CITIZENSHIP A TOOL OF SOCIAL INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

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Abstract: *During apartheid South Africa White minority had full citizenship and majority of the population had less or no entitlement to citizenship. When the democratic government resumed office, it attempted to create a new citizenry whereby everyone would have equal access to socio-economic and political citizen rights. The rise to power of the African National Congress brought hope to the historically exploited, excluded and oppressed populations. Furthermore, it gave a sense of entitlement among the historically marginalized mainly black population to the fruits of citizenship in the new democracy. The paper aims to evaluate whether universal citizenship have been achieved in the post-apartheid South Africa. The paper argues that although the South African constitution is based on common citizenship but there are many challenges in realization of this. Part of the reason for this was the adoption of a neoliberal macroeconomic policy which has hindered public institutions to effectively address the racial and social disparities of the past. In addition, social citizenship in the post-apartheid South Africa is used as a tool for exclusion and inclusion.*

Keywords: *citizenship, social, inequality, exclusion, inclusion, gender*

1. Introduction

Citizenship is at the centre of contemporary South African politics. It holds the promise of 'better life for all' South African. For Enslin (2003) the rise to power of the African National Congress (ANC) brought hope to the historically exploited, excluded and oppressed populations. Furthermore it gave a sense of entitlement among the historically marginalised mainly black population to the fruits of citizenship in the new

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democracy. However South Africa is still faced with high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality. During apartheid South Africa White minority had full citizenship and majority of the population had less or no entitlement to citizenship (Hammett, 2008, p. 3). When the democratic government resumed office, it attempted to create a new citizenry whereby everyone would have equal access to socio-economic and political citizen rights. Although the South African constitution is based on common citizenship but there are many challenges in realisation of this (Vally, 2007, p. 39). Part of the reason for this was the adoption of a neoliberal macroeconomic policy which has hindered public institutions to effectively address the racial and social disparities of the past (Barchiesi, 2008, p. 56). It can be said therefore that South Africa's conception of citizenship is found in the fight against apartheid and the new constitution. The fight against apartheid resulted participatory idea of democratic citizenship. The idea of full citizenship was reflected most significantly in the 1980's in the mass mobilization against apartheid regime (Sokupa, 2010, p. 11). Hassim (1999, p. 6) notes that 'citizenship in South Africa has always been a politically charged notion'. I argue that South African social democratic welfare is a result of successful political struggle to attain full citizenship under the context of democracy. Furthermore democratic South African citizenship act as a de-stigmatisation from apartheid as the social democratic welfare South Africa provided dignity and security for all. However, it has also become a tool for inclusion and exclusion. Before and during apartheid, those seeking welfare were intentionally stigmatised and viewed as lazy and undesirables.

The paper has been divided into three main section and two sub-sections. The first section gives brief introduction of the issue, second section discusses citizenship and inequality, and this section has two sub-sections namely gender and citizenship, and urban-rural citizenship. The final section of the chapter discusses the conclusion.

2. Citizenship and inequality

Citizenship is a concept that is almost universally used, however its definition is highly contested. From social policy view social citizenship is concerned with government social policies and the rights of citizens to promote a socially desirable, minimal livelihood without being dependent on the market (Marshall, 1950, p. 59). The crux of the contemporary views on citizenship can be located in the Sociology of T.H Marshall. Marshall divided citizenship into three categories namely civil, political and social aspects. Civil or legal rights are important for individual liberty that is freedom of speech, thought and religion and rights to justice. Once these rights have been realised, it allow people to seek political rights, that is right to participate in the political arena (Marshall, 1950, p. 32). For example right to vote, right to participate in any political party. The democratic rights paved way for citizens to contribute in government policy and this resulted in the granting of social rights. These social rights were institutionalised in the welfare state and involve:

> "*The whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and live as a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society. The institutions closely connected with it are the educational system and social services*" (Marshall, 1950, p. 32).

