

The Effects of the Political Violence of the 1980s and 1990s on the Families of
the Political Activists of Kwa-Makhutha, Kwa-Zulu Natal

By

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Signed

.....

Dedication

This research is dedicated to my family for their love and support and for the passion we have shared for community work. Firstly, to my husband Sifiso Mlambo – for his wisdom and intelligence, the unfailing support he has given me in this research, encouragement to advance my career and the sacrifice he has made in ensuring that this dream becomes a reality. Thanks to my loving daughter Siphokazi Mlambo for her sacrifice and understanding and maturity beyond her age; emotional, intellectual and spiritual encouragement. I thank my late parents (Norman and Zodwa Mqadi) who introduced me to God and community development work; teaching me to live a sacrificial life. I thank God for making all things possible.

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My sincere gratitude and appreciation to the people who have made it possible for this study to become a reality. As someone who grew up at Kwa-Makhutha and left the area when political violence started, this research has brought some closure and healing for all the experiences I went through together with my family over the years. My greatest gratitude is to the following people:

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- The former activists and their families for the time we spent together sharing information.
- Kwa-Makhutha Community stakeholders; the church leaders, the NGOs, traditional leadership, members of the political organisations, local councillors, professionals, business people, the local library and churches for the space provided for interviews and the station commander.
- My supervisor Ndwakhulu Tshishonga of the school of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, Durban, for his enthusiasm, encouragement, expert supervision and his guidance and trust in me.

Abstract

The study sought to investigate the effects of political violence on the lives of the former activists and their families at Kwa-Makhutha Township in Kwa-Zulu Natal, in South Africa. Political violence in this study was an instrument used by activists as a defence mechanism to cope with the pain inflicted by the state or the political opposition. The aim of the study was to answer the research questions such as, what does political violence and political struggle mean to the former activists. What was the main reason for getting engaged in the struggle and political violence? At what cost did the former activists engage in political struggle or political violence? These questions were answered by employing research techniques that included individual face-to-face interviews and observation. The study was conducted from the 1st August 2014 to 31st March 2015. The sample of the study consisted of 45 interviewees, 35 males and 10 females, all above the age of 30. Key findings highlighted the negative social and economic effects of political violence on the livelihoods of members of the community. The key issues identified in the study were the lack of infrastructural development and the slow pace of service delivery. The study applied the Relative Deprivation and Social Action theories that provided a comprehensive understanding of the reasons why the activists engaged in political violence. The study revealed that despite the government policies that address socio-economic development, people continue to live in abject poverty in previously disadvantaged communities such as Kwa-Makhutha.

Table of Contents

DECLARATION - PLAGIARISM	II
DEDICATION	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	IV
ABSTRACT	1
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	5
CHAPTER 1	6
1. 1. INTRODUCTION.....	6
1. 2. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY.....	6
1. 3. RATIONALE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.....	9
1. 4. COMMUNITY PROFILE.....	10
1.5. PROBLEM STATEMENT.....	12
1. 6. AIM, OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS	13
1. 6. 1. <i>Aim of the Study</i>	13
1. 6. 2. <i>Objectives</i>	13
1. 6. 3. <i>Research Questions</i>	13
1.7. PARTICIPANTS TO THE STUDY.....	14
1.8. DEFINITION OF TERMS.....	14
1. 9. OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS	16
CHAPTER 2:	18
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	18
2. 1. INTRODUCTION.....	18
2. 2. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE	18
2. 3. LITERATURE REVIEW ON POLITICAL VIOLENCE.....	20
2. 3. 1. <i>Political Violence from an international perspective</i>	21
2. 4. <i>Political violence in South Africa</i>	23
2. 5. 1. <i>Causes of political violence</i>	26
2. 5. 2. <i>The Effects of Political Violence</i>	27
2. 6. POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN KWAZULU-NATAL.....	29
2. 7. EFFECTS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA	32
2. 8. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS.....	35
2.8.1. <i>Relative Deprivation Theory</i>	35
2.8.2. <i>Social Action Theory</i>	36
2. 9. SUMMARY	37
CHAPTER 3:	38
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	38
3. 1. INTRODUCTION.....	38
3. 2. OVERVIEW OF THE METHODOLOGY USED IN THE STUDY.....	38
3. 3. QUALITATIVE APPROACH.....	38
3. 3. 1. <i>Research design</i>	40
3. 3. 2. <i>Data collection process</i>	41
3. 3. 3. <i>Profile of interviewees</i>	42
3. 4. DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES	43

3. 4. 1. Semi-structured interviews.....	43
3. 4. 2. Observation.....	45
3. 4. 3. SAMPLE AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUES.....	48
3. 5. Data analysis.....	50
3. 5. 1. Thematic analysis.....	50
3. 6. RECORDING OF DATA.....	51
3. 7. VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY.....	52
3. 8. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	52
3. 9. SUMMARY.....	53
CHAPTER 4:	54
RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS.....	54
4. 1. INTRODUCTION.....	54
4. 1. 2. Contextualizing political violence.....	54
<i>Photo 4.1: Lack of infrastructural development can be seen in the picture. This is one of the Zulu Government buildings destroyed when violence was rife in the area.</i>	<i>57</i>
4. 2. Triggers of political violence at Kwa-Makhutha Community.....	57
4. 2. 1. Poverty and lack of resources:.....	58
<i>Photo 4.2: shows the rural four roomed houses set up at Kwa-Makhutha. Lack of infrastructural development is clearly visible, the harsh conditions in which the community lived and still live in.</i>	<i>59</i>
4. 2. 2. Ethnicity:.....	59
4. 2. 3. Contestation for political power:.....	61
4. 2. 4. Frustration:.....	63
4. 2. 5. Manifestation of political violence:.....	67
4. 2. 6. The reason why activists got involved in the political struggle:.....	68
4. 3. EFFECTS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE ON ACTIVISTS AND THEIR FAMILIES.....	71
4. 3. 1. Loss of lives:.....	71
4. 3. 2. Socio-economic factors:.....	72
<i>Photo 4.3.1: Shows that when political violence was at its peak in the area, this hotel stopped functioning and people lost employment.</i>	<i>73</i>
<i>Photo 4.3.2: Men enjoying alcohol in the morning on a normal business day in one of the liquor outlets.</i>	<i>74</i>
4. 3. 3. Psychosocial effects:.....	75
4. 3. 4. Social and family relations:.....	78
<i>Photo 4.3.4: The Community Hall where some members of Inkatha were accommodated when political violence was rife.....</i>	<i>80</i>
4. 3. 5. Intergenerational transmission of violence:.....	83
4. 3. 6. Social ills:.....	85
4. 3. 7. Lost opportunities:.....	87
4. 4. SURVIVAL STRATEGIES FOR ACTIVISTS AND THEIR FAMILIES.....	88
<i>Photo 4.4: A car washing business that offers job opportunities to some members of the community.....</i>	<i>89</i>
4. 4. 1. Military force training:.....	89
4. 4. 2. Leaving the area:.....	90
4. 4. 3. Surviving through criminal activities:.....	90
4. 4. 4. Social grants, soup kitchen and school feeding schemes:.....	91
<i>Photo 4.4.4: Shows garbage dumped on the side of a dirt road and a man digging in the dump looking for something to eat. These are some of the faces of poverty and survival strategies for some members of the community.....</i>	<i>92</i>
4. 5. STRATEGIES AND TACTICS EMPLOYED IN HANDLING POLITICAL VIOLENCE.....	93
4. 5. 1. Seeking support from within and outside the community:.....	93
4. 6. LINKAGES BETWEEN POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE/ACTIVISM.....	94
4. 6. 1. Difference between political violence and political struggle:.....	94
4. 7. SUMMARY.....	97

CHAPTER 5:	98
RESEARCH CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	98
5.1. INTRODUCTION.....	98
5.2. SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS.....	98
5. 2. 1. <i>Political violence versus political struggle</i>	99
5. 2. 2. <i>Socio-Economic Challenges</i>	99
5. 2. 3. <i>Psycho-Social Issues</i>	99
5. 2. 4. <i>Poverty and Unemployment</i>	100
5.3. CONCLUSION.....	102
5. 4. RECOMMENDATIONS.....	102
5. 5 AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.....	104
REFERENCES	105
APPENDIX A: COPY OF INFORMED CONSENT FORM	116
APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	118
APPENDIX C: ETHICAL CLEARANCE	120

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
CPF	Community Policing Forum
CRC	Community Resource Centre
CSVr	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
DCoC	Diakonia Council of Churches
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FBOs	Faith Based Organisations
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertacao of Mocambique
HIV/AIDS	Human Immuno-Virus/Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
HRC	Human Research Council
HRC	Human Research Council
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IRA	Irish Republican Army
KYL	Kwa-Makhutha Youth League
NCPS	National Crime Prevention Strategy
NGOs	Non- Governmental Organisations
NP	National Party
RD	Relative Deprivation
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SADC	South African Development Communities
SADF	South African Defence Force
SAP	South African Police
SAPS	South African Police Services
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF	United Democratic Front
WHO	World Health Organisation
ZP	Zulu Police

CHAPTER 1

1. 1. Introduction

Chapter 1 presents the background of the study, the problem statement and the rationale for the study. It also includes the geographic location of Kwa-Makhutha Township, the study site for this research. Chapter 1 provides the researcher's motivation to study the subject matter. In addition, the chapter presents the research aim, objectives, questions posed and the research methodology. Finally, it provides the chapter structure of the dissertation.

1. 2. Background of the Study

Colonialism was an era characterized by political violence in South Africa. As a British colony, South Africa experienced structural violence or state sponsored violence and the unequal distribution of wealth. From colonialism, South Africa was introduced to racial segregation where harsher laws like the controversial land act were put in place. According to Wolpe (1972: 426), apartheid was regarded as no more than intensification of the earlier Policy of Segregation. Wolpe (1972: 426) further states that the Native Land Act of 1913 marked the beginning of territorial segregation by forcing black Africans to live in reserves. The introduction of apartheid in 1948 was the continuation of the racist ideology of segregation. Apartheid was ascribed to by the Nationalist Party's ideology of separate development.

Du Toit (1990: 84) state that structural violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual functioning is below their potential realization to meet the most basic needs. State sponsored violence and the brutality of the apartheid system led to uprisings by black African people. Mkhize (1993: 7) observed that the extremely high levels of collective violence in apartheid South Africa, together with other forms of violence, led to fairly high levels of "political intolerance". Knox and Quirk (2001: 153-154) concur with Mkhize by stating that between 1990 and 1994, South Africa was torn between the highs of political agreements and the lows of countless massacres and levels of violence in a land already scorched by bloodshed. Hamber (1998: 2-3) argue that:

The root cause of political violence in South Africa was located within the social matrix and the long history of oppression, poverty and exploitation. Central to this, was the fact that from 1948, the apartheid government denied the majority of South Africans access to central political authority and entrenched racially based social inequality.

According to Boesak, cited in Duncan and Rock (1997: 57) the system of apartheid spawned a violent society with violent laws that invited violence, a situation which he argued, served as sufficient justification by many for the use of various acts of physical counter-violence. The sad history of the country continues to haunt South Africa in the post-

apartheid era. Marks (1991: 13) state that in 1943 when Natal became a British colony, Africans were constituted into 'tribes' and governed by chiefs who were appointed by the government. At this stage, black people were pushed into the margins of the country that were solely reserved for occupation by Africans. When these reserves became overpopulated, there was shortage of land and this triggered faction fights.

Residential areas were divided according to race groups. Black people were only allowed to come to cities or urban areas to provide cheap labour in labour reserves like hostels or townships. When coming to the cities for employment, black people would be forced to leave their families in rural areas to live in temporary shelter in hostels or in townships. Leaving their families behind and having to stay in hostels and townships where each individual was allocated a bed, a bed that they had to call home equally enhanced the dehumanization of black communities. Sibiya (2012: 7) cited in Visser (2002) describes townships as the homogenous dormitory areas, made up of working class people and characterized by poverty. Townships were and still are more common on the outskirts of towns, cities and industrial areas or factories. To cope with the harsh reality and stresses of being away from their families, the mineworkers in the 1920s clustered themselves according to ethnic groups. According to Marks (1991: 7), all over the world migrant labourers have used the same ethnic strategies of survival and solidarity of grouping themselves according to their ethnic groups.

When the Nationalist Party assumed power in 1948, it imposed policies and the apartheid ideology. The consequences of such a decision was the outbreak violence that lasted for decades (Du Toit, 1993: 8). According to Cobbett and Cohen (1988) cited in Du Toit (1993: 8) what followed after these policies were imposed, was decades of protests like the incidence of Sharpeville in 1960, the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in the 1970s, the 1976 Soweto Uprisings and the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the 1980s. After the 1976 Soweto Uprisings in which children emerged as important actors in the anti-apartheid struggle, the state repression of children intensified to levels rarely witnessed in recent world history (Human Rights Commission, 1993; Straker, 1992). Under the repressive conditions of the apartheid government, students' movements like the South African National Students' Congress (SANSCO), the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO), Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM) played a major role in recruiting new members for political organisations, organizing mass actions and have been outlets for banned political organisations (Badat, 1998: 37).

According to Magubane (2010: 10) to withstand the anti-apartheid uprisings, the government introduced the State Security Council in 1979 to strengthen the South African Defence Force. The infamous Vlakplaas unit of the South African Security Branch that was allegedly a training centre and shelter for "rehabilitated terrorists" who later became known as "askaris" was introduced to strengthen state security (De Kock and Gordin, 1998: 95). In concurring with De Kock and Gordin, Ellis (1998: 274) states that to make the security forces as strong as possible, Eugene De Kock was

placed in charge of the death squad at Vlakplaas. Gobodo-Madikizela (2003: 60) observed that De Kock received many medals for his bravery for the assassinations and brutal actions he executed on political activists, including the Silver Star, the highest national order.

Exploitation, oppression and poverty led to the resistance of black people who were victims of the apartheid system. Murray (1987: 262) posits that the popular rebellion caused considerable physical damage to both the state and private property in the townships; the nationwide unrest between 1984 and 1986 marked the beginning of an unmistakable watershed that can be described as a recurring chain of events. In retaliation to the violence from the masses Cawthra (1986: 51) reports a state of emergency was imposed by the government in July 1985, which led to further restrictions on the media and the arrest of journalists. Gelb (1986: 66) argues that regardless of how beneficial the apartheid system was to the white government, the whole system was at risk because of its enforcement of a class society where the dominant class was beginning to be aware of its unfairness.

The case of Kwa-Makhutha Township sheds light on the political violence and the effects it has had on the families of former activists. This study highlights the politically motivated violent activities that took place in Kwa-Makhutha between the 1980s and 1990s. Bonnin (2006) observed how the economically crippled residents in black African townships were after 1994, having lost everything they owned. The results of the violence in the townships saw people losing their jobs and any future prospects of entering the job market for both the old and young who lost their schooling years. Political violence created a fertile ground for crime in South Africa because in some instances criminals were employed to execute the activities of political organisations. It became difficult to separate criminal activities and political violence and for this reason then, violence as a crime was perpetuated even further. Hence, the state of unrest that exists in South Africa today is directly linked to political violence that once existed that was observed by Ramphela et al (1991: 9):

A democratically elected government will have greater difficulties in dealing with lawlessness, criminality and irresponsibility because it is likely to have a greater responsiveness to populist demands and critiques. It is a problem that requires an investment in time and resources, if a downward spiral is to be avoided. There may well be a point of no return in the escalating violence, which will engulf whole communities.

Gelb (1991) argued defusing the social time bomb could only be achieved through negotiation: for South Africa to normalize the situation and be a stable and prosperous country, the government must ensure that there is balance of power. Political violence has created a conducive environment for rising crime and unrest in South Africa; consequently, violence is now seen as a legitimate way of resolving conflict. For instance, between 1984 and 1986, 300 young people were shot dead by the South African Police, 1000 wounded, 11 000 were detained without trial, 18 000 arrested on politically motivated protests and there were 173 000 awaiting trial in police cells (Hamber, 1998: 115). This detention

and harassment led to a large number of children and adolescents leaving the country to undergo military training, while others were inducted into militarized self-defence units. The Regional Peace Committee has estimated that more than 500 000 people were forced to leave their homes in KwaZulu-Natal (Rock, 1997: 278). According to McKendrick and Hoffman (1990) political violence led to disruptions that directly contrast to the commonly held values of personal, family and societal wellbeing. Reynolds (1987: 7) draws attention to the long-term effects and implications of the exposure of children and youth to violence under apartheid. Reynolds further adds that:

Even when the current regime is toppled there will be a need to consider the lot of children whose lives have been disrupted, uprooted and shredded by the evil system. It will take time and conscious effort, commitment and understanding to rid the country of the effects of apartheid (Reynolds, 1989: 7).

Emmett (2003: 8) concurs with Reynolds in this regard by stating that youth resistance to apartheid may have led to solidarity among politically mobilized youth, but in many cases, it may also have created divisions between young people and their parents. This trend developed out of the dual dynamics of criminalization of political violence and politicization of crime during the 1980s (Simpson and Rauch, 1992: 15). It is against this background, that this research is conducted and the aim is to explore the effects of the political violence that transpired in the 1980s and 1990s and the effects it had on the former activists who were at the forefront of political engagement. In conducting the study, the researcher was aware of the sensitivity of the topic since it touches on the experiences of pain and loss for both the victims and perpetrators. This meant that the researcher had to consider ethical issues that will be discussed further in section 3.7.

1. 3. Rationale and significance of the study

From the 1970s to the 1990s, most black African townships around the country experienced political instability as people fought for their political freedom. The civil strife lasted for more than ten years, resulting in devastating effects on the social and economic conditions of township residents (Bonnin, 2006). Kwa-Makhutha became known through political violence that erupted the township from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s. Kwa-Makhutha was known for having high levels of violence at the height of the anti-apartheid struggle. Interventions by non-governmental organisations to address the effects of violence were not effective enough because of the extent of the resistance. During the 1980s and 1990s political violence was a common feature in South Africa, particularly in Black African townships such as Kwa-Makhutha. Violence escalated at an alarming rate on a daily basis and as a result a number of people died during this period. The South African Police Service's Centre for Analysis and Interpretation of Crime Information Reports reported that in 1993, there were 4 010 unrest-related deaths and 4 790 injuries (Bornman et al., 1998: 18). Crime statistics presented by the South African Police Service for the period 2004-2012 indicates a reduction in the following crimes: serious crime reduced by 1.9%, contact crime reduced by 3.5%, murder down by 3.1%,

attempted murder down by 5.2%, assault down by 4.2%, sexual offences down by 3.7%, rape down by 3.7% and car hijacking down by 11.9%.

When reviewing literature, the researcher could not find enough material on areas such as Kwa-Makhutha that were affected by political violence. The study focuses on political violence at Kwa-Makhutha and how political dynamics led to the spread of violence in KwaZulu-Natal. The rationale for the study comes from several interrelated concerns. Kwa-Makhutha was one of the areas in the province that was hardest hit by political violence in the 1980s and 1990s. It was a worrying factor that nothing has been documented about the community's history of violence and the contribution that the former political activists had in the struggle. The above facts gave the researcher enough reasons to choose Kwa-Makhutha as the research site. The researcher was interested in comparing political violence in KwaZulu-Natal and other parts of South Africa. The study also examined reasons that caused activists to engage in such risky activities that led to fatalities. In addition, the researcher wanted to investigate to what extent did the fatalities have an effect on the lives of the activists and their families. Finally, the researcher was motivated to investigate the effect political violence had on the socio-economic and political factors, and the behaviour of the former activists and their families.

1. 4. Community Profile

Kwa-Makhutha is a black African Township located on the south coast of Kwa-Zulu Natal, approximately 30 kilometres from the city of Durban (Kwa-Makhutha Community Resource Centre Annual Report, 2013/14: 2). According to the local traditional leadership, the whole area used to be rural and became a compound for migrant workers who were working for a chemical factory known as Tioxide in the 1960s. The name Makhutha is derived from the iNkosi (a Zulu traditional leader) who is the great grandfather of the current iNkosi. The area is within the eThekweni Local Municipality jurisdiction. The township is located between Amanzimtoti and Ezimbokodweni rivers. According to the eThekweni Integrated Development Plan Draft (Frith, 2011: 5), Kwa-Makhutha Township receives basic services like water and electricity from Ethekewini Local Municipality.

There are two towns neighbouring the township; Amanzimtoti (formerly white suburb) and Isipingo (formerly Indian suburb). The Kwa-Makhutha Township consists of four roomed-formal houses, informal settlements and a rural area, both on the outskirts of the township with little infrastructural development. The Kwa-Makhutha Community Resource Centre Annual Report (2013/2014: 3) reports that Kwa-Makhutha Township consists of four-roomed houses, with electricity, streetlights in selected areas, running water, proper sanitation and half of the roads are tarred. The semi-rural and informal settlements have limited access to tarred roads, water and electricity except for individual households that can afford it (ibid). In areas where the roads are not tarred, it is difficult to access them by cars.

According to Kwa-Makhutha Community Resource Centre's Annual Report (2013/14: 2) the area has a population of approximately 385 000 inhabitants. The 2011 Census indicated that Kwa-Makhutha population consists of 99.49% blacks, Coloured: 0.24%, White: 0.08%, Asian or Indians: 0.04% and Other: 0.14% (Frith, 2011: 5). Kwa-Makhutha Community Resource Centre's Annual Report (2013/14: 2) further states that there are about 70 000 households; this includes ward 67, 93 and 94. The rate of unemployment is high as only 93 510 people are employed, more than 40 000 are pensioners, 18 090 live on disability grants, 10 688 are seasonal workers, 3 343 cannot find jobs, 7 433 choose not to look for employment because of disillusionment, 31 988 have no source of income, 20 125 earn between R1 – R4 800 and 21 790 earn between R4 801 – R9 600. The level of illiteracy is also high as 2 029 people have never been to school, 8 151 went up to grade 1, 18 677 have grade 12, 5 139 with grade 12 and diploma and 5 008 with grade 12 and a degree.

Even though Kwa-Makhutha consists of 3 wards, the research site chosen was ward 94. In ward 94 there is one local government councillor. According to the demographic features of Kwa-Makhutha there is a population of 21 552, the two eldest members of the community according to records from the local councillor's office are 99 and 96 years respectively, and they are both females. In breaking down the population according to gender, there are more women than men; about 60% are women and 40% are men (Kwa-Makhutha Community Resource Centre Annual Report, 2013/2014: 3). The majority of the population are children from birth to young people up to the age of 35 years who form more than 70% of the population. The number of disabled people is approximately 1 700. The local councillor estimated the number of military veterans to be approximately 3 000 for both the ANC and the Inkatha political parties. The ward councillor is an ANC representative. There are other political parties that are present in the community like Inkatha, Democratic Alliance, Economic Freedom Fighters and the United Christian Democratic Party. These organizational parties are actively involved in the community but they become more visible around election times. The ANC as the majority party is enjoying more than 65% of the political support. There are no independent candidates.

According to the local councillor, the municipality budget allocated for this ward is R56 million per annum. The only visible institution in the area is Kwa-Makhutha Community Resource Centre; which works more as a paralegal agency. There are 16 schools around the area and the local councillor's office did not have the exact number of teachers in schools. The majority of community members are employed at the local factories. Government department like Expanded Public Works Program, provide employment opportunities at sometimes, but this is not sustainable because it is short term. The prevalence of HIV/AIDS is high but the exact statistics were not available. The stigma against HIV/AIDS makes it difficult for people to talk about their status. Because of stigma, people infected by the virus prefer to go to health facilities in other areas; rather than the local clinic. As a result, the majority of cases at the local clinic are people from outside the township.

Not much has improved in terms of infrastructural development since 1994, some of the roads are still without tar and therefore are difficult to access by car. 50.8% of households have water inside their dwellings, 21.3% have water inside the yard, 6.7% use communal stand pipes at a distance less than 200m from their dwelling, 13.8% use communal stand pipes at a distance further than 200m, 0.4% use boreholes, 0.02% rely on spring water, 0.06% use pools, dams or stagnant water, 0.33% use river or stream water and 2.1% have access to a water vendor. Frith (2011: 1) argues that even though Kwa-Makhutha is under the jurisdiction of eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality, it is still faced with huge challenges in development like a high unemployment rate, poor access to basic services, crime and drug abuse.

The Kwa-Makhutha Community Resource Centre Annual Report (2013/14: 3) states that most members of the community are Zulu speakers and very few speak other languages. The local South African Police Service reports that during the past few years there have been foreigners from other African countries who reside in the area for business purposes. Foreigners are mainly traders like street vendors, tuck shop owners and other small businesses. There is a mixture of Christians and those who worship ancestors.

1.5. Problem Statement

Political violence in South Africa was the outcome of the political instability orchestrated by the apartheid regime and its discriminatory policies. Thus, political violence was perpetuated by state violence, especially targeting all those who were opposed to apartheid (Johnson and Jacobs, 2011: 243). Despite the state violence, political violence was also used by black South Africans against the apartheid state and against other members of their community belonging to rival political organizations and those believed to be spies or informants for the apartheid government. Political violence was structural and was further fuelled by unequal distribution of wealth by the South African apartheid government; this led to uprisings by black African people.

Degenaar (1990: 11) states that the presence of structural violence is when people are made to perform at a level way below their potential realization. According to Boesak cited in Duncan and Rock (1997: 57) the system of apartheid triggered violence through the introduction of violent laws that motivated violent behaviour in individuals; an environment that served the justification of a violent culture.

Exploitation, oppression and poverty led to the resistance of black people who were the victims of the apartheid system leading to rebellion. Murray (1987: 262) posits that the popular rebellion caused considerable physical damage to both the state and private property in the townships; the 1984-86 countrywide rebellion marked an unmistakable watershed in what in retrospect, can be acknowledged as an almost unbroken chain of events. The case of Kwa-Makhutha Township sheds light on the political violence and the effects it has had on the families of former activists. This research

could build on the understanding of what happened in the 1980s and 1990s and the politically motivated violent activities that took place in Kwa-Makhutha.

1. 6. Aim, Objectives and Research Questions

1. 6. 1. Aim of the Study

The aim of the study is to explore the effects of prior involvement in the acts of political violence on the former activists and their families at Kwa-Makhutha Community.

1. 6. 2. Objectives

The aim of the study was advanced by examining the following objectives :

1.6.2.1. To identify the reasons for political violence at Kwa-Makhutha in the 1980s and 1990s.

1.6.2.2. To determine how political violence manifested itself in the community.

1.6.2.3. To determine the ways in which political violence during the 1980s and 1990s affected former activists and their families at Kwa-Makhutha.

