Before and After Segregation and Apartheid:

A Comparative Analysis

By Leland Ware | Peer Review

Introduction

This article compares conditions in South Africa before and after apartheid to the circumstances in America during and after segregation. During the eras of segregation and apartheid, conditions for Black people in America and South Africa were oppressive in the extreme. The two systems had some differences, but the overall impact was the same. Black people were physically separated and treated differently, and less favourably, than their white counterparts. The progress made by African Americans during the 50 years since the end of segregation has been substantial, but significant disparities between Black and white people still linger. In the 25 years since the

elimination of apartheid in South Africa, significant improvements have been made, but most poor Black people still reside in impoverished communities in townships and the countryside.

The broad-based, grass roots, Civil Rights movement started in America in the 1950s. Over the next decade, marches, boycotts, and other forms of nonviolent protests were organised and executed. These activities culminated with the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968. In the years that followed, African Americans made significant advances in educational

attainment levels, employment opportunities, family income, home ownership, and wealth.

In South Africa, Black people and other non-white groups stepped up their opposition to apartheid in the 1950s. The South African government responded with a campaign of strenuous, and often violent, reactions to those activities. In the 1990s, under international pressure, the apartheid laws were repealed, and Nelson Mandela was elected by a multi-racial electorate. In the 25 years since, substantial changes have been made but more work must be done to reduce the enormous disparities between affluent and impoverished Black African families.

Economic inequality is high and has increased since 1994. The top 1% of South Africans own 70.9% of the country's wealth, while the bottom 60% hold just 7%. South Africa is the world's most unequal society and the split is largely along racial lines. Although a new, Black middle class is slowly emerging, and a small Black elite has accrued tremendous wealth, many Black South Africans have not seen substantial improvements in their lives. This must be addressed. The South African government is in danger of becoming the political stereotype of what is wrong with post-colonial Africa: corrupt African leaders who exercise power through cronyism, bribery, and patronage. 'State capture' refers to practices in which private entities redirect public resources for their own benefit (Gevisser, 2019). This must be ended.

The final section of this article examines the proposals contained in New Cities New Economies: South Africa and Africa's Grand Plan. The proposed solution to many of South Africa's problems involves a total spatial reconstruction consisting of the creation of new mega-city regions that will produce new economics for South Africa. The author, Dr. Tshilidzi Ratshitanga, presents a bold, new vision for development and provides a roadmap for achieving prosperity and equality for all South Africans.

Segregation in the U.S.

Plessy v. Ferguson was the historic decision by the U.S. Supreme Court that upheld the constitutionality of racial segregation laws as long as the separate facilities were equal to those reserved for white people. The events leading to Plessy began with the

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enactment of a New Orleans ordinance that required railroad carriers to provide 'equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races.' A group of New Orleans citizens organized a test case to challenge the law.

When the case was tried, Plessy's lawyers argued that the ordinance violated the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution. The case eventually made its way to the Supreme Court. Plessy lost. Writing for the majority, Justice Henry Brown dismissed the Thirteenth Amendment claim almost summarily. The Amendment, he wrote, was enacted to abolish slavery. An ordinance that established a distinction between the races did not, in his view, destroy legal equality or re-establish involuntary servitude. Turning to the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, Justice Brown cited a series of earlier decisions as authority for states to enact statutes that made distinctions based on race. Segregation's vision was that Black people would serve white people as domestic servants or as inexpensive laborers. After the Supreme Court's endorsement, racial separation was imposed in virtually all aspects of everyday life. Whites and Blacks were born in separate hospitals, educated in different schools, and buried in segregated graveyards. Schools, restaurants, hotels, theatres, public transportation, and waiting rooms were segregated, as were elevators, parks, public restrooms, hospitals, drinking fountains, prisons, and places of worship. Segregated waiting rooms were required in professional offices, as well as building entrances, cemeteries, and even amusement-park cashier windows.

African Americans could not live in white neighbourhoods. Black people could own property,

but practices in the real estate industry and federal government regulations limited them to shabby and deteriorating ghettos. Segregation was enforced for public pools, phone booths, asylums, jails, and homes for the elderly and disabled. The labour market was segmented. There were white jobs and black jobs; men's work and women's work. African Americans were domestics, janitors, laborers and the like. These were the lowest paying and least desirable occupations.

