I argue that this does tend to leave the marginalised youth disconnected from youth politics, as there is no single body that they can essentially connect with. As Andile remarked,

‘I’ve followed politics until I gave up as I could see that there’s no progression.’ (Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

The view of most of the research participants, are backed up by some scholars. Ramphele (2012), for example, argues that countless young people have opted out of engagement with the South

African political process because they are reluctant to be associated with the ‘charades’ that are played in the name of democracy.

Yet, scholars who have worked in the field, such as Booysen (2015) dispute the notion of an intrinsically ‘apathetic’ youth in South African politics. She contends that the youth is politically interested, aware and astute in their assessment of the political order. Booysen’s (2015) work looks at the broader South African youth, in vital contrast to this study, which had sought the participation of black township youth residing in two of several townships falling within the Johannesburg metropolitan only. Booysen (2015) acknowledges though that the youth’s apparent cynicism and lack of political participation are propelled by non-responsive, distant and lazy public and political representatives. Booysen (2015) states that the youth view public and political representatives as being interested in the advancement of their own lives and not of those that they are meant to serve.

In my view, and based on the feedback from participants, when one wakes up in destitute circumstances every day, sometimes the luxury of choice of who speaks on one’s behalf becomes irrelevant. All one cares for is a representative body. An effective, credible and dependable representative body to represent and negotiate one’s interests. This yearning is easy to understand given the everyday context of their lives. For example, Alexandra Township over the years has faced severe infrastructure challenges and the majority of its high-density population is subject to an environment characterised by squalor, which gives way to burdensome social issues like crime, substance abuse and a genuine overarching figure of stigma. Domestic financial pressures often also claim high priority over the life of an ordinary township youth. It is therefore unsurprising that the spirit in which politics is received by black township youth is leaden. The concern expressed by the participants made common reference to a breach of faith where a political message received turned out to be poles apart from reality.

Based on the views of participants in this study, one would be hard-pressed not to flirt with the suspicion that there almost is a vacuum or a gap for a movement that will drive a contemporary, deep social agenda centred on youth struggles that will distinctly be different from and opposed to youth political organisations that operate with a political directorate.

5.3 Accepting responsibility: Unemployment and youth agency

The youth of Alexandra seemed to have accepted unemployment as fate and indict themselves for idleness to a harsher extent than the youth of Orlando. A participant at a focus group in Alexandra by his own admission revealed that,

‘Work opportunities are there but I’m just a laid back person – I just take time doing things, it’s just my problem. I had an (employment) opportunity once and I just relaxed.’ (Wandile, Focus Group 1, Alexandra, 26 April 2013)

This view is shared by another participant in the group:

‘Job opportunities are there it’s just that we as the youth do not push ourselves further to say let me get up, get my papers and go look for a job. We don’t read newspapers that is why we are ignorant; we follow wishy-washy things, like dance styles whereas a white child our age is more advanced. So we are too relaxed I can say. But jobs are out there and if all of us were unemployed and we got up and went to look for jobs I’m telling you, you’d maybe find 30% or 40% of us hired.’ (Themba, Focus Group 1, Alexandra, 26 April 2013)

The participants of Alexandra expressed that exploring and obtaining employment opportunities and a better life is up to an individual and they addressed education as a gateway to a better life. They were critical of government, however, for the lack of opportunities that exist for youth who do not necessarily want to go to tertiary institutions, but who would alternatively prefer embarking on entrepreneurial projects after completing Grade 12.

The participants of Orlando echoed parallel sentiments and expressed the idea that they needed to hold each other as the youth accountable, as they are the ones who have the authority to change the current state of affairs with respect to youth unemployment. This, according to them, would be achieved at the national elections in voting in a new government, which would in turn improve the lives of youth. Yet, in these groups too, the issue of self-indictment was central. In one of the Orlando focus groups, participants argued that they lacked the impetus to take charge of their circumstances because a sense of initiative and self-sufficiency have never been cultivated as part of the South African lived youth culture experience.

Mojalifa, (Focus Group 3, Orlando, 4 May 2013) made a bold statement amongst his peers about his feelings towards the apparent complacency of the youth,

‘...as much as we can shoot at the government, we as the youth, we need to really push ourselves...cause there are people who are so lazy and then they just put a blame on government.’

Ironically, Mojalifa (Focus Group 3, Orlando, 4 May 2013) proceeded to divulge that although he was ‘theoretically’ unemployed, he had been fortunate to be absorbed by an Internship Programme at a reputable information technology company. His sense of reasonable optimism is likely to have stemmed from this fact.

It made for interesting listening to hear the participants accepting accountability for their future and conceding to assumed tendencies of ‘idleness’. This attested to an often downplayed idea that South African youth is in fact self-aware, conscious and sensible. It appeared that participants recognised that they, to a degree, subscribe to a trajectory that endorses entitlement. Present-day youth have been often described as impressionable and as brazenly seeking instantaneous gratification. The participants’ commentary indicated that they thought that an attitude and mindset shift were possibly required if the youth were to be responsible and active subjects in South Africa’s citizenry.

The participants spoke as if what they lacked was a campaign or movement that is somewhat similar to the Moral Regeneration Movement; a movement that would be crafted specifically for the South African youth as an initiative that speaks particularly to the restoration and revival of the youth’s esteem and energy. I cite here the key aim of the Moral Regeneration Movement as an illustration of the kind of movement envisaged:

“The ultimate objective of the Moral Regeneration Movement is to assist in the development of a caring society through the revival of the spirit of botho/ubuntu and the actualisation and realisation of the values and ideals enshrined in our constitution, using all available resources and harnessing all initiatives in government, business and civil society.” (Rauch, 2005:30)

The participants’ perceptions about employment bore the undertones of particular understandings of (social) class. For example, Mbali (Focus Group 2, Alexandra, 26 April 2013) indicated that there are particular jobs that township youth cannot entertain or undertake because these jobs situate them outside the formal labour market which is more acceptable and respected in the township. Mbali expressed that there are some jobs that are seen as not suited for the youth, these jobs are viewed as being beneath the status of the young generation:

‘When you apply for posts at municipalities they usually ask for a tax number and of which it is not an easy thing to get. When you get it they then put you on a waiting list for ever. They keep promising that they will contact you but nothing happens. In the township they announce that jobs are available but only at the CWP (Community Work Projects). That’s not a job for our youth. It’s for the elders even the money (R600 per month) that they earn doesn’t cover the basics’ (Mbali, Focus Group 2, Alexandra, 26 April 2013)

It was my observation that deprivation and lack of access to resources, according to the participants, was viewed as a class and status issue seen to disable all potential for 'suitable' opportunity. The notion of not just accepting and undertaking any form of employment, seemed more honourable to the participants than suffering the humiliation and embarrassment of undertaking work that is considered 'low class'.

It is possible to develop a better understanding of the kind of factors underlying the phenomenon by drawing on the work of Chetty. Chetty (2014) advocates that social class can be expressed as a 'phantasmatic' category that coherently organises the social, cultural and material world together. Class can be understood, therefore, as encompassing a myriad of practices that signifies how ordinary people live, survive and cope.

In the art of the narrative of blaming themselves, class seemed central, yet the question of race did not seem to be an antagonistic one. Ironically, participants demonstrated a greater measure of contempt towards affluent black people than towards white people:

'I can't judge whites, we have had 19 years to maximise on democracy as a black people. There's no need for us to be crying about whites. This thing that whites are superior...no... Everyone is different but there's no difference in our plights. Whose problem is it that we haven't been extracting from the pillars of democracy and other structures created for redress purposes? It's not the white people's problem. I'll tell you one thing black people are lazy.' (Obakeng, Focus Group 1, Alexandra, 26 April 2013)

Participants seemed to believe that they presently enjoy the same competitive advantage that their non-black youth counterparts enjoy. The difference in the outcome in terms of whether they make a success of life or not pertinently appeared to lie in the access and exposure to resources for employment opportunities particularly:

'I think it's not lack of skills it's the lack of paper – that qualification...so it's not about the colour of my skin these days. It's a lack of qualifications.' (Pitso, Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013).

Yet, in the context of deprivation and the absence of a broader solidarity movement or framework, what emerged was that the participants had lost hope in the efficacy of politics. A shift towards crime as a means to make ends meet seemed to some an attainable and realistic option. Andile explained:

'...like my mom, she wakes up every day to go and sell tomatoes in town. She used to come back with about R700 a day and nowadays she comes back with R30. I also need to go to school, I need to attend tertiary. This causes me to leave school, pick up a gun and then go to 'hustle' which is totally

wrong. To seize someone else's possessions which they have worked for is wrong. But it's a forced situation because now these leaders don't think for other people.' (Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

It can be deduced that youth reform for individuals who have served time in prison is an additional challenge that some youth find themselves facing. Some, like Andile (Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013) find it difficult to integrate back into society and to find employment because of the criminal profiles linked to their names. For some like Thami (Focus Group 2, Alexandra, 26 April 2013), rehabilitation post-incarceration is possible. He returned to school after prison and subsequently found employment until he voluntarily resigned from work due to personal circumstances.

'I studied for a year at tertiary then dropped out, so along the way I became a gang member and I got imprisoned for six months. I came back and re-enrolled myself in a Durban college. So only then did I manage to complete my studies and I graduated. After that I got a job in Woodmead at Sportsman's Warehouse that was in 2004.' (Thami, Focus Group 2, Alexandra, 26 April 2013)

It's a conundrum that cannot be ignored as far as unemployed black township youth is concerned. Those who have qualifications appeal for employment opportunities and those without qualifications appeal for resources that will ensure that they attain qualifications so that they can be employable.

The work of some scholars seem to be responsive to the way in which black township youth articulate their plight as well as their options. For example, Pieters (2013) looks strategically beyond the issues of skills and qualifications and recommends that in order to counter youth unemployment in developing countries, there needs to be a shift that endorses the creation of better quality employment as opposed to low quality employment where chances of longevity in the employment are similarly low. It is my opinion that expanded public works cannot be deemed as a sustainable approach to solving South Africa's youth unemployment crisis.

