RETHINKING COMMUNICATION ABOUT 'BLACK TAX': A DECONSTRUCTION OF MEDIA AND CAPITALIST FRAMINGS OF AFRICAN COMMUNALISM

By

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DISSERTATION

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to all South Africans who are subject to the ‘Black Tax,’ as well as my family, who gave me the motivation to conduct this research and without whom I could not have finished this project.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation titled, RETHINKING COMMUNICATION ABOUT 'BLACK TAX': A DECONSTRUCTION OF THE MEDIA AND CAPITALIST FRAMING OF AFRICAN COMMUNALISM, is my own work. All information and sources that were used or mentioned have been properly indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. This work has never been submitted before for any other degree at this university or any other institution.

Signature 15 September 2023

Boima Maite Abigail Date

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ABSTRACT

‘Black Tax’ is a colloquial term that refers to financial responsibility carried by Black South Africans who send remittances and other commodities to their nuclear and extended family (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021: 2). It is the expectation of the employed Black South Africans to financially assist their extended family members (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:76). The media as powerful communication platforms in society set an agenda of how particular issues are framed and perceived in a society. When the media frames an issue in a certain way, it raises a critical question about what is left out in a frame. When a concept is framed as a ‘tax’, it projects a capitalist understanding, in this case, of social and cultural ideals that shape African collectivist tradition. The problem is, does the media discourse of ‘Black Tax’ present various aspects of this culture with both its benefits and the problematic character? Drawing theoretically from Derrida’s (1967:196) Theory of Deconstruction; Bateson’s (1972:197) Theory of Media Framing and the discourses of African Communalism from the works of Etta, Esowe and Asukwo (2016:303); Ominde, K’odhiambo and Gunga (2020:283), the study specifically examined how the issue of ‘Black Tax’ is framed in media discourse with a focus on examining the implication of this framing on the understanding of African Communalism.

Through the study of selected media archival materials as data, which were analysed using a Deconstruction model, the study shows the media frame ‘Black Tax’ as a financial burden and exploitation that young Black professionals must bear. However, this disregards the fact that Africans have a collectivist culture and look out for one another. The media content analysed also failed to acknowledge the nuanced origins and the complexity of the concept.

Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with Black professional youth in order to examine the mediating effect of ‘Black Tax’ on Black youth. The results showed that ‘Black Tax’ is the result of South Africa’s triple challenges (Poverty, Inequality and Unemployment). The results also showed that ‘Black Tax’ has an impact on the young professionals’ personal and financial growth and their mental health. In deconstructing the concept of ‘Black Tax,’ the study reveals what is highlighted, negated, implied, and neglected in the understanding of the concept in relation to the historical and social-economic dimensions of South Africa today. This study sheds light on the social,

political and economic aspects that have influenced the perception of 'Black Tax' and its effects on families, communities and young black people in South Africa.

Keywords: ‘Black Tax’, Triple challenges, Ubuntu, Social responsibility, legacy of colonial apartheid, Deconstruction, African Communalism.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANC: African National Congress

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

EFF: Economic Freedom Fighters

ENCA: eNews channel Africa

FM: Frequency Modulation

JSE: Johannesburg Stock Exchange

NDP: National Development Plan

NIDS: National Income Dynamics Study

NSFAS: National Student Financial Aid Scheme

PIU: Poverty, Inequality and Unemployment

PSLSD: Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development

SA: South Africa

SACU: Southern African Customs Union

SASSA: South African Social Security Agency

SONA: State of the Nation Address

SWTS: School to Work Transition Survey

TREC: Turfloop Research Ethics Committee

UNU-WIDER: United Nations University-World Institute for Development, Economics and Research

GLOSSARY

Bushmen: Indigenous people of Southern Africa

Kgorong is a fenced compound in a royal house, where elders of the community gather to discuss issues as hand. It is also used as a traditional court where community-concerning issues are solved.

Lobola is an African word generally referred to as a bride price that the groom must pay in cattle. However, nowadays it is paid in monetary value.

Makoti: the term is used to refer to a daughter-in-law in the South African context.

Megodišano/Itimiti/ Stokvel is a circumstance where people take turns giving and receiving money and other materials. It is predominantly practised by Africans. It is a savings or investment society where members receive a lump sum payment in addition to making regular contributions of a predetermined amount.

Umzi is a Nguni word used to refer to a house or a village.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The issue of 'Black Tax' has generated many public debates in the media, among young Black professionals and in personal interactions. According to Matlala and Shambare (2017:76), 'Black Tax' is a colloquial term to describe the financial support that working youth provide for their nuclear and extended family members. It is a societal expectation that becomes a social norm. In collectivist countries like South Africa, ones responsibility to provide for one's family and relatives is an essential antecedent in defining people's behaviour (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:76). Furthermore, according to Mangoma and Wilson-Prangely (2019:444), 'Black Tax' is frequently seen as a demand to provide financial support to people in a large family or kin network while also attempting to generate long-term wealth. This is true in many South African homes, where recent graduates are pressured to find work so that they can support the family financially. Recent graduates may feel burdened by a sense of financial indebtedness to their families and are always viewed as change agents in the family. As a result, for many Black South Africans, the financial responsibility of supporting immediate and extended family members is a serious reality (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021:1). The concept of a 'Black Tax' is the idea of family or community members (societal expectations) feeling entitled to be paid back for all the years invested in an individual through monetary or non-monetary methods (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:77). These include, but are not limited to, education, clothing, school supplies, obtaining work for some family members and so on.

Financially assisting parents, siblings and other members of the family can also be seen in the traditional African collectivist cultures. It relates to the concepts of Ubuntu and African Communalism. For that reason, social responsibility to the family is an important aspect of African Communalism. According to Ominde, K'odhiamb and Gunga (2020:280), communalist discourse emphasises moral responsibility, accountability, and an obligation toward others. They also claim that African Communalism promotes community cooperation. If one is an African, it is ones obligation as an individual to aid ones family, which in many situations leads to Africans migrating in search of better opportunities to care for their families. However, such actions are referred to as 'Black Tax' in the capitalist approaches. Therefore, the focus

of this study was to analyse the framing of ‘Black Tax’ in media discourses, with a focus on examining the implication of this framing on the understanding of African Communalism. Concisely, the media are the channels or instruments used to distribute content; they are the channels by which ideas and meanings are shared. Specifically, in this current study, media implies radio, (*Power FM*), television (*eNCA* and *BBC*), and newspapers (*Daily Sun* and *News24*). These were used for this study's analysis of how the term ‘Black Tax’ was framed in order to fully understand what aspects of the South African context the media chose to emphasize, ignore, and highlight most. Therefore, this study examines how the various media sources described above depict the financial obligations and constraints that Black people and families frequently bear in order to support their communities or extended relatives.

In the gathering and interpretation of data, this research study used a critical realist approach and qualitative research method for both the collection and the analysis of the data. The theoretical concepts used for this study were Deconstruction, Media Framing, Agenda-setting and African Communalism. Therefore, with the use of these concepts, the study was able to interrogate how the concept of ‘Black Tax’ is framed and communicated in the media and the implication it has on the understanding of African Communalism.

1.2. DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

The most important terms of this study are clearly defined below.

Black Tax

‘Black Tax’ refers to the financial responsibility carried by Black South Africans who must pay or send money and other commodities to support their immediate and extended family (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021:2). However, according to this study, ‘Black Tax’ is a capitalist framing that refers to the African philosophy of Ubuntu concerning family support that is practised by Black people.

African Communalism

African Communalism is the customary way in which traditional African societies have worked in the past (Ominde et al., 2020:279). It is also defined as a way of life that prioritises the community’s common good over the individual gains (Bisong, 2018:2).

Deconstruction

Deconstruction is a way of reading that reveals the contradictions and enigmas in the predictable structures of philosophical and artistic writings (Gnanasekaran, 2015:211). It is based on the idea that humans frequently represent their ideas in binary opposition with an assumption that each term in the binary opposition always mirrors the other (Sikirivwa, 2020:46).

Media Framing

Framing is a process through which people create certain understanding of an issue or change the way they view an issue (Chong & Druckman, 2007:104).

Family responsibility

Family responsibility according to this study is a duty of taking care of one's family. It is an act of upholding the spirit of Ubuntu by taking care of one's family.

Colonialism

Ocheni, Basil and Nwankwo (2012:46) define colonialism as the direct and comprehensive control of another country's economy and political administration as well as the establishment of control outside of traditional geographical borders. Colonialism typically involves the dominance and control of the Indigenous population, frequently leading to political, economic, natural resource, labour and cultural subjugation.

Triple challenges

In South Africa, the triple challenges refer to the interconnected socio-economic phenomena of inequality, poverty and unemployment.

1.3. MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

The motivation for this study was inspired by the different interpretations and debates that ensue around the concept of 'Black Tax' in both media discourses and interpersonal interactions. Firstly, the term 'Black Tax' draws on a modernist and capitalist framing of the social responsibility of young adults supporting their families. It uses the financial concept of a 'tax,' which signifies support for family members

measured in capital – monetary term. Secondly, this framing subsequently negates or minimises the African collectivist approach that is required of children, especially successful ones, to look after their parents and siblings. Thirdly, the contestation tends to create a binary narrative between the financial burden (capitalist framing) and family responsibility (Ubuntu and African Communalism ideology). However, what may be missing in all these is the poverty and asset deficit that many Black families experience because of apartheid, generational inequality and lack of economic opportunities that describe the experiences of Black families in post-apartheid South Africa.

The expectations for young professionals to support their families and extended family members may generate psychological stress for these young professionals. Furthermore, unemployment is another layer of inequality that causes psychological stress for recent graduates. These put a lot of pressure on young South Africans, a lot of whom are unemployed. As youth transitions into the employment sector, the load of personal and societal norms increases their level of anxiety (Fredelito et al., 2020:543). As a result, when one is experiencing economic or financial hardship at work, the 'Black Tax' may also become a source of anxiety. All the above issues inspired this research project. The motivation for this study was to explore how the issue of family support by young black professionals is framed in the media. What narrative was preferred and what issues were negated or neglected. The study was also motivated by the need to explore how the use of the concept of 'Black Tax' influences media discourse of family support by young professionals. Implicit in all these is the need to explore how the concept directs focus on the Black experience in post-apartheid South Africa, the African Communalism ideology, and the psychological stress that young professionals experience as a result of family expectations.

1.4. RESEARCH PROBLEM

Many South African Black families put pressure on their recent graduates to find work as soon as possible after graduation so that they can support their families. The family may be unaware that this expectation may have negative consequences for new graduates, as it contributes to the stress they experience, in addition to the high unemployment rate in the country. Implicit in family expectation is the concept of 'Black Tax,' which was a capitalist framing of the African philosophy of Ubuntu concerning

family support. The media, as a powerful communication platform in society, set the agenda of how a particular issue is framed and perceived in society. When the media frame an issue in a certain way, it raises a critical question about what is left out of the frame. When a concept is framed as 'Tax,' it projects a capitalist understanding of social and cultural ideals that shape African collectivist tradition. The problem then is, does the media discourse of 'Black Tax' presents various aspects of this culture, both the benefits and the problematic character of the concept? The impact of the 'Black Tax' on youngsters tends to be frequently neglected. It may result in domestic strife, inequality between siblings, psychological and financial loads on youth, delays in personal development for many young South Africans and the racial aspect of South African youth experiences. Accordingly, it was important to examine how the media present this concept to reveal what issues are highlighted, preferred, negated, and neglected.

1.5. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aims and objectives of this study are outlined below.

1.5.1. The Study's Main Goal

The aim of this study was to analyse how the issue of 'Black Tax' is framed in media discourse with a focus on examining the implication of this framing on the understanding of African Communalism.

1.5.2. Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study were as follows:

- To analyse the Media Framing of youth's social responsibility to extended family, colloquially known as 'Black Tax.'
- To study how the Media Framing of 'Black Tax' reveals issues that are mostly highlighted, preferred, negated, and neglected in media discourses.
- To interrogate how the concept of 'Black Tax' is communicated and its implications on the understanding of African Communalism.
- To examine the mediating effect of 'Black Tax' on Black youth within the historical and socio-economic contexts of Black South African families.

- To recommend ways of conceptualising youth's family support that subverts the capitalist framing and to recognise the social and psychological pressures that youths may experience.

1.6. PREVIEW OF LITERATURE REVIEW

The review of literature in this study is presented in Chapters 2 and 3. It traces the historical aspect of financial (in) security among Black South Africans as it relates to today's youth and the challenges, they face concerning the family support system. Other themes of review of literature are the colonial-apartheid system, the impoverishing of Black families, African Communalism/collectivism and the family support system, South Africa's post-colonial triple challenges and Black families, the challenges of African collectivism in an individualistic capitalist society and the discourses of 'Black Tax' and the South African youth. These are the topics that are looked at in-depth in the literature review chapters.

1.6.1. Colonial Apartheid and the Impoverishing Black Families.

In this study, previous studies conducted on the colonial apartheid and the impoverishing of Black families are examined. This was motivated by the need to study how the African families have lived in the past and their cultures and examining the impacts that colonial apartheid had on these cultures. Therefore, in the literature reviewed, Mazibuko (2000:13) asserts that Indigenous inhabitants in South Africa were self-sufficient in terms of food and other necessities prior to the arrival of the Europeans. Thus, they relied mostly on subsistence farming and hunting as grazing areas and cultivatable land were plentiful at the time. However, during the apartheid era, many Black South Africans were forced out of their homelands and denied land ownership (Nanziri, 2015:31). Inevitably, this is one of the primary causes of the black asset deficit. Thus, a study conducted by Hay (2014:749) shows that land ownership was not as static as popular narratives and official discourses suggest, and also that personal histories of land access and loss were not as linear as popular narratives and official discourses often suggest. Without assets to pass down from generation to generation, poverty is doomed to repeat itself (Young, 2021:2). For that reason, many Black South Africans are under pressure to fill in those gaps; however, with the triple challenges mostly experienced by Black families, it is almost impossible to break the poverty cycles.

1.6.2. South Africa's Post-Colonial Triple Challenges and Black Families

In South Africa, the triple challenges of inequality, poverty and unemployment are intertwined socio-economic phenomena (South Africa, 2013). Therefore, the literature on the previous studies about South Africa's triple challenges was consulted. According to Adetiba and Qwabe (2020:166), unemployment in South Africa has been a national concern for the past two decades, with many of the causes attributed to the country's political transitions and failure to produce political solutions to create a stable economy with equal job opportunities for all. The youth unemployment rate is over double that of the overall unemployment rate and the two are intricately linked (Kang 2021:112). Unemployed persons, according to Adetiba and Qwabe (2020:168), are susceptible to a slew of negative emotions that might affect their psychological well-being as a result of their inability to meet necessities or assist their immediate family. As a result, the psychological consequences of 'Black Tax' and unemployment on youth, as well as the negative effects of the triple challenges on Black South African households, were explored in this research.