In Atlanta, Georgia, African Americans testifying in court cases were sworn in using a different Bible to that used by white people. Marriage and cohabitation between white people and Black people was strictly forbidden in most Southern states. In the Midwest, 'Sundown towns' were not uncommon; signs were posted at city limits warning African Americans that they were not welcome after dark (Loewen, 2006).

All branches of the U.S. military were segregated. In 1913, President Woodrow Wilson segregated the federal Civil Service (Yellin, 2013). In 1915, he screened D.W. Griffith's 'Birth of a Nation' in the White House. The movie glorified the Ku Klux Klan and portrayed Black people as ignorant brutes. Wilson said: 'It's like writing history with lightning. And my only regret is that it is all terribly true' (Benbow, 2010).

Segregation was codified in state and local laws and enforced by intimidation and violence. There were, in effect, two criminal justice systems: one for white people and another for Black people. When the colour line was breached, violence was unleashed against offenders by the Ku Klux Klan and local white people; often in concert with local law enforcement officials. In Atlanta, Georgia, Black people could not serve on

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juries. The races were indexed separately on tax rolls. Atlanta's banks maintained separate teller windows for white and Black customers.

In some Southern communities, Black people could attend public performances using separate entrances and sitting in the 'colored' section. In public halls, theatres, and movie houses, Black people were required to sit on a balcony. State fairs had a 'colored day' when Black people could attend. Laws separated the races in public transportation. There were segregated waiting rooms in train and bus stations. Black people were required to sit in the rear of streetcars and buses.

Black people could not try on clothes in department stores. In stores, they were expected to wait until white customers were served before they were helped. There was a Jim Crow etiquette that was scrupulously observed in interactions. Black people were expected to address a white person by the title of 'Mr.' 'Mrs.' or 'Miss.' White people addressed Black people by their first names, even if they hardly knew each other, or by the epithets 'boy', 'uncle', 'auntie' or the like. If a Black person entered a white person's home, they were obligated to use the back door. The purpose of these unwritten but well-known rules was to provide a continual demonstration that Black people were inferior to white people and recognised their subordinate status (Myrdal, 1944).

The American Civil Rights Movement

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks was arrested after refusing to yield her seat to a white passenger (Branch, 1988; 1999; 2006). A few days later, the Montgomery Improvement Association was organised by local Black leaders. Martin Luther King, who was just 26 years old at the time, was elected President. After a tense year, in which carpools were organised and weekly prayer meetings held, in November of 1956 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that segregation on public transportation was unconstitutional.

In 1963, Martin Luther King launched the Birmingham campaign. The effort started with a boycott and switched to marches and sit-ins. Eugene 'Bull' Connor, Birmingham's Commissioner of Public Safety, ordered police officers to use high-pressure water hoses, police dogs and tear gas to control protesters, many of

whom were children. The extreme brutality inflicted on protestors was featured on nightly newscasts. After weeks of tense negotiations, an agreement was reached that provided for the desegregation of Birmingham's stores, restaurants, and schools.

The historic March on Washington was convened on August 28, 1963. It was the result of the collective efforts of several civil rights groups. The march was the largest civil rights demonstration in American history. It received international media attention. Approximately 250,000 people gathered peacefully on the Mall in Washington, D.C. King captivated the audience with his 'I Have a Dream' speech.

That summer, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was enacted. The major provisions of this landmark legislation are Title II, which outlawed discrimination in hotels, motels, restaurants, theatres, and other public accommodations; Title VI, which authorised the withdrawal of federal funds from programs, including public schools, which practiced discrimination; and Title VII, which prohibits discrimination in employment and created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (Loevy, 1997).

The 1964 Civil Rights Act did not address voting rights. The Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution guaranteed African Americans the right to vote. However, by the end of the nineteenth century almost all of the Southern states enacted laws that disenfranchised African Americans. The Selma, Alabama, voting rights effort was publicised in January of 1965, when Martin Luther King addressed a mass meeting in that city. The Student, Nonviolent Coordinating Committee workers had been attempting to register voters for several weeks (Lewis and D'Orso, 1999).

