

**POST-APARTHEID HUMAN SECURITY IN SOUTH AFRICA:
CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS.**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Nelsile Ginindza, declare that the mini-dissertation entitled "**Post-Apartheid human security in South Africa: challenges and prospects**", hereby submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university. I declare that this is my work in design and execution and that all materials contained herein have been duly acknowledged.

Signature

N.B. Ginindza.....

Date

2 OCTOBER 2015.....

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To all my SASCO cadres, I appreciate the support and assistance you gave me during my journey.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my late grandmother, HRH Inkhosikati make Malaza, may your soul rest in peace. I will forever cherish your support in my academic life.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS-Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

ANC-African National Congress

DBSA-Development Bank of Southern Africa

EFF-Economic Freedom Fighters

GCIS-Government Communication and Information System

GDP-Gross Domestic Product

GEAR-Growth Employment and Redistribution

HIV-Human Immunodeficiency Virus

HDI-Human Development Index

HS-Human Security

IR-International Relations

NGO-Non Governmental Organisations

NIPS-National Immigration Policy Survey

RDP-Reconstruction and Development Programme

RSA-Republic of South Africa

SAHRC-South African Human Rights Commission

SADC- Southern African Development Community

UN- United Nations

UNDP-United Nations Development Programme

WFP-World Food Programme

UNCTAD-United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

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ABSTRACT

Human security shifts the attention from the state to the individual, as the individual is placed at the centre of the debate, analysis and policy. Human security, it could be argued, represents a paradigm shift from the old state-centric model of security. A key development of human security in terms of the claimed paradigm shift towards the security of the individual and away from the state-centric model of security is that human security purports to draw attention to what should be two interlinked aspects of policy, development and security.

Does identifying the challenges of human security provide the solution and assist the South African Government to bury the legacy of apartheid? Most authors have examined and identified the challenges and clearly defined the concept from Europe to Africa but what is lacking is the application of the concept, especially in third world countries, in order to address the legacy of colonialism and apartheid. The concept of Human Security addresses almost all aspects of human life, which theoretically looks great, contemporary and inclusive, yet almost no serious interdisciplinary work exists at the theoretical and practical level. Disciplines do not interact enough, there are no joint methodologies, and operational institutions that try to provide human security work too much in parallel and too little in close interaction. For these reasons, this concept is difficult to implement.

The study highlights the fact that the number of people living under poverty has dropped over time but not significantly. This is only part of the dilemma faced in South Africa, because while poverty levels are declining, inequality is increasing and the gap between the haves and the have-nots continues to widen. The ranks of capitalism are continuously swelling; the rich are still in control of the means of production and getting richer by exploiting the poor who are also getting poorer and poorer. The level of human insecurity is still very high in South Africa. A lot still needs to be done.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 BACKGROUND

The present borders of South Africa were set out in 1910, under the British administration as a self-governing union. In terms of political power and access to economic resources, the White minority enjoyed all the privileges. In 1948, the Afrikaner National Party, through its system of apartheid, introduced a system of governance in the Republic of South Africa, which was largely unfair towards Black majority. The intention of the legislation was to rearrange and organise economic opportunities in South Africa (Ferreira *et al.*, 2008, 5).

According to Lavery (2007: 1), such arrangements enabled the National Party to ratify the Population Registration Act, which organised citizens into four ethnic groupings as follows: Coloured, White, Asiatic and Instinctive. The Group Areas Act of 1950 was another breakthrough of the apartheid government, which imposed the separation of zones of dwelling by ethnicity in the whole country. The same Act led to the enactment of the Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 which officially deprived Africans the rights to these virtual-states. It also empowered the government to handle populaces as foreigners and prevent them from political demonstrations (Ibid).

According to Corbach *et al.* (2007: 19), racist and prejudiced policies and performances in disagreement of autochthonous people have been of greater or lesser strength regardless of all colonial regimes. Black communities were intentionally not developed, and characterised by lack of sanitation services, access to water, decent housing, schools and clinics. At all levels of education, ethnic segregation was maintained. In the educational sector, there was a vast difference between White and Black as well as children per-capita expenditure. For instance, it was estimated that R605 was spent on the education of each white child compared to R39 for each African child enrolled in primary and secondary schools.

Former president Thabo Mbeki described the Republic of South Africa as a state defined by two nations: the first kind is the Black nation branded by poverty and the second is the White nation well-defined by wealth. Profound inequalities existed in

terms of the distribution of wealth by the administration. Furthermore, in terms of economic prospects, whites had open access, whereas blacks were limited. A number of laws, regulations and practices were designed to benefit only the white population. It was mainly in “white” areas that industries and businesses were established. In 1924, the Hertzog government ensured that the reservation of jobs was legislated and strengthened by successive National party governments from 1948 (Venter *et al.*, 2006, 4).

Prohibited largely during the apartheid era was the freedom of speech and assembly. This was clearly displayed in the number of killings, agony, the massive abuse of radical convicts, imprisonment of citizens, deprivation of trials, prohibition of radical groups and people such the African National Congress (ANC) as well as the Pan African Congress. These parties were highly restricted on media and this hindered the opportunity of assembling and demonstrating. In 1976, the apartheid government became more oppressive. Public rights were massively wrinkled while courts were ripped of powers of averting and revamping the violation of human rights (Liebenberg, 2006: 6).

According to Leibenberg (2006: 6), culture was drastically wrought by apartheid rulers to ensure that the powers of particular ethnic chiefs and kings were strengthened. This was done collusion with the apartheid government. Languages spoken by Blacks enjoyed no official status compared to the two languages spoken by Whites (English and Afrikaans). They were also the languages authorised at the time. This situation led to the 1976 student rebellion, especially following the decision to enforce Afrikaans as the only medium of instruction in South African schools.

The 1976 students uprising in Gauteng (Soweto) was the beginning of a long period of turbulence which persisted until the abolition of apartheid. South Africa had become a country of misery and social turmoil in the 1980s. The defiance campaign which apprehended the thoughts of Black youth aimed at rendering townships ungovernable. A significant number of youths left the country for training in guerrilla warfare as most political rebels were detained in the country. In 1984, a state of emergency was imposed in order to subdue civil unrest and not lifted until 1990 when dialogue and discussions for a new political party commenced.

Democracy never came at a cheap price for South Africa as it took precious time for it to be realised. During this period, families were broken, blood shed and lives lost. The country experienced international sanctions during the struggle against apartheid. The pressure resulted in investment firms withdrawing in demonstration that they would never invest in the country until the abolition of institutionalised racism. Such actions had negative effects on the economy of the country (Forsythe, 1999:7).

A conclusion to the racial supremacy was guaranteed by the acceptance of provincial constitutions drafted by opposition parties and the government. The first democratic elections held on 27th April 1994 ushered in a government of national unity. This democratic government promised a “better life for all South Africans”. A programme that will equal the legacy of apartheid was instituted by the new government of national unity. The aim of such restoration programme envisioned was to elevate the living standards of the poorest segments of the population and to propel the economy. What was high on the political agenda was reconciliation between races. The miracle of a rainbow nation was born (Ibid).

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The collapse of apartheid in South Africa ushered in comparative peace, national safety and ended the country's participation in vicious conflicts both internally and externally. The end of apartheid also fitted perfectly well on the internal scene with the end of cold war. It was highly expected that it will usher in peace in Southern Africa. I was also expected that the end of the cold war would tactically deliver peace and security across the globe. To institute new opportunities and undertake reforms in an integrated manner, the notion of human security was introduced. To tackle human security threats does not depend on conventional mechanisms alone. Rather, there is a need for consensus that would acknowledge the association of interdependencies among development, social rights and nationwide safety.

In retorting difficulty and persistence of old as well as new safety pressures such as the trafficking of people, change of weather, healthy pandemics, global terrorists acts, poverty, financial crises and cultural violence, human security is essential. Such threats tend to obtain corporation levels and move further than old-fashioned or

traditional concepts of security that emphasise on external military aggression alone. South Africa is known for its high cases of rape, violence against foreign nationals, widespread of illegal fire arms, land crises, racial discrimination, political violence, and illegal migration.

1.3 AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study was to examine the level of human insecurity in South Africa and suggest how it could be addressed.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of the study were to:

- 1) Examine the causes of human security in South Africa;
- 2) Examine strategies implemented by government in addressing human insecurity post-apartheid;
- 3) Examine reasons for the failure of strategies implemented by government to guarantee human security; and
- 4) Suggest possible solutions for human security.

