

iNkosi Albert Luthuli Oral History Competition

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**Topic: What are the achievements and
challenges of the 25 years of democracy and
have citizens achieved an equitable and dignified
life?**

25TH ANNIVERSARY
OF OUR NEW DEMOCRACY

ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH PAPER



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TOPIC 3: What are the key achievements and challenges of the 25 years of democracy and how do the identified factors contribute towards an equitable and dignified life for all citizens?

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Abstract

We the people of South Africa – five words of the dream that started in a dusty square in Kliptown in June 1955 by those who fought for the freedom of the land that I was born free into.

I have investigated what the successes and challenges are in our new democracy and whether it has contributed to or led to an equitable and dignified life for all citizens of South Africa. I focussed my investigation on the protection of human rights to determine whether the aims of the Bill of Rights have been achieved. Through my research, based primarily on oral interviews and supplemented by internet research and surveys, I have concluded that significant achievements have been reached in protecting and furthering human rights. However, there are still many challenges which require the constant and decisive action from our government and relevant stakeholders, before we can fully celebrate the success of 25 years of democracy.

Introduction

Doctor Mamphela Rhampela said that true equity can only be realised when individuals have their basic rights met. (News 24, 2019) I therefore believe that our new democracy's greatest achievement was on 4 February 1997 when our Constitution of the Republic of South Africa came into effect. I will demonstrate how all our achievements together with the challenges can be shown using the constitution, especially section 9 (the right to equality), section 10 (the right to dignity) and section 29(the right to education).

Methodology

I conducted my research by oral interviews, with my primary interviewee being Judge of the Gauteng High Court, Justice Jody Kollapen. My other interviewees included Mrs Marushka De Villiers (an Umalusi official), Colonel Vinay Singh of the SAPS, a selection of parents and educators from our school and community and 2 legends who were previously interviewed in this project for their insights into the struggles during apartheid, who I now chose to re-interview for their insights into the achievements and challenges of our new democracy- Sadeque Variava (a black consciousness leader and friend of Steve Biko) and Antoinette Sithole (a participant in the June 1976 uprising and sister of Hector Pieterse).

The information from the interviews was then verified by and supplemented with internet research, newspapers, surveys, and the oral history portfolios of research done in previous

projects by Gabrielle Murgan (2015), Zipho Metu (2016), Onela Moseana (2017) and Thzhilidzi Rathogwa(2018).

I also conducted quantitative research by conducting an online survey using Google Forms. I sampled 26 surveys, with respondents being male and female ranging from the age of 15 to over 25. I asked what the major achievement and challenge of the new democracy was, and what made the respondents proud to be South African. A spreadsheet and graphs representing the responses are attached with the interview schedules at the end of this report.

Findings and Interpretations

Summary

Based on my oral interviews, internet and textbook/newspaper research and online survey I was able to conclude that many people are satisfied that we have, as a country, made significant achievements since coming out of apartheid, and most of these achievements relate to education and the rights given to us by the Bill of Rights, which includes equality, freedom of expression and the freedom to live anywhere. My interviewees all agreed that we have more equity and dignity than before 1994, and the results from the survey confirmed that this is a general feeling. However, all interviewees and survey respondents agreed that our biggest challenge relates to crime and corruption, and several people feel that racism is still high.

Equality

Justice Kollapen is himself an example of the achievements of our democracy – as he no longer has to wonder whether the colour of his skin will decide whether he is appointed as the next constitutional court justice or not. He told me that we still have a society in which the idea of equality is not yet respected as there are still acts of racism, acts of gender violence and people with disabilities go through acts of prejudice. However, there have been some significant achievements in gaining equity. (Kollopen, 2019)

In November 2006, equality was achieved and dignity was restored to people of all sexual orientations with the Civil Unions Act in allowing same sex marriages. (Brand SA, 2019) This Act was certainly a far cry from the apartheid regime's Immorality Act which outlawed relationships between people of different races.

We have made progress in terms of gender equality as Colonel Singh confirmed that there are more opportunities now for women in the police services and she would not have achieved her promotions under apartheid. (Singh, 2019) Although South Africa has made great strides, gender representivity is still below the 50% mark for positions that come with a great deal of influence. According to data from the report Gender series volume I: Economic empowerment, 2001–2014, women comprised 32% of Supreme Court of Appeal judges, 31% of advocates, 30% of ambassadors and 24% of heads of state-owned enterprises. (Stats SA, 2018). SA ranks 10th in the world with women representation in parliament where we have 42% women. (Stats SA, 2019) We might not have reached the ideal level of female representation, but it is an indication that we are on the right path and should not lose hope in our young democracy.

However, this is marred by our high rate of gender-based violence as so many of the respondents in my online survey showed – especially the females. This is also confirmed by the recent activities in our country and the abundance of news articles on the topic.

Education

In education, Ms De Villiers confirmed that our single system of education is certainly the best achievement as it no longer distinguishes between Black and White (DeVilliers, 2019) and has restored the dignity that was stripped away by Bantu education- a fact which warms the heart of Antoinette Sithole.

However, all my interviewees agreed that many of our challenges remains rooted in our education system and according to Justice Kollapen, unless our education system, which is the foundation, is fixed up everything else is affected. (Kollopen, 2019)

Justice Kollapen sees the problem in our double system – we have a public system and a private system – public and private schools, public and private hospitals, public and private social welfare systems and public and private legal aid systems. (Kollopen, 2019) This sentiment was repeated by Ms De Villiers. Whereas before 1994 the standard you received in these areas was based on the colour of your skin, it is unfortunate that the distinction is now based on economic inequality and the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor. (DeVilliers, 2019)

Ms De Villiers told me that she visits schools in all areas across the country and sees learners under trees to learners in the most well resourced of classrooms. Yet the results that are

achieved are not always determined by these resources, but by the commitment of the learners and educators. This is somewhat verified by the DBE's Report on the 2018 NSC Examinations, which disclosed that schools in the lower quintiles achieved better results than those in the higher quintiles. (Department of Basic Education, 2018) Justice Kollapen agreed that countries that spend less on education than SA are achieving better results. The Mail and Guardian reported on 23 November 2018 that *"Per capita, South Africa spends more on education than most advanced economies such as the United States and the United Kingdom, yet its primary education system was rated 126th out of 138 countries in the World Economic Forum 2016-2017 Global Competitiveness Report."* (Mail & Guardian, 2018)

Ms De Villiers felt that our problems arise because, as she said, *"those sitting at the top don't speak to those on the ground"* and they make policy without knowing what is happening at grass root levels. (DeVilliers, 2019) Mr Variava also said that our problems arise because of the lack of participatory democracy as he called it. Unless people get involved and begin speaking to their leaders, we will not achieve success. (Variava, 2019)

Antoinette Sithole so bravely took to the streets of Soweto on 16 June 1976 not knowing that it would be the day she had to run away from police gun fire, next to the lifeless body of her brother being carried in the arms of a stranger. She experienced the low levels of numeracy and literacy first-hand because she was taught by a system that was designed to keep her and her people in the fields. (Sithole, 2019) She feels that education has not yet achieved its desired levels partly because we do not yet have the right mindset of the opportunities that have been given to us. Justice Kollapen, Ms De Villiers and Sadeque Variava also felt that it is the attitude of the learners and teachers and our mindset that continues to create many of the challenges we still face. Justice Kollapen said teachers no longer feel safe at school from their learners because of a lack of discipline, and the deteriorating values of society. Although there is no quick fix to this problem, I sincerely believe that it can be adjusted by the proper inculcation of school spirit and a sense of national pride, which the Department of Arts and Culture has started by its various campaigns which include the National Identity Programme. This aims at reducing the apathy and low levels of patriotism amongst the youth. Mr Variava believes that it is important for youth to know and participate in politics and Justice Kollapen agrees that it is important to understand why there is inequality. In my opinion that's why it is important to know our history.

