When you're successful, you must give back to the community![1]
Successful, rich and poor three key notions for the understanding of a generation

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This paper is written from the field, in South Africa, while my ethnographic research with young South African people, aged 18 to 35, is still on-going in Daveyton, one of the former Black township of Benoni (Ekurhuleni municipality, 40 km East of Johannesburg) in the context of May 18th 2011 fourth local elections. Those are therefore work in progress data presented to that conference as partial results of a research still to be analyzed. It is devoted to political subjectivities and forms of engagements amongst the post-apartheid generations. Following a political anthropology perspective (Lazarus, 1996), political subjectivities and engagements here are not referred only to involvement in formal political organizations or already existing political bodies or political choices in the elections for instance, but more openly relate to forms of thinking and rationales regarding the understanding of present times and what is expected or prescribed by the interviewees about the future. What kind of a society they aspire to, to put it like the French philosopher Jacques Rancière. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the conjuncture of the research which was conducted during the running up to the local elections 2011 and in the aftermath of May 18th did gear the discussions, debates, interviews and activities of the youth I discussed with towards the campaigning and the outcome of elections. The fact that similar -or apparently so- statements were uttered by the interviewees both while elaborating on their foreseen own success and the success of others, namely leaders in the community, caught my attention. As individual interviews (around 30 of them lasting from one to two hours and a half), collective interviews, casual discussions, observations and participant observations were going on, initially in November 2009 for 3 weeks thereafter in March, April and May 2011 for another 3 months[2], the issue of success and how it should materialize owing to my interlocutors appeared as an important one. Not only did my question "What would you call a successful life?" raised interesting answers and prescriptions on what one's success *should* entail –for the considered individual and for "community" as a whole, -but the notion of success and "give back" also happened to inform (amongst other things) some of my interviewees' views on the local state representatives and their expected role in the context of the South African local elections. "You must give back to the community" is the statement informing, in a contested way, both the notion of what individual success entails and what is expected of those who are successful. In order to understand what they mean and unfold the implications of that statement I will first contextualized the research, its problematic and realization. Second, I will present and analyze some of the material I gathered in connection to the notion of success and "giving back to the community". Thirdly, I will elaborate on the type of engagement and subjectivities shown there and how it should be qualified.

I -PRESENTATION OF THE RESEARCH

1- Why ask a question around success?

While a couple of work have dealt with extensive research about the post-apartheid generations looking at teenagers and children, regarding their growing up and psychological development (Ramphele, 2002; Bray et al. 2010) or their "moral ecology" in the township (Swartz, 2009) or again their relationships and behavior in the face of the HIV/Aids epidemics there seemed to have been little published and researched about the way young people, beyond their teens, conceive of their own life, their own society and their role in the future South Africa. A couple of work such as Botiveau (2007) investigated with talent the characteristics of the ANCYL as a youth political body and the status and positions young people adopt within it while, many other authors focus on an identity and racial approach (Dlamini, 2005; Crain, 2007; Dolby, 2001). But no much is known about contemporary relations of the youth, beyond their teens, with their community or their vision of society as a whole, be they politically organized or not. This is somehow what I tried to address in my research with the youth of Daveyton while building on my colleagues findings.

I also meant to question more specifically the notion of a "born free generation" i.e. people born after 1994 and the election of N. Mandela through democratic and multiracial elections or those young people who were only children in the last years of apartheid regime. While talking about the young generations and specifically the so-called "born free generations", it is often assumed or contended amongst adults, media and even scholars that they are mainly individualistic in their thinking and attracted by economic benefits and luxury life. Aiming at a middle-class life as shown by television and pictured by the Black diamonds and BEE achievers, they would only be interested in financial benefits and would even be ready to mischief in order to achieve it as shown by Cooper with young perpetrators of xenophobic attacks in Cape Town (Cooper, 2009). Knowing nothing or not much about the struggle against apartheid and life in South Africa under that political regime the black youth would not have any political values and would have no orientation whatsoever regarding the future of the country and its becoming. This kind of historicist thinking was strikingly illustrated by House chairman Obed Bapela (ANC) comments on the xenophobic attacks in May 2008[3]. He assumed that "a criminally minded "born-free" generation - with little knowledge of South Africa's history - had instigated the attacks". He added "If one looks at the age of the people involved in the horrifying incidents, it's clear most were between one and six years in 1994. "They are clueless in terms of who we are, where we come from and where we are going as a country". This perspective assumes that the only way to make a sense of one's life nowadays in South Africa should necessarily be referred to the past, history, the Struggle and a sense of commonality linked to it. In a historicist and conservative view, the "born free generation" can only think as their parents or be lost in their own world and environment. With reference to the theme of our conference, here, engagements are thought to be on the struggle's generation terms as if no other perspective was possible or to be invented nowadays.