Like Marshall ideology of citizenship, South African constitution is also premised on universal citizenship ideal. Against this social citizenship there is a neoliberal ideology that state cutting in its social spending is the basis of a good society. The absence of universalist social policies and state funded social security programs characterises the mixed nature of South Africa's social citizenship regime. Furthermore it reflects a radical division within the country's system of social security, between social insurance, which is linked to permanent employment, and social assistance as safety for the poor and the marginalised from wage labour, however limited in its amount. In brief high degree of commodification characterises social citizenship in the post-apartheid. This is reflected to the:

> "*The dependence of social provisions and living standards on individual labour market positions and waged employment, rather than on subsidization from either employers or the state*" (Barchiesi, 2008, p. 57).

Despite the adoption of T.H Marshal idea of social citizenship by South African most political parties particularly the ANC one learn that the neoliberal policies actually favour the rich people leaving out majority of poor population having no access to basic services. Therefore, South African social citizenship is based on economic power[1]. I therefore add on what van Niekerk 2007 argued that:

> "*The extent to which the formal entitlement to social rights can result in meaningful outcomes which improve the livelihood of the working class and disadvantaged groups is dependent on the extent to which they can mobilise around civil and political rights to expand the scope of social rights*" (van Niekerk, 2007, p. 59).

Social rights entitlement in South Africa will not solely dependent on mobilization around political and civil rights but also will depend on mobilization of economic resources to improve the conditions of the marginalised and exploited precisely because of the neoliberal economic that was adopted by the government.

For Marshall as the industrial societies evolved, the citizens' rights also evolved (Turner, 1993, p. 6). However "Marshall did not provide a causal explanation of how

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[1] BusinessDictionary.com-definition-condition of having sufficient productive resources at command that give the capacity to make and enforce economic decisions, such as allocation of resources and apportioning of goods and services

citizenship expands. He merely provided a historical description of evolution of social rights in Britain, but he made little reference to the role of social class, new social movements or social struggle in the promotion of citizenship rights" (Turner, 1993, p. 8). I argue that civil, political and social rights are interlinked. Once an individual for example has freedom of speech, he/she needs to join a social movement or political party in order for his/her voice to be heard for example that he/she needs access to health care. However this must be a collective concern in order for social rights to be realised.

According to T.H Marshall citizenship was an attempt to address the problem found between democracy and capitalism as an economic system. It was a way on how to resolve "formal equality with the continuity of social class divisions (Turner, 1993, p. 6). Marshall views reflect that the contradiction found between democracy and capitalism can be solved through a welfare state. However a welfare state alone cannot solve the problem of social inequalities. For Titmuss (2000) believed that this problem could be resolved through positive selective discrimination to provide extra assistance to the most poor. From the above views, the welfare state could unite people and provide them with a shared sense of citizenship. This because "if I am right…that citizenship has been a developing institution in England at least since the later part of the seventeenth century then it is clear its growth coincides with the rise of capitalism which is a system not of equality, but of inequality (Marshall, 1982, p. 9). Employing T.H Marshall theory of social citizenship in South African context social rights citizenship emerged as a result of inequalities caused by apartheid and capitalism. Apartheid and capitalism are inseparable they both produce inequalities in the society. Capitalism does not allow economic justice hence it encourages commodification of social services. It was actually an endeavour to provide equality to access to social rights regardless of gender, race, class, political affiliation, creed, religion, ethnicity etc. However in reality it fails to live up to this standard.

For citizenship to be effective it requires institutions, procedures and arenas where it can be put into practice for example the local governments. It is worth noting that local government is not an institution which determines citizen status, but it offer an "arena in which many of its rights are exercised or denied" (Grest, 2002, p. 41). Over the past few years South Africa has witnessed the rise of urban-based community activism against commodification of municipal services and demanding decommodification of basic social services like water, healthcare, housing etc (Barchiesi, 2008, p. 63). The community activism against commodification of basic services reflects failure of the government to achieve egalitarian citizenship. It is indisputable that the problem lies with the adoption of neoliberal policies. It is therefore imperative for South Africa to move from rhetoric universal social citizenship to action social citizenship.