Freedom of movement

One of the most ludicrous ways in which South Africans, including Justice Kollapen and Mr Variava, were robbed of a dignified life was by the Group Areas Act, because they were told to live in specially designated areas. I was therefore not surprised when all my interviewees told me that our democracy's greatest achievement is the fact that we can now live wherever we want to and as Mr Moseane blacks no longer have to be afraid of being arrested for not carrying their dompas. (Paleso, 2019)

However, as Mr Variava also said this freedom to live anywhere is now no longer restricted by the colour of your skin, but by economic status and the ever-widening gap between rich and poor.

This is also evident in our housing crisis—I only need to look at the area surrounding my neighbourhood with the alarmingly increased number of informal settlements and people not living with dignity.

However, all hope is not lost, as many people have received rdp houses, like Mrs Agnes Motlokoane from a settlement close by to our school – people living there have now received homes with improved service delivery, after much protests.

This leads to the next achievement I have identified – many citizens have been able to achieve an equitable and dignified life through having their voices heard by exercising their right to freedom of speech and the right to assemble and protest.

Dignity and Freedom of Expression

For example, in August 2018, a movement of women called #TheTotalShutDown led nationwide protests and delivered a memorandum to President Ramaphosa, directly causing him to sign the Gender-Based Violence Declaration in April 2019. (News 24, 2019)

Similar success was achieved by the FeesMustFall movement and now SA is closer to achieving Global Goal 4 for free and quality education for all. Antoinette Sithole is pleased by this achievement as even in 1976, they just wanted their voices to be heard for change.

She told me that for many, their dignity was restored by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. When she was able to tell her story at the Commission, she gained some peace even though the pain can never go away. She told me that she carried the burden of 16 June

1976 with her for so many years but at the TRC she felt new and I could hear the joy in her voice as she told me how elated she was. (Sithole, 2019)

Although many people criticise the TRC for not bringing much reconciliation, its attempt at restoring equity and dignity can be said to be continued by the South African Human Rights Commission and Constitutional Court, which represents one of the main differences to apartheid. As Justice Kollapen said “ *Even though the legal system at the time wasn’t the same as now it was very difficult to gain any success in that system because the system was stacked against you, the judges and the magistrates and the police were all part of the apartheid system so it wasn’t as if they were going to be fair and they were going to be just. They were intent on protecting the system.*” (Kollopen, 2019)

Corruption

Sadly, I do admit that from all my research it is clear that we still face many challenges and all interviewees agreed that the most serious is corruption even at the highest levels of government. Sadeque Variava sadly states that “instead of celebrating 25 years of democracy, we should be mourning 25 years of kleptocracy”. (Variava, 2019) Even President Ramaphosa recently acknowledged that corruption has steadily eroded the state’s capacity to meet people’s needs. (Daily Maverick, 2019)

A recent example of this is our social welfare system which remains dogged by challenges, but it was so heartwarming to hear a senior citizen Mr Pakiry confirm that even though financially there are still shortcomings, the plight of the aged has markedly improved from the days before 1994.

Is all hope lost?

Despite our challenges, we must remember that We're still young and we're going to make some mistakes but we are on the right path, Just as Antoinette Sithole told me the world also recognises our achievements and that is why they are coming to our great land for so many different reasons.

During the 1980s the world responded to apartheid with various boycotts, sanctions and disinvestments. However, the fact that we have hosted a soccer, rugby and cricket world cup, the G8 Summit and so many other global events, is evidence of the increased confidence in our country and our ability to take our rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.

The cultural boycotts forced us to watch our artists from the side-lines as they moved to other countries to gain fame, but now they can proudly fly the SA flag and win big awards like Sho Madjozi. A choir from Limpopo can appear on the world stage of America's Got Talent and win over even the heart of Simon Cowell. In sports we can now boast about Wayde Van Niekerk, Caster Semenya, Kevin Anderson, Kagiso Rabada and not have to look at whether they are black or white – but only that they are proudly South African – just like me.

Personal Reflections

During this project I learned how to manage my time, together with valuable research, writing and listening skills that I can use in my studies and for the rest of my life.

Most importantly I learned that history is not only in our textbooks but is in the stories of ordinary people around us experiencing our unique heritage every day. I have learned that our country has its flaws and scars from the apartheid regime's scourge. However, as Steve Biko said "we have set out on a quest for true humanity and somewhere on the distant horizon we can see the glittering prize. Let us march forth with courage and determination, drawing strength from our common plight. In time we shall be in a position to bestow upon South Africa the greatest gift possible – a human face".

Conclusion

We might be facing challenges and some feel those challenges outweigh the achievements, but all my interviewees were of the clear agreement that we have achieved and we have made progress.

I conclude from my research that our democracy, young as it is, has made great strides in the protection and furthering of human rights and despite the many challenges that still linger, more citizens do have a more equitable and dignified life compared to the days prior to 1994.

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ORAL INTERVIEWS

Interview 1

Interviewee : Justice Jody Kollapen (JK)

Interviewer : Priyanka Singh (PS)

Place : Chambers of Justice J Kollapen, Gauteng High Court

Date : 2 June 2019

REASON WHY I INTERVIEWED Justice Kollpen – Justice Kollapen served for 13 years on the South African Human Rights Commission, 7 years of which he was the head of the SAHRC. He is currently a Judge of the Gauteng High Court and gave me first-hand information on how human rights are protected and furthered.

PS: Good morning sir.

JK: Good morning.

PS: How are you doing today?

JK: I'm very good thank you.

PS: I'm going to start off with some background questions , when and where were you born ?

JK: I was born in 1957, which was a very long time ago in a place called Marabastad which is part of Pretoria. It was called the "group area" of Pretoria so most indian people were only allowed to live in that part of Pretoria. Although it was sort of a mixed race area , there were some African people , there were white people but they lived across the river from us. It was a very poor area characterised by lots of poverty. People lived in sort of shacks , there were a few brick houses. It was a very difficult time because it was the 50s and 60s and there weren't many opportunities for most people.

PS: So were your parents displaced?

JK: My family was displaced in the late 60s but at the time of my birth that's where we had been living.

PS: Do you have any siblings?

JK: Yes, I have 2 sisters – one older than me and one younger than me.

PS: What did your parents do for a living?

JK: My father was a waiter for many years and my mother used to work in a clothing factory in Johannesburg so she used to travel by train to go work and sew clothes and come back home.

PS: From the research I've done, I'd learnt that your mother was a participant in the Women's March to The Union Building, why did she get involved? Because that march specifically was for the pass laws, which did not affect Indian people so what drove her to participate?

JK: Well before that my mother was involved in what was called the passive resistance movement which was to protest against the unjust laws in the country at the time. There were quite a few women in the community who became involved in the passive resistance movement. My mother was in fact jailed twice when she was 19/20 years old. What would happen was that the women would travel from what was then called the Transvaal (Gauteng) to protest in Durban. They would sort of have peaceful protests along the streets of Durban and then they would then be arrested and put to jail for 30 days. Like I said, she had gone to jail twice so she was very much involved in fighting injustices – not just as far as it affected Indian people but injustice that affected society as a whole.

PS: What do you think was the thinking of the women who marched to the union buildings, like what did they think they'd achieve and how did your mom feel when she came back?