1.6.2.4. To investigate how the activists and their families survived given the prevalence of political violence in the area.

1.6.2.5. To determine the link between political violence and the political struggle in South Africa in general and Kwa-Makhutha in particular.

1. 6. 3. Research Questions

The main research question is what effects did political violence during the 1980s and 1990s have on the lives of the families of former political activists in Kwa-Makhutha, KwaZulu-Natal?

Other key questions include the following:

1.6.3.1. What are the effects of political violence on the former activists and their families?

1.6.3.2. What triggered political violence at Kwa-Makhutha?

1.6.3.3. What motivated activists to be politically involved?

1.6.3.4. How did political violence manifest itself at Kwa-Makhutha?

1.6.3.5. How did the activities of activists lead to violence?

1.6.3.6. Did the family members receive any professional help? If so, what kind?

1.7. Participants to the study

The participants to the study were the former political activists and family members of the former activists. Participants were people who were already living at Kwa-Makhutha in the 1980s and 1990s. Participants were mainly former political activists and their families and members of political organisations that were presents during the period under investigation, the UDF and Inkatha. Both men and women participated in the study. Other participants were professionals like teachers, nurses and lawyers. Community leaders like clergy, traditional leaders and members of the organisations that were actively engaged at Kwa-Makhutha in the 1980s and 1990s also participated in the study. The researcher had an idea in mind of the people who fitted the criteria for the research. Purposive sampling was therefore an ideal strategy for sampling. The individuals were chosen for the information they possess about the political violence that took place during the 1980s and 1990s. The researcher used Kwa-Makhutha Community Resource Centre as an entry point to the community. The Community Resource Centre was helpful in identifying the key informants for the study. The key informants were community leaders like church clergy and leaders of political organisations. Snowballing was used to get to all other individual who fitted the criteria, this included the former activists of both the ANC and Inkatha as well as their families.

1.8. Definition of Terms

1.8.1. Political activists: Those who were actively engaged in the political struggle. They had a strong spirit of patriotism. They came from all walks of life; different family backgrounds, with different educational backgrounds, different age groups and professions.

1.8.2. Migrant workers: A person who moves from place to place. White suburb: the government of apartheid divided residential areas along colour lines. The White suburban areas were residential areas mainly reserved for white people.

1.8.3. Indian suburb: The government of apartheid divided residential areas along colour lines. The Indian suburban areas were residential areas mainly reserved for Indian people.

- 1.8.4. State violence:** Violence sponsored by the state using force to target civilians.
- 1.8.5. Unequal distribution of wealth:** This is wealth un-equality and unfair distribution of assets within a population.
- 1.8.6. Exploitation:** Unfair treatment of people in order to benefit from their work.
- 1.8.7. Oppression:** Prolonged cruel treatment by the authority.
- 1.8.8. Poverty:** the state of being extremely poor.
- 1.8.9. Rebellion:** An act of armed resistance to an established government or leader.
- 1.8.10. Uprisings:** An act of opposition, sometimes using violence.
- 1.8.11. Resistance:** Refusal to accept or comply with something.
- 1.8.12. Political struggle:** Conflict between classes in a community resulting from different social or economic positions and reflecting opposed interests.
- 1.8.13. Political activist:** Someone who is involved in the political process for the sake of promoting; impeding or raising awareness of certain issues.
- 1.8.14. Political involvement:** This is action of private citizens by which they seek to influence or support government and politics.
- 1.8.15. Black people:** Is a term in countries, often in socially based systems of racial classification or ethnicity, to describe persons who are perceived to be darker skinned compared to the other given population.
- 1.8.16. African:** A person and especially black of African ancestry. Apartheid government used the term to refer to Coloured and Indian people as well.
- 1.8.17. Black African:** A person having origins in any of the black (sub-Saharan) racial groups of Africa.
- 1.8.18. Four roomed houses:** almost all the houses build by the state to provide accommodation for black people had only four rooms. Calling them four rooms was in reference to the number of rooms the house consisted of.
- 1.8.19. Townships:** these were communities that were exclusively reserved for Africans, Coloureds and Indian race groups by the apartheid government. Almost all townships shared the same history of lack of infrastructural development, social and economic imbalances as opposed to white communities (Lester, 2009: 6).
- 1.8.20. Apartheid:** The segregation and domination of blacks that was codified and enforced by the Nationalist Party in 1948 (Krantz, 2008: 5).
- 1.8.21. Homeland system:** Territorial separation, the philosophy underlying separate development that provided for settling aside existing black reserves as “secluded areas” reserved for black ownership and occupation (Geldenhuys, 1981: 3)
- 1.8.22. Nkosi:** A Zulu name for Chief.
- 1.8.23. Informal Settlement:** Unplanned settlement where housing is not in compliance with planning and building regulations.
- 1.8.24. No-go areas:** An area to which entry is dangerous, impossible or forbidden. When violence was rife in townships, opposition political organisations had forbidden others from entering areas where they enjoyed majority support.

- 1.8.25. Theleweni:** the derogatory name that the ANC/UDF used to refer to Inkatha members. This literally means someone who strikes a person with an assegai and knocks him down the cliff. Traditional Zulu men have a habit of carrying their assegais wherever they go.
- 1.8.26. Xubhagwinye:** derogatory name that ANC/UDF used to refer to Inkatha members. It refers to the level of lack of knowledge and understanding of the most basic things, like swallowing water when brushing their teeth.
- 1.8.27. Iqabana:** Inkatha used names like 'amaqabana' twisting the word 'amaqabane' which is an isiXhosa interpretation of the 'comrade' the term used by ANC to fellow members. 'Amaqabana' comes from the isiZulu word 'iqaba' which means someone who is uncivilized or unsophisticated.
- 1.8.28. Melo Yello or Hippo trucks:** These were the trucks used by the South African Defence Force. They were yellow in colour. In the 1980s and 1990s there was a popular Coca Cola drink that was called Melo Yello. The community used this term to refer to the hippo truck so that the soldiers could not understand that they were referring to them.
- 1.8.29. Kangaroo Courts:** Are sham legal proceedings that are set up in order to give the impression of a fair legal process. They offer no justice as the verdict, invariably is to the detriment of the accused and decided in advance.

1. 9. Overview of the Chapters

The study is divided into sections. The first section focuses on the conception of political violence from activists and other stakeholders. The second section looks at the triggers of political violence at Kwa-Makhutha. The third section discusses political violence and activism. The fourth section is the discussion on the effects of political violence on activists and their families. The fifth section explores the coping strategies employed by activists to survive political violence. The final section examines the link between political violence and political struggle.

Chapter 1: This chapter introduces the background and location of the study, the research purpose and objectives, the rationale and significance of the study and the research questions. The chapter provides a brief history of political violence in Kwa-Makhutha and the background of the study.

Chapter 2: This chapter focuses on the two theories underpinning the study. The two theories used focuses on causes and effects of political violence. Firstly, the study looks at Relative Deprivation (RD) coined by Stouffer, et al. (1949) which led to the violent behaviour and the effects thereof. The second theory is social action that is a dominant model used to analyse closely related political action and the violence embedded in it. The chapter also looks at available literature that specifically focuses on political violence.

Chapter 3: This chapter presents the research methodology employed in conducting the study. It also provides the research design and how the data collection instruments were used to conduct the study and gather data.

Chapter 4: This chapter presents the research findings and analysis of the empirical data. The chapter presents the linkages between poverty, relative deprivation and social action theories underpinning the study and how the conditions under which people lived, translated into violent action.

Chapter 5: This chapter presents the final analysis and conclusion of the study. The chapter highlights the gaps identified in areas that still need research. Lastly, the chapter makes recommendations that can be considered by various stakeholders when dealing with violence.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2. 1. Introduction

This chapter presents a literature review and the theoretical framework underpinning the study. The literature reviewed relates to political violence from an international perspective, more specifically in Kwa-Makhutha Township, in KwaZulu-Natal-Natal, South Africa. Situating the study, the researcher looks at the history of violence, definition of terms and how different authors perceive the violence that took place in the 1980s and 1990s and the kind of violence that we are exposed to today. The chapter also focuses on the theoretical approaches that inform the study. The chapter discussed two theories to explain the causes and effects of political violence. The first theory is Relative Deprivation (RD). RD explains the causes of violent behaviour in human beings. The second theory is social action, one of the dominant models used to closely analyse political action and the violence embedded in it. In addition, social action theory emphasizes people's control of what they do. According to Weber, cited in Kaesler (1998: 2) people attach a subjective meaning to what they do. Furthermore, Weber stresses that for a social action to occur, the collective behaviour of the whole community is taken into account.

2. 2. Conceptualization of political violence

There is no agreed definition of political violence. Neumayer (2003: 260) argues that knowing political violence begins by understanding what violence means. This therefore suggests, that before we understand what political violence is; it is important to first begin by defining what violence is. McKendrick and Hoffman (1990: 24) state that political violence destabilized people's lives and its effect has negative results on families, on a personal level and on the community wellbeing. The use of violence is always meant to harm and destroy those at the receiving end, (Daniels and Ochberg, 1970: 170). According to the World Health Organisation (2002: 2), cited in Muldoon (2004) the intention of people who executed violence was to exercise their power over other people; it could be individuals or groups. The effects of violence could lead to death, physical harm and disability, psychological damage, mal-functioning and injury.

Political violence can also include state-sponsored violence this could involve state agents pushing their own political agenda in order to achieve their goals (Nagengast, 1994: 114). According to Bulhan (1985) there is also another different form of violence defined as structural violence. Neumayer (2003: 260) argues that from this point of view, political violence is the exercise of such force that is politically motivated and can be exercised by governmental or anti-governmental groups. This research employs the definition advanced by Neumayer (2003) that acknowledges that political violence is politically motivated.

This section focuses on various forms of political violence such as structural violence and institutional violence. Structural violence involves people's lifestyle and dictates the way in which people are supposed to be conducting their day-to-day lives. This form of violence informs a person at birth whether he/she will be socialized as a "have" or "have-not". Hamber (1998: 116) states that structural violence instituted by the state through the imbalance of resources and life opportunities for individuals, promoted a politically biased way of living. Structural and institutional violence are not just jargon but describe deliberate policies that have brought death, dispossession and degradation to millions (Worsnip, 1996: 39). Villa-Vicencio (1997: 18) adds that the segregation and alienation was violent in the sense that they were underpinned by the establishment of the 'missionary state' that required that people who converted into Christianity were moved to mission stations to practice their new faith without any influences of traditional beliefs. Villa-Vicencio further states that the missionary ideology was part of the apparatus of capitalist intrusion in southern Africa and was therefore inextricably involved in the structural violence associated with it. Bornman et al (1998: 62) describe structural violence as the non-legitimate application of coercion and violence by the state or government in order to oppose, neutralize or eliminate opponents. Villa-Vicencio (1987: 81) argues that Christianity promoted violence through validating government's rights. Tutu, cited in Villa-Vicencio (1987: 74) states that:

Structural violence promoted suffering while also inflicting pain to those at the receiving end. What is legally right was not necessarily morally right. It was legal in South Africa for a man to be separated from his wife if he was a migrant worker living in a single sex hostel, and therefore illegal for him to sleep with his wife in an urban area if she did not have a statutory permission to be there. It was not however, morally right for a husband to be separated from his wife in this way. It contravened God's imperative that those whom He has joined together no one should put asunder.

Villa-Valencio (1987: 73) points out that terrorism and liberation was categorized as one for example those who fought for liberation were 'terrorists' or 'freedom fighters', depending on which side of the divide one was in. Terror may be an instrument used by the under-privileged to fight oppression of the dominant group (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). Terror can also be used to maintain the status quo by the state. On the other hand, Nonneman (2010: 12-13) views terrorism as the use of threat or violent actions to instil fear or to destroy or remove an oppressive system. Nagengast (1994: 114) defines terrorism as the policy of engaging actions and inspiring threats, and this could include persecution and instilling fear. Rummel (1997: 170) posits that higher levels of social discrimination can lead to more violent behaviour. Rummel further opines that when political power is concentrated in the hands of the few, undemocratic, and totally dependent and favours one group over the other, this could most likely lead to violent action.

Du Toit (1990) observed that there seems to be no agreement on whether violence is subjective or objective, on what is to be included and excluded as violence, and how different forms of violence can be classified. On the other hand, Osaghae (1994: 4) distinguishes 'progressive' violence as the struggle against capitalist oppression and tyranny, from

'destructive' violence that is mostly of a criminal kind, and often involves personal aspirations of the individual pursuing his own personal aims. Gurr (1970) limit his definition of violence to political violence against the state, where he classifies turmoil, riots, strikes and conspiracy, a highly organized political violence with limited participation, assassination, coup d'état and small-scale guerrilla wars. Domenach (1981: 35-36) emphasizes the role of the state in violence as precisely the authority that makes violence an institution with no obligation to conform to any moral or legal norm, for it is always prepared to use physical maximum force if it considers its survival threatened.

Welsh (1985: 34) looks at inequality, perceived as equity, gives rise to collective action, including collective political violence. Equity is more about fairness and there is nothing fair when people are treated unfairly and one group of people is favoured over the other; this cannot be perceived as fair practice. This is the reason why such practices lead to political violence. Inequality becomes the basis for resentment when differences are perceived as unjust. Seegers (1991) argues that relative deprivation is distinct because it does not attribute violence to individual personalities, and is basically aimed at explaining collective violence. Political violence is the term conventionally used to cover an enormous variety of violent means; insurrection, revolt, terrorism, kidnapping, assassination, riot which is used to achieve political ends within states (Addison, 2002: 3).

Looking at the general trends of political violence across the world, it is important to consider the differences between high and low-income countries. Muldoon (2004: 455) concludes that even though political violence severely affects every region on earth, the poorest regions of third world countries are severely affected. According to the World Health Organisation (WHO), (2002 cited in Muldoon 2004: 454), 1 per 100, 000 of the population in high-income countries to 6.2 per 100, 000 of the poor and lower income groups are more vulnerable to violence. The above numbers therefore, are an indication that under-developed countries are most likely to experience violence. Muldoon's view suggests that incidences of mass killings relating to political violence are more common in poor countries.

2. 3. Literature Review on political violence

The dissertation is not comparative, but a case study that refers (briefly) to cases that are deemed to have some similarities to that of Kwa-Makhutha in South Africa. Even though the dissertation is not a comparative study, there are political examples chosen to look at the differences and similarities between these countries and South Africa. However, it must be noted that none of these countries had a similar type of racism to South Africa. In reviewing literature, the following examples of political violence to be cited henceforth are: Northern Ireland, the Middle East, West Africa, Uganda, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. According to Punamaki (1989: 5), what is similar to most countries of the world, a frequently described situation when there is political violence, is that of young boys and girls throwing stones or petrol bombs at soldiers as this has been witnessed in most countries at war such as Afghanistan, Chile, Palestine and South Africa.

2. 3. 1. Political Violence from an international perspective

Millions and millions of people worldwide have been subjected to violence in their countries. Although cases of political violence differ from country to country, many countries have been embroiled in political violence including Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Pakistan to mention but a few. According to Nagengast (1994: 119), since the 1980s, more than 250 000 Kurds and Turks in Turkey have been tortured by the army, police and prison officials. Nagengast further reports that thousands of people in Peru and Guatemala, children living in the streets of Brazil and Guatemala and more than a quarter of a million Kurds and Turks in Turkey have been beaten or tortured by the military, police and prison guards since 1980. Moreover, tens of thousands of indigenous people in Palestine and Iraq, and Muslim women and girls have endured violence. In many countries of the world where political violence is found, politics and religion are so intertwined they are virtually indistinguishable (Cairns, 1996: 53). African countries have the highest death rates caused by war with an approximate 32 per 100 000 of the population (Muldoon, 2004: 454). Similarly, to African states, Kwa-Makhutha had the highest levels of poverty and unemployment that therefore influenced the community susceptibility to violence and conflict. Between 1984 and 1999, approximately 20 000 people lost their lives in KwaZulu-Natal as a result of violent conflict (Taylor, 2002: 3).

Over the centuries, the Irish have been fighting to gain their independence from British authority (Fitzduff, 2002: 2). In Northern Ireland, the two conflicting parties are the Roman Catholic nationalists and the Protestant British Unionists. The main cause of their conflict is that the Protestant British Unionists want to be unified with the United Kingdom and the Roman Catholics are in favour of being incorporated with the Republic of Ireland (Muldoon, 2004: 457). Muldoon further states, that for more than three decades, Northern Ireland has been involved in political turmoil. Dunn (1995), cited in Muldoon (2009: 453) asserts that religion is one dimension of the conflict. Similarly, Muldoon (2009: 451) argues that these two protagonists may also be viewed as two distinct national, ethnic, and cultural groups. In this context, it is noted that the Irish clans did not accept English rule and they also viewed England as a major threat to their sovereignty (Muldoon, 2009: 457). Furthermore, in Ireland the Irish Republican Army (IRA) was responsible for 1 700 killings in the years between 1969-2001. Hayes and McAllister (2001) observed that the Northern Irish conflict had been easily the most intense and violent conflict in Europe. The contrast between South Africa and Northern Ireland is that religion between the Catholics and the Protestants was the main cause of violence in Northern Ireland, whereas in South Africa, the cause of conflict was due to oppression of one group by another group and racism.

The nature of the conflict in the Middle East is religious but there is also an ethnic dimension. The reason for political conflict in the Middle East, was the succession battle between two faction groups (Blanchard, 2009: 1). The conflict in the Middle East was different to the South African situation because in South Africa the main reason for conflict was the oppression of one group by another. Spiegel (1986: 3) states that there is a lot of propaganda and also opposing assumptions about the influences America had on the Middle East policy. The view of some critics is that the main reason that the Middle East remains politically unstable is the West's insatiable desire to obtain its oil. In agreement

with this view, Hinchcliffe and Milton-Edwards (2007: 5) state that the influence of the Soviet Union and the United States and the rivalry of the superpowers impacted negatively on the region leading to conflict that dates back to the 1950s.

Religion and politics in Israel, Lebanon and Palestine is intertwined which was the cause of violent conflict between these countries. It differs from the South African situation in the sense that in the violence in South Africa was more about oppression and separate development. According to Najem (2000: 4006) the seed of conflict between Israel and Lebanon began with the creation of a large Palestinian refugee community in Lebanon shortly after the Israeli declaration of statehood.

However, in Nigeria, ethnicity is a product of a colonial and post-colonial state leading to the struggle for political power (Alliyu, Kalejaiye and Ogunola, 2014: 133). Similar conditions have been witnessed in South Africa in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, especially in Kwa-Makhutha. As a result of colonialism, the ethnic divisions were misused by political leaders and misinterpreted as a cause for political violence. According to Barkan (2011: 4) in Uganda, territorial and ethnic division was the main reason for conflict. The case of Uganda and Nigeria is similar to Rwanda and Kwa-Makhutha in the sense that the ethnic division was to the colonial masters' advantage and this led to political conflict in these countries. The condition in Zimbabwe and Mozambique was also similar to Kwa-Makhutha because the structural violence prompted the oppressed group to form liberation movements. According to Rugumamu (2001: 7), a number of attacks by the liberation movements followed leading to instability in society, the economy, security, violation of human rights and high levels of poverty.

Steward (2000: 3) observed that the cause of political conflict in West Africa is attributed to the severe inequalities between culturally defined groups, which Steward defines as "horizontal inequalities". Akindes (2004: 15) states that the recurrence of the military coup d'etat in Cote d'Ivoire was the result of the socio-political instability. In Liberia, the military coup'd etat resulted in civil war from leadership exploiting their positions for personal gain. Reno (2007: 71) observed that Liberia was a prime example of a system of personal rule constructed behind a facade of statehood. Lemarchand (2009: 30) argues that no other place in Africa has experienced a deadlier combination of external aggression, foreign-linked factionalism, interstate violence, factional strife and ethnic rivalries like the Democratic Republic of Congo. There seem to be differences to South Africa's pattern of political violence is the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Somalia in the sense that South Africa has not experienced any military, military coup and civil except for racism and oppression of one group by the other. The forceful overthrowing of leadership in Somalia led to dysfunctional state (Moller, 2009: 4). The violence in the DRC was characterized by assassinations, coups and a dictatorship. Even though there are some traces of similarities between South Africa and other countries of the world, but violence in South Africa was different because the root cause was racism. The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (2009: 3) revealed that:

Factors which distinguish South Africa are: the legacy of apartheid and colonialism which involved brutalization and the culture of violence, impact of apartheid on families and the education system, racism, firearms and impunity in townships. Factors in post-apartheid South Africa that reinforce the legacy of apartheid like inequality, structural economic factors, state institutions uneven performance and poverty.

Bulhan (1985: 131) posits that the system of segregation in South Africa was one of the worst forms of political violence that has been seen in recent years.

2. 4. Political violence in South Africa

The central character of the South African culture of politics is violence. The history of violence and political violence in South Africa dates back to the time of slavery and colonialism. Abrahams (2010: 500) observed that the South African system of divide and rule has been successful in laying the foundation for criminal activities and the formation of gangs in urban areas. The division created by apartheid led to and also sustained violence. In describing apartheid, Jenkins cited in Abrahams (2010: 496), states that South Africa's apartheid system was a system that embraced two ideologies: that of superior whites and ensuring racial peace and sustainability of purity of the white race. Firstly, it was centred on separation and dominance. Secondly, it was centred on trusteeship that only gave permission to black South Africans to completely remain in their communities.

Between 1960 and 1994, the South African government succeeded in detaining 80 000 people without trial and in hanging 2 500 people for political crimes (Abrahams, 2010: 498). Hamber (1998: 2) stated that during apartheid, people suffered gross human rights violations through arrests, harassment, beatings, and murder; people suffered through systematic violence and poverty, inferior education, overcrowded urban areas and unrest in townships. Different race groups were treated differently by the state with whites getting preferential treatment from other race groups. Muntingh and Gould (2010: 14) argue that the high levels of inequality in South Africa had a great effect in people failing to co-exist and breeding a situation where people were divided and saw each other as enemies.

Villa-Vicencio (1987: 74) observed that the apartheid regime caused untold and unnecessary suffering 'by law'; by depriving black people of their South African citizenship, disrupting stable communities, demolishing habitable dwellings, destroying schools, churches, small businesses, and clinics. This led to poor communities fighting for limited resources in order to survive and also levelling a platform for long lasting violence (Simpson and Rauch, 1992 cited in Hamber, 1998: 3). Villa-Vicencio further argues that black people were dumped in poverty-stricken resettlement camps and their children were made to starve, not because there was no food in South Africa, but in order to consolidate the

apartheid government's ideology. Young people were hindered in their development and old people made to suffer. Political violence in South Africa was linked to a number of factors. Adam and Moodley (1993: 121) argue that:

Political violence is attributed to de Klerk's double agenda and unreformed policies, a "third force" of right wing elements in the security establishment bent on derailing the government's negotiation agenda, the Inkatha/ANC rivalry engineered by Buthelezi who fears being side-lined rather than treated as an equal third party, the ANC's campaign of armed struggle, un-governability and revolutionary intolerance, ingrained tribalism unleashed by the lessening of white repression that resulted in "black-on-black" violence, the legacy of apartheid in general, a migrant labour system, hostel conditions and high unemployment among a generation of "lost youth".

One of the Atteridgeville (a township in Pretoria, South Africa) councillors who resigned because of political pressure was quoted saying "we are real puppets who do nothing but evict residents who do not qualify to stay in urban areas" (Murray, 1987: 303). Hamber (1998: 114) argues that the decade of the 1980s was one of the most violent periods in the history of South Africa. Bornman, Van Eeden and Wentzel (1998: 119) state that in South Africa between September 1984 and May 1987, there were 37 323 reports of unrestful incidents, 2 000 people were killed and some 7 000 injured, while 16 000 buildings and 23 000 vehicles were damaged or destroyed. Murray further states that between September 1984 and June 1985, 240 black officials, including twenty-seven mayors, resigned. Cawthra (1986: 56) echoed that in 1977, compulsory military training in white schools was implemented to increase/strengthen the South African Defence Force (SADF). By March 1985, 200 000 white school children were involved in cadet training at 658 detachments throughout the country, involving almost all high schools for boys. Cawthra further states that in May 1985, Buthelezi announced that the KwaZulu Police would be established as a 'para-military wing' of the KwaZulu government in order to hit back with devastating force at ANC guerrillas.

The majority of South Africans have encountered violence or know of people who have been victims of robbery, burglary and domestic violence; victims of gang violence; taxi violence; child abuse, political violence; xenophobic violence; whose farms have been attacked; who have been raped or murdered (Baumann, 2010: 1). Over and above, the freedom movements' strategy of making the country ungovernable, was in theory directed to the apartheid system and had a negative effect. While it sought to destabilize government, aggressive campaigns directed at black policemen, and pursuing mass action that mainly engaged young people, there was a massive outbreak of violence in townships and rural areas that gave birth to violent lawlessness and mistrust of authorities (Louw and Schonteinch, 2001: 5). Kane-Berman (1993: 1) states that for more than five years, the monthly level of political fatalities exceeded 200; in March 1990 after the release of political leaders, for the first time ever, the level rose to 458. Police statistics cited in Kane-Berman (1993: 1) reported that altogether, 777 people were killed by AK 47 rifles from 1988, 373 of them in the first 9 months of 1992 alone; between June 1992 and May 1993, 532 people were killed with AK 47 rifles that were used in bank robberies, theft and rape as well as in political rivalry.

The South African Police Services' Strategic Management (2013: 2) cited in Phehlane (2016: 2) reported that the South African Police Service Crime Statistics revealed that the frequency of national crime statistics indicates that every 32 minutes someone is murdered, every 8 minutes a sexual crime is committed and every 4 minutes someone is assaulted (Gross Bodily Harm) and every 3 minutes a drug-related crime is detected. Statistics released in 2015 from the South African Police Services, indicate that during the previous financial year, murders increased by 4.6% from 17 068 to 17 805, attempted murder by 3.2%, aggravated robbery 8.5% and truck hijackings by 29.1%. National Crime Statistics (2013/14: 13) revealed that KwaZulu-Natal has maintained the highest rate from 2003 to 2013 out of all the nine provinces; in 2003 it was sitting at 26% and to date, it is at 22% as opposed to the Northern Cape which has maintained the lowest level. The origin of political conflict is therefore often found in the unequal distribution of power. The unequal distribution of power, affected people's lives in the sense that it created inequality, poverty and a lack of opportunities. According to the International Defence Aid Fund (1991), unequal distribution of wealth and great differences in the conditions under which people lived, were the most immediately visible aspects of apartheid. According to Cawthra (1986: 216), the decision to take up an armed struggle was taken only after all forms of peaceful struggle had been exhausted.