The present research intended to question that statement by asking young people themselves how they see their country, their life, their future and their role in that situation, and through analyzing from within what their answers are, what view of the future and the country do they trace and how does this inform their commitment or their distance to the resolution of collective issues nowadays in South Africa. Instead of assuming beforehand what their frame of thinking should be, I intended to document their actions and representations and identify what were their own words and categories of thinking in order to make a sense of their life and their expectations.

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The main hypotheses leading the research was that 1) we cannot anticipate what are the ideas and views of the young people let alone what frames it even in a context where the historical and political background is still very much present and has shaped the face of the country.

2) There are different subjective sequences of thinking (Lazarus, *ibid*), which like the Foucaldian notion of episteme (Foucault, 1966) cannot be deduced from one another. They must be investigated for their own meaning and understanding. Their limits in time must be spotted owing to the relevance or void character of the subjective categories in use by the people to describe them. My take while conducting that research was that most probably, the political sequence of the immediate post-apartheid, from 1994 to 1999 under Mandela presidency which I personally had qualified as a "productivist unanimism" in my research with workers (Hayem, 2008), in order to indicate their commitment to the building of the country was, for instance, over. Identifying the current subjective political sequence implies to identify how the youth qualify that moment *per se* without necessarily expecting them to talk of present and future with regards to the past. Hence, I've been particularly attentive to their potential references to apartheid, history, change, tradition, but I did not assume that those would necessarily be the basis of their rationales and views. I listened with an open mind to what they said and which words they used in order to do so and examine with great interest their personal prescriptions and recommendations on the future of the country whatever they may be and whatever informed them. Moreover, while looking at forms of thinking, the main aim of the research was not to understand *why* young people should think in such or such a way but rather to understand the implications, logics and meanings of their statements and how they informed their choices and commitments.

Obviously the limits of a monograph apply to that research. It is for the time being focusing only on Black youth and located in the East Rand. Further comparisons would be needed with other townships in the country and other groups of youth (other colors, socio economic background etc.) to generalize. Nevertheless, for convenience purpose, I will talk below of the youth but I mean the youth of Daveyton.

2-Methodology

Interviews have been structured around a semi structured questionnaire opening with an invitation to life narrative ("How would you tell the story of your life so far?") and following with a series of questions regarding what my interlocutors think of such and such (Their life and their future, their relationship to their place of living, South Africa's future, recent political events including elections, work and success, etc). Interview is a rich exercise but has its limitation in terms of trust, elaboration of ideas, scope of the questions asked and understanding of the answers, etc... Immersion in the township life for several months on a daily basis and participation to activities with the youth I interviewed (as diverse as formal meetings in the structures they belonged to, visits at their place of living, lunches, drinks, parties, funerals, chilling at the corner of the street, going to the stadium with them, etc.) allowed many interviews to be completed by observations of interactions as well as regular encounters and informal conversations with many of my interviewees. In many instances, it allowed me to assess how their perspective is enacted (or not) in daily life and also to question them again on things I might have picked up in interviews but which I could not figure out clearly or about which I could use some elaborations or about which they had contradictory attitudes.

3-Daveyton in a nutshell

Daveyton is located 15 Km north East of Benoni on Springs Road. A local railway station allows commuting to the nearby workplaces and mines. Daveyton is known as a 'model