JK: Well I think they wanted to make a statement as women. Firstly, there was a large number of women, about 20 000 marched. Secondly, they were all of different race groups and in fact the 4 leaders of the march were chosen basically to reflect that. It was an Indian woman, an African woman, a coloured woman and a white woman who were at the forefront of the march. Also at this time of apartheid and segregation, it was sending a message to the government that even though you think that you'll separate us, you will not, the fact that we are here, coming from different race groups as one group shows our unity. And thirdly, I think it was to show that they were not scared. The government were

not hesitant to use force at the slightest excuse but these women went and they marched peacefully and they marched in unity and dignity. They made a powerful statement and even today lots of women are impressed and take inspiration from those women in 1956. For her, she always speaks of it with great pride, that she was able to be part of such a historic march and I think in many ways it inspired many other women in South Africa. I mean there were 20 000 there and the entire nation had been watching them. I think it also sent a message internationally that the women of South Africa would stand up against injustices so it was a very important event in the struggle for freedom in our country and so I suppose for her as a young woman to have been part of that was something that she regarded as very important and something that was very inspirational.

PS: Were you born when your mom was arrested?

JK: When she was arrested I was not born, I was born in 1957 so shortly after the march.

PS: So how did it make you feel because I'm sure she told you that she had been arrested, so how did you feel about the whole thing?

JK: Well you know she told us those things later on in our lives but what we saw everyday was how the system treated our people and you didn't need your parents to tell you that. In many ways they actually tried to protect you from that because they didn't want you to become involved in politics. But for us, like if you had to just look across the river and looked at how white people lived and then looked at how you lived, if you walked to town and saw the schools that white kids went to you'd feel the difference. There was the beautiful school that we had to pass from where we lived to get to town and it was a brick building, double story, it had wonderful playing fields, lawns and soccer fields. Then you'd compare that to the school that we had to attend, you would begin to think to yourself that there had to be something wrong with the system that could give one group of people so much of facilities and privileges and deny it to others. So in many ways, one's consciousness was as a result of how one lived but also by observing how your parents were treated. If you'd go to your father's place of work you would see how young white people would treat him and he was your father, you respected him but those white people thought that okay because he was not white he was not worthy of any respect. In those days, you couldn't eat in white

restaurants as well, there was no place for you except in your little group area so that made you question things and it also made you angry at a system that could do this to people.

PS: How did these activities affect your life while growing up and as you are today?

JK: One then grew up with a sense that there was so much injustice in our society. I also had an uncle who worked very closely with a lawyer- he was like a paralegal- not a qualified lawyer. But he would give people and then connect them to the lawyer that was his friend. He also then encouraged me to study law. I suppose those 2 factors, you know; his influence and at the same time perhaps one thought that maybe by becoming a lawyer; you could challenge some of these things, you could fight for the rights of your people. And so, I suppose that's the influence it had on me and I suppose just living in the society we live in - that was characterised by so much of injustice, all sort of shaped ones conscious

PS: How did you get involved in activism?

JK: Well look I don't know if you can call that being involved in activism. In the community I lived in, I got involved in community affairs and activities, police forum, there were things that happened around you and you became involved. If that makes you an activist then fine, it was just a concerned member of the community and you participated in those activities. At the same time I was then studying to become a lawyer and the practice of law gave me a better opportunity because now you at least knew the legal system and you could provide assistance to people, you could take on cases and so I suppose that was a major turning point in my life-being a lawyer and then having the opportunity to use the law as the means to achieve justice! Even though the legal system at the time wasn't the same as now it was very difficult to gain any success in that system because the system was stacked against you, the judges and the magistrates and the police were all part of the apartheid system so it wasn't as if they were going to be fair and they were going to be just. They were intent on protecting the system.

PS: If I'm not mistaken, you were at school during the 1976 riots?

JK: No no I was at university that time. I matriculated in 1974.

PS: So did u mobilise the community or create awareness or?

JK: I wouldn't say I did that, one was part of it.

PS: You had also been the head of the Human Rights Commission. Do you feel that your work there impacted on issues such as gender equality, non-racialism, socio-economic inequality and the enhancement of education?

JK: Well, I'd like to think that it did, I mean I spent 13 years at the Human Rights Commission and of those 13 years, I headed the Human Rights Commission for 7 of them. I was a wonderful job to have and the work that the commission did as an institution was important in a number of respects. Firstly in the area of equality! I think that the idea of "even though we are different, we are all entitled to be treated equally" is a powerful idea but it is very difficult to sell that idea to everybody because everybody wants equality for themselves and for people who are like them, but not for others. You'll find people saying that gay and lesbian people should not have equal rights simply because they are different but that's not a good enough reason to exclude them; people will say that men should have more rights than women because society says that there are certain roles for women and breaking those walls down isn't easy because they've been built up over long periods of time. They become part of the social patterns in society so I think that the work that the Human Rights Commission did in advancing this idea of equality including gender equality but not limited to gender equality but equality for everybody was extremely important. We still aren't in a society where the idea of equality is one that is widely respected. You still see acts of racism, you still see acts of gender violence, you still see acts against foreigners (xenophobia), people with disabilities also go through acts of prejudice so we still have a long way to go but I think the work of the commission was important in at least beginning to educate people about what equality really means. IT'S NOT A LEGAL CONCEPT, IT'S A HUMAN CONCEPT. It's seeing people as human beings, the legal stuff comes later. You don't need to be a lawyer to understand equality you just need to be a human being.

PS: Can you talk about any of the specific things that did there like any of the things related to equality or like a certain matter?

JK: Look we took cases to the court for example involving the rights of gay and lesbian people. I had a court case, for example, where a barbershop didn't want to cut my hair because it

was a whites only barbershop and we took that case to court and so taking those cases to court was important, not to punish people but to send out a message that you cannot discriminate. The art of cutting hair is not determined by the texture of your hair

It's a particular skill, that's it! And once you start saying that you can cut white peoples hair but not black peoples hair then where do you stop? We also did work around education, we did investigations into the right to basic education, into assessing the quality of education in our schools. We did work into violence in schools and how that impacted on the right to education. We focused on marginalised groups in our society such as the San, travelling right up to the north part of the Northern Cape and spending a week with the San community in order to understand their exclusion from society. And so I think all of those features of our work which was reasonably well publicised created a strong social message as well that showed people that if you only think of your own well-being then its short sighted because unless we all progress in the society, then the progress of some is never going to be guaranteed which would result in a society of great instability and insecurity so everyone needs to progress and in order for that to happen we need to recognise that everyone is entitled to a decent quality of life. The work we did was about ensuring that that could happen, that the state could provide better healthcare for its people, that the state could provide better education to its people, that perhaps the rich also had to give the excess they had so that others could live. I think it was Mahatma Ghandi that said that we need to live more simply so that the poor can simply live and it's a wonderful quote and it's important and it's true until today. So I think the work of that institution which I was privileged to be part of and to lead was important, not so much in the individual focus areas or in the cases it did but in the overall message that it was consistently sending out of a better life for people with equality for everybody.

PS: So we've come a long way from Bantu Education and all of that but do you think that our education system is good enough?