What perpetuated violence even more was the evil system where people were massacred, forcefully removed, the segregation laws and resettlement schemes. Places such as Soweto in Gauteng, the Cape Flats (a township near Cape Town), the East Rand area near Johannesburg, and other areas in the Free State are some of the examples of areas that were severely affected by political violence. The Twenty Year Review, as reported by The Presidency (2014: 8) stated that in June 1992, the Boipatong Massacre was reported in Boipatong Township in the Vanderbijlpark, Gauteng, where 46 people were brutally murdered. According to Goldstone's Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation (1992: 3) people were killed in a pre-dawn attack at the informal settlement on the 17th June 1992. The Boipatong incident was not an isolated case, but part of a pattern of violence which South Africa experienced. Orange Free State was deemed the most conservative out of all provinces in South Africa because of the province's geographical location and rural nature. According to the O'Malley (1994: 332), in the 1970s and 1980s, people in this province experienced forced removals by the apartheid government. People's resistance to forced removals resulted in the police force and the Defence force being established in QwaQwa to see to law enforcement and to protect the homeland from internal opposition.

According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report (1998), in 1985, vigilante groups emerged nationwide. Around the same period, violence extended to the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging areas. Goldstone's report to the Human Rights Commission (1994: 585), estimated that between July 1990 and June 1993, 4 756 people were killed in political related violence. Abrahams (2010: 502) observed that the gangs' infiltration of the Cape Flats, one of the townships outside Cape Town, was mainly due to the segregation laws and resettlement schemes of the 1960s. Abrahams further states that the victims of political violence between 1980 and 1994 were mainly children who were

displaced and political detainees held without trial. In agreement with Abrahams, Jacobs (2010: 12) describes that in the Cape Flats thousands of young South Africans were detained, whipped, tear-gassed and fired upon in 1985.

2. 5. 1. Causes of political violence

Osaghae (1994: 2) observed that no matter which side a person looks at South Africa; the country and government system is violent. The deprivation of the black people created hatred between them and the state and this led to a number of incidences of attacks from both sides. The long history of apartheid of South Africa, discrimination, military forces, that side-lined the black majority from having a share in the country's resources and the socio-economic imbalances between different racial groups (Oseghae, 1994). Un-equality led to under-development that has increased crime and unemployment. The nature and extent of violence in South Africa during the period under investigation makes it impossible to cover the full range of manifestations of violence, its underlying dynamics and suitable strategies for prevention and intervention (Bornman, Van Eeden and Wentzel 1998: 3). According to Louw and Schonteich (2001: 5), the high crime rate is a result of South Africa's political history, making families suffer 'institutional violence' through destabilizing family structures.

The Acts enforced by the government were used as a tool to implement its own agenda, existence and its source of life was politicized. People's classification into racial categories started the time they were born, continued during people's socialization and access to socio-economic resources. Torturing and interrogation of people while in detention, was common in the period between 1981 and 1982 and escalated (Murray 1987: 208). In this context, Villa-Vicencio (1987: 84-85) argues that violence was understandably a way of defending oneself against the violent system that exploited and abused people. Through violent acts, the state hoped to establish justice. Opting for violence as a strategy to end apartheid derives from the legacy of pain and bitterness, of repression and alienation, from empty promises of radical political reform and the continuation of racism of those who claim to hold the tenets of the Christian faith and yet deny them in practice, of the ever-increasing cost of living and growing unemployment. Ethnic differences and division in politics, which under normal circumstances is hidden, becomes clearly visible when agreement is not achieved (Nagengast, 1994: 109). Worsnip (1996: 46) posits that black people's violence was a response to violence by the state. State violence robbed black people of their birth-right and bind white people into a life of guilt, anxiousness and uncertainty. Villa-Vicencio, (1987: 27) argues that:

The missionary ideology was part of the apparatus of capitalist intrusion in southern Africa and was therefore, inextricably involved in the structural violence associated with it. Conversion to Christianity was equally a 'conversion' to western imperialism that had nothing to do with the grand principles of justice, and everything to do with the forcible extension of power for some, and its extinction amongst others, with economic change,

exploitation and oppression. For the missionary, 'conversion' was not an option but an imperative because he assumed the superiority not only of his religion and culture, but also his economic and political system.

In agreement with Villa-Vicencio, Oseghae (1994: 7) states that the Dutch Reformed Church was well known for openly supporting apartheid. The Kairos Document produced in 1985 by 22 denominations criticized black people who supported the government's segregation laws. The document further stated that black people's actions were in retaliation to the violence directed at the black majority of South Africa. The ANC and other liberation movements only resorted to violence because all channels of communication for peaceful negotiation were blocked (Hamber, 1998: 3). As a result, political violence was promoted as a means to resolve the issues affecting communities in South Africa (Simpson and Rauch, 1992, cited in Hamber, 1998: 3). Simpson and Rauch further state that in trying to resolve the South African problem of oppression, Chris Hani encouraged young people to continue with the acts of violence and in doing away with community leaders who were seen to be collaborating with the state.

The Secretary General of the ANC, Alfred Nzo was noted echoing his feelings about using whatever methods necessary to destroy the enemy, including neck-lacing (Oseghae, 1994: 7). In relation to a broader political resistance, students played the role of being catalysts for the liberation movements. Student organisations have been outlets from the view of banned organisations. The organisations like the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO), the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM) played a major role in recruiting new members, and organizing mass actions (Badat, 1998: 37).

2. 5. 2. The Effects of Political Violence

According to Merrett (1990: 28), South African law was and still remains complex. There were three types of detentions that could be recognized; the Internal Security Act (Act 74 of 1982) and the State of Emergency (proclaimed under the Public Safety Act) (Act 3 OF 1953): Preventive; Interrogative and State witness. The law lost its credibility firstly, because of the way people were treated when they were detained without trial for very long periods. Secondly, the law lost its credibility because of the brutal attacks on innocent people by the police after the declaration of the state of emergency. The intensification of the struggle was met by severe repression by the apartheid state fuelled by economic problems (Mohamed and Finnoff, 2005: 9). Mohamed and Finnoff further state, that at national level, the combination of political and economic instability contributed to the development of debt crisis in 1985, and other investors became less willing to invest in South Africa.

Beall, Gelb and Hassim (2005: 682) observed that the immense social problems (like poverty, inequality, unemployment, HIV/AIDS and personal and property security) that were apartheid's legacy, still remain a threat to social order. Ntshoe (2002: 63) posits that colonialism used education to indoctrinate and subordinate the African "native" servants of the

colonial system. English and Afrikaans became the only languages as a medium of instruction in schools. Issues of language of instruction and underlying cultural values including religion were often sources of conflict. In KwaZulu-Natal, political violence resulted in schools becoming important sites for the anti-apartheid struggle. According to Ntshoe (2002: 65) the children could no longer attend school in areas dominated by the rival political parties as they were considered “no go areas”.

The socio-economic challenges fuelled by political violence in South Africa are somehow interrelated and interconnected. Thus, political violence has affected all aspects of people’s lives (socially, economically, psychosocially, families, children and schooling). Cairns (1996: 5) makes a comparison between political violence and criminal violence: political violence is one group against another whereas criminal violence is more about individuals attacking each other. Cairns further argues that the prolonged nature of political violence and its unpredictability also makes it especially likely to be more psychologically damaging. Apartheid has created one of the most unequal societies in the world, nowhere else does poverty and race so wholly coincide with each other (Moodley, 1993: 32). Violence has destroyed the moral fibre of society; the reversal of roles in terms of authority in families and schools, and moral degeneration in our society has had a negative effect in our society.

In Ramphela’s *Tribute to the Sharpeville Massacre* (1991: 34), she recited that the harassment of children by the police made it impossible for parents to protect their children and this caused children to lose the respect they had for their parents. Similarly, Gerber and Newman (1980: 57) state that the hostile environment created by political violence caused parents to fail to play a protective role to their children, leading children losing all forms of respect for anyone in authority, especially for parents and teachers. Louw and Schonteich (2001: 2) concur with Gerber and Newman by stating that violence also weakens social controls, producing marginalized groups reliant on crime for a livelihood. This makes children turn to their peers for socialization and any issues relating to power and control (Gerber and Newman (1980: 57).

According to Goldstone’s *Human Rights Commission* (1994), the South Africa apartheid government did not only fail to promote the wellbeing of children, but also systematically created conditions that retarded families’ ability to care for and nurture their children. In this context, Bonnin (2000: 316) asserts that in areas dominated by the UDF, men lost power and control of their families and children. This created enmity between young males and their fathers who felt undermined by their children. In defending their territorial boundaries, young men felt they were in control of everything and began to undermine their parents’ authority. While young men began disregarding parents this way, women began to extend their role as mothers to all young people within the community and supported them in their struggle activities.

Violence is disruptive no matter what form it takes and has an effect on family values, the wellbeing of individuals and society as a whole (McKendrick and Hoffman, 1990: 24). Disruption of families and communities during apartheid worsened the level of poverty in households as people had to start from scratch to rebuild their lives when forcefully removed. In 1998, The Poverty and Inequality Report (1998: 5) estimated that 19 million South Africans were poor and the monthly household expenditure in poor families was below R353 per adult. The 'Key Indicators in South Africa' as reported by the Reconstruction and Development Programme Document indicated that 52% of South Africans live in poverty (World Bank, 1995 cited in Haarmann, 2000: 10). Poverty has a gender, age and rural bias; 75% of the poor people are from rural areas, 60-70% of children under the age of 7 live below the defined poverty line and female-headed households, are 50 % poorer than the male-headed households (World Bank, 1995: 14).

Hamber (1998: 116) posits that the high crime rate we experience today is the legacy of the political violence of the past. Cairns (1996: 99) further posits that lack of parental supervision and disruption in societal and family structures lead to an increase in crime. Liddell et al (1993: 199) argue that in parts of South Africa, it has been observed that young people involved in politically motivated violence, are much more likely to be involved in conventional crime. Juvenile delinquency and drug and substance abuse retards children's development and actually traps them in the vicious cycle of violence (Gorman-Smith and Tolan, 1998: 116).

In trying to redress the legacy and damage done in the past by political violence; the democratic government introduced the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) immediately after the first democratic elections in 1994. The primary brief for the TRC was to come up with a true picture of the causes and effects of gross human rights violation that apartheid had on South Africans (Knox and Quirk, 2001: 178). According to Magwaza (2001: 37), one the purposes for the seating of the TRC was to give South Africans an opportunity to rise above the social divisions and hostile environment created by the structural violence of the past and focus on national building through a reconciliatory process, and reducing any possible threats of violence and instability. Through the TRC, people had the space to tell their stories, thereby breaking the culture of silence that was manifested by violence. The TRC also provided reparations, but without going through social and psychological healing, full restoration on individuals cannot be achieved (Hamber, 1998: 10).

2. 6. Political violence in KwaZulu-Natal

Political violence in KwaZulu-Natal presented itself in a different form. The three dimensions of the political violence in KwaZulu-Natal was based on the struggle to control territory, the possession of the 'Zulu tradition' and the profound constitutional agreement. The Guardian Weekly (1991) in Moodley (1993: 138) quoted Buthelezi's as saying "I want to make it quite clear that the ANC attacks are not only attacks against Inkatha, they are attacks against Zulu people just because they are Zulu". One of the worst incidences was the physical harassment of Ongoye students at the University

of Zululand, where Inkatha supporters raped and beat students to death because they were seen to be disrespecting Prince Buthelezi (the only black South African leader who strongly opposed the economic sanctions) (Saul and Gelb 1986: 66). Saul and Gelb (1986: 66) further describe that the apartheid government played the game of separate development well. In 1978, the KwaZulu-Natal government decided to introduce an Inkatha syllabus throughout the schools under its jurisdiction, thereby turning education into one of the instruments for propagating the ideas of Inkatha (Nzimande and Thusi 1991: 3).

Between January and April 1994, more than 1000 deaths were reported from different townships of KwaZulu-Natal, these were the main areas where violence took place, with 311 deaths in March and 552 in April (Oseghae, 1994: 34). The province had the highest incidents of political violence and deaths compared to the rest of the country. Between 1984 and 1994, it is estimated that between 200 000 and 500 000 people fled the province seeking refuge in other areas as violence was at its peak (Denis, Ntsimane and Cannell, 2010: 5). The conflict in the province was mainly between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF) an African National Congress affiliate. Denis, Ntsimane and Cannell (2010: 5) further opine that between 1985 and 1996, approximately 12 000 people died in the province of KwaZulu-Natal as a result of violence between the ANC/UDF and Inkatha which was a Zulu traditional movement. Zulu (1994) observed that the IFP was seen as an extension of the apartheid government and because of this, there was tension between the UDF and Inkatha (IFP). The effect of political violence on people in KwaZulu-Natal was the same if not worse than the rest of the country. The young people were always at the forefront of the political struggle. Nzimande and Thusi (1991: 9) argue that:

In Natal, a struggle against apartheid is a threat to the survival of the KwaZulu-Natal Bantustan, and consequently, a threat to the very survival of Inkatha. As a result, Inkatha is caught in vicious cycle whereby as anti-apartheid struggles intensify, it becomes more dependent on the apartheid machinery for survival, and as it becomes more dependent on these structures, it is increasingly set against anti-apartheid organisations. This is the crux of violence in the Natal region.

Both the ANC and IFP were black-led organisations hence violence in the province was labelled as “black on black”. In South Africa, the so-called “black on black” violence meant conflict between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF (Oseghae, 1994: 7). The manifestation of “black on black” violence was made worse towards the first democratic elections in 1994, mainly because the IFP anticipated losing support and privileges they enjoyed from the apartheid government. Simpson and Rauch (1992) observed that initially, the description of “black-on-black” violence worked in favour of the National Party that it used as an alibi to distance themselves from guilt and responsibility. From “black on black”, ethnic conflict built between the Zulus and the Xhosas. Valji (2003: 21) argues that what was learnt from apartheid was the division of individuals that did not promote unity and tolerance. Even within the ‘African’ race itself; racial divisions were clearly visible and encouraged as people were divided into tribes. The ethnic divisions between the Zulus and the Xhosas served

the system well because it helped to maintain and sustain the regime. According to the National Crime Prevention Strategy (1996), different stakeholders used violence to push their own agenda at the negotiating table. The misuse of “ethnicity identity” as an instrument for recruiting membership in political organisation was common. When people were mobilized this way, they began to have a sense of belonging and identity that became difficult to penetrate.

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) cited in Kane-Berman (1993: 22) in July 1992, revealed that between 1990 and 1992, there were 11 recorded massacres in Natal. In Natal Midlands 1103 houses were damaged by arson and petrol bombs between 1987 and 1989 and damage of 291 vehicles and 126 buses through arson and stoning during the same period (Denis, Ntsimane and Cannell 2010: 5). Benini, Minnaar and Pretorius, (1998: 504) state that an estimation of 15 500 people lost their lives around the country, particularly, in KwaZulu-Natal between February 1990 and December 1995 with half of the 15 500 were from KwaZulu-Natal alone. People were dying, especially males who were breadwinners. Bonnini (2006) observed that Mpumalanga Township is one of the many KwaZulu-Natal townships where economic liberation post 1994 has had ruinous consequences. This was so, given the rapidly rising number of assailants currently in Mpumalanga Township. Benini, Minnaar and Pretorius (1998) observed that the local government elections were held in November 1995 for the whole country except in KwaZulu-Natal where elections were put on hold until June 1996 because of the high levels of political violence. Zulu (1994: 154) describes that:

Decade after decade, the white government have used the police force as an oppression tool to maintain racial separation in society. The criminal acts of the South African Police in KwaZulu-Natal are documented in records; this is evidence enough that the government and its agencies are active participants and responsible for the political violence.

According to Abrahams (2010: 496), the apartheid policy vested power and privilege in the white minority; this embodied one of the most damaging contemporary systems of political violence. Within the policy, different tribes were divided into different tribal homelands something that perpetuated even more division. Such discriminatory laws led to resistance and the formation of liberation movements like the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Azanian People’s Organisation (AZAPO) and the United Democratic Front (UDF). Young people were at the forefront of the liberation movements. Ward et al (2012: 4) observed that the period of resistance and liberation was when black youth were subjected to state violence and white youth were conscripted to exert the force required to sustain the system of white supremacy.

According to Glaser (2000) cited in Ward (2012: 4), socio-economic factors including unemployment and deep long-term poverty in a context of significant economic inequality, together with poor-quality schooling, high levels of drop out and family vulnerability, have been the cause for youth to be drawn into violence. When violence intensified in the mid-1980s, the government declared a state of emergency. Of the 1986 to 1988 emergency detainees, 30-40% were children

under the age of 18 with some as young as 8 years old and 75% belonged to the UDF (Abrahams, 2010: 29). Between 1985 and 1989, more than 40 000 people were detained. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission' Report (1998) reported about the Seven Day War in a rural area in Pietermaritzburg in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands where 200 people died and more than 20 000 were displaced in 1990. This incident took place in one week, between the 25th to the 31st March hence, it was called the Seven Day War. Prior to this day, 1145 people had died in political violence in this area, within 3 years.

Ward (2012: 8) argues that the social conditions that South Africa inherited from the apartheid era provide a toxic mix of ingredients, which include multi-problem families, dysfunctional communities with high levels of drugs, alcohol abuse and gang activity. This is the situation at the research site; for the past 3 years, there has been violence between young people in the area. Kwa-Makhutha Community Resource Centre's Annual Report (2013/14), reported that the rate of drug and alcohol abuse is high in the area; more so among the youth both in school and out of school. The violence that the community recently experienced among the youth started in one of the drinking sports bar's in the township. It was reported that what triggered this violence was an argument between the young people which escalated into fight and ended with loss of lives. Statistics for the exact number of Kwa-Makhutha community members who were affected by political violence of the 1980s and 1990s are not documented, but according to the information obtained from Kwa-Makhutha Community Resource Centre the whole community was affected in a number of different ways. The report further stated that about 5 000 people were displaced and approximately 1 500 people lost their lives (Kwa-Makhutha Community Resource Centre Annual Report, 2002: 3).

2. 7. Effects of political violence on community development in South Africa

Midgley (1995: 25) defined social development as a process of organized societal change with the purpose of promoting the emotional, physical and mental wellbeing of individuals and vibrant economic change. Midgley further states that it is impossible for social development to take place without economic reforms. Economic development becomes a futile exercise if social welfare and the wellbeing of the community is not taken into consideration. Gray (2002: 53) posits that community participation brings with it a sense of control and ownership that is essential to the creation of sustainable community development programs. Turner (1972: 33) points out that to own something is to have control over it. This therefore means, that if there is a sense of ownership, there is empowerment, and the community is able to exercise control. Hamber (1998: 115) argues that there is a very thin line between what is termed political violence and criminal violence. According to Simpson and Rauch (1992) political violence and criminal violence are two sides of the same coin. Members of political organisations' employ criminals to perform their dirty work. Similarly, Emmett (2001: 4) states that the high rate of crime in the country has a lot to do with the previous dispensation's division in families and communities. Ramphele (1991, cited in Emmett 2003: 5) analysed the causes and consequences of social disintegration in black communities. Among the symptoms of disintegration, she listed:

Family breakdowns, with increasing divorce rate, separation, single parenthood and teenage pregnancy; breakdown of the authority of parents and teachers; high unemployment and un-employability rate; low performance in all spheres of life, including school; high crime and violence rates at all levels of interaction; alcohol and drug abuse; despair and acceptance of the victim image; and the flight of skills and positive role models from the townships into higher income areas.

In most South African townships like Kwa-Makhutha, people lost their lives, businesses, houses and their livelihoods. Benini, Minnaar and Ntsimane (1998) state that people's properties were burnt during attacks while others were forced to leave their properties because of the hostile environment. Bruce (2009: 158-159) indicated that individuals suffered loss of lives and properties and people suffered from stress and traumatic experiences because of the violence. On a broader level, political violence puts a burden on the economy, including an increased cost for security, decreased productivity, and motivation for staff, a decrease in creativity and the financial implications for investments and development. Simpson (1993) argues that the effects of violence could cause victims to become perpetrators or victimizing innocent people. Rock (1997) observed that some of the effects were a lack of trust and fear, making it hard for people to form lasting relationships. This paved the way for intra-community and intra-family violence. Unless the effect of apartheid on the identities of its victims is given the attention, it deserves, the nature of its institutions and the nature of the underdevelopment that it wrought are addressed, there can be little guarantee that the current social violence will be overcome.

The South African history of apartheid and discrimination tells us that there seems to be a great link between violence and poverty. In defining poverty, Townsend (1979: 31) states that poverty can objectively and consistently be applied in relation to the concept of relative deprivation. Townsend further stresses that the poor are those people who do not have any means to acquire the kind of diet that can allow them to take part in activities to have sustainable livelihoods. According to Bonnin (2006) the economic consequences of political violence for household livelihoods was devastating. Meer, Zulu and Chetty (1991) state that the deteriorating economic conditions, particularly unemployment, have precipitated a struggle for scarce resources where individuals have resorted to violence in order to access these resources.

In most black African townships around the country like Kwa-Makhutha, people lost their businesses, houses and their livelihoods that have made it difficult to initiate any community development programmes. Benini, Minnaar and Pretorius (1998) state that people's properties were burnt during attacks while others were forced to leave their properties because of the hostile environment. The civil strife lasted for more than ten years resulting in devastating effects on the social and economic conditions of township residents. Benini, Minnaar and Pretorius (1998) further assert that defence of the neighbourhood in townships resulted in a further set of expenses because people were required to

buy weapons, food and muti (medicines) for the activists who defended the neighbourhood. Cawthra and Kraak (1986: 36) stated that:

The decades in which the police enforced apartheid have engendered a lingering mistrust of the rule of law and authorities. But crime is also intrinsically linked to poverty, unemployment, socio-economic inequalities and gender inequality. The coalescence of these indices with the brutalisation that many experienced during the apartheid struggle, has given crime in South Africa its particularly violent edge.

High crime and violence rates in South Africa are associated with the progressive disintegration of families and communities that occurred under apartheid (Emmett 2003: 4). Similarly, Chikane (1986, cited in Emmett 2003: 8) observed that the sad reflection of violence in South Africa is that the current generation is socialized to look at violence as an acceptable way of life. According to Emmett (2003: 8), children's involvement in the struggle drove a further wedge between the youth and their elders and continued the process of undermining parental authority and informal social control. Hamber (1998: 114) states that violence infiltrated all aspects of societal values, moral fibre and socialization. Hamber (1998: 114) further opines that many of the activists were minor children who were still living with their parents and this put their families and relatives at risk of all kinds of torture and harassment. The National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) (1996: 4) cited in Hamber (1998) focus on the lack of development, high rates of unemployment, increased crime and social and economic imbalance as attributes to violence. Social order can be threatened during periods of rapid social changes, hence, this state of normalcy or anomie (Durkheim, 1973: 149).

Hinchey and Gavelek (1982: 396) state that children show less empathy, lower levels of social functioning, low self-esteem, depression and anxiety due to exposure to violence. Aggressive behaviour, juvenile delinquency, violent behaviour and low academic achievement also had a lot to do with effects of violence (White et al 1990). It is common knowledge that the youth has been at the cutting edge of political violence. Since students form a significant proportion of the youth, they have been caught in battles to defend their communities as well as their schools (Nzimande & Thusi, 1991). Due to the involvement of young people in the struggle for political freedom this meant that they were disrupted from going to school. Ntshoe (2002: 65) states that it was impossible for children to continue schooling because of "no-go areas" created by political opposition and people's affiliations. 'Territoriality' or the demarcation of communities created by political groups increased violence even further because when attacking opposition organisations there was retaliation from the opposition (Zulu 1994).

Women and children became internal refugees or displaced and a great deal of psychological scarring occurred (Bornman, Van Eeden and Wentzel 1998: 15). According to Pswarayi and Reeler (2012: 2) in the rural areas of Zimbabwe that have been caught up in political violence, they have had difficulty attracting qualified teachers for local schools. Pswarayi and Reeler further argue that political violence targeted at teachers does not affect teachers' only, but also

nation building development in communities, children and their families. Moffitt (1990, cited in Ndlovu 2010: 13) states that lack of academic achievement is highly linked to violence and aggressive behaviour in adolescence and adulthood. Without formal education, individuals have a limited view of the world that could lead to frustration and respond aggressively to situations. According to Ntshoe (2002: 63), many African colonial states used education to indoctrinate and sub-ordinate the African “natives” servants of the colonial system.

2. 8. Theoretical and conceptual frameworks

2.8.1. Relative Deprivation Theory

Apartheid was characterized by oppression that caused irreconcilable hatred, anger and bitterness to those at the receiving end of the class division (Oseghae, 1994: 7). Harris (2002) argues that state has been identified as one of the factors intervening between the anger caused by relative deprivation and the recourse to violent action.

The major assumption of the Relative Deprivation theory according to Bornman, Van Eeden and Wentzel (1998: 63) is that the term “relative” indicates that there is a comparison; this therefore, means that they are not necessarily deprived in comparison to others. Thus, people who experience the highest levels of relative deprivation are not necessarily those who are objectively in the worst position. The reality of the South African situation, is whether black people compared themselves to any other race group or not, the reality was that black people were poor and were made to suffer because of the government’s ideology of apartheid. What made it even more difficult was the brutality of the system and the evilness of apartheid when people became aware of the conditions. This therefore, suggests that aggression is most likely to occur when people have a strong expectation that they will get something they deserve but that expectation is violated (Berkovitz, 1972).

Bornman, Van Eeden and Wentzel (1998: 63) state that the structural origin of conflict is often found in the unequal distribution of power (the ability to persuade people to do what one wants them to do, or prevent them from doing what one does not want them to do) within the power structure of the unit analysis. According to (Marx, cited in Useem, 1975: 53) when people live under the same conditions and their life status is the same, everyone is satisfied. What brings dissatisfaction is when there is someone living in better conditions. This therefore, indicates that if the chosen subject for comparison had worse conditions or was more disadvantaged than them; they would not feel deprived. Relative deprivation theory believes that people feel more dissatisfied when they compare themselves to others not because there are valid reasons to grieve; if there is no subject for comparison they would not have anything to gauge themselves against.