1.5 HYPOTHESIS

This study assumes that if human security is not addressed, then the psychological problem of inferiority complex will continue among the majority of Black South Africans.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Human security has created a psychological barrier between whites and blacks. Blacks have always been considered as people of little significance or with no potentials and to make matters worse, they are actually acting likewise. This study seeks to address issues of inequality in order for the phenomenon to be completely eradicated in the country.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Data for this study was obtained from an extensive review of relevant literature obtained from scholarly research, books, popular articles, and writings published by the alternative press that deals with specific areas in the field of international relations. The qualitative approach was employed in the study in order to access information on the topic. A qualitative research method was used to investigate levels of human security in South Africa through analysis of existing literature. In reviewing existing literature, strengths and weaknesses were measured. An attempt was made to demonstrate the contributions that this study will bring to academia and existing knowledge (Babbie and Mouton, 2006).

In order to successfully conduct the study, secondary data was used due to its effectiveness and ability to add to the debate on whether human security is currently being reformed or whether there has been any progress in this sector in democratic South Africa.

Data analysis is the way raw data is ordered and organised so that useful information can be spotted and used in the study. Data was analysed qualitatively using secondary and primary sources. This research method allows the researcher to look at materials such as books, journals, newspapers, online informants and other useful materials to analyse data accordingly. Data analysis assisted the researcher in understanding how human security could be helpful in improving the economic, social and political development of South Africa and the constraints and prospects accompanied by the reformation of human security. Data analysis was done regularly by talking to different informants in order to get their views on human security reform and how it impacts on the development of South Africans in particular and the country in general. Data considered in the study addressed issues on both the benefits and challenges of human security reform.

1.8 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Due to the nature of the study, main limitation encountered was the unwillingness of participants to discuss human security issues based on their psychological empathy, hence the problem of getting unbiased data from respondents.

1.9 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study investigates human security challenges from 1994 to date and current threats to human security. It discusses human security reform, the means used by South African citizens to reform their country as well as their provinces, and in particular, recognising the importance of efficient service delivery by the South African government in the transformation of the country.

1.10 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The study consists of four distinct chapters as follows:

Chapter One discusses the background of the study, statement of the problem, aim and objectives of the study, the hypothesis, significance of the study, research methodology, and limitations of the study as well as the scope of the study, ethical considerations and organisation of the study.

Chapter Two focuses on the theoretical frame work that informed the study and the literature review on issues of human security.

Chapter Three is the data analysis and presentation of findings.

Chapter Four is a summary of the study, recommendations based on the research findings and the conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an analytical and conceptual framework which serves as a platform to change South Africa's approach in resolving human security challenges post-apartheid. This chapter focuses essentially on the literature review based on the views of scholars who have clearly defined and explained the concepts of human security, its challenges and prospects. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the theoretical framework that acts as a guiding tool for the study and explains how the concept can be applied to ensure human security. Literature review is essential for the study because it guides and informs the researcher on the body of knowledge and information available on the topic.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theories are used to elucidate the law of international politics or the behaviour of one state towards another in terms of agreements and how they are related, whether through socio-economic or political means. There are several theories on international relations used to inform this study. The two theories used in this study are discussed in detail below.

2.2.1 LIBERALISM THEORY

Liberalism accommodates the notion of human security. Human security is categorised under the regular form of instruction of liberal cosmopolitanism, engrossed with normative schedule to emphasise principles. According to liberal cosmopolitanism, the well-developed North has a responsibility to repay under-developed third world countries for the many years of exploitation of their countries. A principle believed by most is the fact that the standard of living in the North, through the domination of the south, a reduction of quality in its standard of living should be recognised to allow the poor South to catch up. This is the kind of investigation that supports the contemplation of mutual reciprocity. The relationship

is in the reverse as the southern standards continuously decrease while the living standards in the North continue to rise (Jones, 2005: 5).

The fundamental proposition offered by the division of the liberal philosophy, that is anxious with the “ought to be” is the fact that the chief component of security autopsy should move from the national to an individual level. Everyone fits in a solitary class of humankind and is “inconsequential” to a state’s arrangement which is not consistent or conflicting with human nature. According to liberalists, it is oppressive that the state-centric system sanctions and legitimises the privileged handling of some people compared to others. Each and every individual would be privileged to receive the same claim of equal moral worth and status, if humans had not been fragmented into states. Clearly, it endorses ethics, intentions and ethical programmes consistent with advanced Europe, when evaluating security within the general context of liberalism. Human safety is based on the idea of universalism; the general understanding is that what is good for the goose is good for the gander. This comprehensive instigation suggests that the ethical agenda incarnates advocates who are steady with the world (Ibid).

The end of apartheid was the beginning for South Africa’s relations with the north. It is true that strong nations prey on weaker ones but relations can also be to the advantage of South Africa as the country still works on development.

2.2.2 CONSTRUCTIVISM THEORY

According to Jones (2005: 10), constructivism fits in very well with the notion of human safety, even though its detection plays an inordinate part as the theoretical negotiator. Societal constructivists recognise nations as primary components of investigation. Nonetheless, they are likely to use the judgment that realism can be put to use in order to deny the notion of human security.

Based on the notion that human security portrays the individual as the primary component of investigation, and considering the fact that realism considers the state as the logical technique to resolve individual complaints, the notion of human security cannot be rejected by social constructivism as a substitute, bearing in mind that individuals are just as pertinent as the state or the global system it would use

rather than the productive reproduction ground to plant the vast divide-bridging seeds. Most theoretical frameworks are accommodative to human security and realism seems to be the only exclusion in terms of human security.

One cannot shy away from the fact that the base for integrating and taking care of human security restricted by these varieties of frameworks are not analogous across the board. Accounting for the stability, prospective ordered struggle and principled situations can result into promoting economic classifications, limiting and exposing the behaviour of money to criterion reliable with rudimentary evidences of democracy. One may find the World Systems theory presenting a positive viewpoint for the future. While human safety may seem not to be a gratifying hypothetical structure of International Relations (IR), it is established to be active as a promotion tool for maintaining cohesion in the block and producing standards that are functional for all of mankind.

Constructivism believes that social procedure is original; not only by its substantial procedure, social circumstances and human establishments, but also by the international community. Without rejecting the material basis of social order, shared knowledge, material incomes and practices are the three mechanisms of social structure; the purpose of facts stressed by constructivism, for facts are construction blocks of the physical world, particularly as they change the behaviour of people. Activities are carried out during the dissemination of knowledge, with substantial tradition expressing such activity (Jackson & Sorensen, 2007: 227).

Standards, customs, culture and learning have the potential of shaping behaviour and security of the country's citizens reflected by constructivism. While rationalism considers confusion as the reversal of the status quo, according to constructivism, anarchy is shaped by the state, inclined to change by national interference. The evolution of the international system is determined by global actors as well as international political organisations existing in communicating the link of interdependency. Interaction between structures is a two-way process which relies on both parties. Redefining the interests of countries is done through the sociological ideas of thoughts, customs and identities of countries as emphasised by constructivism (Ibid).

Directing the nature of data and social implication is composed in social structures. Human security plays a major role in people's actions. The notion of human security has greatly developed. NGOs defend the concept of human security very well. Constructivism is a treasured theoretical lens in that it exposes the true nature of things such as collective violence, class, sexual category, and racial matters among others. These are the same issues that are threatening democracy in South Africa (Newman, 2005: 5).

2.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

The ideals of state security are deeply rooted in specific historical, political and economic developments. Dominant theories on human security and those regarding development in many fields and beyond, reflect the history and experience of the North. In this respect, security is identical with the security of the state, largely against external threats. The end of the Cold War led to human security being considered as one of the most significant swings in terms of understanding security. The composition of the current global system of human security presents a radical change. For advocates of human security who challenge the abilities of state-centric refugee agendas to invest on the lowliest and most susceptible people internationally, that is the kind of thinking and how things ought to be done. Linking security to development is a key aspect of human security (Trachsle, 2011: 1).

Instead of focusing specifically on protecting human security, state security takes prominence over the protection of people. It is important to emphasise on the serious mistakes committed by many who argue that those who advocate human security are against state security, as this is not the case. Human security is about protecting the vital essence of people, in ways that enhance human self-determinations or liberties and competition. Human security shields fundamental independencies and freedoms that are very important to life. People are protected from perilous and persistent threats.

Hajaig (2005: 1-2) maintains that ordinary people are constantly denied basic human rights which enables an individual to live life to the fullest, as these constitute part of the things that one should possess in this world. These basic human rights are contained in the Report of the UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, entitled "Larger

Freedom” for which the world is still to understand its vital principles and the fact that there is a significant and intimate link between development, peace and human rights. Clearly outlined in the commission of human security is the preservation and intensification of people’s vital liberties which requires defending people from critical intimidations and the empowerment of individuals.

The fact that the world is faced with enormous challenges and cataclysms is a harsh reality that one cannot shy away from. It has become so difficult for people to provide for themselves due to human and natural disasters such as floods and droughts that are seriously affecting the world. On the other hand, a segment of the world’s population is experiencing severe suffering due to civil wars and strife. Many innocent people in some parts of the world are experiencing pain and suffering, for example, in Sudan (Darfur), Palestine, Libya, Somalia, among others. The cause of the pain and suffering in these countries is either because the international body acted as a spectator when the problem began or that response was too little too late or that there was no intervention or assistance at all.