JK: Well look, the problem that we experience in South Africa today is that we almost have 2 systems in respect of everything that's important so u have a public education system and you have a private education system, you have a public health care system and you have a

private healthcare system, you have a public social welfare system and you have a private social welfare system, you have a public legal aid system and you have a legal system where people can pay for their own lawyers so the result is that people can pay for good quality services so I can pay for a good education for my children, I can pay for a good healthcare system, I can pay for a good pension, I can pay for a good lawyer but then there are others who have to accept what the public system has to offer and the quality being offered in these 2 systems is very different. And I'm not suggesting that public schools don't offer good quality education but there are serious problems in the public education system and so unless we fix those up and we improve the quality of education then how are you going to give young people a chance to reach their full potential-to live out their dreams-because then you have the real risk that those who have money will progress much better than those don't so in effect you're saying to 2 people who are young , the one whose rich and the one whose poor, you can afford to dream because the chances of your dreams coming true are much better and for the other one, well you can dream but don't hold your breath that your dreams will come true because there's so much standing in your way. And so that can't be right in a society such as ours. You asked about public education and I think that the surveys that have been conducted internationally suggest that in terms of numeracy and in terms of literacy, we are not doing well a country. Our numeracy and literacy levels are quite low down on the international scale; considering the amount of money we are putting into the system, there are other countries who are spending less on education but are achieving much better outcomes so there is a problem with the education system [I think] and if u don't fix up your education system it effects everything else because that's the foundation you must have.

PS: How do u think we can fix this...as a country?

JK: Well look, there have been attempts with school infrastructure – ensuring that school become safer places. I mean it's unacceptable that in 2019 kids have to use pit toilets and sometimes fall into those toilets like in some cases children have even died so that's unacceptable. But I also think the kind of commitment of our teachers and our parents become important. Maybe this is an unfair observation but so many parents now send their

children to school and think that the responsibility is now that of the schools. Parents have an important role to play in education and the same with teachers you know. I'd like to think education is a calling you know, teachers must be paid a decent salary and it's a big responsibility that you have as a teacher, not just to teach a child maths theorems or equations but to inculcate values and to take some responsibility for that child. Sometimes I think that that is also lacking in our education system. It's not a question of money and resources and books and classrooms but it's the relationship of teacher and pupil. We have problems with discipline in our schools for example, sometimes you speak to teachers and they say its stressful going to school because they feel unsafe from my own students so it's a whole question of how as a society we value education and how our parents, teachers and the state come together as a proper partnership in ensuring that we can improve the value and the quality of education.

PS: So you're currently a judge at the high court.

JK: Yes that's right.

PS: Do you feel that your current position is having the same effect or a better effect?

JK: You can't compare the two in terms of which is better. As a judge you now have the authority to make judgements that are binding but you don't have the flexibility to get up every day and say "right this is wrong in my society and I need to do something about it", you have to have the discipline of dealing with the cases that come before you so you can only decide on those cases, if a case comes before you, you are confined with dealing with the issue of that case. For example, I had to deal with a case involving the failure by the government to supply textbooks to school and I made a ruling that the government must provide those textbooks but I couldn't in the same case say that besides for providing textbooks you must also provide transport to learners because that wasn't part of the case so as a judge you are limited and you must accept the discipline of working within an environment like the courts. So I think my work at the human rights commission and my work as a judge in some ways compliment each other because they seek to achieve the same things, they seek to enhance the idea of justice in our society but they do it in different ways. At the human rights commission you had greater flexibility and a greater

scope to look at the bigger picture. As a judge you have to have the discipline of confining yourself to the case in front of you, you can still look at the bigger picture. So yes, I enjoy both of them tremendously, I mean I enjoy coming to work every day, you can see what my desk looks like, but I'm writing such a fascinating judgement so you even lose sight. I mean I came in at quarter to nine, there was a tea break and I even forgot to go have tea because I was so absorbed in my work and I will probably continue and not have lunch but it's okay because it's the work that inspires you and I think that it's a wonderful privilege to be able to do work that you really enjoy and then you get paid for it as well. Not everybody has that wonderful opportunity and so I've been lucky in my life that the work I've done from the time I started working I've never really not enjoyed any period in my working life but I suppose it's also the kind of passion you bring. I mean if you bring passion to your work you will enjoy it.

PS: Do you feel that you're making a difference?

JK: I'd like to think I am. I think that if you work with integrity that's important, if you work with honesty, if you treat people decently, that in itself makes a difference so you know if you go to bed at night and you think, "what was my work worth today?", there could be various different answers. One day I wrote a judgement that impacted on school learners and that was positive. On the other hand you could simply say you know, the lady who came to clean my office I had a chat to her for 5 minutes today and asked about her family and her children and that makes a difference in her life so that's the important thing. You can't say the one is better than the other, for her that may have been a very important discussion we had and sometimes it's the small things that people don't count. For example, you come into the passage and there's a security guard sitting there and you speak to him and that makes a difference in people's lives. But others might say that no that's not important work is important, I think being a human being is more important, it's the start of your work.

PS: You've also been shortlisted to be a constitutional court judge, congratulations!

JK: Thank you.

PS: Why do u want to be a judge at the constitutional court like I doubt that it's just because of the prestige and the glamour of it but I'm assuming you want to make a difference on a bigger scale?

JK: It's the highest court in the country so clearly your ability to make a difference is much more enhanced because you're dealing with issues that gave much greater impact so I suppose as a lawyer, as a judge one aspires to reach the highest level of your particular career but in South Africa's case, it's even more unique I suppose and more special because growing up in the Marabastad, you would never ever have had the wildest dream that you would one day be a lawyer, let alone be a judge and so in many respects the constitutional court is a very important court because it really is the court that speaks to the nation beyond the legal decisions it makes – its educative role is very important so when it does a judgement for example on foreigners, it doesn't just say that this is what the law says which is that you must respect the rights of foreigners, it tries to use its judgements to educate people about what is expected of us as South African's , how we must conduct ourselves and so you have a very very important opportunity to shape and influence in a sense the direction of your society as one of a group of judges. I mean if I get appointed to that court it will be a wonderful privilege but if I don't, I still enjoy my work here thoroughly. I hope that every day I make a small difference. It's not the big things that change society, it's the small things that you do and all the small things taken together makes the change.

PS: Do you feel that the youth of today understand or appreciate in fact the sacrifices that people like your mom made?

JK: I think that it's not fair on the one hand to expect the youth of today to feel the same way as we do about the past because we lived through it and they heard about it and for them the present and the future is just as important. I do however think that it's important for the youth to know about that past, be told about it and understand it. I find that too many people are unaware of it. You know sometimes people will be surprised when you tell them about something of our past which is documented and which is available to be read but if you tell them , for example, there we separate living areas for different races and they say "really? Is that the case?". I get very disappointed by that because surely you should know

that. I'm not saying you should feel the same way I do but you should at least take it upon yourself to find out what happened in this country and it doesn't even require too much to do that. You've been able to do that, for example in the course of your life as a young learner because you've taken interest to it so I do get disappointed when there are those who say that they are not interested in the past. So it's not so much of an appreciation of that but it's at least to become knowledgeable about that so you can at least understand where we are and why we are at this place in our history. If there is inequality in our society, at least you can understand why that is so. You know if you have to ask why people have to travel every day from Lenasia to Joburg to come to work when there work is so close by, it's because there was a system that said to them that you can't stay there, you lived in Fordsburg or you lived in Fietas which was close to your work but now we're moving you away. So it's that understanding that's important.

PS: How do you think we can fix this problem with the youth whereby most of them feel very entitled and they're like misguided - because at the end of the day they are going to be the future leaders?