During their first march, the protestors were stopped by police officers who savagely attacked them with clubs and tear gas. After a second march was aborted, King led a group of demonstrators on a journey from Selma to Montgomery. They set out on March 21 with approximately 3,000 demonstrators. Four days later, they reached Montgomery with 25,000 marchers. President Lyndon Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act into law on August 6, 1965.

On April 4, 1968, King was fatally shot by an assassin while standing on a balcony on the Lorraine Motel in Memphis. In the following days, riots erupted in 130 American cities. Twenty thousand people were arrested. Washington, Baltimore, and Chicago were the heaviest hit among the cities that experienced unrest following King's assassination (Risen, 2009). While many of the nation's cities were still smouldering from the riots, the Fair Housing Act of 1968 was enacted. This law forbade discrimination in the sale and rental of housing and allowed Black people to move away from the ghettoes to which they had been confined. With the passage of the Fair Housing Act, the Civil Rights Movement's legislative agenda was achieved.

Post-Civil Rights Advances

Conditions for African Americans are different and immeasurably better than they were before the enactment of the Civil Rights laws of the 1960s. The black middle class has grown significantly. Levels of educational attainment, employment opportunities, and family incomes are higher. Over the last 20 years, more African American families have moved to suburban communities than those who headed north during the great migration of the 1930s, '40s and '50s. The election of Barack Obama as President in 2008 signalled an unprecedented advance in race relations in America (Ware and Davis, 2012).

Today, an examination of the status of African American families reveals a mixed picture; the best of times for some, the worst of times for others. For those in a position to take advantage of the opportunities created by the Civil Rights revolution, the gains over the last generation have been remarkable. For Black people left behind in America's impoverished communities, the obstacles to advancement are more daunting today than they were a generation ago. Conditions are only marginally better for African Americans residing in all black or racially mixed working or lower middle-class suburbs. For this group, building wealth continues to be a problem, with the 2008 recession having brought many socio-economic gains to a halt.

Educational Attainment Levels

The advances in African Americans' educational attainment levels since the late 1960s are significant.

In 1940, the vast majority of Black people (92.3%) had completed less than 4 years of high school. Only 6.4% completed high school and 1.3% completed 4 or more years of college (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006). By 1970, the proportion of Black people 25 years and older with less than 12 years of school had declined to 66.3 %. The proportion of Black people aged 25 and above with less than a high school education declined from 66.3% in 1970 to 15.8% in 2010. Black people significantly increased their educational attainment levels during the forty-year period between 1970 and 2010. The proportion of Black people who had attended 12 or more years of school increased from 33.7% in 1970 to 84.2% in 2010.

Occupational Advances

During the first half of the twentieth century, Black people abandoned the fields of the agrarian South and found employment in factories in the industrialising north and Midwest. Over the last 40 years, they moved from factory floors to retail outlets and office suites. In 2010, 29% of employed Black people were employed in management, professional, or related occupations. An additional 25% were employed in sales or office occupations. Another 25% were employed in service occupations (such as food and beverage preparation, lodging, cosmetology, recreation, protection, personal services, etc.) that required modest educational attainment levels and afforded a moderate income (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019).

Approximately half of the Black population is now employed in white-collar jobs. In 1972, only 34.8% of Black workers were employed in white-collar occupations. By 2006, this had increased to 49.5%. During the 1970s, the proportion of Black people in white-collar positions only grew by 3.8%; in the 1980s this proportion grew by 7.3%; and in the 1990s by 5.9%. Although Black people have made substantial advances in occupational classifications, they still lag behind white people in the proportion of their population employed in white-collar occupations. In 1972, the difference in the proportion of Black and white people employed in white-collar occupations was 22.5%; by 2006, the difference was down to 12.9%.

Family Income

The average family incomes of African Americans have increased significantly over the last 40 years. There is ample proof of a growing Black middle-class after the late 1960s. For the purposes of this article, Black families were divided into three income groups. The lower-income group consisted of families with incomes under $49,999, which was $10,089 under (or 83%) of the national median. The moderate-income group consisted of families with incomes between $50,000 and $99, 999 annually. The upper-income group included families with incomes above $100,000.