Class division, segregation and the relationship between class structure and forms of economic and social inequality were the main concerns of the classical economists and Marx (Wolff and Zacharias, 2007: 3). Oseghae (1994: 8) observed that the capitalist system is characterized by oppression that in most instances lead to irreconcilable hatred, anger and bitterness to those of the lower class. In a state where there is economic segregation, unequal living standards and asymmetrical access to resources, ethnic violence is more likely to take place (Saleh, 2013: 157). According to Percy-Smith (2000: 135) in a class society, the sense of inclusion and exclusion plays an important role in defining a community and its citizens; the space in which people exist, and territorial demarcation is equally important. Gellner (2008: 1) concurs with Smith by stating that nationalism is about legitimacy in politics that does not allow ethnic differences to go beyond political boundaries. Ethnic boundaries within a given state, a contingency already formally excluded by the principle in its general formulation should not separate the power-holders from the rest. Given the above facts and the argument, this therefore means that the RD theory partly applies to the South African situation. The reality at Kwa-Makhutha was that even though the community compared themselves with neighbouring communities, the truth is that they were deprived and poverty was their reality. The gist of the matter is that black people were made suffer not because there was no food in South Africa but because of the apartheid ideology.

2.8.2. Social Action Theory

Closely related to relative deprivation is social action theory that has also been employed in this study. The advantage of this model is that it deals mainly with political issues. Social action theorists believe that before people are born, there are already defined options that inform their behaviour and the meaning of their actions (Meyer, 1989:1). Meanwhile, the understanding of the implications and the effects of political violence among communities seem to rest upon painstakingly on the selected models. Such models should also take into account how political violence occurs, and how people react to political violence. A well-known Weberian scholar Kaesler (1998: 191) states that what informs social action is the social relationship within a particular community; whatever people do afterwards, is as a result of their social engagement pre-defined by their relationships.

Weber (cited in Kaesler 1998: 4) argues that action is a behaviour to which the actor “attaches a subjective meaning that takes account of the behaviour of others and the other is thereby oriented in its course”. From this point of view, one can argue that the individuals are not constructed by society but it is society that is made by individuals. According to Meyer (1989: 1), to understand why people become aggressive, one needs to understand the source or cause of aggressive behaviour. Adler (1981: 180) argues that a concrete form of reality provides the foundation on which social meanings are constructed, while collective beliefs can have very real effects on the evolution of tangible acts and situations. Tuomela (1984: 1) posits that multi-agent actions are performed jointly. In trying to understand social actions it is important to also look at the existence of certain mental states and episodes, and about casual relations to

behaviour (Tuomela, 1984: 3). Thus, the purpose of this study is to investigate the conceptual nature and the structure of social actions and the explanation of the society's actions.

2. 9. Summary

This chapter looked at political violence in different parts of the world, including South Africa. Political violence is mostly structural and institutional. The chapter highlights the pros and cons that lead to violence. Political violence in countries such as Zimbabwe tend to occur during election times, in order to force people to vote for the ruling ZANU-PF party. In Nigeria, political violence was caused by ethno-religious differences that saw many people being killed during the Biafra war at the end of the 1960s. In South Africa, political violence was both structural and institutional. Political oppression and unequal distribution of wealth by the white apartheid government forced the black majority in the townships to take up arms and resist the oppressive government. This spilled over to a bloody time in the country.

CHAPTER 3:

Research Methodology

3. 1. Introduction

Chapter 3 presents the research method adopted for the study. Since the research is qualitative and exploratory in nature, techniques such as interviews, observations and document analysis were used to obtain the empirical data. The chapter includes a description of the study's sampling and sampling techniques, the data analysis, the validity and credibility of the information gathered, and ethical considerations taken by the researcher.

3. 2. Overview of the methodology used in the study

A qualitative research method was used to collect the data. In executing the research, the research design had to be suitable and efficient for the study. Different research methods were strategically selected and used to ensure that no data was accidentally lost along the way. Semi structured face-to-face interviews and observation were used during the process of data collection. The researcher took down notes and used an audio recorder as data collection instruments. 45 members of the community were used as a sample as it was impossible to involve the whole population. The trustworthiness, logic and factuality of the data collected was verified by checking with each participant at the end of each interview session to verify whether the researcher has got all the information right. Because of the sensitivity of the topic under investigation the researcher had to consider ethical issues like ensuring that the informants were comfortable in sharing their experiences and feelings, and the consent form was read and explained. Lastly, the researcher had to explain to the informants that the data gathered would be kept confidential. All the gathered information was kept confidential. Participants were given consent forms to sign to indicate their willingness to participate in the research.

3. 3. Qualitative approach

The qualitative research approach employed in the study allowed the researcher to pay more attention to each participant while they were interviewed. Hence, the qualitative data collection method was deemed as the most appropriate and relevant for the study. The research process entailed semi-structured interviews and observations. While interviewing, the researcher audio recorded what was being said and also took down notes of what was being said. Observations were also made while the researcher interviewed the participants and while moving around the community to see whether the information gathered from the participants matched with the physical environment of the area.

Hatch, 2002; Le Compte and Schensul, (1999, cited in Creswell 2007; 175) suggest that in qualitative research, researchers collect data themselves by examining documents, observing the behaviour of participants or interviewing participants. The researcher administered an interview schedule that consisted of a set of questions prepared prior to the interviews. In line with Marshall and Ross, 2006 (cited in Creswell 2007: 175), they recommend multiple sources of data collection where semi-structured interviews and an observation plan was applied in the current study; the researcher then reviewed all the collected data. The multiple sources of data collection meant that while interviewing the participants, the researcher was observing them, taking down notes and recording the interview.

Observation was undertaken to look at body language like emotions, gestures and any messages that could not be articulated verbally. In reviewing the data, the researcher wanted to find meaning in the data. The researcher then organized data into themes that cut across all of the data sources. The researcher had to interpret what was observed while at the same time checking with the participants what had been interpreted was accurate. With the participants and the researcher's interpretation, it is evident that multiple views of the themes emerged. Creswell (2007: 179) argues that researchers cannot separate interpretations from their own background, prior knowledge and understanding. This therefore meant that there would be a series or a paradigm shift in the interpretation from the participants to the researcher, down to the reader.

Qualitative research is more descriptive and exploratory which means more information is yielded with using the qualitative approach. Qualitative methods were chosen because the researcher wanted to pay more attention to the former activists and their families' experiences of political violence. According to Becker (1986), the focus on a qualitative research approach is on an insider rather than an outsider perspective. This means that the qualitative research approach not only allowed the researcher an insider perspective, but it also gave a detailed, clear description of events and access information on the experiences of political violence. When participants divulged information on how and why they engaged in the struggle while differentiating between political activism and political violence; it was well articulated and explained which enhanced the researcher's understanding. Babbie and Mouton (2005: 194) states that the strength of qualitative methods is its concentration on participants' experiences and it examines people according to their own views. The researcher concentrated on the participants' experiences of political violence that took place in the community during the period under investigation. Since participants had different views on their experiences this required the researcher to examine each participant according to their own views. This meant that the researcher had to spend time with each participant and concentrate on getting as much information as possible. It was important for the researcher to get first-hand information from all participants about their knowledge and experiences.

3.3.1. Research design

Babbie and Mouton (2005) argue that the main focus of a research methodology is on the research process and the kind of instruments and procedures used when conducting research. The research methodology further focuses on the design, data collection tools, sampling method and the consideration of trust-worthiness, and the role of the researcher in the study. Researchers choose research methods that are more efficient and suitable for the particular study they are engaging in. Rajasekar, Philominathan and Chinathambi (2006: 22) argue that the research design helps to perform the chosen task easily and in a systematic way. When conducting research, the researcher had to decide what process to follow and which kind of tools to use to suit the needs for this particular study. Kothari (2004: 7) states that the research methodology considers the logic in the methods used in a particular context when doing research; it does not look at the research methods only.

A qualitative research paradigm was deemed appropriate for this study. Firstly, in order to get a holistic picture and the understanding of the participants' experiences and make sense of their experiences and feelings, the qualitative researcher attempts to see through the eyes of participants (Struwig and Stead, 2001: 12). The flexibility of the researcher allowed for information to be collected through a number of techniques this ensured that no data was accidentally lost and also addressed the issues of reliability and validity of the gathered data. Validity determines the accurateness of the data collected. This was done by validating the gathered data through observation of the natural setting of the research site; matching what was visibly seen on site and the data gathered to check the interpretation of the data with participants. Reliability involved thoroughly checking data from the transcripts as well as the field notes to check if any data was accidentally lost. This was also done by going back into the field to clarify with relevant participants (there were 3 participants whose information needed clarity) some of the information that was not clear to the researcher.

In preparing the research design, the researcher had to follow the steps as noted by Kothari (2004: 32), firstly understanding what the study was all about, why the study was needed, what kind of information was required and where will the research be conducted. Once the research question was identified the researcher started preparing the research design. For smooth flow of the research process, the researcher had to come up with a research design relevant the study. The researcher was also looking at strategies to be used in carrying out the research, the design, the sample and how the data was analysed. The research was designed to fit in with the nature of the population under investigation. Creswell (2007) proposes that the selection of the research design should be in line with the nature of the research problem, the personal experiences of the researcher and audience for the study. Babbie and Mouton (2005: 75) put emphasis on the fact that the research design should focus on the logic of the research. This meant that the researcher had to pay more attention on the type of information that was needed to successfully respond to the research question. The research question was the main point of reference for the researcher. The participants were responding to the following questions:

The main research question is “what effects did political violence during the 1980s and 1990s have on the lives and families of former political activists in Kwa-Makhutha, KwaZulu-Natal?”

The sub-questions included the following:

3. 3. 1. 1. What are the effects of political violence on the former activists and their families?
3. 3. 1. 2. What triggered political violence at Kwa-Makhutha?
3. 3. 1. 3. What motivated activists to be politically involved?
3. 3. 1. 4. How did political violence manifest itself in Kwa Makhutha?
3. 3. 1. 5. How did the activities of activists lead to violence?
3. 3. 1. 6. Did the family members receive any professional help? If so, what kind?

3. 3. 2. Data collection process

In order to get first-hand, authentic information from this study, the researcher had to get closer to the community under investigation to be able to fulfil the objectives of the study. The primary goal of the qualitative research approach is not only to explain human behaviour, but also to describe and understand events under investigation. Searching for information meant using a searching strategy for developing specific criteria to be used to identify sources of information and to access and chose relevant literature (Terre Blanche et al., 2006: 19). Bless, Higson-Smith and Kagee (1995: 23) posit that theory is a point of reference for gathering factual information since it is specific on the types of facts to be systematically observed. The researcher had to closely observe the patterns of life, activities that people engaged in and the status of activists, their families and other members of the community's, their lifestyles and the source of their livelihoods. Hence, a qualitative approach was deemed the most appropriate for a study of this nature; since in the behavioural sciences, the aim is to discover the underlying intentions of individual behaviour (Kothari, 2004: 33).

While interviewing the participants, the researcher had to observe the way the participants reacted and responded to questions. It was interesting to observe the different ways in which members of the opposition political organisations responded to the same questions. In addition, the researcher also observed how the same question would results to totally different responses and reactions as some questions would lead to rising of people's emotions and tempers. Some reactions involved anger, remorse, blaming the opposition, feelings of helplessness and self-pity and were a common feature throughout the interviews.

The data collection process took longer than anticipated, as some individuals were not easily accessible because of work commitments. However, some of the victims or perpetrators did not want to be reminded of the violent history of the

past. Some potential participants refused-to-be-drawn into the study and the researcher had to respect their wishes to not participate in the study. Issues of trust were important as this is a sensitive subject and it involves stories and actions that negatively affected the activists, their families and other members of the community. To gain the participants' trust, the researcher had to assure them of their safety when conducting the research like allowing the participants to choose a venue where they felt relaxed and comfortable. The participants were also assured that the information gathered will be kept confidential by the researcher in a safe and secret place and will be discarded five years after the interviews are completed. The participants were also assured that their names would never be used when writing the research. Even though it was difficult to get participants for the study, other people were readily available because they had a lot of free time since they are unemployed. Other former activists were strongly motivated to participate based on the fact that they felt their stories needed to be told and documented for the current and future generations to read. For such former activists, it is a worrying factor that very little has been written about their history and their hard and difficult engagements in the struggle for liberation.

In order to elicit data on how the families of the young activists were affected as a result of political violence in Kwa-Makhutha community, the researcher had to come up with a structured plan on how to go about collecting authentic data in order to achieve the desired results. Mouton (1996: 175) argues that the research design helps in the planning, structuring and the execution of the research to check how valid the findings of the research are. In agreement with Mouton, Yin (2003) states that colloquially, the research design is a plan of action for knowing exactly where to start and a step-by-step guide.

3. 3. 3. Profile of interviewees

3. 3. 3. 1. Interviews were conducted at different venues like participants' homes, inside church buildings, inside the local library, participants' places of work, coffee shops, inside the researcher's car or anywhere where both the participant and researcher felt safe.

3. 3. 3. 2. Interviews were conducted between August 2014 and March 2015. Interviews were conducted during the day between 9h00 and 17h00.

3. 3. 3. 3. Interviewees consisted of former activists of Inkatha and the UDF. Activists were those people who were actively engaged in the struggle. They came from all walks of life and from both rich and poor families. Some were professional people, others were semi-literature, others were unemployed and some were labourers. Participants were also members of the activists' families, members of the community who were already living in the area in the 1980s and 1990s, community leaders (church clergy, traditional leaders, teachers, councillors, members of the SAPS), NGOs presently working in the area and those that worked in the area in the 1980s and 1990s (Kwa-Makhutha Community Resource Centre and Diakonia Council of Churches) and the legal professionals who were part of this community in the 1980s and 1990s.

3. 3. 3. 4. There were 45 interviewees, 35 males and 10 females.

3. 4. Data collection techniques

The data collection techniques used were semi-structured face-to-face interviews and observations. Additional sources of data, was written information collected from books, journals and newspaper articles. The interviews and documents reviewed complemented each other.

3. 4. 1. Semi-structured interviews

In gathering data, primary and secondary sources of data were used. The primary sources of data were the participants' interviews and the secondary sources were literature like books, journals and newspapers. The primary data helped to give information on real life experiences. Secondary data provided information on what other writers have written about political violence and young people's involvement in the political struggle. Using the two sources of data helped to match the literature against the participants' experiences; that is to know whether the literature is still relevant in today's society. The primary sources of data were semi-structured face-to-face interviews. Shneiderman and Plaisant (2005: 24) state that interviews can be structured, unstructured or semi-structured and it all depends on the design and the need. The semi-structured interview was chosen as one of the data collection tools because the researcher wanted to give the participants all the freedom they needed to respond accurately to the questions. Genise (2002, cited in Shneiderman and Plaisant 2005: 35) argue that having personal contact with the users is of benefit since it leads to specific and constructive suggestions. Semi-structured interviews are more effective in gathering detailed data and only a few participants are needed to obtain rich information.

While interviewing the participants, the researcher took notes. The interviews were done in order to obtain data on activists' involvement in political violence/struggle and the effects this has had on themselves and their families. According to Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2010: 48) semi-structured interviews give participants some latitude to talk freely about what is important and of interest to them. Here, the interview is not only restricted to the specific research questions but it gives the participant an opportunity to talk about what they feel is important which might be valuable to the study. Critical to these interviews was the participants' experiences and feelings about political violence that they were exposed to at Kwa-Makhutha.

The semi-structured interview technique gave the researcher the opportunity to have face-to-face contact with participants and this helped to gather as much information as the researcher deemed desirable and if necessary more information was collected. Terre Blanche et al (2006: 35) argues that the recommendation from qualitative researchers

is that designs are open and changeable, flexible and are not defined only in technical terms. In this case, the research is an iterative engagement that requires a fluid approach without a sequence. The style of a qualitative researcher is flexible and encourages slowly focusing on the topic throughout a study.

Interviews were held in seven different venues and the choice of venues depended on the participants feeling safe and comfortable. Participants were given the opportunity of choosing their own venues; where they could freely engage with the researcher without much interference. While some interviews were held at the participants' homes, others were held inside church buildings. Creswell (2003) believes that researchers are obliged to respect the rights and values of participants and to take into consideration their needs desires. Sometimes participants would make special requests to meet in secluded areas where no one could identify them. This particular participant was amongst the activists whose political affiliation was different from the rest of his family. Due to trust issues between himself and his family dating back to the times when political violence was rife in the community, he didn't feel safe and free to be seen by the family members with someone they didn't know or recognize.

Schostack (cited in Cousin 2009: 73) argues that interviews are not mining instruments to dig for information. During interviews, people's views may clash, deceive, seduce and enchant. While the researcher was conducting interviews, there were a few instances where the researcher discovered conflicting information. In such cases, the researcher had to ask for clarity to verify the information. In some instances, it meant verifying the reality and accuracy of the information given from the various sources. To ensure that the information given was valid the researcher had to ask the same question to other participants and if the same response was given twice by different individuals the researcher would be satisfied with the accuracy and validity of the information. Given the nature of the study, the reality is that opposition political organisations have different views and understanding about each other. This was echoed in Barribal and While (1994: 329) who argue that semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to freely evaluate the authenticity of the participants' responses.

Semi-structured interviews proved to be beneficial as they gave the researcher an opportunity to paraphrase or probe for more clarity. For example, if the interviews were not semi-structured the participants would have for example given one-word answers. The researcher also had an opportunity to seek clarity from participants' responses when she lost track during conversations. Having semi-structured interviews gave the researcher an opportunity to learn some of the terms or the local language spoken among the members of this community. Some of the terms were the 'no go areas' a term that would only be used by the organisation occupying that territory. The purpose for using such terms was to make it difficult for the opposing organisation to understand conversations of the opposition. Sometimes codes and or derogatory names that the organisations used to refer to the police, the South African Defence Force (SADF), white people, local councillors and leadership of opposition organisations. Terms like 'mello yello' (the SADF hippo trucks were yellow in colour. 'Mello yello' was a common cold drink from Coca Cola. This name was used in order to confuse the

soldiers when moving around the township when the activists were talking about them and also to alert other activists that they were in danger when these trucks were approaching) were common. Other examples are: 'Xubhagwinye' and 'theleweni' were the derogatory names that the ANC/UDF used to refer to Inkatha members. Inkatha used names like 'amaqabana' twisting the word 'amaqabane' which is an isiXhosa interpretation of the 'comrade' the term used by ANC to fellow members. 'Amaqabana' comes from the isiZulu word 'iqaba' which means someone who is uncivilized or unsophisticated. It was necessary to understand such terms in order to be sure the researcher knew the deeper meaning of such terms and also for engaging in a meaningful discussion with the participants.

The researcher conducted 45 individual interviews by going through a set of questions that were already prepared by the researcher. The selection of 45 interviews was made because the researcher wanted to obtain rich and detailed data even though such a number was time-consuming. The duration of interviews varied for each participant but the average time spent with each participant was one hour and forty-five minutes.

The issue of ethics was dealt with by being transparent to the participants. Firstly, the researcher explained to the participants that interviews were to be conducted in a safe and protected environment where participants could feel safe and comfortable. The participants were given an opportunity to choose the venue where they felt safe and comfortable. They were given an opportunity to choose whether to participate in the study or not and also, they had the right to withdraw if they felt uncomfortable. Informed consent forms were read and explained to the participants and were given an opportunity to ask questions or comment if they wanted to. Informed consent forms were given to the participants to sign. The researcher had to conduct follow-up interviews with 3 participants to get clarity on data that was not very clear. Data was analysed through thematic analysis where data was read and classified into similar responses, (coded), and grouped into themes.

3.4.2. Observation

Semi-structured interviews gave the researcher an opportunity to observe participants' body language. This was mostly observed when the participants were emphasizing on a specific point or showing feelings of anger, hatred, bitterness, dissatisfaction or excitement. The sadness was clearly visible on the faces of the participants when speaking about opportunities lost because of their engagement in the struggle. The researcher observed some participants got excited when they talked of their contribution that led to the country's first democratic elections. The IFP's excitement was brought by the failures of the ruling party as the government of the day such as the lack of service delivery and corruption. Lack of service delivery for the IFP validated their choice of a political affiliation.

During interview sessions, the researcher observed participants while also taking notes of what was being said. The researcher took notes on body language, reactions (anger, etc.) and the environment. Besides observing participants,

observations were also made by walking and driving around the area immediately after the interviews. This was done to observe members of the community in their own natural setting, taking photos and taking notes of what was being observed. In such instances, the researcher was an objective observer, meaning that the researcher did not participate in any of the activities of the community while driving or walking around. Observations were conducted in order to see things that could not be articulated by the participants during interviews. Terre Blanche et al. (2009: 19) states that the researcher's intention is to draw coherent and plausible conclusions or inferences from what was observed and therefore, observations are planned in accordance with the purposes of the research.

Field notes were used to record what was being observed. Data was sourced from behavioural observations, interviews, written opinions or public documents (Sprinthall, Schmutte, and Sirois, 1991: 101). One of the most visible gestures for both organisations was when the participants did not want to clearly articulate the name of the opposition organisation. These gestures would mostly be used when the participant thought that someone was listening to the interview. Understanding such gestures meant that the researcher had more clarity on what was being communicated; having clarity on what was communicated added to the richness and quality of the information gathered.

Of particular importance in this study, was that the researcher was able to observe the behaviour of former activists and their families to see whether it reflected the effects of political violence that once existed at Kwa-Makhutha. Behaviours that were more visible were the reliance on local tuck shops for grocery shopping, indicating that their income was limited and they could not afford to go further away to shop. What was also observed was the level of dependency on social grants in families. Lastly, most families had 10 or more people living under the same roof in a four-bedroom house. This indicates the level of dependency and lack of resources available to sustain themselves. Based on the behavioural patterns observed, the researcher was able to draw the conclusion that poverty is still rife in the community and the rate of unemployment is high. Observing behaviour such as freedom of movement into other areas within the community (previously restricted in the 1980s and 1990s because of political affiliations), the relationships, the body language of participants and the environment in which they live, helped greatly in understanding their feelings, experiences, and social interactions. The researcher also witnessed physical wounds and scars on individuals. Through observation one could see the area is underdeveloped and conditions under which the community live are harsh. Some of the family dwellings are not proper structures, without running water, no sanitation, no electricity and some are not accessible by car because there are no roads while some roads are not tarred.

The researcher further observed that the community had a high number of individuals with mental illnesses who roamed the streets. Some of them had lost their homes and family members or were injured during the struggle and could not cope with the effects. Tracing current behavioural patterns was important in determining how a person was brought up and socialized into politics and political violence. According to Mason (2009: 86) observations allows for multiple forms of data collection of human interaction in a particular context as it happens, instead of depending on

people's retrospective accounts. Spending time in this community also afforded the researcher the opportunity to learn more about how the community's unique cultural dynamics have evolved. What the researcher observed was the culture of violence within community members more especially the youth, whose violent responses can be triggered by a minor incident. For young people, the culture of 'no-go areas' has been revived from the time of political violence of the 1980s and 1990s, when violence was at its peak. There is still discrimination among older members of the community, especially for people who belong to the opposition political organisation. These were the community's dynamic observed while collecting data and this helped to avoid misinterpretations of people's actions and interactions. It helped to understand individual feelings, experiences and social interaction as they take place in a particular community.

General observation was undertaken by visiting the area at certain intervals such as midday on weekdays as well as in the afternoon when people were coming back from work. The researcher also conducted the observation process during weekends on Saturday mornings, at midday when there were social gatherings, and in the afternoons when most people were in the area. The researcher observed the people's movements around the area; their interaction with each other, the socio-economic conditions under which people live and the level of tolerance among members of the community. These visits were also undertaken on Sundays when people went to churches – during this time other members of the community were relaxing in the comfort of their homes as well as later on in the day when there was a lot of movement on the streets. Observation as a method looks at the body language and the non-verbal communication of the participant. The researcher also looks at the surrounding area, the environment of the research site and taking down notes on what is being observed. The gathered information relates to what is happening currently at Kwa-Makhutha and this was seen through the behaviour and the attitudes of the participants and the members of the community under investigation (Kothari, 2004: 34). It also became clear that most members of the community socialized through alcohol consumption at the weekend and were involved in fights. This was common among the young people who frequented taverns over the weekend.

The researcher observed the level of tolerance among members of the community. The researcher observed the kindly way in which people interact with each other. Observations included people's day-to-day activities, their source of income, their movements and interactions in the environment in which they exist. The researcher further took note of the community's infrastructure and the destruction of institutions, the conditions of the roads and dwelling units, the number of post offices, police stations, play grounds, libraries, entertainments facilities, churches, health facilities, schools and shops were there in the area and whether people frequented these shops, liquor stores, taverns and those who frequented them.

The high rate of unemployment was verified through observation of the number of middle-aged people who were roaming around the streets during weekdays. The information gathered testifies that the level of crime, house breaking

and robbery of people in broad daylight is high. Recently, there were few incidents of car high-jacking that has been reported to the police. There are many family dwellings that were destroyed during the struggle which are still deserted now. The buildings that used to be shops, old age home, workshops and residential flats are in a dilapidated condition and are lying uninhabited. There are no formal or proper shops as all the shops were destroyed during the struggle. Members of the community only rely on tuck shops that are all very expensive, while others board taxis to the nearest towns like Amanzimtoti and Isipingo for their shopping. Taxis are the only mode of transport (except for few people with their own transport) meaning those working outside the township have to pay cash every day for public transportation.

Evidence from observation highlighted the effects of violence on some individuals; physical wounds of certain individuals, some were disabled, others were burnt when their homes were petrol bombed while some lost their limbs. It is a common sight to come across people who have mental challenges. From what was echoed by participants this testifies to the psychological effects of violence. During interviews the researcher observed that some of the participants tended to take longer time than others to explain things. According to participants to the study this is due to the mental retardation caused by torture and injuries suffered during the struggle. The other observation was the level of appreciation from some participants who felt the interviews were some kind of therapeutic sessions. The participants' appreciation for the opportunity to share their experiences became evident when participants mentioned this. Sometimes they would even have special requests from their friends in the struggle (who were not part of the interview schedule) to be interviewed because they felt it was more beneficial for them to talk about their past experiences. It was not easy to accommodate all the requests as this would have taken much longer and taken the researcher out of the original plan. At the end of the engagement, the participants commented that they felt relieved after sharing their experiences.