2.1. Gender and Citizenship

Citizenship has always been created along the lines of gender. In the past citizenship in South Africa has been used as a tool to exclude others on basis of gender, race etc. After the democratic elections in 1994 the understanding of this concept had to be reworked in order to provide all people with access to full participation in social life. It is within this framework that citizenship rather than nationalism has become a political vehicle through which the aspirations and the needs of the exploited, oppressed and marginalised are expressed (Shope, 2004, p. 4). What was expected from the struggles for democracy is the idea that political change would automatically eradicate social and economic disparities, including those of gender (Hassim, 1999, p. 6). Although South Africa has achieved political freedom but it has failed to achieve social, economic and gender freedom. The fact that South Africa has political power it means it has the power to change everything including gender issues which remains a key challenge in the democratic South Africa.

The feminists contributions to the arguments of participation and universalism have had a profound effect on theorising the concept of citizenship. Feminists have clearly revealed the 'fundamental masculinism of citizenship's foundations'. This has led Pateman to call for an urgent need to 'reformulate the concept of citizenship so that women are not simply included, but the full diversity of women's identities and interests is encompassed' (Hassim, 1999, p. 8). Furthermore feminists have challenged Marshall's idea that universal status results to equality, pointing out that even at a formal level it is impossible for all citizens to be equal (Hassim, 1999, p. 8) pointing out that citizenship is based on power which can only be exercised through political, social and economic structures that maintain the exclusion of some social groups (McEwan, 2000, p. 632).

For O'Connor (1993, p. 505) the problem with T.H Marshall's ideal of citizenship "evolved when women were still denied or had only just achieved political citizenship and were not participants in the political decision making process". In the case of democratic South Africa even though citizenship has been made universal at least in theory, but women and men are incorporated differently; men as breadwinners and women as mothers or caregivers. Furthermore although entrenched in the constitution but judicial and legislative definition of equality will become a site of struggle because it can either be interpreted as universalistic or gendered way. In light of this the contestation of inclusive and unclear definition of citizenship and equality should not only mediated or resolved by the Constitutional Court only but by also active participation of women's organizations (Hassim, 1999, p. 10) because they understand better the needs and problems faced by women. However that does not mean that women organisations are more progressive (McEwan, 2000, p. 638). This is also confirmed by a study that was conducted by Hassim (1991) on Inkatha Women's Brigade:

> "*A women's movement per se does not guarantee that women's position in society is being fundamentally challenged or indeed that there will be any impact on existing political organizations or parties, trade unions or policy makers*" (Hassim, 1991, p. 73).

Although democracy in South Africa has extended the citizenship rights, the conditions of effective exercise of such rights remains a serious problem for political marginalised groups like women and the poor. To stand for elections is part of citizenship rights however women are unable to exercise such right as men (Hassim, 1999, p. 11). As Signe Arnfred (1998) notes that:

> "*In spite of all this triumphalist talking about gender equality and rights, what actually happens are increasing polarizations between rich and poor, and among the poor a majority are women*."

The model of universal citizenship in democratic South Africa that is treating women and men equally actually reinforces and perpetuates inequalities (Shope, 2004, p. 4-5). This has led Hassim (1999, p. 11) to conclude that:

> "*Universal suffrage has proved that formal equality can co-exist quite comfortably with systematic inequality.*"

For example evidence shows that female are poorer than male heads of households. The poverty rate for female heads of households in 1995 was sixty percent, which was twice that of male headed households, this was aggravated by the concentration of female headed households in rural areas. Urban households are well off than rural households concerning access to basic services etc. Rural households in 2001 accounted for fifty six percent of all poor households (Triegaardt, 2007, p. 4).