Using an interpretive research paradigm and semi-structured interviews to unpack the actuality of the opinions and experiences of participants' experiences with unemployment and its link to political participation, Adetiba and Qwabe's (2020) study reveals that the majority of individuals believe that political participation is critical to altering the world (Adetiba & Qwabe, 2020:174). The results also suggest that most participants have a high level of trust in political parties when it comes to improving their job prospects. Inequality in South Africa is heavily linked to race, given the country's history (South Africa, 2013). Poverty, on the other hand, has been associated with not only inequality but also unemployment (Chibba & Luiz, 2011:307). Poverty is typically characterised by a lifetime of multiple deprivations, as well as suffering, destitution, shame, and degradation (Oyedemi, 2015:193). Poverty and inequality in South Africa are primarily caused by the legacy of apartheid, as well as the economy's structure and the inability of post-apartheid government to sufficiently address the problem (Niyimbanira, 2017:255). This possibly explains why many South Africans are still impoverished and are faced with the pressure to break the poverty cycles by paying 'Black Tax.' Thus, recently, the discussions about 'Black Tax' have been gaining more attention from the media.

1.6.3. Discourses and Communication of ‘Black Tax’ and the South African Youth

Discussions of the 'Black Tax' in the media and personal encounters have recently been popular. The way ‘Black Tax’ is communicated in the media has influenced how people understand the cultures. As such, it was important to study how scholars explored the communication of ‘Black Tax’ both in the media and in ordinary everyday discourses. In the South African context, the term ‘Black Tax’ refers to a requirement for employed black South Africans to support their extended family (Seid, 2016 cited in Matlala & Shambare, 2017:76). However, in the United States, the term ‘Black Tax’ refers to the extra burden imposed on African Americans who must work twice as hard to establish their worth (Stevens, 2014 cited in Mangoma & Wilson-Prangely, 2019:443). ‘Black Tax,’ according to Ratlebjane (2015, cited in Vakira et al., 2021:1), is a financial duty that the working class pays to care for relatives who are unable to care for themselves. ‘Black Tax’ is a major issue, especially in a Black-dominated cultures (Vakira et al., 2021:1). As a result, it is indeed common to feel under pressure to provide financial support to a large family or kin network while also seeking to generate long-term wealth. The way the term 'Black Tax' is used and disseminated in the media is crucial to grasping the phenomenon. Makotoko (2019), writing in the *City Press* newspaper, points out that the 'Black Tax' exists as a result of South Africa's economically unequal and uneven environment, as well as the dreadful economic conditions that continue to plague the Black population post-1994.

Masango and Kumalo (2021) writing in the *Sowetan* newspaper, on the other hand, believe that in actuality, some of the family members' expectations are likely to meet the individual's budget. Furthermore, according to Masango and Kumalo (2021), the 'Black Tax' has placed an unjust and unwarranted financial burden on those who provide or work. Thus, they are compelled to give up their aspirations, plans and hopes to sustain their extended families with the few resources available (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:76). Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley’s (2019:456) study reveals that financial transfers are substantial and are most typically spent on general expenditure and education. This study aimed to interrogate how the concept of ‘Black Tax’ is communicated in the media and the implications it has on the understanding of African Communalism, as well as discovering the perspectives and views of young black South Africans on the ‘Black Tax’ phenomenon.

1.6.4. African Communalism, African Collectivism, and the Family Support System

The culture of employed youth supporting family members can be viewed from an African collectivist lens. Therefore, some of the previous studies that have been conducted on African Communalism, African collectivism and the African family support system are examined and discussed in this study. Olufemi (2016:84) maintains that the traditional manner of working in rural areas of Africa is known as African Communalism. According to Bisong (2018:2), communalism is a way of life that prioritises the common good of society over an individual's welfare. In an African context, communalism encourages solidarity, togetherness, brotherliness, and cooperation (Etta et al., 2016:303). African Communalism exemplifies humanism and the connection between an individual and the community. From a communalist perspective, individuals are meant to see and identify themselves in terms of how their community trains, forms and morally educate them to acquire identity, as well as how their moral reasoning is shaped by the community's environment with respect to their acts and behaviour (Ominde et al., 2020:280). However, the modernist and capitalist approach to African cultural traditions runs parallel to the tensions between African Communalism and individuality. Mmoneke's (2020:1) study on "The effects of western colonialism on African predicaments," used a comparative analytic approach. The findings revealed that Africans are not the only ones with communalistic tendencies: Community life is a worldwide concept that may be found in various forms and degrees on other continents throughout the world. Although it is human nature to work and live together, colonialism fostered the loss of African cultural heritage to adhere to western individualism, leaving African Communalism as one of the continent's problems (Mmoneke, 2020:1). In-depth reviews of literature on the above themes are provided in Chapters 2 and 3.

1.7. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this study, the Deconstruction Theory, Media Framing Theory and the Theory of African Communalism form the theoretical framework for this research study and are previewed below. However, the full discussion of this theoretical framework is presented in Chapter 4.

1.7.1. Deconstruction Theory and the Media.

The Theory of Deconstruction was useful in this study as it helped to study and analyse how the Media Framing of ‘Black Tax’ revealed the issues that were mostly highlighted, preferred, negated, and neglected in the media discourses. It also helped to interrogate how the concept of ‘Black Tax’ is communicated in the media and the implications it has on the understanding of African Communalism. The Theory of Deconstruction was formulated by Jacques Derrida, a French philosopher, who defines Deconstruction as a post-structuralist movement (Gnanasekaran, 2015:211). The phrase ‘Deconstruction’ comes from the French verb ‘deconstuire,’ which means "to reverse the improvement of, development of, or dismantle" (Gnanasekaran, 2015:212). Güney and Güney (2008:223) define Deconstruction as the study of how a text's apparent formulations undermine its implicit or non-explicit elements. Deconstruction is based on the idea that there is nothing in human experience that does not function as a text. That is, there is nothing that is not subject to textuality and so to interpretation (Ramoya, 2016:69). It can therefore be said that Deconstruction emphasises what the text does not say by demonstrating what it does say (Güney & Güney, 2008:223). Deconstruction, according to Sikirivwa (2020:44), is a philosophical system that deals with reading between the lines. It is all about gaining fresh viewpoints; ones that take the story beyond its dualisms or other new points of view. When deconstructing a text's content, the structure is effectively crippled to be fathomed, all the more obvious and to disclose its roots as well as the mystery presented, in which it is neither developmental nor destructive, but an impediment to something (Gnanasekaran, 2015:212). While the media houses may transmit the same topic, such as 'Black Tax,' their perception of the notion and its meaning, as well as their transmission or communication method, may differ. Therefore, in this case, the study employs Deconstruction in order to examine how the ‘Black Tax’ concept is communicated in the media as well as raising awareness of what issues the media chooses to ignore about ‘Black Tax’ and the impact that their focus on ‘Black Tax’ has on the understanding of the African culture.

1.7.2. Media Framing

Another theory that was useful for this research was the Media Framing Theory. The theory helped to analyse the Media Framing of ‘Black Tax.’ According to de Vreese (2005:51), framing is the presentation and definition of an issue by a communication

source. Framing is similar to agenda setting, but it broadens the scope of the study by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than a specific topic (Arowolo, 2017). Frames in the news or the media, in general, can influence how people learn, understand, and evaluate issues and events (de Vreese, 2005:52). Framing effects may mimic Agenda-setting effects, but just on the surface. Agenda-setting theory, according to Mohd Zain (2014:3), is a theory that examines how the media influences the public's perception of specific topics. The Agenda-setting model has been used to describe how news signals influence perceptions of an issue's relevance and comprehension. In this sense, this theory was useful in assessing and investigating how the media frames ‘Black Tax;’ thus, raising awareness of what the media makes ‘Black Tax’ to be.

1.7.3. The Theory of African Communalism

The theory of African Communalism is also one of the theories that were useful in this study as it helped understand ‘Black Tax’ from an African perspective. African Communalism is a moral ideology that encourages members of a society to work together and pool their resources for the benefit of all community members (Ominde et al., 2020:279). As a result, this is connected to the African ideology of Ubuntu. According to Matlala and Shambare, (2017:77), the Ubuntu concept manifests itself through numerous human deeds, which are visible in social, political, and economic contexts, as well as among family members. According to Shambare (2016:216), Ubuntu is an African ideology that aims to encourage harmonious interpersonal relationships. Similarly, communalist principles believe that an individual can only become conscious of their obligations, existence, and privileges towards other societal members through other people (Ominde et al., 2020:279). Ikuenobe (2018) defines communalism as a focus on community rights and a duty to the community that takes precedence over individual rights. One of the features of African people is communalism (Mmoneke, 2020:1). It instills in children a unique feeling of moral responsibility toward others and ensures the community's prosperity by assuming the mantle of leadership from the elders (Ominde et al., 2020:280). As a result, African youngsters are raised to take on duties as they get older and to secure the well-being of their families. The theory was helpful in studying and in the comprehension of the African way of life, as well as how it was portrayed in the media in relation to ‘Black Tax.’

1.8. BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In Chapter 5 an in-depth explanation of the research methodology for this study is provided. A qualitative research method was used in this study. The qualitative research approach was significant because it allowed for in-depth analysis of media discourses on 'Black Tax' and aided in acquiring a greater knowledge of the participants' various subjective ideas and viewpoints on South African history and inherited inter-generational poverty, which in some cases led to the formation of 'Black Tax.' As a result, the research investigation used an explanatory research design. The overall objective of explanatory research according to Du Plooy-Cillers, Davis and Bezuidenhout (2014), is to understand how and why there is a relationship between distinct occurrences. In other words, one can find explanations as to why certain things happen. In this scenario, qualitative research allowed the researcher to acquire data that addressed the research objectives more in-depth than other methods.

Purposive sampling was used in this study where the items the researcher wanted to include in the sample based on a predetermined set of criteria were selected. This study's sample was carefully chosen from the population to ensure that the traits that were crucial for this research were present. Nine young people who held higher education qualifications were interviewed (three employed, three unemployed and three self-employed). They were specifically chosen because they were still living at home with their parents and had firsthand experience with 'Black Tax.' Therefore, the researcher wanted to know from these individuals if 'Black Tax' was a financial obligation (Ubuntu) or burden. Five media sources were also purposefully chosen for this study based on the fact that all of them were about 'Black Tax.' The five materials were from the *eNCA (eNews Channel Africa), BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) Power FM (Power Frequency Modulation), News24* and *Daily Sun.* Thus, two materials were from television broadcasting stations, two from newspapers and one from radio.

1.8.1. Data Collection Method

The study uses qualitative data collection methods, namely, semi-structured interviews and media archival materials. The media archival materials were:

- 'Black Tax is seen by some as a form of financial abuse,' by *eNCA* broadcasting station,

- ‘South Africa: is Black Tax a help or a burden?’ by *BBC* broadcasting station,
- From *Power FM 98.7Hz,* a radio station, ‘Speaking ‘Black Tax,’
- ‘Black Tax what to look out for,' published by *Daily Sun,*
- ‘Black Tax: a responsibility, not a burden,’ published online by *News24*.

Semi-structured interviews were used in this study to collect data from people who have encountered or have knowledge of the ‘Black Tax,’ obtaining their perspectives, insights, and challenges. The same set of questions were used to directly acquire information from the sources. The media archives, which included broadcasts on television (*eNCA* and *BBC*), radio (*Power FM*), and newspaper pieces (*Daily Sun* and *News24*), were utilised concurrently, primarily because they offered a discourse on the ‘Black Tax,’ concentrating on how the media depicts and frames this phenomenon. The media archival sources helped in evaluating the Media Framing and Deconstruction of the ‘Black Tax.’ These different data sources led to data source triangulation. Data source triangulation involves the collection of data from different types of people, including individuals, groups, families, and communities to gain multiple perspectives and validation of data (Carter et al., 2014). In triangulating these sources, the data were combined in order to support and enhance each other's conclusions regarding the study's proposed theory and body of literature. In Chapter 8, the knowledge gathered from the three data sources was integrated to address the study's goals, yield stronger conclusions, and offer a comprehensive picture of the ‘Black Tax’ and how it is portrayed in the media.

Collection of the media archive materials commenced on the 24 July 2022. The data came from two YouTube videos, one from *eNCA* and one from *BBC* the online newspaper articles (*Daily Sun* and *News24*) and a radio show from *Power FM.* Interviews commenced on the 06 February 2023. Before starting each of the nine interviews, rapport was established with the participants and they were handed consent forms to go through while the specifics of the research, its objectives and the ethical issues were explained. To get permission to access the employed participants, at their workplace at a high school in Tzaneen Bolobedu South, a detailed email to school principal contained attached; ethical clearance from Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC), a consent form, interview guide and interview schedule. Upon arrival at the research site, the principal’s office was visited, and the details of the research and its objectives were thoroughly discussed with the principal and

permission was granted to access the two participants. It was explained to the participants how their data would be used, and they were also reassured that their names would not be mentioned anywhere in the study. A more detailed account of the data collection process is provided in Chapter 5.

1.8.2. Data Analysis

As mentioned previously, this study used a qualitative data collection strategy. Similarly, a qualitative analysis method was used. To answer the research questions and objectives, this study used qualitative framing analysis to analyse how the issue of 'Black Tax' was framed in media discourse with a focus on examining the implication of this framing on the understanding of African Communalism. Devices such as word choice, metaphors, exemplars, descriptions, arguments, and visual images helped establish frames. It enabled the researcher to interact thoroughly and repeatedly with text while also taking a comprehensive approach to the information to find frames. In order to identify and carefully read the texts or discourses (as they were portrayed in images or words) and look for any missing or marginalised notions, the Deconstruction method was utilised in this study. It was, therefore, used to study how the Media Framing of 'Black Tax' revealed what issues were mostly highlighted, preferred, negated, and neglected in media discourses. Thematic analysis was also used in this study to analyse the comments in response to the media archival materials posted on YouTube and the semi-structured interviews of youth. The NVIVO software application was used to code, categorise, and analyse the data of this study. A more detailed explanation of the methodology can be found in Chapter 5.