JK: I think it starts in the home, I think parents have a major responsibility in how they grow up their children. I mean, I don't want to say that I'm an expert in that, I don't think any of us are experts. There's no book you can read that makes you a good parent, it's something that comes from inside you and you learn and you make mistakes but I think inculcating in young people a kind of value system about their life is important and I don't think you do it by telling them what to do because people learn the best by observing what others do so your children learn from what you do so you can tell them all the wonderful things about the kind of values they must try and aspire to but if you as a parent do exactly the opposite then all of that is contradictory. I think it starts there but it's much bigger than that, I think it's the kind of materialism we have in our society that you know people get respected because of the title they have. As a judge for example, people respect me, they say "judge come and sit here" you know but there's so many people in our community who do much more important work than I do such as teachers, they don't get that kind of respect. Our whole value system has been turned upside down, it's become material, associated with

prestige titles like you know you'll find doctors are respected but they don't ask what kind of person this is, it's rather okay, you're a doctor so you get respected and that gets passed on to young people. They have internalised it. They think that if you have money it entitles you to be respected so yea I think there's a serious problem there from this materialism and loss of values. Although I also don't think that it's as bad as that, I see young people in my community everyday doing positive and powerful things. They would go and visit homes where older people live, they would go to children's homes where children who have been abandoned live, go and have picnics with the children and spend time with them so they are also willing to share of their time and the privileges they have to, share it with others so maybe one is perhaps being too harsh. They do that but then they also enjoy their materialism, I don't know, maybe the 2 can go together – they share some of what they have so one must give them at least some benefit. You can't expect your children to be like you like someone once said "your children are not your own, they come through you but not from you".

PS: So you touched on materialism, do you think that this materialistic behaviour is because of socio-economic inequalities?

JK: Well materialism is all over the world, you know. But maybe in societies that are as unequal as ours, it's greater. Because I think in other societies that are more equal, if you look at the Scandinavian countries, maybe you see less of the materialism, you see wealthy people like in Denmark and Sweden but they don't drive flashy cars – they cycle to work. So maybe in a society that is as unequal as our, materialism may take on a different role whereby it almost says "look, I've made it", I've escaped from the type of poverty that my parents were stuck in so this is a sign of my success. At that one level maybe one can understand it but the challenge is how you move beyond that.

PS: Okay thank you very much for your time sir.

Interview 2

Interviewee : Antoinette Sithole (AS)

Interviewer : Priyanka Singh (PS)

Place : Hector Peterson Memorial, Soweto

Date : 20 August 2019

REASON WHY I INTERVIEWED Antoinette Sithole – Mrs Sithole is the sister of Hector Peterson and was involved in the June 1976 uprisings and was previously interviewed in the project. I wanted to gain her insight into the changes since 1994 from the perspective of somebody who had suffered such sad loss under apartheid

PS: Please introduce yourself for me

AS: I am Antoinette Sithole. I am the elderly sister of the late Hector Peterson

PS: Can you please tell me your position at the museum

AS: I no longer work here at the museum, I used to work here as a museum guide and a tourist guide and help with educational projects.

PS: I chose to interview you because you were part of a very monumental march which inspired change in South Africa. How did u feel at the end of apartheid?

AS: Well it was unbelievable you know. Remember that we were just students and we were only trying to convey the message, we never thought that would be the turning point for all South Africans. Oh I felt very great. It was like is it real? Or maybe this happened somewhere else. It was so fulfilling.

PS: We've come a long way as a country from 1994 so what do you think, like how have we changed as a country?

AS: Well the change is there, remember that we never voted because of oppression, we never went to other places such as parks and toilets, there were whites only and black only so for that was a change. Today we can even vote. We started to vote in 1994 so for me that was a very big change.

PS: What is your opinion on the current South Africa?

AS: Well right now, you know we are struggling here and there. You know sometimes we fall and trip and as soon as we dust ourselves it's like 'hey what happened?' We see our flaws and sometimes we don't see them. So to me there are so many things that need to be fixed so to me it's a milestone. And I live by hope so I'm hopeful and sure that things are going to change.

PS: What do you think is the greatest achievement?

AS: The greatest achievement is that people are getting homes, even though they are small It's much much better. Even us, as people, especially black people, there's a great change. Today you are a student and tomorrow you will be working. So there are so many changes. We have been uplifted because of the change, people are now confident in themselves. There are so many things. Today our children can go to any school. The education system, I'm not too sure because you know government schools, they are no up to standard which is why parents are taking their kids to multi racial schools. I think that that can be looked into because there's still time, otherwise we can say that we are on the path.

PS: What do you think we still struggle with when it comes to after 1994?

AS: I think there's plenty such as jobs. Children are happy to go to school you know, they are happy, they are ambitious but then when they finish school there's a problem. Why? It's just a big question mark. It's so disturbing because with fighting for an education then, we better our education for the generations. They can get a better education and jobs, even if they cannot get jobs they can believe in themselves and open up some businesses to uplift out country. We are still lacking that and that for me is the challenge but I'm still hoping that that we can change.

PS: How do you think we can improve this?

AS: Well I still believe that those graduates can come together. I know their fields are different but they can do it, they can come together. They themselves can create employment. If you are a lawyer, you can gather up other lawyers, create a company and then employ other lawyers. This means that those people will be under their wing. With something such

as engineering they can do the same. Bringing our people together and sharing with them. I know even businesses, they can but one will say 'I've built this company with my blood and sweat' but at the end of the day I think businesses also can help. Maybe they could sponsor the young entrepreneurs who have started businesses. This will inspire change amongst us.

PS: I know that you spoke at the TRC, so I just wanted to know, did that bring you closure in any way? How did it make you feel telling your story as well as your family? How did it make you guys feel?

AS: Remember, I'd been holding that burden, I couldn't really offload it on anyone so when the Truth and Reconciliation came on board it was like 'oh God you have answered my prayers'. I needed to offload that. I know people came to comfort us but it wasn't enough but going to the TRC. I felt new, I felt like this was a movie, like it was not real so it made me feel new and come to term with what happened and to forgive. The main thing was to forgive. I think it's time you know, time will tell. I felt so new and young.

PS: So do you think South Africa is headed in the right direction?

AS: Well yes, we have some flaws and I'm still hoping that things will change. Even if we fall, we need to say that this did not go right, let's fix it and move on. Because everybody's here, people are coming to South Africa and that's really motivating. Why are they coming here, because something's good about us.

PS: So would you say you're proud to be South African?

AS: I am very, very, very, excellently proud. Because of the uprisings. We never thought it would turn out this way even though we were the youth. I think even the youth of today should take a stand, whatever problems they have, you know like drugs, teenage pregnancy, gangsterism and say that we are tired and we want to live in peace. Our generations are different, obviously, so we need one another to take this country up and forward. I want them to speak about South Africa all around the world

PS: Thank you so much for your time.

Interview 3

Interviewee : Sadeque Variava (SV)

Interviewer : Priyanka Singh (PS)

Place : 642 Flamingo Road, Lenasia, home of Mr Variava

Date : 22 August 2019

REASON WHY I INTERVIEWED Mr Variava – he was previously interviewed by Onela Moseana as a black consciousness leader so I wanted to obtain his perspective on the 25 years of democracy

PS : Can you please introduce yourself.

SV : My name is Sadeque and my surname is Variava.

PS : I would like to ask you a few questions about the changes in our country after 1994. What do you think has been our greatest achievement?