Social security system has been used in South Africa as a tool to address issues of poverty. It has successfully contributed to the reduction of poverty in impoverished areas more especially the rural areas. However majority of the social grants reaches more female than men (Triegaardt, 2007, p. 5). This causes a gendered citizenship and moreover it causes diswelfare to the illegible men. It can be argued that this might cause dependency of women to welfare. However there is no evidence confirming that social grants do actually contributes to dependency. Actually evidence reveals that:

> "*In households that received the social pension, 9% of adults were employed in March 2005 and another 15% were actively looking for work. In households that did not receive the pension, only 7% were employed and another 13% were actively looking for work. Receipt of the social pension was associated with a 2% higher probability of finding employment and a 2% higher probability of actively looking for work. Alternatively, receipt of the social pension was associated with a 4% lower probability of not participating in the labour force.*

The child support grant demonstrates a similar effect. Working age adults - particularly women - in poor households that receive a child support grant are more likely to look for work and more likely to find employment than comparable adults in households that do not receive the child support grant. The matched Labour Force Survey similarly provides a dynamic picture of how labour force participation changes for households receiving and not receiving the child support grant" (Samson, 2006, p. 9-10).

With regards to the women who receive social pension their social citizenship entitlements is determined by their old age, whereas on the other hand the women who receives child support grant their social citizenship is incorporated in their children's rights.

Activists South Africa has always been fighting against this rhetoric egalitarian citizenship to ensure that women's rights are incorporated in the constitution. This is an endeavour to create a policy structure that is able to incorporate diversity into citizenship in a manner that does not hinder gender equality. This can only be achieved by a public policy that acknowledges that women's citizenship "derives as much from the private sphere as it does from the public sphere" (McEwan, 2000, p. 646).

There are numerous factors which prevent women from effectively exercising citizenship rights. Firstly socio-economic factors play a vital role: generally speaking women do not make decisions in families, they are less educated than men and they occupy minor sectors of the economy. Another factor is that women voices within political parties and social movements are silenced (Hassim, 1999, p. 11).

2.2. Urban-rural citizenship

The formation of the 1910 South Africa was based on segregationism and it still remains even today (Westaway, 2010, p. 2). This is marked by the 'urban bias' in development thinking, which demotes rural societies to the periphery of macro development strategies. Such bias poses danger to the creation of an inclusive national citizenship (Munro, 1996, p. 2). The divide found in the urban and rural areas is exemplified by the people staying in Grahamstown, East London and Port Elizabeth regardless of race are governed by development, democracy and rights. On the other hand people of Lusikisiki, Keiskammahoek and Cofimvaba which are all black are governed by welfare, custom and tradition (Westaway, 2010, p. 2). This has a negative impact on "universal" citizenship adopted by democratic South Africa.

Mamdani (1996) asserts that a 'bifurcated colonial state' is characterised by separation of urban and rural, modern and customary law, and civil and traditional society. The argument is premised on the idea that colonial state use to control

indigenous people through the practice of 'decentralised despotism' whereby citizens in the urban areas were separated from the subjects in the rural areas across Africa. This challenge faces the democratic South Africa today whereby there is a:

> "*Breakdown between ethnically defined rural subjects and racially-defined urban citizens*" (Sokupa, 2010, p. 13).

The lesson that can be learnt from Mamdani's argument is that the relationship between the state and the urban population is different from the rural population; furthermore they will have different expectations of citizenship.

After eighteen years of democracy black rural South Africans still live in abject poverty. The people of Ciskei and Transkei for example are now regarded as South African citizens, with the right to vote but they have limited or no role to play in the economy; moreover they still drink water from the river and use fire wood for energy. It is indisputable that the government has expanded welfare scheme since 1994, however poverty still persist in the Bantustans even today. In reality as the poor in the rural areas got poorer since democratic elections in 1994, the rich got richer. Since 1994 national inequalities has increased. The Gini Coefficient has increased from 0.64 to 0.69 (Westaway, 2010, p. 6). There are various kinds of inequalities namely consumption inequality, economic inequality, land inequality, power distribution inequality and services inequality. Inequality has two parts to it, those in the bottom income group and those at the top income group (Eglin, 2010, p. 4). If it is accepted that there is a state obligation to redress the diswelfares caused by apartheid through equal access to social rights, then South African inequalities raises thought provoking questions about citizenship and social policy, which is whether post-apartheid South African citizenship is embedded on socialist social policies or selective social policies which is driven by neoliberal policies.