Yet, in the spirit of self-responsibility, participants were also not at a loss in debating strategies that constitute a systemic intervention. For example, when the participants were probed on poverty alleviation strategies, the nationalisation of mines, banks and the state ownership of land became topical issues. Yet, participants from Alexandra and Orlando shared concerns on the adverse economic ramifications that the nationalisation of assets would invite. Mpho, for example, reflected on the matter in a thoughtful way:

‘We have all these foreign things that are made from natural materials that are sourced from here at home. We sell it to someone from overseas and buy it back in product form. If South Africa had to nationalise mines, our economy would collapse because we are doing it for us, not the continent so we would be in isolation. If the continent stood together and policies allowed such things...then I think it would be better and we wouldn’t have things like having to reinventing the wheel.’ (Mpho, Focus Group 3, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

She elaborated on her point of ‘re-inventing the wheel’ (Focus Group 3, Orlando, 4 May 2013). In principle, Mpho argued that she believed that the nationalisation of mines would create jobs but would not further the skills range, particularly for the youth, because the corruption that subsists in public sector entities would take shape and affect the well-intended course of action. She continued to illustrate that economically, nationalisation would cause foreign investment to decline, and in a globalising world, South Africa could not afford to function in isolation. According to Mpho, what would strengthen South Africa’s position is if other African countries would exclusively trade with South Africa. She mentioned that to her knowledge, Libya, restricted their oil trade to African countries only and other countries followed suit with their minerals with a view to build a stronger African identity and a formidable continental resource pool (Focus Group 3, Orlando, 4 May 2013).

The Orlando participants emphasised that South Africa needed to establish its own South African identity first before adopting an African identity as this would place the agenda of all South African people as a priority, particularly the majority black and poor citizens of the country.

Participants further seemed comfortable that the knowledge and skills base for agriculture would be passed on appropriately in relation to land transfer, given that farm work has been undertaken by generations within the black community for many decades, aided by the emergence of a new generation of qualified blacks in agriculture and environmental studies. Again, the concern centred on corruption and the abuse of power with respect to the management of the nationalisation and land expropriation processes. For example, referring to corruption, Mpho reflected:

‘That’s basically how our government has been for a very long time.’ (Focus Group 3, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

5.4 Shifting the blame: Perceived external causes of youth unemployment

Paradoxically, the admission by participants of their lack of ambition to aggressively explore and pursue opportunities became a non-factor when the topic shifted towards *correctable* conditions of unemployment. Three causes of youth unemployment were identified by participants.

First, the youth of Alexandra seemed to harbour contempt towards people working in both the public and private sectors who are over 50 years of age, citing that the retirement age in different sectors is also the cause of youth unemployment.

‘I would prefer that at the age of 50, people can retire from work as they block spaces in the system. And there’s a lot of grannies working and I don’t know why they are working, wanting free money. At 50 they must just give you your pension money. We must give each other a chance, why do people want to die at work? What if you get your pension fund tomorrow then you die and you wouldn’t have been able to enjoy your money? That’s not right. You must work, work, and then get your money and then go do something that will benefit you, not until you’re 80. Granddads are stealing ‘young bloods’ jobs because they have experience but we also need experience.’ (Obakeng, Focus Group 1, Alexandra, 26 April 2013)

Second, it was also uncovered that there are feelings of deep-rooted aggravation, resentment and dislike towards foreign nationals as the notion that they ‘steal’ jobs that are meant for South Africans persists. The participants from Orlando were forthcoming about their disapproval of foreign nationals participating in the South African economic market, as Lethu declared,

‘...all the jobs that should be going to us are being taken by foreigners!’ (Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

The participants of Orlando therefore agreed that Malema’s position was a valid standpoint, not so much in relation to his views on race, but about his ideas around national identity and the need for South Africa to look after the people of South Africa first. Andile elaborated on this position very clearly:

‘You see my sister (referring to me) some of the things that he (Malema) did was to expose the government in terms of how it is robbing us. I don’t think that we can chase the white people away from our country, how can we chase those people when the country is filled with Chinese, Pakistanis? When Mandela was in power, the Zimbabweans infiltrated into South Africa, and when Mbeki was in power, the Chinese took over, then Zuma came in and it’s now the Pakistanis. That’s why I say that sometimes when I’m sitting with the outies, I just say you know what pals, I have a bad feeling about this township – something will happen. Our children are going to fight with the Pakistani people, fighting over the township because it’s no longer our township, it’s the township of the Pakistanis. And these lots of South African girls dating Pakistanis, I don’t blame them. Why? Because they (the Pakistanis) have money.’ (Andile, Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

The youth have a perception that government has given foreigners too many privileges, too many opportunities as well as leeway in a country that is not of their birth:

‘The government favours foreigners over its own people.’ (Andile, Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

The participants in Orlando posed provocative questions, asking why foreigners are permitted to march in South Africa on human rights issues (referring to the marches that typically take place on 21 March, Human Rights Day) whereas they had never seen foreigners marching for their rights in Pakistan or any other African country for instance. Notwithstanding that those countries may not be publicizing the initiatives of the foreign nationals in their countries to an extent that they reach international audiences.

Thirdly the participants placed strong blame on the South African constitution, citing that it may be one of the most advanced in the world, but it certainly is not the most empathetic to its youth. The participants shared a broad consensus that endorses the basic human rights of every living South African as contained in Chapter 2 of the Bill of Rights as one that should be at the forefront of government’s agenda for South Africans as opposed to the welfare of foreign nationals.

Andile, who seemed impassioned about the co-relation of youth unemployment and the occupancy of foreign nationals in South Africa, stated,

‘If you look at Graça Machel, she’s an international Human Rights activist but why must she feature so intimately in South African business if she’s from Mozambique? Don’t you see that that’s how the foreigners infiltrate this country? Gatsha didn’t have kid gloves for these people...’ (Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

The brazenness of the Orlando participants’ views on foreign nationals is something that some may argue is attributed to the misery and acrimony caused by progressive hopelessness experienced by them on an everyday basis in the townships. Upon closer review, the real crisis appeared to lie in the notion of access. Foreign nationals were viewed by the participants as having access to opportunities that could otherwise be for the South African youth. To a great extent, the hostility stemmed not from foreign nationals residing in South Africa, but from the opportunities that they unlock and embark on while in the country.

‘Like now my sister (referring to me) I’ll give you an example. In terms of land, the government has ‘sold’ Highgate Shopping Centre to the Chinese, with that space at Highgate he (Zuma) was supposed to open factories and do something for the people. So, that we would maybe have a product that we could produce and sell to other countries.’ (Andile, Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

The hostility towards foreign nationals appeared to have been extended to a broader set of racial groups, whereas previously perpetrators of xenophobia in South Africa had been understood as

primarily holding reserves of bitterness for black African foreign nationals only. The intensified enmity towards foreign nationals led Andile (Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013) to predict that there will in the near future be a revolt in the township against the Pakistani foreign nationals.

The state too was an object of critique by participants. The apparent protection that the government offers foreign nationals was a further sore point with participants from Orlando. They were of the conviction that as much as foreign nationals participate in the South African economy, a fraction of them also participate in it in a ‘creative’ and destructive fashion. Yet, according to them, government ‘overlooks’ this, and grants the privilege of access and opportunities to foreign nationals over its own people:

‘If I can just tell you something, 99% of the people in jail are foreigners. I can take you to prison with me and you can go to prison and make an appointment. You can go in your current capacity (as a researcher) and then I’ll show you the demographics. There are foreigners...like now there are crimes that can’t be associated with South Africans, other things are just foreign to the way we operate so they are from foreigners. We South Africans are delinquents yes but the people who make it worse for us are foreigners. You can’t break into someone’s house and you have taken everything and then you turn around and pick up a baby and burn him/her with an iron. Those are foreigners with no conscience, with dead parents perhaps so why must they feel for you?’ (Andile, Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

Xenophobia in South Africa has irrefutably been viewed and received as a new pathology marring the country’s young democracy. Dodson (2010) concurs that South Africa is a highly xenophobic society, which, out of fear of foreigners, does not naturally value the human rights of non-nationals. Existing scholarship, such as the work by Jules-Macquet (2014) postulates that there is an anecdotal belief that many people committing offences in South Africa are foreign nationals and this notion is not true. Jules-Macquet (2014) reveals that foreign nationals make up only 4% of the total (criminally) sentenced population. Andile’s (Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013) figure of 99% is therefore somewhat of an exaggerated idea but this in itself perpetuates grave stereotypes and stigma about foreign nationals.

It is my opinion that foreign nationals are often perceived in the context of stereotypes. They are often seen to be ‘outsiders’ and are generally considered to be a representation of symbolic threat. In terms of the long-term problem of addressing stereotypes, the stereotyping of any group in society cannot be viewed in isolation. According to Meyers (1989), in the realm of socialisation, children observe, store up as well as imitate various patterns of behaviour. Naturally societies take advantage of these inclinations by rewarding acceptable conduct/behaviour or condemning

unacceptable conduct/behaviour. I would then argue that it would be to the benefit of a healthy society to have the country's younger generation to change their mind-set about the ideas, attitudes and behaviours into which they have been socialised with regards to foreign nationals.

I would further argue that the stereotypes about foreign nationals amongst the participants in this study provide credence to concepts such that of the 'ticking time bomb', which the former Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) General Secretary, Zwelinzima Vavi made reference to in his narrative on the issue of jobless youth in a keynote speech at COSATU's international policy conference in 2012 (Prince, 2012). Vavi's statement alluded to unemployed youth organising themselves for collective action and the statement is mirrored in the work of Von Holdt et al. (2011). He refers to collective violence as the symbolic disruption of the dominant symbolic order as a means for the subaltern classes to assert a public spirit that demands attention and action from the state. I'm of the view that the sporadic attacks on Ethiopians and other foreign nationals in the food retail sector throughout various townships in South Africa, in the past few years, are indicative of a people that feels alienated from participation in the economy and is as a result deeply troubled.