3. 4. 3. Sample and sampling techniques

Palys (2008: 698) states that purposive sampling involves the creation of a sample through selecting certain characteristics of the subject that will yield the required knowledge and information. In yielding the required results, the informants/participants were selected with a purpose in mind. The purpose was to have participants that possess certain characteristics in order to qualify for investigation. The characteristics of the participants had to be people who have been living in the area during the period under investigation. It had to be activists themselves, the members of their families, people who have been working in the area during the 1980s and 1990s or during the time of investigation. Purposive sampling is deliberate choice of participants to the study (Kothari, 2004: 35). The key purpose for this was to identify people who had been victims and perpetrators of political violence in order to understand the effects violence had on them. This sample was chosen because of its appropriateness to the study.

Sampling is a choice of participants to the research from the bigger target population. In sampling, the researcher decides which group of people to participate in the study, the settings in which interviews will take place, behaviours and or social processes to be observed, Terre Blanche et al (2006: 49). Since it was not possible to involve the whole population of the area under investigation, thus 45 members of the community were sampled with. This sample does not represent the community of Kwa-Makhutha. A decision had to be made on who to interview or use as a sample. The data collected during investigation was mainly from members of the United Democratic Front, African National Congress and Inkatha. These organisations were at loggerheads during the struggle in the area. The majority of the participants in the study were males in their early thirties up to those in their late sixties.

Altogether there were 45 participants who were interviewed. The sample consisted of 35 males and 10 females; 5 women were in their early sixties, 1 was in her fifties and 4 in their late thirties to early forties. The males consisted of 7 men in their early sixties, 2 in their fifties and 26 in their late thirties and early forties. It should be remembered that patriarchy still remains a stumbling block to women's enjoyment of equality and their empowerment in South Africa and that is the reason why there were more men than women available for interview, and those that were engaged in the struggle. Activists of the 1980s and 1990s consisted of children from the age of 9 years to the mid-twenties. Most of the activists are in their late thirties and early fifties now; which is the reason why we have a bigger number of participants in this category.

Those in their late sixties and older held positions of leadership and others were representatives of organisations that were involved in the struggle. Some of the older males were fathers of the activists and the majority of them were Inkatha supporters. Female participants were also part of the study, particularly elderly women above 55 years and they were mainly ANC supporters. These were the mothers and a few spouses of the former activists. Some of the female participants were professionals such as nurses and teachers. Fewer women were in their late thirties and early forties and the majority were the siblings and girlfriends of former activists. There were very few female participants who were former activists.

In selecting the sample the researcher had to ensure that it represented the community/users participants to make it a credible and indicative sample (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005). The sample consisted of 45 individuals and included individuals who were part of the Kwa Makhutha community during the 1980s and 1990s. The sample also consisted of the people who were actively engaged in the struggle from both political organisations and their families. The sample also included various stakeholders like community leaders, professionals, church leaders and people from non-governmental organisations.

Over and above purposive sampling, the researcher employed a snowball approach. Ellsberg and Heise (2005: 106) state that in snowball or chain sampling, the researcher locates one or two key individuals, and then asks them to give the

names of other likely informants to facilitate the identification of hard-to-find cases. The key informants were accessed through the Kwa-Makhutha Community Resource Centre. Through the key informants the researcher was referred to other participants. The key informants were instrumental in identifying and referring the researcher to relevant people. The people that the researcher was referred to were able to share their experiences regarding the activities of political violence and political struggle.

3. 5. Data analysis

Data analysis started from the time the researcher began collecting data and continued throughout the study (Rossman and Rallis, 1998 in Creswell, 2007: 184). This means that from the time data was collected the researcher was able to transcribe data from the recorded tapes and sort out the data collected. Most of the participants were comfortable speaking their own language which was Zulu. The researcher had to transcribe such information into English. In analysing data, multiple levels of data analysis were followed. This meant that while collecting data at the same time, the process of analysing data previously collected was started.

3. 5. 1. Thematic analysis

While data was analysed, it was divided into different themes (See Chapter 4). Raw data was collected through recordings, field notes and face-to-face interviews and observation. Data was analysed through reading, re-grouping data according to interrelated themes and interpreting the meaning of themes. In analysing data, the researcher was interpreting the gathered data and also trying to make sense whether they were answering the main research question. According to Miles and Huberman (1994: 16) data analysis is a three-linked interconnected process of data reduction, displaying of data and drawing conclusions.

Data collected through semi-structured interviews and observation was coded through text interrogation, organised into chunks, arranged into sentences and paragraphs. Paragraphs were arranged into units to give meaning, so that the same phenomena could be defined and categorised (Creswell, 2007: 186). The researcher was consistent in ensuring that data with similar weight and similar meaning was categorised together, while at the same time ensuring that all data was put into good use. According to Braun and Clarke (2006: 79), thematic analysis is a method of “identifying, analysing and reporting patterns or themes within data”. In thematic analysis; themes are systematically detailed and recorded for orderly and accurate linkage of data in the same categories. In conducting thematic analysis, the researcher used Braun and Clarke’s (2006: 83) step-by-step guide. Firstly, the researcher started by transcribing audio-recorded data into written form. According to Bird (2005: 227) cited in Braun and Clarke (2006) this is the key phase of data analysis within interpretive qualitative methodology. Secondly, the researcher followed the interpretive process and this helped in creating meaning from the verbal data. Thirdly, the researcher ensured that all the data needed for the study remained meaningful and original by translating the data collected in Zulu into English without losing the

original meaning. Fourthly, since some of the interviews were conducted in isiZulu, the researcher had to translate all the data that was in isiZulu into English. Fifthly, the researcher identified the themes to be used for analysis and gave them names. Lastly, the final analysis was done and the researcher began the final write up of the study.

Coding was conducted through matching theory with the collected data. According to Boyatzis (1998: 63), coding is the basic phase, or element of unprocessed data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon. Basic codes were generated and produced from the data. The generated codes were organized into potential themes. At this stage data and themes were carefully scrutinized; this was to ensure that the potential themes matched with the relevant data. This was done to ensure that no data was misplaced with the wrong themes.

3. 6. Recording of Data

Recording gives the researcher an opportunity to keep a full record of the interview without having to scribble down notes (Terre Blanche et al., 2006: 298). Terre Blanche et al. further states that recorded information is readily available and it is easier to refer to in any section of the interview and find recorded data on the audio-cassette. After each and every interview, the researcher would go back home to listen to the tapes while at the same time checking the notes for any discrepancies and to fill in gaps while the information was still fresh in mind. Some questions would raise the emotions on of some of the participants and such emotions could be heard from the tone of the participants' voices during discussions on the recorder. Sometimes it would be difficult for the researcher to make sense of what the participant was saying and therefore, having taken down notes on a note book helped the researcher to understand what was being articulated.

Transcribing the recorded interviews took longer than the interviews themselves. This entailed going back and forth on tapes trying to make sense of what was being said and listening carefully as some people spoke softly and some with a lot of emotion, which made it difficult to make sense of what was being articulated. When transcribing, the researcher realized that there was a need to go back to some of the participants to request more interviews as a follow up on the participants' responses to probe further. The sequence of questions was not followed as sometimes the researcher had to ask a follow up question to the participants.

Transcribing the information from tapes also meant unpacking the data from the notebook and trying to match what was in the notebook with the recorded information. This was done to make sure that it made sense. What made it even more difficult was the fact that almost all the interviews were conducted in IsiZulu and while transcribing the researcher had to translate into English at the same time. Some of the questions were written in isiZulu to accommodate the majority of the participants and most participants were interviewed in isiZulu. This meant that all the recorded information on tapes were in IsiZulu and had to be translated into English when transcribing them. This made it even

more difficult to transcribe information from IsiZulu to English. The information was kept confidential. Keeping information confidential was in line with the research social science ethics. Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2005: 9) observed that in qualitative research study, researchers collect a wider variety of information like documents, records, photos, observations, interviews and case studies. Conversations from the interviews were audio recorded while taking notes at the same time. This helped to capture maximum information during the interview sessions. Data was transcribed into text before analysis.

3. 7. Validity and reliability

Richards and Morse (2012: 41) state that “determining reliability and validity remains the qualitative researcher’s goal”. To ensure validity and reliability the participants were given a chance to double check the data to ascertain that what was captured was exactly what was being articulated. This was done through selecting key individuals in leadership positions in the community like schoolteachers and few other professionals. This helped to validate the claims of the research report. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2010: 48) define validity as a process whereby the researcher earns the confidence of the reader that he or she has “gotten it right”. To ensure that the researcher got it all right and check whether the information captured was valid; Guba and Lincoln (1985: 314) consider member checking into the findings as “the most critical technique for establishing credibility”. For credibility and validation, triangulation or the use of different methods of data collection was used for this study. According to Blaikie (2010) and Scandura and Williams (2000: 1263) triangulation involves the use of multiple methods and measures of an empirical phenomenon in order to overcome problems of ‘bias and validity’. Creswell (2007) concurs with Morse and Richards by stating that triangulation is used to compare data to decide if it corroborates and thus to validate research findings. Richie and Lewis (2003: 44) state that “the ‘security’ that triangulation provides is through giving a fuller picture of phenomena, not necessarily a more certain one”.

3. 8. Ethical considerations

The sensitiveness of the topic under investigation meant that the researcher had to critically and seriously consider ethical issues. The researcher had to ensure that participants had a thorough understanding about the intentions of the research and as such, it was clearly explained that this research was conducted for academic purposes. Since this was for academic purposes, no payment was to be received for participating in the research. The researcher’s identity was disclosed to all the participants. The researcher ensured the participants’ information from the interviews would be confidential. Pseudonyms were used to protect participants’ identities and ensure anonymity. The participants participated freely and were thus requested to sign the consent form. This was explained to the participants and should they wish to withdraw from the study at any time, they were free to do so. The researcher’s request to use the voice recorder to record interviews was granted by participants and included in the informed consent. During interviews, the

researcher took notes and this was also explained to those who participated in the interviews. There was also transparency in the notes taken as they were read immediately to the participants and participants were given an opportunity to ask questions. Not all participants were comfortable with recording interviews. The researcher had to respect the wishes of the participant by not recording the seven participants who felt uncomfortable with recording interview sessions.

Qualitative research requires deep interaction with the participants and this means at times, touching on their values and weaknesses in the process of data collection. Silverman (2006: 201) reminds researchers that they should always remember that while they are doing their research, they are in actual fact entering the private spaces of their participants. Thus, researchers are often expected to respect the rights of the participants by not doing any harm (Beauchamp and Childress, 1983). The researcher had to detach herself from emotional attachment to the interviewing process. At times, it was really difficult not to feel the pain that the participants were feeling. Most of the stories were touching which means that the researcher had to carefully tread through these ethical dilemmas. The researcher was granted permission to conduct individual interviews with different stakeholders within the community. For all interviews the researcher had to give participants an opportunity to go through the consent form. The researcher had to read through the consent form to explain the contents of the form. This was done so that everyone was given enough opportunity to make an informed decision whether to be part of the study or not.

3. 9. Summary

This chapter presented the research methodology, the process used in collecting empirical data and the justification for the method and tools. Sampling criteria was discussed. During interviews, the researcher paid more attention on gathering detailed information and this therefore meant that there was little emphasis on the generalisation of results. Data was collected through individual interviews and observation and thematic analysis was used to analyse the data. The researcher ensured that the research report was authentic and trustworthy through examining validity and credibility of the findings. Serious consideration was given to ethical issues. The next chapter focuses on the research findings and data analysis.

Chapter 4:

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4. 1. Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings and analysis of the empirical data. The overall purpose of the study was to explore the implications political violence had on the former political activists and their families of Kwa-Makhutha Township Community in South Africa during the mid-1980s to mid-1990s. The empirical data used in this study comprised of individual interviews, participant observations, and document analysis as the research instruments. The literature on political violence was surveyed including the conceptual frameworks of relative deprivation and social action. This study was conducted from August 2014 to March 2015. The findings of the study painted a clear picture of political violence in Kwa-Makhutha and gave an insight into the causes of the violence, those involved in violence, their reasons to get involved and the effects of political violence. The findings of this research confirmed that although oppression might have caused political violence, the trigger point that led to political violence was poverty and socio-economic deprivation.

4. 1. 2. Contextualizing political violence

The purpose of this study was to understand the nature and the structure of social actions and the explanation of action taken by the Kwa-Makhutha community when they engaged in political violence. Relative deprivation theory focuses on the causes of violent behaviour in human beings. The theory dictates that; it is only when people start comparing themselves when they feel they are less deprived. In Kwa-Makhutha, different members of the community had different views about political violence depending on the environment in which they were in; hence, violence was defined contextually.

The study found that the two political movements, the IFP and the UDF competed over the number of supporters they could mobilize. The study further found that opposition political organisations viewed violence as an opposition phenomenon. Violence was defined as physical brutality inflicted on innocent children without any reason. Violence was also viewed as:

The police harassment and brutal treatment on families of the activists when the police were looking for activists in private dwellings disturbing peace, this is how we defined violence (Interview (b) 12 December 2014).

For other activists violence was viewed as “when South African Police were inflicting pain to families of activists and victimizing anyone they came across inside the young activists’ homes” (Interview (a) 1 February 2015). Police defined political violence as “being unruly and disregard of authority” (Interview (b) 12 August 2014) while teachers defined political violence as “unrest and when learners resisted authority. When police came to school looking for political activists harassing us as teachers because if they did not find the people they were looking for we would be harassed as well” (Interview (b) 14 August 2014). Former political activists had this to say:

As children we could not understand why we were treated differently from children of other race groups. It did not make sense to us that other parents could not afford to provide us with the daily necessities. When the older activists provided us with answers to the questions that had bothered us all our lives, we were ready to fight for what we believed rightfully belonged to us (Interview (a) 19 August 2014).

Young people had a lot of questions in their minds:

At times, such questions will be directed to my parents who did not have answers. We needed answers. Sometimes when I think about it now, I believe my parents had the answers; maybe they were too scared to say anything negative about the government and oppression (Interview (b) 22 February 2015).

Adler (1981: 180) argues that concrete forms of reality provide the foundation on which social meanings are constructed, while collective beliefs can have very real effects on the evolution of tangible acts and situations. Political awareness prompted young people to be politically involved and:

When young people became politically aware they became motivated to mobilize the community to take action. This was done in order to change the conditions under which we lived. We were more than willing to change our situation and it did not matter to us at what cost. We did not anticipate during that time, that it would cost us our lives because we did not expect the police to treat us in the manner they did (Interview (a) 25 March 2015).

It was evident from the study that the initial action that the community took was not violent in the beginning; but it was the violent nature of the system that led to a violent response from the community. Meyer (1989: 22) confirmed that social behaviours are created by human beings and cannot easily accept what the society dictates to them. From this point of view, it could be argued that individuals have a major contribution in building societies. The UDF activists reported that:

We were trained to protect. When you protect using a gun it is still part of the struggle – killing and shooting was part of protection and struggle. When we were engaged in the struggle we were given orders, as part of our loyalty and obedience, we had to follow orders given to us by our leaders; the order could be to kill or shoot (Interview (a) 21 October 2014).

UDF members further stated that political violence was police brutality inflicted on young activists. On the other hand, Inkatha defined violence as war. Inkatha blamed the UDF for causing the violence. Women and mothers defined political violence as “police brutality that was inflicted on young activists” (Interview (a) 21 October 2014).

Structural violence and unequal distribution of wealth by the South African apartheid government and desperation caused by extreme poverty under which people in this community lived, caused them to compare their conditions with neighbouring White and Indian communities. Muntingh and Gould (2010: 14) argue that the high degree of inequality in South Africa had the effect of reducing social cohesion and created inequality. By depriving black people of their South African citizenship, the apartheid regime disrupted communities, demolished habitable dwellings, destroyed schools, churches, small businesses, and clinics. Worsnip (1996: 46) posits that the humiliating and dehumanizing apartheid system’s structural and institutional violence led to the violent response of the South African black people. When the councillors were questioned about community development issues and lack of infrastructural development:

They became scared and the police were called to intervene. The only means of intervention the police knew was through violence and force. With the violent response, the police were hoping to scatter the youth from the meeting, they were hoping to stop them from voicing their grievances. The youth responded to police force by violent protests; throwing stones at the police (Interview (b) 22 August 2014).

According to Bornman et al (1998: 18) the South African Police Service’s Centre for Analysis and Interpretation of Crime Information reports that in 1993, there were 4 010 unrest-related deaths and 4 790 injuries in South Africa. Lack of development resulted in the following concerns:

What worried us most was the high level of crime in our community since there were no streetlights. In comparison to other areas infrastructural development was non-existent and we had to fight for this (Interview (a), 1 September 2014).

Photo 4.1: Lack of infrastructural development can be seen in the picture. This is one of the Zulu Government buildings destroyed when violence was rife in the area.



Source: Researcher (Sept. 2014)

From the argument raised above by the former activists and their families, it is evident that there was no intention of violence from the side of the community. What led to violence was the police's aggressive response to the young activists. In the following sections, we will be looking at the results of the violence that started on this particular day when the police were called to intervene.

The following sections are divided into themes. Firstly, we will look at the triggers of political violence, the manifestation of political violence, reasons for political activists' engagement in the struggle, the effects of violence on the activists and their families, the survival strategies and tactics employed in dealing with violence and lastly, we will also look at whether there are any links between political violence and political activism.

4. 2. Triggers of political violence at Kwa-Makhutha Community

There were various reasons given by the participants on what triggered political violence. The following are some of the reasons for the trigger of political violence in KwaZulu-Natal and Kwa-Makhutha in particular:

4. 2. 1. Poverty and lack of resources:

When youth started asking questions about the issues of development in the township, Inkatha was convinced that this was an attack on them as an organisation ruling the province during that period. According to the IFP:

This attack showed disrespect to the leader of the Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Chief Buthelezi was and still is a Chief to the Zulu King, he was the Prime Minister and the head of the province. We could not allow UDF to disrespect our leadership the way they did (Interview (b) 11 October 2014).

The questions asked by the youth led to both organisations to attack each other. Even though violence at Kwa-Makhutha seemed to be between the IFP and ANC/UDF, De Kock and Schutte (cited in Bornman, van Eeden and Wentzel 1998: 64) posit that the main reason why there was violence was because of the unequal distribution of power, which resulted in conspicuous differences in wealth and status between the ruler and the ruled and/or unequal distribution of wealth which corresponds with racial and ethnic differences. Poverty and high rate of unemployment were some of the reasons that led to political violence. Poverty does not exist in isolation:

There are a number of other related issues like unemployment, high rates of illiteracy and lack of opportunities. When people were hungry they compared their conditions to those of the neighbouring communities (Interview (a) 23 November 2014).

Going to town in the neighbouring suburban areas:

We would see white people enjoying better living conditions. Their houses were huge and beautiful, with big yards, they would drive around in big cars and their children went to the best schools. We would also see them in restaurants enjoying food and we were not allowed to go to these places as blacks. This build anger, hatred and bitterness in me as I thought of my family situation; how much my parents were struggling to raise us. My siblings and I would go to school barefooted in the harsh winter conditions. Sometimes I would go to sleep crying because the only set-of-bed we had in my family was my parents'. As children, we slept on the floor using a very thin blanket and had to share with my five siblings (Interview (b) 21 August 2014).

Due to hunger and desperation caused by poverty, people were willing to sacrifice their lives for freedom. Out of all the interviews conducted, almost all the UDF members agreed that what led to violence was poverty, in-equality and the brutality of the police. Inkatha members believed that what prompted violence was the disrespect shown by UDF/ANC to their leadership.

Photo 4.2: shows the rural four roomed houses set up at Kwa-Makhutha. Lack of infrastructural development is clearly visible, the harsh conditions in which the community lived and still live in.



Source: Researcher (Sept. 2014)

4. 2. 2. Ethnicity:

The study revealed that ethnicity also played a pivotal role in fuelling political violence:

In 1985, there was outbreak of violence at Kwa-Makhutha between the Zulus and the Pondos residing at Section 5 (this is an informal settlement on the outskirts of the township). The tension between the two rival groups spread into the township where there are four roomed houses (these are township dwellings with two

bedrooms, kitchen, dining room and a bathroom. The four roomed houses were built by the previous government to provide accommodation for migrant workers) (Interview (a) 23 October 2014).

What triggered this conflict or violence was the lack of resources. As revealed by some community members:

Residents at Section 5 had one communal tap that had to be shared by more than 200 households. The scarcity of resources led to a faction fight as members of different ethnic groups were accused of monopolizing the communal tap (Interview (a) 30 October 2014).

Participants to the study agreed that people from the township with four roomed houses had nothing to do with the tension at Section 5:

However, the Pondos and the Zulus who resided in the 4 roomed houses started to attack each other. This violence lasted for a few months. Soon after this incident in 1986, political violence became full blown and spread all over the township (Interview (a) 28 March 2015).

Villa-Vicencio (1987: 83) stated that the older generation had learnt to live with injustice, but this was not so for the young people. Similar to Villa-Vicencio's findings, those who were mothers to the activists agree that:

Our children conscientised us about oppression and made to be politically aware. When Inkatha was formed most of the older generation became members of the organization because we believed that it was representing the interests of the Zulus (Interview (b) 23 March 2015).

There was a belief among "black people in Natal that since Inkatha was a Zulu traditional movement, there was no other option but to join and have membership of Inkatha as Zulus" (Interview (a) 14 September 2014). However, the younger generation realized that:

The main reason our parents were forcing us to join Inkatha was because of fear of Chief Buthelezi and his supporters, not because they believed and trusted Inkatha to lead them. This realization made us to lose respect for Inkatha and its leadership and caused us to resolve to die for what we strongly believed in (Interview (a) 11 December 2014).

The study revealed that parents tried hard:

To put our children back on track and a meeting was called subject to bringing our children to meeting. At the meeting, children were beaten and forced to take Inkatha membership; but we were never successful. It was around this stage, that the Zulu Police (ZP) was introduced to bring law and order (Interview (b) 31 January 2015).

In May 1985, Buthelezi announced that the Zulu Police would be established as a 'para-military wing' in order to 'hit back with devastating force' at any ANC guerrillas (Collins, 1993: 131). "The introduction of the ZP and the Stability Unit of the SAP perpetuated more violence and political rift and its main target was the UDF" (Interview (a) 26 August 2014). A comment made by an ANC former activist was, "UDF's supporters were harassed, beaten and even killed by the para-military wing" (Interview (b) 17 November 2014).

Almost all participants agreed that the ethnic violence that started in 1985 was slowly transferred into political violence. The transference of violence like this, made it difficult to separate political violence and ethnic violence.

4. 2. 3. Contestation for political power:

Some participants attribute the political violence trigger to two conflicting political rivals:

Political violence in KwaZulu-Natal was born out of the conflicting interests of two political organisations fighting for the same goal: that of exercising full power and control over the province (Interview (b) 10 October 2014).

De Kock and Schutte (cited in Bornman, van Eeden and Wentzel 1998: 58) define this kind of conflict as manifest conflict; the conflict that involves competition, negotiation, non-violent protest, passive resistance and violence. Bornman, Eeden and Wentzel (1998: 18) state that this competition led to both organisations wanting to establish complete hegemony over the power structures and the control of resources in certain areas. This led to attacks on both sides:

When people became aware of other political organisations that they could join; this created conflict between members of the community. It was mostly the youth who took membership with the UDF. Young people realized that Buthelezi was a sell-out to the apartheid government led by the National Party (NP) (Interview (a) 12 October 2014).

According to a UDF member “the problem was that the NP upheld apartheid rule which was discriminating against black people. For this reason, the youth felt it was good to join the UDF since it was fighting for the liberation of black people” (Interview (a) 1 September 2014). Another activist agreed by reporting that “wherever we went, we were met with resistance but Kwa-Makhutha Youth League (KYL) meetings were the only forums that allowed us to express ourselves” (Interview (b) 14 September 2014).

An interview conducted with the Diakonia Council of Churches’ former staff member (this is a Non-Governmental Organisation that was in existence during this period and actively engaged in peacekeeping and conflict resolution in the province and Kwa-Makhutha community) revealed that “what triggered political violence was a contest for political power between the UDF and the Inkatha” (Interview (a) 16 March 2015). He further stated that “adding to the problem was the fact that the Nationalists Party Government lent its support to the Inkatha, so the violence could not be regarded as simply “black on black” – there was a white involvement”.

Zulu (1994) concurs with this view by stating that the IFP was seen as no more than a representative of the regime. A participant revealed that: “At some stage, a community meeting was convened by Inkatha at Kwa-Makhutha where community members were told about the communists and how they violated the laws of the country” (Interview (b) 23 February 2015).

This was similar to what happened in Rwanda where there was propaganda that conflict was spurred on by political leaders who exploited ethnic differences for their own advantage (Reid, 2001: 1). Like Rwanda the same tactic of exploiting ethnic differences between people was used in KwaZulu-Natal and Kwa-Makhutha. People were told that: “Inkatha was the only legitimate organisation for the Zulus, and as such they had to support the organisation” (Interview (a) 26 March 2015). According to Inkatha: “Kwa-Makhutha belonged to the Kwa-Zulu government and there was no need for another organisation like UDF” (Interview (b) 16 March 2015). The UDF supporters believed that: “If anyone stands in the way of liberation, then obviously there would be tension” (Interview 22 (b) August 2014).

The tension that triggered violence was due to an inability to resolve the problems, and therefore, led to feelings of distrust and cynicism (Spector and Kitsuse, 1987). Some members of the UDF attributed the cause of political violence to ignorance. Another participant’s opinion was that: “Political violence was triggered by the lack of awareness on community history and the history of the country and the reason why South Africa was and still is underdeveloped” (Interview (a) 23 January 2015).

One participant felt that: “Political violence was triggered by lack of knowledge and understanding. Why were there Missionaries in South Africa forcing blacks to drop their cultural beliefs and practices” (Interview (a) 10 February 2015).

From the way he expressed himself, it was evident that he considered himself as all-knowing since he was one of the oldest members in the community. He further stated that:

Black people were victimized by the system and ended up victimizing fellow brothers and sisters. This was the case with the Kwa-Makhutha Youth League, UDF and Inkatha in Kwa-Makhutha; there was no tolerance between the two (Interview (a) 10 February 2015).

Almost all the UDF and Inkatha members agreed the community used to be Inkatha supporters. However, when UDF was introduced in the township Inkatha supporters started attacking UDF members and UDF retaliated. “When a councillor was killed in 1986, things got worse; a number of people were killed as the opposing organisations retaliated against those perceived as enemies” (Interview (a) 8 August 2014).

All the participants were in agreement that political violence was triggered by competition for political power. They strongly believed that if there was political tolerance among political organisations, violence would have been avoided.