There has been a decline in the former Bantustans which are basically rural. This arose during the period of sustained national economic growth, symbolized by tremendous increase in "public purse", and massive growth and consolidation of wealth by the dominant urban based individuals. The rural people in 2010 are poor, sick, uneducated, have no water and food to eat, unemployed and have no hygienic toilets. By comparison the urban residents on the other hand are better educated, earn higher income, more employable and have access to better basic services (Westaway, 2010, p. 6). As Sokupa points out that:

> "*Despite the universalism of rights found in the South African constitution; rights are not natural, but conferred, and they could also be de-conferred*" (Sokupa, 2010, p. 13).

This leads us to the question of whether there have been some continuities or discontinuities of the legacy of apartheid in rural areas. The lessons from above reflect that the apartheid method of governance in rural has been reinforced but in a

more sophisticated way. Evidence reveals that economic development in the democratic South Africa is governed by a spatial perspective. In short decision makers have used the map to determine why and where economic investment should take place. They are of the idea that some geographic areas are worthy of investment than others. For example Coega gets everything and Ciskei gets nothing (Westaway, 2010, p. 10). This kind of inequitable development strategy "thrives on uneven development and social marginalisation" (Helliker, 2008, p. 80). This reflects that citizenship ideals may not only discriminate noncitizens, but also preserve status hierarchies whereby rights and duties are allocated unevenly among members of different societal groups (McCluskey, 2002, p. 799). Analysing South Africa citizenship in rural areas one would conclude they are second class citizens because basically their rights are less than the urban dwellers. Marshall has failed to recognise inequitable citizenship status specifically as applied to rural dwellers.

All the areas of government have adopted such strategy in their interventions and programmes. This is exemplified by the concepts like zones and nodes used by municipalities to determine the allocation of resources. It is the Spatial Development Frameworks controls the spatial coherence and logic of provincial and municipal plans. The Eastern Cape Province and its constituent municipalities have been redesigned into unstrategic and strategic areas. As a result huge resources have been allocated to Spatial Development initiatives Zones. Most of the resources are channelled to these areas leaving out most poverty stricken areas at the receiving end of social transfers only. As the Chris Hani Municipality notes in its IDP that "In localities with low development potential, government spending, beyond basic services, should focus on providing social transfers, human resource development and labour market intelligence to enable people to become more mobile and migrate, if they choose to, to localities that are more likely to provide sustainable employment or other economic opportunities" (Chris Hani Municipality, 2008, p. 48). Consequently this kind of separate economic planning paradigm has promoted underdevelopment of "unstrategic" rural areas and development of "strategic" urban areas.

Although the President Zuma administration promised that rural development would be one of its priorities for the period 2009-2014 (Westaway, 2010, p. 10). Perhaps universal economic planning is good for treating everyone equally regardless of where they are situated. Selective economic planning on the other hand is bad as it will be socially divisive. The post-apartheid separate economic planning is another sign of "bifurcated colonial state" as it argued by Mamdani in his thesis of Citizens and Subjects.

This is also confirmed by Grest (2002) that "South Africa's cities are, in many ways, the strategic arenas for the development of a new citizenship based on a new social contract between citizens and the state". The post-apartheid city managers and planners have the major task of unifying the cities spatially and politically. This is a

way of ending the inherited spatial segregation and creates a more inclusive urban area whereby all citizens can fit in and new citizenship can develop. From the above it can be said that post-apartheid citizenship is unifying mechanism in the nation building and also encouraging access to citizens' rights (McEwan, 2000, p. 629). Nevertheless urban areas themselves are sites for contestation of new ways and forms of citizenship. The idea of citizenship involves a compact between citizens and the state, entailing obligations and rights on each side. The compact is found in the constitution and legal system. The practices of citizens as they carry out a number of activities associated with reproduction and production, with the informal economy progressively more noticeable. The past oppressive policies of apartheid are being substituted by new democratic ways of governance based on developmentalism. However the resources are constrained by the government's neoliberal macro-economic policies and limitations on state spending (Grest, 2002, p. 38-39). This has led to what Barchiesi (2008, p. 56) call a hybrid social citizenship regime because of the mismatch combination of developmentalist and macroeconomic neoliberalism approach in the new democracy's social policy. Although citizenship in the Constitution is based on the idea that all human have equal access to rights, but the adoption of a conservative macroeconomic policy encouraged that those with financial ability have their rights enforced. The post-apartheid social citizenship originates from combination of labour market, unequal and selective social policy model (Barchiesi, 2008, p. 56). Based on Richard Titmus (1959) social division of welfare the adoption of the of macroeconomic neoliberal policy in the democratic South Africa supports fiscal and occupational welfare, the former of which is determined by direct tax paying ability and means testing of eligibility for benefits, while the latter is dependent on employment status and the ability to contribute to insurance scheme for example (van Niekerk, 2007, p. 10) leaving majority of the poor population denied full citizenship to access social rights such as quality health.