1.9. POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

This research study provides detailed information and understanding of the Media Framing of 'Black Tax' and the capitalist framing of African Communalism. There is much literature concerning inter-generational poverty. However, this study's approach was to look at how this inter-generational poverty came into being by looking at the history of South Africa, as well as how it affected recent graduates and the young generation. As a result, the study makes a significant contribution to the existing literature and expands the understanding of South African history and its effects on Black South Africans. Many young South Africans will, as a result, be aware of the Media Framing of topics such as the 'Black Tax,' inter-generational poverty and African

Communalism as a result of the findings of this study. The readers will be aware of both sides of the coin when it comes to such issues, as well as how people view ‘Black Tax’ in relation to African Communalism. The study will also serve as a reminder to South Africans of how colonisation, apartheid and the capitalist ideology mostly destroyed or altered their culture. They will be educated on the effects of colonialism as well as the economic inequalities that have contributed to their continued poverty. The study's most essential contribution will be to enlighten South Africans on the 'Black Tax' issues the media frequently prefer, highlights and dismisses. It is crucial for South Africans to understand how the idea of ‘Black Tax’ is presented in the media. As a result, South African Black youth will gain knowledge and understanding of ‘Black Tax’ and the implications it has on their personal and financial growth and thus, they will learn from this study on how to deal with the ‘Black Tax’ phenomenon. In addition, this study makes a significant contribution to how ‘Black Tax,’ or rather actions of one supporting their family members should be referred to. This study has the potential to contribute to disciplines such as cultural studies, media studies, finance, psychology, and communication studies. Researchers will be able to examine many aspects of the ‘Black Tax’ phenomena through this study.

1.10. OVERVIEW AND STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

This research dissertation is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter is the introduction and the background of the study. A Literature Review is presented in the second and third chapters, one focusing on the colonial apartheid, post-apartheid, triple challenges and the Black family, whereas the other focuses on the discourses of ‘Black Tax.’ The fourth chapter critically discusses the theory employed in this study while the fifth chapter discusses the methodology that the study employed in greater detail. Chapter 6 presents the first part of the research findings, with the focus on presenting the findings from deconstructing the media discourses. The seventh chapter discusses the second part of the research findings with a focus on presenting the findings from young people’s opinions about ‘Black Tax.’ Finally, Chapter 8 discusses the summary, discussion, recommendations and the conclusion of the whole study. Each of the study’s chapter overviews are discussed below.

Chapter 1 (Introduction and Background of the Study)

This is the initial section of this research study. It covers the study's introduction and background. This chapter presents the study's main goals as well as the problem that needs to be researched. Additionally, the chapter briefly introduces the literature and theories that are crucial to this study. The theories are Deconstruction, Media Framing, Agenda-setting and the theory of African Communalism. Due to the implications of this framing on our knowledge of African Communalism, these theories were put into practice with an emphasis on investigating the media discourses of "Black Tax." Finally, the chapter provides a brief introduction to the study's methodology and the study's importance.

Chapter 2 (Literature Review Part 1: Colonial Apartheid, Post-Apartheid Triple Challenges and the Black Family)

This chapter of the research includes the critical discussion of the history of South Africa and the impacts it had on the Black families and their structures. The chapter critically examines prior studies on the colonial-apartheid era and the post-colonial lives of Black families. The chapter discusses instances regarding Africans' loss of their agrarian lifestyles, challenges of land losses, issues of migrant labour, as well as the triple challenges that, in the majority of cases, plagued Black families, all of which led to generational poverty and asset deficit mostly among the Black population and which invariably provides the reasons for the culture of 'Black Tax' among current youth.

Chapter 3 (Literature Review Part 2: Discourses of 'Black Tax')

In this chapter, the research critically discusses the media discourses of 'Black Tax' and the 'Black Tax' in the context of South African youth. To comprehend 'Black Tax' from an African cultural perspective, this chapter critically discusses African Communalism in relation to 'Black Tax.' With the intention of examining how the capitalist approaches perceive and make African Communalism or African culture out to be, the capitalist and modernist approaches were also explored.

Chapter 4 (Theoretical Framework)

In this chapter, the theoretical underpinnings of this research are critically discussed. The chapter draws on the work of Jacques Derrida to discuss Deconstruction. The idea of Deconstruction is covered in the chapter to examine and comprehend how texts have binary opposites in terms of their significance, which issues are primarily emphasised and preferred and which ones are purposefully left out. The Deconstruction theory becomes an essential tool in analysing how 'Black Tax' is framed, by revealing what meaning is highlighted, preferred, negated and neglected. In order to understand how particular issues are framed and depicted in the media as well as what agenda the media is attempting to set regarding the 'Black Tax,' the chapter also explored the Media Framing Theory and the Agenda-setting Theory. In light of the fact that 'Black Tax' is connected with family responsibility that one has to the family, the chapter concludes by critically discussing African Communalism.

Chapter 5 (Research Methodology)

This chapter goes into greater length about the research methods used to accomplish the goals and objectives of the study. The chapter includes a full discussion of the study's sample and sampling methodology in addition to outlining the research design that was used in the investigation. Additionally, this chapter goes into deeper details about the methods and equipment used to obtain the data. This chapter discusses and presents, in depth, the data gathering and analysis techniques that the study employed to meet its goals. Finally, this chapter provides a full explanation of the quality standards and ethical considerations.

Chapter 6 (Data analysis part 1: Deconstructing the Media Discourses)

This chapter offers a critical analysis of media data that was examined utilising Deconstruction as an analytical technique, framing analysis and thematic analysis for comments discovered in response to the broadcast audio-visuals (from *eNCA* and *BBC*). The chapter gives an explanatory analysis of the media archive data that involved analysing the media that were specifically chosen for this study in order to understand how the term 'Black Tax' was framed by the media and how it impacted ones understanding of African Communalism. Using the framing and Deconstruction analysis, the data was deductively evaluated to meet the goals of this study. The chapter presents findings about deconstructing and framing of 'Black Tax' in three parts. Part One of the chapter presents the analysis of the media discourses of the

framing of ‘Black Tax’ (Framing analysis). The chapter also presents Part Two, which is an analysis of media discourses with a focus on deconstructing ‘Black Tax’ (Deconstruction analysis). Finally, the chapter presents Part Three which is the public framing of ‘Black Tax.’ The chapter in this part presents the reactions of the public under the comment sections of the online media content from *eNCA* and *BBC and* which were analysed and presented thematically.

Chapter 7 (Data Analysis Part 2: Young Professionals and Opinions about ‘Black Tax’)

This chapter provides a critical analysis of the primary data gathered from the semi-structured interviews of Black South African youth. As such, it presents the young professionals’ opinions and experiences with the ‘Black Tax’ phenomenon inductively analysed through the thematic analysis method. The chapter also presents the discussions of the understanding of ‘Black Tax’ from the young professionals’ perspectives, its causes and effects as well as the sentiments associated with its contribution and treatment within the family.

Chapter 8 (Summary, Recommendations, and Conclusions)

The study's last chapter summarises the entire body of research. In order to meet the aims and goal of the study, it briefly discusses the methodology and research design. It also shows the data that provide answers to the objectives of the study that were identified in Chapter 1. The goal here is to show how the research has met the intended goal. As a result, each objective's findings are connected to relevant literature, theories and aspects of society at large. The research's contributions to existing knowledge and literature, as well as suggestions for future research are all included in the chapter. The chapter concludes by indicating how the objectives of the full research project were attained.

CHAPTER 2:
COLONIAL-APARTHEID, POST-APARTHEID TRIPLE CHALLENGES AND THE BLACK FAMILY (A LITERATURE REVIEW)

2.1. INTRODUCTION

To explore the current trend of young Black professionals financially supporting their families (parents and siblings) it is essential to discuss the nature of Black families in post-apartheid South Africa. To do this, a historical context of different political and socio-economic regimes and their impact on the Black family is necessary. In this Chapter the socio-economic history of South Africa is extensively explored, as it is essential to look into the past to understand the current socio-economic conditions in contemporary South Africa. This chapter focuses on the impact of colonial-apartheid and post-apartheid triple challenges on the Black families in South Africa. The literature covers the colonial apartheid and the impoverishing of Black families, where the pre-colonial agrarian structure of the African Black family are explained in-depth, the loss of the agrarian lifestyles and family self-sufficiency thoroughly explained and the migrant labour and its implications on the Black families are also explained. The literature also covers the post-apartheid triple challenges where the current trends of poverty, inequality and unemployment are explored in-depth and their implications on the Black families and the post-apartheid's government failure to address them adequately are discussed.

2.2. COLONIAL-APARTHEID AND THE IMPOVERISHING OF BLACK FAMILIES

To examine the impoverishment of Black African families it is imperative that the pre-colonial agrarian structure of the Black family be studied to understand how African families actually survived in the past. It is, therefore, important to also study the loss of agrarian lifestyle and the family sufficiency system to get a glimpse of how colonialism affected the Black African families. Migrant labour and its implications on the Black families will also form part of the study, thus studying how Africans were forced to make a living or work in the mines, farms and industries and remitting money back home.

2.2.1. Pre-Colonial Agrarian Structure of the African Black Family

Africa has been inhabited for more than 3 million years and it has a rich and varied history (Falola & Fleming, 2011:2). The homesteads in African communities were administered by a special type of pre-colonial patriarchy. Indigenous inhabitants in South Africa were self-sufficient in terms of food and other necessities prior to the arrival of Europeans (Mazibuko, 2000:13). They relied mostly on subsistence farming and hunting. Grazing areas and cultivable land were plentiful at the time, so they had no experience with the current labour system. They did, however, have their own division of labour, where tillage, hoeing, sowing, weeding, gathering and threshing crops was typically delegated to women in all aspects, while men cleared and burned new land and broke up hard surfaces with rough axes manufactured by local smiths (Bundy, 1988).

For many pre-colonial African cultures iron tools improved weaponry, allowing people to clear and manage impenetrable forests, plough fields for cultivation and generally improve their lives (Falola & Fleming, 2011:2). Throughout pre-colonial Africa, Indigenous food production practices mostly included cultivating food crops, raising cattle, including pastoralism, fishing, hunting and gathering (Stock, 2013). However, the relative importance of each mode of food production differs by culture. The Nguni clan system, for example, is linked to cattle ownership (Bundy, 1988), whereas for the San, a variety of plants, primarily bulbs and roots, were the backbone of their diet. Game was also an important source of nutrition (Adhikari, 2010:21).

In most African communities, men and women had clearly defined responsibilities in the domestic domain, with women dominating in areas such as child rearing, food production and domestic water supply (Stock, 2013: 99). Men asserted their power over many elements of the life of their wives, daughters and other female members of their households in most African communities. Thus, according to Stock (2013), gender distinction was institutionalised as part of distinct cultural behaviours. Nonetheless, as previously said, they differed in terms of the division of labour, particularly with regards to the production and preparation of work for subsistence. According to Adhikari (2010:22), an African civilisation had a definite gendered division of labour, with men doing the majority of the hunting and women doing the majority of the gathering. As a result, in most parts of Africa, women were responsible for the

majority of food production (Stock, 2013). This can still be seen in many regions of Africa today, where married women are expected to cook for, and clean after their husbands and children despite having other duties. Men's engagement in food production in countries where women cultivate is confined to a few particular duties, such as land preparation prior to planting (Bundy, 1988; Stock, 2013). Children also participated in the food production. According to Stock (2013), children's active participation in food production not only allows the household to raise its total food output, but it also provides vital possibilities for socialisation and training in farming skills. The family household is in charge of food production, distribution, processing and storage (Bundy, 1988), unlike in recent times were the provision of food to sustain the family is faced by one individual in the family.

Multigenerational families are more common in Africa and some males have more than one wife in several countries (Stock, 2013). Consequently, each wife in that polygamous family had her own garden and grain storage area and each hut with a married woman was in a sense, the centre of an independent economic unit. At the same time, all members of the household, including the head, his wives and their children, as well as any other dependent kinsfolk residing with them, shared in the entire (*umzi*) families' produce (Bundy, 1988). Successful families have long permitted poorer families to utilise portions of their property or have given them animals in exchange for a piece of the crop or other items (Falola & Fleming, 2011:5). Hunting bands that were linked by kinship ties produced larger cultural groups that may have included several hundred people who were linked by a variety of reciprocal agreements such as inter-marriage, resource sharing, gift giving and other forms of exchange (Adhikari, 2010:21). Because cattle are more stable and storable, livestock has substituted agriculture as a medium for expressing ties between families and regionally between homesteads (Hamilton, Mbenga, & Ross, 2012). Cattle in many cases were used for *lobola* negotiations of the new daughter in-law (*Makoti).* In most African communities, everyone was looked after and cared for in some way. Therefore, modern post-colonial social problems such as unemployment and homelessness were quite uncommon (Falola & Fleming, 2011:4).

Pre-colonial communities were remarkably diverse and gender dynamics were a part of that diversity (Stock, 2013). Men and women were in charge of separate sets of

Indigenous knowledge (such as medicine or community politics), and which would be passed down from mother to daughter or father to son. In general, men's rank was differentiated based on their age and accomplishments (Stock, 2013). Certain markers, including completing initiation rites, being married and taking on adult responsibilities, were used to signify the transition into manhood in specific civilisations. Initiation ceremonies are still practiced in civilisations such as the Xhosa, Pedi, Tswana, Venda, Tsonga and others, where boys spend nearly a month conducting the rites to welcome them into manhood during the winter. In the African way of life, culture was given far too much weight. Despite the fact that there were no legal laws in place at the time, they settled their problems through their own formed male court or assembly which served as a platform for discussing and resolving community matters. Many African villages still have such sites, which are known as (*Kgorong*) in the Pedi language.

By the year 1600, Bantu-speaking people had inhabited nearly all of the area that received rain for farming or were irrigated by springs and rivers (Clark & Worger, 2011). They resided in patrilineal villages, which were usually named after an ancestor from whom everyone was thought to descend, or after a ruling family. These patrilineal communities, for example, may still be found in many parts of South Africa, where places like Ga-Sekhukhune, Ga-Mamabolo, Ga-Mothapo, Ga-Sekgopo, Ga-Modjadji and others are named after their ancestors and ruling families. People in pre-colonial Africa did not reside in a single location. Individual bands moved within a limited territory which was mainly governed by the availability of water, the presence of game and the gathering of seasonal plant foods (Adhikari, 2010:21; Falola & Fleming, 2011:4). As a result, they were never fully cut off from the rest of the world. Societies interacted through trade, weddings, relocation and statesmanship (Falola & Fleming, 2011:4).

Because of their fertile land, trading routes and cattle, they were forced to interact with other tribes. As such, activities like commerce allowed for the exchange of local surpluses for unusual foods and goods (Falola & Fleming, 2011:3). However, colonists exploited the monetisation of the African economy as another useful tool or technique to gain direct control and political administration of African colonies (Ocheni et al., 2012:46). As a result of colonialism, African marketplaces and trades were distorted.