4. 2. 4. Frustration:

When all peaceful negotiations failed, what remained was anger and frustration. Unfortunately, this spilled over into uncontrollable political violence. Berkowitz (1972) state that a high level of frustration with no means to relieve it, eventually culminate into the situation whereby people vent their frustration. “Another unfortunate incident that led to manifestation of political violence at Kwa-Makhutha was the assassination of Mrs Victoria Mxenge in 1983” (Interview (a) 15 December 2014).

Mrs Mxenge was a UDF member and was a prominent human rights lawyer. She was also a political activist from Umlazi. Her husband, who was also a lawyer, was also assassinated in the same manner in 1981. One participant echoed that:

When Mrs Mxenge died, there was chaos in schools as scholars from Umlazi came to force Kwa Makhutha scholars out of school. We did not understand why someone as helpful as Mrs Mxenge was killed. She was a good person because she was always willing to represent activists in court when they were unfairly charged (Interview 14 (b) August 2014).

Another participant reported that:

Some residents at Kwa-Makhutha believed everyone was Inkatha but they only became aware of UDF on the day when Mrs Mxenge was killed. It started with a few people; people were hiding their affiliation but after the assassination of Mrs Mxenge they became confident to come out in the open (Interview (a) 22 March 2015).

Another participant expressed her anger by stating that:

The incident made us to realize how brutal the system was, to kill an innocent woman in crucifixion style like that. This increased membership of UDF and intensified political violence that was already simmering in the township. In 1986, violence was full blown and became uncontrollable because we had more conviction to fight the unjust system; we were also ready for anything, even death (Interview (a) 18 September 2015).

What followed this incident was more chaos and confusion in the community. The other trigger of violence was the brutal actions that the police inflicted on the young activists. According one activist:

The older comrades and those who were already at tertiary institutions, brought an awareness to the younger ones on the socio-economic conditions in the community. They would call secret meetings at the soccer clubhouse where most of the younger ones would meet for soccer coaching (Interview (a) 17 August 2014).

Spector and Kitsuse (1987) alluded that problems don't appear overnight; an influential social group of activists call attention to and define issues as social problems. "When the youth started to question the level of under development in the township, these questions were directed to the authority at the time, for example, the local councillors" (Interview (a) 10 March 2015).

Raising concerns was aroused by the comparison of poverty and the conditions the youth made between Kwa-Makhutha and the nearby white suburbs of Amanzimtoti and Athlone Park they were living in. Sernan (2001) cited in Leon-Guerrero (2014) argue that violent conflict starts from societal foundations like values, resources and interests. In agreement with Leon-Guerrero's statement one participant stated that:

There was a huge difference in infrastructural development between Kwa-Makhutha Township and the neighbouring suburban areas. Youth started to question why the roads were not tarred, why there was no electricity and streetlights, and why the schools in white areas had all the resources like playfields and well equipped libraries (Interview (a) 8 October 2014).

People in the township were paying rent and they were told it was for infrastructural development but there was no community development initiatives taking place. The following is a comment by one participant about his experience of police violence:

I was 14 years old in 1987 when we were writing our final examinations. We had South African Police (SAP) as our invigilators and they were calling us terrorists. I did not understand the term terrorist at the time as we were just primary school children. I also did not understand why we had police as invigilators as we were not criminals and we did nothing against the law. We could not focus because we were so scared as they kept on instilling fear in us (Interview (a) 28 November 2014).

Some participants reported that they were scared and confused because:

We were witnessing police brutality on a daily basis in the community. We were not sure of what was going to happen at the end of the examination, whether we were going to be beaten or we would be arrested and taken to jail. We were also thinking of other young activists who had previously disappeared without any trace; we thought that maybe the same thing was going to happen to us and we will never be able to see our parents. We had a lot of things going on in our minds. We were so scared, confused and frustrated (Interview (a) 11 January 2015).

Some participants reported that political violence was between the UDF and Inkatha, and the opposing opinions of the UDF and Inkatha created political violence. While other members of Inkatha believed that “the violence prior to release of Nelson Mandela from prison was not political violence, but conflict between the Zulus and the Mpondos” (Interview (a) 7 August 2014). In agreement with other Inkatha supporters, another participant reported that “political violence started when Mandela was released from prison. Inkatha members strongly believe that while Mandela was in prison there was no political violence in South Africa” (Interview (a) 2 March 2015). Another view from an Inkatha activist was that “the causes for political violence started whilst Mandela was in prison after he instructed Buthelezi to form an organisation” (Interview (a) 11 January 2015). This is what the Inkatha members believed was the cause of political violence in South Africa and Kwa-Makhutha in particular, another Inkatha member stated that:

The organisation that Buthelezi was instructed to form was supposed to fight against white domination inside the country as an affiliate of the ANC, since the ANC was banned. Buthelezi did that through the formation of Inkatha and it was not made an ANC affiliate (Interview (b) 8 October 2014).

Inkatha members also believed that:

When Mandela came out of prison he realized that Buthelezi had huge membership and followers, this led to tension between Mandela and Buthelezi. This is when the Inkatha decided to change its colours and its flag. Prior to Mandela's release, the Inkatha and ANC had the same colours (Interview (a) 23 February 2015).

The findings of this study also revealed that teachers played a vital role in conscientising children in schools about the existence of Inkatha. In 1978, the KwaZulu government decided to introduce the Inkatha syllabus throughout schools under its jurisdiction, thereby turning education into one of the instruments for propagating the ideas of Inkatha (Nzimande and Thusi, 1991: 3). Young boys were trained as Boys Scouts. During Boys Scout meetings, teachers started educating them about Inkatha. The activists' experienced parents' resistance to such teachings. Which led to:

All the children whose parents were not Inkatha members were expelled from school. This led to conflict that contributed to the closure of some schools in the township for a period of 6 months. Children had to drop out of school and some of them never went back (Interview (b) 12 October 2014).

The triggers of violence differed from section to section at Kwa-Makhutha. A participant reported that "the introduction of the UDF led to the formation and launch of the Kwa-Makhutha Youth League (KYL); this gave rise to spread of violence" (Interview (b) 11 December 2014). Another cause of conflict was when "the UDF forced Kwa-Makhutha youth to join KYL. The UDF members targeted youth in schools to ensure that they became KYL members; they would go to schools to force scholars to join KYL" (Interview (b) 1 September 2014). Another view was that:

When going around in schools they would invite scholars to meetings. In the first meeting, the youth were told that the purpose was to discuss the cleaning campaign of the township. When they came to the meeting the agenda changed from cleaning campaign to attacking the councillors (Interview (b) 27 February 2015).

In echoing with the above statement another participant who stated that:

UDF would also force youth to attend meetings where issues of infrastructural development were discussed - this led to decisions like the removal of local councillors mainly because KYL was not satisfied with their leadership (Interview (a) 26 August 2014).

The conflicting views caused frustration when people did not know which views to believe. Frustration was also caused by police brutality and the community's inability to change the system's ideology, and harsh conditions in which people

lived which led to anger. The anger among the youth led to a greater conviction to fight for what they believed was an unjust system. Everyone was frustrated as there was chaos all around the community.

4. 2. 5. Manifestation of political violence:

The manifestation of political violence at Kwa-Makhutha was a combination of interrelated incidences. However, the nature and extent of political violence in South Africa made it impossible to cover the full range of manifestations of violence, its underlying dynamics and suitable strategies for prevention and intervention (Bornman, Van Eeden and Wentzel, 1998: 3). The conflict and violence centred on such actions as school boycotts and violent protests by workers and consumers that led to irresponsible behaviour in communities (Minnaar, Pretorius and Wentzel, 1998; 13). These were some of the ways in which political violence at Kwa-Makhutha manifested where young people boycotted paying rent and targeted local councillors. When councillors called the police, it led to school disruptions which caused chaos in the community and this consequently made it impossible for workers to board taxis to go to work leading to “high levels of poverty and high levels of school drop outs because of the inability to attend school caused by the engagement in political activities leading to the increase in criminal activities” (Interview (a) 17 August 2014).

Political violence manifested itself in various ways. According to an Inkatha youth “KYL decided that the councillors should be killed” (Interview (a) 22 March 2015). The Inkatha youth saw this as a personal attack on the Inkatha leadership and this was one of the reasons why Inkatha youth resisted joining KYL as this was a sign of disrespect to their leader. An Inkatha youth argued that “if they were not happy with the councillors it means they were not happy with Buthelezi since the whole of Natal was under Chief Buthelezi’s leadership and the councillors reported to him” (Interview (a) 14 September 2014). According to Inkatha what perpetuated political violence even more was:

The use of derogatory names to refer to us by UDF; names like Theleweni (as traditional Zulu people Inkatha men used to carry assegais that they would sometimes use to attack ANC members with. This was referring to striking which in most cases would cause the victim to collapse instantly) and Xubhagwinye (this referring to the level of lack of knowledge and understanding of the most basic things, like swallowing water when brushing teeth) (Interview (b) 15 December 2014).

When insulted like this “we were furious as we were made to feel inferior and we felt undermined by the UDF” (Interview (b) 28 March 2015). What was observed was that this anger was also witnessed during the interviews when they mentioned these names. Whenever the UDF former activists mentioned the KYL their faces would brighten up and you could see the excitement and pride in them about their membership.

The oppressive system and the apartheid ideology created social problems that threatened social institutions like families, education and the economy (Leon-Guerrero, 2014: 9). Hamber (1998: 116) states that all forms of living were politicized by the structural violence imposed by the government. Thus, the former young activists wanted social empathy or an awareness of people's suffering from the government. Lack of social empathy led to manifestation of violence through:

Criminal elements who took advantage of the conditions under which the community lived. Lack of infrastructure like streetlights created an opportunity for criminal elements to execute their mission in the thickness of darkness at night (Interview (b) 30 October 2014).

Young people were targeted as potential members and recruited by both the UDF and Inkatha members. According to an Inkatha member, Chief Buthelezi was putting education first before violence. Inkatha accused the UDF of forcing young people to become involved in political violence as it wanted to cripple the country. Inkatha believed that "the UDF wanted to destroy councillors and young people were used to execute the wrong political agenda" (Interview (a) 22 February 2015).

Violence manifested itself in a form of school boycotts, crime, poverty, ethnic violence and political organisations. When UDF activists decided to voice their views about the lack of development in the community, the Inkatha youth tried to protect their leadership; this manifested into violence. Both parties were fighting what they strongly believed was just; leadership on the side of Inkatha, and lack of infrastructural development on the side of the UDF. This led to more rivalry to both parties that perpetuated violence even further. When the two parties were at conflict the criminals took advantage of the situation. Political violence in KwaZulu-Natal-Natal and in Kwa-Makhutha specifically, was complex in that violence was manifested in various forms. The study revealed that the police's attitude when dealing with resistance was violent.

4. 2. 6. The reason why activists got involved in the political struggle:

Wentzel, Minnaar and Ehlers (1997) observed that schools and universities have been "sites of struggle" ever since the Soweto Uprisings of 1976. After the 1976 Soweto Uprisings, children in schools became ungovernable. Political violence at Kwa-Makhutha started at around the same time, "it dates back to 1979 when Kwa-Makhutha High School pupils rebelled against the school management" (Interview (b) 26 March 2015). "We were not joining the ANC because it was ANC, but because it was fighting for human rights" (Interview (a) 23 January 2015). One participant stated that "ours was uprising (rising against the enemy) not rebellion; rebellion is rising against a legitimate government that was not the case in South Africa" (Interview (a) 10 February 2015). According to one participant:

In 1979, we organized a peaceful march at Kwa-Makhutha High School because the principal was using his office as a tuck shop and the police shot us and I was the first victim and this angered me and caused me to join the struggle for justice (Interview (a) 14 September 2014).

One participant stated that:

I joined the struggle when I was 9 years old when I saw police shooting Kwa-Makhutha High School pupils. I experienced this when I was on my way sent to the shop and I became interested in knowing why the police were shooting the scholars (Interview (b) 19 August 2015).

Hearing what was happening in other townships like Soweto “motivated us to get involved in the political struggle. This attracted us as young children to be actively engaged in political movements” (Interview (b) 11 October 2014). A participant reported that “we were attracted to the way the activists from other parts of the country were dressing up and conducted themselves” (Interview (b) 18 September 2014). He further stated that “I joined political struggle without any knowledge, information background and understanding of what I was putting myself into” (Interview (b) 18 September 2014).

There are several push factors that led people to join the struggle. The UDF youth for example joined in order to remove oppression. A participant said that “we believe that if we as KYL didn’t join the struggle for liberation, South Africa would still be oppressed today” (Interview (b) 1 September 2015). The study found that criminals perpetuated political violence even more as there were readily available people to execute some of the tasks that the political organisations found difficult to perform, for example, acts like murder.

Different people had different reasons for engaging in the struggle, “I joined the struggle because my children were already part of the struggle. I wanted to understand why the police were harassing our children the way they did” (Interview (b) 17 August 2014). As such, younger females were sisters and girlfriends of the young male activists. The study found that the main reason for women to be involved was because “we were concerned about the violence perpetrated on our brothers and boyfriends by the police, who killed and injured them. We also wanted to know and understand why they were targeted” (Interview (a) 8 August 2014). Women, especially older ones, were able to disrupt the police when they came to attack. Older women knew that “our presence made a difference as the police would think twice before attacking us as elderly women” (Interview (b) 8 October 2014). UDF women got involved because they needed to support and protect their sons. They provided meals and shelter to those who were displaced and destitute. “As mothers, we did not focus only on our children, but also on everyone else who was an activist” (Interview (a) 22 February 2015).

While UDF women, especially mothers got involved in the struggle to support their children, a different view was shared by Inkatha women who joined Inkatha because of loyalty to leadership. One woman who is an Inkatha activist revealed that “I got involved because we had to remain loyal to Chief Buthelezi and it was the only organisation that we knew and supported for years, and above everything else it represented us as the Zulus” (Interview (b) 25 March 2015). The study also revealed that some young activists especially Inkatha youth got engaged in political violence because of their families who were actively involved in the political struggle. “I didn’t see any reason why I should take membership to an organisation different from the rest of the family” (Interview (b) 12 October 2014).

Irrespective of the reasons for choosing Inkatha but one could see that they were proud of choices they made; this could be seen when talking about their organization beating their chests to refer to themselves. Due to the fact that their families had already chosen a political path for them they felt compelled not to differ from their families. For such activists, engagement was a smooth progression to what they already knew. Others joined the struggle because “I didn’t have an option as I would have risked being outcast in my family if had joined the opposition” (Interview (a) 15 December 2014).

Most of the UDF activists were the first generation in their families to join the UDF. Both organisations “recruited young male activists through soccer. Those who recruited youth this way, knew that township boys spent almost of their spare time playing soccer” (Interview 17 (b) November 2014). Joining soccer boosted the young boys’ self-worth and self-esteem. “Joining political organisations gave the activists a sense of belonging. Most of the socialization occurred at soccer matches and during political organisations’ meetings” (Interview (b) 23 November 2014). During the struggle years, there was a lot of pressure on young people to belong and it was equally important for them to have a sense of belonging. Being part of a political organisation meant social inclusion. This was echoed by one of the participants:

A sense of belonging was important for the youth; it gave them some kind of security. If they belonged to an organisation, they felt safe and their security was guaranteed (for individual members and their families). We had to protect our families from the violence of the police and the opposition (Interview (b) 1 February 2015).

Sernan (2001 cited in Leon-Guerrero 2010) observed that people’s lives are transformed because of group membership. One activist justified his involvement by saying that “Getting involved made us feel accepted by our peers and for us to maintain that relationship, we had to cooperate in all activities” (Interview (b) 10 February 2015). The young activists joined the UDF because they felt that the leadership was willing to listen to them. This sentiment was also shared by another UDF activist who said “whenever we attended UDF and KYL meetings, we were given a platform where we could voice our views and be listened to and be part of decision making” (Interview (b) 7 August 2014).

Youth got involved because they wanted better opportunities for themselves, their families and their community. The following are some of the comments made by participants during interviews in relation to why they joined the struggle “territorial boundaries sometimes dictated which side of the political divide an individual was” (Interview (b) 31 January 2015). The study revealed that:

The “no go areas” (these areas were the territorial boundaries set by the political organisations to prevent the opposition from coming into their territory. This was giving organisations power and control over such spaces and they believed that this would boost their membership. This was also done to protect themselves from attack by the opposition) led people to take membership in political organisations they had no knowledge of and had no intention of being part of (Interview (b) 23 October 2014).

Some participants reported that “I did not have any option but to join the opposition when I felt that my life and my family was at risk. Because the whole neighbourhood belonged to the same organisation I ended up joining” (Interview (b) 4 August 2014). Another activists stated that “I had to risk my life and go to a school in the area of the opposition. I was getting threats almost everyday” (Interview (b) 16 March 2015).

Almost all of the UDF young activists joined the struggle because they believed in social justice and were fighting for a just society. However, only one participant stated that he did not understand what they were doing when he joined the struggle. On the other side the Inkatha youth joined because they wanted to maintain the status quo and to remain loyal to their leadership. Women, especially mothers, of the UDF activists joined because they felt they had to protect their children from police brutality. Inkatha women alluded to the fact they joined the organisation because of loyalty.

4. 3. Effects of political violence on activists and their families

Political violence affected members of Kwa- Makhutha community in different ways. The following are some of the effects of political violence on the activists and their families:

4. 3. 1. Loss of lives:

Violence affected the whole community regardless of whether people were activists or not or whether there was an activist in the family or not. It was reported that:

People were dying, especially males, and some of those who died were breadwinners in their families. Those who could afford to relocate to other areas left the area resulting to brain drain in the community. This has left

the youth with very few positive role models. People lost their lives. Others became sick because of the stresses and trauma under which they lived (Interview (b) 28 November 2014).

In sharing her experiences, one woman discussed that:

I lost my son through violence, he was killed by the police in front of me, inside my house as he was hiding from the police. He was hiding inside the wardrobe and they took him out and killed him. Even when I pleaded with them to stop shooting they didn't listen to me, they kept on shooting. There was blood all over the house. It is hard to forget even though this happened more than twenty years ago (Interview (b) 8 August 2014).

What was also witnessed was:

Children were orphaned, women were widowed and parents were left without their children. It was sad and it is still very sad when we look at the effects and the lives that were lost. It really makes one to be very angry because it was all because of an unreasonable system (Interview (b) 14 September 2014).

According to Durham (2013: 1) political unrest destabilizes communities and families and creates enmity. As evidenced from the interviews, becoming enemies meant that each person had the license to inflict harm and pain or even kill the enemy. The division created by violence makes it impossible for children and youth to interact with each other on a social basis (Punamaki, 1989: 33).

Members of both organisations agreed that there was loss of lives from both political organisations. It was sad for families to lose breadwinners, parents losing children and children losing parents. As people lost breadwinners there was a loss of income and losing children parents lost hope for the future.

4. 3. 2. Socio-economic factors:

Cairns (1996: 71) observed that war and political violence has a more devastating effect on poor families than families with more resources. This may indicate that poor families are more vulnerable and are at risk of severe effects.

Through the researcher's observation, one could see that the level of unemployment is very high. The number of young people who roam the streets during weekdays when everyone is supposed to be at work was alarming. Drug and alcohol abuse is also high as the young people were observed roaming the streets carrying beer bottles and going in and

out of the liquor outlets frequently. Some also spent most of the day under the tree consuming alcohol at home. Teenagers and young adults patronized the local taverns on Friday evenings.

The civil strife lasted for more than ten years resulting in devastating effects on social and economic conditions of township residents (Bonnin, 2006). Most former activists had to quit school at a very early age and “cannot go back to school because they are too old and unemployed and cannot enter the job market as well as they are unemployable. This has a negative effect on employment and the economy” (Interview (b) 10 March 2015).

Photo 4.3.1: Shows that when political violence was at its peak in the area, this hotel stopped functioning and people lost employment.



Source: Researcher (Feb. 2015)

People were made homeless (some are still homeless) when their homes were petrol bombed. “Some had to leave their homes because of fear of being attacked or because of harassment. Breadwinners lost their jobs and business people lost income as their businesses were destroyed” (Interview (b) 22 February 2015).

Consequently:

Children had to stop going to school because of fear of being victimized. People became homeless and family members were separated from each other. In some instances young girls were provided with accommodation

by people who took advantage of them. Such girls would be abused sexually and fall pregnant in the process. Children born like would be an economic burden to families who were already in financial constraints (Interview (b) 10 October 2014).

Photo 4.3.2: Men enjoying alcohol in the morning on a normal business day in one of the liquor outlets.



Source: Researcher (Dec. 2014)

People had to quit their jobs because of fear of violence. There were areas that were “very dangerous to move into. Also, when there were boycotts and stay-away it became difficult to travel to work. Because of fear of being attacked people stopped going to work and their families suffered (Interview (b) 16 March 2015). Sometimes the whole neighbourhood had:

To contribute to buy muti for the protection of the activists who were protecting the area. This also had a negative effect on family finances. When activists were accommodated in other families, this had a negative economic effect as more food was needed to provide all the young activists (Interview (b) 25 March 2015).

Loss of lives had a negative effect on families because “it meant loss of income. Another economic dent created by political violence was the burial costs the families had to incur when a family member died” (Interview (b) 26 August 2014).

It was evident that loss of lives had a negative effect on some families as it meant loss of income. When people lost their properties, and had to start all over again this created a huge gap on their finances. Unfortunately, this affected both organisations exactly the same way as there was loss of lives, properties and breadwinners on both sides.

4.3.3. Psychosocial effects:

The violence of the 1980s and 1990s had a negative effect on the activists, their families as well as their children including the children who currently reside at Kwa-Makhutha. Hamber (1998: 115) observed that what stood out from this violence, was the harassment, torture, detention without trial, killings of members from the opposition and activists who disappeared without trace. An elderly participant reported that:

The police forced families to disclose the whereabouts of the people they were looking for. In most cases, young activists would just disappear without informing anyone and the police would find it difficult to believe families when told they did not know of their whereabouts (Interview (b) 25 March 2015).

In cases where the young activists had to defend their territory, they had to be away from home for longer periods without anyone knowing where they were. The repercussion of these actions were:

Husbands and fathers feeling undermined by their wives and children (as most of the activists were teenagers and were supposed to be under parental care). This created tension in families and among married couples” (Interview (b) 23 November 2014).

A participant who had received military training in Russia and also became a military commander of Umkhonto Wesizwe when it was incorporated into the South Africa National Defence Force (SANDF) which used to be called South African Defence Force (SADF) prior 1994, and also a former activist who went into exile in different countries including Zambia, Tanzania, Russia had this to say:

When I left South Africa, I was only 15 years old and because I didn't know that I was going to leave the country on that day no one in my family knew where I was. I was told when I was attending a meeting at Diakonia that I (and other comrades) was leaving that night; I only had a pair of socks and one set of underwear with me. This had a huge effect on my parents' lives because no one knew where I was and there was no way I could communicate with them to let them know that I was alive (Interview (b) 1 September 2014).

Families became targets as activists were engaged with their activities. The whole family would be:

Harassed as police were looking for looking for such individuals because sometimes the police didn't know or have never seen the people they were looking for face to face. In such cases, they would harass everyone within the household. Sometimes girls would have an affair or a relationship with the male activists; this would also result to harassment in the partner's family" (Interview (b) 30 October 2014).

Being in the struggle, made political activists to believe that "they are more entitled than other people something which has created a sense of entitlement. This is witnessed when they make unreasonable demands to government" (Interview (b) 23 October 2014). Whenever the government fails to meet their demands "they engage in demonstrations and destroy the little infrastructure we have. But they also feel entitled because they believe the current government is in power because of our contribution to the struggle, therefore, the government owes us" (Interview (b) 11 January 2015).

The former activists believe that they lost opportunities while fighting for freedom and now it is payback time. Former Inkatha activists argue that "the ANC made those promises and it must deliver. The ANC made the empty promises deliberately in order to get into power and Inkatha knew it was all lies" (Interview (b) 16 March 2015). This was confirmed by another Inkatha activist who stated that "Inkatha didn't make any promises because they knew they were unachievable" (Interview (b) 22 March 2015). On the other hand, some of the ANC former activists said that "we don't have any regrets about our involvement in the struggle even though life is difficult, but our children are getting better opportunities than what we had in the past" (Interview (b) 2 March 2015). The lack of healing of the psychological wounds of the past can be "witnessed in the adults' behaviour as well as children. Our parents went through a lot of pain because of our engagement in the struggle. We are fortunate to be alive because most of our friends died" (Interview (b) 31 January 2015).

Community members feel that what they have experienced in the past makes it easier for them:

To provoke or victimize each other; but still we do not wish to see our children getting involved in violence. What we experienced in the past is hard to articulate but we still transfer this negative energy to our children. Sometimes we intentionally inflict pain on each other for no reason but because we are used to inflicting pain on people (Interview (b) 23 March 2015).

According to one participant "we are immune to pain; even in this new era when we are free, we hurt each other unintentionally because we are used to hurting people" (Interview (b) 15 December 2014). Another participant agreed that "we tend to drink excessively without care or thinking and some of us have become alcoholics" (Interview (b) 22 March 2015).

The study revealed that former activists did not receive any proper counselling; “hence many of us have psychological scars which have resulted in the abuse of alcohol, uncontrollable temper, lack of parenting skills leading to a lost generation – violent children and loss of respect for adults” (Interview (b) 23 January 2015). The spirit of vigilantism that exists in this community is attributed to:

The violent nature and unruly behaviour of the past. Sometimes this spirit drives us to take law into our own hands. In such cases the Disciplinary Committee or kangaroo courts tries and pass judgment all at the same time and the verdict is decided in advance (Interview (b) 15 March 2015).

Stavrou (1993) reports that constantly seeing dead bodies, children witnessing violence and looking at it as a normal way of life, desensitizes people and hence, they devalue life. This type of behaviour “emanates from the way we used to discipline people during the struggle years” (Interview (b) 22 March 2015). One former UDF activist said that “we can relate to Julius Malema’s unruly behaviour. We have been socialized to be aggressive, rude, and not to respect anyone. We are all like that, the struggle has conditioned us to be like this” (Interview (b) 10 October 2014).

The participant’s statement is in line with Mncube and Harber (2013: 3) who confirms that the high incidences of today’s violence is the legacy of the past regime that was characterized by socio-political imbalances and forced removals of black communities. This could be due to:

The lack of political education as people were not prepared for democracy or the new dispensation. We have a responsibility to teach the younger generation respect and discipline. We were very respectful and disciplined as young activists, the ANC instilled respect and discipline in us (Interview (b) 11 January 2015).