township". It was erected in the 1950's in order to relocate Black populations squatting and racially mixing in Benoni center with Indians and Coloreds (Apex and Actonville), following the economic expansion of industries in the region and the consequent arrival of an important migrant workforce. The township is the masterpiece of J.E. Matthewson who, developed his ideas about it in his book *The making of a Bantu township* (Matthewson, 1957). In his PhD, the South African historian, Noor Nieftagodien, (1995) indicates that Matthewson was the then responsible for Non European affairs. He had been appointed in 1948. As Nieftagodien carefully details although he was from UDP and not NP, Matthewson created the perfect township in the eye of apartheid government. His main objective was to resolve the problem of squatting but in so doing he meant "*to stabilize the African workforce in order to support secondary sector industrial development*" (quoted in *ibid.*) In order to do so he developed sites and services principles for each family: a plot was allocated to be equipped with basics needs after a house was built on. He was convinced that Bantu (i.e Black people in apartheid despising vocabulary) had to be "uplifted" and that consequently the township should provide '*the maintenance of health of the occupants, an environment discouraging malpractices, permanence with a maintenance and self sufficiency*" (*ibid.*). Indeed, Daveyton appears as a rather comfortable township to present day visitors, compared to others. Tar road and lights are present all over since the beginning of 2000's; the original houses (finally built thanks to municipal money) are bigger than RDP houses and of a convenient size for large families, which is praised by their current inhabitants in the interviews I conducted. There are many schools, libraries, recreation grounds, clinics etc but. But in a typical apartheid mind, Matthewson also insured that Daveyton was carefully set apart from white spaces and that it kept less developed than then. He organized for the township to be ethnically divided so as to promote "better discipline and order" on the basis of a so-called common ethnicity, and most strikingly he made sure that there were adequate buffer zones separating white agricultural plots and the black township and '*that there shall be only one main road to the native township*"– it is still unique today and still called Eiselen, by the name of the then minister of Bantu Affairs. Matthewson added that "*the link road between the European areas and native township should traverse the shortest distance*". This separation is still very much present today in spite of the official end of apartheid and segregation. The objective legacy of apartheid geography is very strong. With 190.000 inhabitants and extending squatter camps around it (Zenzile, the formalized Chris Hani informal settlement, Gabon which is literally a squatter camp still to be electrified and linked to water to quote a few) Daveyton is still strikingly cut apart from its surroundings. There are no other crossing streets than Eiselen and streets and sectors still bear ethnic names[4] that people use (amaxhosi: xhosa section, amandebele: Ndebele section, etc..). When exiting the limits of original Daveyton beyond the local golf, you get to Etwatwa, a former informal area which expands for several kms onwards. This is a very long township: Eiselen Road drives from some 10 km.

As a consequence of its location and enclosing, there are hardly any jobs accessible in the township except from self employment and administrative ones. There are few factories nearby and few services available. One must go to Benoni or Boksburg to get to the industries. Unemployment is indeed the big issues as well as transports to go to your jobs. One mall (new ones are under construction) only is to be found for shopping inside the township plus the usual spaza and corner shops. Daveyton wards are massively ANC, but one of Etwatwa ward went to DA in the last local elections.

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[4] When I questioned them about it, my interviewees mentioned that there was a consultation about changing names but when they were asked about a possible change of names, most elderly people said they would rather stick to names that "they had chosen and they knew".
(discussion with G. and N. june 2011).

4-Which youth are we talking about and how they were approached?

While investigating the youth of South Africa, I chose to use the local official definition i.e. people from 18 years old to 35 years old as an age group within the range of which I should pick up my interviewees. This definition both over lapses traditional age groups notions and the official age limits of political and social youth structures in South Africa[5]. In so doing, I have voluntarily both met people who experienced the end of apartheid in their early childhood (those were in their 30's) and people who were not or were just born at the time (people in their 20's), with a specific interest for the possible differences or parallels between those various generations. By working with the 18-35 years old, I also intended to relate and confront the results of my findings on subjectivities and engagements of youth themselves with the scope devoted to the youth in nowadays South Africa, be it in terms of policies, political symbolism and historical referents (the youth is our future, youth as a lost generation, the Soweto uprising and its commemoration as the Youth day, etc.), institutions, political bodies, etc.. As for the meaning of being young itself it was also discussed with the interviewees as it is by no means a clear cut notions (Seekings,). Indeed the anwers to that question did not lead to a unified vision, although all interviewees did consider that they were still part of the youth indeed.

I met 26 people for one or more individual interviews and conducted more than 10 collective interviews[6], gathering 5 to 8 people at a time. On the whole, I've been working with more than 50 members of Daveyton youth. Roughly half of them were male and half female. The ages split for individual interviews is as follow : eleven individual interviews were conducted with people aged 20 to 25 years old; seven with people aged over 25 up to 30 years old; 9 with people over 30 up to 35 years old. Many informal discussions or interviews with adults and parents and other tutors, facilitators, neighbors etc. did contribute to the research as well.

People were met through a snowball method and in order to combine individual interviews with participant observation and on-going discussions I decided to follow several groups on a weekly basis, on top of meeting with individuals which I did not necessarily saw again. My regular scenes of observation and enquiries have been:

-the local Youth forum comprising of individuals belonging respectively to various formal organizations and NGOs such as Love Life, Life Line, church based initiatives or self created structures around arts, culture, health or promotion of literacy which met every Tuesdays though on an unstable basis, which actually proved interesting per se.

- learners from a local school with whom I had repeated collective interviews at their school, in the township[7], both in 2010 as Grade 11 and 2011 as Grade 12

-Members of ANCYL in 2 different wards of Daveyton which met on Monday nights.

- A group of friends from the same street which initially had created a car washing business when I met them by the end of 2010. The car wash business had become a spazza shop when I met them again still hanging and working together at the same corner of the street in 2011.