The majority of traditional African market centres or routes arose from local demands. When colonialism arrived and created a new demand, the original or traditional commercial centres were deemed obsolete and they were turned into innovative marketing centres (Ocheni et al, 2012:51). Thus, the majority of the original or traditional commercial centres died or deteriorated, generating a distortion in the African form of growth and urbanisation. For example, areas like Mapungubwe were originally utilised by Africans to exchange their goods for other goods and it has not been used for commerce since the colonisation period.

A study conducted by Falola and Fleming (2011:1) uses the common experiences of Africans in general to provide an analysis of civilisation throughout the African continent. The findings demonstrate that African civilisations have changed dramatically since the continent's earliest settlers began the process of establishing states. The findings also highlight the African people's adaptability and resiliency from early state creation to the present day (Falola & Fleming, 2011:1). Africans are by nature adaptable individuals who can thrive in any climate or culture, as evidenced by the fact that they can be found practically in every country on the planet. The majority of African history was told through storytelling and folk songs while sitting and dancing around a fire. Some of these tales were passed down through the generations, while others were forgotten. The stories become distorted, changed, or tempered with as each generation tells them from their own point of view. This is why there is no formal documentation of the African people by the African people of the past. Women are portrayed as passive victims in the literature on African history, driven to mute obedience by systemic oppression and cultural norms that kept them in their place. It ignores, however, the fact that it is an African way of life in which men govern the household. Women and children were also reminded and taught through the use of African proverbs. The same is true for being the daughter-in-law *(Makoti);* she is usually supplied with all of the appropriate proverbs and laws of the husband's family before and after the wedding ceremony.

According to the literature, African Black families had a complex and varied pre-colonial agrarian structure. In general, kinship-based systems characterised many African communities, with family ties serving as the foundation for both social structures and economic activity. Agriculture was essential to the survival of these

societies since families collaborated to carry out farming tasks. Generally, the African Black family's pre-agrarian structure reflected the intricate interactions between social, economic, and cultural elements, with a focus on mutual assistance, community relationships, and sustainable livelihoods within the surrounding ecosystems. That being the case, much of what is written about Africans' pre-colonial history is contextual and descriptive of the country and people. Thus, there are few materials that explain and discuss the African way of life in depth. The majority of the materials, however, are written from a western or capitalist perspective. Furthermore, explanations for historical events tend to centre on a single, well-defined political or military event, while more fundamental economic and social variables are frequently left out of the discussion rather than being seen as drivers of historical change. Therefore, this research study employs African pre-colonial history to trace the African way of life in relation to the family support system and connect this to the current notion of 'Black Tax.' What this opening section does is to provide a reminder of the self-sufficiency of African families based on their agrarian lifestyle in pre-colonial South Africa.

2.2.2. Loss of Agrarian Lifestyle and Family Self-Sufficiency.

In South Africa, the most severe result of colonisation was the loss of land. Many pre-colonial African tribes had quite different ideas about wealth and entitlements. Thus, most African societies, according to Falola and Fleming (2011:5), functioned as societies that place little value on personal ownership of land or material goods. Furthermore, according to Bundy (1988), land was the political community's communal property, while property rights in relation to other groups were hardly defined as long as land was a relatively abundant resource. Land inhabited by a clan 'belonged to' rather than 'being owned by a clan' and it was treated as theirs by custom and usage (Bundy, 1988). That is to say, the land was not owned by anyone and could be used by anyone. Household preferences were influenced by circumstance and changed over time, being severely limited as the twentieth century progressed (Hay, 2014:759).

Flooding prohibited riches from being passed down from generation to generation, hence the amassing of wealth was unimportant to Africans (Falola & Fleming, 2011:5). That is to say, because Africans were mobile and reliant on movement, they were unable to stay in one location and concentrate on the accumulation of riches that could

be passed down from generation to generation. Livestock, primarily cattle, was their only source of income. A study conducted by Hay (2014:747) investigates how ordinary people in Limpopo Province's Letaba (current-day Mopani) District earned and lost land rights throughout the course of the twentieth century. The study provides a chronological account of this process, focusing on specific landowners rather than the broader concept of ‘community.’ The findings show that land ownership was not as static as popular narratives and official discourses suggest and that personal histories of land access and loss were not as linear as popular narratives and official discourse often suggest.

The Natives Land Act of 1913 was part of a larger trend that made it more difficult for common citizens to get autonomous ownership of land, whether as owners or tenants, as well as to be flexible and receptive to new possibilities (Hay, 2014:746). The study looks at how this historical background, as well as common conceptions of the primacy of 'society' and 'clan' in rural folk's traditional connections to land, have influenced how the post-apartheid land restitution programme has been implemented. As this quick survey of the former Letaba area indicates, many African families were capable of exercising some discretion in where they lived and to whom they owed loyalty in the early years of the twentieth century, even after the implementation of the 1913 Land Act (Hay, 2014:760). Throughout the twentieth century, this gradually deteriorated, culminating in apartheid's Bantustan policy. The procedure by which these people lost their property rights, on the other hand, was more challenging and emotional than is widely believed or handled in the land claims process. As a result, people's ability to select where and how they gain access to land remains limited (Hay, 2014:748).

Later, European explorers and settlers frequently claimed that lands were unclaimed and hence, ripe for the taking when they arrived, but those assumptions were incorrect because land was abandoned owing to poor soil quality, scarce rainfall, or had been claimed for future use (Falola & Fleming, 2011:5). After European arrival in South Africa in 1652, the indigenous Khoikhoi pastoralists lost their independence (Piotrowski, 2019:57). When the indigenous Khoi protested about the poor trading conditions stipulated, colonial business officers initiated a series of frontier battles in order to deprive them of their land and replace it with commercial farms managed by European immigrants using imported slave workers (Clark & Worger, 2011). Beginning

in 1652, land was taken, and African chiefdoms were crushed one by one as they tried to defend their sovereignty (Piotrowski, 2019:58). The massacres continued until the founding of the Democratic Republic of South Africa, which ended apartheid (Piotrowski, 2019:60). Many White South Africans' property rights were preserved, while Blacks were relegated to smaller, disproportionately sized plots of land, resulting in the impoverishment of Black society (Piotrowski, 2019:58). On the other hand, marginalisation of Black people limited and denied those opportunities, further impoverishing them and contributing to inter-generational poverty.

Land had played a crucial role in the colonial conflict. It was a recurring theme in all of the conflicts waged on the changing Cape frontier between 1779 and 1877, as well as in the clashes between the burghers of the Boer republics and the Indigenous peoples (Welsh, 2009). Land theft, killing, forced labour and cultural oppression that followed colonial control nearly wiped-out San (*Bushmen*) civilisation in the Cape colony throughout the 18th and 19th centuries (Adhikari, 2010:39; Piotrowski, 2019:57). Independent or semi-autonomous chiefdoms, according to Welsh (2009), were not only barriers to the acquisition of land and labour, but also possible rallying sites for resistance to white control. As a result, the boundaries of white settlement had pushed forward inexorably and even the most resolute of indigenous chiefdoms could not defy the pressure of the frontiersmen’s colonial and imperial forces' guns and horses eternally (Welsh, 2009). The British army made it relatively easy to deprive Indigenous peoples of land and surface water (Terreblanche, 2002). This deprivation of land and water had a serious impact on the lives of Black families who depended on tilling the land for agrarian purposes for a self-sufficient lifestyle. Furthermore, as a result of being ejected from their lands and relocated to enclosed reserves, their food productivity decreased. This made Black South Africans dependent on the White government, which led to labour migration as a source of survival for many families.

By 1848, the Cape government had granted title deeds to mission stations for 70 000 acres of property, while another 155 000 acres were held by virtue of permits of occupation (Bundy, 1988). The privatisation and commercialisation of natural and human resources, particularly land, has severely undermined foraging societies (Adhikari, 2010:39). Exclusive use, fixed boundaries, title deed registration, alienability and permanent settlement were all foreign concepts to the hunter-gatherer way of life,

thus removing them from legal ownership of valuable resources (Adhikari, 2010:20). For that reason, privatisation often entailed the permanent loss of such resources, as well as the fact that settler claims were backed by the legal system and, eventually, the colonial state's aimed might (Adhikari, 2010:21). The devastation of the loss of land had a terrible effect on the lives of Africans. Pastoralists were deprived of crucial seasonal pastures and their typical migration routes were cut off. Time away from agriculture caused lower harvests and, in some cases, starvation for the peasantry (Stock, 2013).

The British captured the still-independent African republics in South Africa in the 1870s and 1880s, confiscated the majority of the land and imposed cash taxes to restrict African employees' ability to bargain their salary and guarantee that they keep up with harsh working conditions (Clark & Worger, 2011). Land, on the other hand, was not used as a key resource by the colonisers. Taking land from Indigenous peoples was a powerful instrument for benefiting whites and impoverishing and proletarianising of Indigenous peoples, turning them into a dependent and subservient labour force during the colonial period (Terreblanche, 2002). Accordingly, land was seized in order to obtain inexpensive labour.

In Africa, land was acquired with the idea of creating big, mechanised farms to grow a variety of products for export (Stock, 2013). Africans, on the other hand, were driven from their homelands and forced to live in limited reserves with less fertile soils and shorter fallow periods, resulting in lower outputs in their food production. The Native Land Act, passed by the colonial South African government in 1913, limited African property ownership to defined regions covering 7% of the country's total land area (Clark & Worger, 2011; Piotrowski, 2019:57; Terreblanche, 2002). Africans in their ancestral land were denied the opportunity to possess land, form their own government, or even choose where they would live and work. The commissioners advocated limiting African land ownership and establishing separate regions for Africans (Clark & Worger, 2011). In 'White' South Africa, the land legislation also prohibited Africans from participating in share-cropping tenant farming or squatter farming (Terreblanche, 2002). For many Black South Africans, the loss of land and limitations were heart-breaking, and it led to generational poverty since they could no longer care for their family.

Land was an essential source of income for the colonists. According to Nanziri (2015:31), if done did not have land, one just had ones labour, hence 'Blacks' were transported wherever the government needed them. This necessitated large-scale, forced evacuations. Thus, for the majority of the twentieth century, controversial land-ownership laws were put in place to ensure that the significant proportion of land remained in White hands (Piotrowski, 2019:59). As a result, legislation passed particularly between 1913 and 1936, had the greatest impact on land allocation and the indigenous African population of South Africa (Piotrowski, 2019:58). Whites were given 87% of the land by the Natives Land Act of 1913, leaving the original owners of the land and majority of the people in South Africa (Black people) struggling for what was left. Outside of the property officially allotted to Africans, the final Bill of the Natives' Land Act banned African land purchases, leases and other similar agreements (Piotrowski, 2019:59). The reserves during colonial South Africa, later known as homelands (and more often known as Bantustans), were the basis of segregation and, later, apartheid (Welsh, 2009). The promulgation of the Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 and the articulation of the Bantustan strategy transformed local administrative bodies into semi-autonomous governments, shifting the burden of some social welfare costs and unemployment from white urban centres to the homelands (Bundy, 1988). All of this has contributed to Black people's poverty, or rather, impoverishment. Furthermore, the Bantustan approach divided many clans, resulting in members of the same clan, language and culture being located in two different countries, thereby eliminating their means of subsistence.

The extent to which African-occupied land was alienated, is a point of contention. Conservative white politicians have consistently disputed that land was alienated in a variety of methods, including conquest during wars, seizure during a rebellion, or simply staking out on a farm where Africans already lived (Welsh, 2009). Some even questioned that Africans were present in South Africa at the time of the inaugural white settlement in 1652, stating that the Dutch and Bantu-speaking Africans came about the same time (Welsh, 2009). According to Hamilton et al. (2012), farming villages were already around the Limpopo and Shashe river crossings between AD 900 and 1290. Political and ceremonial authority was concentrated in the hands of a governing elite at Mapungubwe between AD 1290 and the Mapungubwe state had influence and control over a broad area of what is now northern South Africa, southern Zimbabwe

and eastern Botswana (Hamilton et al., 2012:115). This inexorably implies that Bantu-speaking people lived in Southern Africa prior to the 1600s. And this disproves both claims as historical tales. Welsh (2009) also claims that evidence exists that Bantu-speaking peoples settled in what is now South Africa around 2000 years ago. All of this demonstrates how colonialists, capitalists and various media attempt to frame and distort African history, which is why it is important to historicise the context that created Black poverty and today's 'Black Tax' narrative.

The repercussions of colonisation and apartheid can still be seen today and as a result, Africans were a disenfranchised and property-less community with relatively limited citizenship rights during the most of the twentieth century (Oyedemi, 2015:192). Many South African families are still living in inter-generational poverty as a result of apartheid regulations or have inherited it. Many members of the Black South African working class, particularly the youth, are taking financial responsibilities for extended family due to this generational poverty as a result of the impoverishing of Black people during colonial-apartheid South Africa. According to Oyedemi (2015:192), the 1913 Land Act was the most well-known of the segregation laws and it was also the most successful in impoverishing Africans.

The loss of the rural lifestyle and family self-sufficiency has, primarily for White people, created chances for economic growth; nonetheless, it has also resulted in serious difficulties and losses, primarily for Black people. The primary effect that attracted notice was the disintegration of the customary family and community structures that were essential to agricultural communities. The inter-generational bonds have weakened as people have abandoned their rural lifestyles. But it appears that need on social support networks and extended families has increased, particularly when considering problems like the 'Black Tax.' Black people have experienced economic fragility and asset loss as a result of the transition, leading to economic inequities that have restricted their access to resources and education. Many Black families have found it more difficult to achieve financial security and independence as a result of these institutionalised hurdles. They are consequently compelled to depend on their prosperous family members for support in the form of the 'Black Tax.'

As a result, this research project reflects back to the disastrous repercussions of colonisation and apartheid in order to understand the challenges that young black South Africans go through in redressing the inherited poverty. The research also looks at how the 'Black Tax' affects Black South African youth in the context of their families' historical and socio-economic circumstances. The available literature accurately describes the loss of land and the severe consequences for the African people's way of life. Therefore, as previously said, this research uses history to trace the origins of the African way of life (African Communalism). In additions, the study also traces the loss of the African agrarian life and land loss, as well as examining the devastating effects it had on Black people in relation to 'Black Tax.'

2.2.3. Migrant Labour and Implications on the Black Families.

After losing large chunks of their farmland, many African households were forced to rely on migrant labour to make ends meet. According to Baljinder et al. (2011:459), migration is defined as a move from one place to another for a period of time or permanently and includes a variety of voluntary moves. Prior to 1910, the British imposed heavy taxes on African farmers, including fees on dogs, huts and even heads of families, in an attempt to force them to work in mines or on white farms (Clark & Worger, 2011). They captured autonomous African governments, confiscated their land and levied taxes on practically all daily necessities, driving many Africans to mines, white farms and factories in search of work (Oyedemi, 2015:191), all so they could pay their taxes and feed their families at the same time. Africans were compelled to labour on white farms, factories and in the burgeoning mining industry as the productive capacity of their land dwindled and taxation became severe (Clark & Worger, 2011). Denying squatters and labour renters access to land, as well as squeezing squatters and labour tenants, were all tactics used to collect additional labour (Welsh, 2009). Many migrant households did not have land and animals during the 1970s, hastening their migration to metropolitan areas where jobs were available (Webster & Forrest, 2021:6).