3. Tools for Social Inclusion

Although there are numerous challenges in the realization of universal citizenship, but there are many projects and programmes which have been implemented to achieve this. In addition, there are many signs that show that the post-apartheid South African government has moved from selective citizenship towards universal citizenship. From above one can note that the South African Constitution seek to heal the divisions of the past and create a society grounded on fundamental human rights, democratic values and social justice. It also lay the basis for an open an democratic society "in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law" (ISER, 2011, p. 38). This then suggests that the South African Constitution commits that government to act on behalf of its citizens to fulfil their interests. Since 1994, the South African government has guaranteed rights of citizenship regardless of age, race, financial background, religion, gender etc. In the education sector for instance there are many legislations which were passed

such as the South African Schools Act (Republic of South Africa, 1996), the National Education Policy Act (Republic of South Africa, 1996), and the Higher Education Framework (Republic of South Africa, Department of Education, 1997). Policies found in these documents try to "redress past injustices and enact the country's commitment to reducing inequality and improving the quality of life of all South Africans by building an education system based on democratic values and principles of social justice" (Hill, Baxen, Craig, Namakula, 2012, p. 240). Labour and worker organizations like Congress for South African Trade Union (COSATU), on the other hand have played for the formerly racially oppressed masses "a decisive role, which was not limited to workplace-based struggles, but advanced visions of social rights and citizenship to complement democratic expectations" (Barchiesi, 2005, p. 1). The struggles and solidarity of trade unions political discourse represented the foundation of legitimate claims and moreover, the basis of social policies based on full employment, social equality, redistribution and decommodification of state provided public goods (Barchiesi, 2005, p. 1). Such social inclusion tools (programmes, policies, legislations, etc) are about "the political struggle and the political will to remove barriers to full and equitable participation in society by all. Further the vision of social inclusion is a positive vision that binds its proponents and adherents to action" (Saloojee, 2001, p.3).

4. Conclusion

Employing T.H Marshall Theory of social citizenship in South African context social rights citizenship emerged as a result of inequalities caused by apartheid and capitalism. Apartheid and capitalism are inseparable they both produce inequalities in the society. Capitalism does not allow economic justice hence it encourages commodification of social services. It was actually an endeavour to provide equality to access to social rights regardless of gender, race, class, political affiliation, creed, religion, ethnicity etc. However, in reality it fails to live up to this standard.

The absence of universalist social policies and state funded social security programs characterizes the mixed nature of South Africa's social citizenship regime. Furthermore it reflects a radical division within the country's system of social security, between social insurance, which is linked to permanent employment, and social assistance as safety for the poor and the marginalized from wage labour, however limited in its amount. In brief high degree of commodification characterizes social citizenship in the post-apartheid. This is reflected to the: "The dependence of social provisions and living standards on individual labour market positions and waged employment, rather than on subsidization from either employers or the state" (Barchiesi, 2008, p. 57). Despite the adoption of T.H Marshall idea of social citizenship by South African most political parties particularly the ANC one learn that the neoliberal policies actually favours the rich people leaving out majority of poor

population having no access to basic services. Therefore, South African social citizenship is based on economic power. I therefore add on what van Niekerk 2007 argued that: "The extent to which the formal entitlement to social rights can result in meaningful outcomes which improve the livelihood of the working class and disadvantaged groups is dependent on the extent to which they can mobilize around civil and political rights to expand the scope of social rights" (van Niekerk, 2007, p. 59). Social rights entitlement in South Africa will not solely dependent on mobilization around political and civil rights but also will depend on mobilization of economic resources to improve the conditions of the marginalised and exploited precisely because of the neoliberal economic that was adopted by the government.