The study revealed that people (those who are unemployed, not working and cannot go back to school) believed joining the struggle would ensure that people would have easy access to all their needs in the new South Africa. “Promises were made and we are still waiting. The conditions in the township are still the same. Service delivery is very slow. We still do not have houses that we were promised” (Interview (b) 8 October 2014). A lot of promises were made which are still not yet realized, mainly because there are a lot of demands and less resources. “Besides being dependent on the government, people want to be dependent on others whom they feel or believe can afford to live better lives than them” (Interview (b) 1 February 2015).

The former activists and other members of the community’s self-esteem, confidence and initiative spirit was destroyed because of their past experiences. There is a poor work ethic as even those who are young and still energetic do not want to do anything for themselves or they don’t believe that they can do anything. Reynolds (1989: 7) draws attention

to the long-term impact and implications of the exposure of children and youth to violence under apartheid. Reynolds further adds that:

Even when the current regime is toppled, there will be a need to consider the lot of children whose lives have been disrupted, uprooted and shredded by the evil system. It will take time and conscious effort, commitment and understanding to cancel against the effects of apartheid (Reynolds, 1989: 7).

As parents of the activists:

We had to witness the killings and torture of our own children. Police would come in the middle of the night and forcefully take our children who were sometimes not even part of the struggle. This was very traumatic and some of the images cannot be shaken away; they will stay with us until we die (Interview (b) 23 February 2015).

The brutality of the system to both the activists and their parents left a lot of damage in their minds. Parents' harassment was gross and it violated their human rights. The disappearance of their children without knowing where they were when the violence was so rife left them with memories that are hard to erase. Witnessing the brutality of the apartheid system on their children caused parents to be helpless victims. Participants to the study strongly believe that the violence that is being witnessed today in the community, has a lot to do with the way young people were socialized during apartheid times.

4. 3. 4. Social and family relations:

Individuals are part and parcel of families, families are building blocks of communities and communities are building blocks of society. All the institutions that are building blocks of society were broken down. Activists were children who came from families and the families were directly affected by their involvement and engagement of their children in the struggle. The Regional Peace Committee was one of the structures for peace building working in the province estimated that more 500 000 people were forced to leave their homes in KwaZulu-Natal (Rock, 1997: 278). According to McKendrick and Hoffman (1990) this led to disruptions that are in direct contrast to the commonly held values of personal, family and societal wellbeing.

It was reported that "life came to a standstill as people could not go to church to attend church services therefore, there was no spiritual guidance" (Interview (b) 26 March 2015). Parents' dependency on "children for defence created a shift in terms of roles and responsibilities as children assumed the role of being superior to their own parents" (Interview (b) 10 March 2015). This resulted to "parents loss of self-worth and dignity when they were attacked by the opposition parties and had to rely on their children for protection" (Interview (b) 19 August 2014). When children assumed superior

roles to their parents, they lost all the respect they used to have for parents. Relationships between members of the same families became sour because of their different political affiliations:

Up to this day my relationship with my family is not good. They still hate me for joining the opposition. I could not go to the TRC to testify about the killing of my brothers; I would have risked my relationship with members of my organisation because this would have meant testifying against them. As a result, I lost reparation benefit (Interview (b) 14 September 2014).

When Inkatha introduced the Zulu Police (ZP), some of the young activists joined the force resulting in their families being targeted and attacked. "Such families had to move to the community hall where they were accommodated in order to protect them. It was traumatic when people stayed for more than three years in the township hall" (Interview (b) 25 March 2015).

Cairns (1996: 71) stated that displaced people face challenges of providing their most basic needs because of scarce resources. Members of the community who were moved into the hall faced challenges when it became impossible for them to move freely in and around the township. "Getting basics such as daily bread from the local shops became a challenge. We could not move freely to local shops because of fear of being attacked" (Interview (b) 14 September 2014).

Moving to the hall was strategic as it was closer to the police station. Surprisingly, there were children who were born while their parents and families were staying at the community hall. One of the family members who were moved to the community hall had this to say:

Violence destroyed us. We were not feeling safe and we had to leave our properties and our homes because our house was in an area with a majority of UDF supporters. Some members of our family were killed. Most of the councillors were attacked and some killed, resulting to a lot of suffering on their families. People were disabled; such people became a burden to families (Interview (b) 23 January 2015).

Photo 4.3.4: The Community Hall where some members of Inkatha were accommodated when political violence was rife



Source: Researcher (March 2015)

Being accommodated at the community was “difficult because we came from different backgrounds and families and had different personalities and this caused a lot of conflict between us” (Interview (b) 25 March 2015). McKendrick, Hoffman and Rock (1997) argue that apartheid made it difficult for individuals to have lasting and genuine relationships because of the environment of fear that people lived in. The study also reported that “we did not have any ill feelings towards what happened as it was a war where casualties are expected” (Interview (a) 28 March 2014).

Part of the reason was that whilst political violence had emotional disturbance, activists felt good for their involvement in the struggle (Stavrou, 1993: 5). One of the disturbances was when:

“Our parents took us to relatives in rural areas. We really felt bad because we were meeting these relatives for the first time and they were very poor. Sometimes we would go for days without food; our parents would bring groceries every month end but this was not enough because the family was too big. We were used to city life and have never been exposed to any rural set up and we were forced to quickly adjust to this situation” (Interview (a) 26 August 2014).

As mothers and young people joined UDF, household heads and fathers remained loyal to Inkatha. “This division and different memberships within families led to tension and enmity as in some cases it led to physical attacks and emotional abuse” (Interview (b) 8 August 2014). Political violence created division within families:

As mothers joined their sons who were UDF members in the struggle. My husband left me in the mid-eighties as he believed I encouraged my sons to be actively engaged in the struggle. I only joined the struggle to support my children who were brutalized by the police (Interview (b) 19 August 2014).

Because of different political affiliation:

My family saw me as a sell out and my fellow political members wouldn't trust me. They believed that I was an informer or I was being planted by the system. Both my fellow members and my family were my enemies; there was no trust from both sides, life was tough and very few friends honestly believed in me. When my brothers were killed (who belonged to the opposite organisation) I didn't know how to respond when my fellow political movement members were celebrating and relating how they were killed (Interview (b) 1 September 2014).

McKendrick and Hoffman (1990) observed that this led to disruptions that were directly in contrast to the commonly held values of personal, family and societal-well-being. This paved the way for intra-community and intra-family violence. Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (2008: 158-159) indicated that the effects of violence included death, pain, loss of property, trauma, anxiety, and stress on a personal level.

Some young activists had to leave their homes because of tension arising within families. "Divorce led to loss of income, unsustainable livelihoods, loss of shelter, displacements and destitution on families. The parents of those who died during the struggle have regrets" (Interview (a) 21 October 2014). Political activists from both organisations believed being part of oppositional organisations led to mistrust in families and in some cases, family members would reveal confidential information to party members. Conflict in families led to breakdown and divorce. One participant said that:

The parents of the activists who died in the struggle feel bad when they see us, sometimes they put a lot of pressure on us to make things happen. It's really sad because we also feel disempowered. They blame us for everything that happened to their children and therefore feel we should take care of them and their grandchildren (children of activists who died in the struggle) (Interview (a) 14 September 2014).

The findings of this study show that political violence made life difficult for the Kwa-Makhutha community and made it difficult to co-exist because of differences in cultural beliefs and political affiliations. They fail to understand and accept the community's diversity. "I had to stop going to church. It was so sad because I really needed to connect with my spiritual community in such challenging times, but the church was located in one of the "no-go areas" (Interview (a) 10 October 2014). Whenever activists had to appear in court for a hearing, "we didn't have money for transport. We

would go as a group to give each other moral support. The young activists would force any taxi driver to drive us to court without any payment” (Interview (b) 26 March 2015).

Avineri (1968) opines that living side by side of community members becomes difficult when there is political violence. The political activists who joined the Zulu Police force were:

Only Inkatha card-carrying members and some of them were from the Kwa-Makhutha Township. Prior to joining the force, the ZP were enemies of the UDF activists. After the first democratic elections in 1994, ZP were incorporated into the South African Police Service (SAPS) and continued to work at Kwa-Makhutha police station (Interview (a) 1 September 2014).

There is a feeling from the ANC members that:

It was unfair for the government to allow ZP to continue working at Kwa-Makhutha as there are still unresolved issues between the two groups. The ANC and the community are not happy with the way the police resolve cases as they feel they are biased towards Inkatha and a number of cases are not resolved. The ANC believed that the attitude of the police is that of an enemy when serving the community; they still have the same attitude they had during the struggle (Interview (a) 23 January 2015).

Recently, the community has a problem with the young people who get involved in violent activities. Most of these children come from:

Sections where there was strong UDF support during struggle years. ANC supporters believe that the police are purposely not dealing with the issue of violence because they say let the children of our enemies kill each other (Interview (b) 21 October 2014).

It was also reported that “these children do not get arrested and if they do, they are released the following day” (Interview (b) 11 January 2015). The period of the 1980s and 1990s was not a very good period for parents. Most of the parents were:

And did not understand what was going on and how to respond to situations. In the case of Kwa-Makhutha, most households had males as the household heads. Fathers as household heads (mainly IFP supporters) forced their children to join the same political organisation, mothers played a protecting role to their children and any child in the neighbourhood. In cases where the father was a member of the IFP, and the son a UDF member;

mothers or wives played the role of a mediator between the two who were always in conflict (Interview (a) 23 January 2015).

The position that these women were in was difficult as:

Mothers and wives we had to ensure that the two rivals did not have the opportunity to be on their own, as there was fear that they would attack each other. It was difficult to trust anyone under these circumstances. Some young people were chased out of their homes by parents because of the hostile environment and their political involvement (Interview (b) 17 November 2014).

Political violence caused divisions and enmity in families and up to this day there are still divisions and a lack of trust in some families. It is hard to believe that some couples were separated and are still in separation. In churches, there was still rivalry among members of the same church.

4. 3. 5. Intergenerational transmission of violence:

One activist mentioned that:

What we see at Kwa-Makhutha today, has a lot to do with the mental state of minds of the young people who are and were born when violence was at its peak, and grew up in a violent environment which has framed their thinking into believing that violence is the way of life. The spirit of violence within the community still exists and is being transferred from one generation to the other within families and within the community (Interview (a) 19 August 2014).

The violence of the 1980s and 1990s had a negative effect on the children of those who were involved in the struggle and others who are now residing at Kwa-Makhutha. "During the past 3-4 years, the community has experienced a lot of violent activities from the youth in school and out of school" (Interview (b) 11 October 2014).

Muntingh and Gould (2010) state that high levels of violence in South Africa at all levels, created a situation within which young people see violence as a normal and acceptable way of resolving conflict, asserting themselves, and obtaining compliance and cooperation from others. This has emerged from a lack of differentiation between crime and political violence during the 1980s (Simpson and Rauch, 1992: 15). This violence is attributed to the "violent nature in which these children were brought up. It is unfortunate that they are now parents themselves and their children (teenagers) are also into violence" (Interview (a) 23 February 2015). As parents, most of the former activists "we don't have any sense of or we lack conflict resolution skills, and therefore, encourage children to respond to violence with

violence” (Interview (b) 23 October 2014). During the past 3 years, “about 7 young people have lost their lives through violent activities. Apparently, the conflict started while these teenagers were drinking at the local tavern” (Interview (b) 26 March 2015). This has brought back the “no go areas” that the community used to have during the 1980s and 1990s. According to the station commander:

These are the children of the former activists who died during the struggle. The children are retaliating for the loss of their parents to the children of those who are believed to be responsible for their parents’ assassination or murder. They have formed themselves into gangs (Interview (a) 10 October 2014).

The experiences of violence at Kwa-Makhutha are similar to those described by Mason et al., (2001) and Yehuda and Bierer (2002) in Weingarten (2004) about the Holocaust where survivors and their children share similar psychological symptoms. What is sad is that:

Our children died in the struggle and we are left with grand children who are displaying unruly behaviour and we don’t have any more energy to discipline (corporal punishment) them because we are old and powerless. Our grandchildren desert their own children and expect us to take care of them. They frequent taverns and go to parties and get drunk. Look at me, old as I am I have to wake up in the morning and ensure that my great grandchild is bathed and ready for school (Interview (b) 11 December 2014).

The participant’s narration of the situation is similar to Apprey’s (1999: 132) study that revealed that parents’ exposure to traumatic experiences can have a negative effect on their offspring leading to the “transfer of destructive aggression from one generation to the next”.

One of the former activists made an analogy of a racing horse. He said:

If one grooms a horse for racing, one needs to know about the history of that particular horse in order to be groomed correctly. It is very important to know about the parents. One needs to trace the bloodline of a racehorse for the horse to win the race. It is important to have a clear understanding about the genealogy of that particular horse to avoid making mistakes. If we want to correct any wrong doings from these children, we need to go back and trace the behaviour of their parents because their behaviour is not just a coincidence but it emanates from their parents’ behaviour (Interview (b) 31 January 2015).

Both organisations emphasised that the issue of transmission of violence to the younger generation needs urgent attention. Knowing and understanding the history of the community will be crucial for intervention purposes. However, what was clear, is that there was a lot of damage that was done by political violence and it will take time to make things

right. Both organisations also agreed that young people in the community were born when violence was rife and were socialized in a violent environment, and it is difficult to take the memories away. Even though there is an agreement on the fact that a lot of damage came from the past violence, none took the responsibility of contributing to it but instead blame the opposition. It is very sad to realize that the violent behaviour of the parents has been transferred to their children.

4. 3. 6. Social ills:

One participant echoed his concern about the social ills within the community. According to him:

Almost all the social ills that the community experiences today is as a result of the past political violence. The spread of HIV/AIDS, teenage pregnancy, gang violence, culture of dependency and helplessness, psychosocial, socio-economic effects at Kwa-Makhutha are all attributed to political violence (Interview (b) 11 December 2014).

What was observed, was that Kwa-Makhutha is at the point of no return. Since 1994, political violence seems to have been reduced but:

The effects of the young people's engagement in the struggle of the 1980s and 1990s still remain in the families and the community. A number of young people who were actively involved in the struggle, survived political violence but have died of HIV/AIDS (Interview (a) 26 August 2014).

The explanation given is that:

It was easy for young people to freely engage in sexual activities and put themselves at risk of getting infected with the virus. Some young people became unruly and left their homes (because of rebellious character) to be on their own. Some young girls ended up squatting with boyfriends and young boys occupying deserted homes or squatting with friends (Interview (a) 14 September 2014).

Some young activists were chased out of their family homes because of their engagement in the struggle. It was also very easy for young people to "swap sexual partners because of desperation and a need to belong, especially when a partner was lost through murder or assassination, relocating to another area or just disappearing without trace" (Interview (a) 14 August 2014).

The World Health Organisation observed that political unrest results to ill health to both victims and perpetrators; this puts a lot of strain on health services and other government departments because of violence casualties (WHO, 2002 cited in Hassard et al., 2007). When an activist was killed; the day before the funeral:

Fellow activists would hold a night vigil. Coming out of the night vigil, it would be too risky for girls to go back home at night. When girls became desperate they would squat with boys. This presented an opportunity for young people to engage in sexual activities (Interview (a) 17 November 2014).

Because of political unrest in the community HIV/AIDS was easily spread. "Some of the sexual activities were performed against the girls consent" (Interview (b) 16 March 2015). It was revealed that "young male activists who were brave enough would end up protecting girls from such activities" (Interview (b) 21 October 2014).

Some people believed that the reason for the spread of HIV/AIDS was that former activists who were into exile brought the AIDS virus that was said to be rife in other African states. This was however, an unproven accusation based on ignorance as there was no proof that South Africa was free of the virus during this period. The high rate of alcohol abuse, peer pressure, multiple sexual relations in camps, night vigils and one night stands were some of the contributing factors to the spread of HIV/AIDS. Activists sometimes would go "in a group to consult traditional healers. Due to lack of knowledge on HIV/AIDS they would allow the traditional healers to use the same blade for the whole group leading to the spread of the virus" (Interview (a) 10 February 2015). A female activist highlighted that:

Some of the female activists fell pregnant at a very early age. They found themselves with huge responsibilities of raising children they were not ready for. In cases like these, where both parents were teenagers, the child would be left with no one to take care of (Interview (b) 8 August 2014).

Durham (2013: 1) states that the slightest violent experience to children can create lifetime damage in children, making it difficult for them to adjust to life. Some of the young activists died even before their children were born. Lack of parenting skills "from both parents has resulted in having children who have to find their own coping mechanisms to life's challenges. This has led to the vicious cycle of social ills in the community" (Interview (b) 11 December 2014). The result is "HIV/AIDS, teenage pregnancy, crime, violence and poverty that the community is trapped in. These are the same children who are born out of violence who are also engaging in violent activities with unruly behaviour" (Interview (b) 25 March 2015).

Stavrou (1993: 3) asserts that a family history of depression, anxiety and an insecure, emotional home atmosphere directs an individual's response to trauma and its effects. Having a lot of changes at the same time can have a negative effect on the hierarchy in society – during this state of normlessness or anomie (Durkheim, 1973: 149). What Stavrou

(1993: 3) observed was a disturbing emergence where children as young as 18 years were arrested for crime and violence with most of them imprisoned for criminal activities. According to the Station Commander at the local police station:

The violence we have experienced recently is that of young children whose parents were victims or killed during the struggle. These children grouped themselves into gangs that take revenge on the children of those they believe were responsible for causing harm or killing their parents. This has created “no go areas” in some parts of the township because of fear of being attacked by the different gangs from different sections of the township (Interview (b) 14 August 2014).

The sad history of the community is a cause for concern for both organisations. When they look back they so wish they could change what happened in the past because today’s children are a reflection of their past. Even though they do not know where to start in remedying the situation but they wish they can have a chance to undo the damage.

4. 3. 7. Lost opportunities:

Due to their involvement in the struggle activists did not have the opportunity to develop themselves. Many do not have families of their own, they do not own any property and they have no stable employment and literally live a hopeless life. Some former activists have achieved less than their parents were able to achieve and feel permanently stuck in an extended adolescence. Due to their difficult situation, they experience a range of feelings such as confusion, bitterness, regret and disappointment. A female activist reported that “young people were hindered in their development and old people made to suffer. It became clear that the aggressive behaviour of the young people manifested from their social and economic situation as well as poverty” (Interview (b) 31 January 2015). One activist reported that:

Getting involved in the struggle meant that one had to quit school at a very young age. When violence came to an end, it became difficult for people to go back to school as they had lost a decade or more of schooling; some of the people who were affected this way are now parents themselves (Interview (b) 18 September 2014).

Some went into exile and “did not come back and there is no explanation on their whereabouts; their families still have hope that maybe one day they will see them again” (Interview (a) 18 September 2014). Getting involved in the struggle meant that activists had to quit school at a very young age. When violence came to an end:

It became difficult for people to go back to school as they had lost a decade or more of schooling. It was difficult to go back to normal life after the struggle when others had progressed; there was a huge gap between “us and them”. We lost opportunities (Interview (a) 17 August 2015).

Activists believed that there were better opportunities in exile. “We also wanted to go to exile to run away from the killings but we couldn’t leave our people/parents to die” (Interview (b) 11 December 2014). What make us sad is that:

We didn’t choose to be what we are, we wish things had been different. The system contributed a lot to the kind of people that we’re today. If there was fairness and justice in South Africa we would not be where we are right now. I wish I had better education and live a better life with my family (Interview (b) 30 October, 2014).

Former activists wish they could turn things around and cancel all that happened in the past. “This is the reason why I do not want my children to engage in any form of violence. I am very protective to my own children and I wish they can have a better future than I have” (Interview (a) 23 November 2014). There is “nothing to show that we were involved in the struggle” (Interview (b) 16 March 2015). There are regrets from both sides on what happened in the past. Both organisations agreed that they are faced with a sad reality of lost opportunities and there is no way of turning back.

4. 4. Survival Strategies for Activists and their Families

The findings of this study reveal that life is difficult for families as well as for former activists. They do not have sufficient means of survival. As a result:

Those who were able to continue with their education are in the middle-class income bracket. Some of those have left the area to live in the former white or Indian suburban areas. Some of the former activists who are in better financial positions are able to assist their families (Interview (b) 14 August 2014).

The problem with this arrangement is, that those that are able to assist their families also find themselves overstretched and find it hard to support both their immediate and extended families. “Some of us survive through small businesses that are not economically viable. But the little cash we get we are able to buy bread for our children in order to bring back our dignity and self-worth as parents” (Interview (a) 31 January 2015).

Photo 4.4: A car washing business that offers job opportunities to some members of the community



Source: Researcher (Sept. 2014)

4. 4. 1. Military force training:

During the time when violence was at its peak some activists survived by getting involved in military training. Both the UDF and Inkatha had their military force; the UDF activists joined Umkhonto Wesizwe and Inkatha activists joined the Zulu Police. Going for military training was one of the most common ways of coping with political violence for both Inkatha and UDF activists. “This was done to strengthen the organisation in order to defeat the opposition. Inkatha youth were trained as police and started working for the Zulu Police. UDF activists went into exile to undergo military training (Interview (a) 22 August 2014).

One UDF activist reported that “there was military training site on the outskirts of Kwa-Makhutha township called Russia” (Interview (a) 12 August 2014).

One participant reported that “there were more than 250 trained personnel in Umkhonto Wesizwe at Kwa-Makhutha and more than 150 who were untrained but worked underground – this tells you how committed we were to the struggle” (Interview (b) 16 March 2015).

4. 4. 2. Leaving the area:

Some families handled political violence by fleeing or leaving the area to live in areas where there was less violence. Other activists and their families had to flee the area:

In order to save their children from political violence and destruction, some parents had to be very firm when it comes to discipline. Other activists were removed by their parents to stay with relatives in other townships or in rural areas (Interview (b) 2 March 2014).

Joining the opposition was the last thing in people's mind but because of the pressure that the activists were living under, "we found ourselves having to do that even though it was very risky. But if an activist was residing in an area that was the strong hold of the opposition, in some cases they had no alternative but to join the opposition." (Interview (b) 12 August 2014). Another activist testified that "I was disowned by my parents because of my active involvement in the struggle" (Interview (a) 17 August 2014).

4. 4. 3. Surviving through criminal activities:

Political violence between 1989 and 1994 was rife in the community and this was one of the most difficult times for the activists. One of the unpopular ways of coping was to:

Mobilize themselves into organisations. They had to face a life that they were never prepared for. They had children and parents that were looking up to them for moral and financial support. They were unemployed and un-employable as some were semi-literate, they neither had skills nor qualifications (Interview (b) 23 October 2014).

Such activists believed that:

"The only way to come out of this poverty trap was through crime, armed robbery, house breakings in order to make ends meet. Most of them were armed because guns and other weapons were easily and freely available from their political organisations (Interview (a) 17 November 2014).

All these challenges gave some of the former activists enough reasons to establish Umkhosi Olambile (the hungry force). The main objective for the formation of such an organisation was:

To use force to have access to anything that they wanted to have. They were mainly targeting items of value like livestock, food and clothing or anything they could sell in order to have something to eat and provide for their families (Interview (b) 12 October 2014).

Hamber (1998: 115) argues that there hasn't been a clear distinction between crime and political violence in South Africa. It was this blurring division that led to the formation of Umkhosi Olambile. This force was formed by:

A small group of ANC/UDF activists turned against their own comrades and against the community that they used to support and protect. They would go around from house to house demanding food, money, livestock or any valuable items that could be sold to get money to buy food. Sometimes they would illegally occupy people's homes. Residents were forced to contribute money for this force to make petrol bombs. Taxis and business people would be forced to contribute as well. Those who worked at the local chemical factory would be forced to bring items from their place of work in order to contribute to making petrol bombs. The reasoning behind the formation was to reward themselves because of hardships they experienced during the struggle when they faced hunger, homelessness, when they were injured and lost opportunities because they had to protect their families and the community. They graduated themselves to become full time criminals, rapists and housebreakers (Interview (b) 7 August 2014).

Simpson and Rauch (1992: 2) concur with Hamber (1998) by stating that over the ambiguous demarcation between crime and political violence, where criminals sometimes took advantage of the hostile political climate. Similarly, Emmett (2001) states that the disturbance in family structures during apartheid has a lot to do with the high rate of crime South Africa is experiencing today.

4. 4. 4. Social grants, soup kitchen and school feeding schemes:

Some families and individuals survive on social grants like child support, disability and pension grants. There are school feeding schemes for school going children provided during lunch-time on school days. At the local councillor's office there is a soup kitchen provided at lunch time and on week days for those from indigent households:

As you can see I don't have a house, I have children that I need to support but I can't. At this age, I am still living with my parents because I cannot afford to be on my own; I survive on my child's support grant from the government. I would love to be able to do things for myself, but I cannot afford to as I am unemployed because I don't have skills and don't have any qualifications. If there are any opportunities I always try to apply for work but so far I haven't been lucky. Sometimes we go for days without food. I take any kind of piece job as long as I can provide food for my children and my elderly parents. I'm scared because time is running out and I am not getting any younger (Interview (b) 14 September 2014).

Photo 4.4.4: Shows garbage dumped on the side of a dirt road and a man digging in the dump looking for something to eat. These are some of the faces of poverty and survival strategies for some members of the community



Source: Researcher (Dec 2014)

Evidence from the study shows that lack of skills and education is the reason why most people are unemployed and unemployable. They are unable to take care of their families more so their children. As a result “the families of those who died during the struggle are suffering; their parents as well as their children have no one to take care of them” (Interview (a) 14 September 2014. At the moment there are “no proper shops in the whole township as all the shops were destroyed during the 1980s and 1990s when political violence was rife in the community” (Interview (b) 30 October 2014).

The community relies on tuck shops that are very expensive and this puts a burden on the already economically strained community. Another participant added that:

We don't see the future of Kwa-Makhutha because we have not yet achieved our vision and goal; we need people who understand the vision of Kwa-Makhutha Youth League. Until we involve those people in positions of power we will never achieve what we were fighting for (Interview (b) 22 August 2014).

UDF former activists believe that:

There is no maturity within the organisation. People in positions are those with self-interests; we were selfless, we were paid by death. Right now, there is damage done as people believe that as politicians they have power to control everything – forgetting that this is a civil society. Our background has destroyed us; wearing our political affiliation all the time. When it comes to issues of community development, people should forget about their political affiliations and treat people equally. The whole world will change when we share the same vision. Our leaders do not have any vision (Interview (b) 22 February 2015).

