THE HISTORY JOURNAL

SUMMER
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AFRICA

WYCOMBE
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Preface

The second edition of the History Journal will be covering the history of a continent which is often overlooked by both historians and school curriculums – Africa. Many view Africa as a poverty-stricken continent, which is vast and severely underdeveloped, with a history that lacks importance compared to that of countries and societies considered to be or have been 'world powers'. However, in reality it is a continent which has seen the emergence of incredibly disparate cultures, from the Ancient Egyptians to the Ashanti tribe. National syllabuses are frequently void of material relating to Africa and when it is incorporated into curriculums, the specification seldom refers to anything other than slavery or colonisation. Our journal aims to look at a much wider scope of African history, focusing on the consequences of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade on West Africa, how we can account for the shift in the heartlands of Christianity to the global south and factors that triggered the 1976 Soweto Uprising, all of which are less studied topics of Africa but still bear immense significance within African history.

One essay will be discussing the consequences of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and to what extent it hindered the development of West Africa. Emphasis is often placed on the process of the slave trade itself within national curriculums, with little emphasis being put on the effects of the trade on Africa itself. This essay therefore attempts to provide a wider perspective of the trade. Despite the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act (1807) being a huge moral advancement for society, its occurrence left West Africa suffering immensely. In order to fully answer this question, this essay will be focusing on the economic, social and political effects of the slave trade on West Africa. Perhaps the most obvious effect of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade was the removal of over 13 million people from the continent, incurring serious implications regarding the development of a continent. However, the slave trade did not just result in a serious reduction in population. The collapse in traditional hierarchies and structures of society, paired with West Africa's economic dependence on the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, left West Africa unable to rebuild itself after the ending of the slave trade. The overall instability that West Africa was plagued with due to the Trans-Atlantic slave trade highlights the lasting effect that this slave trade had on West Africa. Thus this essay will be arguing that the course of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade significantly hindered the development of West Africa.

Another essay will discuss the shift in the heartlands of Christianity to the global south and how we can account for this. When approaching such a broad question it is important not to generalise and overlook the diversity of African states given there have been significant fluctuations in faith between these. A range of interlinking factors can account for this shift in the Christian Church's axis including that of colonisation by European Christian powers. This provided a structure which cultivated faith and thus missionaries and educationalists were able to spread Christianity further in the context of colonial rule through the use of education. This initiated the shift in the heartlands of Christianity but did this cause Christianity to take root and flourish in the way that it did? Placed in a setting of political turmoil and liberation struggles, many Africans were attracted to the comfort and support of the Christian faith which in contrast was decreasing in size in the global north following the Enlightenment in the 18th century. These scientific advances caused many in the north to lose faith as unlike many Africans, they were not dependent on religion to regularly provide hope and guidance as a result of economic, political and social instability.

The final essay will consider whether the black educational standard was the main contributory factor leading to the 1976 Soweto uprising. Soweto was, at the time, dealing with rife alcholoism and educational neglect as the black generations had become oppressed and abandoned under the somewhat Orwellian Apartheid system. To answer te question posed one must assess the dire situation in Soweto

to identify the attitude of the students and their desire to rise above the humiliation of the Apartheid system. It is also necessary to consider the watershed moment of the introduction of Afrikaans into the black schools in 1976 which may have triggered the fatal uprising in June. This legislative decision prompted the students to express their views on the education that they were receiving, or lack thereof. These students were able to unify their views under movements such as the Black Consciousness Movement which stressed psychological liberation and self-reliance from the intensely white Apartheid legislature, enabling them to rise up against the oppressive regime. It can be argued that the poor educational standards were irrefragably the main cause of the uprising as it initiated a climate of animosity towards the white educational legislature that were neglecting the plethora of students seeking suitable education to compete with their white counterparts. By 1976, previous resistance (prompted by failing standards) created a climate of irrationality and resentment of the black students towards the Apartheid government and with the introduction of subsequent acts the student body erupted. This essay will consider why students finally united to protest against why they should know more to life than just being 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.'[1]

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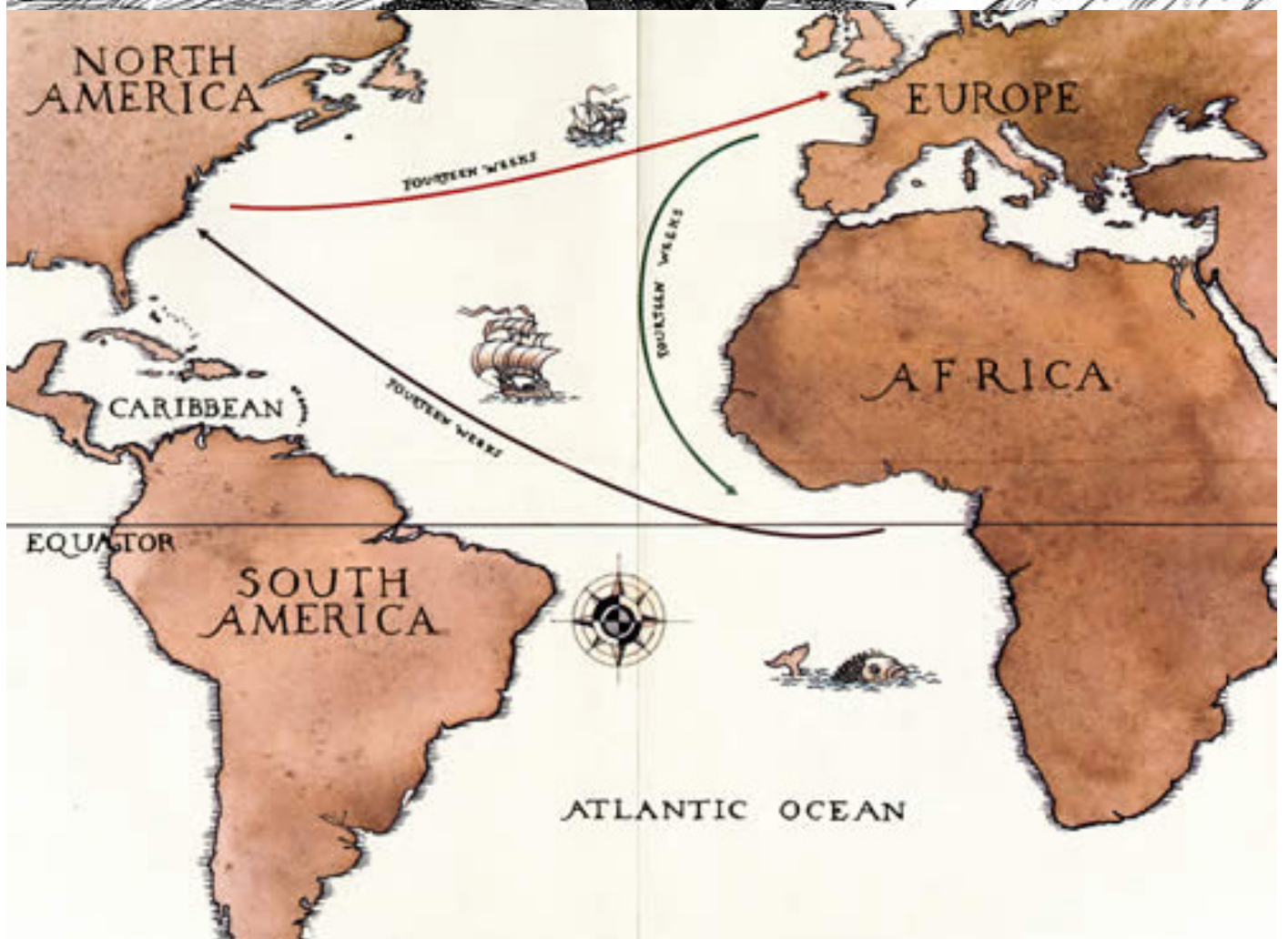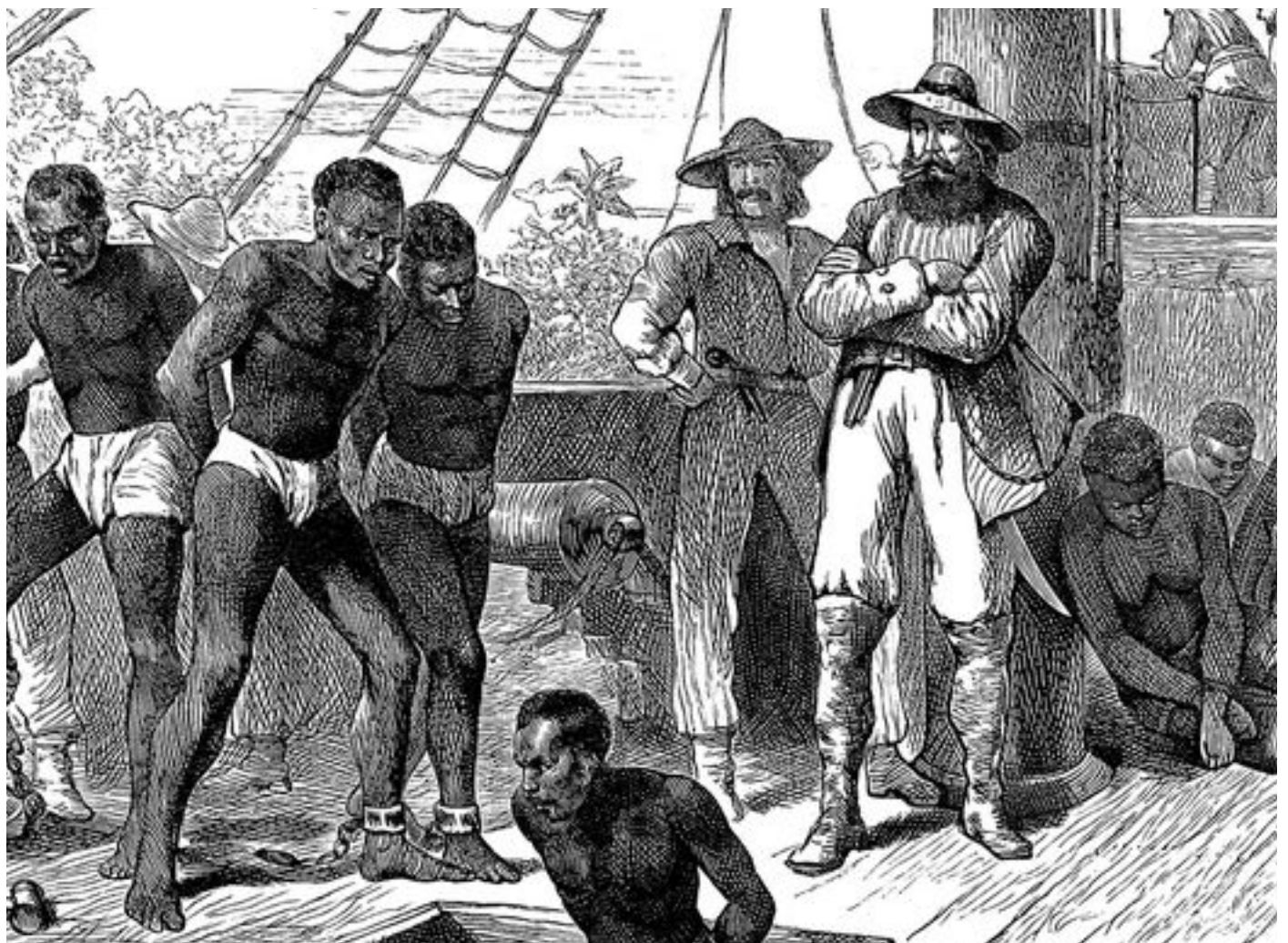Miss Yanora