Over the past few years South Africa has witnessed the rise of urban-based community activism against commodification of municipal services and demanding decommodification of basic social services like water, healthcare, housing etc (Barchiesi, 2008, p. 63). The community activism against commodification of basic services reflects failure of the government to achieve egalitarian citizenship. It is therefore imperative for South Africa to move from rhetoric universal social citizenship to action social citizenship. Citizenship has always been created along the lines of gender. In the past citizenship in South Africa has been used as a tool to exclude others on basis of gender, race etc. After the democratic elections in 1994 the understanding of this concept had to be reworked in order to provide all people with access to full participation in social life. It is within this framework that citizenship rather than nationalism has become a political vehicle through which the aspirations and the needs of the exploited, oppressed and marginalised are expressed (Shope, 2004, p. 4). Although South Africa has achieved political freedom but it has failed to achieve social, economic and gender freedom. The fact that South Africa has political power it means it has the power to change everything including gender issues which remains a key challenge in the democratic South Africa. Social security system has been used in South Africa as a tool to address issues of poverty. It has successfully contributed to the reduction of poverty in impoverished areas more especially the rural areas. However majority of the social grants reaches more female than men (Triegaardt, 2007, p. 5). This causes a gendered citizenship and moreover it causes diswelfare to the illegible men. It can be argued that this might cause dependency of women to welfare. However, there is no evidence confirming that social grants do actually contributes to dependency.

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Although "the universalism of rights found in the South African constitution; rights are not natural, but conferred, and they could also be de-conferred" (Sokupa, 2010, p. 13). This leads us to the question of whether there have been some continuities or discontinuities of the legacy of apartheid in rural areas. The lessons from above reflect that the apartheid method of governance in rural has been reinforced but in a more sophisticated way. Evidence reveals that economic development in the democratic South Africa is governed by a spatial perspective. Analysing South Africa citizenship in rural areas one would conclude they are second class citizens because basically their rights are less than the urban dwellers. Marshall has failed to recognise inequitable citizenship status specifically as applied to rural dwellers. This suggests that social citizenship in the post-apartheid South Africa is used as a tool for exclusion and inclusion. Due to this reason I would like to concur with Ramphele (2001) when she asserts that "the majority of South Africans, the social rights of all citizens, as entrenched in the new National Constitution, remains a far-off dream. The egalitarian and integrative potential of modern citizenship remains unrealised". Although there are numerous challenges in the realization of universal citizenship, but there are many projects and programmes which have been implemented to achieve this. In addition, there are many signs that show that the post-apartheid South African government has moved from selective citizenship towards universal citizenship. I argue that South African social democratic welfare is a result of successful political struggle to attain full citizenship under the context of democracy. Furthermore democratic South African citizenship act as a de-stigmatisation from apartheid as the social democratic welfare South Africa provided dignity and security for all.

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THE DISPLACED BLACK WOMEN IN THE ARMED CONFLICT IN COLOMBIA: SOME MEMOIRS OF THE VICTIMS[*]

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Abstract: *A close look to an internal armed conflict like Colombia has lived enables the recognition and encounter with the historical truth and its shocking existing consequences of a society that still endures some of those concerns. This article explores from the narratives of black women the distress and the consequences left by the displacement that has, also, made of them victims of the conflict as well as to make a contribution to the admission of the violation to their rights and the victimization that the displacement implies. Those contributions are achieved by way of the use of a qualitative methodology, with historical hermeneutical approach relying on testimonies and semi structured interviews through which with the bravery of the victims, an approximation to this enriching culture of African heritage is obtained.*

Keywords: *black woman, displaced, victim, internal armed conflict, state.*