5.5 Sources of their wrath: Anger at institutions of power and the possibility of violent resistance

Emotions that seemed prevalent amongst the participants in Alexandra and Orlando were that of anger and resentment. In the main, these were acutely directed at the man who is at the helm of leadership both within the ANC and in his capacity as the head of state, President Jacob Zuma, but also to the ruling party. Outwardly, the youth have lost confidence in the ANC-led government. The youth who participated in this study appeared to be angry, resentful and exasperated due to being side-lined from the labour market and economic participation. For example, Andile retorted,

'You see what's happening now in government is that they are failing to hire people in hospitals. How many years have passed without Baragwanath not hiring? But at the end of the day we still vote for fucking Zuma and his fucking crew.' (Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

He backed up this remark as follows:

'When you take a closer look at this ANC there is nothing that it has done for me...the 'flop' is that this land was fought for by school children and we succeeded. Doing it on behalf of our parents, when that was done, our parents let us down. The Zumas of this world. They let us down and thought for themselves and forgot the people who helped them get the land back...this land was fought for by the youth and a lot of them died. Today they have been forgotten as if people didn't die, here in the township.' Andile (Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

The Orlando participants seemed to be in a trance of wrath, vocally exchanging heightened expectations of what each had envisioned democratic South Africa to be like:

‘If someone is busy lying to you and you are busy believing him, then who is the fool there? You are the fool. Cause there are empty promises.’ (Zola, Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

At one focus group in particular, in Orlando, rage directed at government increasingly welled up as participants became emotional, becoming more interested and animated as they listened to the one voice that appeared to boldly speak of what they were perhaps thinking but afraid to say:

‘They need to ‘snipe’ Zuma one day. To show them we shouldn’t accept things anyhow. You see we are suffering now and we are busy thinking of how we can kill Zuma. You see if I’d go and get the Afrikaners to show me how to ‘snipe’ or if the Afrikaners give me ammunition and say kill him, here’s money – I’d kill him...you know why I’d want to kill him? It’s because I want money because he doesn’t give me money, he doesn’t give me work. I can go with you now to Bara Mall and ask Zuma to meet with us there and then I’d say Bab’ Msholozzi, please may I have some money to feed my family he wouldn’t give it to me. He’d tell me that he doesn’t walk around with money...you see with other things it’s because as a black people we destroy each other. Your Zuma is on top now and when he greets us he looks and waves down at us.’ (Andile, Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

At this point, given that a sensitive and controversial remark such as ‘...they need to snipe Zuma’ had been made, I anticipated opposite viewpoints to emerge, or at least some critical toning down of the conversation. Astonishingly, the participants who were in the focus group in which Andile participated, nodded their heads in agreement and pronounced spirited ‘yesses’ (Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013). Zola, for example, supported Andile’s statement and remarked,

‘You see now sister (referring to me), Zuma is going to be president for the second time, you see we’ll have to vote for him again indirectly! And we were never asked whether we want Zuma or not. And we don’t want him. That’s where the problem is.’ (Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

The anger shifted from the ANC as a political party, during earlier sessions in Orlando, to President Jacob Zuma as an individual character, demonstrating that there is a high level of personal bitterness carried by black unemployed youth. Andile unpacked his fantasy of killing President Zuma as that which would firstly drive a point home to government that the youth should not be ‘treated anyhow’ and secondly one that would be done as a means to financial gain. This is an alarming illustration that depicts the extent of desperation and apprehension that is invoked every waking day in the life of a black youth when the topic of unemployment is raised.

A choice of words that was used by the participants from Orlando was telling of a bigger story that one could perhaps understand superficially, as attempting to understand it organically would require one to undertake a lived experience:

‘If we can stand as a collective and have everyone come out of their houses and we march we will win because – we’ll just close everything down, declare war.’ (Lesedi, Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

The desire for protest and resistance as a way of getting out of the current impasse as expressed by Zola (Focus Group 4, Soweto, 4 May 2013) was echoed by Lesedi who further asserted,

‘...bottom line is we are ignorant, we are pulling this way and that. There is no unity. Even the ANC itself is no longer united it’s got factions. This one likes this one, this one likes that one. If we could be united as the youth we would conquer. If we were to come out and toyi-toyi, say that no one is going to work today you’d see. The buses would be stopped from entering or exiting the township. The youth is not working; we should be asking others how are you working when we aren’t?!’ (Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

Even though the participants of Alexandra and Orlando appeared to be enraged, the idea of exploring an alternative political party seemed to appear as a very distant thought. Names were mentioned, but in passing and more as comments rather than for ‘action agenda’. For example, Lesedi stated as follows:

‘If you listened to that comment by President Zuma where he was saying that opening up new parties will not benefit anyone (supposedly referring to Mamphela Ramphele and Agang). But at the same time I’m thinking what do you (President Zuma) do for us. I ask myself about what exactly he brings to South Africa for us.’ (Lesedi, Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013).

The anger was directed at President Zuma and it became a point of interest to observe that President Zuma and the ANC appeared to be somewhat inseparable entities that could not be entirely judged separately from each other, in terms of the participants’ viewpoint.

The underlying anger in South African society has been picked up in broader scholarship. Duncan, Meijer, Drok, Garman, Strelitz, Steenveld, Bosch, Ndlovu and Media Tenor (2013) indicate that the increased violence associated with protests and strikes for service delivery should be viewed as a grave concern as it is a possible signal for a looming social uprising. They too, in their observations about the South African political, economic and social landscape, cite Vavi’s (2012) ‘ticking time bomb’ analogy.

From a theoretical point of view, the aggression and desire to employ violent ‘war’ is not surprising. Scholars have long made a link between the effects of deprivation to collective action, collective violence and protest as can be picked in the theoretical framework of this study. Clark (2012) distinguishes between structural (also known as indirect) violence and direct violence. She denotes that although both are characterised by the infliction of physical violence; structural violence is established as a less visible type of violence. Ardizzone (2007) asserts that the mechanisms of structural violence are exploitation, penetration, segmentation and marginalisation. Structural violence is embedded in the social, political, and economic structures that make up society. It is argued that violence breeds violence and Ardizzone (2007) contends that a constant exposure to structural violence leads to distrust of government authority often causing feelings of alienation, rage and cynicism resulting in direct violence. Dwyer (2010) presents that what are seemingly called ‘service delivery’ protests have actually been about issues that affect the working poor, the unemployed and that students are struggling to stay at higher institutions of learning because of lack of finances. He argues that the political anger of people towards the state for failing to even provide basic services in the townships is an indictment to the anticipation and belief that President Zuma would be a statesman man of the people, that he would bring about positive social stability and transformation.

5.6 Education: An alternative way out of the current crisis?

A recurring subject matter at the focus groups was that of education. It was discovered that some participants had completed post Grade 12 qualifications in the form of degrees and diplomas even though they were unemployed. What the participants seemed equally concerned about was the high school dropout rate in the township. Participants cited various reasons for dropping out of high school, but a recurring explanation was that of financial constraints leading to the inability of the participants to progress to a tertiary education level:

‘Here in the township we have huge drop-outs. People leaving high school and then they stay at home. And then how many people get to university and then drop out? How many people graduate and then stay at home?’ (Mojalifa, Focus Group 3, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

Mbali reiterated Mojalifa’s point,

‘To achieve a qualification you have to study and studying requires money, so our government is useless ... if our government could expand their minds and think of us at the bottom for a change. Education fees are rising every year whilst our poor moms are sitting at home with no jobs as well.’ (Focus Group 2, Alexandra, 26 April 2013)

Sphiwe, who had not completed his high school education and subsequently stayed at home because of lack of funds to assist him to advance further, pronounced that,

‘Job opportunities are for those with qualifications.’ (Focus Group 2, Alexandra, 26 April 2013)

This statement was interrogated by other group participants, and cascaded into a discussion of other challenges that the youth face in so far as education is concerned. Key to this was the perceived worthlessness of some qualifications, the mismatch between qualifications and the skills set required by the job market, as well as the difficulties of accessing the labour market bearing only a higher education qualification but no work experience. Lesedi outlined the first problem:

‘When they say that education is the key for your success, where is that thing, do you see the key? Do you see that success? If you look at things, the two groups; of unemployed people and employed people are all applying for the same positions? We are told we all need to have a matric.... but what I’m more concerned about is that fine, this matric we can complete at schools, you’ll stay another 10 years unemployed with your matric.... but we submit CVs and we don’t find work.’ (Lesedi, Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

It has become a matter of normalcy that the cause of unemployment amongst educated youth may be attributed to the mismatch of what the incumbent studies for, the job opportunities available and the skills sets that are needed in the market. The issue of ‘required job experience’ as part of job requirements was a highly contentious one amongst the participants in Alexandra and Orlando.

In one of the focus groups at Orlando, a participant, Ntsiki (Focus Group 3, Orlando, 4 May 2013), reported that she had completed her matric and stayed at home for two years while funds were being raised for her tertiary education by her family. She then went to a tertiary institution for four years, taking breaks in between her studies, because of financial constraints. She eventually completed her diploma and has not been able to break into the job market ever since. She has been at home, unemployed for more than four years. Neli irritably spoke while she pointed at Ntsiki (Focus Group 3, Orlando, 4 May 2013),

‘She went to school for four years...for what?!? Now she’s on the same level as a person who decides oh no I’m going to drop out. She worked her ass off to get whatever qualification she has right now. But now she can’t use it to her benefit and the people who promised her opportunities are not giving her a chance to use her qualification. So it’s like why even bother to go to school, if I’m going to be a statistic.’ (Neli, Focus Group 3, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

One of the participants at Orlando argued that in South Africa as a graduate one is likely not to get employment because one lacks work experience. She argued that elsewhere in the world, though,

one would be employed whether it be in research or elsewhere by virtue of the fact that one has a qualification.

In critically assessing the challenges of unemployed youth, the big question that emerged centred on why the private sector fails to recognise completed tertiary education as a kind of ‘experience’ – perhaps not as organic work experience, but as functional experience nonetheless. I would argue that having the motivation and resolve as well as capacity to complete a degree or diploma, surely is a demonstration of one’s ability, commitment and self-discipline. The skills acquired from being at a tertiary institution should be considered as a testament to a person’s ability to think, reason and problem solve in an independent capacity. This ought to be considered as part of one’s ‘professional’ experience.