The heart of the debate on human security revolves around an individual, automatically shifting focus from the state drifting away from the old stereotyped definition of security. The theory draws attention to two interlinked features: policy development and security. Overlooked by the state-centric system of security is the fact that the current real threats are problems related to issues such as poverty and lack of opportunities or military attacks from neighbouring countries. The theory draws from human insecurity ignored by the state-centric security model as immaterial. “This change is from a state-centric model of security in which the focus is on military threats to the state, to a people-centred in which problems associated with poverty are linked to key security concerns that form part of all major human security policy issues” (Trachsle, 2011: 1).

Security has been understood in a narrow manner. Reference is made to the Nguni clan where what mattered most to the Kings in securing their people was to have the most powerful warriors who could fight and dominate all other clans. They only cared about the size of their clans and never bothered if they had food, if they suffered from diseases or had clean water to drink. In the 20th and 21st centuries, the

foundations of insecurity in most countries of the world have become mostly internal while in other areas, the state itself has become the foundation of human insecurity instead of providing security.

The researcher believes that all nations or the world are likely to get involved when the security of persons is in danger. Current threats that have a huge effect on human security can no longer be broken-down or narrowed to national events and because of their effects, they become international. Their effects are felt globally. The concept of human security promises an exclusive programme that discusses the root causes of insecurity.

One cannot shy away from the fact that human security has also been criticised. Those who disapprove of the notion focus on the unstrained nature of the notion and the danger linked to measuring and describing it. They suggest that the concept cannot be utilised on policy because of its vast nature, lack of direction and the fact that it has more discerning problems. Opponents of the human security concept argue that instead of human security being a tool of empowerment, it is rather used a tool to control others, with developed countries using it to control developing countries (Owen, 2004: 378).

According to Newman (2010: 83), the problem with human security is not its ambiguity and connected problems of measurements or description as argued or suggested by other authors. Opponents of the concept argue that the supposed emancipator characteristics of incorporating progress and security are conflicting and most definitely, far from helping in emancipating people in underdeveloped countries. Human security and assimilation of development as well as security are forms of domination and control by the developed world over third world countries.

Human security is a revolution that ensures the empowerment and security of the most marginalised people in the world. In other words, by concentrating on growth and safety, the notion offers fundamental and transformation programmes. The researcher does not believe that it is possible for the world to maintain or build peace on empty stomachs.

Poverty, famine and food insecurity automatically create instability in many communities. The unequal distribution of income, protected land and resources blend very well with hunger, poverty and food insecurity, and stimulates irritation, desperation and sagacity of injustice as well as lack of honesty and trust in the society. Such circumstances create a fertile ground for conflicts among individuals and groups, especially political ones exploited with the desire to cause instability. In order to maintain peace, it is of paramount importance that security should be ensured; the best way to achieve this is by ensuring the security of individuals.

Many people in the world find themselves in situations of poverty and underdevelopment. "About 1.2 billion people lack access to clean and safe water, and almost 2.6 billion are without access to sanitation. According to the 2006 Human Development Index issued by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), lack of clean water and sanitation causes the death of 2 million children in the world each year. The African leadership has failed to conclude on an agreement for suitable international trade and development while Africa continues to experience poverty and underdevelopment. It will be practically impossible for countries of the South to fight poverty and improve the lives of the people without an appropriate international agreement on development (Hajaig, 2006: 6).

According to Nel & McGowan (1999: 264), one of the major causes of underdevelopment in Southern Africa is the economic situation of the countries. Because of this situation, people in Southern Africa are not enthusiastic towards working on development as they have become hopeless. Colonialism and civil wars also greatly affected the economic situation of Africa. The region continues to suffer economically because of poorly developed policies and carelessness in their implementation in different countries. After independence, African leaders saw an opportunity to exercise greater authority and power over their people, as a result, poverty and unemployment deepened.

HIV/AIDS and other contagious diseases remain a huge challenge for the world to battle and deal with effectively. This pandemic robs the society of an active economic section of the population and this negatively affects the economy. In the

domain of health, HIV/AIDS has created a strain on the already overstrained government resources in Southern Africa.

Desai (2005) states that an indirect victim of the pandemic that has struggled for the past two decades is 'tax' as HIV/AIDS increases the 'tax' burden of most countries in the third world while striving in the international market. Most of these governments are already making serious promises of facilities that they are unable to provide. The society needs more resources to fight the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Millions spent in fighting the pandemic deprive citizens of a lot of facilities, for instance, jobs cannot be created leading to an increase in poverty levels. Such bad conditions have impacted negatively on foreign investment. AIDS does not only disturb the daily life of those infected and their relatives. The disease has the potential of removing infected people from their working areas when seriously ill, and separating spouses as well.

The surge of the disease and deaths plaguing Africa are still to be felt by families that are unswervingly affected. The initial definition of security excludes AIDS. HIV is an aggressive, non-violent and serious hazard to people's lives. The virus decreases life expectancy and limits participation in generational activities because its main target is the youth (Lewis, 2004: 117).

This pandemic is equivalent to destruction warfare in the whole of Africa. HIV/AIDS is causing social and economic crises in the continent and as a result, political stability is threatened in already unstable societies. Millions of orphans and civil servants are affected by the disease and causing the continent's health services as well as social services a lot of money. A fertile ground to propagate the disease is provided by conflicts that result from the disasters mentioned above (Axworthy, 1992: 2).

According to Fourie (2001: 30), approximately 80% of the population in third world countries depend on agriculture for a living. For poverty-stricken persons in third world countries, in particular, their livelihood is threatened by AIDS. Elderly people living in rural areas are drifted away from cash crop farming to survival farming which automatically drops domestic salary thus leaving families without any choice but to sell off their belongings or possessions for survival. The failure of farm workers to

plant seeds during critical periods reduces the size of the harvest. The disease causes population pressure, especially migration and urbanisation, and has managed to create volatile social and political conditions.

Difficulties created by the spread of HIV/AIDS give the impression that government is failing or is not capable of adequately tackling the health problems of the country. This situation has the potential of producing a sensitive logic of relegation among the infected population, stronger logic of deficiency and bitterness to government. In combination with deficiency, the psychological impact is particularly delicate. Such attitude influences the eruption of violence. It does not just occur impulsively but in most cases, certain groups in the society exploit the situation (Bird, 2009: 221).

The researcher believes there is a great need to address these threats with immediate effect and strategically, because Africa's security is under threat. Using the urge at the core of what makes us human, and the will to reproduce, the HIV/AIDS epidemic has infiltrated Africa's homes, schools, government, state institutions, factories and farms. The threat to sub-Saharan Africa's human security is such that those who are not infected, dying and dead, will undeniably be affected by the pandemic.

Worldwide, 840 million people are malnourished and hungry, with the greater percentage of the population living in Africa. The World Food Summit set targets in 1996 to reduce the level of hunger in the world, but have not succeeded in their endeavour. The right to food is one of those rights consistently mentioned in international human right documents, but it is the one most frequently violated in recent times. The continent that receives most food aid currently is the African continent, with more than 30 million people requiring emergency food aid in a year. 60% of the work done by the World Food Programme (WFP) is based in Africa or conducted in the Dark Continent. To feed those undernourished, especially if they do not get assistance elsewhere, aid officials estimate that their budget for Africa is \$1.4 billion. The horror of the difficulty in Africa has now extended to astonishing crisis levels as some 38 million people face a pressing and imminent threat to peace, security and stability, especially starvation or food shortage (Clover, 2003:1).

The inability to purchase food, famine and starvation are intimately related to poverty. Simply producing more food does not tackle the issue of famine, because famine occurs even when there is plenty of food. Most people buy food instead of producing food, including small farmers and there are few individuals who are completely self-sufficient in terms of food production. Due to the failure in obtaining good harvests, as observed in Southern Africa, many people including subsistence farmers, resort to selling domestic animals in order to utilise the income to buy food. At the same time, food prizes are skyrocketing while the prize of livestock is on the decline. Hostilities are major contributing features to famine, and the impact felt in households and at the national level (Atehnkeng *et al.*, 2007: 19).

The end of apartheid in the country has led to an increase in regional migration and across the continent Africa. The amalgamation of South Africa into the regions and its connection to the international economy has increased unemployment as well as rural and urban poverty. Due to mass relocation, migration has a huge impact on the spread of HIV/AIDS.