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[1] Stated in a speech by Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, 1953.

Africa

TO WHAT EXTENT DID THE COURSE OF THE TRANS-ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE SIGNIFICANTLY HINDER THE DEVELOPMENT OF WEST AFRICA?

Natasha

NORTH
AMERICA

EUROPE

FOURTEEN WEEKS

FOURTEEN WEEKS

CARIBBEAN

AFRICA

FOURTEEN WEEKS

EQUATOR

SOUTH
AMERICA

ATLANTIC OCEAN

TO WHAT EXTENT DID THE COURSE OF THE TRANS-ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE SIGNIFICANTLY HINDER THE DEVELOPMENT OF WEST AFRICA?

T he Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade saw the forced enslavement of over 13 million Africans, with one in six not surviving the journey of the Middle Passage. Despite the atrocities of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, this trade saw European powers flourish due to their industrial and economic growth. The ending of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in 1807 was a result of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act, which was passed in Parliament by a vote of 283 votes to 16. This motion triggered other nations to follow suit – Sweden outlawed its slave trade in the 1813 Anglo-Swedish treaty, in 1814 the Treaty of Paris led to France also abolishing its slave trade, and also in 1814 the Anglo-Dutch treaty outlawed the Dutch slave trade. However, despite these laudable motions to end the slave trade, West Africa itself suffered immensely as a result of the slave trade and its termination. There is much controversy between historians regarding the impact of the on West Africa. David Eltis had little impact on African has argued that the slave trade in society.[2] The slave trade population, resulting in an the social demographic of

West Africa itself suffered immensely as a result of the slave trade...

Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade has argued that the slave trade history[1] whilst Paul Lovejoy triggered a significant change caused a significant loss in impact on the economy and West Africa. The slave trade also not only removed people from West Africa, it shaped its society. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade provoked violence and warfare, and saw the fall of the pre-existing structure of society and political bodies, ultimately resulting in a society that was incredibly unstable and lacked any clear structure. Thus, the effects of the slave trade can be considered to be threefold – social, political and economic. However, it was predominantly the social changes which ultimately led to political instability and a lack of economic coherence which significantly hindered the development of West Africa. Such effects cannot be ignored or overlooked, and it was the actions of European powers during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade which caused such drastic changes to West Africa, and ultimately hindered the development of West Africa after its discontinuation.
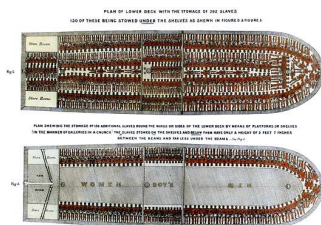
In order to fully understand the effects of the slave trade on West Africa, it is necessary to look briefly at what West Africa was like before the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. West Africa was remarkably prosperous and saw the emergence of prominent kingdoms, namely the kingdom of Ghana, the Mali Empire and the Songhai Kingdom.

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[1] Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature." *The Journal of African History* 30, no. 3 (1989): 365-94. http://www.jstor.org/stable/182914.
[2] Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature." *The Journal of African History* 30, no. 3 (1989): 365-94. http://www.jstor.org/stable/182914.

The kingdom of Ghana spread across an area the size of Western Europe and grew rich due the trans-Saharan trade of gold and salt, and this in turn triggered urban growth. The fall of the Ghana Empire led to the growth of the Mali Empire which was notable due to the wealth of its rulers, such as Musa Keita. The Kouroukan Fouga, the constitution of the Mali empire, oversaw the implementation of policies which superseded those in Europe in their thinking, such as policies which prohibited the maltreatment of prisoners. The Mali Empire was also flourishing economically. By the beginning of the 14th century it was the source of nearly half of the Old World's gold, from which the Empire was able to reap the benefits. Another prominent empire was the Songhai Kingdom, which was also a strong trading kingdom. Its trade depended on the selling of practical crafts and religious artefacts, and this allowed it to develop economically. Under Askia Muhammad, the Empire became increasingly centralised and this resulted in a stable society. Therefore, it is evident that, before the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, West Africa saw the growth of dominant Empires which thrived and saw economic, political and social stability.

A significant consequence of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was the huge loss in population which West Africa suffered. Over 13 million Africans were enslaved, as countries which participated in the slave trade needed a huge amount of labour in order to develop the economies of new colonies. These countries required mainly men for the physical labour in these new colonies. It is estimated that West central Africa suffered particularly, with 212:100 men to women being sold as slaves and this disrupted Africa's gender demographic. A.G. Hopkins has argued that these changes ultimately resulted in West Africa becoming underpopulated and that 'West Africa can stand as an example of underdevelopment in an underpopulated area.'[3] He argues that due to such 'underpopulation' the economy of West Africa was unable to grow, as the land that it depended on for its economic growth could not be cultivated at a quick enough rate. However, the root cause of a lack of economic growth within West Africa during the 19th century was actually due to the soil type of West Africa. The soil was 'low in organic mineral content'[4] and this made it impossible for more land to be used for agriculture. This lack of mineral content is clearly seen by an abundance of acrisols within West Africa and which are described as being 'deficient in nutrients.'[5] Agricultural production could

Detail of a British broadside depicting the slave ship Brooks

not increase at the rate needed for economic growth, due to the fertility of the land, and not due to a reduction in population. Therefore, it is evident that the reduction in population due to the Trans-Atlantic slave trade did not necessarily severely affect agricultural production and the economy of West Africa, as it first appears, but it can perhaps be argued that the lack of economic growth can be attributed to the infertile land which West Africa was riddled with, which is clearly seen due to the abundance of acrisols.

Despite the huge numbers exported from West Africa as human cargo during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, there is a prevalent argument that the rise in polygynous marriages within West Africa during this period actually managed to balance the population of West Africa. Such a rise in polygynous marriages was due to gender ratios becoming distorted,[6] due to the higher proportion of men being exported, compared to the number of women. The rise in such marriages would suggest that the population would drastically increase, with more reproductive-age females for each reproductive-age male.

[3]Antony Gerald Hopkins, *An economic history of West Africa* (Routledge, 2014), p15.
[4]Antony Gerald Hopkins. *An economic history of West Africa* (Routledge, 2014), p13.
[5]http://eusoils.jrc.ec.europa.eu/Library/Maps/Africa_Atlas/Download/52.pdf.
[6]http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1030&context=nebanthro.

However, in reality, this was not the case. Strassman found that child mortality actually increased, along with an increase of wife number in polygynous marriages.[7] This was due to the fact that wives who had been acquired through slavery and not traditional marriage were effectively placed at the bottom of the hierarchy amongst the wives of the polygynous marriage. According to Kopytoff and Miers, this 'low status could directly affect the survivorship rate of a slave's children in a polygynous household.'[8] This was mainly due to the fact that those wives considered to have a higher status controlled the majority of resources needed for the survival of a child. Overall therefore, the Trans-Atlantic slave trade hindered the development of West Africa as it had significant effects on its population. The deportation of mainly men led to a rise in polygynous marriages and this ultimately led to both lower birth and child survival rates, meaning that the growth of the population of West Africa was stunted.