Linked to their concern about lack of experience, and the unwillingness of the job market to credit post-school education as a form of experience, was the participants’ perception of the role of the state in perpetuating this state of affairs. The perception amongst the participants was that government policy does not recognise education as experience or as gained experiential learning, translating this to failure of the private and public sectors to entrench the philosophy into the order of business in staff resourcing. The reason for this is seen as that government has no confidence in the education system that it is the custodian of. In essence, government has no confidence in the products of its education system and this is seen as the reason why graduates are required to have supplementary work experience for job opportunities over and above the experience attained at tertiary institutions.

By their own admission, the participants of Alexandra and Orlando agreed that government was doing its young people a disservice with reference to the education policy and fundamental curriculum content that is neither competitive nor compelling. Obakeng suggested that instead of government being overly lenient with pass mark expectations; it should be looking at refining and developing innovative ways in which pupils can learn,

‘Like some people understand by listening. They can’t comprehend things that they have to read. Do you get me? So I would purchase books; audio books, so pupils who choose can listen and get information. We are not the same as people...like you find people who struggle in school but who’ll listen to a song today and by tomorrow they would know all the lyrics to the song...so I’d make school flexible but I wouldn’t compromise on the expected output.’ (Focus Group 1, Alexandra, 26 April 2013)

Learnerships and internships are the common initiatives of the day aimed at offering experiential and practical experience to graduates. However, based on the focus group discussions, they often yield unintended consequences and complications of their own. Again, where the participants are concerned, government seems to be at the receiving end of reproach.

‘Internships don’t always work out because no one cares about interns. In government, as an intern you fetch the coffee. Every department needs to look at what the internship programme entails. If I’m an intern for Language Policy Planning and then you send me to go get coffee, I’m a graduate and I have a degree I can empower you, someone who has been in that position for that long but you are not using my knowledge base to either further yourself or see if I’m taking initiative or if I’m in tune with the work that I studied for. You don’t have that thing that says let me just pass the document and let her deal with it, what you’re thinking is just for me to get you coffee. In government you are sent to do photocopies and you are not allowed to do any research or if you’re allowed to do research it’s because you’re doing it for someone else to present as their own work and not to critique or give feedback on it so you can grow. In government you are very lucky if you get a permanent job after your internship. You are very, very lucky. In the public sector it rarely ever happens.’ (Mpho, Focus Group 3, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

Linking the participants responses to existing scholarship, I noted that there is awareness around fundamental problems with respect internships. To that effect, the South African Graduates Development Association (SAGDA, 2013) recommends that Sector, Education and Training Authorities (SETAs) be intricately involved in the monitoring and evaluation of internships. The recommendation additionally challenges SETAs to assume a proactive and robust role in gathering more qualitative data from site visits as opposed to focusing on numerical targets.

Moreover, the issue of Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) cannot be ignored when it comes to discussions about education and skills development in South Africa. It is my opinion that the internship programmes that Mpho (Focus Group 3, Orlando, 4 May 2013) refers to are tools to a means for the private and public sectors to achieve favourable scoring on skills development, which ultimately impacts on their final B-BBEE score and rating. Regulation on skills development does not enforce sectors to permanently employ participants of internships and learnerships. Youth from disadvantaged communities get exposed to the world of work through these programmes, with no promise of job security and they subsequently end up at home and unemployed after their short-term employment contracts end. The company that would have short-term employed them would have scored on B-BBEE points already. It can be argued that learnerships and internships are used as catalysts to meet B-BBEE quotas rather than as a means to

stimulate and facilitate sustainable participation of youth in the labour market and broader economy.

The matter of financial exclusion from the education system is also a point that drew attention and concern. A shortcoming of government has been to not publicly reiterate why South Africa adopted a fees system, particularly for higher education. Government, through the capacity of the ruling party-ANC, would intimate a political promise of free education at rallies, anniversaries, gatherings of commemoration etc. This is the notion that the ordinary South African still holds on to. The Freedom Charter (African National Congress, 1955) declares that, 'Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children; Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit.' This is an often communicated ideal amongst various others carried within the Freedom Charter. The ideals invoke sentimentalism and arguably blend realism with surrealism. What is often not emphasised to the broader public is that ideals are aspirational and very often the ideals are mistaken for what the party delivers in its election manifesto(s).

In its 2014 election manifesto the ANC committed to ensuring that there would be an improvement and expansion in education, making Grade R compulsory, eradicating adult illiteracy, expanding the TVET sector and improving the quality of education up to the senior grade. The manifesto was silent on free education. There needs to be a concerted effort into emphasising the differences in the objectives and goals of the ANC as a government in power; in a language that the layman is able to understand and relate to. I would argue that the concept of free education is a goal and not an objective of the ANC. Loaded and politically sophisticated terms such as the 'Second Transition' are a stretch to the layman's imagination. The layman wants to see the basics in place. The basics can be denoted as affordable or free quality education, affordable or free quality healthcare, skills development and employment, food security and decent housing which all are in strong alignment with the country's constitution.

If one were to indulge the notion that government has no confidence in the products created by its education system, one would not be hard-pressed to understand the reasons. According to the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (2014) to graduate into higher education, from high school level, one needs only to achieve 40% as a pass mark average to be admitted to a Diploma programme and 50% as a pass mark average for admission into a Bachelor's Degree programme.

5.7 Markers of an uprising

‘If there is no real participation of youth in a society, the frustration resulting from being unheard could easily overturn in acts of violence.’ World Bank, 2006

The participants from Orlando indicated that other townships were rioting and toyi-toying against their own municipalities because of dissatisfaction with service delivery. They resolved to urge each other at the focus group sessions to assume a similar defiant attitude towards government. In essence, the participants of this study were affirming that the self-esteem of the unemployed black youth had been battered for so long and that restoring dignity would require forceful action that would unsettle government to give attention to this group, that feels marginalised,

‘You see like I’m telling you for things to happen we will need to do something. For now other townships are toyi-toying for service delivery. You see even with Malema having gone this way and that making demands on behalf of the youth ...nothing has happened. It’s not hitting the mark. I’m telling you that Soweto needs to rise, you see if this township stands up, things would happen.’ (Zola, Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

Participants talked about militant protest action to voice their concerns on the extensive youth unemployment but no mention was made of delivering a memorandum to government. ‘Let’s toyi-toyi guys! Ya, let's toyi-toyi!’ chorused the group. Vocal vibrations cut across the room in excitement as all the participants validated each other and the thought process and prospect of forming a social movement. It is clear and to Della Porta and Diani’s (2006) point that social movements are a distinct social process that arise out of conflictual relations with identified opponents and they are linked to informal networks and share a collective identity.

Out of the four focus groups conducted in Alexandra and Orlando only one person had participated in the march for Economic Freedom in our Lifetime that had been led by Malema during his time as the President of the ANCYL. The participants seemed to have grasped the motive for the march. Others articulated their regret in having not participated,

‘I wish I had been there.’ (Lesedi, Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

A controversial aspect about the march, however, which became a topic of conversation amongst the focus group participants centred on Malema having called on a collective for a worthy initiative, but only for him to demonstrate individualistic behaviour by allegedly riding in a vehicle during the march whilst the rest of the marchers walked.

‘The march aimed to get us to stand up for ourselves but the way he (Malema) went about it was wrong, he’s always a power figure, people walked while he was sitting in the van.’ (Mbali, Focus Group 2, Alexandra, 26 April 2013)

There were undertones that pointed to a sense of fickleness and betrayal on Malema’s part. This reinforced the notion that politicians seldom honour their word and any deeds undertaken are for their own self-advancement and popularity at the expense of those that they claim to serve.

Arising from the expulsion of Malema on 29 February 2012 (ANC National Disciplinary Committee Public Announcement on the Disciplinary hearings of Floyd Shivambu, Julius Malema, Sindiso Magaqa, 29 February 2012) from the ANC, there have since been public conspiracies and tales around the reasons supposedly relevant to his exit. Notwithstanding the findings that led to the verdict carrying the expulsion of Malema that were presented by the ANC National Disciplinary Committee, the participants in Alexandra and Orlando seemed to have developed their own versions of theories behind Malema’s political career end within the ANC.

Andile presented his version metaphorically,

‘Malema showed us the way here and there and ‘flopped’ here and there in the ANC. And the parents allowed the flops. He was rude and became unruly towards them (parents) and they took a decision that they will banish their son because his unruliness would reveal the secrets of the witchery existing inside the home.’ (Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

The ‘witchery’ that Andile (Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013) alluded to informed Mojalifa’s judgements when he quoted Lord Acton’s famous saying,

‘...this is the ANC that we are talking about. And I always look at this phrase, “Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely!” (Mojalifa, Focus Group 3, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

Participants were suspicious of the reason pertaining to Malema’s exit from the ANC, citing that in all likelihood it had possibly been twofold. Expelling him could have been a move to safeguard key politicians’ reputations within the ANC or it could have been to unseat a figure of power that had become a genuinely destructive force. The participants gravitated towards the first view proclaiming that key political figures have a tendency of protecting each other from controversies.

Andile (Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013) argued that corruption is rife and is enabled by politicians themselves. He gave an account of the fact that he went to prison for crime and he was incarcerated with the son of one of the Members of Parliament. He explained that the Member of Parliament would go into the cell to check the condition of his son’s bed and groceries would be

smuggled in while other inmates had to settle for prison food. Andile (Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013) asked me if this did not count as corruption and how he was expected to have come out of prison a better person when he had witnessed and experienced injustices even inside prison.

Participants expressed their views that Malema had been irresponsible and reckless in his discourse throughout his tenure as the ANCYL President, but felt that President Zuma on the other hand had not maintained an exemplary reputation either. Participants deviated from the thematic discussion, alluding amongst themselves to the fact that South Africans had not forgotten the rape, racketeering and corruption charges brought against President Zuma's name in December 2005 and April 2009 respectively. Whilst he was cleared of all charges, they reiterated that public confidence remained compromised, as was evident in the contributions of the participants of Alexandra and Orlando.

Participants from Orlando demonstrated spirited interest in the subject of Malema as a political public figure. The youth of Alexandra on the other hand seemed fairly uninspired and sceptical towards the politics of Malema. The key message received from the interviews demonstrated that participants thought that Malema's politics have merit. Yet, they equally felt concerned that Malema was in pursuit of power, popularity and an absolutist resolution approach for South Africa's problems:

'I thank Malema for a lot of things. Malema showed us a lot of things that they didn't want us to see.'