Since 1970, the proportion of Black families in the lower-income category has declined by an average of 5.3% per decade, with the exception of the 2000s. In 1970, the proportion of Black families in the lower-income category was 76%; by 2009, this had declined to 61%. However, between 2000 and 2009 the proportion of Black people in the lower-income category increased by 3%. The greatest decline in the proportion of Black people in the lower-income group took place during the 1990s when there was an 8% drop in the proportion of the Black population in this group.

Overall, since 1970, there has been a steady expansion in the proportion of Black families in the upper-income category and a substantial decrease in the proportion of Black families in the lower-income group. Despite a significant decline in the lower-income category, over half of Black families still have annual incomes below $50,000. Between the mid-1980s and 1990s the proportion of middle-class Black people steadily expanded. However, changes in the percentage of Black families across the three groups levelled off during the 2000s.

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Home Ownership

Home ownership is another indicator of the economic disparities within the Black community. Equally important, it is a gauge that can be used to measure the continuing significance of race for Black people in general and a dilemma in the accumulation of wealth for middle-class Black people. Since 1994, there has been an increase in Black home ownership. Between 1994 and 2003, the percent of Black home owners increased from 42.6% to a record high of 49.4%. From 2003 to 2010, however, the percentage of Black home owners declined to 44.9%. Much Black home ownership in the past was the direct result of white people moving to the suburbs and Black people purchasing older homes in largely Black central city or (in recent years) inner-ring suburban communities (Boustan and Margo, 2011).

The Black middle-class has been the beneficiary of the opportunities created by the Civil Rights laws of the 1960s. Over the last generation, there have been significant advances in the occupational classifications of middle-class Black people. Half of the Black population is employed in white-collar occupations and a third of that group occupies upper-level, white collar jobs. The levels of educational attainment have increased significantly. African Americans have enjoyed a significant rise in family incomes. Families with incomes over $100,000 per year occupy a socio-economic status that is essentially the same as that of their white counterparts.

Despite its remarkable advances, the Black middle class still lags far behind its white counterpart. Black people have moved to suburban communities in significant numbers. Most Black suburbanites reside in majority white neighbourhoods. Some middle-class Black people live in upscale, all-black communities that are not adjacent to low-income neighbourhoods. They live comfortably among people like them and do so as a matter of personal choice. However, many of those earning less than $100,000 reside in inner-ring suburbs that were formerly white neighbourhoods. These are often contiguous to low-income communities. The proximity means that the middle-class residents are exposed to the deleterious conditions that plague inner-city communities.

Net Worth

Even though more African Americans have been able to enjoy middle-class incomes in the last few decades, this advance has not been necessarily reflected in overall Black wealth. Increases gained in Black net worth were depleted during the 2008 recession. One way of measuring this is by considering net worth. This is calculated by taking household assets and subtracting liabilities. Assets may consist of holdings such as real estate, stocks, interest earning accounts, business equity, vehicles, etc.

In 1989, the median net worth of Black families was $8,020, which was a far cry from white families, who had a median net worth of $134,680. By 2001, the median net worth for African American families climbed to $26,150 as the white median net worth soared to $198,620 by 2004. As a result of the 2008 recession, by 2013 the Black median net worth dropped to $13,490, which was lower than it was in 1992 and anytime since. The white median net worth also dropped, but only to $146,320, making the Black/white gap even wider than it was in the '80s or the '90s. Household net worth is concentrated more in home ownership than other assets. African American home ownership and value was hit hardest in the recession (by -23%). Black people also lost larger percentages in stocks and mutual funds (-71%), retirement accounts (-28%), and business equity (-57%) (Black Demographics, 2020).

South Africa Under Apartheid

In 1910, the Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State united to create the Union of South Africa. In 1913, with the passage of the Natives Land Act, hundreds of thousands of Black Africans

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were forced off land they owned or inhabited. The law required Black people to live in African 'reserves'. At about the same time, segregation was introduced in the mining industry. Black Africans were barred from higher-paying, skilled labour jobs. Apartheid laws forced the different racial groups to live and develop separately and prohibited inter-racial marriage and social integration (Dubow, 2014).