A collapse in the pre-existing structure of society during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade was crucial in hindering West Africa's development. Paul E. Lovejoy has argued that the slave trade was 'a major influence in transforming African society.'[9] Such transformations were clearly seen in the emergence of smaller groups, led by a chief or a warlord, and a collapse in pre-existing forms of government, which previously ruled over much larger groups.[10] This was because local 'leaders' were participating in the slave trade and profiting from it, giving them an incentive to move away from larger states, which may have been less lenient regarding the buying and selling of those within their own state. This seriously hindered the development of West Africa, as it meant that it had transformed into a more backward society. West Africa effectively moved away from forming a collective civilisation towards a divided society. Heli Chatelain was a Protestant linguist and mission-ary who founded a mission and struggle against slavery in West Africa, during the 19th century. He stated that, 'It is well known that the internal slave-trade is the most potent of the evil influences which oppose the progress of civilisation in Africa.' [11] This

West Africa… moved towards a divided society.

means that the slave trade within West Africa was the main cause in hindering the development of West Africa. The 'internal slave trade' that Chatelain mentions here was provoked by the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Heli Chatelain's conclusion gives us an incredibly useful insight into the effects of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade on West Africa. It is a source from the time, and as a missionary Chatelain would have spent time integrating himself into society within West Africa, meaning that his conclusions are likely to have been founded on his experiences there. He is also admitting the unjust actions that his own society has made by causing this 'internal slave trade' and this suggests that there were in fact significant problems within West Africa. Therefore, the collapse of pre-existing structure of society, meant that after the ending of the slave trade there was an inability to progress as a society due to its disunity.

Heli Chatelain

The problems created by a collapse in traditional social structures were exacerbated by an increase in violence within West Africa, which played a minor role in hindering the development of West Africa. West Africa became the victim of an increased amount of warfare due to social disunity coupled with an increase in the importation of firearms, in exchange for slaves. This triggered the destruction of villages and towns, as people wished to kidnap captives in order to sell them as slaves.

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[7] http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1030&context=nebanthro.
[8] http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1030&context=nebanthro.

A rise in violence within West Africa was clearly seen by the increase in competition between dominant groups within West Africa attempting to capitalise on the potential wealth that the slave trade could bring. Some states grew wealthy during this period, and this was clearly seen by the Asante and Dahomey kingdoms.[12] The Ashanti kingdom traded slaves with European powers, especially the Portuguese at the coastal fort called Sao Jorge de Mina. The slave trade ultimately triggered further rivalry between wealthy groups within West Africa and further alienated them from one another. It

has been argued that, 'These who were not involved in the and security without the threat the Europeans.'[13] This inabil- the forced migration of 12-15

West Africa became the victim of an increased amount of warfare

disruptions prevented Africans trade from doing business in peace of being kidnapped and sold to ity to trade was clearly seen by million people.[14] The sheer fear

that entered the population of West Africa led to such significant migration and this was triggered by the European demand for slaves. Thus, the process of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade left West Africa troubled by a huge amount of warfare and social disunity, due to high levels of migration.

Despite a collapse in social structures, it has been argued that the Trans-Atlantic slave trade broadened the collective identity of Africans, suggesting that its course did not hinder the development of West Africa. David Eltis has argued that, 'Africans on both sides of the Atlantic also broadened their concepts of collective identity.'[15] There was a significant rise in African cohesiveness regarding resistance to the trade itself, as it was far more likely for a slave ship rebellion to be successful in the second half of the 18th century than the century before. This increase in collective identity would suggest that the ending of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade did not hinder West Africa, as the community held common interests and solidarities from which to build on, making the development of West Africa in 1807 relatively easy. However, despite there perhaps being a rise in collective identity amongst the slaves themselves, which is evident due to the increase in successful slave ship rebellions, there clearly was little to no rise in collective identity within West Africa itself. Large kingdoms within West Africa, such as the Asante and Dahomey kingdoms, continued to participate in the slave trade and showed no support for such resistance. For these kingdoms to be able to sell slaves from their own society to foreign powers willingly highlights the complete lack of collective identity that West African society held during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. This lack of collective identity was instigated by European powers who dehumanised those within West African society to such an extent that were willing to turn against one another and cut all bonds of previous social ties. Overall, Eltis' argument that the slave trade created a rise in the collective identity of Africans greatly oversimplifies the effects of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. It is clear however that the Trans-Atlantic slave trade hindered the development of West Africa as it promoted a lack of collective identity amongst those within West Africa, leading to a lack of cohesiveness as a society from which to develop.

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[9]Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature." *The Journal of African History* 30, no. 3 (1989): 365-94. http://www.jstor.org/stable/182914.

[10]Nonso Obikili, "The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade And Local Political Fragmentation In Africa". *The Economic History Review* 69 (4) (2016): 1157-1177. doi:10.1111/ehr.12328.

[11]Heli Chatelain, "The Internal Slave-Trade in Africa." *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 28, no. 1 (1896): 70-71. doi:10.2307/197002.

[12]http://schoolworkhelper.net/effect-of-the-slave-trade-on-africa/.

[13]http://schoolworkhelper.net/effect-of-the-slave-trade-on-africa/.

[13]http://schoolworkhelper.net/effect-of-the-slave-trade-on-africa/.

[14]http://schoolworkhelper.net/effect-of-the-slave-trade-on-africa/.

[14]http://schoolworkhelper.net/effect-of-the-slave-trade-on-africa/.

[15]http://content.time.com/time/arts/article/0,8599,56785,00.html.

West Africa would only truly be free from European powers for a marginal period of time, after the ending of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Zagba Oyortey has argued that the absence of many able-bodied people made it easy for European powers to come in and colonise West Africa.[16] This argument is incredibly plausible, as the huge amount of political and social disunity meant that West Africa was unable to unify against its common enemy. Previous powerful empires within West Africa, whose influence would have been crucial in preventing colonisation, were in a perpetual state of war and thus could not unify effectively to prevent colonisation. A key example of this is the Ashanti Empire. The Ashanti Empire participated in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and became a major exporter of slaves by the early 1800s. The moral implications of selling one's own people and also attacking other empires in order to gain captives who could be sold as slaves meant that, from 1700 to 1896, the Ashanti Empire was in a constant state of war, involving the expansion or defence of its domain, from the Asante–Fante War in 1806 to the Ashanti-Akim-Akwapim War in 1814. The empire was weakened to such an extent that in 1874 British forces successfully invaded the Empire and captured Kumasi.[17] Therefore, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade severely hindered the development of West Africa, as the social and political disunity that it created meant that previously powerful empires were unable to defend themselves against European colonisation, meaning that West Africa once again became a victim to the wants and needs of Europe.

The Ashanti Empire, which grew in wealth during the slave trade

Trade was also somewhat impacted after the termination of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. During the slave trade human labour was exchanged for manufactured products. These manufactured goods could not then be resold onto major trading powers within the world. This ultimately left West Africa unable to negotiate with major contemporary trading partners within the world, and thus unable to participate in world trade. Europe continued to grow, whilst West Africa remained underdeveloped. Trade also suffered within West Africa, as slave exports significantly decreased after the termination of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Paul E. Lovejoy has argued that slavery was a huge part of the African economy and that 'the rise in exports started at such a low base and at a time when slave exports were becoming less important, western Africa suffered a relative decline in its position in world trade.'[18] Indeed, this 'relative decline in [West Africa's] position in world trade' was clearly seen by the ease of colonisation. Without a stable trading base and serious political instability, the West African economy was unable to develop, leaving the European powers able to colonise with ease. Despite this decrease in slave exports, there was no noticeable increase in exports of other commodities immediately after the termination of the slave trade. Indeed, it was not until 1820 that commodity exports finally reached the same levels as slave exports had previously been at during the slave trade.[19] Therefore, it is evident that the Trans-Atlantic slave trade did temporarily hinder the development of the trade of West Africa, however this hindrance was only short term. West African trade was not seriously hindered in its development in the long term, and recovered soon after the ending of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade.

[16]http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/6504141.stm.
[17]http://www.blackpast.org/gah/ashanti-empire-asante-kingdom-18th-late-19th-century.
[18]Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature." *The Journal of African History* 30, no. 3 (1989): 365-94. http://www.jstor.org/stable/182914.

In conclusion, the Trans-Atlantic slave trade severely hindered the development of West Africa. The social changes caused by the Trans-Atlantic slave trade were most significant in hindering the development of West Africa. The collapse in social structures, triggered by the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, led to a lack of social unity. This made development almost impossible, as a society which lacks unity simply does not have common goals and interests for which to strive for. Such social changes ultimately triggered political instability. Political changes played a reasonably significant role within the development of West Africa as its lack of unification left it with no common, political goals. Economically, West Africa was somewhat hindered in its development due to its lack of a position within the world as a respected trading partner. The manufactured goods which European powers gave West Africa in return for slaves provided West Africa with little to negotiate with on an international trading front, thus significantly reducing both its trading capacity and stunting its economic growth. However, a lack of economic growth, due to agriculture, within West Africa can also be accounted to its soil type, showing that the Trans-Atlantic slave trade only played a subordinate role in hindering the economic development of West Africa. In the final analysis, the Trans-Atlantic slave trade was 'a scene of horror almost inconceivable'[20] and saw suffering on such a large scale that it is barely imaginable to those living in the modern age. West Africa was the victim of this atrocity and was left on its knees by 1807. Economically, politically and socially, West Africa was left unable to develop, and once again was left impotent to defend itself from Europe's desires within the same century. West Africa remains the unknown casualty of Europe's exploitation.

The Trans-Atlantic slave trade was 'a scene of horror almost inconceivable.'

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[19] J. S. Hogendorn and H. A. Gemery, "Continuity in West African Monetary History? An Outline of Monetary Development." *African Economic History*, no. 17 (1988): 127-46. doi:10.2307/3601337. p135.
[20] http://www.brycchancarey.com/equiano/extract3.htm.

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Africa

'THE AVERAGE ANGLICAN IS A
24-YEAR-OLD AFRICAN WOMAN.'
HOW CAN WE ACCOUNT FOR THE
SHIFT IN THE HEARTLANDS OF
CHRISTIANITY TO THE GLOBAL
SOUTH?