The British capitalist agenda resulted in a migrant labour system that introduced low-cost labour from Southern African countries to the mining industry (Oyedemi, 2015:191). As part of this system, people (mostly men) were forced to migrate to workplaces, but they were not permitted to do so with their families or to stay

permanently, resulting in a migratory system that oscillated (Vosloo, 2020:02). Furthermore, according to Vosloo (2020:01), the migrant labour system was a historical institution created to combine the conflicting needs for cheap labour in mines and cities with apartheid ideology that people should not be made to remain in such locations permanently. The aim to confine 'Black' people to rural areas outside of cities fuelled this. When diamonds were discovered in Kimberley, there was a large demand for unskilled labour. As a result, many Black African men rushed to the mines in search of work (Trimikliniotis, Gordon & Zondo, and 2008:1325).

Similarly, the growth of gold mining coincided with the emergence of a low-wage, migrant labour force across South Africa. Observations, personal histories, formal interviews, focus group discussions and day-to-day conversations were employed in a study undertaken by Benya (2017:100) to obtain in-depth information and everyday behaviours from 2008 to 2015. According to the findings of the study, mining has been the primary driver of the South African economy since the late 1800s. The findings also suggest that the migrant labour system was linked to the low salaries paid to husbands, who were the mines' preferred cheap labour (Benya, 2017:100). As a result, in its original form, exploitation of 'Black' Africans for cheap labour was at the heart of the migrant labour system.

Profits are still made by employing oppressed and underpaid African workers in particular (Clark & Worger, 2011). Migrant labour is still used in the mining industry. The diamond and gold mining industries require a big amount of low-cost labour to be profitable (Clark & Worger, 2011). What made the gold mining industry's systemic exploitation of migrant labour even more problematic was that, despite the deterioration of economic conditions in the 'Native' areas, the gold mines continued to pay low salaries (in real terms). The gold mines, on the other hand, justified the low rates provided to migrant workers by claiming that the reserves covered part of the 'reproduction' costs of labour (Terreblanche, 2002). Because the Black African men had lost their lands, are forced to the mines and farms as cheap migrant labour for meagre income to look after their families and pay colonial taxes, the families had to depend on the little money the migrant workers could send back home. The situation created a generational pattern of dependency where migrant workers maintained their family responsibilities by sending money back home from the mines and farms in order to look after their families back in the reserves where there was meagre economic

opportunity due to loss of land. This historical connection to the current culture of ‘Black Tax’ becomes apparent.

The colonial and apartheid governments tried to keep Indigenous people's subservient positions as labourers in the 'White' economy under control (Vosloo, 2020:02). The separate governments established the legislation to regulate the 'Natives' process of urbanisation in order to attain this goal. Consequently, people were transported from their farmland to the homelands in order to develop labour reserves. The Native Reserves Locations Act of 1902 in the Cape was the first of its sort (Vosloo, 2020:20). According to Clark and Worger (2011), White rulers in Southern Africa have long viewed Africans as workers who should be closely controlled or regulated and by 1948, African labourers were supervised by a complex set of rules.

The term ‘control’ referred to the management of migrant numbers, movements and socio-economic development. To accomplish this level of control it was necessary to divide the migrants from the rest of the Black urban population and convince them to rely on their employers (Vosloo, 2020:21). Additionally, migrant labour was used to rigorously limit the influx of Africans into metropolitan areas (Welsh, 2009). More people, both Black and White, sought a living in towns as industry progressed and population pressure on rural land intensified. The pass laws took on other purposes, such as restricting Africans' access to urban areas and serving as a vehicle for the bureaucratic allocation of labour to mining and agriculture, which could not compete with wages offered in commerce or industry (Welsh, 2009). Chapter 4 of the Land Act of 1936 was aimed to convert the remaining tenancies on 'White' farms into wage labour, putting an end to African squatting and giving farmers more control over African labourers (Terrreblanche, 2002). They made sure that men who had formerly chosen to work in mining areas or on farms on their own terms were now forced to work on the employer's terms (Clark & Worger, 2011). Consequently, Africans, who used to till and cultivate their own land for subsistence have become degraded to generations of migrant workers in white mines, tilling and cultivating land in European farms in South Africa and with their families depending on the meagre income from their cheap labour. Moreover, due to being subjected to work on the farms as migrant labourers, some ‘Black’ families do not have a specific place of which they call home, thus, moving from one farm to another. This in turn made many African children homeless and poor.

African labourers were subjugated to a wide variety of discriminatory laws and practices in the emerging industrial cities, all of which were implemented in order to keep employees cheap and docile (Clark & Worger, 2011). For the British capitalists, finding inexpensive labour among the Africans was critical to the mining companies' success (Oyedemi, 2015:191). Race and class were employed to create the mining labour system in order to maximise profits, with Africans performing the menial and manual labour (Oyedemi, 2015:191). Racialising migrant workers, on the other hand, is frowned upon in the new South Africa. African employees were relegated to unskilled labour under segregation of the Mines and Works Act of 1911 and were charged with a crime if they broke an employment contract according to the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911 and denied the right to protest these conditions (Clark & Worger, 2011). Labour costs declined dramatically in all industries where African labourers were recruited into semi-skilled jobs with wages far lower than those of whites (Terreblanche, 2002). Because Africans were not included in the legal definition of employee, they were unable to join legally registered unions or have their unions recognised in formal labour discussions. It was also prohibited for workers to participate in striking activity (Clark & Worger, 2011). Therefore, individual rights were restricted to racial classification (Oyedemi, 2015:190).

For generations, male migrant labourers have travelled from various parts of South Africa and neighbouring nations to work in South African mines (Benya, 2017:79; Vosloo, 2020:12). This meant that they could financially sustain their families. The Bapedi men from Sekhukhune toiled in the Cape colony's farms and public works in the 1840s (Trimikliniotis et al., 2008:1325). Because of the increasing rate of migrant labour among adult males in peasant communities, the amount of economic activity that could be done on family holdings was severely reduced (Bundy, 1988). Life as a migrant has always necessitated a vigilant balancing of duties. Migrants are commonly thought to be trapped between two geographical locations and two conflicting systems (though these are, of course, intrinsically tied), as they try to make a living in a capitalist economy while also managing their resources and honouring responsibilities and reciprocities that emerge in a much less capitalist one (James & Rajak, 2014:455). Many males, however, continue to 'feel' rural, according to Phillips and James (2014:414) and were forced to keep two residences, which their present pay cannot sustain. Keeping two residences and ‘feeling’ rural as Phillips and James (2014:414)

observe, do not adequately describe the condition of Black workers. Black workers were not allowed to come with their families to the mines, farms and South African ‘white’ cities where they were employed. Maintaining their home back in the rural areas was necessary. Thus, many of them found themselves landing in debt, while others found and joined what were called locally as *stokvels*, *itimiti,* or *megodišano*, where they took turns receiving money that they usually used to send home to assist their family and buy needs (James & Rajak, 2014:463).

Many migrants, on the other hand, were unable to plan for their retirement because they were not permitted to do so (Nanziri, 2015:34), nor were they able to save or work efficiently enough to save for their retirement. All of this has resulted in the inter-generational poverty that now affects many 'Black' Africans and, in order to cope, young people must work twice as hard to support themselves and their family, which is why there are concepts such as 'Black Tax' in South Africa. The debts accumulated by migrant labourers, and which were paid back to a number of creditors in quick succession as soon as their paycheck arrived, implied that many workers had nothing left to live on. As a result, the labouring family had little to eat on a daily basis, prompting some Black families to sell their property freely in order to pursue education and other contemporary investments, while others lost theirs after borrowing against it (James & Rajak, 2014:461).

Because of the mines' geographical placement, the migratory labour system favoured women's marginalisation (Benya, 2017:80). As a result, especially in much-depleted rural communities, the women and children of migrant labourers had to rely heavily on the few cash payments sent back by their absent husbands and fathers (Clark & Worger, 2011). Family members who were unemployed were thus constrained to remain in densely packed rural areas (Collinson, Tollman, & Kahn, 2007:02). Women had a significant role in the migrant labour economy, but they continued to remain the rural cyphers who helped to maintain the households while the migratory men transferred money back home (Phillips & James, 2014:411). While migrant workers were exploited in the mines, where they worked in dangerous and low-paying occupations and were sometimes unable to remit money home, their families back home subsidised mine wages (Benya, 2017:80). Males, especially married men, are less expected to contribute financially or financially care for their parents, according to the findings of Benya’s (2017:92) interviews, unless they are the major caretakers for

their children. Such being the case, women had to maintain their families on their own and because of the demands and expectations placed on them by adjacent communities, several women left their rural homes to seek employment in the townships (Benya, 2017:94).

As the migratory labour system began to exert its strain on family life and subsistence, farming in rural regions became exceedingly challenging in the 1920s and 1930s and a significant number of Basotho women began to relocate to metropolitan areas (Phillips & James, 2014:414). For many African women seeking work in cities, domestic work maintained a great ideological attraction since it guaranteed dignity. Women looked for other ways to supplement their income because they could not obtain domestic work because the field was controlled by men (Phillips & James, 2014:414). Many women in South Africa still work in the informal sectors such as hawking, washing, hairdressing, tailoring, gambling, herbal medicine and trade.

A central labour bureau was in charge of labour distribution and regulation, with the goal of ensuring that the labour needs of agriculture, industry, mining and towns were met (Welsh, 2009). Government policy encouraged and maintained cyclical labour migration, culminating in a still impoverished transformation from an agrarian to a cash-based market, engendering repeating cycles of labour movement with large numbers of disunited households divided into rural and urban components (Collinson et al., 2007:02). Collinson et al. (2007:01) conducted their research using data from the 2001 South African National Census as well as the Agincourt health and demographic monitoring systems. Using national data, a settlement-type transition matrix was created to depict how settlement patterns had changed over the previous five years. Therefore, the national findings show that increasing urban population growth has occurred from migration, particularly in South Africa's metropolitan regions. For example, Johannesburg is one of the areas that is highly populated by migrants in quest of work from all across South Africa and Africa as a whole. During apartheid, the immigration system was a result of the White minority's obsession with establishing racial superiority, just as migrant labourers were often hired as cheap labour with little, if any, protection and pay (Trimikliniotis et al., 2008:1332). As a result, immigration was seen as a form of labour management as well as an instrument of justified oppression for Africans.

According to Vosloo (2020:28), it is difficult to believe that those who developed and implemented the migrant labour system intended for it to have all of the devastating impacts that it has had and continues to have on South Africa's 'Black' African people. Furthermore, according to Vosloo (2020:29), many of the conditions must be considered unintended effects. As a result, migration has become a problem in the minds of the media and readers. Hence, it is estimated that over 4 million foreigners live in South Africa (Mkhwanazi, 2022). The majority of these migrants are in South Africa solely to pursue work so that they can provide for their families back home. Regardless of the reasons for having too many migrants in South Africa, the way the media portrays it has an impact on the variety and quality of information that the public receives. Therefore, this research historicises how the past socio-economic created generational poverty and asset deficit in the black family and how today the generation of youth is helping to address this in the form of ‘Black Tax’.

2.3. POST-APARTHEID TRIPLE CHALLENGES AND THE BLACK FAMILY

In South Africa, the 'triple challenges' refer to the interconnected socio-economic phenomena of inequality, poverty and unemployment. South Africa's poverty, inequality and unemployment issues stem from the historical background and long-term impact of apartheid-era policies, as well as post-apartheid governmental leadership and public sector capabilities. Therefore, given South Africa's history, inequality is firmly linked to race, and it is critical to determine whether and how this has evolved over time (South Africa, 2013). Thus, poverty, inequality and unemployment are covered in greater depth below in this chapter.

2.3.1. Current Poverty Trends in South Africa and Implications on the Black Family.

Poverty is a well-known and persistent issue in every society. Poverty is described as a lack of essential survival resources like food and clothing (Smith, Stagnitti, Lewis & Pepin, 2015:873). Poverty is among the most critical issues in South Africa, impacting not just the jobless but even the workers, who are frequently required to feed or support over thirteen family members on a single paycheck (Benya, 2017: 84). A recent study on the dynamics of poverty looked at what leads people to be poor, what keeps them poor and what enables them to get out of poverty (Cooper & Bird, 2012:527). According to Terreblanche (2002), poverty is a lifetime of deprivation

characterised by anguish, destitution, shame and degradation. Land denial and intentional proletarianisation of the Khoisan and other African ethnic groups in order to institutionalise repressive black labour regimes (Terrablanche, 2002), are factors that contribute to poverty.

Poverty and economic inequality are well-known issues around the world. In South Africa, there is widespread agreement that poverty and inequality, particularly economic disparity and poverty, are chronic (Niyimbanira, 2017:255). Accordingly, these two development challenges are essentially tied to the apartheid system's legacy as well as the economy's structure (Niyimbanira, 2017:255). Apartheid-era poverty traps continue to be a major factor in the continuation and worsening of poverty in South Africa (Terreblanche, 2002). Apartheid left a visible legacy of poverty and inequality in democratic South Africa (Seekings, 2007). Between 1995 and 2000, absolute and relative poverty levels among African-headed households grew, whereas it remained steady or reduced for non-African-headed households (Bhorat & Kanbur, 2005). According to the 1996-2001 census data, both absolute and relative poverty levels increased among African, coloured and Asian households (at the higher poverty threshold) (Bhorat & Kanbur, 2005).

Between 1994 and 2005, Bhorat and van der Westhuizen (2012) produced poverty metrics based on per capita family expenditures and indicators based on recognised poverty classes, both nationally and by race. The findings reveal that poverty, as defined by the headcount rate, decreased in South Africa's first democracy, both generally and among Africans. As a result, only Africans saw a drop in poverty between 1995 and 2005, according to racial statistics. At the aggregate level, relative poverty, as measured by the poverty gap ratio, follows a similar pattern. According to Bhorat and Van der Westhuizen (2012), the poverty gap index at the R322 line decreased from 26% to 21%, implying that the average poor person in 1995 lived roughly 26% below the R322 poverty line. After ten years, the typical poor person was 21% below the poverty line. The poverty gap ratio decreased from 12% to around 8% at the lower poverty line (Bhorat & Van der Westhuizen, 2012).