(Andile, Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

When one is a product of structural poverty, the circumstances appear to be 'normal' because that is all one knows and the participants emphasised that Malema had been a good leader in continuously holding up the mirror of the injustices of poverty to South Africa at large and to create awareness amongst its own disenfranchised people. The youth condemned the ANC's action of expelling Malema saying that it had been a tactic to silence his challenging voice.

'You see Malema was born radical. People like Malema, if you were the president would you chase them away or would show them the way? You'd show them the way wouldn't you...and the ANC does what? I mean to even throw him out of the organisation?!' (Zola, Focus Group 4, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

A participant in an earlier group remarked on Malema's conduct, stating that on the outset he had been good for politics but at a later stage demonstrated questionable behaviour that was difficult to reconcile with the idea of the Malema that the youth had expected to see from a leader like him.

‘He didn’t appear to be pushing so much youth matters initially, because he focused on certain areas – you know like when people came to know of him, he was focused on the development of Limpopo. So he was successfully doing the organisation’s work; you can’t really shoot one man for standing up for something that he believes is right. As time went on he became very nonsensical and very vulgar and that was not I think a representation of the youth, especially unemployed youth who needed a voice...’ (Mpho, Focus Group 3, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

The participant then adopted a more sympathetic tone towards Malema and the contempt, as was the case in previous instances in the other focus groups, shifted towards the ANC.

‘If you look at the ANC as a whole you know when they rally for votes they promise certain things you know like job creation, a lot of things, the president himself has come under review many a time because his speech says one thing and what happens in the country is another. So you can’t shoot one man for what the organisation has failed to do. Because Malema might have promised out of his own head and heart but he needed the support of the mother body and not just the Youth League, he needed support...whatever else, his personal things – those are personal. What he had promised as the president of the Youth League should have been the agenda of the Youth League.’ (Mpho, Focus Group 3, Orlando, 4 May 2013)

The ‘personal things’ that Mpho was referring to, are the tax evasion and fraud charges that Malema was facing at the time of this research. The focus group participants did not seem overly aggravated by the allegations, mentioning that the majority of officials in government and incumbents of powerful business and political seats are perceivably not the most ethical people. According to the participants, most people who possess influence and power drive for their own self-interest and upward mobility and that evading the South African Revenue Service obligations is part and parcel of this mind-set.

The youth of Alexandra seemed to rate Malema more decisively than the youth of Orlando.

‘He was misleading the youth at the wrong time and place. How about the things that he spent on instead of donating to charity maybe? There is nothing to show for what he has done for the youth. NOTHING has been done for the youth. He just didn’t have the qualities for being a leader; he said things and expected them to happen overnight, he was so bossy...’ (Mbali, Focus Group 2, Alexandra, 26 April 2013)

Malema’s conduct that had led to his expulsion from the ANCYL came under huge condemnation. It was apparent that the charismatic legitimacy that he had enjoyed was in jeopardy if not severed.

‘Julius started on the right foot but at the end he totally got out of control, so as a leader you have to plan and stand your ground. Plan, organize, and lead. If you don’t have a plan how can you lead people? Julius lost his tune due to his uncouth nature. Being a leader you don’t talk like Julius did to

the media...he was right in many ways, but now I don't know what went wrong with him. He was good for politics and what he was saying to the government and the youth. He was telling the truth but he then again started swearing at the elder people. He had no respect for the elderly which was wrong of him...he just dropped the ball and things started turning around for him, so we couldn't have a leader like Malema, he was misleading the youth.' (Thami, Focus Group 2, Alexandra, 26 April 2013)

Malema's radical and aggressive proposal on economic policy reviews seemed not only appealing but was supported by the participants.

'The only time that he (Malema) made sense was when he brought out the suggestion to nationalise mines. That's the thing that could have worked out for South Africa.' (Wandile, Focus Group 1, Alexandra, 26 April 2013)

It was apparent that Malema's perceived elitist predisposition was a constant sore point for the participants. They weighted Malema's economic position against their own economic position and labelled it as somewhat unfair, tactless and questionable:

'I don't give him any credit because he pocketed a lot of money and that money....okay when I left school I was told that I'm officially unemployed...so with that money wasted – it could have been ploughed back into offering youth access to funds to assist them as unemployed people to start their own businesses.' (Obakeng, Focus Group 1, Alexandra, 26 April 2013)

and

'He was misleading the youth, in a bad way. We found ourselves not knowing where we stood as youth. He started off so well but now he is no longer the right person as a leader. The only thing you will hear about Julius are rumours that he was in Club Sushi (ZAR) in Sandton buying expensive bottles of liquor.' (Sphiwe, Focus Group 2, Alexandra, 26 April 2013)

It cannot be overlooked that these sentiments were not unknown to Malema. The most memorable of his responses when he was taken to task by the media about his lifestyle was when he suggested that his image sought to inspire the poor. According to Matroos (2014) Malema contended that he didn't live in a shack because he wanted to inspire poor people not to live in shacks. He was resolute in that the people that could liberate poor people (referring to himself) did not necessarily have to live in a place like Alexandra to achieve this. His statements were made in April 2014 (Matroos, 2014) exactly a year post this research and almost appeared to be in direct conversation with the participants that I had engaged in April 2013.

‘He was definitely not a good leader because the things he did were totally out of line. The large amount of money spent on expensive alcohol that’s what he good was for.’ (Puleng, Focus Group 2, Alexandra, 26 April 2013)

It is in these remarks that the supremacy and influence of media becomes apparent. The participants of Alexandra confronted the idea of Malema that is peddled in the media and not necessarily the Malema that has positioned his politics to resonate with the very same participants, the youth. Malema’s sense of judgment in personal choices pertaining to his lifestyle as publicised in the media have seized to becloud the substance of what he represents as a politician.

In terms of Orlando; the participants condemned Malema’s conduct and approach but they did acknowledge and seemed almost appreciative of his politics and his defiant and dissident spirit on matters of poverty and on matters affecting the youth.

5.8 Malema speaks back: The narrative of a man on the rise

In an interview conducted by myself on 16 April 2013 with Julius Malema, he revealed that what underpinned his politics was primarily the ideals of the Freedom Charter (1955), which speak to political freedom, economic freedom and social freedom. Malema explained that the ANCYL had advocated for the philosophy of "Economic freedom in our lifetime" and whilst he felt that at that moment in time, everything had been lost (referring to his exit from the ANC(YL), he reiterated that it was not about the physical or the quantifiable; it was about the dream.

He felt that the Youth League had remained loyal to the dream, even under difficult circumstances. He suggested that even when chastened, as long as the dream could be kept alive for future generations to inherit, and continue with it, it would serve to define their generation’s legacy. ‘The mission is economic freedom in our lifetime,’ Malema affirmed. Malema spoke of his politics as of the kind that sought to commission the youth towards wanting to leave a legacy of economic freedom. He envisaged a future where people share in the wealth of the country, and where the property ownership in South Africa is equal amongst all those who work on its land. For that reason, he explained that everyone, but particularly the black African majority, should be at the forefront of conversations pertaining to land redistribution and land ownership. He situated this project in the historical trajectory of the struggle for a national democratic revolution and referred to it as the transfer of power from minority to majority. He cited himself as not the only purveyor of the national democratic revolution but as having other counterparts who shared a similar vision, for example the South African Communist Party.

Nationalisation and Redistribution

In order to achieve these goals, he submitted that there was no way of sugar-coating circumstances and that the system should facilitate resource appropriation from those who had benefitted in the past, to give to those who had not benefitted from the apartheid system. Malema maintained that he is not a racist, but articulated that if the facts portrayed him as one, then he was prepared to wear the label. He expressed that he believed that whites essentially controlled the economy of the country and not the blacks. He sketched a rough portrait of his thoughts:

‘Blacks own less than 5% of the wealth of this country. So, when you are explaining, you can't say some people own less than 5%, and others own like 12%. You must be able to categorize. Blacks 5%, Whites 95%. Blacks in South Africa constitute more than 80% of the population. Whites constitute less than 10% of the population, but yet they control everything.’ (Malema, 16 April 2013)

He affirmed that South African land needed to be placed back into its countrymen's ownership. He further affirmed that South African people needed to own national resources and mineral resources through a nationalisation of assets with a view to invest in their own lives, thus, allowing people to benefit from their land. He admitted that this would be a radical shift, but one that would create employment, as he believed that majority of companies have a tendency of ‘shelving’ jobs in order to maximize profits.

Malema gave an illustration of a job that must be undertaken by five people and is instead undertaken by two people, and those two people are subsequently assigned the responsibilities of the other three people that should have been employed. Salaries that could have been allocated to the three people that were not employed are recorded as profits by the bosses of the entities.

Malema alluded that the owners of production and supply chain have become richer, whilst the majority of South African people have become poorer. Malema's enthusiasm for nationalisation lay in his discernment that South Africa has nothing to show for itself. According to Malema, as a people, for the black majority, there is no land or property to show in terms of ownership. This he regarded as illogical; as he sarcastically pointed out that it is the same black majority that continue to say that South Africa belongs to them.

Education

Malema spoke of ‘strengthening’ the South African education system. He referred to an education system that would produce people who would create jobs for themselves and for their fellow

countrymen. He asserted that South Africa does not need an education system that develops people to sell their labour, but that the country needs an education system that cultivates a culture of entrepreneurship and independence. He suggested that the country needs an education system that will take graduates and give them confidence so that they are able to ‘hit the ground running’, to play a contributory role in the economy of South Africa and in job creation as entrepreneurs. He intimated that the youth should refuse to be part of the statistics and aim for a better life as envisaged by former President Mandela and his executive political collective.

He mentioned that the youth, over recent times, had responded positively to the call to study and to acquire skills. He commended most universities in South Africa, for absorbing a majority of matriculants, including those from the FET colleges. Malema cited that disciplines which lead to specialized professions should be the core focus in the higher education curricula. For instance, he explained that there are certain disciplines that are characterised and governed by principal boards, Malema explained that to become a ‘qualified / professional’ accountant or an engineer, one would have to be vetted accordingly. He suggested that such boards are not transformed and that they need to be, as they are still ‘racial in character’ and therefore are typically biased against the majority of the previously disadvantaged people.