Sophia

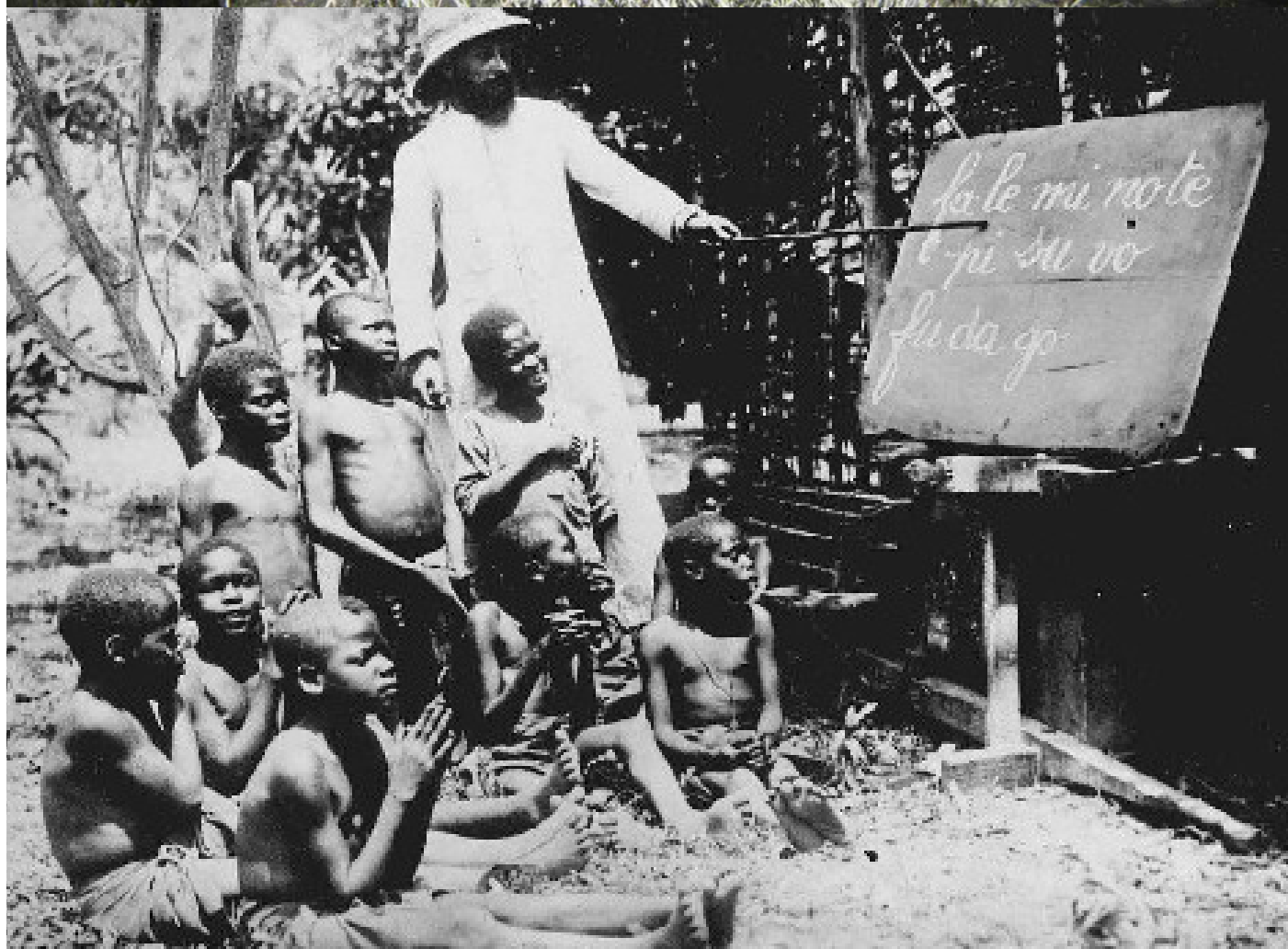# 'THE AVERAGE ANGLICAN IS A 24-YEAR-OLD AFRICAN WOMAN.' HOW CAN WE ACCOUNT FOR THE SHIFT IN THE HEARTLANDS OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE GLOBAL SOUTH?

Throughout the six centuries since Henry VIII broke from the Catholic Church in Rome, in 1534, the Anglican Communion has seen a dramatic shift from its heartlands in the global north, Europe and North America, to Africa, Latin America and Asia – the global south. In this essay I will concentrate on the development of Christianity, focusing on the rise of Anglicanism within Africa. The heartlands of Christianity can be defined as the central region in which the Christian faith took root, flourished and became the dominant belief of the majority of the population. This shift, so aptly summarized in the quote 'The average Anglican is a 24-year-old African woman,' originally published in the Sunday Times in 2001, can be explained by a number of interlinking factors.[1] The colonial legacy was particularly significant in bringing European missionaries and educationalists to the continent not only to teach the gospel in local languages but more importantly to build structures, schools and churches, founded in the Anglican tradition of a communion. However, this essay will argue that although the colonial roots have an important part to play, more agency should be placed in the hands of Africans themselves who spread the Anglican faith

as 'it was these local actors who seized hold of the material, spiritual and intellectual resources of Christianity and used them to find healing and personal security.'[2] Certain African communities were particularly receptive to the sense of unity which religion fostered and often relied on the structure and stability which Anglicanism brought to their day-to-day lives. This is perhaps a more significant factor than the dramatic demographic shifts that have also played a role in aiding the spread of religion in the global South in relation to their northern neighbors, who were more attracted to ideals of secularism.[3]

As Philip Jenkins suggests, there is evidence to support the statement that the 'heartlands of Christianity' shifted to the global south.[4] For example, in 1900 only 9% of the African population identified as Christian, whereas Europe and America combined accounted for over 82%. Today, only 35% of the world's Christians live in the global north. Jenkins concludes that if current trends continue, by 2025 'Africa and Latin America will be in competition for the title of most Christian continent,' thus illustrating the rise in Anglicanism in the global

[1] https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/1810/248229/Maxwell%202015%20The%20Historical%20Journal.pdf?sequence=1.

[2] David Maxwell, "The Missionary Movement in African and World History: Mission Sources and Religious Encounter," *Historical Journal* (2015): p12.

[3] http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/18/world/europe/a-more-secular-europe-divided-by-the-cross.html.

[4] Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford University Press, 2011), p3.

south.[5] However, in exploring the extent to which we can account for this shift, the diversity of African states should not be overlooked. The significant social, political and economic differentiation between African nations, as well as between local communities, should not be homogenized. Moreover, the definition of what it means to identify as a Christian continually changes and is subject to debate as it encompasses all Christian denominations. In addition, it is important to recognise that there has been a rise in Catholicism within South America, while Anglicanism has seen a significant increase in Asia and Africa, suggesting again that the diversity of the shift cannot be overlooked.

The colonial legacy of European Christian powers helps to account for the initiation of the shift in the heartlands of Christianity from the global north to the global south. This legacy was characterized by the work of Christian missionaries throughout the continent. The first protestant missionaries were Moravian George Schmidt who worked in South Africa between 1738 and 1744 and Thomas Thompson who was sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to Cape Coast in West Africa and stayed from 1751 to 1755.[6] Missionaries played two roles: ostensibly they travelled to the colonies of Christian powers to promote their faith, but they also played an integral part of the colonial framework to help ensure stability and control for the colonial power. According to the Church

Moravian George Schmidt [1]

Missionary Society, following their work in Rwanda, by 1868 '55% of the population belonged to the Anglican church,' reflecting the impact of missionaries and how their work significantly boosted the numbers of Christians within Africa.[7] There was a rise in missionary action during the colonial period due to an ideological shift in the eighteenth century in which evangelism was encouraged and missionaries were compelled to explore the 'Dark Continent,' and were committed to the notion of 'Annunciating the Good News to all nations' (Matthew 28).[8]

"Missionaries played an integral part of the colonial framework"

David Chidster adds weight to this argument suggesting that throughout the colonial period Christian missionaries scattered 'the seeds of civilization, social order and happiness.'[9] Education formed the core of Christian missionary work in Africa as they needed to increase literacy rates in order for Africans to internalise Anglican teaching and be able to teach one another. In 1900 literacy rates in Africa were 0.9 percent; this goes to show how missionaries, as well as other contributing factors, had a significant impact on literacy considering that today it is around 33%.[10] Missionary work led to a rise in literacy and thus aided the spread of Anglicanism during the colonial period. As historian Sandra Nickle suggests 'nothing could bring the Good News alive to the native population better than providing them with the text in their own mother tongue.'[11] In her work on early Yoruba Christians in Nigeria, Nickle also argues that these initial translations of Christian scripture allowed for the creation of a link with the old indigenous faiths and the new religion making it more attractive to converts; 'the missionaries, through the linguistic mapping of the devil, rendered possible a link between the old and the new faith.'[12]

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[5]Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom*, p3.

[6]Fiona Leach, "Resisting conformity: Anglican mission women and the schooling of girls in early nineteenth-century West Africa," *History of Education* 41 (2012): pp133-153.

[7]http://www.ampltd.co.uk/collections_az/CMS-4-23/description.aspx.

[8]Phyllis Muraya, *Missionary work in Kenya and African response: Implications for pastoral care with young adults*, p3.

[9]David Chester, *Savage systems: colonialism and comparative religion in Southern Africa* (The University Press of Virginia, 1996), p89.

[10]http://www.academia.edu/2128661/Christian_missionaries_and_education_in_former_African_colonies_How_competition_mattered.

[11]Sandra Nickel, *Spreading which word? Philological, theological and socio-political considerations behind the nineteenth-century Bible translation into Yorùbá* (The University of Leeds, 2013).

Nickle presents a convincing argument that missionaries played a highly significant role as they not only brought Anglicanism to Africa through promoting increased levels of civilization, but also provided Africans with the tool of literacy which allowed them to spread their faith throughout the global south.