According to Bond (2004), there refugees seeking asylum from SADC countries and beyond in South Africa. Regional lifetime migration patterns shows that 60% of the population are individuals who have spent a better part of their lives in rural areas, those who have not moved or relocated represent 47% while 12% represents those who have never moved to urban areas since birth. In rural areas, internal migration is 15 percent on generation relocation. From rural to urban areas, about 11% of the population has practised it, 4% of the population has moved from city to city. Urban-rural migration accounts for about 4% of lifetime migration. Cross-border migration accounts for 6% of regional lifetime migration, with South Africa being the major regional destination. Cross-border from South Africa is primarily to developed countries such as the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and the United States.

Multiple factors influence the choice for one to travel, but of paramount importance are financial, domestic issues, living environments and access to education or schools. In rural areas, the main reason for movement is usually related to family issues such as marriage and divorce. Reasons for rural to urban migration are different from those of rural to urban as they are mainly economic factors such as

employment, better standards of living and good schools that offer best syllabus for children. Other reasons for migrating, such as environmental issues, better access to health facilities and security are only minor in terms of importance. Men and women migrate for the same reasons; however, the relative importance of the reasons varies (Shield *et al.*, 1989: 277).

Arrehag *et al.* (2006: 378) state that men prioritise economic reasons unlike women whose priority is family and living conditions. It has been indicated that most women leave rural areas in search of a different life style. The region has received a great number of foreigners compared to the past through cross-border migration. People in the region overstate that there is huge number of foreigners or refugees in their countries and consider it as problematic rather than an opportunity, this was revealed by the National Immigration Policy Survey (NIPS). It varies from country to country. With the severity of this attitude, however, South African citizens seem to be the most passionate in conveying such attitude and to a lesser extent, Namibia and Botswana. Most countries that receive refugees, their citizens are intolerant, as illustrated by the xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

Figuring out a xenophobic profile is not easy in SADC countries because the attitude is so inclusive and pervasive, poor or wealthy, male or female, employed or unemployed, black or white, radical or unadventurous, portray a strange and similar attitude. No matter what your origin is, in South Africa, xenophobia manifests itself, as there is always that fear that one is a foreigner. South Africans are hostile to those who do not speak any of the country's official languages and seclude them according to their skin colour. They are considered extremely dark which is the most tarnished form of post-apartheid xenophobia. Thus, the frequently heard derogatory term *makwerekwere* is usually used to refer to dark-skinned Africans who do not speak any of the 11 official South African languages (Crush & Pendleton, 2004).

People who reside and work in townships are usually the ones who suffer the most from these xenophobic attacks. Either tolerance or not, the attitude towards foreigners in the SADC region is not uniform. Where there is no tolerance, it is described as inclined towards recognisable socio-economic assemblies contained by the public. It is estimated that the poor, the working class, and the unemployed

(identified as the socio-economically disadvantaged) have additional undesirable views about foreigners than more protected citizens.

Citizens in the SADC region dismally fail to distinguish between migrants from the region and those from other parts of the continent as well as those from Europe. In cases where the attitude is negative, it is uniformly negative and where positive, it is also uniformly positive. The strategy of building innovative regional realisation among populations and policy architects is an urgent challenge faced by SADC countries and migration-related organisations. The exaggeration that foreigners are not genuine, that they steal jobs and that they are a threat to the country's economy has to come to an end (Ibid).

One of the riches in the Dark Continent is its well-known amazing natural atmosphere and natural features such as vegetation and fauna that cannot be found anywhere else in the world. Environmental problems in Africa include infertile soils, natural disasters and the intersection of mushrooming populations with fragile bionetworks. Unproductive agricultural areas in Africa the due to the high toxic wastes deposited in the continent by industrialised nations of the world. This has been legally recognised by some African countries. Climate change has a huge effect on the regions agricultural activities (Tal, 2002).

Barlow *et al.* (1999) maintain that Southern Africa is going through massive transformation. The springing of towns and cities across the region comes with a demand for permanent housing, clean water, sewage and a reliable transport system for manufacturing and consumer products. Structuring on the post-independence enhancements in health and the provision of education, Southern Africa is generating a new landscape of the past much as they created the agricultural landscape of the past. Yet such procedure of development brings new problems not just in terms of pollution and resource exhaustion but considerable renewable resources. Energy requirements, the demand for wood and more especially the demand for water will be vital resource issues to address in this 21st century.

Environmental problems observed in Southern Africa are crucial and severe and quite understandable. Southern Africa has one of the quickest expanding populations in the world with a growth rate of approximately 2.2% every year. This

constitutes a very enthralling problem, because with the rapid growth of population, environmental challenges are bound to increase. African countries have succeeded in establishing operative economic policies, which have been able to accelerate development in the continent. "Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth has deteriorated recently and it is obvious that the stagnation of the economies will cause a decrease in solving ecological challenges. Poverty is also one of the main factors that influences the increase in environmental issues" (Keener *et al.*, 2005).

Historically, every individual as well as world politics was engaged with legislation and conflict but in the 21st century, environmental issues seem to be part of the key issues troubling the world, especially in Southern Africa. The rising number of plants and all kinds of manufacturing factories with the growth of technology has led to a huge shift on such issues. Over the past few decades, manufacturing and establishment of industries have been the root causes of environmental degradation.

Other challenges to human security are human rights and good governance. Although it can be argued that in the latter part of the 20th and 21st centuries there has been some improvement in the area of good governance, it is widely believed that there is still more work to be done. In many societies, there is still a need to strengthen the rule of law, especially those that are from conflict as well as absolute monarchies such as Swaziland. In some countries, there is still a need to ensure that advances made in the area of human rights and good governance are not reversed as is the case in Zimbabwe.

Legomosky (1995: 671) states that it has become ordinary practice to imprison, harass, ill-treat and violate human rights in different ways. The circumstances are exacerbated by the fact that it is rare for political victims to be judged fairly in courts, endorsed to play a role in vital areas of the country's economy, deprived access to farm lands and not given high posts enjoyed by their counterparts. Most African leaders care more about enriching themselves and people around them, and care less about developing their societies. Some leaders have turned their places of origin into exclusive expansion zones.

In Southern Africa, political advancement and security concerns remain jumbled, contradictory and in a state of instability. The playing field is not level for all involved

in politics in Africa and development is under severe pressure. Democracy is described as delicate and incompatible in the region. Holding on to minimum requirements of democracy such as holding elections has led to most states in the region to be classified as formal democracies, whereas the essence of democracy is far more unsteady (Cilliers, 2011).

According to Grant *et al.* (2003), normally, third world countries are doing sensibly well on the minimum threshold of formal or procedural democratic elections on time, particularly in the three spheres of government (the legislature, the judiciary and the executive). The inability for states to be reactive to the needs of citizens, eliminate poverty, ensure effective participation of citizens in decision-making and governance, proves that the region is faring poorly in terms of substantive democracy. If African leaders are able to pass on the baton after diligently serving their countries and achieving goals that were achievable in their terms of office, then Africa would develop and less political conflict would be experienced in the continent. The hunger for power and mongering has delayed the development of the Dark Continent. Leaders should train certain individuals to continue with the struggle when their term ends. However, this is not happening as they rather prefer to stay in the power for many years which consequently impedes and delays development in the continent.

Does identifying the challenges of human security provide the solution and assist the South African Government to bury the legacy of apartheid? Most authors have discussed and identified the challenges and clearly defined the concept from Europe to Africa but what is lacking is the application of the concept, especially in third world countries, addressing the legacy of the colonial and apartheid eras. All aspects of human life as addressed by the notion of human security theoretically look great, up-to-date and inclusive, but in terms of interdisciplinary work, it is non-existent and hypothetically applied.

This chapter has established and justified the theoretical framework that provided the basis for the study. It also discussed and reviewed relevant literature on human sanctuary and its challenges.

CHAPTER THREE

The notion of human security in South Africa twenty years after the introduction of democracy in the country

3.0 INTRODUCTION

South African consists of two societies: the first one is white and rich. Nevertheless, this nation is relatively flourishing. The white nation enjoys easy access to a well-established economy, education, infrastructure and communication, among others. The second nation is the larger one, black and poor. In rural areas, the most affected are black women, and vulnerable groups such as disabled people and the youth. They lack physical, educational and other infrastructure and live under unacceptable conditions. The reality of these nations was countersigned by the preservation of apartheid white minority domination. It also established the material base which emphasises that South Africa is not one nation and is far from being one.

South Africa has experienced five national democratic elections, in its twenty years of democracy. Is it safe to say that South Africans have reached the Promised Land of honey and milk, while poverty-stricken groups remain huge, and the self-centred new elite tends to be extensive? President Nelson Mandela, the world's icon visualised a democratic nation free from racial discrimination and prejudice. Acceptance and compassion was what invigorated the nation and not an easy process because most black South Africans were angry and bitter towards the apartheid government. President Mandela helped South Africans to have an imagination of a future where relegated people would be liberated from fear and want and a society where no one will be above the law, where every individual would have equal and meaningful rights. The president promised South Africans a just society where human rights will be safely guided (Venter *et al.*, 2006: 4).