SV : Before I tell you about our greatest achievement I want to tell you something, I belonged to a political group at the time when they were trying to negotiate our so called freedom, we boycotted it because we felt that it might have been a sell out option, we might be sold out to the rich and wealthy people but anyway we boycotted the first elections and later on we stood for elections, now what we can say about the first elections or democracy is that for the first time people had the chance to vote, for the first time people could move around to wherever they wanted to, for the first time you could go to any park or really anywhere you wanted to go but then you ask yourself another question, did what we called the material conditions of the poor change? In 25 years do we see much change in the lives of the poorest of the poor, what we say is that we had democracy for 25 years which is good because democracy on its own is a good idea because you become the architect of your own destiny, you can dictate things, you can vote for you want but what we really wanted, did we get? Do we really have the type of freedom we wanted? These are the fundamental questions we have to ask, you see in 25 years when it started off it started off smoothly but then we asked ourselves 'is it

really going smoothly or who's benefiting' and that's when you find out that the people who benefited the most were the politically connected people, general politicians, your counsellors and the very wealthy but did the man in the street really benefit? And we both know the answer to that. Also in the 25 years we could have gone so much further but then the worst thing, the real cancer affected our society and that cancer is corruption, the amount of money that has been stolen could have been used to put up so much of homes, could have put up so many outstanding schools, could have put up so many beautiful hospitals and so on, so that is one of the biggest hiccups we have and this happens in many countries when they first get freedom, if you look at all over Africa and if you look at all over Asia, these were countries that were colonized and now we know that our country South Africa has also been colonized, we referred to it as settler colonialism and we then called it apartheid, when the colonists got out we found that many of our people become like the colonists, greedy and they wanted to take everything. Now the other question we've been asking recently, did the democracy we have remove all the effects of racism? And I feel like the most important thing that they should have done is remove what we call structural racism. They told us that they were removing racism by allowing all races to use the same facilities and things and told us that we couldn't call each other certain names but the most important part of racism that they didn't remove or they can't remove is the living conditions of the people. Now back to the structural racism, let's look at a simple thing like sports facilities, if you go to a white area the facilities are outstanding but if you come here to townships or you go to Soweto, the facilities are crappy and we are worried about the state of our facilities and we've been begging them to fix it and they haven't done anything but had that been in a white area it would have been fixed and this is one example of structural racism, then we ask ourselves, with this type of racism, can people develop within it? Now for example, let's say you're a sporting person and you've got such facilities, you're not going to improve, whereas if you've got good facilities you will improve and become a better sports person. Now if we look at schooling, let's look at the schools in Soweto, they've got overcrowded classes and things and if you look at the kids that come out of there, what chance do they have of competing with anyone and that in itself is structural racism and

this shows that the material conditions haven't changed at all and because of this we're not going to move very far. Now our country has this disease that we call the 'Animal Farm' disease and if you look at the book, the part where the pigs and the human beings are gambling and they get involved in an argument and the guy says that they don't know who is who because they all look the same now the same thing is happening here where our ruling class and rich people are all sitting together and we say that we don't know who is who because they all look the same. Another author wrote a beautiful book called 'All things fall apart' and if you look at our country and all the things that are happening, all things are falling apart right now. For example we look at our state owned enterprises, they're all falling apart, whereas democracy was supposed to make us better people and fill us with dignity and create a beautiful place where people are equal but it hasn't done that because we have a practice democracy and if you look at it, we said we have 25 years of democracy and all we do is go to a polling station and vote and what the politician does, we can't do anything about it. Once they get voted in they don't care about us as the community because they get fabulous salaries and they get all the perks and this is the type of things we have to deal with. 25 years, we do have some good, we can do what we want to but our conditions haven't changed and the worst thing that has happened now is that in south Africa we have the biggest gap between the rich and the poor and the majority of the people in our country are very poor. When people go on strike for service delivery it just shows how much how so called democracy has failed because they were promised all these things but it was never given to them.

PS : If you were a counsellor in lens, what would you change?

SV : The first thing I would do is apply a new type of democracy and that is called participatory democracy, the democracy that I want is that I as your counsellor wouldn't come and speak down on you, the people on the ground must come up to me and tell me what they want me to change and I need to be the ears and eyes of the community because that's what a counsellor does, the people need to tell me what to do, I cant tell them what I want to do.

PS : I know that you were a close friend of Steve Biko's and if he was still alive do you think that he would have been satisfied with the state of the country?

SV : Not at all, we always sat and spoke about this and we said that we shouldn't make the same mistakes as other countries. Steve always said that we needed to find a way to get out of the divisions and Steve didn't wake up one morning and say 'hey guys this is what we're going to do' we always sat and had discussions about what needed to be done and he always said 'guys do not make the mistake of becoming the enemy to the people' he always wanted equality for everyone. He wanted us to share our resources with others. I therefore think that he definitely would not be satisfied with the state of our country.

PS : How do you think he would have approached these issues that we are facing?

SV : He would have gone back to the communities and he would set up committees and he would let them come up with the ideas.

PS : Earlier on you said that the two of you wanted a just society with total equality and I want to ask you if you think that we have reached that level?

SV : I believe that we are millions of years away from it, we don't have equality at all, we still have the problem with racism, I mean we see it all over and another problem that we have, which Steve Biko referred to as 'colorism' and this is where we find that people use skin lightening creams because they wanted to be fairer than they were.

PS : One of Steve Biko's famous quotes is 'the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed' , I want to know how you think he would have used this in our education today.

SV : Steve always spoke about the first thing that you have to is liberate your mind, as long as your mind is not free, you won't go anywhere and even in this situation you need to free your mind and that's what we call mind freedom and Steve was always concerned about the mind and something else that he also said which I want all of you to always remember is that 'at times the ideas in your head seem really good and you really feel

like a genius with those ideas in your head but if those ideas in your head doesn't relate to the real world then they are all useless' so that means your ideas must always relate to the here and the now and he always said that you should forget about the rest and only focus on the here and the now and that's how you start going forward in life. That why I think that its important that we cleanse and free our minds so that we can achieve the democracy that we want.

Interview 4

Interviewee : Mxolisi Gordon Paleso (MP)

Interviewer : Priyanka Singh (PS)

Place : Ennerdale,

Date : 1 August 2019

REASON WHY I INTERVIEWED Mxolisi Gordon Paleso – Mr Paleso is a parent at our school and I wanted the perspective of a parent on the challenges and successes of the 25 years of democracy

MGP: My name is Mxolisi Gordon Paleso.

PS: What do you feel is different from 1994?

MGP: The difference is that there are no police that are asking us for our 'dompas's' or l'd's on the road and we don't have trespassers. People move where they like.

PS: Do you think things have improved for non – white people?

MGP: Yes I can say that they have improved about 80%.

PS: What about the other 20%?

MGP: There is a lot of unemployment, black people are still suffering, others go to bed without food.

PS: What do you think can be done to help people more?

MGP: I think the governments would have to get rid of corruption and all those money that they are spending and taking for themselves or for corruption, that money can be used to help people to survive. If you look at most of the black people they don't have houses, the youth is unemployed.

PS: Why do think this is a problem for black people only? Why isn't it a problem for Indians, whites and coloureds?

MGP: Because blacks are the majority.

PS: Do you think the pensioners are treated equally among the races?

MGP: I don't think so because there are other black pensioners that find that their pension money has been deducted without their knowledge.

PS: What do u think causes these 'deductions'?

MGP: Some of them are told that its deducted for the airtime, some of them they don't have cellphone's so

PS: What is the greatest achievement since 1994?

MGP: Well the greatest achievement is that people move where they like, they buy houses where they like, there's no more control, there's no more 'whites only' and 'blacks only' and 'coloured only' and 'indian only'. Everyone in South Africa stays where he likes.

PS: What can we still improve on?

MGP: The government will have to improve on unemployment, education-its sub par.

PS: What must the people do to try and fix tis issue of black unemployment?

MGP: Well people can open their own businesses, the thing is that they don't have money to open up their own businesses because u cannot open a business without any capital. People can improve themselves by ploughing nut now people don't have the equipment, hey don't have money to buy seeds for ploughing. What can be done? The government should start a good education from primary because if you look at the engineers the percentage if black engineers is about 1-2% compared to white and Indians.

PS: Do you not think that the problem is then in the black people and not the country?