However, colonization and the role of missionaries should not be isolated in the examination of the relocation of the Christian church as there were other factors which arguably played a more significant role in certain contexts such as Africans themselves and the people of the Global South. Colonization brought Christianity to the global south and missionaries helped to spread Anglicanism across the African continent, yet as the historian Richard Gray states, 'it was African catechists, teachers, traders and migrant laborers who assimilated the faith and initiated villagers, kinsfolk, workmates and strangers into this new identity.'[13] This is a convincing critique of missionary work as Africans must have played a prominent role in order for the Christian faith to properly take root and flourish as a result, suggesting that more weight should be awarded to Africans themselves and people of the global south. The fact that by 1980 there were more than 7,000 different African Independent Churches with a membership of more than twelve million further reinforces the view that many Africans played a significant role in promoting the Christian faith by breaking away from the established missionary churches.[14] These independent churches allowed Africans to reach higher positions within the church and also rejected the missionary view that the African culture was pagan. The pre-existing African culture was one which struck missionaries due to the 'darkness of the continent: its lack of religion and sound morals, its ignorance.'[15] This suggests the lack of understanding missionaries had for the African cultures and thus strengthens the view that it was the role Africans played in indigenizing the Christian faith that accelerated the growth of Christianity in Africa. Furthermore, the extent to which missionary efforts succeeded is also limited in certain areas and subject to significant fluctuation. Mission churches often 'failed to deal with Africa's major concerns; sickness, health, fortune and misfortune.'[16] It is a truism that missionaries spread Christianity across Africa and educated Africans about the Christian faith but this did not always correlate with rising numbers of Anglicans. Africanisation was needed in order to achieve this.[17] Anglicanism was a particularly transformational faith for many Africans as it provided education through learning scripture. Fiona Leach is a firm supporter of this view as she convincingly states that Africans during the period had a 'huge thirst for learning.'[18] The Anglican faith was able to satisfy this thirst through the provision and maintenance of religious schools which 'rapidly became the distinctive activity of Christian missions in Africa.'[19] Through this education many Africans were able to find comfort in the answers Christianity provided for them, especially concerning issues such as life after death. Richard Gray strongly reinforces this when saying, 'the idea of everlasting life appeals to them (those living in Buganda), their life here being so uncertain.'[20] This is just one example of how the Christian education, in particular, was able to provide a source of hope for many Africans as well as allowing them to develop socially as well as spiritually.

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[12]Sandra Nickel, *Spreading which word?*

[13]Richard Gray, *Black Christians and White Missionaries* (Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data, 1929), p81.

[14]http://exploringafrica.matrix.msu.edu/module-fourteen-activity-four/.

[15]Ian Fowler and Verkijika Fanso, *Encounter, Transformation and Identity: Peoples of the Western Cameroon Borderlands 1891-2000* (Berghahn Books, 2009), p204.

[16]Jeff Haynes, *Religion and Politics in Africa* (East African Educational Publishers Ltd.), p47.

[17]Dirk Van der Merwe, *From Christianising Africa to Africanising Christianity: Some hermeneutical principles* (University of South Africa, 2016).

[18]Fiona Leach, "Resisting conformity: Anglican mission women and the schooling of girls in early nineteenth-century West Africa," *History of Education* 41 (2012): pp133-153.

[19]Richard Gray, *Black Christians and White Missionaries*, p97.

[20]Richard Gray, *Black Christians and White Missionaries*, p68.

The historian Brian Stanley adopts this view when stating, 'Anglican baptism followed by Anglican education became the accepted route to social and political advancement.'[21] This is a highly convincing view as the education which Anglicanism provided subsequently offered a platform upon which many used to heighten their social and political influence. This provides another reason for why Anglicanism saw an increase in the global south, as people saw religion as a way to improve their social and political standing as religious knowledge was greatly respected. As a result, people were keen to learn and spread the Anglican faith given it significantly benefitted them.

Furthermore, the attainment of independence in the global south led to a rapid growth in Christianity levels as the church played a prominent role in providing a sense of unity during the last years of oppressive colonial rule and the beginning of liberation struggles. This is ironic as the Christian faith was an instrument of colonialism yet once it was Africanised, Christianity became a vehicle for nationalism. Nevertheless, this slightly paradoxical argument strongly accounts for the shift in the heartlands of Christianity to the global south. This view is convincingly reinforced by Sykes and Booty who claim that 'Anglicanism was a form of Christianity which has its attractions for those whose lives were dominated or circumscribed by the colonial reality.'[22] I strongly support this view as in Africa in particular the significant brutality of colonialism is shown throughout the division of the continent, such as Cameroon being split into two for France and Britain. This disregard for countries within Africa as they were being divided up and awarded to colonial powers led to many Africans resorting to faith for guidance throughout this political turmoil and thus accounting for the rapid growth of the Christian

Africans protesting for liberation [2]

community. The guidance that the Christian faith provided is demonstrated through its explanation for suffering. Anglicanism claims that humans suffer in the light of God's promise providing many Africans with 'hope against hope'[23] Christianity was extremely popular for Africans as it preached that the suffering from disease and malnutrition that Africans faced daily was due to the Fall and how man stands in a state of sin. This provided many Africans with reassurance and they then became dependent on Christianity and a God who was said to 'take away the sins of the world' (cf. John 1:29). Christianity was also extremely significant for Africans as one of its main focuses is on unity and brotherhood. According to the primary source, Thoughts of a Young African, a book, written by Mulira, 'brotherhood was the most distinctive mark of the African… Christianity is preaching brotherhood of man to the African.'[24] Mulira successfully portrays how Christianity was particularly appealing to Africans as it was centred around the principles of community and companionship and therefore served as a coping mechanism during times of need. Consequently, this was a key reason for why the heartlands of Christianity shifted to the global south. Many Africans could draw similarities between this new faith and their African traditions as well as receive support through the Christian explanations for their suffering throughout the struggle for liberation, thus making the Christian faith extremely comforting for many Africans.

The structure and flexibility of the Anglican communion in particular was highly supportive of those within the global south searching for order and stability throughout the complex and at times chaotic nature of liberation struggles. Anglicanism was structured in a way that allowed for many churches under a single communion and hence it led to the establishment of new churches and dioceses.

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[21]Brian Stanley, http://churchsociety.org/docs/churchman/092/Cman_092_1_Stanley.pdf).

[22]Stephen Sykes and John Booty, *The Study of Anglicanism* (Augsburg Fortress, 1998), p3.

[23]E. J. Brill, *The Christian Churches and the Democratisation of Africa* (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1995), p60.

[24]E. M. K. Mulira, *Thoughts of a young African* (Western Printing Services Ltd. Bristol, 1945), p58.

The communion of national and regional churches is bound by a recognition in each other of the 'one, holy catholic and apostolic church' where the Archbishop of Canterbury is 'primus inter paras' (first among equals).[25] This autonomous structure was recognized in the first Lambeth Conference convened by Archbishop Longley in 1869, and from the very beginning this gave each independent church flexibility and adaptability to develop doctrines and legislative processes under the leadership of a local Primate. Jeff Haynes further conveys this by stating that in South Africa alone, the Anglican Church has '6 million followers belonging to over three thousand independent churches.'[26] These dioceses were adapted to coincide with pre-existing indigenous structures within Africa and therefore were a popular way of integrating faith during the post-colonial period. This 'African-isation' of Anglicanism was also prominent as it bridged the gap between African and English faith. There were many similarities between the two, such as the concept of expiatory sacrifice

"Similarities such as these intensified the appeal of Anglecianism for Africans"

which traditionally in African faith is incomplete without the shedding of blood, coinciding with the Christian maxim, 'without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin.'[27] Similarities such as these intensified the appeal of Anglicanism for Africans, especially in the struggle for liberation from colonialism. Therefore this is a hugely significant factor which contributed to the shift in the heartlands of Christianity to the global south as certain aspects of Christianity were particularly attractive to Africans and as a result, many Africans were drawn to this newly found faith.

The struggles and hardships that pushed Africans to look to Christianity were partly a result of rural to urban migration which began in around 1957. Urbanization was key as it resulted in a weakening of past rural ties and created space for the creation of a new community founded on the Anglican faith. Throughout Africa's search for independence from colonial rule, there was a mass movement of people to the cities to find jobs resulting in rapid urbanization that also led to many Africans relying on the Christian faith for support and guidance. The extent of this mass movement towards the cities is demonstrated by the fact that Lagos, the capital city of Nigeria, had a population of a quarter of a million people in 1960 and by 2015 this had risen to over 20 million.[28] The Anglican community therefore seemed highly popular to many Africans in search of employment who no longer had their social ties of the rural home. Maria Frahm-Arp, a Lecturer at the University of Johannesburg, states that churches provided 'more than spiritual fulfilment to new migrants. They are also sources of community, and in countries like Nigeria are often a far more reliable safety net than government-provided social services.'[29] This strongly reinforces the view that support for Anglicanism was accelerated by the forces of urbanization as the severing of rural ties made room for new urban lifestyles which centered around Anglicanism as a source of support during this time of great social change. An example of this is sub-Saharan Africa: by 2020 this is expected to be the world's most rapidly urbanizing region, according to the UN. Sub-Saharan Africa is also where Christianity has grown the fastest over the last 40 years.[30] This evidence therefore further reflects the correlation between an increase in urbanization and an increase in the Christian faith. The struggles and hardship as a result of urban migration pushed Africans to look to Christianity for support and guidance.

This sense of community in which Anglicanism was centred around was a key attraction for women in particular.