He mentioned that there are two new universities that would be erected in Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape, which in effect are the result of the ANCYL’s efforts. Malema stated that the ANCYL’s intervention in the merger of the University of Limpopo with Medunsa had been successful. According to Malema, where the ANCYL’s intervention was sought, it went in, intervened, and amicable solutions were reached.

Youth development and the rights of the youth

Malema declared the endemic youth unemployment in South Africa a ‘national disaster.’ According to Malema, should the issue of youth unemployment not be resolved, as a nation, South Africa would be creating a future of poverty, hopelessness and despair. He argued that government’s shortcoming on youth unemployment is owed to a resistance in confronting structural problems in the economy of the country. Malema described the nature of the South African economy as one that is still controlled by ‘white monopoly capital’ that is male dominated. He confidently declared that now is ‘our’ time. He divulged that there was a leadership vacuum, a vacuum that created opportunity for him to take up a position to say, ‘Now is our time’.

Malema gave credit to the ANCYL, predictably including himself as a former leader of the movement, for the life and functionality of the National Youth Development Agency which finances youth projects. He further gave credit to the ANCYL for the exemption given to students from poor families, whom, if already enrolled, would not have to pay fees at FET colleges. He mentioned that the access to free sanitary towels to young women in poor communities could be attributed to the ANCYL too.

In relation to the march for Economic Freedom and its relation to his vision for the youth, Malema explained that the campaign had called for all youth in need of jobs, in need of free education, in need of land and in support of nationalisation to participate. Moreover, it had further called upon all who were in need of a decent home, electricity, water and tarred roads. If any of the needs were meaningful to a person, then that person's participation had been welcomed. Malema mentioned that the response to the march was good, as it was impossible to 'charge' or garner support from each individual in a country of multiple millions in population size. Malema described the youth that have challenged what he represents and what he has done for them as, 'amateur critiques' and 'very disingenuous'.

Lifestyle and perceived elitism

I asked Malema to respond to his seemingly elitist predispositions. He argued that his politics was for the poorest people from rural areas, squatter camps and townships. He identified these as places where he hailed from. He mentioned that he is a child of a single parent who had worked as a domestic worker. Malema recounted that in the evenings, when his mother arrived home from work, she would collapse in fatigue, then wake up and soldier on, because she had to provide for her children.

'I stayed in a shack. When it rained, the rain came through. When it was hot, the tin house was hot. When it was cold, the tin house was cold. I went to school without shoes. I came back during break and did not find food. I went to school without proper clothes...I've been all my life with the poor...and therefore my consciousness will rise from that experience.' (Malema, 16 April 2013)

He emphasised that he would remain as an individual that would not choose social associations or regard others with judgement as he possessed the ability to interact with people from all walks of life in South Africa. He stated that he was one leader who believed that the colour or the name of shoes that one wears, including the type of wrist watch that one wears (in reference to his infamous Breitling time pieces) should not be used to judge one's determination to the cause to alleviate

poverty. Malema proceeded to affirm that it is not about what one wears, but about one's ability to fight and demonstrate their dedication to the cause.

Malema referred to those that focus on his perceived elitist predisposition as 'victims of newspapers'. He mentioned that over time, he had decided not take the criticism seriously. He denoted it as a kind of 'intellectual bankruptcy' that should not be entertained.

Malema described himself as a politician. He asserted that he had not known any other vocation except to be involved in the political discourse. He termed himself as a 'political animal' and defined this to mean 'a political activist.' He boasted that he had always spoken at overflowing halls, because people appreciate the efforts that the ANCYL had taken to ensure that the voice of the voiceless became heard. He maintained that once one is unconditionally loyal to the cause, they can be deemed as a true leader and they must be ready to die for the cause that they believe in. He mentioned that if a person can demonstrate courage and discipline then they could lead him (Malema) any time.

5.9 Conclusion

This study was premised on gaining insights into the kind of ways and the extent to which the politics of Julius Malema resonate, or not, with the plight of unemployed black youth. The research, which was undertaken in Alexandra and Orlando, Johannesburg, gave compelling insight into young people's discourse in relation to how they understand their position as unemployed youth of South Africa.

Through the findings, based on a qualitative research design, which privileges insight and depth rather than generalizability, it transpired that youth participation and engagement in political structures, local and national is poor. The youth participants have a sense of awareness of the political landscape, but there is a lack of aspiration to political participation due to the loss of confidence in the state's capacity to deliver meaningful change to the lives of South Africans. The notion of political figures as being inherently corrupt and committed to self-advancement at the expense of chartering youth development initiatives and creating sustainable strategies for employment was raised by the participants of the study as a point of concern that they had grown to accept as *normal*. This stands in stark contrast to the youth of the 1976 Soweto Uprising when youth in Soweto and townships across the country assumed socio-political responsibility and challenged a system that they had felt represented oppression and injustice.

Participants of the study, to a significant extent accepted responsibility for their dire circumstances, labelling themselves as idle and lacking motivation to find employment. However, they also directed strong criticism at the state for co-creating their conditions. They placed acute blame on the state and the president in his professional as well as personal-moral capacity for seemingly allowing foreign nationals to enjoy rights and privileges in South Africa that they, as disenfranchised youth, could otherwise be beneficiaries of. Importantly, participants were vocal in terms of the possibility of turning to a form of mobilisation amongst each other that was likely to manifest in collective action and violence towards the state or towards foreign nationals. This is therefore a moment of possibility as well as of danger, as the young participants demonstrated a harbouring of a strong sense of injustice and a rather inchoate and sometimes disturbing programme for accessing rights they felt entitled to.

I have argued that the state is not unaware of the youth unemployment crisis facing the country. The National Planning Committee in the National Development Plan 2030 Document sketched out interventions that outline the need for the improvement of South Africa's schooling system, the strengthening of community programmes for youth skills and entrepreneurship development, the expansion of learnerships, the rolling out of youth safety centres to curb crime perpetuated by youth, the formalisation of a graduate recruitment scheme for the public service and provision of a tax incentive to employers to reduce and mitigate the risk of hiring young and inexperienced labour. The National Youth Policy is considered to be in support of and complementary to the National Development Plan and it articulates proposed interventions to building capacity of young entrepreneurs, exposing youth to work opportunities through various channels, ensuring that the school environment and education curricula support holistic youth development, promoting healthy lifestyles, substance abuse awareness and fostering leadership and active citizenry.

The objectives and interventions of these two strategies go far in terms of addressing the challenges that affect youth. Yet, it was noted that very few participants' lives had been directly influenced by either of the policies and in cases where this stands true, the outcomes had not been sustainable. The participants in this study expressed a shared *malaise*, acknowledging that they, themselves, as a collective could be more proactive in their efforts to counter unemployment and poverty. The participants tabled important concerns and criticisms of education as a necessary tool that abets the unlocking of opportunity and development, but which, in the South African context, is undermined because the youth do not have financial resources to access education opportunities. They cited education curricula as weak, and the lack of work experience to list in employment applications as

well as the mismatch between skills taught at higher education and skills that are sought by the economic and labour market to be a hindrance to securing employment.

Given their diagnosis of the nature of the problem, nationalisation and land expropriation were identified as possible answers to the country's economic troubles, provided that poverty eradication strategies would simultaneously be at the cornerstone of the process. In essence an assertion was made that neither nationalisation nor land expropriation could be adopted as the only solutions to economic development and job creation.

The participants' notion that people in the workforce should retire at the age of 50 and their notion that public works programmes are non-suitable employment for young people indicated that young people have particular expectations for labour market reform.

The compound socio-economic issues that the township youth face resulted in a broad and expressive consensus amongst the participants about what they regarded as valid struggles to form a youth social movement which would challenge the state on its mandate and obligations to improving the lives of the poor.

The youth in Orlando, to an extent, related to the politics that Malema projects, as their own, which corroborates the notion mentioned in earlier parts of this research report that Malema enjoyed considerable support in Soweto at the time of this research. In Alexandra, however, participants remained cynical and unconvinced about Malema's politics. They appeared to be failing to reconcile the Malema who was pro-youth and pro-poverty alleviation strategies to the Malema that enjoys a prominent reputation for excess and elitist predisposition. Of course, given the data collection strategies employed (selection through snowball sampling) and the open-ended nature of the research design (qualitative research), these findings could be reflective of broader cleavages in young people's understanding of the contemporary moment, rather than a direct split between the two townships. Nonetheless, the difference in interpretation between the two townships was visible and clear.

Malema's programme is therefore acknowledged and understood by the youth as a kind of dual currency, or as a coin with two sides. On the one hand, Malema's politics highlights the youth's plights and holds institutions of power accountable, but, on the other, Malema's politics are perceived to be spectacularly self-serving in relation to his own political endeavours. To this end, Malema's politics do not prevail as the crucial and definitive reason that has driven youth to

identify and want to confront their struggles. From my research, it is evident that the youth was already aware of their position.

In terms of the broader economy of South Africa, it is argued that the change in democratic leadership over the years punctuated by changing economic policies has brought about its own set of challenges in relation to youth policies. In a broader framework, pro-youth policies in South Africa exist and care has been taken in their revision. The lack of effectiveness in these policies surfaced as stripping disenfranchised and marginalised youth of some of their agency. This in itself signifies a crisis in the relationship between agency and structure for South Africa's black unemployed township youth, as construed through both Giddens' and Archer's frameworks. The youth's position is represented in a context and condition of subalternity, thus opening the potential to social movement formation as described in Gramsci and Spivak's thoughts respectively. The youth of Alexandra and Orlando see their plight as somehow existing outside the realm of resurgence, unless they engage in protest and direct violence. We learn that their frustrations are far more inextricable than they understand Malema's politics to represent.

This research has drawn heavily on Archer's focus on *reflexivity* as well as the ideational content of participants' *internal deliberations*. It has excluded to a large extent the domain of practices and action, although participants alluded to these. The advantage in this approach is that it centralises a group that has been silenced as an active voice. In this study, young unemployed men and women in Alexandra and Orlando are given space and recognition as people that are able to consider and deliberate on the current political and socio-economic state of South Africa and the implications thereof for them. What falls outside of this study's scope, however, is an analysis in the implications and consequences of these interpretations. This is important, as Giddens indicates that actions sometimes have unintended consequences.