Despite the fact that Africans' headcount rates at both poverty thresholds declined, their poverty levels as measured by the headcount index remained significantly higher than the national projections and those of other ethnicities (Bhorat & Van der

Westhuizen, 2012). According to Bhorat and Van der Westhuizen (2012), the national headcount rate in 2005 was 49%, whereas the African headcount rate was 58%. Furthermore, according to Seekings (2007), even while some Africans experienced rapid upward economic and social mobility in the final years of apartheid, the once disenfranchised African majority was, for the most part, destitute and the small White minority in control was conspicuously wealthy, creating a pattern of generational economic privilege for White South Africans.

The poverty rate fell from 66.6% (31.6 million people) in 2006 to 53.2% (27.3 million people) in 2011, but then rose to 55.5% (30.4 million people) in 2015 (Stats SA, 2017). Furthermore, the number of people living in extreme poverty (i.e., persons living below the 2015 food poverty line of R441 per person per month) in South Africa increased by 2.8million from 11million in 2011 to 13.8million in 2015 (Stats SA, 2017). However, according to Stats SA (2017), this is lower than in 2009 when persons living in extreme poverty were 16.7million. In 2017, over 30 million individuals in South Africa lived below the widely debated poverty line, with slightly more females (58,6%) than males (54,9%) living in poverty (Benya, 2017:83). Approximately 55.5% of the population (30.3 million people) lives below the poverty line (ZAR 992), whereas 13.8 million people (25%) are food insecure (Sulla, 2020). Adult females live in poverty at higher rates than their male counterparts, regardless of the poverty line used (Stats SA, 2019a). However, nearly half of the adult population (49.2%) lives below the poverty level (UBPL). While rural areas account for nearly half of the population in South Africa, they also account for 72% of the impoverished (Cheru, 2001:506). Women and children make up the majority of the population. Furthermore, poverty is unevenly spread throughout provinces (Cheru, 2001:506). According to Stats SA (2019a), Limpopo (67, 5%), Eastern Cape (67, 3%), KwaZulu-Natal (60, 7%) and North-West (59.6%) are the provinces with the largest headcount of adult poverty. Significantly more than half of the people in these four provinces live in poverty.

Poverty does not discriminate against any racial group, yet it is disproportionately concentrated among Black people. As a result, Cheru (2001:506) claims that, in addition to race, poverty in South Africa includes a gender dimension. That being the case, Benya (2017:84) argues that not just poverty, but also the gender poverty gap, which considers women and men, as well as female-headed vs male-headed households, must be examined. For female-headed households, the poverty gap

(distance from the poverty line) and the severity of poverty measures were higher than for male-headed households (Stats SA, 2019a).

Despite the fact that South Africa has made significant progress in reducing poverty since 1994, the trend of poverty reduction shifted between 2011 and 2015, threatening to reverse some of the gains achieved since 1994 (Sulla, 2020). The latest numbers issued by Stats SA, according to the South African Parliament, show mostly good trends in terms of the percentage of South Africans living considerably below the latest World Bank poverty levels. Another issue is the extent to which state cash transfers have replaced private cash transfers (remittances) that poor families used to receive from relatives working as migratory labourers in mines or on farms. Due to high unemployment rates, nearly one out of every two South African households receives a means-tested assistance (South Africa, 2013).

Inevitably, low-income families now have fewer income earners on whom they may rely. Instead, they increasingly rely on government transfers such as the South African Social Security Agency's (SASSA) social subsidies and unemployment assistance monies to get by. According to Finn, Leibbrandt and Oosthuizen (2014), the number of no-worker households has expanded by 3% in the last 15 years, increasing the number of households who rely on assistance, particularly grants, as their primary source of income. The reliance on one working family member means that the working family member must either share their income with the struggling family or financially support the family, which may cause them financial and mental hardships, as well as limit their ability to grow their own generational wealth. Thus, there are the concepts like 'Black Tax,' in which many young workers are exposed to such demands from their families. As a result, South Africans are still trapped in a cycle of inter-generational poverty that will not be broken anytime soon.

Inter-generational poverty according to Smith et al. (2015:874), is the transmission of parenting practices from earlier generations to those who face employment and money difficulties, relationship breakup, poor emotional health and inequalities due to geography or personal circumstances. Tilahun, Persky, Shin and Zellner's study (2021:208) focuses on the drivers of adult poverty and the role of place prosperity in reducing poverty transmission between generations. As a result, employing longitudinal microdata from the panel study of income dynamics, family characteristics

and poverty status are observed for people spanning several years in infancy and adulthood. In comparison to early family traits (poverty, mother's education and race) and personal education, the findings show that direct and indirect effects of locality and prosperity, are minor. Furthermore, the findings show that education, or rather a lack thereof, is a particularly powerful indicator of adult poverty (Tilahun et al., 2021:218). To put it another way, early childhood poverty appears to have a big impact on subsequent results.

Many persons who are affected by inter-generational poverty are educated (Smith et al., 2015:874). Over and above that, inter-generational poverty is primarily experienced by young people who are employed or have recently graduated. Therefore, they are under pressure to find work as soon as they graduate in order to support their families and cope with the poverty inherited in the family from the past socio-economic conditions in which their forefathers lived. One facet of inter-generational poverty is that parents have few, if any, assets to pass on to their children. Parents who are trapped in the cycle of inter-generational poverty as a result of their economic and social conditions, according to Young (2021:2), are sadly condemned to pass those situations on to their children. Inter-generational poverty can be a long-term cause and effect' of a lack of assets. These assets include physical assets such as a home and financial one such as money. According to Young (2021:2), assets can contribute to poverty perpetuation because society's efforts to prevent inter-generational poverty are dependent on their ability to sustainably increase family economic security and prevent or ameliorate the negative socio-economic conditions that make it more likely for children from impoverished homes to remain poor as grownups. For the generations that lived under the colonial and apartheid racism they had no opportunity to build wealth and assets. As such, this was passed down to the current generation of youth who are now addressing the inherited asset deficit. As a consequence, without assets to pass down from generation to generation, poverty is doomed to repeat itself. Inheritance, being a common mechanism of property transmission, has significant ramifications for people's economic paths (Cooper & Bird, 2012:528). As a result, inheritance events can either provide chances for property accumulation or take away people's previous security of access to assets.

Both poor status and poverty length (persistence) have a considerable detrimental effect on cognitive development, achievement and high school completion (Tilahun et

al., 2021:210). Growing up in a persistently poor environment, according to Tilahun et al. (2021:210), exposes children to a variety of dangers. Typically, such children live in disadvantaged neighbourhoods with high crime rates, poor school quality, increased pollution exposure and other issues. A study conducted by Duarte, Latorre and Molina (2018:624) examines the factors that influence the likelihood of finishing secondary school in order to analyse the transfer of poverty over two generations. The study used a Becker-Lewis conceptual quantity-quality model that was experimentally evaluated using the Spanish Statistics Institute's Living Conditions Survey of 2011 (Duarte et al., 2018:624). The findings support the inter-generational transmission of poverty in Spain, as the likelihood of completing secondary schooling is determined, albeit not completely, by the respondents' family circumstances during their adolescent years (Duarte et al., 2018:624). The research demonstrates that in many nations, the transfer of material disadvantages from parents to children is a substantial influence.

According to the literature, colonisation and apartheid legislation generated poverty in South Africa and which eventually led to long-term inter-generational poverty. Furthermore, according to some studies, childhood poverty increases the risk of adulthood poor, with inter-generational poverty transfer being significantly moderated by other socio-economic factors at work throughout a person's life. Nonetheless, the literature has overlooked the reality that a person's familial background might encourage them to attain their goals. Many South African graduates, for example, come from low-income backgrounds and have completed both high school and tertiary education. These graduates are often the family's last hope, since they are thought to be the ones who can lift their families out of poverty by financially supporting them or by paying a 'Black Tax' despite their own financial necessities. As a result, the goal of this research was to look at how the 'Black Tax' affects Black youth in the historical and socio-economic contexts of Black South African families.

2.3.2. Current Trend of Inequality in South Africa and Implications on the Black Family

South Africa is one of the most unequal societies in the world (Sulla, 2020). By 2014/15, the Gini index of South Africa was to 63 (Sulla, 2020). The Gini coefficient (or Gini) is the most commonly used single indicator of income inequality and it refers to how evenly income is distributed throughout the population (South Africa, 2013). In

South Africa, there has been a spirited debate concerning the influence of economic growth on poverty and inequality since 1994 (Bhorat & van der Westhuizen, 2012). South Africa is a highly unequal society with a developed 'first world' sector on one side and a developing 'third world' sector on the other (Cheru, 2001:505). Despite tremendous economic development, income inequality in South Africa remains one of the most fundamental indicators of white supremacy's consequences (Clark & Worger, 2011). Additionally, inequalities in wealth, property and opportunities are mostly the result of colonialism and apartheid (Terreblanche, 2002). In today's South Africa, however, the causes of inequality are numerous. In a country where 10% of the population controls more than 80% of the wealth, race is a crucial factor (Aljazeera, 2022). Furthermore, because of its effects on education and the labour market, race remains a fundamental source of severe inequality in South Africa (Aljazeera, 2022). Nowadays inequality is also exacerbated by unemployment, substandard educational systems and a deteriorating public health system (Baker, 2019). In addition, it is exacerbated by the unequal allocation of agricultural land, particularly in rural areas (Aljazeera, 2022). Furthermore, according to the World Bank (2022a), general inequality is driven by inherited circumstances over which an individual has little or no control.

The main country in the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), South Africa, is the world's most unequal country, ranking first among 164 countries in the World Bank's global poverty index (World Bank, 2022a). The Gini coefficient for consumer spending was 0.67 in 2018 (World Bank, 2022b). The substantial inequality in land ownership also contributes to the perpetuation of historically high levels of income inequality in South Africa and Namibia, where inequality is far higher than the rest of the countries (World Bank, 2022a). With greater Gini values of income inequality of 0.68-0.70, income inequality in South Africa and Namibia is further revealed (Mtapuri & Tinawo, 2021). Income inequality is racially and spatially oriented in these two countries, with whites earning more than Blacks (Mtapuri & Tinawo, 2021). South Africa's Gini coefficient, a measure of inequality, is presently 0.63, according to the latest World Bank figures (Futshane, 2021).

South Africa's inequality is exceptionally high, due to both significant income differences in the workplace and a wide gap between working and unemployed people (Keeton, 2014:29). Furthermore, historically high inequality is maintained by both a

history of exclusion and the nature of economic growth, which is not pro-poor and does not create enough jobs (World Bank, 2022b). Wealth inequality is even worse, with low inter-generational mobility, suggesting that injustices are passed down from generation to generation with little change (World Bank, 2022b). Inequality in South Africa can contribute to low educational attainment for Black families, given that the best education is only available in private schools, which most Black people cannot afford. Furthermore, because of enormous inequities, Black people do not gain from the economy and do not participate in economic activity. As a result, Black families are more impoverished, leading to an endless cycle of poverty and reliance on government aid in the form of social subsidies.

Because the Gini coefficient and the Palma index are the most generally used metrics of inequality, Mtapuri and Tinarwo (2021) employ them in their analysis. To explore local-level inequalities, qualitative research employing participatory methods, wealth rankings and other methodologies are used, restricting comparability between communities because they are context specific. From 1960 through 2015, the United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research provided 22 recordings of the Gini coefficient (UNU-WIDER) (Mtapuri & Tinawo, 2012). The Palma index (n=12) data points were also acquired over the same time period, with records mostly available from 1993 to 2015 from the same source. The overall strong positive correlation of r=69 was statistically significant (Mtapuri & Tinarwo, 2021). As a result, it can be stated that the Gini coefficient increased at a rate of 0.35 each year from 1960 to 2015 (Mtapuri & Tinarwo, 2021). On the other hand, new data (2010-2015) shows that the Palma indexes are declining (Mtapuri & Tinarwo, 2021).

The richest 10% of the population in South Africa holds more than 85% of all household wealth, while more than half of the population has more liabilities than assets (Squazzin, 2021). The discrepancy is greater than it is in any other country with sufficient data. According to the South African parliamentary report (South Africa, 2013), since 1994, initial endowments have had a significant impact on inequality in South Africa as a result of apartheid-era laws designed at preventing Black South Africans from participating equally in the business and education system. As a result, white households with higher initial endowments will continue to benefit more on average from post-apartheid economic growth than non-white households (South Africa, 2013). A considerable amount of chronic poverty, a limited middle class and a

few wealthy individuals are all symptoms of significant economic polarisation (Sulla, 2020). Rural dwellers, on average, have fewer assets (StatsSA, 2019b). The average asset score for the poor, on the other hand, increased dramatically over time, whereas the non-score poor only increased somewhat (Stats SA, 2019b). Having fewer assets contributes to inter-generational poverty and many African families' social development is hampered by high levels of inequality. Inequality, on the other hand, can contribute to high levels of child labour in many households as a means of ensuring the family's survival. In terms of financial asset ownership, estimates of Black ownership on the JSE range from 3% to about 25%. (South Africa, 2013).

Inequality in post-apartheid South Africa shows the growing disparity between affluent and poor people in South Africa (South Africa, 2013). As a consequence, since the introduction of democracy, the dynamics of inequality in South Africa have shown a variety of trends (Netshitenzhe, 2013). The huge discrepancy between racial groupings that existed during apartheid has always been a major source of aggregate inequality (Bhorat & van der Westhuizen, 2012). Furthermore, Cheru (2001:517) states that racial and socio-economic disparities are frequently linked, with the rich minority being predominantly White and the poor majority being predominantly Black. While income inequality across races may have decreased, the same cannot be said for the income gap between various social strata within the population as a whole (Netshitenzhe, 2013). One of the reasons inequalities are bad, according to Keeton (2014:27), is that they allow politicians to avoid difficult economic questions by promoting seemingly simple solutions to what actually very complex problems are. This is especially true when inequalities are easily identifiable along racial lines, as they are in South Africa.

Leibrandt, Woolard, Finn and Argent (2010:04) conducted a study to look at how income distribution and poverty have changed in South Africa after, apartheid ended. As a result, the study examined national survey data from 1993, 2000 and 2008 in order to provide a complete assessment of trends in poverty and inequality after apartheid ended, as well as the likely sources of such changes. The data show that South Africa's high aggregate level of income inequality occurred between 1993 and 2008. Furthermore, the findings show that inequality exists within each of South Africa's four major racial groups. In general, income poverty has decreased marginally, but it remains severe for African and people of colour (Leibrandt et al., 2010:04). Living

on a low income can cause a variety of problems, including food insecurity. Poverty is also fuelled, and which has an impact on family support networks and relationships. As a result, families become reliant on at least one family member who can maintain the entire family and extended family on a single salary. However, most of them cannot provide for the family fully on a single salary alone. As a result, paying 'Black Tax' becomes unavoidable.