[25]http://rowanwilliams.archbishopofcanterbury.org/articles.php/1675/one-holy-catholic-and-apostolic-church.
[26]Jeff Haynes, *Religion and Politics in Africa*, p179.
[27]Afe Adogame, Ezra Chitando, Bolaji Bateye, *African Traditions in the Study of Religion, Diaspora and Gendered Societies. Essays in Honour of Jacob Kehinde Olupona (*Ashgate Publishing, 2013), p76.
[28]http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2015/0928/A-top-Nigerian-export-fervent-Christianity.
[29]http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2015/0928/A-top-Nigerian-export-fervent-Christianity.
[30]http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2015/0928/A-top-Nigerian-export-fervent-Christianity.

Women could get involved through church-run women's groups, schools, health clinics and hospitals whilst also gaining the comfort of services of spiritual healing. In her study of the changing role of women in Tanzania, Marja-Liisa Swantz concludes, 'Christianity has had a significant role in opening up new roles for women, in giving them more freedom as individuals and considering them as equals to men,' offering 'new social patterns of integration and assimilation.'[31] This emphasizes the idea that women were strong advocates of Christianity within the global south as this faith provided them with new opportunities and a community in which they could thrive amongst a greatly patriarchal society. A great example of this is the Mothers Union in Africa, founded in 1876 by Mary Summer in order to, 'uphold the sanctity of marriage' and to above all 'organise in every place a band of Mothers who will unite in prayer and seek by their own example to lead their families in purity and holiness of life.'[32] The Union grew rapidly alongside the development of the independent churches with one of the largest memberships in the world of 850,000 members in Tanzania. Therefore, this communal aspect of the Anglican church was a key source of comfort for many during post-colonialism, in particular women, supported by the quote, 'the average Anglican is a 24-year-old African woman,' as they seized this opportunity to contribute and be valued within a community.

Even though the attraction of Anglicanism in a post-colonial world is more significant, the sheer demographic growth of the population in the southern hemisphere in relation to the north can also help to account for the shift in the heartlands of Christianity. This increase in the size of the population throughout the global south is partly due to the fertility rates in the southern hemisphere being higher than that of north, thus there were physically more people who could potentially follow the Christian faith. According to the United Nations research on the world fertility patterns, between 2010-2015 the average number of children per woman is 1.6 whereas in Africa it is an astonishing 4.7.[33] This illustrates the undeniable demographic growth of the global south and thus can also help to explain the shift in the heartlands of Christianity as there are more people in the global south who can follow the Christian faith.

Furthermore, secularism has increased within Europe as the principle that the state should be separated from religious institutions has been supported by advances in modern science and the period of enlightenment.[34] This separation between the state and religious institutions led to an increase in secularism because people were no longer required by the state to associate themselves with a religion. Many people in the northern hemisphere substituted religious belief for scientific facts and Christianity in this region declined as a result. The age of enlightenment, a scientific and intellectual movement of the 18th century, further supports this view because European countries developed a 'rational' and scientific approach to religious, social, political and economic issues. This caused an increase in atheism as science contradicted many people's previous beliefs, such as the origins of the universe. As a result of this, Christianity was no longer growing at such a rapid and steady pace within Europe, thus resulting in a shift in the heartlands of Christianity to the global south as the number of those self-defining as Christian decreased in the global north. This period of enlightenment did not have the same impact in the global south because many people in places such as Africa were far more dependent on religion than in the global north considering

"it was this faith which held their communities together"

it was this faith which held their communities together and gave them hope of a better life. Thus an increase in secularism in the global north strongly accounts for the shift in the heartlands of Christianity to the global south.
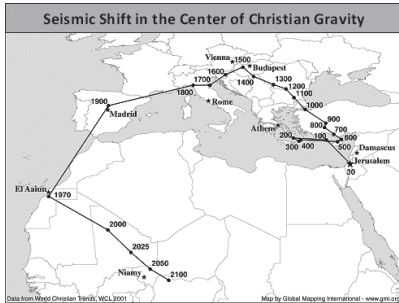
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[31]http://cts-stc.ca/2001/AFRWOMEN.html.

[32]Olive Parker, *For the Family's Sake: a history of the Mothers' Union 1876-1976* (Folkestone: Bailey Brothers & Swinfen), p27.

[33]http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/fertility/world-fertility-patterns-2015.pdf.

[34]http://www.spectator.co.uk/2015/06/2067-the-end-of-british-christianity/.

In conclusion, a range of interlinking factors can account for the shift of the heartlands of Christianity to the global south. Colonial rule involved the increase of Christian missionary work in African states thus leading to an increase of those who identified as Anglican. However, the agency of Africans themselves should not be overlooked. Most significantly Africans used religion in some cases to unite and unify around national liberation struggles and as a source of comfort and guidance in times of need. The struggle for liberation was aided by the autonomous structure of the Anglican communion and the mass movement of people towards the cities in search of work. As a result, Anglicanism flourished at this time when many Africans, particularly women, were searching for a community and a support system that would provide hope and guidance. Importantly Anglicanism was seen as attractive to certain African communities as it was a route to education and status within their local community. The demographic growth of the global south also contributed to the shift, in terms of the sheer numbers of people in the global south and their attraction to the Anglican faith, whilst at the same time secularism in the global north was reducing its attraction. Moreover, the rich cultural mosaic of African communities and those of other areas in the global south should not be forgotten and thus there is significant regional variation in the extent to which each of these factors influenced the global shift. Therefore, in the final analysis, the statement that 'the average Anglican is a 24-year-old African woman' succinctly captures the shift in the heartlands of Christianity to the global south. During both the colonial and post-colonial period Christianity was a source of comfort and community during a time of immense social transformation in Africa, a source of education and social advancement and provided a new community in urban spaces.

Seismic shift in the centre of Christian gravity [3]

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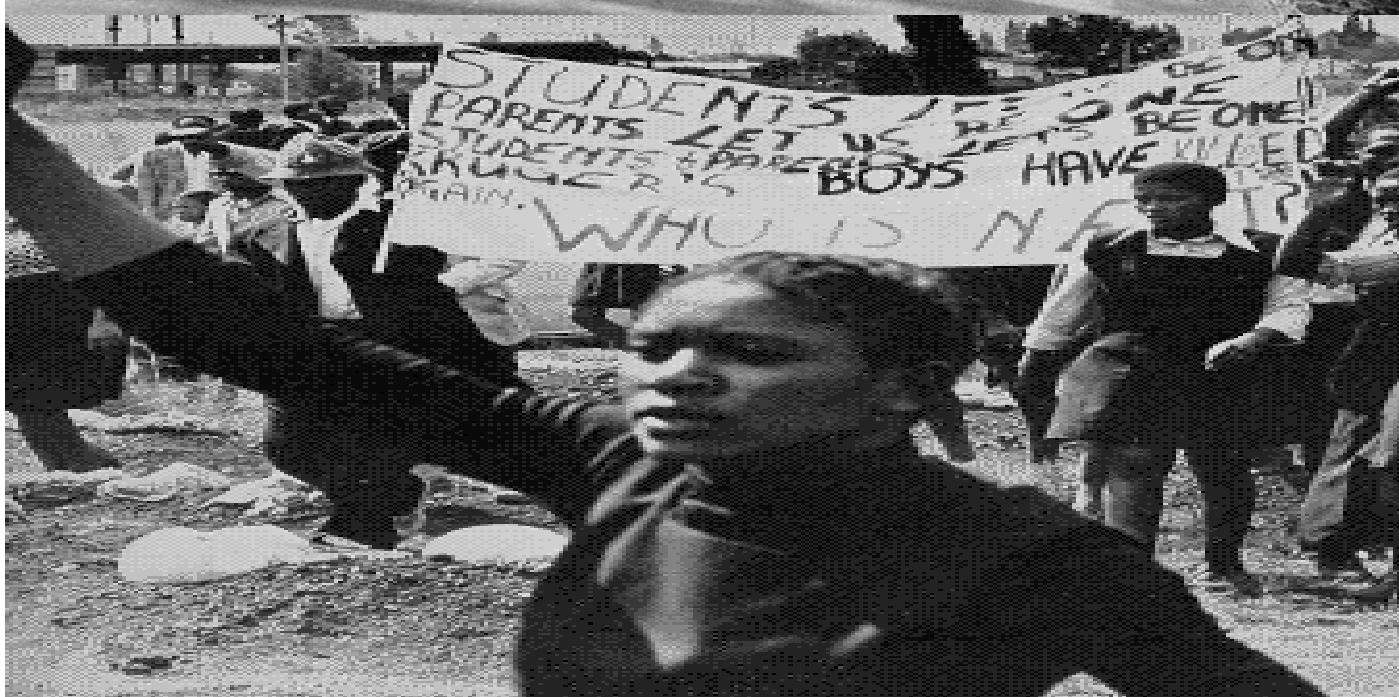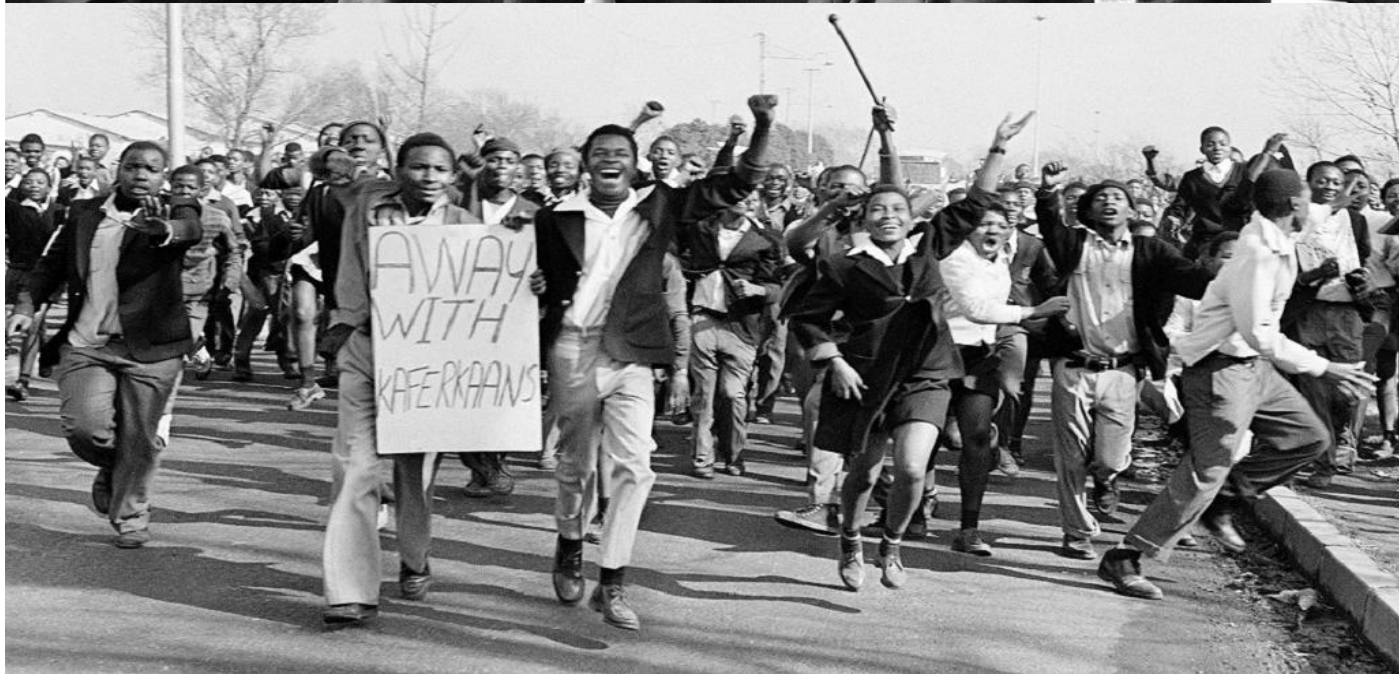
SOWETO UPRISING: A CASE STUDY ON APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