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[5] The official age used in South African census is wider and goes from 14 to 35 years old. I voluntarily chose to work with older people and not teenagers which would have entailed different methodology and was already well covered by several works such as (??)

[6] By collective interview I mean that instead of a one-to-one conversation question/answer/question between one interviewee and the researcher question were asked to the group and each individual replied at his/her turn. Although there have been debates on some occasions amongst my interviewees which influenced their answers or fed the dynamic of the interview I'd rather not use the world focus group to describe them as the collective settings was not a choice or a strategy but rather a constraint due to fear to be alone or venue or time problems.

[7] Located inside Daveyton, the school is not a model C one but attracts pupils from the suburbs owing to the quality of its matrics results and the openness of the principal regarding the age of the learners (informal interviews with principal, November 2010).

-A group of friends from school and childhood now in their 30's all living in the same area of the township who spend time together, every week-end and also form part of the same football team.

Some of my interviewees belong to some kind of organization or parties but not all of them. Several belong to 2 groups at a time (Youth Forum and ANC). It must be said, both as an acknowledgement and an unforeseen but effective method, that three young men, respectively aged 24, 31 and 35 came to occupy a particular place in the research. As trust and confidence was being built amongst us, they took a particular interest in the research subject. With them, I discussed on a weekly if not a daily basis about the ongoing of their life, activities, projects, perceptions of the on-going political campaign and/or their own understanding of the collective meetings/events we had attended together. They also made sure they invited me to all kinds of social and family activities through which I have been able to contextualize their commitment and involvement in more organized activities.

5-Socio-economic profile of the interviewees

I do not intend to give a statistics break about the youth I met as they do not represent a proper sample and it would not have much significance (see Census for such a perspective or Bray et al, *ibid.*). I will just briefly outline their profile below in particular regarding characteristics which are meaningful when contemplating the notion of success, wealth or poverty and the idea of "giving back to the community". Even when excluding the learners, the number of interviewees who secure a formal job is very little. Most of them have matriculated although few of them did further their studies, most of the time for lack of financial resources. Some even quit school sooner than grade 12 for the same reason. Only two can be said to be on a contract job, while 10 do not have a job whatsoever although they might have experienced part-time jobs in the past. They therefore rely on their parents' support who themselves often have piece jobs and do not make much. A couple of them have tried to create a job for themselves (car washing, nails painting, clothes selling, theatre course, etc). Those jobs do not necessarily prove sustainable. Between my departure from the field in November 2010 and my return in March 2011 many initiatives had failed, sometimes to be reborn in another form.

Many youth also live on or contribute to their family budget with the stipends distributed by the organizations they work with or rather volunteer for. Some girls also have boy friend providers and a couple of them can qualify as "sugar-daddies[8]" (ref). Although there is certainly a bias in the profile of the interviewees as the snow ball method and the connection through youth organizations probably kept me away from young people living in the township who actually are working in the industry or in services sector, my interviewees are quite representative of Daveyton youth. As they repeated endlessly in the interviews unemployment and access to job are the big issues for them. As a consequence of their joblessness the youth of Daveyton, including the older ones, often live with their parents or at their parents' place. Only one interviewee personally owns her place; a few of them rent a room or a shack and some live in informal parts of the township in corrugated shacks. Very few have a stabilized couple life of their own even when they are parents. None except one owns a car. As for their experience of crude poverty, while talking of their childhood several of them remind "empty stomachs", "single meal of pap", "hunger" although most of them can make decent meals today, even when they struggle to have ends meet. Nevertheless I testified in many occasions that most of them still count every cent they spend and sometimes struggle with their bills. Of the 50 people I met, 3 of them disclosed being HIV+, 4 women experienced teenage pregnancy and were helped by their parents in order to raise and feed their kid. Owing to the

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[8] Sugar daddies are older men in their fifties who date much younger girls, sometimes besides their marriage and help them financially in return.

specific location of Daveyton and its historical setting as a model township any move out of the place is very expensive for the youth, even when they need to travel for a work interview or to commute to work[9]. Going to the mall, in particular Lakeside Mall in Benoni central or Eastgate Mall a little further west towards Johannesburg is often quoted as the regular journey outside of the township in order to go shopping and have fun. A good week-end generally entails "spending time with friends and family", "chilling", "going to church", "having a couple of beers" (or more) at a party and occasionally taking your kids or brothers and sisters to town to eat Mac Donald. Their expectation in terms of salary is a significant illustration of their being used to live on a little and the inequalities between rich and poor in Davetyon. Whereas a couple of people whose parents are earning a proper living or who themselves make a proper salary quote 20.000 rand a month as a "good salary" many indicate that 800 rand a month or a 1000 rand would suffice to make their day. Keeping this background in mind while discovering how the youth I interviewed conceived of a successful life will prove useful.