According to Lodge (2003), the first democratically elected government of South Africa, led by President Mandela, post-apartheid, invested extensive effort in the transformation of an apartheid army that forever fought citizens of the country in Southern Africa into a nationwide protection force regulated by the citizens. The mission of transforming the ruthless apartheid police force into a professional force

focusing on community as well was met. Police forces were highly expected to respect and honour the society they served, and there was a huge emphasis on non-violation of human rights. During that time, a dedicated anti-corruption unit was formed to confront the problem of police corruption.

The need for the security to react to the daily fluctuating threats was a focus of President Thabo Mbeki's government. It also had to respond to the developing role of political groups and public leadership. The people of South Africa had to handle the growing accountability in the decisions of their interests, aspirations and security because nations no longer held monopoly over security matters. Under President Thabo Mbeki, the Organisation of African Unity and NEPAD recognised the pivotal assessment of people's safety as it was incorporated in government's strategies and databases. During President Mbeki's era, human security was not an issue of South Africa but the whole of Africa (Lodge, 2003: 4).

In South Africa, poverty is understood through racial categorisation. The way the political economy was developed and the distribution of wealth is still skewed in favour of the white minority. In a nutshell, one would say the economy of the country still characterised by racial inequality. The richest 10% of the country's population is earning 50 percent of the national income, the poorest 20% only earning 15 percent. It is worth noting that 85 percent of poor people in the country are blacks (Natrass, 1998: 7).

According to Schoeman (1998: 302), another dichotomy in the country's economy is rural or urban division. It is in urban areas where economic activities are largely constrained, with areas of economic development concerted in Gauteng, Durban and Pietermaritzburg areas of Kwazulu Natal, Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape and the Cape Town-Bellville complex in the Western Cape. This means that rural poverty and exclusion are omnipresent and in many other parts of Africa, deterrence of dysfunctional urban expansion cannot be controlled. The government has tried several means to boost the economy of the country, but the question is are they enough?

Sparks (2003: 26) states that because of the economic sanctions imposed on South Africa during the apartheid era, the country's economy was dead, the country had to

bring life to it and restore it. There was thus a need to cut the economic deficit, the debt of the state had to be abridged, and reduction of inflation was achieved from a target of 3 percent to 6 percent. The government managed to decrease inflation rate through hard work. It stood at 24 percent during the apartheid era and decreased to 14 percent afterwards. Trade barriers were also lifted, the confusion in tariffs was also removed as well as import duties. South Africa was praised by the whole world for the establishment of the macro-economic base.

In the country's history, the handling of macro-economic has been professional and generally improved than during other times. It has controlled what was feared to become an increase in single digits; it guided the economy of the country from continuously negative growth to positive growth. The government of South Africa experienced loss of more than half a million jobs which constituted a huge economic blow to the country or a tragedy, the insistence for manual labour has shifted away from chief segments of mining and agriculture to industries with a high demand of skilled people (Ibid).

As stated by Venter & Landsberg (2006: 4), 50 percent of South Africans engage in informal sectors, such as selling fruits which does not assist in eliminating poverty. Formal unemployment ranges from 33 percent to 40 percent. The country is struggling with high employment, recording the highest unemployment ratio globally within the industrial sector of the economy. The high dependency ratio of the youth and adults poses a challenge on the economy. Low base revenue for the government is caused by such issues. Disproportionally high in South Africa are taxation levels, it is a heavy burden for the better-off, but comparatively minor for the middle class. Low labour productivity, high assessment and administration, over scarcity, sponsoring budget have led to low local savings and investments and consequently, capital accumulation is very low. The disadvantage of all these is that it puts the country in a position whereby it highly depends on foreign investments and loans for its economic growth, of which are the country's vulnerability to international capital flows and the upsurge of financial catastrophes.

In South Africa, foreigners from other regions of the continent are treated in a disgusting manner as `others`. In May 2008, in 135 different locations across the

country, attacks broke out leading to the death of more than 62 foreigners. In March 2010, xenophobic violence unfolded targeting migrants and foreigners. Patterns of violence in the country, mainly includes cases of foreign nationals living in neighborhoods. Shop owners are usually the main targets. Leaders of the country have sat around the table in order to understand if these attacks are specifically xenophobic or not and have discovered that the intention is to attack foreigners but dispute the perpetuation of violence specifically targeting foreign nationals in South Africa (SAHRC, 2019).

In different provinces of the country, more than ten cases of xenophobic attacks were reported. There are different reasons that have advanced to explain the violence; these include high employment, high crime rates, police and government corruption, ineffective service delivery and an incompetent foreign policy. It is a pity that the South African Government is in denial of such a threat. Such instances are amazing, especially because South Africa brags of having one of the best constitutions in the world since 1996. A host of essential cultural, socio economic and political rights of people residing in the country is ensured by the Bill of Rights. Since 1994, the bigotry of non-citizens has intensified dramatically (Simeon, 1998).

According to Moodley (2000: 69), building, gathering and the gardening of comprehensive non-racial citizens counterfeits with the post-apartheid state. The ANC-led government is well-balanced, somewhere denying positioning groups according to particular legalities, and having to realized the importance of 'difference' in dealing with the apartheid heritage. How does the state manage the issue of reconciliation of difference with citizens without ignoring identity, culture and language, is a central problem for this process. Against this background, political education is most likely to be functioning where the focus is on more confident goals of democratic conflict resolution. The essential reason why people of South Africa stood up against apartheid was because it was not a just system and beleaguered the majority yet the very same South Africans tend to forget this. Delinquency is in contradiction of humanity; dishonored equality, human self-respect, and the safety of citizens. The ruling party (ANC) or its leaders of today have also totally forgotten this past.

The urban areas in the country attract rural people to the city and cross boundary migration. More than a million persons are in a struggle to access public services, better housing and well-paying jobs. It is not only South Africans but foreigners as well who are demanding socio-economic privileges afforded by the constitution, since during apartheid blacks were excluded. In this context, the country is experiencing the eruption of violence against foreigners into widespread massacres which has developed into a consistent feature for the country's inner-city landscape (Ibid).

According to Crush (1999), after 1990, changing significantly was the order of the day with a number of asylum-seekers arriving South Africa. The discernment that the country had lost control of its borders became wisdom to many. This clearly shows that the country was not ready for the fall of apartheid and reintegration into worldwide routes of capital, goods and people. Poverty has increased since the end of apartheid, and with the passing of the Refugees Act, South Africa still remains one of the most unequal societies in the world. As a result, deep contradictions have developed between the formal provisions of the Act and a range of efforts in ring-fencing precious resources. Furthermore, an example is made of those regulations that are now applied to previously unregulated economies such as street trading, the security and hospitality industries, which create major barriers against their continued ability to find work.

Private Banks in the country do not identify Identity Documents owned by refugees, which makes it impossible or impractical for refugees to own bank accounts. This explains the widespread of xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners and how they prevent refugees from gaining access to public services. Refugees cannot translate their legal rights into genuine entitlements because of these formal rules and informal practices. When it comes to observation and respect of human rights, South Africa has quickly become the opposite of what it purports. Human rights are being violated by organizations, law enforcement agencies, institutions of government as well as individuals. There is a visible lack of respect for human rights on a daily basis. The incomparable violation of human rights is making a ridicule of the country and its hard-earned democracy and threatening to turn the country into a banana republic where everyone does as he/she pleases because there is no effective rule

or law to curb a sneaking culture that is based on 'I don't care' attitudes (Wilson, 2001).

It is so disappointing and humiliating to realize that in post-apartheid South Africa, law enforcement agencies just as the police are now not in any way different in stifling or roasting human privileges and are not different from the actions of the apartheid police during the humiliating apartheid era. Whenever human rights are violated, the police are usually at the forefront whereas they are the ones who should protect and safeguard human rights. However, in the past few months and years, members of the South African Police Service have become perpetrators of abuse. It became worse in 2013 in almost all provinces of the country. The police have become so abusive. The major questions raised are: how many people in this democratic country have suffered at the hands of law enforcements agencies? How many citizens of this country have had their right to life taken away by the police post-apartheid? (Crush, 2001).

Showing little or no respect at all for human rights are common sights in villages, townships, farms and informal settlements of the country. Communities have been turned into battle fields, places of torture and irritation by members. At the age of five, children already experience sexual assault through rape. Young women are sexually abused on a daily basis and some killed amazingly and the culprits getting away with their actions. Political battles are fought physically not ideologically and killing of comrades with different views has become the order of the day in the country (Ibid, 2001).

The truth of the matter is that South Africa still suffers from racism. The rights of Blacks are still violated in most public spaces in the country. Some whites still think of themselves as superior to blacks in most institutions. It has become crystal clear that there is no available ethic commonality in the whole universe; rather, there was a vast difference in life when the apartheid well-established inequality is considered which resulted to a diverse value in classification, views and individualities consequential from contradictory securities.