Olympia

SOWETO UPRISING: A CASE STUDY ON APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

In June 1976, Soweto found itself involved in an educational coup d'état[1] hosted by 10,000 students. The then illegal song Nkosi Sikelele[2] tore through the air accompanied by shots being fired by white policemen. It is vital to examine a plethora of factors that triggered the 1976 uprising to indicate the main cause. Ultimately, it is necessary to compare the black and white education standards to highlight the degradation of black children and the educational inequality in Soweto, inspiring students to speak out against the discrepancy between the two. The bigotry[3] had seeped through into the 1970s, infuriating black students as their education was continuously hindered by poor infrastructure and a lack of educational support or expertise. The situation of Soweto itself during the 1970s, drowning in alcoholism and discrimination, ignited a drive in students to better their lives and rise above the hand-to-mouth existence of black people in this township. The children of the older generations in Soweto were 'contemptuous of parents who they thought had accepted apartheid's humiliating restrictions.'[4] Essentially, the divide between the somewhat passive elders and exuberant youth created an Apartheid rift in Soweto. These rifts sculpted themselves into anti-Apartheid movements such as the Black Consciousness Movement, which stressed black pride and unity, inevitably driving Soweto students to express their anger by striking, rioting and burning premises. The climate of hostility, which rose from subsequent anti-Apartheid movements, prompted Soweto students to challenge the Apartheid legislature. Educational legislation passed by the Apartheid government provoked an intense wave of student-led protests, causing an atmosphere of riots and protests, making black students more accustomed to uprisings. It can be argued that the watershed moment of the introduction of Afrikaans in black schools prompted the Soweto students to extensively challenge the somewhat Orwellian educational oppression on 16 June 1976.

Throughout South Africa's educational history, black schools have always been third-rate, much to the dismay of their students. The infrastructure of these overly crowded inadequate institutions inevitably caused hostility between the black students when observing the free, compulsory and ever-expanding education (that began to consist of 'huge playing fields, tennis courts'[5]) their white counterparts were receiving. These highly contrasting standards were inescapably contentious as black children were being 'taught from an early age that equality with Europeans is not for them.'[6]

"Bantu education's aim was to produce a black education system that was consciously the subordinate of white education"

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[1]Takeover or seizure of power.
[2]Current South African national anthem which talks about independence and freedom from Apartheid.
[3]Created by 1795 British colonization of South Africa.
[4]Jason Burke in Soweto *The Guardian*, 16th June 2016.
[5]Interview with Eddie Daniels from http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/sidebar.php?id=65-258-2&page=2.

With increasingly poor infrastructure, comprising of sparse equipment and a lack of teaching space, student absenteeism was rife as the educational system was failing to give the youth sufficient schooling facilities. Financial under-provision failed the students and they were left 'ill equipped, with inadequately trained and paid teachers and children were often under-fed, over-tired and staying too short a time to benefit.'[7] With the Apartheid government spending £23 million on 2.4 million African children compared to the £120.8m spent on 810,490[8] white children in 1969, it was evident that black education was highly neglected and insufficiently taken care of. When comparing the black and white infrastructure it is clear that the black youth were being taught that their future industry would be manual labour or tending the needs of white people, thus explaining the lack of governmental drive to alter black education infrastructure. Due to governmental neglect black children were subjected to educational degradation and infrastructural inadequacy. The meagre 13 Bunsen burners, 6 balances and 3 microscopes for 2464 pupils were incapable of giving the black youth a wide scope of education to a standard that white students were receiving. Consequently, with these black schools having 'nothing'[9] young black people were driven to rebel against the fact that classes were 'overcrowded […] and that in some situations they will even use a tree in a schoolyard' for a classroom.[10] An unequivocal effect of this overcrowding was that the education system 'touched only a fraction of the child population'[11] and inevitably student enrolment declined, resulting in an infuriated youth who were attempting to better their lives that were (at the time) smothered in discriminatory humiliation. A decline in attendance resulted in an influx in students on the streets, uniting their fury against the South African education system. Pockets of rebellion spouting around Soweto, laid the foundation for movements to form, one of which being the Black Consciousness Movement. With a growing number of dissents towards the poor black education standards amongst uniting youths, an uprising was brewing in the township. The long-term hostility towards the failing black infrastructure played a decisive role in the Soweto Uprising and undeniably spurred the greatest protests from black students regarding their infrastructural subjugation.[12]

Students holding
anti-Afrikaans banners
[1]

Although poor standards are deemed to be the most contributory factor to the Soweto Uprising, we must be conscious of Bantu education and the additional educational Acts the South African legislature introduced into the country. In order to fully envisage the extent of student hostility, it is necessary to identify the impact of discriminatory educational legislation. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 separated financing for African students from general state expenditure and linked it to direct taxation that would have to be paid by African's themselves. Ultimately, less government money was being spent on black children than the white children, further compartmentalizing the different ethnicities. Bantu education's aim was to produce a black education system that was consciously the subordinate of white education and in doing so suffocate black students' ambitions, so that they felt 'reduced mentally and physically.'[13] The implications of such an aim were that the government ultimately brought Apartheid into black schools, expanding the climate of black victimisation and laying stress on the perpetual inequality in Soweto.

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[6]Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, minister of native affairs, 1953.
[7]Karis and Carter op. cit. Vol 2 p324-5.
[8]Hirson, Baruch, *Year of Fire Year of Ash* (ZED Books Ltd, 1979).
[9]Hirson, Baruch, *Year of Fire Year of Ash* (ZED Books Ltd, 1979).
[10]http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/sidebar.php?id=65-258-2&page=2 from an interview with Obed Bapela, 2006.
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[12]http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/june-16-soweto-youth-uprising.
[13]Soweto Students Representative Council, President Khotso Seathoo, 1976.

With students experiencing degradation in every sector of their lives, they were not going to also have their education devalued like the generations before had. The Act served the interests of white supremacy and seldom aided the lives of the impoverished. It prompted rebellion from student organisations that would 'reject the whole system of Bantu education'[14] and challenge the state's ideology of black 'oppression and subservience.'[15] Further 'oppression' continued through different pieces of legislation that were inevitably passed by an all-white deliberative body, one of which being The Extension of University Education Act.[16] It removed black students' freedom to attend white universities and in return formed tribal colleges for black university students to attend as a seemingly scant alternative. This act provoked strong protests as it further detached South African students and led them back to the experiences of the overcrowded classrooms of their childhood, which they had hoped to escape. It can be strongly argued that the watershed moment was the introduction of the most drastic legislation, the implementation of Afrikaans[17] into half of the subjects taught to black students. Not only would this be highly difficult for students to cope with three languages as mediums of instruction but also highly degrading as it was a common conception that 'Afrikaans is a tribal language,'[18] thus dehumanizing the students as they were linked back to the enslavement of their ancestors. The government failed to fully accommodate the educational changes and Afrikaans textbooks were sparse, leading teachers to boycott schools and refuse to cooperate with the newly established legislation. With the authoritative body of schools (the teachers) denying to accommodate the Afrikaans requirement, black students had little to nil supervision and management at school, leading to a suspension of a score of South African schools. The introduction of Afrikaans ultimately meant that South African students would not be able to emigrate abroad, as they would need English to do so. The only place they could stay in was South Africa. Consequently, the installment of Afrikaans led the students to demonstrate, as their banners were decorated with anti-Afrikaans slurs. Even more children began to collectively rise in resentment towards the government. The students refused to have their education tampered with in order to 'satisfy the English and Afrikaans-speaking group'[19] and this refusal elevated further discontent (that was fundamentally caused by the poor black infrastructure) towards the South African government.

"With students experiencing degradation in every sector of their lives, they were not going to also have their education devalued like the generations before had."