II- VISIONS OF SUCCESS[10] …AND WHAT THEY TELL US

'I wanna be successful' is a say I overheard repeatedly in the township, on radio, on TV and in informal interviews with young people when I was in South Africa. However clear this notion may be vocabulary wise I decided to question it systematically in order to assess what it meant for the young people I met, in particular with reference to the consumer/individualistic model it's supposedly entails. The first finding is that there is no unanimous perspective on the issue, although common features can be found in the answers I collected. Definitions of success range from an objective and material assessment to a more subjective one whereby success is said to be a state of mind rather than a state of things. However, the most interesting and most common feature in the views of the interviewees is the frequent link they make between success as a material situation and the fact that you therefore *can and must* "give back to the community". Actually, as we will see below, in their view, giving back is not only a consequence of success but an actual definition of what it means to be successful. The youth I interviewed are nonetheless very much aware that their conceptions is not necessarily applied by those whom they see as successful ones, in particular political leaders and businessmen. Hence the heated debate around the notion of giving back to the community in the local elections and some understanding of people choice when they vote.

1-Success as material situation
The stereotyped vision of success as being shown by typical material belongings such as a car is often found in the interviews. However, in the end of the day, the successful life the youth describe is not necessarily very glamorous, as they themselves remark.

> *"I'm saying, basics. If like, I could have a car, a townhouse that I could own, a proper job that can give me an income that can make me access other things, eh have a wife and two children it's fine. That's - to me that's success"*

says 20 years old S., currently unemployed who feeds his family thanks to occasional peace jobs and regular gambling : he plays dice.
While another 31 years old young man considers the same elements as the very definition of success in his country:

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[9] For example, Taxi combi from Daveyton to Benoni center costs 18 rands one way while a train ticket is cheaper but less regular and costs 7 rands.
[10] In this paper, not all quotations and extracts are presented. I selected the most prominent ones for example sake.

> *"They've got a car, buy a house… In South Africa, if people are successful, they have a car and a house and a wife".*

As the reader will recall this is precisely what most of the youth I talked to are missing. My last interviewee's insistence on the localization of the success he describes is quite interesting as indeed, this description would sound like a pretty average life in any developed country or maybe in a white South African suburb. Although possessing a car is definitely seen as a proof of status and success[11] here the young South Africans express "basics". They are not talking of expensive BMW, Mercedes or big mansions. They do not evoke a billionaire life but a simple family life which, indeed they do not have even when they are over thirties and are already parents. If in the above quotations only objective indications are given, the notion of success often combines a standard of living with a state of mind.

2-Success as a satisfying situation and a way to sustain a family

Some youth consider that the spirit, the state of mind is more important or as important as the material conditions in terms of success.

> *-I think to be successful in one's life ne, if...you are capable of maintaining yourself, maintaining your family, give them the basics, take them to school and relevant universities, get what you want as a person, a house which you like, not to be a billionaire but it's a state of being happy I guess you know…* (male, 31 y. old)

> *-Oh, a successful life. You know when you, I believe when you're successful is basically when you are happy with everything that you have. It doesn't necessarily mean that there's a certain maybe amount of money that makes somebody a successful or possessions, things like that, but if you are happy with everything that you have, I believe you are successful. Yeah. Because even I, I believe that I am succeeding in my course because I love what I am doing right now, so that's success for me. I love what I'm doing. although it's not fully successful because you know, some other things like uh, when it comes to uh, the maintenance of my kids and things like that, I'm not fully happy with that, (…)*(male 24 y.old)

Here, success is both about a certain state of mind and "maintenance": an "ability to afford standard needs" for themselves and their family rather than "being a billionaire". Being successful to them is being "happy" in the sense of being beyond frustration: "getting what you want, being happy with what you have". Material belongings in that perspective are not necessarily essential but they should keep one satisfied and able to satisfy his/her own family. Providing for them is seen as a condition for a happy state of mind.

In the two above logics youth assessment of their success or would be success revolves around their own financial situation and the comfort it gives them and their family. But a third group of answers strongly connect any individual success not only to their next of kin but to a larger sphere, "others", "the community" as clearly stated in the following statements.

3-Success as a material success and a moral obligation "to give back to the community"

In all the following extracts, the interviewees connect personal success in the form of a career or a good financial situation to the need to redistribute on a wider scale.

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[11] Another illustration of that logic is obvious in the following statement: "I'll achieve success because many people in my community always approach me and say "when are you buying a car?" I'm asking myself "how can I buy a car? I'm not even working" but I think they see something special in me to say I can be able to achieve success, in other ways."