Puoane *et al.* (2002) maintain that most South Africans survive below the poverty index and spend days and weeks at times without food or proper meals. The country

is plagued by poverty, unemployment, high food and fuel prices and many more other challenges. The above-mentioned unfavorable conditions have put so much pressure on citizens who are struggling to provide for their basic needs. Most of the suffering citizens lack basic education or are illiterate, live in informal settlements without proper sanitation and food insecurity. The diet they consume is not healthy and they suffer mainly from under/over malnutrition. It is not that South Africa as a country fails to produce adequate or sufficient food to meet the local food needs of citizens but the major problem lies within distribution and access. In simpler terms, there is enough food produced to accommodate everyone.

The price of the staple food (maize) is what generally measures food security in the country. In comprehensive terms, however, food insecurity emerges when people lack safe and sound admittance to proper quantity of nutritious food for progress and development accompanied by vigorous healthy lifestyles. The interaction between social class and the individual's culture or attitude also plays a vital role in developing food insecurity; irrespective of the fact that there are socio-economic inequalities in the country that also play a role in the occurrence of food security (Anderson, 2008: 600).

Brauch (2008: 19) argues that South Africa is not the only country faced with challenges of food security as it is an international crisis. Efforts by politicians, educational and civil societies, declarations and construction of institutional bodies that emanate from global summits to ensure food safety are essentially necessary and classified under human rights. National strategies to overcome food insecurity and fight malnutrition have gone unnoticed because of poor service delivery.

There are plenty of reasons that have contributed to the escalation of water crisis in the country. Climate change has severely impacted on water provision. Water supply was boosted by heavy rains previously but currently, the level has dropped significantly. For example, "in Durban, dams are 20 percent lower than at the start of 2010. Because of this, cities are looking to implement water constraints in communities" (Wallace, 2000: 105).

It is not a secret that most communities in remote areas still lack access to clean water. There are procedures that have been laid down to preserve water have not

yet started or the process is very slow such as constructing dams whereas those that are in place are slowly collapsing. About 5 million people lack access to clean water; 15 million on the other hand, just lack access to basic sanitation as stated by DBSA, (2008). Since the end of apartheid, the situation has been improving, though the numbers are still skyrocketing. There should never be a situation or instance where an individual is in need of the basic needs of life such as water.

Being proud about consuming the cleanest water in the world is captivating enough for South Africa. Nevertheless, sanitation is a train smash in rural areas; the steady increase in waterborne diseases has become a serious threat. Currently, Bloemhof in the North West province is experiencing an outbreak of diarrhea which is brutally killing a number of young children, people from this place abstained from the elections on the basis that they still drink dirty water and lack access to a number of services. Notwithstanding, municipalities have been rendered powerless or impotent in terms of delivering rudimentary services over the past decade. Corruption is what defines most of them, the people of Bloemhof lack services because of the corruption that is prevailing in the municipality.

Water is life but also takes away life as well. According to Harold (2009), South Africa is currently undergoing a number of consistent water crises which have led to disasters. However, they can be managed. These crises include:

- Incongruity link of water sources and water request;
- Catastrophe to accomplish request management objectives;
- Robbery of water possessions;
- Mandate administration catastrophe; and
- Rotting infrastructure.

Such problems do not exist because there is lack of planning or failure to achieve plans. But the increase in loss of essential skill is the main cause of all these catastrophes that have assisted in creating or broadening the middle management gap and disentangling bigger institutions. In secondary schools, the disappearance of Mathematics and Science is also threatening the future of professional education. Regardless of their size, all of these problems can be and should be resolved. There

is great need to address the immediate major challenges. There is an equally urgent need to deal in the longer term with the potentially devastating educational issues (Harold, 2009).

All governance structures in the continent are deteriorating because of the effects of HIV/AIDS. HIV is threatening to wipe out future the generation of South African political and economic crop of leaders. Delivery has to be narrowed down in other sectors in order to increase the budget and try to save infected and affected citizens. As more people develop terminal diseases and no longer feel comfortable being in the public sphere due to the stigma, participation in democratic governance will also diminish. The ever-increasing number of orphans is threatening development and stability in the country. The capacity and capability to contribute in public debates by citizens is highly affected because family structures are broken down due to the persistence of the disease (Fourie & Schönteich, 2001: 29).

According to Anderson & Philips (2006), South Africa has made remarkable progress in the last few years. Nearly a million South Africans are on medication receiving antiretroviral treatment. Two thirds of mothers are able to give birth to healthy children even if infected because they are now having access to services that can prevent passing the virus from the mother to unborn babies. As a result, the prevalence of HIV among children has declined among the youth because there is a high usage of condoms; young people are learning more about the spread of the disease. The South African government has played a huge role in funding policies and programmes that help to reduce mortality rate and increase the number of people infected or living with the disease.

Though intervention measures put in place by the South African government have failed to secure great attention, about 350 000 and 500 000 new infections still occur annually. About 5 million people will be HIV infected in the next two decades and it was anticipated that by 2013, domestic spending will drop to 2.1 million and more than 3 million eligible South African patients will access treatment (Steinberg *et al.*, 2002).

The Republic of South Africa is a country where many cases of rape have been brought before the law. Regardless of gender, most victims do not have the courage

to report rape cases which makes it a very subtle issue. There is no definite figure because not all rape cases are reported. Human rights are violated because when one gets raped, one can be infected. Literature has proven that men who rape and are physically vicious towards partners are more likely to engage in sexual-risk taking than other men and this has raised an anxiety that there is a likelihood of them being infected by HIV/AIDS (Schonteich, 2002).

Against an unconventional change to an electoral party, the African National Congress (ANC) is still resolute to remain a liberation movement in power, and as such, has allowed reaping dividends to continue springing from the party's revolutionary past. This has led to some challenges for the ruling party to strengthen its mass-administrative work and improve governance. Pervasive remonstrations nationally are a clear sign that this kind of plan is more a misapprehension than something practical. The distorting of lines between deliverance movements has failed to trick angry masses (Edigheji, 2007:51).

There are times when the ruling party functions as if there are two ANCs; one in government and the other out of government, and it has become completely clear that the ANC is conflict-driven. The blame is pushed to new recruits of the party who are branded as lacking a system of socialization and politicization. Deceiving practices such as the establishment of bogus branches to expand the number of members is used as a means to chase their narrow interests. These factors have settled in and are slowly killing the ANC (Ibid, 2007).

The current civil servants strikes, the extensive use of protests and internal killings within the ranks of the movement have raised a question on whether the organization enjoys the degree of assurance from the masses trusted as member of the ruling party, leaders of the mass democratic movements and loyal in serving the interests of the masses, particularly with the current struggle to build a "better life for all". The researcher believes that the creation of two new parties, AGANG and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) formed by break-away factions of the ANC is a disturbing sign, especially as these parties seem to have a lot of support among the youth of the country. This is as a result of poor governance, lack of effective service delivery and skyrocketing levels of corruption.

Many people have demonstrated their dissatisfaction with the government led by the ANC. The ANC and its alliance partners during apartheid were at the forefront of mass demonstrations. But the current leadership is the receiver of persistent instability. Government is at loggerheads with the masses. On 16 August 2012, thirty-four poor black South Africans who worked extremely hard yet earned peanuts were killed in the Marikana massacre. The police brutally tortured survivors and arrested many striking miners. Before the incident that occurred on 16th, there were deaths reported as well as after. Government officials never showed any interest while they were tasked to attend to the families of late miners; the families were just vulnerable members of the communities who were very vulnerable and poor and demanding better wages and living conditions. Currently, the ANC, under the leadership of President Jacob Gedlehelekisa Zuma is continuously showing signs of exacerbating the threats of citizens. The abuse of power by governing officials, the manner in which policies and budget are structured is self-centered ignoring the main ones with a purpose of eliminating poverty. The marginalized are disadvantaged and have limited rights and chances to access assets because of imperfections in governance. The poor spend so much on bribes more than what they earn. With the current governance, it has become politics of the stomach rather than loyalty to the masses which no longer exists.

This chapter has discussed the tasks and prospects of human security in South Africa. It is believed that in a self-governing South Africa, there are still many loopholes of democracy that need to be addressed. The next chapter presents a summary of findings, recommendations and conclusion.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

4.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

It was discovered in the study that in 1994, when South Africa gained its freedom, the country gained only political freedom and not economical liberation. The ownership and control of the economy is still largely in the hands of Whites who were not historically oppressed as black Africans. The way the economy has been restructured does not still meet the basic needs of citizens. Inequality in the distribution of resources is still very high; eliminating poverty completely is a major challenge; the creation of decent jobs for all South Africans as well seems to be far from being achieved and as a result, the security of the citizens is at stake.