Alone, Soweto's social climate cannot have played a fundamental role in the uprising, as it did not have as immense an impact on the students as government methods of subjugating black education. However, Soweto's social climate must have had a hand in the cause of the Soweto Uprising. As a result of World War Two there was an influx of immigrants into Johannesburg, escaping the war. Johannesburg became swamped and over-populated and as a result of a lack of housing and evictions (the removal of black people from Whites-only designated areas to accommodate the immigration of White people[20]) the Johannesburg population were forced to dissipate into the outskirts, including Soweto. In Soweto, evictions were common, as people could not afford their rent; housing was a fundamental problem in Soweto. An agglomeration of squatter camps permeated poverty throughout Soweto, creating 'high rates of crime and violence, alcoholism, homosexuality and prostitution.'[21]

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[14]Soweto Students Representative Council, President Khotso Seathoo, 1976.
[15]Soweto Students Representative Council, President Khotso Seathoo, 1976.
[16]Act 45, passed in 1959.
[17]South Africa's third mother tongue.
[18]D. Oakes, *Illustrated history of South Africa – The real story*, (Reader's Digest Association, 1988).
[19]Quoted from Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, p51, 1976.
[20]An element in the Native Areas Act, 1923.
[21]Helena Pohlandt-McCormick, *Soweto: History, Geography and Society* (Colombia University Press, 2006.).

The housing situation in Soweto induced humiliation and anger in the community towards the police and security forces that were coercing the young black Soweto population (and their families) out of their homes. The reason for the specific increase in hostility in Soweto was due to the decline in the rate of house building during the 60s and an eventual halt. The historian Phil Bonner said that

Soweto police suppressing students [2]

this rapid reduction of houses 'meant that the demand for houses had not been satisfied,'[22] allowing the population to grow resentful towards their inert government. These inadequate social experiences allowed the youth to generate antipathy towards the oppressive South African executive and urged their desire to rise up against the government. The youth were intent on removing themselves from a life[23] of impoverishment, hence were highly focused on their studies and committed to reshaping governmental legislation on education. In the 1970s, only 15% of houses had electricity, allowing one to surmise that the level of poverty and habitation conditions was unnerving when we also know that a proportion of the population were 'shack dwellers'[24] (because they could not afford to own a house or had been recently removed to accommodate the inhabitancy of white people). The social climate in Soweto allowed for a growth of consciousness specifically in this township. The strike atmosphere in this area of South Africa paved the way for the start of a peaceful demonstration, as the Soweto youth were discontent with the neglect of their ambitions. Political consciousness was arguably caused by the poor social circumstances in Soweto and this prompted students to confidently take to the streets with banners that demonstrated their rejection of Afrikaans. The unique atmosphere of Soweto was one of destitution and the students were yearning to rise above the humiliating ashes their ancestors had been buried in through their education.

An influx in organisations and movements heightened an already prevalent political climate in Soweto. An atmosphere of strikes increased throughout the 70s, producing a strike sentiment in the easily influenced black youth. In 1972 the average wage paid to Africans in all mines was approximately R24, ultimately this wage was incapable of funding families and simple necessities. On the other hand, white miners who made up a mere 10% of the work force received on average R391 per month. As a result of this highly unequal pay gap, on 11 September 1973 workers at the Western Deep Level mine at Carltonville went on strike for a higher wage. These strikes received wide publicity across South Africa, indicating the ability of the black population

"The maxim that can appropriately be raised here is lex inuesta non est lex, is one bound by unjust laws?"

to resist the terror of the government. The revolt manifested black power amongst workers, power that influenced and inspired students. These students did not want to receive the same inequality (that their ancestors were receiving) when they started working and therefore believed (with formal organisation) that they could oppose the educational blunders of the South African government. Strikes were simultaneously connected in Soweto, as a result of its plethora of on-going riots. It may not be considered as the most contributory factor to the uprising but it must be reviewed due to the extent to which it influenced the black youth to refuse to receive the same inequality as their elders. Strikes injected consciousness into Soweto. The argument for Soweto being specifically affected can be due to the close proximity of strikes around the area.

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[22]Phil Bonner, "People, Places, Apartheid," The Department of Education, http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/book-5-people-places-and-apartheid-chapter-2-soweto-uprising-june-1976-turning-points-event.
[23]http://www.lemauricien.com/article/soweto-uprising.
[24]*Muslim News* Vol 26 No. 23 (July 1976).

The aforementioned Carltonville strikes 29 miles east of Soweto is one example of how Soweto was surrounded by strike sentiment, creating an overwhelming atmosphere of revolt. The augmentation of strikes influenced students and prompted demonstrations on university campuses. Students refused to suffer the impacts of discrimination in the education sector, just as their relations were suffering in the job sector; they were inevitably going to take a stand against the South African legislature. A wave of strikes had flooded South Africa and the students were gaining the confidence and strength to prepare for a resistance of their own.

Students collaborated their irritability towards the government in movements and organisation, contributing to the prevalent political climate. An impact of growing opposition towards Apartheid was the sprouting of groups such as the South African Students' Organisation,[25] which focused on cultivating a confidence in students to reject the ideology of Apartheid. Political consciousness was spread across South Africa, including Soweto and the students strengthened their black solidarity and initiated a desire to stand up against the government. With students actively involved in politics the political climate heightened amongst them, boosting their confidence in their black identity (now that they were a united force) to oppose the government. Led by Steve Biko, SASO encouraged students to become 'involved in political, economic and social development of the Black people.'[26] Student collaboration encouraged strikes and an escalation of black consciousness, as seen with organised strikes on university campuses during the early 70s. A

Two men surrendering to a policeman with a loaded gun [3]

strike sentiment was born with the growth of organisations and students were becoming more accustomed to Apartheid opposition and the importance of black cohesion in achieving educational equality. Consequently, with an upsurge in Apartheid opposition in universities, dissent dissipated into primary and secondary schools, the greatest contributors in the June uprising. Students had always directly expressed their views on the poor education system but failed to impact the government due to their lack of unity. In February 1920, 50 years prior to the uprising, a group of students at Kilnerton training centre in Soweto went on a hunger strike for more food but failed to receive their demands due to their lack of organisation and solidarity. However, what we can see in the months prior to the 1976 uprising was that (due to the creation of structured university-led organisations) students were well structured in their resistance. Similarly, the Black Consciousness Movement[27] stressed 'black pride, psychological liberation and self reliance'[28] and the demand for black activism. These aims screamed solidarity and unification, and with students unsupported (and out of school as a result of their teachers refusing to teach Afrikaans) black students yearned for a community, and they found this in BCM. Bonner's statement of 'a change of consciousness and identities occurred in Soweto […] provided the link between structural changes and political action'[29] rings true as Soweto's surge in political responsiveness allowed their students to have the confidence to rise above the Apartheid regime. However, it can be tempting to conclude that these movements brought black youth in Soweto together, but it would be erroneous to presume that this argument is more weighty when answering this question, when considering that all these problems rose from the deficiency of facilities provided for black education.[30]

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[25]Formed in 1969 by university students, SASO.

[26]J.G.E Wolfson op. cit., p 13.

[27]Formed in 1968.

[28]http://www.blackpast.org/gah/south-african-students-organization-saso.

[29]Phil Bonner, "People, Places, Apartheid," The Department of Education, http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/book-5-people-places-and-apartheid-chapter-2-soweto-uprising-june-1976-turning-points-event.

[30]https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2016-05-31-the-soweto-uprising-share-your-experiences-pictures-and-perspectives//.

When 20,000 students peacefully marched in Soweto, it was mainly to bring to light the failing educational infrastructure they had been given. When looking briefly at this question it can be too easy to presume that the introduction of Afrikaans and other paternalistic legislation was the greatest spark in causing the Soweto Uprising, creating an air of animosity and defiance amongst students. Nonetheless, a clear inference that can be made is that an accumulation of poor educational facilities initiated a long-term build-up of anger from the black youth. Segregation seeped into educational legislation, allowing the political climate and straitened social circumstances to have a hand in the birth of pockets of resistance. It was too easy for students to amalgamate their frustration towards Apartheid when we can deduce that the catalytic political atmosphere and consciousness of Soweto was ripe. Political alertness was allowed to multiply with the creation of organised movements and organisations, which preached the injustice of their poor treatment in schools. The maxim that can appropriately be raised here is lex inuesta non est lex, is one bound by unjust laws? Wakefulness allowed the students to break away from the suffocation of these discriminatory laws and provoked in them a confidence to oppose Apartheid in their black solidarity. It was easy to solidify and unite in their social circumstances when we learn that communities were intertwined 'in a non-ending state of poverty.'[31]

Hector Pietersons being carried by a student with his sister next to him [4]

Students were allying their grievances in their tight-knight community in Soweto (which contributed to their united hostility towards the government), albeit rapidly. It is therefore fair to conclude that these supplementary factors amplified the student opposition towards the deprivation found in Soweto schools and universities. Nonetheless, it must be the abandoned infrastructure in black schools that had the greatest weighting in contributing to the Soweto Uprising. The government's despotic nature had neglected and prostituted the infrastructure of the students' education. 'Black anger against white domination'[32] could only fuel a monumental student-led effort to reject black suppression in Soweto.

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[31]Soweto Students Representative Council, President Khotso Seathoo, 1976.
[32]Winnie Mandela interviewed by Eric Abraham, after 16th June 1976.

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Photos:

[1] http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/june-16-soweto-youth-uprising.
[2] http://www.lemauricien.com/article/soweto-uprising.
[3] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/16/my-activism-started-then-the-soweto-uprising-remembered.
[4] https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2016-05-31-the-soweto-uprising-share-your-experiences-pictures-and-perspectives//.