*-For me a successful life is to afford everything you want **and** being able to help other people. To afford what you want to do, have a family **and** help others. (Do you mean helping financially ?) Everything. To give advices in relation to their goals.* (male, 28 y. old)

-A successful life for myself, well actually, a successful life for myself is again success of others, of my cousins and my sisters as I said, the younger ones, for them being successful I feel it's my success. For me, in art industry and with that art organization we opened I want it to be successful, I want to save money and open up businesses and go back to school and study related study. A certificate of university of college to give me options to find work or and then I'd be very really happy cause it's a success for me. Wherever I'll be I'll end up I hope it will be linked to my qualifications and there'll be people I want to help. Yeahh… that'll be successful. (female, 20 y. old)

-A successful life, I'll say educated and having a good job mmh, giving back to the community. That's all. (Female, 26 y. old)

-A life where my whole family they've got something that they're in and I'm part of that. We are helping one another we are not depending on individuals but most people are being able to do something together we all can contribute. And in a community people do not get selfish as when I'm having something it's mine alone. As much as it is there, they need to share something to better the life of others around them. (male, 35 y. old*)*

*- I myself, I would say rich and successful are the same thing. I would say I'm rich **when** I have improved the life of individuals. The ones who are not schooling who are not working for them to be able to stand on their own and to buy car on their own to be mentally and physically fit on their own. Then I would say I'm rich cause I would have improved life in individuals not because I have billions – it would be good that I have billions- but because I would have invested those billions in the life of ordinary people (..) seeing people running their own company doing their own things, saying now I'm rich.*(male, 28 y.old)

-Achieve what you started. Nice job, nice salary, nice view (…) Nice home, start your own family plus a car but most important thing the goal you want to achieve a business or anything. And then, if you are successful then people around you are benefitting or getting inspired. (..) If God blesses me I would make people benefit it through initiatives I'll make. Being rich you must invest for others to benefit. Rich families lose touch with themselves. Being rich means nothing if at the same time, other people would not benefit from my project, be sustainable. You need to give back somehow. (male, 35 y. old)

Success? Like internal as a business we've just opened [car wash], the success would be that we can see that we can be able to employ other people. Bring all the girls all the colleagues who are unemployed in the location, just move from here and start another business on the other place.(…) And when they [the people we will employ] will be able to relax, we'll know that everybody's got the money they need the money they want, they choose everything according. See mam'. By then it's a success. (male, 19 years old, part of a car wash business, 25 rands per car)

Several expressions are used to indicate that individual success must lead to redistribution in the form of money, action, help, employment, advice or investment towards others. When you are successful you should make sure you give an opportunity to others to enjoy your success too. The youth alternatively talk of "giving back", "helping", "improve the life of others", "share" and in each case, doing so is not presented as an option but as an obligation ("you need to give back") or alternatively the very essence of being successful (*a successful life for myself is again success of others)*. If the first interviewee sees giving back as a possibility (being able) all the others literally see it as an attribute of success. To qualify as successful one has to give back.

What community are we talking about here? When questioned about it the young people of Daveyton clearly refer either to people they are closed to or with whom they live and interact on a local basis; or they more generally refer to the African notion of Ubuntu, meaning that a person is a person only through another person. Hence the community they should give back to is anyone they know or anyone they get in contact with and who is in need. In their use, "the community" does not expand beyond the limits of the township, let alone to fellow South Africans of other colors. The kind of solidarity traced back by the giving back obligation relates to a specific territory and those who live in it[12]. This way of thinking indicates that most of the youth have a strong sense of collective interest and not only of private benefit, contrarily to what is often suspected. But this notion is organized as a community principle and does not really stand as a general principle concerning redistribution in the larger society for instance. Success and redistribution linked to it is here referred to your most local environment, people with whom you struggle and survive, people who might by their proximity be expected to give back to their community.

While reading those statements one might think of the Big man concept developed in Melanesia by the anthropologists M. Sahlins or M. Godelier whereby a rich man asserts his power by redistributing in a calculated way to others in order for them to contribute to his success by working for him, hence he earns prestige and can compete with other big men. More specifically we might think of the requalification of the notion of "big man" by French political scientist J.P. Médard and his notion of "politician entrepreneur" which derives from the latter without being similar to it. In Medard's words while Sahlins big man redistributes first and foremost for a social reason in order to increase its prestige, the African big man who is an entrepreneur redistributes first and foremost for political reason in order to increase its power. Colleagues working in South Africa have suggested that the figure of "politician entrepreneur" might well be applied to new elites in the country (Botiveau, 20010). However, in my opinion, we must be careful in relating those two configurations to the above extracts. Indeed, in this research I'm not examining entrepreneurs who are using their wealth in order to secure political acknowledgement and power through redistribution and investment of their goods but people who contend that if they were "successful" they would act in such a way or that if you are successful you've got an obligation to do so. Here my interviewees do not reflect on politicians' strategy but express their view on what success should entail. They formulate a prescription on successful people, something which they should enact. In fact, maybe the interesting debate lies in the interpretation of redistribution by the youth, on the one hand and reality of action by successful guys, on the others as many youth note that their prescription regarding what success entail is not enacted by successful people.