Translated from the Afrikaans term meaning 'apartness', apartheid was the ideology supported by the National Party government. In 1948, the Afrikaner National Party won the general election. Their goal was not only to separate South Africa's white minority from its non-white majority, but also to separate non-whites from each other, and to divide black South Africans along tribal lines. Apartheid did not differ significantly from the segregation policies that existed before the Afrikaner Party came to power, but it made segregation legal and enforceable.

With some limited differences, apartheid in South Africa operated in the same way as segregation in America. In both countries, Black people were subjugated and subordinated. Black South Africans could not own property. Black Americans could, but they were limited to ghettos in the least desirable areas of cities. In South Africa, numerous laws were passed to create and maintain the apartheid state. They included the Population Registration Act of 1950, which required people to register according to their racial group. People were required to register as white, coloured, black, Indian, or Asian. The Group Areas Act forced these groups to live in separate areas.

Townships evolved from Land Acts enacted in 1913 and 1936, which defined several scattered areas as 'native reserves' for Black people. By the 1950s, the combined areas of the reserves represented 13% of the total land area of South Africa, while Black people made up at least 75% of the total population. These areas were relabelled as 'homelands' in which specific ethnic groups could reside. Later, the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970 designated Black people living throughout South Africa as citizens of homelands, thus stripping them of their South African citizenship and political rights.

Between the 1960s and 1980s, the white-dominated South African government removed Black people

living in white areas and forcibly relocated them to 'Bantustans'. Land ownership was limited to white people. Other laws included the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, the Immorality Amendment Act of 1950, and the Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951. Under the apartheid regime, Black and white people were required to use different beaches and public restrooms. Signs designated facilities that were reserved for white people.

Black people earned meagre wages compared to their white counterparts. Their children attended poorly funded schools. The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952 stipulated that all Black people over the age of 16 were required to carry passes. The document contained details such as their fingerprints, photograph, the name of their employer, address, length of employment, and other information. No Black person could stay in an urban area for more than 72 hours subject to limited exceptions.

Under apartheid, Black townships were highly controlled communities, often located at some distance from the 'white city'. In a few cases – such as the Alexandra neighbourhood in Johannesburg – some older townships were adjacent to white enclaves, separated only by walls and fences. However, in most places a vast expanse of uninhabited land separated the townships from the city. Getting to work often involved a long and expensive commute to a job that could be three hours away. Transportation was limited to state-owned buses and trains.

Leisure activities were strictly regulated. The only legal beer halls were in government buildings. Schools were poorly maintained, barrack-like structures with barred windows and second-hand desks. Dirt lots served as soccer fields. There were no cultural facilities, except for churches, which provided places of community and belonging. People bought their goods from 'spaza shops' (informal convenience shops usually run from a home). The inadequate supply of official housing was supplemented by informal settlements located either on the periphery of the sprawling townships or integrated within their boundaries as shacks on subdivided lots. These areas remain an integral feature of South Africa's landscape. Cities were designated 'for whites only', and townships became the mechanism for housing the non-white labour force (South African History Online, 2011).

The ANC's 1952 Defiance Campaign prompted thousands of Black Africans to defy the apartheid laws in hopes that their arrests would overwhelm the country's prison system and bring attention and reform. Thousands were arrested, but the ANC ended the campaign after scores of protesters were injured by police (South African History Online, 2012). In 1960, South African police killed 69 protesters gathered outside the Sharpeville police station for a nonviolent protest (South African History Online, 2011). The killings led to an international outcry and calls for armed struggle by the ANC and other groups. By the end of the '80s, political and economic boycotts by foreign governments, bolstered by the activist-pressured exodus of private businesses operating in the region, left South Africa politically isolated and economically devastated. Much of the non-white population ignored the pass requirements, territorial restrictions and segregation policies.

On June 16, 1976 between 3,000 and 10,000 students mobilised by the South African Students Movement's Action Committee marched peacefully to protest apartheid. They were met by heavily armed police who fired tear gas and live ammunition at demonstrating students. This resulted in a widespread revolt that turned into an uprising against the government. The uprising began in Soweto and spread across the country until the following year.

The United Nations General Assembly denounced apartheid in 1973. In 1976, the United Nation's Security Council voted to impose an embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa. In 1985, the United Kingdom and the United States imposed economic sanctions. Under pressure from the international community, the National Party government of Pieter Botha sought to institute some reforms, including the abolition of the pass laws and the repealing of the ban on interracial sex and marriage. The reforms fell short of any substantive change, however, and by 1989 Botha was pressured to step aside in favour of F.W. De Klerk.