In terms of economic development, South Africa is trying to position the country in the world's economy through GEAR. Changes in the country's economic management are being reflected on its role and purpose of a state. This is supplemented by the implementation of a series of policies aimed at restructuring the state referred to as the new public administration in accordance with the global convention of GEAR. For effective micro-economic policy, admission to the improvement of the world's economy, major rearrangements of regime institutions are obligatory, predominantly those inherited from apartheid. Post-apartheid South Africa is in search of an approach to manage in changing the role of government which is the primary vehicle of socioeconomic expansion to one regulatory and simplifying development. Characterising the then identified approach was the transmission of national enterprises which is a reserved sector, the magnitude of bureaucracies had to be reduced, a call for accountability in community services and highly emphasised was the issue of active service delivery.

Lewis (2001) states that the vital goals of economic policy are economic growth, poverty reduction and job creation. In an attempt to meet the objectives of the RDP, the South African government has made significant progress in the following domains: health care has been provided for, housing and basic services, as well as land reform. The lives of millions in the country have also improved. The best long-

term ways of achieving economic growth are the government's GEAR and privatisation policies. But one cannot shy away from the fact that there is still so much to be done. GEAR, the microeconomic policy, is conflicting completely with the objectives of RDP, reduction and equality in the separation of wealth.

Economic growth is not enough in reducing unemployment in the country. The creation of jobs in the informal sector has led to great losses in the formal sector. Millions of citizens still lack appropriate shelter, basic services as well as land. The country needs to be fully developed in order to attain and uphold the aims spelt out in RDP.

On another note, what makes one to admit that human security is at stake in the country is the fact that social development has not yet been achieved with its twenty years of democracy. It was discovered in the study that the number of people living under poverty has reduced significantly. Current predicaments faced by the state include the fact that while poverty is declining, inequality on the other hand is escalating resulting to a vast gap between the have and have not. The ranks of capitalism are continuously swelling; the rich are still in control of the means of production and getting richer through the exploitation of the poor who are also getting poorer. The level of human insecurity is still very high in South Africa. There is still more to be done. The institution of societal grants has relieved most citizens caught up in poverty. In the struggle in completely eliminating poverty, it has been the lasting progress. However, the grant system requires a fast-tracked economic process which is essential for the improvement of the educational system in the country. The undesirable structure in terms of educational achievement and poverty duplicate the positive influence which the literate have in the filling of positions and earning lucrative salaries. Some of these grants are actually draining the economy of the country. South Africa has a high level of teenage pregnancy and most of the young mothers drop out of school. It was discovered in the study that one of the causes of the high level of teenage pregnancy is the fact that most of these young mothers comfortably depend on child support grants for survival (Armstrong *et al.*, 2008).

As reported by SAHRC (2011), what defines the sanitation needs of a country is a blend of service delivery backlogs (the group of people that have not received services); renovation backlogs (sanitation infrastructure that has depreciated beyond repair); conservatory backlogs (active infrastructure that needs extension in order to ensure service delivery for all households in respected communities); and operation and maintenance backlogs (not properly operated and maintained infrastructure but if a sufficient budget can be allocated to ensure appropriate operation and maintenance, it could be adequate). The open toilets in the Western Cape have been an issue in the country which exposed the lack of appropriate sanitation services, especially towards the 2011 local government elections. The Khayelitsha case of open toilets heard by the Cape High Court, at the request of the South African Human Rights Commission, investigated allegations concerning Rammulotsi. The court discovered that inadequate or lack of proper sanitation violated the right to human dignity, solitude and the right to a clean environment.

According to Bosche *et al.* (2002), another concern is government's uncertainty on the ability to sustain funding. Two distinctive features of the South African water sector are the policy of free basic water and the existence of water boards, which are major water supply agencies that operate pipelines and sell water from reservoirs to municipalities. A great part of rural areas in most provinces depends on dirty water. In the North West province, Dr Ruth Mompoti district region hardly has clean water to the extent that young children are dying because of the dirty water they drink.

The effects of HIV/AIDS are a major concern, especially with the infection of approximately one in four people and with 5.7 million people living with HIV though the number of fully blown carriers has reduced. Since 2010, close to 14 million citizens have been tested for HIV, more than 2 million people are currently receiving antiretroviral treatment, as reported by the government. Cases of new-born babies infected during pregnancy and birth have drastically declined in terms of number. The number of newborns infected by their mothers has been radically reduced. This clearly shows a vital shift of society and commitment of government to reduce the pandemic. The introduction of the new drug that is aimed at reducing costs has also ushered a glimmer of hope in terms of controlling the epidemic (Nunn *et al.*, 2007).

Saul (1994) maintains that stopping crime in the country is still one of the biggest challenges faced by the South African government considering that its rise began in the 1980s. Post-apartheid, the South African criminal justice system was not prepared to counteract the challenges of increasing crime. Not much has changed even to date. Policing remains centralized, inexpressive to indigenous necessities and the need to improve the delivery of services; in areas of examination, punishing and imprisonment are crucial and require restructuring.

Cultural development is another aspect that seeks to undermine development in democratic South Africa (the patriarchy system that deprives women of their rights in the society but exalts men in all sectors). It was discovered in the study that there are still vast challenges with respect to women's health in marginalized communities or remote areas. Women working on farms, foreigners in the country as well as sex workers are mainly affected by the disease because of the challenges they face in life. The maltreatment of women chiefly contributes towards the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The harsh reality is that women with HIV are also particularly vulnerable to material and physical abuse as well as desertion.

All over the world, enormous strides have been made in the area of gender over the last few decades. This includes the new democratic South Africa that promotes equality for all. Nevertheless, the country is still trying to adjust to "some very strong and outdated attitudes towards differences in genders and the rights of men or women". Not so many South African women have experienced gender transformation in their daily lives. As much as it can be argued that there is good gender representation and equality in government, it does not translate into broad gender equity debate. Shockingly, the level of female children raped in the country is on the rise. Over the past decade, the abuse of infants, sexual abuse and rape have increased by 400 percent. Females stand a great chance to be exposed to rape than being educated. 18,801 rape cases were reported yearly before 1994, but in 2001, the figures rose to 24,892 (Charlayne, 2004).

The patriarchal status quo remains unchanged. There is a great need for the conviction behind the gender bias to be challenged. Media campaigns, education, debates and other means have failed to bring in the much needed change. In fear of

violence, women are automatically deprived of moving freely in the country and without them; social cohesion in South Africa cannot be achieved and claimed. Also, women are still denied the opportunity to complete their schooling because of cultural barriers and pregnancy. It is disappointing that more than twenty years into democracy, out of all the provinces, there is only one province that has a female premier, this says a lot about gender equity in the country (Taylor, 2004).

Twelve courts were established by the government in 1999 specifically to handle sexually-related offenses. The Bureau's mandate is to assist the justice system to treat rape fighters with caution and for rape cases to be handled more effectively. This mandate is done with the Thuthuzela care Centre, in collaboration with the Vera Institute in New York City. The aim is to provide emotional and support to victims and to ensure that all health measures are carefully done on time. Also, the issue of thorough investigation should be dealt with seriously, especially because in the past, the police were unable to handle rape cases with sensitivity and as a result, most women did not bother themselves reporting such cases.

The approach to corruption by the South African government is multipronged and the major pillars are the law or legal framework, anticorruption agencies, and public mobilisation agencies. In most instances, government officials found guilty hardly serve their sentence because of the connections they have and wealth accumulated during their time in government. As a result, the above-mentioned means are undermined most of the time and a radical approach is urgently required. One big enemy of good governance in South Africa is corruption. The fight against corruption has been the country's challenge since apartheid. Democratic South Africa is more conducive and provides more opportunities for detecting corruption, exposing and prosecuting corruption. Most have debated that the rightful use of the state as a tool to address the distribution of resources and services equally to all, reinforces corruption in the process of addressing the legacy of apartheid. The new government has resolved to make use of the state machinery in the redistribution of economic opportunities with the aim of achieving a comprehensive economy in normalising the society (Madonsela, 2010).

The human rights of citizens is generally respected by the government, nonetheless, the government, NGOs, and local media have accounted for the following deadly serious human rights problems: utilisation of extreme force by the police when handling suspects leading to many losing their lives or badly injuring them, mistreatment of prisoners, prisoners being raped, beaten and overcrowded prisons. Trials were intentionally hindered and detention was protracted, persistence in maltreatment of disable people, persons with disabilities, lesbians, gays, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) community, discrimination of women in the society and human trafficking (HRRSA, 2009).

Through the support of the tripartite alliance, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the South African Communist Party (SACP), the African National Congress (ANC) enjoys the position of ruling party in South Africa. In 1912, when the party was founded, it was called the South African Native National Congress, with objective to defend the rights of Blacks and radically fight for the freedom and unity of Africa. In 1923, it was renamed the African National Congress.