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[12] Although most of the time white people are not mentioned, as part of the community I experienced that after 3 months day in and day out in the township sharing daylife with the people I was acknowledged as part of the community. I was Makoti (litteraly the one who belongs to the family in Zulu). Hence community is not define by race but rather by a common place of living. The case of an old granny from Lesotho, living for several years in Gabon who could not afford South African social grants for her orphaned grandchildren because she was not South African similarly mobilized the youth because as they exclaimed "But she is part of the community!".

4-Implications and efficiency of that notion

In the last part of the paper I would like to discuss the disjunction between young people's expectations regarding successful people and what is happening in reality as a key to interpret nowadays South Africa.

One could wonder if such statements are not pure rhetoric, especially considering that most of the youth are not successful owing to their own standards and do not have much to give back. Do they apply that rule to themselves in daily life? Is the obligation they personally formulate being respected as they wish by those who qualify as successful? And consequently, do they fight for it to be respected as a political commitment or is it just formulated as a moral obligation to which you can keep up or not? In other words what does that statement tells us about my interviewees' engagement towards their community and their ways of seeing their surrounding worlds? Are we just facing a social norm? Is it a moral statement or a political principle?

Give back as a social obligation…

In my time with the youth, I have seen the give back principle enacted in multiple occasions by the same youth I quoted above. Giving back in the form of sharing with others is a state of mind and a principle they apply to themselves. I have seen it enacted on a daily basis while I spent time with young people in the township. It is not a simple matter of politeness but a must both integrated by the giver and the receiver amongst people who consider each other as friends or mates.

One day, I invited a couple of guys to have lunch with me at KFC after an interview. We shared a family meal made of chicken and chips together (here I was the the successful/rich one). Suddenly, my friends saw other members of their organization (Youth Forum), walking by in the mall. They immediately got up and call them in not only to say hello but to spontaneously share the meal with them, although the quantity I had bought for 3 was now starting to be scarce for the 5 of us and we did not plan to be such a large party. I have seen this attitude repeated a significant number of times amongst friends, family members, colleagues, peers.

Amongst the same youth forum, same applies with key information regarding jobs, tenders, training. Although the number of tenders or trainings available may be scarce and calling attention of others on them might enhance the competition, I repeatedly testified young people mentioning opportunities to each other, providing they were part of the same group. Doing otherwise is indeed criticized in the interview as "selfish" and contrary to the spirit of 'helping each other":

> *People are selfish. The percentage is small for those who want to help… You know about good things and you don't give me the information.*

Each time I went to parties in Daveyton (most of the time without knowing who was my host) I found out that the richest guy was generally the one providing for all his friends. In one of the group with which I hanged around a lot people knew each other from school, the successful guys would buy beers beforehand and brought them in a cold box, or bring meat for the braï to feed everybody and more. There was never any discussion about it or any "thank you" exchanged or needed as giving back when you can afford it is seen as an obligation both by the successful one and those to whom they give. Amongst friends you must share and provide and you can't refuse to do so. I could confirm it while joking with one of the guy one night. Amongst the considered group he is one of the wealthiest. He owns a Mercedes, is married, has 2 kids and owns a beautiful house in Benoni, 5 minutes drive from the township although he returns to it on a weekly basis if not daily. He works as an researcher and engineering for Telkom (South African telecommunication). That day, a friend

asked him for a cigarette which he seemed to offer reluctantly while complaining that it was "the last one", that "all those guys had smoked all his cigarettes", that it was a bore, etc. I teased him: "Stop complaining, those are only cigarettes. Come on, have one of mine, although they are blond light lady ones. Stop crying!". In retrospect, I guess I was surprised by his unusual whining and took it as a game in which I entered through a joke. Indeed, the guy replied very seriously: "I've got to give my friends cigarettes: there's no way I can refuse that but then I've got a right to complain cause now I don't even have one left for me". This exchange does illustrate how you *must* give back to the community, here your closest friends, when you've made it. You are expected to provide for their needs at least while you are sharing time with them. In a context where you socialized the rule seems to be working out.