The South African government subsequently repealed the Population Registration Act, as well as most of the other legislation that formed the legal basis for apartheid. De Klerk freed Nelson Mandela on February 11, 1990. A new Constitution, which enfranchised Black people and other racial groups, took effect in 1994, and elections that year led to a coalition government with a non-white majority, marking the official end of the apartheid system.

Progress After Apartheid

Since the end of white minority rule, South Africa has held six peaceful democratic elections, all free and fair, and all won by Mandela's party – the African National Congress. South Africa is the continent's most industrialised country. Its main industries are manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, financial services, transportation, mining, agriculture, and tourism. Its gross domestic product rose from $139.8bn in 1994 to $368.9bn in 2018.

Housing

Apartheid is often seen as a political construct, but architecture and planning were critical to implementing apartheid policies. Design practices became cultural extensions of state power. Eliminating the lingering vestiges of apartheid will be difficult. There was a dramatic growth in construction in the early years of ANC rule. Between 1994 to 2018, the South African government constructed 3.6 million homes. But, after reaching a peak in 1999, the rate of house building has slowed, particularly over the past few years. The South African government estimates a current national shortfall of 2.1 million homes for about 12.5 million people. It has set a target of 2030 to fill that gap (South African Government, 2020; Reuters, 2017; Fihlani and Bailey, 2019).

The Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) homes built across the country were provided free of charge to those whose monthly incomes

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were less than 3,500 rand. But these have their own problems. Despite the improvements in individual living conditions, there is a growing realisation that the RDP housing program reinforced apartheid-era segregation, continuing to consign the poor to ghettos at the furthest edges of the city. When many people finally get an RDP house, often after years of waiting, they realise that it makes more economic sense to build a shack in the backyard for themselves and to sell the RDP house illegally for about 40,000 rand (a third of what it costs the state to build them) and to use this cash to set up a business from the shack.

The proportion of households living in formal dwellings increased from 65.1% in 1996 to 77.6% in 2011. The proportion of the population living in informal dwellings (shanties) decreased from 16.2 to 13.6%. Informal settlements are housing areas that are often illegally built on municipal land. These settlements are found in a variety of areas and are home to a large percentage of the country's impoverished population. Many Black South Africans still live in townships and informal housing, work multiple jobs, earn very little money, have little access to quality schools or health care, and have few opportunities to move out of the townships (Baker, 2019; Jones, 2019).

Income

South Africa has made progress in reducing poverty since its transition to democracy; 18.8% of South Africans were poor in 2015, a drop from 33.8% in 1996. According to the 2011 census, the incomes of Black South African households grew by 169% over the preceding decade. White South Africans still earn six times as much as non-whites. The Black middle class more than doubled in size from 2.2 million in 1993 to 5.4 million in 2008 (Mohamed, 2020). The average annual income of Black South African households is R60,613 (about $5,700), while for white-headed households it is R365,134 ($34,300). South Africa's wealth inequality is even more striking than its income disparity. Overall, household incomes more than doubled during the 10 years from 2001 to 2011. The top 1% of South Africans own 70.9% of the country's wealth, while the bottom 60% holds only 7% (Reuters, 2017; Zwane, 2019; Statistics South Africa, 2019).

Unemployment

South Africa's official unemployment rate in 1994 was about 20%. A more recent labour force survey reported an unemployment rate of 24.1%. Under an expanded rate of unemployment, which includes people who have stopped actively looking for work, this rate rose from 31.5% in 1994 to 34% in the last quarter of 2013.

Education

Primary school enrolment is 87%. Last year, the government spent about 17% of its budget on basic education. Pre-school enrolment has risen by 270% since 2000. The proportion of people aged 20 or older with no schooling has fallen from 13% in 1995 to 4.8% in 2016. The proportion of candidates receiving Bachelor's degrees has increased from 20.1% in 2008 to 28.7% last year (South African Government, 2020).