MGP: Well that is why I say that they must start education from lower primary because black people have that thing of bring ruled by a white person, they can't to their own, they depend on whites so the government is supposed to take out that mentality from them by giving them fishing rods, not fish, if you give a person a fishing rod he will be able to go and fish and feed himself. You give him skills to empower himself.

PS: Thank you.

Ethics Appraisal Form and Interviewee Release Forms

THE ORIGINAL ETHICS APPRAISAL AND SIGNED INTERVIEWEE RELEASE FORMS APPEAR IN MY PORTFOLIO OF EVIDENCE

ANNEXURE D**ETHICS APPRAISAL FORM**

Good day, my name is **PRIYANKA SINGH** and I Am a Grade **11** at **GIBSON PILLAY LEARNING ACADEMY**. I am doing an Oral History Project on **the achievements and challenges of our new democracy and whether all citizens now have a more equitable and dignified life** (explain briefly what the research project is all about)

Participation in the study is voluntary and the choice of whether to participate or not is yours alone. There are no repercussions for you should you decide not to take part in the study. If you do agree to participate, you may stop the interview at any time with no penalties and you will not be prejudiced in any way.

The interview will last between 60 to 70 minutes. I will ask questions and request that you answer them as openly and honestly as possible. Some questions may be of a personal and/or sensitive nature. You may indicate if they make you uncomfortable and you may choose not to answer them. There is no right or wrong answer. This research is purely about understanding and personal perspective of the subject matter being investigated. In other words, I am more interested in your personal experiences and understanding.

The interviews are anonymous and your name will not be disclosed anywhere during the research process. As the researcher, I am the only person who will have access to your identity and I am governed by a standard code of ethics for researchers. Should it be necessary, I may approach you with some follow up questions after the interview to seek clarity or to enhance my understanding on the topic only.

I want to ask your permission to record our conversation by using this audio tape and / or video recorder. It will assist me in recording our conversation so that I can refer to it once we are finished. The tapes will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Once the research is completed, they will be destroyed. Please can I confirm your willingness to participate?

My Name **PRIYANKA SINGH** Mobile Number **076 861 1123**



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RELEASE FORM

Nkosi Albert Luthuli Oral History Competition

RESTRICTIONS: _____

Date of Interview: _____

Interviewee's Name (printed): _____

Interviewer's Name (printed): _____

The purpose of this project is to collect oral testimonies of a particular period or event in history as part of the Nkosi Albert Luthuli Oral History Competition. This project falls under the Department of Basic Education. I understand that these interviews (tapes and transcripts) will be deposited in the South African History Archives (SAHA) for the use by future students, educators and researchers. Responsibility for reproduction, distribution, display, and the creation of derivative works will be at the discretion of the Department of Basic Education and the South African History Archives (SAHA). I also understand that the tapes and transcripts may be used in public presentations including, but not limited to, books, audio or video documentaries, slide-tape presentations, school exhibits, articles, or presentation on the websites of the Department of Basic Education and the South African History Archives. In making this contract, I understand that the copyright of the Nkosi Albert Luthuli Oral History Competition material rests with the Department of Basic Education. This gift, however, does not prevent any use that I myself want to make of the information in these transcripts and recordings.

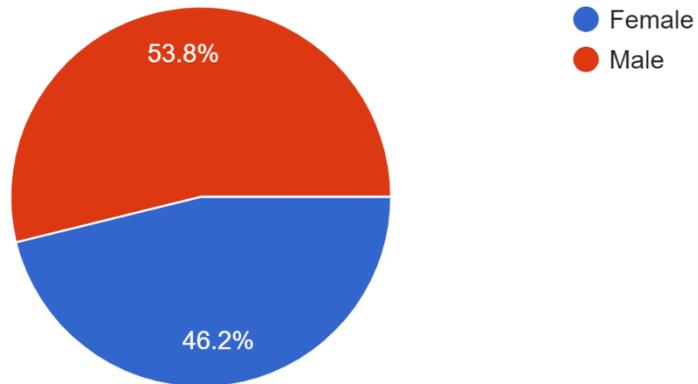
Signature of the Interviewee _____

Date _____

Results of Online Survey

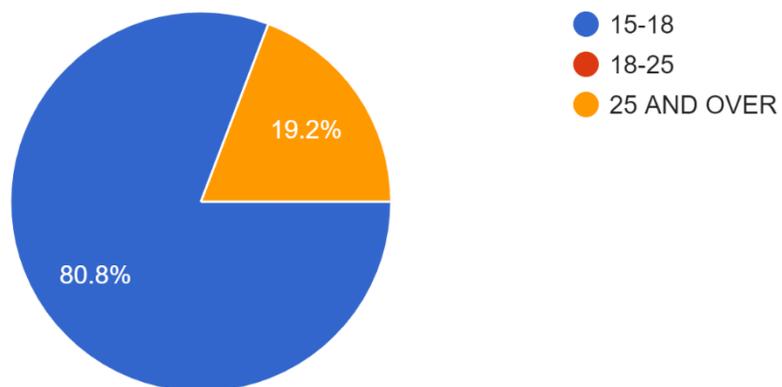
ARE YOU MALE OR FEMALE

26 responses



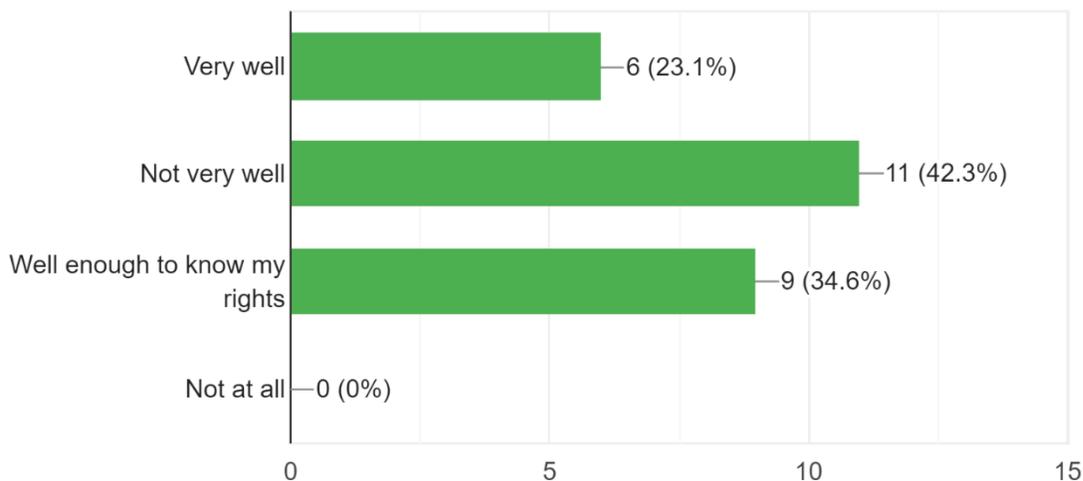
What age group do you fall into?