Another aspect of inequality and race is the magnitude of inequality within racial groups, as well as how much intra-race inequality influences total income inequality levels (South Africa, 2013). While inter-racial inequality has persisted, intra-Black inequality, particularly income inequality, has risen, resulting in a 'Black burden,' also known as a 'Black Tax,' in which the upcoming Black working class must confront the legacy of colonial-apartheid systems that continue to affect the experiences of most working-class 'Black' parents and families (Oyedemi, 2021:219). As such, the majority of individuals affected are Black young people, who incur financial commitments to extended family members, parents and siblings, a practice known as 'Black Tax.' As a result of colonial-apartheid Bantustans or 'the reserves,' the poor and marginalised bear a disproportionate share of the cost of inequality. According to the South African Parliament (2013), economic disparity was most prominent among Black people in 2006 and least pronounced among Indians.

The apartheid government left a legacy of disproportionate progress across the South African terrain, as evidenced by regional differences in access to education, health care and basic utilities like drinkable water, waste management, rubbish pickup and electricity (StatsSA, 2019b). As a result, many Black South Africans still lack basic necessities such as shelter, and they remain impoverished. Inequality in major metros remains stubbornly high (South Africa, 2013). According to Nanziri (2015:35), unemployment and employment rates are the root drivers of inequality in South Africa. Inequality, not policy nor political failure, is to blame for impoverishment, a lack of job growth and a lack of public delivery of services (Keeton, 2014:27). Because the number of jobs created over the preceding 20 years has struggled to keep up with the increase in the labour force, inequality is considerable (Keeton, 2014:29).

Throughout colonialism and apartheid, which began in the late 1940s, Black South Africans were constantly denied economic advantages. As a consequence, the

majority of South Africans continue to be exposed to a poor educational system that deems them unprepared for employment, while apartheid-era slums prevent them from finding employment (Squazzin, 2021). Education and skilling, according to Netshitenzhe (2013), are two of the most effective ways to combat inequality. According to Keeton (2014:31), the unemployed will only be able to obtain semi-skilled and skilled positions if they improve their education. Fixing South Africa's education system, according to Keeton (2014:31), therefore, is important to reduce unemployment and inequality in the country. In South Africa, the workplace is the primary source of inequality (Keeton, 2014:29). However, while job creation is critical for poverty reduction, it will have minimal impact on overall inequality (Keeton, 2014:31). Since 1994 the African National Congress (ANC) led government has been unable to address most of the problems of inequality in the country. As a result, poverty, inequality and unemployment still persist in the country. More details of the government's inability to address these triple challenges are discussed below.

A study conducted by Niyimbanira (2017:255) used data from the South African province of Mpumalanga to evaluate the influence of economic growth on income disparity and poverty. With secondary data from all eighteen local municipalities in Mpumalanga, the study used fixed effect and pool regression models. The findings show that while economic expansion decreases poverty, it does not diminish income inequality. In addition, the study's findings have implications for policymakers in developing methods to reduce economic disparity in South Africa (Niyimbanira, 2017:255). In contrast, despite the introduction of social handouts, which at present reach 16 million impoverished South Africans, income inequality has not improved in South Africa (Keeton, 2014:29). The social transfers system helps children from low-income families, the elderly and the disabled. Moreover, provision has recently been provided for the unemployed in the form of social relief funds. As a result, unemployed adults become increasingly reliant on these transfers and financial assistance from working relatives, putting a significant care load on working people and intensifying poverty in society. Dependence on social assistance, on the other hand, reduces the incentive to engage in income-generating activities or seek employment. As a result of their reliance on social grants for income, many Black households are more likely to be subsistence oriented. As a consequence, individuals frequently rely on a working

family member to provide financial support and assist them in meeting their monthly basic necessities, hence, directly paying ‘Black Tax’.

South Africa has recently experienced rising inflation which is wreaking havoc on disadvantaged households. Families of colour are disproportionately affected. Therefore, Finn et al. (2014) performed a study to tell the story of the evolution of both monetary and non-monetary poverty and inequality in post-apartheid South Africa, as well as to examine the impact of pricing on this tale. The Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development PSLSD 1993, income, and spending survey were employed in their study, which used the quantitative analysis method. The study's findings suggest that inflation was anti-poor in the second half of the 2000s and that accounting for price differences dampens estimated improvements in poverty and inequality (Finn et al., 2014).

People from historically underprivileged origins bear a disproportionate share of the 'Black Tax' burden, which fuels inequality. Black South Africans and White South Africans have long-standing economic differences as a result of historical injustices and the legacy of apartheid. Systemic obstacles still prevent Black people and their families from achieving their full potential and limiting their socioeconomic mobility. The ‘Black Tax’ exacerbates these discrepancies by depriving Black people of the funds they need to save for the future, invest, and accumulate wealth. Socioeconomic gaps are further entrenched by the obligation on individuals to assist extended family members financially, which can make it more difficult for them to pursue higher education, professional progression, or entrepreneurial endeavours. Thus, more studies in the available literature focused on income disparity. The goal of this research is to add to the body of information about how inequality affects Black people, as well as to explore the concept of the 'Black Tax' as one of the triple challenges' consequences (poverty, inequality and unemployment).

2.3.3. Current Trend of Unemployment and Implications on the Black Family

In South Africa, unemployment is a national crisis. Unemployment is commonly defined as a situation in which economically engaged persons are unable to find work (Mago, 2018:1). Cloete (2015:515) claims that unemployment in South Africa is unmistakably structural or systematic. When people are unable to work owing to a lack of skills, a lack of jobs, bad urban spatial arrangements, job access hurdles, or the

economy's structure, structural unemployment occurs (Mago, 2018:5). Many Black South Africans face impediments to employment and opportunity as a result of the colonial South Africa's Bantustan policy. As a result, unemployment among rural Black South Africans is severe.

For many years, unemployment in South Africa has been connected to apartheid, which is controversial. Both policymakers and labour market actors are concerned about the increasing unemployment rates (Adetiba & Qwabe, 2020:166) and it has become one of the most serious social issues (Baia & Viverros, 2017:07). According to Maskaeva and Msafiri (2021:01), South Africa's high unemployment rate dates back to the 1970s, when unemployment spiked and continued to rise into the 1980s and 1990s. The rise continued after the 1994 democratic elections, contributing to the legacy of the former apartheid state as well as the 2008 financial crisis (Maskaeva & Msafiri, 2021:01). As a result, apartheid is not the only cause of high unemployment in South Africa. The economic and financial crises of 1997-1998, 2008/09 and 2018/19 are also factors in South Africa's rising unemployment rates (Maskaeva & Msafiri, 2021:03).

The unemployment rate is calculated by dividing the number of employed people by the entire labour force, which includes the jobless (Adetiba & Qwabe, 2020:164). The strict definition of unemployment only includes people who are actively looking for work, whereas the broader meaning includes those who want to work but have given up looking (South Africa, 2013). Consequently, South Africa's unemployment rate grew to 35.3% in the fourth quarter of 2021, up from 34.9% the previous quarter (Trading Economics, 2022). Nonetheless, the rate of unemployment, which includes people who have given up looking for work, rose to 44.4% in the second quarter of 2021. (Naidoo, 2021). South Africa's unemployment rate has risen to the highest on Bloomberg's global list of countries with unemployment rates of 82% (Naidoo, 2021). Thus, the number of unemployed rose by 278 thousand to 7.9 million, employment rose by 262 thousand to 14.5 million and the labour force grew by 540 thousand to 22.5 million (Trading Economics, 2022). The numbers above show that until the economy improves, unemployment will continue to rise. Unemployment has a detrimental influence on Black households' consumption, savings and investments. As a consequence, many families are unable to save or invest for their children's future. Households whose members are unemployed are more likely to be poor, as they rely

on government assistance and modest economic efforts to make ends meet (Mseleku, 2022). Furthermore, the children may begin to engage in transactional sex or remain with several partners who can offer them with financial stability so that they can support their family.

One of the causes for the continuous growth in unemployment may be due to a significant number of new entrants into the labour market in the face of slower absorption (Adetiba & Qwabe, 2020:167), as well as the population growth, increased productivity rates and technological developments (Baia & Viverros, 2017:08). Unemployed people have little financial flexibility, making them reliant on family members. This 'Black Tax,' as it is commonly referred to, mostly affects the working class who must sustain their family and extended family members and who may be unemployed, on a single salary or income. The majority of those affected are young working-class Black South Africans. Unemployment is life-threatening because it frequently causes structural disorganisation in the family system, impacting the entire family (Adetiba & Qwabe, 2020:168). Unemployed people are frequently not treated the same way as employed people at home, which can lead to tensions among family members.

High unemployment, particularly among the youth, has long been a source of concern in many countries (Kang, 2021:126). According to Maskaeva and Msafiri (2021:01), South Africa has one of the world's highest rates of youth unemployment. Unemployment and poverty affect young people the hardest (Senou, Gibnlo & Houensou, 2022:94). Furthermore, according to a recent study conducted by Stats SA, the bulk of the unemployed are young people (Nanziri, 2015:35). Unemployment among young people makes up a significant portion of the national workforce (Senou et al., 2022:95). According to International Labour Organisation (2020), young people aged 15 to 24 are three times as likely to be unemployed than those aged 25 and up. In general, the youth unemployment rate moves in step with the overall unemployment rate (Kang, 2021:127). Nevertheless, the youth unemployment rate is roughly twice as high as the total unemployment rate and the two are strongly linked. Since the start of the 2008 financial crisis, youth unemployment has risen (South Africa, 2013). According to the definition of unemployment, 74.7% of South African youth aged 15 to 24 are unemployed, reaching an all-time high in the first quarter of 2021 (*Financial Mail*, 2021). As a result, the youth unemployment rate, which measures job searchers

aged 15 to 24, stayed constant at a record 66.5% in the fourth quarter of 2021 (Trading Economics, 2022).

According to *Financial Mail* (2021), around 34.4% of young people are unemployed, underemployed, or untrained. Concisely, factors such as work experience, gender, educational attainment, household financial position, internship wage bill and state development influence the length of young people's transition (Senou et al., 2022:97). According to Kelly and McGuinness (2015, cited in Senou et al., 2022:97), education has become a critical factor in overcoming unemployment. As a result, the fraction of youth with a tertiary degree is most strongly connected with youth employment rates (Kang, 2021:116). Furthermore, home characteristics such as the education of the father and the well-being of the family are the most important drivers of youth unemployment duration (Senou et al., 2022:102). The International Labour Organisation (2020) goes on to note that young people are particularly vulnerable during economic downturns. Kang (2021:123) contends that young people are particularly vulnerable to unemployment due to a lack of skills and experience, dualistic labour markets with entry barriers and other unfavourable work practices. As a result, these obstacles work against them when applying for entry-level positions. A study conducted by Mseleku (2022) explores youth graduate unemployment and employability as a development issue in South Africa. To extract the opinions of young graduates on unemployment and employability, the study used a qualitative research method. Unemployed youth who had just graduated from five South African universities were interviewed in 30 semi-structured face-to-face interviews. The data showed that as young people graduate, the unemployment rate in South Africa rises and graduates lose hope in obtaining work (Mseleku, 2022). The data also revealed that the participants blamed their unemployment on a variety of causes, including low labour market demand, skill mismatch and a lack of work experience (Mseleku, 2022)

Unemployment is not just linked to a loss of money, but it can also have long-term implications for future earnings and job chances (Senou et al., 2022:94). Longer periods of unemployment are more concerning because of the long-term consequences they have on young people's lives (ILO, 2020). Young people who have been out of work for a long time have a lower chance of finding work (Senou et al., 2022:94). For example, entry-level jobs all specify that applicants must be between the ages of 18 and 35, implying that if one is above 35, the prospects of obtaining work

are quite slim unless one has the necessary experience, which many people lack these days. As a result, it can be concluded that youth unemployment stops them from getting work experience, which has repercussions for their future employability, productivity and earning potential (International Labour Organisation, 2020). Furthermore, when it comes to hiring new employees, businesses value work experience (Kang, 2021:110). This has a negative impact on recent graduates who are expected to care for their destitute family. Furthermore, due to the lack of jobs, the graduates' families will find it difficult to break the cycle of poverty. As a matter of fact, unemployed individuals who are the primary breadwinners in the family have even greater challenges as they must come up with funds to meet not only their own, but also the demands of their family members. In most circumstances, a person's failure to provide for their family can be interpreted as ungrateful or unwilling to work.

Senou et al. (2022:93) did a study with a focus on gender to analyse the driving variables of youth unemployment duration and assess its effects on youth unemployment. The data utilised come from the school to Work Transition Survey (SWTS), which included 4303 young people aged 15 to 29. Despite being cross-sectional, the data incorporates information about the person's academic and professional history, as well as other information. Due to the discrete nature of data, discrete risk models are estimated and the likelihood that an individual will transition from unemployment to employment within a certain period is defined by the length of their unemployment. Therefore, the studies revealed that there is a gender gap in unemployment length. Young women are more affected by unemployment and have a harder time obtaining jobs than young men, according to the findings of the study. The findings also show that a mix of personal and socio-economic characteristics, as well as professional preferences and attitudes in terms of career aspiration, internship completion and reservation salary, have the most impact on how long young people are unemployed (Senou et al., 2022:93).

Youth unemployment tends to rise quicker than the overall unemployment rate during recessions (Kang, 2021:111). Young people are more often than not working on a temporary basis. For instance, the Department of Basic Education has started hiring young people as teacher assistants at their local elementary and secondary schools since 2021. However, in a society where a young person is expected to pay 'Black tax,' the wages these young people receive from their contract jobs is insufficient to

sustain their families as well as their own personal requirements. Kang's study (2021:122) explores the high youth unemployment rate in industrialised countries following the 2008 financial crisis, as well as different factors that affect the youth labour market. For the years 2000-2017, the study conducted empirical tests on youth employment and unemployment in OECD nations and EU Member States. As a result, the study's findings demonstrate that high rates of teenage unemployment in many industrialised nations can be related to structural and institutional problems in youth labour markets, as well as the current economic crisis. In difficult economic times, countries with less labour market dualism and more work–study programmes had higher levels of youth employment and lower unemployment. As a result, this study implies that a high youth unemployment rate is not solely due to the economic downturn and that there is space for improvement by developing a more effective youth labour policy.