…but not as a political one

On the opposite, the young people I met, very often complained that those who they see as successful in the higher spheres are not giving back to the community as expected. What they see as a must and a need is not being applied. On several occasions, local businessmen or successful people originating from Daveyton are criticized for not investing back in "their community". Politicians are also assumed to give back, but more often than not as my interviewee put it below they do not:

I don't like politics currently because (...) because of the example that is being portrayed by the politicians. For people like me who believe in the fact that you do not only have to be a leader but if you are anybody you should help the people of which are not as privileged as you are. (...) So they make you hate politics totally because they're full of arrogance, negligence, they just don't care, do you get that? They just don't care. Whereas at some point, as politicians, their job is to provide.

It's true that people are getting tenders and contracts and are not giving back to the community. But in particular people who work for this organization. Us we have programs that need to be funded and we are people from ANC who get jobs recommended by the ANC or through the guidance of the ANC. But they can't even donate a 5000 rands from a profit of 400.000 Rands to advance the programs of those young people! (...). We have an executive of 15 young people in Daveyton. I can speak of these ones and you only have 2 people who are actually working! (Male, 24 years old)

Still, several young people indicated that they would vote for their councilor because they know him and reciprocally he/she is supposed to know them hence he/she should give back to them, whereas an opposition party leader would not because he/she is not part of their community. Surprisingly this statement was uttered when I questioned people who expressed being dissatisfied with their ANC councilor but who nevertheless were about to vote for him/her again. In fact, this confirms that in their logics, the councilor as a successful one should apply the rule of giving back to the community even if it proved otherwise so far. There is a gap between what is perceived as a rule and an obligation and reality but some of my interviewees do not acknowledge.

Some activists of ANCYL, nevertheless, insist that their reason to be part of the organization is to impulse this kind of principle in it:

I'm in ANCYL for a year. (Why did you decide to join ANC?) *Mostly, cause our government is more ignorant about the most important things. And I can see a lot of people achieving great things and not getting back to the community.* (woman, 26 y. old)

(…) *People don't own their role in the economy. Our comrades who are benefiting from BEE are not conscious of their presence in the economy. They must give back: I'm a socialist ...* (male, 20 y. old)

Conclusion

The examination of what success means for Daveyton youth would need complements from other aspects of the research to reach its full meaning. Nevertheless it already authorizes a couple of concluding remarks and as often raises even more questions than answers.

Firstly, and without any clear divide between people in their 20's and their 30's, there is no such thing as a selfish Youth only interested in its material success. Some evoke the stereotypes of success but many more consider success not so much as a personal advantage but as a collective issue. Being successful regards basics of life such as the maintenance of a family and demands that you give back to the community. While envisaging themselves successful, many young people I talked to consider that it would then be their duty to take care of others at large in the community by giving back; either financially or in the form of advice, employment or initiatives which would profit to what they see as their community. Aspiration to economic well being is not only an individual one but in many cases integrates a collective interest. Is giving back to the community a political prescription? The answer to that question is not an easy one. This perspective describes and prescribes a form of solidarity amongst friends, neighbors and colleagues but it is limited to a local basis and does not lead to any kind of universal principle for instance. "Community" is a rather narrow notion which is still based on social relations and spatial settings. Maybe the geographical characteristics of Daveyton explain why, added to the fact that very few young people ever go beyond the limits of the township.

The idea that you must give back to the community is also used to refer to political or rather electoral choice. In spite of the youth acknowledging that successful leaders seldom give back as they should. During my time in Daveyton, ANCYL members will to influence ANC on a more "socialist" type of thinking "giving back to the community" did not open the way to any kind of political fight for this principle to be applied, for instance. Quite to the contrary, what I saw is young people giving up on their contestation of "ANC councilor who do not give back" in order to submit to party rule, sometimes using the argument that you must vote for your community member if you want to receive back. In that regards if giving back is a political principle it qualifies as a clientelist one and indicates that young people are not aware of the rules of neo-liberal capitalism as it is developed in their own country.

Lastly, is this notion inherited from or informed by the past, in particular apartheid times? There is no explicit reference to that period while expressing whishes about the future but collective interest being reduced to the local community is a striking feature of the findings. Interpersonal solidarity in an enclosed space as still experienced by the youth today might be more important than history. At present times, in Daveyton, spatial and economic constraint imply that most young people only interact with their local peers at township level and success and solidarity are therefore exclusively seen as community issue. Maybe the traditional vision of a zulu leader as a generous chief as studied by Gluckman (1964, 38) might sound more relevant as well here. Are we facing the transmission of a traditional kind of leadership beyond apartheid legacy? More research will be needed to assess it and comparison with other spaces and less model township might also help to figure it out.

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