Higher education participation rates have risen from 15.4% in 2002 to 18.6% in 2015. University enrolment numbers climbed 289.5% since 1985. Just under half of children who enrolled in Grade 1 will make it to Grade 12. Roughly 20% of Grade 9, 10, and 11 pupils are repeaters. Just 28% of people aged 20 or older have completed high school. Only 3.1% of Black people over the age of 20 have a university degree. Just one in three schools has a library and one in five a science laboratory. The unemployment rate for qualified professionals has increased from 7.7% in 2008 to 13.2% today.

Corruption

South Africa ranked 21 of 42 countries on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) in 1995. In 2004, it ranked 44 of 145 countries. By last year, South Africa's ranking slid to 72 of 177 countries (Majavu, 2020). The World Bank produces annual worldwide governance indicators. In 2012, South Africa's control of corruption was ranked 113 out of 210 countries (South African Government, 2019). This must stop.

New Cities

In the twenty-five years since the end of the apartheid regime, South Africa has made tremendous strides.

The transfer of power from the white minority to the Black majority has been successful, but there are still many problems. Unemployment is high, and the poverty rate is even higher. In his book, New Cities New Economies: South Africa and Africa's Grand Plan, Dr. Tshilidzi Ratshitanga presents a bold, new vision for development and provides a roadmap for achieving prosperity and equality for all South Africans. This book explains the legacy of spatial injustices inherited from apartheid's social, political, and economic engineering as the central cause of the challenges which are inhibiting progress. The ghosts of apartheid still haunt South Africa. Dr. Ratshitanga's proposed solution is a total spatial reconstruction spawned by the creation of new mega city regions that will produce new economics for South Africa and the rest of the continent. The New Cities visionary framework is presented as a developmental paradigm that will contribute to solutions for the challenges of human settlement patterns.

The new cities vision is predicated on a state-led development trajectory. The goal is the creation of a national reconstruction project. Once the question of land ownership is resolved, the state can implement a new master plan. This will entail the identification of unoccupied places to build the new cities. This would offset the cost of relocation and compensation. Most of the land is in the hands of private entities and individuals and is registered as farming or mining land.

Since the new cities will create a construction boom in South Africa, the training of young people to prepare for construction work will be needed. The country will need to implement innovative skills training programs that will create a large number of skilled Black people over a short period of time. The country's educational institutions would be mobilised to produce qualified artisans, engineers and technicians who will become the labour force for the new cities building program.

New cities will also incorporate schools, clinics, hospitals, and other social amenities. These will require teachers, nurses, doctors and other skilled workers to be deployed to work there. The objective is to offer people quality of life, through the creation of equitable living environments, where people cohabitate in a safe, cohesive and socially uplifting manner. The ingredients for this are access to transport, safety

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and security, adequate healthcare, nutrition, housing, water, electricity and sanitation services.

The new cities will be compact communities anchored by high-density human settlements. Transit oriented developments will enable linkages between mass transport systems, residential spaces and work places. The location of residential settlements along transport corridors will alleviate the current burden of travel times between homes and work places. South Africans spend the longest time in daily commutes to and from work, while more than 50% of poor urban residents spend more than 20% of their household income on transport. The government has provided housing for the poor by building free RDP houses. However, these have been constructed in a similar manner to apartheid spatial patterns, located at the outskirts of economic activities and without all the relevant amenities, such as adequate schools, hospitals, and recreational facilities.

Housing for ordinary citizens who will be integrated in these new cities will be a source of wealth creation. Unlike the RDP houses that are not wealth-creating assets, the new subsidy schemes should be structured in ways that can create wealth building for the masses. The involvement of the state in investing heavily in the infrastructure of these new cities will complement this approach. New cities will provide employment opportunities, housing, schools hospital and health care facilities which were non-existent for Black people under apartheid.

Conclusion

Under the segregation and apartheid regimes, conditions for Black people in America and South Africa were extremely oppressive. Segregation and apartheid had some differences, but the overall impact was the same. Both regimes were challenged and eventually ended. The progress made by African Americans during the 50 years since the end of segregation has been substantial, but significant racial disparities linger. In the 25 years since the elimination of apartheid in South Africa, significant improvements have been made, but most poor Black people still reside in impoverished communities in townships and the countryside. If Dr. Ratshitanga's recommendations for the development of new cities are implemented, all South Africans will be the beneficiaries.

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