During the first democratic elections held in 1994, the ANC emerged victorious obtaining 62 percent of votes. President Nelson Mandela became the first democratically elected black president. In 1999 when the country went to the polls again, the ANC managed to increase its popularity by two-thirds of the total votes cast. Obtaining two-thirds of the votes automatically allowed the African National Congress to amend the constitution. President Nelson Mandela was succeeded by President Thabo Mbeki.

In 2004, the ANC retained its two-third majority in parliament. The resignation of President Mbeki in 2008 led to the party experiencing a split led by Mosiua Lekota to form the Congress of the People. When President Jacob Zuma ascended to power in 2009, the ANC's majority dropped to 64.9 per cent. The elections that took place in 2014 saw the ANC's percentage dropping again to 62.15%. President Jacob Zuma remains both the head of the ANC and the country's president. The African National Congress "strives to achieve the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general from political and economic bondage. This means uplifting the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor" (Lodge & Sheidegger, 2006).

The Democratic Alliance (DA) maintains that "the vision for South Africa is of an open opportunity society in which every person is free, secure and equal, where everyone has the opportunity to improve the quality of his or her life and pursue his or her dreams, and in which every language and culture has equal respect and recognition". The DA was previously identified as the Democratic Party (DP). In the white parliament, Suzman Helen was the only representative of the DA for many years. In the 1980s, the party's seats increased to 7. The DA linked powers with the New National Party and Federal Alliance. In 2001, the NNP withdrew from the Alliance. Helen Zille replaced Leon after his resignation in 2007 and is currently the premier of the Western Cape. The DA lacks a radical approach to be effective as an official opposition party in parliament. The ruling party still manages to get away with so many loop holes (Lodge & Sheidegger, 2006).

The presence of the Economic Freedom Fighters in parliament has been felt by the whole country; it is also rated as the third popular political party in the country, and contested its first elections in 2014. The new party managed to garner 6.35 percent of votes. The EFF was formed 8 months before the 2014 elections and managed to secure million votes representing 25 parliamentary seats. The Economic Freedom Fighters have managed to scoop the title of being an official opposition party in two provinces: Limpopo and the North West. The founder of the EFF is Julius Malema, the former president of the Youth League of the African National Congress. In 2013, the African National Congress expelled Julius Malema. The EFF best describes itself as "a radical and militant economic emancipation movement" that is "pursuing the struggle for economic emancipation" (Limer & Wrong, 2013).

South Africa has achieved a lot under the ANC. However, it can never be ignored that there is still a long way to go before one can really realize the freedom, where everyone is economically free, enjoying mental and physical independence. It is no secret that the country is still young and at its teenage state, with little or nothing available for the masses but more for the elite, and it continues to be that. The country and the continent continue to drop economically and even with the little, one sees only the elite enjoying while the masses continue to suffer. The government from the little at its disposal, of which some is generated from tax-payers money, has

a huge responsibility to run the country and undo many wrongs of apartheid which represented the few with everything at its disposal.

4.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The government has a huge task of creating decent employment for all citizens of the country, taking into consideration the fact that the country has a lot of natural resources. Another responsibility that seem to be difficult but which the government has to deal with is the complete elimination of poverty and dealing decisively with issues of inequality in the country. It is improper that after twenty years of democracy, the country is still defined as two nations.

It is recommended that for the government to democratize ownership and control of the economy, through empowering those that were historically oppressed, precisely black Africans as well as the working class, there is a need for their voices to be heard and for them to participate in decision-making. The economy needs to be restructured to fulfill the needs of all citizens.

It was in 1994, after the new government, freely and fairly elected by the people for the people, when it became possible for the government to restructure the schooling system where institutions could nurture the youth in an environment of peace, and could groom teachers, scientists, diplomats and many more that the apartheid failed to do. Many of the challenges of human security result from the lack of education.

It is believed that the education of an African child is not free at all. The study recommends that the South African government should work with other African countries in order to change the curriculum to one that will ensure relevancy in tackling and resolving African challenges in the African way. The current one is swelling the ranks of capitalism.

Looking at the major challenges to human security and HIV/AIDS, the best approach is to get as many people as possible to consider the 'test and treat' approach in order to reduce the number of new infections. The main challenge is cultural norms; for example, Swazis, Zulus, and Xhosa believe polygamy ensures a man's dignity. This promotes many concurrent partners. Some people do not want to test and some

of them assume they are positive already and continue the risky behavior and end up getting infected or continue the spread of the virus if already infected.

It is believed that in as much as the country has made significant strides to reduce the death rate of infected people, what would also work effectively is to decrease the number of new infections by at least 99 percent using preclusion approaches. The government must always guarantee that at least 80 percent of the people are fit for treatment for HIV and receive it without any interruptions every month of the year. The government must also enhance the country's socioeconomic intrusions to manage human security threats, especially those that increase the spread of the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

In terms of issues of rape, the government has to provide learning programmes on fluctuating norms around manliness and sexual entitlements to prevent the ever increasing rates. Morality has completely dropped, in order to address the root causes of rape; there is a great need to restore morality. The South African government must educate children on constitutional rights that protect them against this crime and steps to be taken if one finds himself or herself in such situation in order to prevent the widespread of HIV. Emotional support and counseling should be made available and be convenient for victims, especially because rape is a sensitive matter.

The struggle against the misuse of women and young children is a priority of government. This is done through regulations for its enforcement, and awareness campaigns. However, the level of rape is increasing rapidly every day. It is believed that it is high time radical measures are taken because the soft approach is not doing the country any justice. If a person is found guilty of such a crime, he should be killed or castrated or sentenced for life.

There is an assumption that the patriarchy system has collapsed and the country has achieved equality which is definitely not true. There is still a great need for the government to call a national dialogue and involve all stakeholders to come up with strategies in fighting this battle. The government has to ensure that the strategies are properly implemented in order to effectively assist the society. Several platforms must be created to change the mind set and such platforms must encourage the

participation of men. Young boys should be rehabilitated at a tender age so that as they grow, they should have a different mindset of treating women as equals.

The responsibility of the South African government is to ensure the availability of food for current and future generations. For the future, it is recommended that the South African government should empower citizens on how to make best choices with regard to safe food and nutrients, provide adequate safety nets, for the preservation of food and managing food systems during emergency situations so the government will be able to provide for citizens that are not capable to provide for their own food needs. Adequate and relevant information must be gathered, analyzed and communicated effectively in terms of supervision, valuation and recording on the influence of programmes that ensure food safety for all people in the society.

There is need for the South African government to work with all African governments in order to construct websites delivering valuable information in connection with ensuring food safety, for instance, community-driven food initiatives that can assist in monetary development for the whole continent, securing food suggestions and delivering accurate guides to lead people in food gardening funding must be provided.

The government of South Africa (both local and national) is also advised to do a better job in terms of offering better services to the people. There is a great need for supplies to be provided to those who need them the most. If the government takes care of rural areas, it will also be doing justice to cities or urban areas, because it is in rural communities that damage to the water supply starts due to lack of access to sanitation facilities and clean water. With such education, people from rural areas will not flood urban areas.

Concerning corruption, the government must ensure that reappraising the state procurement has to be done urgently, building investigative and prosecutorial capacity in empowering anti-corruption agencies, more effective means in monitoring disciplinary processes and outcomes to build databases for such cases have to be done with immediate effect. If there is less rhetoric and more action and tangible

progress, South Africa will be able to achieve good governance and corruption will reduce.

4.3 CONCLUSION

Part of the major apprehensions of the Republic of South Africa is human security, highly recognised and spoken of during the elections period as a campaigning strategy. Over the past twenty years, South Africa has been hit by an alarming number of social instabilities, marginalised citizens have demonstrated their grievances in a violent manner and this has resulted in the forfeiture of livelihoods. One thus begins to ask what has happened to the promises made by parties before elections, especially by the ruling party.

Human security hinges on the worth of the traditional shift towards taking a dissimilar perspective on the subject. The virtue of the concept originates in also incorporating customary extortions and indigenous means into its context, signifying that South Africa should understand human security as a counterpart to the old-fashioned security notion rather than a replacement. In this way, the democracy of the country will be sustained. Human security should not be separated from the formation of domestic and international safety policies.

If south Africa fails to address all the challenges mentioned in this study, the country will end up not being different from nations that have failed to implement simple state purposes, because the government will not only be able to deliver the minimum levels of social services but will also fail with justice and monetary crisis. The above-mentioned issues will result in social unrest and unnecessary conflicts that would consequently lead to humanitarian intervention in a military form from other countries. This will also lead to citizens being deprived of their livelihoods and belongings; displacements will become the order of the day and citizens will lose their home lands as they will live under the danger of terror and want. Bad governance emanates from government officials lacking the capability to device progressive measures and the absence of political will to develop governing skills in moving the country forward in a positive way.

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