Both organizations agreed that it was easier to survive in the past because they were young and energetic, but in this day and age, life is hard. Both organizations showed their disgruntlement with the slow pace of service delivery. Those that live on social grants, strongly feel that relying on social grants is not good for them as it strips their dignity and this is not enough to support their families. Those who were able to continue with their education are living better lives, but it also makes them sad to see their fellow brothers and friends living the kind of life they are living.

4. 5. Strategies and Tactics Employed in Handling Political Violence

Political activists employed different strategies and tactics to cope with the violent struggle. According to Snow, Soule and Kriesi (2008: 197), political organisations had to ensure that they expanded their territory in order to make an impact. They had to fight the opponent and appeal to potential allies for support.

4. 5. 1. Seeking support from within and outside the community:

The study revealed that:

Political movements at Kwa-Makhutha would sometimes outsource support from fellow political movements' members from other townships. It was common practice for residents to see loads of buses transporting political party members from other parts of KwaZulu-Natal in order to strengthen their base. In most instances, those gatherings ended up violently. The opponents were always vigilant and ready to retaliate. This kind of arrangement always left a number of people dead and many casualties (Interview (b) 11 October 2014).

The tactics and strategies employed by the community members were to unite the community to fight the enemy. People realized that they could not face political violence on their own, but had to be united and form alliances with other community members and neighbours in order to protect their area. "We tracked each person's movements in order to ensure each and every individual's safety. Most of the time we had to keep each other's company and move in groups for safety reasons. Most attacks took place at night" (Interview (a) 31 January 2015). If people knew about

imminent attacks, “they would camp together to avoid any fatalities. In the case where houses would be bombed, they were able to extinguish the fire instantly with each other’s help” (Interview (a) 10 October 2014).

Evidence from the study show that the community had learned to stick together and rely on each other for support all the time. One activist gave an example of how:

We would camp in one family dwelling if we knew about the impending attack of a particular household. Women had to treat all children equally as if they were their own. Activists had to treat each other as brothers and sisters (Interview (b) 23 January 2015).

It was difficult for some young people who had “different political affiliations from their families as most of the time they would face rejection from both sides by their fellow members from organisations and members of their families” (Interview (a) 10 February 2015). At times “stay-aways” would be staged; forcing people not to go to work and children from going to school:

The other strategy was consumer boycott where we would mobilize support from members of the community not buy from certain shops because they were white owned or because the owners were perceived to be part of the opposition. In such situations we would put up roads blocks where we would burn objects to block traffic and stone passing cars (Interview (b) 1 September 2014).

In some instances, dissatisfaction and anger would be shown through street protests. What Collins (1993: 96) observed was that what led to the outbreak of violence was the formation of gangs and violent groups, prompted by the necessity for people to protect their territories because of fear of being attacked and poverty leading to desperation, causing people to kill others without any remorse feelings. Some agree that this had to be done in order to save their lives. But others look at it as a futile exercise because they feel nothing came out of their effort.

4. 6. Linkages between Political Violence and Political Struggle/Activism

4. 6. 1. Difference between political violence and political struggle:

The police brutality on former activists and the members of the community blurred the lines between the political struggle and political violence. This meant that “anyone who got involved in the struggle suffered the consequences of being persecuted whether a person was guilty or not. Some of us wrote our examinations in prison” (Interview (b) 11 January 2015). There is an intrinsic relationship between political violence and political struggle as confirmed by a former UDF activist who said:

Everything started as a struggle for human rights and ended up violently. What made political struggle to be violent, was the brutal manner in which the police were treating the young activists. What caused the political struggle to become political violence, was when the young activists retaliated to police brutality (Interview (b) 17 August 2014).

The township became ungovernable:

Because the police went around the community sniffing out youth and attacking them in their homes, schools, street corners, nightclubs and taverns. This led to young people becoming unruly and losing respect for police or for any person of authority (Interview (a) 15 December 2014).

By being involved in politics, “it did not mean that people were perpetrators or that they inflicted pain on anyone. There are various reasons why people decided to embark on the struggle” (Interview (b) 17 November 2014). A participant pointed out that “the police believed that all young males were criminals, therefore, whenever they were called to intervene they would deal with them violently and treat them as criminals” (Interview (b) 1 February 2015).

The World Council of Churches’ Programme to Combat Racism held in Lusaka in May 1987 issued a statement which read thus “while remaining committed to a peaceful liberation, we recognize that the nature of the South African regime which wages war against its own inhabitants and neighbours, compels the (liberation) movements to the use of force along with other means to end oppression” (Kane-Berman, 1993: 61). The two political movements, IFP and UDF “wanted to outshine each other in terms of the support they had. Diakonia came under a lot of criticism from the IFP because it was seen to be supporting the UDF” (Interview (b) 15 March 2015).

Nevertheless through the KwaZulu Church Leaders’ Group:

Diakonia tried to play a mediating role between the two contesting parties, though the IFP leaders never really trusted us, because Diakonia had been a member of the UDF for some time, but later reduced its membership to observer status. The observation by Diakonia was that the struggle seemed to be more acute in this township than in others; as violence intensified, there was the impression that the homeland police (ZP) was more active in this area (Interview (b) 15 March 2015).

He further stated that:

We were engaged in fighting for human rights, particularly assisting victims the IFP was working within the government's homeland scheme, even though they were not an independent homeland. The UDF was totally opposed to the government's plan, and had shown great strength through their campaign against the tri-cameral parliament. Churches were faced with a dilemma because they had supporters of both movements as membership of their congregations (Interview (b) 15 March 2015).

People's involvement in the struggle meant that:

They were the enemy of the state, hence, it was easy for the state to suppress the struggle with violence which often ended up hitting the wrong target. Getting involved, also meant that one became a target of the opposition. But it must be remembered that not everyone was violent in the struggle (Interview (a) 10 October 2014).

The situation was chaotic as people could not differentiate between the struggle and violence. Other people believed that those who were politically active and involved in the struggle for freedom were violent people. "Being involved in the struggle meant that we had to forcefully grab what belonged to us from the state. The state was using force and violence to talk to us and we had no option but to respond by force as well" (Interview (b) 17 August 2014).

Engaging in the struggle for political liberation had both positive and negative effects. The struggle was an eye opener for those who were involved as one activist said, "one of the lessons learnt was to think of others before themselves, to be unselfish and to make sacrifices" (Interview (b) 11 January 2015). When the young activists were in hiding, they were provided with accommodation in various homes, some of those homes belonged to people whom they had never known or met before. These strangers provided them with food and clothing. "This experience was a reminder that even those who were in exile in foreign countries were also accommodated in a similar manner" (Interview (a) 12 October 2014). The flip side of this situation was that it was difficult to trust people. "Those who were friends would just turn against each other and become enemies because of different political affiliations" (Interview (b) 14 September 2014).

It became evident that it was not easy to separate political violence from the political struggle because what started as peaceful negotiations ended up in violence. The community felt that if the state was violent towards them, they also had to protect themselves and the only way to do this was to engage in violence. The violence inflicted by the system on the community, resulted in frustration of the activists that led them to be aggressive. Within the social action perspective, people at Kwa-Makhutha were compelled to challenge the status quo perpetuated by the regime, and this entailed directing their anger at police and those perceived as enemies. Thus, people were motivated to embark on social action that unfortunately turned into political violence. Due to the legacy of apartheid and its violent nature,

Ramphela et al (1991: 9) observed that the effects of the apartheid government gave birth to irresponsible behaviour, a lawless society and high incidences of crime that could pose challenges to a democratic government. The relative deprivation theory partly applies to the situation at Kwa-Makhutha in the sense that even though violence started as result of comparisons between themselves and the neighbouring community, the community was poor and the conditions under which they lived were very harsh and unbearable.

4. 7. Summary

The findings of this chapter revealed that political violence was a result of unequal distribution of wealth and political oppression. This chapter also showed that the lines between political violence and criminal violence were blurred. Many criminals took advantage of political violence in order to carry out their criminal activities. It also highlighted that it was not only young activists who were involved in violence but that young criminals and the police often times inflicted violence on innocent people, particularly, on families whose members were involved in the struggle. Lastly, the chapter also revealed that the violence has been transferred from parents to children as the study site still experiences violence. The “no go areas” have since mushroomed and some parents are encouraging their children to be violent because they believe this is the only option to resolve violence. .

Chapter 5:

Research Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Introduction

This study sought to examine the effects of political violence in the 1980s and 1990s on the former activists and their families at Kwa-Makhutha, South Africa. This chapter provides the final analysis and conclusion on whether political violence had any effects on the activists and their families, and whether this was negative or positive. If the effects were negative, could there have been an alternative route to deal with conflict rather than resorting to violence? In this chapter, gaps were identified regarding areas needing more research. In addition, the chapter makes recommendations that can be taken into consideration by various stakeholders when dealing with violence.

5.2. Summary of Key Findings

The study findings revealed that the main reason for engaging in the political struggle was to address the unequal distribution of wealth created by the apartheid government that led to socio-economic imbalances in communities. Young people assumed a leading role in addressing various issues that the community was faced with. Instead of listening to people's pleas, the government responded violently leading to communities retaliating with violence. The violent response from both the government and communities led to decades of political violence, unrest and disruption of lives.

The main focus of the study was to examine political violence as a crippling factor to community development programmes. Available literature together with data collected, placed poverty and unequal distribution of wealth as the root cause of political violence. Evidence from various sources explained the reasons why people resort to violence. It was clear that in almost all the African black townships, the patterns of political violence were the same. Political violence was an instrument used by communities to voice their disgruntlement with the apartheid governance. Furthermore, violence was seen as the only way of getting the attention of those in authority to deal with the scourge of poverty in the community. The study revealed that political violence isolated and separated people and it also caused enmity in communities and families who belonged to different political parties. The level of violence is still very high in communities as in the case of Kwa-Makhutha as it was re-affirmed in this study. Political violence has since been quiet, but recently, there have been incidences of young people fighting and killing each other. Other types of violence that communities are now facing, are related to crime and service delivery.

5. 2. 1. Political violence versus political struggle

There seems to be some overlaps and differences in political violence and political struggle. It became evident that the main reason for former activists to get involved in the struggle that escalated into political violence, was not to destroy people's lives, but to set them free from oppression. Even though the struggle ended up becoming violent, it was not the activists' intention to cause death and physical pain. Furthermore, in coming together as a community and being empowered, the community began to speak as one voice. They knew it was paramount for the whole community to be unified to overcome the enemy. Therefore, in both political violence and political struggle, the major requirement was that people should work as one unit. Empowerment of both political victims and the political struggle activists and perpetrators were needed to ensure victory.

The study found that political violence is not the way to go when addressing individual, family and community issues. Almost all the people interviewed were in agreement that political violence can be very destructive. This was observed through the damaged infrastructure in the community that has not been addressed up to now. The participants concurred that it was vital to have political support in order to address the psychological and infrastructural damage caused by political violence.

5. 2. 2. Socio-Economic Challenges

The problems and challenges that the community is facing are interrelated and interconnected, as one problem leads to the other and cannot be resolved in isolation. Poverty is the main reason or cause why this community engaged in political violence. Poverty still remains the biggest challenge and the main feature of all the challenges in this community. In addition, the high level of illiteracy that has led to unemployment, teenage pregnancy and a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS has worsened poverty in the community. Some of the related challenges are drug and alcohol abuse, high rates of crime and violence and youth and child headed households. The high levels of poverty can be seen through the dependence of the community members on child support grants, pension grants, soup kitchens and school feeding schemes.

5. 2. 3. Psycho-Social Issues

Given the rate at which political violence ravaged the Kwa-Makhutha community, psychosocial support and counselling is needed to heal the wounds. This kind of support is needed for both the young and the old due to trauma suffered by the community. The activists themselves were the victims of their own actions; which therefore, means that they also need some sort of counselling in order to move on. Lack of psychosocial support according to one participant is contributory to the recurring problems and violence that the community experiences today. It is thus difficult for activists to move forward and take care of themselves because they are trapped in the past. The parents and families were traumatized through witnessing gross inhumane violence inflicted on their children and family members. This has

resulted in intergenerational violence in the community. As the community finds itself trapped in this vicious cycle undermined by social ills and helplessness, drug and alcohol abuse is seen as coping mechanism with the challenges.

5. 2. 4. Poverty and Unemployment

As much as school feeding schemes, soup kitchen, child support grants and government's old age pension and disability grants are helpful for the poor communities, they are not a solution to poverty eradication. The provision of the above mentioned programmes are meant to alleviate poverty but this is not enough because they only address the symptoms, ignoring the root cause of the problem.

Durham (2013: 1) observed that children who were exposed to violence in Kenya become delinquents, bullies, commit vandalism, steal and skip school. Durham's observation is in line with the findings of this study. A teacher from a local school reported that "children in school tended to lose respect for teacher and have become intolerant (Interview 18 August 2014). They are aggressive and bully each other". The behaviour of the children at Kwa-Makhutha mirrors that of the Kenyan children observed by Durham. These are the intergenerational effects of violence that are clearly visible in the community. The violence perpetuated by today's youth in the area has a lot to do with the violence of the past. Most of the former activists attribute this violence to the violent nature in which the children have been socialized and their exposure to violence.

The other challenge with programmes like soup kitchens and school-feeding schemes is that even though they are short-term solution to the problem, it tends to encourage community dependency on foreign aid. When people and communities depend on foreign aid to resolve their issues, it takes away their self-worth, creativity, self-confidence, dignity and driving spirit. The study revealed that the school feeding schemes and soup kitchen were only available on weekdays and not on public holidays and weekends. This therefore means, that people are forced to go for days without food. Hence, there is a need for sustainable and economically viable programmes that can benefit the next generation.

Socially negative effects of political violence include among other things, community and family disintegration, separation and displacement. The exodus of people from one area to the other during the apartheid era put a strain on families and the little resources they had. Forced removals meant that people had to keep on starting all over again as there was no consideration of infrastructural development of the areas that they were removed to. When relocated to another area, people were forced to leave behind a familiar environment, friends in the neighbourhood, a support system and having to start from scratch building new housing structures. Relocation meant moving people far from their places of work, leading to unemployment and loss of income as well as social capital, something that is a vital element for a community. Forced removals also had negative consequences on learners who had to move to new schools and had to re-adjust to a new environment.

The economic burden was overwhelming on families, especially, when their properties were burnt down and they had to rebuild from scratch. The burden of losing family members and having to incur the burial costs was also difficult. Losing breadwinners and heads of households to violence, had the most devastating effect on families who were left without any source of income. On another level, the investment of parents and families in their children was a futile exercise, since the majority of the youth never finished their schooling. Most poor families and communities send children to school with the hope that they would succeed and take care of them when they are old. Thus, losing a teenager retards the family's economic development. In most cases, families pool scarce resources to educate children as education is seen as a ticket to better and brighter future for the whole family.

Due to the high levels of illiteracy in this community, unemployment is considerably high. Political violence meant that young people in the township dropped out of school to join the struggle. The "no-go areas" made it difficult for people to move from one section of the township to the other. The challenge that former political activists face today, is that it is difficult to go back to school given their age and the fact that they now have children who depend on them as parents. Hence, the local leadership and government departments should look at introducing adult literacy classes to address the issue of illiteracy and skills training that are vital to address the issue of unemployment.

Political violence was physically, mentally and emotionally draining. People did not know what the future holds for them. Spending sleepless nights due to fear of being attacked was taxing. Often times, parents of the former political activists had no idea of the whereabouts of their children. Many went into exile and some never returned. The most difficult scenario was when members of the same family took membership with a rival organisation. There was mistrust between brothers, sisters, children and parents, and members of the same families and church communities turned against each other to show loyalty to their political organisations.

The lack of intervention strategies could worsen the socio-economic and emotional state of the community. The situation requires a holistic approach to resolving issues and an integrated approach by all stakeholders; be it public servants (all relevant departments), local leadership, civil society, community members and the business community. Out of all the people interviewed, none of them had received any form of assistance from the government except for child support and disability grants and old age pensions. The challenge is that the problems are so intertwined and interrelated, that people do not have a clue on how to resolve their challenges. Community participation is vital, but fresh ideas are needed from outsiders and professionals who could have different view of the community's circumstances. The study found that the leadership is not accessible to the community and without such commitment and support, the situation will remain the same.

5.3. Conclusion

The impression created by the study is that there is still violence at Kwa-Makhutha and has been made worse by the lack of sustainable livelihoods. Data collected and literature reviewed, reveal that the outbreak of political violence in South African black communities was as a result of poverty. The literature provided a context within which political violence was triggered and manifested itself in Kwa-Makhutha. Violence as well as political violence was deemed as the only strategy that could push the apartheid regime to address the state of poverty under which people lived. It can therefore be concluded that what triggered political violence, was poverty and the comparison that the young activists made between the conditions under which they lived and those of the white neighbouring communities. However, the outbreak of political violence was due to the government's system of apartheid, discriminatory policies and socio-economic deprivation faced by black people. The fact that black communities lived in poverty cannot be ignored and this had a huge negative effect on the wellbeing of individuals and their respective families. For some people, the conditions haven't changed, and as the rate of illiteracy is high, so unemployment and poverty increase. South Africa would be a better place if collective responsibility could be taken to ensure that we contribute towards nation building and socio-economic hardships are uprooted.

5. 4. Recommendations

There is a greater need for South Africans to be a learning nation. Communities need to engage in the process of learning from past experiences, unlearning the bad habits, learning new approaches that are growth and development oriented. This approach will enable the government to make decisions that are growth enhancing. The key recommendations are that South Africans need to learn negotiation skills to deal with conflict. This could be done through engagement of communities in dialogues by civil society organizations specializing in this field. It is highly recommended that people should learn to compromise whenever there is conflict. Communities need to learn the culture of taking responsibility of their own lives and this must be instilled at a very young age. People should also begin to know that welfare and hand-outs are only reserved for times when there is disaster and crisis as they are not sustainable and they are not a long-term solution. People should learn to build systems and programmes that are empowering and can hold those in power accountable. Social security, social services and related social development programmes are investments that can lead to tangible economic gains, and in turn lead to economic growth. The government needs to make such opportunities available to communities. Without such social investments, economic growth will be compromised and social security and democracy threatened.

Healing the wounds of the past should be one of the priorities as this will bring back people's self-confidence and a sense of belonging. A sense of belonging and ownership will allow the community to take care of their own community and the community development programs that are initiated by the government. The community need to be the drivers of their own development to avoid making the wrong diagnosis, and being given the wrong prescription by the

government or any other service providers. In a democratic state, people are given a chance to identify their own problems and prioritize those that they feel need urgent attention. If the community is given a chance to have a voice on the issues that directly affect them, the level of frustration in communities will be reduced. However, if the community does not participate in their own community development programmes, they will not have a sense of ownership, and therefore, they cannot take care of or protect something that does not belong to them. There needs to be transparency in all the development programmes so that the community becomes aware of potential development programmes. This would reduce and also eliminate the high level of service delivery protests in communities. People's participation will help to bring back their dignity and boost their self-esteem. Community development programmes would provide an opportunity to create jobs and acquire new skills that in turn will lead to the uprooting of poverty and gain people economic freedom. Hence, without economic freedom the community will never find lasting peace.

Healing the divisions of the past is something that cannot happen overnight, but it is a process that requires a lot of effort from all stakeholders in all tiers of government. A united society cannot be the responsibility of an individual but a collective action for all South Africans. South Africa needs to establish forums where people can engage in discussions about the prevention of on-going violence; thus addressing the issues of violence from an individual level, to families and communities, and even at national level. Institutions of higher learning can also be engaged to speed up the process of healing. Young people have very high levels of energy and if they are not engaged productively, this energy could be misdirected. Sporting activities, drama theatres and other activities could be introduced to children in order to deter them from engaging in criminal activities.

The study therefore, challenges the government to aim for economic growth as a strategy to eradicate poverty and inequality. Equality and poverty eradication could be achieved if the government departments are integrated and work in collaboration with private and civil society. This is imperative to prevent 'distorted development'; a situation in which the economy grows but poverty and inequality are not being reduced (Midgley, 1995: 4). Each and every person should participate in rebuilding the ruins of the past political violence in communities. If South Africa is to succeed in uprooting poverty and underdevelopment, participation of all stakeholders such as the government's Department of Social Development (DSD) and the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) as its relevant organ and the Department of Military Veterans. The community, businesses, Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and Non- Governmental Organisations (NGOs) is crucial. Thus, forging a united and democratic society cannot be the responsibility of one person but a collective action for all South Africans. Community dialogues could be a platform for all stakeholders to have a free and open discussion about the challenges facing the community and the solutions to those problems

5. 5 Areas for Future Research

There needs to be more research on non-violent and peaceful ways of resolving conflict. People need to know how destructive violence (of any form) can be, and what is more horrific, is when violence is transmitted from one generation to another like parents and children of those engaged in it. The other areas that need to be researched could be on:

1. How best can South Africa be healed from the wounds of the past political violence in order to avoid future recurrence of violence?
2. An integrated approach to service delivery (as a means to uproot poverty) to speed up a community development programme as a pathway to mitigate political or service delivery protests.

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Appendix A: Copy of Informed Consent form

Name: Primrose Sibusisiwe Mlambo
Student Number: 99 123 95 19
Institute: University of KwaZulu-Natal
Degree: Community Development Masters
Research Title: The effects of political violence in the 1980s and 1990s on the families of political activists of Kwa-Makhutha, KwaZulu-Natal.
Supervisor: Ndwakhulu Tshishonga
Supervisor's Contact
Contact Numbers: Work: 031 260 2822 or Mobile: 0722 41 9933

I am currently undertaking a master's degree through the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). The study aims to understand the effects of political violence on the lives of the families of the young political activists of the 1980s and 1990s.

Participation in this study will entail you being interviewed by me, I will be voice recording and writing down the responses. You will be asked a number of specific questions to ascertain how violence affected you and your family, and other questions that are related to the experiences you had before, during and after the political unrest.

The study does not involve any physical harm. Your identity will remain anonymous and information you share will be confidential. Your participation in the research is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from the research at any stage of the process. Information from the study that may be presented or published will not identify you personally. Should you experience trauma during the research discussion, I will refer you to a qualified Psychologist for counselling.

Thank you for your participation and contribution to my research project. If you require any further information you may contact my supervisor, Ndwakhulu Tshishonga, whose contact details are provided above.

DECLARATION FORM

I.....(full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the study at any time, should I so desire.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

.....

.....

NOTE: Potential subjects should be given time to read, understand and question the information given before giving consent. This should include time out of the presence of the investigator and time to consult friends and/or family.

Appendix B: Interview Schedule

1. 7 August 2014
2. 8 August 2014
3. 12 August 2014
4. 14 August 2014
5. 17 August 2014
6. 19 August 2014
7. 21 August 2014
8. 22 August 2014
9. 26 August 2014
10. 1 September 2014
11. 14 September 2014
12. 18 September 2014
13. 8 October 2014
14. 10 October 2014
15. 11 October 2014
16. 12 October 2014
17. 21 October 2014
18. 23 October 2014
19. 30 October 2014
20. 17 November 2014
21. 23 November 2014
22. 28 November 2014
23. 11 December 2014
24. 12 December 2014
25. 15 December 2014
26. 11 January 2015
27. 23 January 2015
28. 1 February 2015
29. 10 February 2015
30. 22 February 2015
31. 23 February 2015
32. 27 February 2015
33. 2 March 2015

34. 10 March 2015
35. 15 March 2015
36. 16 March 2015
37. 22 March 2015
38. 23 March 2015
39. 25 March 2015
40. 26 March 2015
41. 28 March 2015

Appendix C: Ethical Clearance



(Only complete this section if applicable)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT: BREACH OF ETHICAL PROCESSES AT UKZN

I, the undersigned,

Supervisor name : Ndwakholu Tshshonga
School : Built Environment & Development Studies
Staff / student number : 651293

acting as supervisor in the above stated project, do hereby acknowledge that:

1. The University of KwaZulu-Natal's (hereinafter "UKZN") Research Ethics Policy (V) does not make provision for Retrospective Ethics Approval;
2. All researchers (both students and staff) at UKZN are obliged to be familiar with this policy;
3. I have been informed that research cannot be done without prospective full ethical clearance as per the policy and guidelines of the University;
4. I have failed to verify whether the Applicant obtained Final Ethical Clearance in accordance with the UKZN Research Ethics Policy (V) for the above stated Project;
5. The appropriate disciplinary processes will follow, should this occur again.

I further acknowledge that should there be any legal implications/actions emanating from research in terms of ethical violations, I will be personally liable, jointly and severally with the Applicant and hereby indemnify UKZN against any legal action that may arise from my failure to adhere to the University Research Ethics Policy (V).

Signed at Durban on the 12th day of

Signature of supervisor (where applicable)

Signed at _____ on the _____ day of _____

Signature of Chair (HSSREC): _____

Cc: College Dean of Research:
Cc: Academic Leader Research:
Cc: School Administrator:

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shenika Singh (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: hssrec@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za



UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUYE
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

Protocol reference number : HSS1062/017M

Project title : The effects of political violence in the 1980s and 1990s on the former
activist and their families at KwaMakhutha, KwaZulu-Natal province

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT: BREACH OF ETHICAL PROCESSES AT UKZN

I, the undersigned,

Student Name (Student Nr) : Ms Prinrose Sibusisiwe Mlambo (991239919)


School : Built Environment & Development Studies

Campus : Howard College

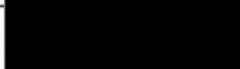
as the Principal Investigator ("the Applicant") in the above stated project, do hereby acknowledge that:

1. The University of KwaZulu-Natal's (hereinafter "UKZN") Research Ethics Policy (V) does not make provision for Retrospective Ethics Approval;
2. All researchers (both students and staff) at UKZN are obliged to be familiar with this policy;
3. I have been informed that research cannot be done without obtaining full ethical clearance as per the policy and guidelines of the University;
4. Research for the above project was undertaken by myself without final ethical clearance being obtained;
5. The University reserves its right to, at any stage and time, withdraw the relevant degree obtained by myself if:
 - 5.1 It becomes known to UKZN that there was an additional ethical breach during any field work or whilst collection data for the above stated project, and / or
 - 5.2 I fail to apply for ethical clearance for any future research projects.
6. In addition to point 5 above, the appropriate disciplinary processes will follow should this occur again.

I further acknowledge that should there be any legal implications/actions emanating from the research in terms of any ethical violations, I will be personally liable and hereby indemnify UKZN against any legal action that may arise from my failure to adhere to the University Research Ethics Policy (V).

Signed at DURBAN on the  2017

Signature of applicant: _____

Signed at _____ on the  2017

Signature of Chair (HSSREC) _____ Date: 18/7/17

Members of the Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Sibonke Singh (Chair)

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