Following the birth of the EFF in July 2013, Malema went on to launch the EFF five months post this research on 13 October 2013 in what has become one of South Africa's landmark towns, Marikana, in the North West (Montsho & Ngoepe, 2013). Marikana denotes symbolic significance to the structural problem of poverty in South Africa, as it is internationally recognised as the town in which over 30 miners died at the hands of the state while embarking on industrial action for higher wages in 2012 (Harvey, 2013).

According to Faull (2014) the EFF, which was less than a year old at the time, won over a million votes, translating to 6.35% of the national vote during South Africa's 2014 national and provincial elections. Cook (2013) argues that:

'The party is not seen as a major short-term challenger to the ANC, but may appeal to and gradually draw support from significant labor, jobless youth, and other constituencies which feel disenfranchised by or alienated from the ANC, or which seek the kinds of racial nationalist economic changes that the EFF supports.' (Cook, 2013: 07)

In the aftermath of this research, there has been a general climate for change in South Africa, which this study's participants seem to have pre-empted. In the year 2015, the country witnessed the youth responding to assumed institutional racism in higher education institutions, white privilege, as well as social and economic oppression. The youth has managed to incite national dialogue on key issues in the South African political and economic landscape through for example, the 'Rhodes Must Fall' movement, the 'Fees Must Fall' campaign, as well as in the showmanship of solidarity to general workers against anti-work outsourcing policies in public institutions.

It is becoming evident that the youth is not only forging a belligerent character but is gradually evolving in their sense of awareness to socio-economic freedoms that should be providing relief to them and to the broader democratic South Africa.

References

- African National Congress. 1955. *Freedom Charter 1955, As Adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, on 26 June 1955*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=72> [Accessed: 16 July 2014].
- African National Congress. 2012. *Land Reform Policy Discussion Document, 2012*. Discussion Paper by the African National Congress. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.anc.org.za/list.php?t=Discussion+Documents> [Accessed: 15 July 2014].
- African National Congress. 2014. *ANC Election Manifesto 2014*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.anc.org.za> [Accessed: 16 July 2015].
- ANC Youth League. 2010. *Towards the Transfer of Mineral Wealth to the Ownership of the People as a Whole: A Perspective on Nationalisation of Mines, 2010*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.ancyl.org.za/show.php?id=5502> [Accessed: 16 July 2014].
- Altman, M. 2004. *Framework for evaluating the Expanded Public Works Programme*. Employment and Economic Policy Research Programme. Human Research Council.
- Ardizzone, L. 2007. *Gettin' my word out: voices of urban youth activists*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Badat, S. 1999. *Black student politics, higher education and apartheid: from SASO to SANSCO, 1968 -1990*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Bailey, K. D. 1987. *Methods of Social Research*. 3rd Edition, New York: The Free Press.
- Basson, A. and Rampedi, P. 2011. *Malema's Secret Fund*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.citypress.co.za/news/malemas-secret-fund-20110723/> [Accessed: 15 September 2012].
- Beall, J., Crankhaw, O. and Parnell, S. 2000. 'Local government, poverty reduction and inequality.' *Johannesburg, Environment and Urbanisation*. 12 (1): 107 122.
- Bea Von, K. SO. 2004. *Johannesburg: the making and shaping of the city*. Pretoria: Unisa Press.
- Booyesen, S. 2015. *Youth and political participation in South Africa's democracy. Surveying the voice of the youth through a multi province focus group study*. Freedom House.
- Bonner, P. and Nieftagodien, N. 2008. *Alexandra: A history*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Clark, J.N. 2012. 'Youth violence in South Africa: the case for a restorative justice response.' *Contemporary Justice Review*. Volume 15, Issue 1. United Kingdom: University of Sheffield.
- Campbell, C. 1994. *Township Families and Youth Identity: The family's influence on the social identity of township youth in a rapidly changing South Africa*. Co-operative Research Programme on Marriage and Family Life. Pretoria.

- Carr, W.J.P. 1990. *Soweto: Its Creation, Life and Decline*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.
- Chauke, A. 2011. *ANC Youth League 'Economic Freedom' Mass Action*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2011/10/27/anc-youth-league-economic-freedom-mass-action-live-27-october> [Accessed: 15 September 2012].
- Chetty, R. 2014. *Class dismissed? Youth resistance and politics of race and class in South African education*. Unisa Press.
- City Press. 2011. *ANCYL Money Machine*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.citypress.co.za/news/ancyl-money-machine-20110611/> [Accessed: 08 July 2014].
- City Press. 2012. *Survey Shows Low Support for Malema*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.citypress.co.za/politics/survey-shows-low-malema-support-20120516/> [Accessed: 14 March 2012].
- Cieslik, M. and Simpson, D. 2013. *Key Concepts in Youth Studies*. London: Sage.
- Cohen, P. 1997. *Rethinking the youth question*. London: Macmillan.
- Cohen, A. 1955. *Delinquent boys: the culture of the gang*. New York: Free Press.
- Cook, N. 2013. *South Africa: Politics, Economy and U.S. Relations*. Congressional Research Service.
- Davis, G and Ndenze, B. 2012. *Zuma stole our ideas, says Malema*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/special-features/zuma-stole-our-ideas-says-malema-1.1329635> [Accessed: 15 September 2012].
- De Lange, D. 2011. *Malema: White People are Criminals*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/malema-white-people-are-criminals-1.1065708> [Accessed 15 September 2012].
- Della Porta, D. and Diani, M. 2006. *Social movements - an introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Dodson, B. 2010. 'Locating xenophobia: debate, discourse and everyday experience in Cape Town, South Africa.' *Africa Today*. Volume 56, No 3 pp2-22. Indiana University Press.
- Duncan, J., Meijer, C., Drok, N., Garman, A., Strelitz, L., Steenveld, L., Bosch, T., Ndlovu, M. and Media Tenor. 2013. *A baseline study of youth identity, the media and the public sphere in South Africa*. Rhodes University: School of Journalism and Media Studies.
- Du Toit, R. 2003. *Unemployed Youth in South Africa: The Distressed Generation?* Paper presented at the Minnesota International Counselling Institute.

- Ensor, L. 2014. *Youth wage subsidy comes into effect*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/economy/2014/01/01/youth-wage-subsidy-comes-into-effect> [Accessed: 02 December 2015].
- Expanded Public Works Programme Five Year Report 2004/05-2008/09 - *Reaching the one million target*. Department of Public Works, Republic of South Africa.
- Faull, J. 2014. *Analysing South Africa's 2014 election results*. Institute for Security Studies Policy Brief 54.
- Flanagan, J. 2010. *Controversial South African Youth Leader visits Zimbabwe*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/southafrica/7549595/Controversial-South-African-youth-leader-visits-Zimbabwe.html> [Accessed: 15 September 2012].
- Forde, F. 2011. *An Inconvenient Youth, Julius Malema and the 'New' ANC*. South Africa: Pan Macmillan.
- Freitas, H., Oliveira, M., Jenkins, M. and Popjoy, O. 1998. *The Focus Group, a Qualitative Research Method*. Working Paper ISRC No. 010298. Baltimore, Maryland: ISRC, Merrick School of Business, University of Baltimore.
- Gerhart, G. M. and Glaser, C. 2010. *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1990*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Govender, P. 2010. *South Africa's Malema to Escape ANC Discipline*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/04/20/us-safrica-malema-idUSTRE63J2JM20100420> [Accessed: 15 September 2012].
- Govindjee, A. and Olivier, M. 2013. *Employment guarantee schemes and public works programmes as social protection measure affecting informal economy workers*. SASPEN and FES International Conference on Social Protection for those working informally. Johannesburg.
- Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council. 2000. *Upgrading Urban Communities: A Resource Framework*. Report on the Interactive Planning Workshop for Johannesburg. Washington D.C: World Bank. (Internet) Available from: <http://web.mit.edu/urbanupgrading/upgrading/case-examples/overview-africa/alexandra-township.html> [Accessed: 16 July 2014].
- Harvey, R. 2013. *Marikana as a tipping point? The political economy of labour tensions in South Africa's mining industry and how best to resolve them*. South African Institute of International Affairs.
- Hodkinson, P. 2007. 'Youth Cultures: a critical outline of key debates.' Hodkinson, P. and Deicke, W. (eds) *Youth Cultures: Scenes, Subcultures and Tribes*. New York: Routledge.
- Human Sciences Research Council. 2014. *State of poverty and its manifestation in the nine provinces in South Africa*.
- Human Resource Development Council. 2014. *Technical and Vocational Education and Training*.

- Hyslop, J. 1999. *The classroom struggle: policy and resistance in South Africa 1940-1990*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Jules – Macquet, R. 2014. *The state of South African prisons*. NICRO Public Education Series.
- Kondlo, K. M. and Maserumule, M. H. 2010. *The Zuma Administration: Critical Challenges*. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Kingdon, G.G. and Knight, J. 2005. *Unemployment in South Africa, 1995-2003: causes, problems and policies*. Paper presented at the 10 year review of the South African economy conference. Stellenbosch.
- Lam, D., Leibbrandt, M. and Mlatsheni, C. 2008. *Education and youth unemployment in South Africa*. A Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit Working Paper Number 22. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Lewis, J. D. 2001. *Policies to promote growth and employment in South Africa*. Annual Forum, World Bank.
- Lewis, F. M., Nyalashe, V. H., Hartley, Z. and Naicker, S. M. 2008. *Reflections on the Human Capital Development Strategy (HCDS): the second series of conceptual papers supporting the implementation of the HCDS*. Western Cape Education Department: Provincial Government of the Western Cape.
- Louai, E. H., 2012. 'Retracing the concept of the subaltern from Gramsci to Spivak: Historical developments and new applications.' *African Journal of History and Culture*. Volume 4 (1), pp. 4-8.
- Mack, N., Woodson, C., MacQueen, K., Guest, G. and Namey, E. 2005. *Qualitative, Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide*. North Carolina: FLI.
- Mahlangu, D. 2010. *Malema Loses It*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2010/04/08/malema-loses-it> [Accessed: 15 September 2012].
- Mail & Guardian. 2010. *Malema's Lifestyle Sponsored by Govt Tenders*. (Internet) Available from: <http://mg.co.za/article/2010-02-21-malemas-lifestyle-sponsored-by-govt-tenders> [Accessed: 08 July 2014].
- Mail & Guardian. 2011. *Malema arrives to lead Young Lions into history books*. (Internet) Available from: <http://mg.co.za/article/2011-10-27-let-the-long-walk-to-economic-freedom-and-pretoria-begin> [Accessed: 15 September 2012].
- Mail & Guardian. 2012. *Zuma is to Blame for 'Monster' Malema says DA*. (Internet) Available from: <http://mg.co.za/article/2012-09-15-zuma-to-blame-for-monster-malema-says-da> [Accessed: 15 September 2012].
- Matroos, J.M. 2014. *Malema out to inspire the poor*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.sabreakingnews.co.za/2014/04/22/malema-out-to-inspire-the-poor/> [Accessed 3 July 2014].