26 responses



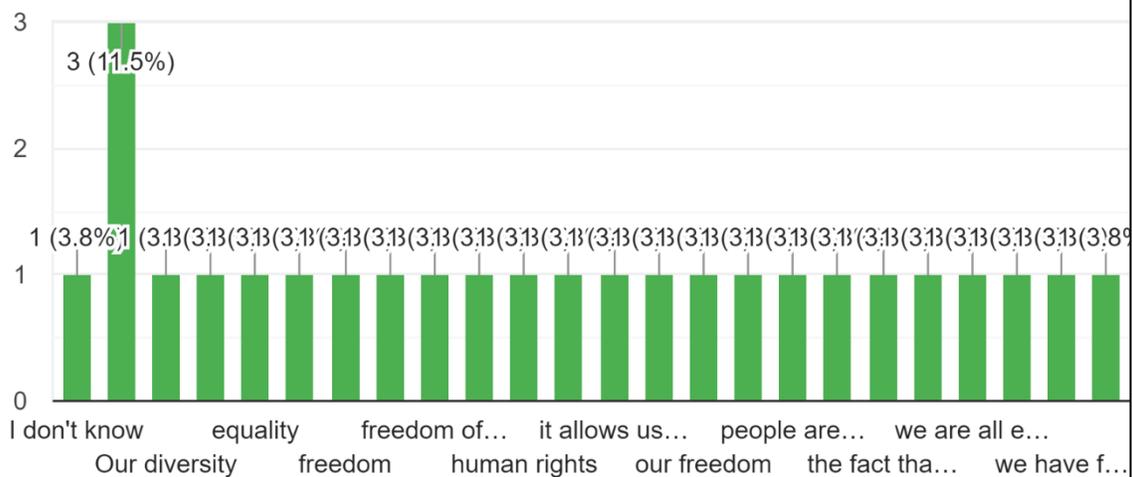
How well do you know the Bill of Rights

26 responses



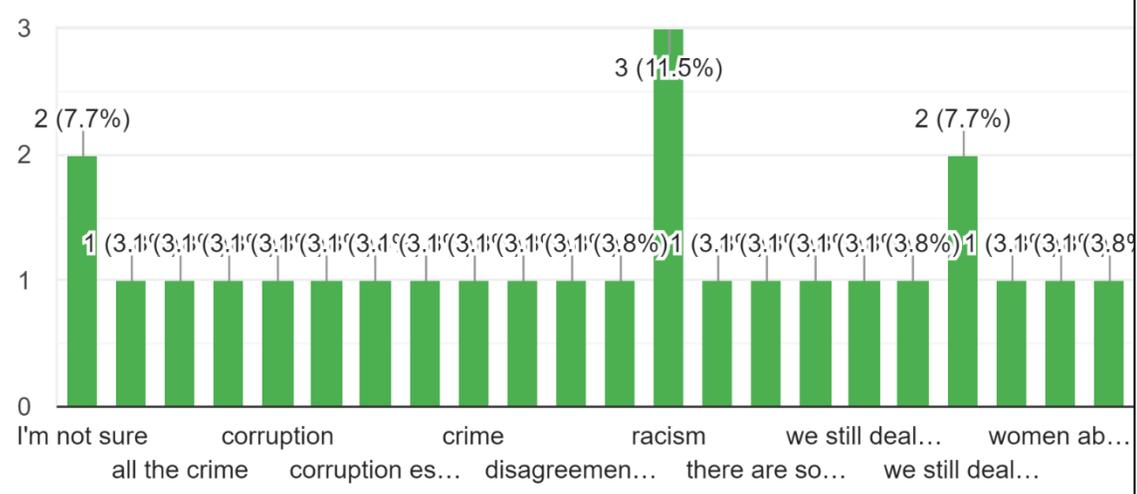
What do you consider to be the best achievement by our new democracy?

26 responses



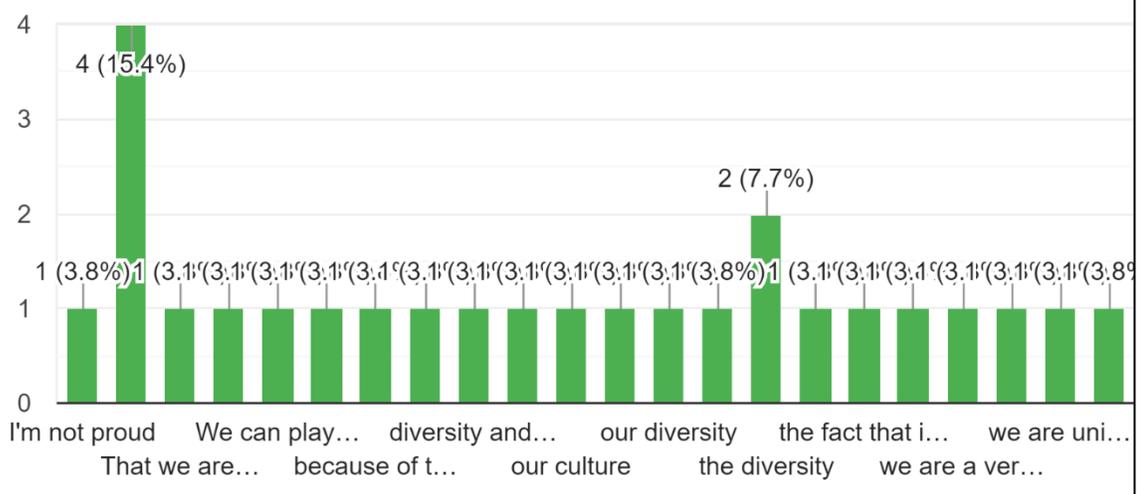
What do you consider to be the biggest challenge of our new democracy?

26 responses



What makes you proud to be South African?

26 responses



Female	25 AND OVER	Very well	our freedom to live anywhere
Female	25 AND OVER	Very well	one system of education
Female	15-18	Very well	Our diversity
Male	15-18	Not very well	freedom and equality
Female	15-18	Well enough to know my rights	freedom of education
Female	15-18	Not very well	there is less racism and more opportunities
Male	15-18	Not very well	we have equality
Male	15-18	Well enough to know my rights	it allows us to live together as individuals rather
Male	15-18	Not very well	we have freedom
Male	15-18	Not very well	we have freedom and we live in very diverse c
Male	15-18	Not very well	development after racial segregation
Male	15-18	Well enough to know my rights	having a say in what happens in our country
Female	15-18	Well enough to know my rights	I don't know
Male	25 AND OVER	Well enough to know my rights	human rights
Male	15-18	Well enough to know my rights	I'm not sure
Female	15-18	Very well	the fact that people have rights and they have
Female	15-18	Well enough to know my rights	I'm not sure
Male	25 AND OVER	Very well	people are given equal opportunities to enroll
Male	15-18	Not very well	I'm not sure
Female	15-18	Well enough to know my rights	we are all equal
Female	15-18	Not very well	our freedom
Male	15-18	Not very well	freedom
Male	15-18	Not very well	equality
Female	15-18	Well enough to know my rights	the bill of rights
Male	15-18	Not very well	equality
Female	25 AND OVER	Very well	i don't think that we've achieved anything posi

What do you consider to be the biggest	What makes you proud to be South African?		
corruption especially in government	That we are so well represented in so many different things		
corruption in government	our sports		
We still deal with racism	The fact that our country is very diverse		
still racism	We can play sport internationally		
crime and corruption	the fact that i can express myself freely without fear of being discriminated against		
corruption and crim	we have diversity		
we still deal with racism	we are the rainbow nation, no other country has as many races as we do		
we still deal with problems such as xen	the diversity of our country		
crime	we are a country that is very democratic and we have a great history		
women abuse	I'm not proud to be South African		
corruption	the diversity		
all the crime	I'm not proud to be South African		
racism	I'm not proud to be South African		
racism	our diversity		
we still deal with racism	we are a very diverse country		
education, crime	because of the diversity		
we still deal with crime and racism	the diversity		
xenophobia	diversity and everyone is included in the country		
we still deal with women and children a	we are united in our diversity		
there are some people that are more d	our diversity		
there's still a high crime rate	because i have rights that are protected by the constitution		
disagreements between different races	our culture		
I'm not sure	I'm not proud		
I'm not sure	it is very diverse		
racism	diversity		
corruption	I'm not proud to be South African		