- Maughan, K. 2009. *Malema in Hot Water Over Rape Claims*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/malema-in-hot-water-over-rape-claims-1.444435> [Accessed: 15 September 2012].
- Mayekiso, M. and Bond, P. 1996. *Township Politics: Civic Struggles for a New South Africa*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Mayer, M., Gordham, S., Manxeba, R., Hughes, C., Foley, P., Maroc, C., Lolwana, P. and Nell, M. 2011. *Towards a youth employment strategy for South Africa*. Development Planning Division, Working Paper series no. 28. South Africa: Development Bank of Southern Africa.
- Mbeki, T. 2008. *Address of the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, at the Youth Day celebrations*. (Internet) Available from: http://www.anc.org.za/list_by.php?by=Thabo%20Mbeki [Accessed: 15 September 2012].
- Mbeki, G. 1992. *The Struggle for liberation in South Africa, a short history*. Bellville: Mayibuye David Philip Publishers.
- Mbenga, C. 2012. *Exploring South African youths' on/offline political participation*. Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts. University of Cape Town: Centre for Film and Media Studies.
- McAnulla, S. 2002. 'Structure and Agency.' Marsh, D. and Stoker, G. (eds.) *Theory and methods in Political Science*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp.271 – 291.
- Meli, F. 1988. *A History of the ANC: South Africa Belongs To Us*. Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.
- Meyers, D.T. 1989. *Theories of Socialisation*. Loyola University of Chicago: Department of Philosophy.
- Mohlahlana, C. 2010. *Malema a Future Leader*. (Internet) Available: from <http://news.iafrica.com/sa/2271620.htm> [Accessed: 01 June 2012].
- Monasta, A. 2000. *Antonio Gramsci*. International Bureau of Education, Paris: Unesco.
- Montsho, M. and Ngoepe, K. 2013. *Belligerent Malema launches EFF*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.news24.com/South Africa/politics/a-giant-is-born-malema-20131013> [Accessed: 18 November 2013].
- Mouton, J. and Marais, H.C. 1993. *Basic Concepts in the Methodology of Social Sciences*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
- MTV Base Meets... MTN: Julius Malema, 2008. Season 2, Episode 3. MTV Base (Internet) Available from: <http://www.mtvbase.com/shows/mtv-meets-with-mtn-season-1/episodes/mtvmeets-with-mtn-episode2/video/mtv-meets-season-2-ep-3-julius-malema-681725/> [Accessed: 16 July 2014].

- National Treasury. 2011. *Confronting Youth Unemployment: Policy Options for South Africa*. Discussion Paper for Public Comment. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.treasury.gov.za/public%20comments/default.aspx> [Accessed: 15 July 2014].
- National Student Financial Aid Scheme Annual Report. 2014.
- National Youth Development Agency Annual Report. 2010-2011.
- National Planning Commission. *National Development Plan 2030 – Our Future, Make it work*. Report for the Presidency, Republic of South Africa.
- National Youth Policy: 2009-2014. 2009. The Presidency, Republic of South Africa.
- National Youth Policy: 2015-2020. 2015. The Presidency, Republic of South Africa.
- Ndlovu, S.M. 2010. *The Soweto Uprising. In the road to democracy*. Pretoria: Unisa Press.
- Nieftagodien, N. and Gaule, S. 2012. *Orlando West, Soweto: An Illustrated History*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Nombembe, P. 2012. *Malema up for Defamation*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2012/04/10/malema-up-for-defamation> [Accessed: 15 September 2012].
- Novetzke, C.L. and Patton, L. 2008. 'Subaltern.' in Mittal, S. and Thursby, G. (eds.) *Studying Hinduism – Key Concepts and Methods*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Panday, S., Ranchod, C., Ngcaweni, B. and Seedat, S. 2012. 'The Situation of the youth In South Africa' in Ward, C.L., Dawes, A. and Van Der Merwe (eds.) *Youth Violence: Sources and Solutions in South Africa*. Chicago: Juta Academic. Chapter 4:95-140.
- Papier, J., Needham, S. and McBride, T. 2012. *Contemporary issues in public FET colleges*. University of the Western Cape: Further Education and Training Institute.
- Parsons, R. 2009. *Zumanomics: Which way to shared prosperity in South Africa? Challenges For a new government*. Auckland Park, South Africa: Jacana Media.
- Perold, H., Cloete, N. and Papier, J. 2012. *Shaping the future of South Africa's youth: rethinking post-school education and skills training*. Somerset West: African Minds.
- Phaswana, E. 2009. *Youth Participation in South Africa*. Paper presented at the UJ Sociology, Anthropology & Development Studies. Johannesburg, South Africa: University of Johannesburg.
- Pieters, J. 2013. *Youth employment in developing countries*. IZA Research Report No. 58.
- Phillips, H. 2014. *Locating the location of a South African location: the paradoxical pre-history of Soweto*. *Urban History*, 41, pp 311 -332.
- Pohlandt-McCormick, H. 2006. *Soweto: History, Geography, Society*. Columbia University Press.

- Polonski, M. 2004. *Ethical considerations*. Sage Publications.
- Putcha, C. and Potter, J. 2004. *Focus Group Practice*. London: Sage Publications.
- Prince, C. 2012. *Vavi warns ANC of ticking bomb*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2012/05/17/vavi-warns-anc-of-ticking-tim-bomb> [Accessed: 12 March 2013].
- Quintal, G. 2015. *SARS drops sequestration case against Malema*. (Internet) Available from: m.news24.com/news24/southafricanews/sars-drops-sequestration-case-against-malema-2015061 [Accessed: 28 July 2015].
- Ramphele, M. 2012. *Conversations with my sons and daughters*. Johannesburg: Penguin Group.
- Rauch, J. 2005. *Crime prevention and morality. The Campaign for Moral Regeneration in South Africa*. Institute for Security Studies.
- Ritzer, G. 2008. *Sociological Theory* (7th Ed). New York: The McGraw Hill.
- Rural Development and Land Reform Policy Framework. 2012. *A Policy Framework for Land Acquisition and Land Valuation in a Land Reform context and for the establishment of the office of the Valuer-General as of 18 October 2012*. Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, Republic of South Africa (Internet) Available from: <http://www.ruraldevelopment.gov.za/legislation-and-policies/file/1368-a-policy-framework-for-land-acquisition-and-land-valuation-in-a-land-reform-context-and-for-the-establishment-of-the-office-of-the-valuer-general> [Accessed: 16 July 2014].
- SAGDA. 2013. South African Graduates Development Association 2013 Report.
- Seekings, J. 1996. The 'Lost Generation: South Africa's youth problem in the early 1990s.' *Transformation* 29: 103-125.
- Simpson, T. 2010. 'The role of the African National Congress in popular protest during the township uprisings 1984-1989.' Beinhart, W. & Dwason, MC. (eds) *Popular Politics & Resistance Movements in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Spence, J. 2005. *Concepts of youth. In working with young people*. London: Thousand Oaks.
- Statistics South Africa. 2011. Census 2011: Statistical Release (Revised) P0301.4, Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.
- Statistics South Africa. 2015. SA Youth Labour Market Report. Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Quarter 2.
- Tabane, O, JJ. 2010. *Malema and the ANCYL: The new Idi Amini*. (Internet) Available from: <http://www.thoughtleader.co.za/onkgopotsejjtabane/2010/03/28/malema-and-ancyl-the-new-iddi-amin/> [Accessed: 14 March 2012].

- Van Nieuwkerk, A. 2014. *South Africa's National Development Plan and its Foreign Policy*. Background Paper prepared for the third debate on the implementation of the National Development Plan. Wits School of Governance.
- Van Zyl Slabbert, S. F., Malan, C., Marais, H., Olivier, J. and Riordan, R. 1994. *Youth in the New South Africa, Towards Policy Formulation*. Main Report of the Co-operative Research Programme: South African Youth. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Varghese, C. S., 2014. 'Gayatri Spivak, Theory of Subalternity.' *Art and activism: a study of Arundhati Roy's writings from a subaltern perspective*.
- Visser, W. 2004. 'Shifting RDP into GEAR.' *The ANC government's dilemma in providing an equitable system of social security for the 'new' South Africa*. Paper presented at the 40th ITH Linzer Konferenz.
- Von Holdt, K., Langa, M., Molapo, S., Mogapi, N., Ngubeni, K., Dlamini, J. and Kirsten, A. 2011. *The smoke that calls. Insurgent citizenship, collective violence and the struggle for a place in the new South Africa*. Centre for study of violence and reconciliation in association with the Society, Work and Development Institute.
- White, C., Bruce, S. and Ritchie, J. 2000. *Young people's politics: Political interest and engagement amongst 14-24 year olds*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Wilson, M. 2002. *Alexandra township and the Alexsan Kopano Resource Centre*. Unesco.
- Youth Development for Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime, 2011. *Beyond Advocacy and Lobbying: Decisive Action for Fundamental Change*. Draft Discussion Document to the 24th National Congress of the African National Congress Youth League (Internet) Available from: www.ancyl.org.za/docs/discus/2011/youth.pdf [Accessed 12 July 2014].