Unemployment is, without a doubt, a terrible experience for the majority of unemployed people due to its detrimental effects on psychological well-being (Adetiba & Qwabe, 2020:168). According to studies, unemployment has been linked to abhorrent social behaviour and pervasive insecurity among young people, including drug addiction, criminality and ideological extremism, according to studies (Senou et al., 2022:94). Moreover, Adetiba & Qwabe (2020:168) argue that the onslaught of unemployment typically leads to excessively high crime rates because people lack the resources to meet their basic necessities. Baia and Viverros (2017:07) undertook a study to represent the reality of youth unemployment among university graduates in the Guar Municipality, Portugal, as well as to determine the likely reasons and implications. As a result of employing a case study and a questionnaire as an observation instrument for data collected among youngsters under the age of 40 in the Guar Municipality, the findings revealed that finding a job in a depressed area is difficult (Baia & Viverros, 2017:07).

It is the view of this research that South African youth are yearning to escape the icy prison of unemployment. The tides have appeared to be strong and violent, leading South African adolescents to believe that they can always avoid unemployment by joining a political party. This is especially evident in the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) party, which is mostly made up of young people from all over the country, the majority of whom are unemployed and some of whom are still in university education

(Adetiba & Qwabe, 2020:175). The study by Adetiba and Qwabe (2020:164) analyses how political and non-political participants in South Africa perceive belonging to a political organisation in connection to youth unemployment. In EsiKhawini, a small township in South Africa's KwaZulu-Natal region, researchers conducted both quantitative and qualitative research and the findings imply that young people are aware of the government's continued inability to address the problem of unemployment and, as a result, are looking for ways to get involved in politics. They were also able to discover the reality of the participants' beliefs and unemployment experiences, as well as their relationship to political activity. According to the study, the majority of people believe that political participation is vital to improve the world. The results also suggest that when it comes to enhancing their career chances, most participants have a high level of faith in political parties (Adetiba & Qwabe, 2020:174).

Unemployment contributes significantly to pervasive poverty and inequality among Black households (Makaringe & Khobai, 2018). Furthermore, unemployment leads to economic issues such as income disparity, a lack of income and, as a result, severe poverty among youth (Mago, 2018:12). In addition, excessive youth unemployment causes a slew of social issues in South African townships, including crime, violence, socio-political upheaval, gangsterism, and substance misuse (Mago, 2018:7). As their parents age, the young unemployed become a burden on their families, causing family instability and straining family bonds. When youth work, they are saddled with family responsibilities and expectations and if they are unable to provide for their families, they are treated as outcasts. Unemployment can have a detrimental effect on one’s social status, leading to social stigma, labelling, negative judgments and marginalisation. For fear of being labelled and stigmatised, young people are driven to pay the 'Black Tax' regardless of their employment or unemployed status.

The phenomena of ‘Black Tax’ and the current trends in unemployment in South Africa, especially among Black communities, are intertwined as they restrict options for individuals to attain financial stability and independence. Thus, Black people and their families face greater financial strain as a result of unemployment. In addition to impairing a person's capacity for self-sufficiency, unemployment adds to the financial strain already placed on working individuals who are expected to support their extended families. Furthermore, as people strive to escape cycles of financial reliance and restricted economic mobility, a lack of job prospects and economic insecurity

contribute to inter-generational poverty within Black communities. This cycle of poverty and unemployment reinforces one another, making it more difficult for the family members who are employed to provide financial support.

In the literature available, both general employment and youth unemployment have been discussed thoroughly. Therefore, this research study seeks to add to the body of knowledge by examining the mediating effect of 'Black Tax' on Black youth within the historical and socio-economic contexts of Black South African families. The research study seeks to find out the expectations of family members and the treatment of young employed and unemployed graduates by their family members and which may cause them social and psychological pressures.

2.4. POST-APARTHEID GOVERNMENT'S INABILITY TO ADDRESS THE TRIPLE CHALLENGES.

In South Africa, undoing the effects of nearly 350 years of colonialism and apartheid is a long, arduous, and difficult task (Oyedemi, 2021:215). Apartheid's legacy provides a slew of basic impediments in any endeavor to forge new paths to growth in the post-apartheid era, notably when it comes to poverty, inequality, and unemployment (Chibba & Luiz, 2011: 308). As a result, as the aftermaths of the dual crises shows South Africa has failed to adequately manage the dangers and repercussions of major external shocks to the poverty, inequality, and unemployment nexus (Chibba & Luiz, 2011:308). Consequently, poverty, inequality and unemployment have all worsened since the crisis began.

The social infrastructure established over more than three centuries of white dominance has maintained South Africa's position as the world's most unequal country (Squazzin, 2021). Any solution to the problems of poverty, inequality and unemployment requires strong politico-economic, political and administrative management (Chibba & Luiz, 2011:308). As a result, the present government's efforts to eradicate apartheid and colonialism's legacies have been unable to narrow the wealth divide, with 3500 adults owning more than the poorest 32 million people in a country of 60 million people (Squazzin, 2021). Successive South African governments have authorised a number of significant socio-economic policy frameworks, with the primary goal of reducing the economic disparities left over from colonial apartheid control (Squazzin, 2021). Wealth inequality, on the other hand, has been very stable

(Squazzin, 2021). As a consequence, dealing with inequality is a political leadership obligation through public policy, but it is a work that demands participation from all sections of society (Netshitenzhe, 2013). However, according to Chibba and Luiz (2011:308), South Africa's shortcomings in dealing with poverty, inequality and unemployment have not led to the development of improved policies and methods to aid in implementation.

Many black people have entered the middle class and are able to find work, buy homes and own land, yet this is a small percentage of 'the Black diamond.' The term 'Black diamond' refers to the new Black affluent middle class that has benefitted from the chances that a 'free' post-apartheid South Africa provides (Oyedemi, 2021:219). While the Black middle class is growing in wealth and political power, the masses remain impoverished, unemployed and victims of South Africa's high social inequality rates. According to Oyedemi (2021:219), middle-class 'Black diamonds' take on financial commitments to extended family members (parents and siblings) in what is known as the 'Black Tax,' in which middle-class Black individuals spend a portion of their income on aiding extended family members financially. Therefore, despite the post-apartheid government's efforts in redressing apartheid's legacies, the current generation remains victims of the difficult decolonisation processes, despite being 'Born Free' (Oyedemi, 2021:222).

More individuals being absorbed into economic activity, quality education, effective public services, progressive taxes and appropriate special settlement patterns are all needed to address inequality (Netshitenzhe, 2013). South Africa continues to suffer from significant structural disparities and structural unemployment, both of which have a direct impact on poverty (Chibba & Luiz, 2011:308). The problems connected with integrating young people into the labour market in developing nations (such as SA) are the result of a poor economic fabric and an inability to provide options for this segment of the population in their hunt for a steady work (Senou et al., 2022:94). The African National Congress (ANC) administration has made combating poverty and inequality a primary focus in its reform strategy since the country's first democratic elections in 1994 (Cheru, 2001:506; Finn et al., 2014). In his state of the nation address in 2011, President Zuma declared 2011 to be the year of job creation, revealing the commitment of the government to allocate R9 billion for creating employment (Finn et al., 2014). Similarly, in his State of the Nation Address (SONA) in 2022, President

Ramaphosa urged businesses to take advantage of incentives to hire young people. He also stated that the government will increase support for low-income families (SABC News, 2022). Therefore, lowering unemployment and improving the functioning of the labour market is South Africa's most pressing economic and social concern, as the South African government has stated (Finn et al., 2014). High unemployment has wreaked havoc on many families and their support systems. Thus, lowering the unemployment rate will benefit many Black families who are living in extreme poverty.

According to Netshitenzhe (2013), in order to discover holistic methods of addressing disparities, it is crucial to look beyond economic inequality and examine factors such as assets, access to services, opportunities and social capital. As a result, since the establishment of democracy in 1994, governments have attempted, with varied degrees of success, to reduce these discrepancies (StatsSA, 2019b). The South African government vowed to halve poverty by 2014 (Chibba & Luiz, 2011:309). However, this goal was not met. Instead, around 55.5% of the population (30.3 million people) live in poverty at the national upper poverty threshold (ZAR 992), with 13.8 million people (25%) experiencing food insecurity (Sulla, 2020). The National Development Plan (NDP) highlights lessening inequality as one of its key aims to tackle South Africa's significantly larger inequality concerns, with one of the NDP's targets being to lower income disparity (measured by the Gini coefficient) from 0.70 to 0.60 by 2030. (StatsSA, 2019b).

Despite the fact that nearly half of the population is poor (living below the poverty line), South Africa's poverty gap is only 3% of GDP, showing that the goal can be accomplished (Tregenna, 2011 cited in Chibba & Luiz, 2011: 309). South Africa, on the other hand, does not currently have the capacity to sustain this pace of growth (Chibba & Luiz, 2011:309). In consequence, South Africa is plainly not benefitting from its sustained and complete reliance on conventional economics and failing paradigms of the past. Furthermore, the politico-economic path adopted to promote Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policies and the introduction of social handouts, both of which are at the foundation of South Africa's inclusive development policy, has been controversial since 1994 (Chibba & Luiz, 2011:309).

In contrast, social grants in South Africa do not address the underlying causes of poverty and, therefore, are not fully incorporated into a comprehensive anti-poverty strategy; rather, they are seen as a 'Band-Aid solution' (Chibba & Luiz, 2011:309). While the social grants scheme has helped to alleviate poverty in some cases, there are worries about its long-term viability and the risk of establishing a dependency culture. Associated programmes, such as jobless relief payments and government bursary systems, are proving to be problematic as well. This is especially evident in the case of the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), which delays payments to students. As a consequence, students will demonstrate and cancel courses because they have been instilled with a sense of entitlement to government funds. As a result, relying on social grants does not and will not help to alleviate poverty or inequality, but it will develop an entitlement mentality. To take it a step further, once children begin working, family members, particularly parents and siblings, often feel entitled to their children's earnings, giving rise to the concept of 'Black Tax.' Poverty reduction is a multifaceted effort and a 'one-size-fits-all' approach will not work and will eventually fail (Chibba & Luiz, 2011:310). Therefore, according to Netshitenzhe (2013), advocating against poverty does not imply that poverty is shared equally. In conclusion, based on existing statistics, the government has failed miserably in combating poverty, inequality and unemployment.

2.5. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to demonstrate the pre-colonial African way of life and how the colonial-apartheid system affected and dramatically transformed the lives of Black people through a literature review. Africa has been inhabited for more than three million years, giving it a rich and varied history (Falola & Fleming, 2011:2). Even though people have lived in Africa for a long time, the use of iron tools, farming, or peasant life (agrarian life) and animal husbandry (cattle raising) marked a turning point in African civilisation. However, one of the most severe repercussions on African people's way of life and culture has been the loss of land. The Natives Land Act of 1913, on the other hand, was the most well-known of the segregation laws, as well as the most effective in impoverishing Africans (Oyedemi, 2015:192). The Natives Land Act of 1913, as well as the taxes levied on Africans, were colonisers' techniques for

depriving Africans of their land and progressively forcing them into migrant labour, where they were exploited and employed as cheap labour.

In this chapter, it was also shown, through a literature review, how the post-apartheid triple challenges are still persistent, as well as their effects on Black people. In South Africa, there is widespread agreement that poverty and inequality, particularly economic disparity and poverty, are chronic (Niyimbanira, 2017:255). Apartheid-era poverty traps continue to be a major factor in the continuation and worsening of poverty in South Africa (Terreblanche, 2002). South Africa's unemployment problem has frequently been attributed to the country's apartheid years. Worse, unemployment among Africans as a whole continues to be a major issue (Clark & Worger, 2011). The majority of unemployed persons are Africans and more Africans than anybody else live in poverty as a result of unemployment (Terreblanche, 2002). As a result, South Africa continues to experience severe structural disparities and structural unemployment, both of which have a direct impact on poverty (Chibba & Luiz, 2011:308).

This research study, therefore, analyses how the issue of ‘Black Tax’ is framed in media discourse with a focus on examining the implication of this framing on the understanding of African Communalism. Additionally, it aims to interrogate the concept of ‘Black Tax’ and its implications on the understanding of African Communalism as well as to examine the mediating effect of ‘Black Tax’ on Black youth within the historical and socio-economic contexts of Black South African families. This would make the reader understand the African way of life as well as the African family support systems and how they were lost. It will help the reader understand the history of colonial-apartheid as well and the capitalist framing of African Communalism and the African family support system in relation to ‘Black Tax.’ In the next chapter, the research study will unpack the discourses of ‘Black Tax’ in-depth, in relation to the African Communalism and the impacts it has on the Black South African youth.

CHAPTER 3:
THE DISCOURSES OF ‘BLACK TAX’ AND THE CAPITALIST APPROACHES TO AFRICAN CULTURES
(A LITERATURE REVIEW)

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter concentrates on the discourses of 'Black Tax'. The literature covers African Communalism in relation to ‘Black Tax,’ how ‘Black Tax’ affects the South African youth and their families. It also discusses the media discourses of ‘Black Tax’ in more depth. Under the media discourses, the media coverage of ‘Black Tax’ and how the media frame other African socio-cultural practices are focused on. In addition, the capitalist and modernist approaches to the African traditional value system, which explores capitalist interpretations of the African cultural system are also discussed. Traditional African communities are characterised by a strong sense of communalism. That is to say, if the tribe prospers, it benefits all of the tribe's members. Therefore, in traditional Africa, the community comes first, followed by the individual (Bisong, 2018:2). This also implies that if people are fortunate enough to be employed and earn money, they should be able to assist their family and extended family. Supporting immediate and extended family members financially or in kind is colloquially termed 'Black Tax' in South Africa. 'Black Tax' is the financial assistance that the Black middle class offer to their extended family members (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:76) as a result of the apartheid legacies and the post-apartheid’s persistent inequality, poverty and high unemployment rates. The capitalist and modernist approaches, on the other hand, perceive the 'Black Tax' as a financial burden that young people must bear.

3.2. BLACK TAX AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH

For many Black South Africans, the financial strain of supporting immediate and extended family is a painful reality. However, for others it is considered as a family responsibility or rather, a cultural practice. The term 'Black Tax' refers to the financial burden carried by Black South Africans who must pay or send money and other commodities to support their immediate and indirect family (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021:2). It is not restricted to caring for aging parents, according to Fongwa (2019:2), but also encompasses siblings and extended relatives. 'Black Tax' refers to the

expectation of employed Black South Africans to assist their extended family (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:76). In addition, the term ‘Black Tax’ also refers to a societal obligation that becomes a norm in society. This cultural expectation presents itself in a multitude of ways, not just in terms of monetary value (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:77). According to Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley (2019:443), the phrase 'Black Tax' is most typically used in a different way in South Africa than it is in the United States. In the United States, the term 'Black Tax' refers to the historical burden placed on African Americans, who have to work extra hard to prove their worth due to anti-Black discrimination (Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019:443). However, in South Africa, the term ‘Black Tax’ is frequently used in casual conversations, on social media, in newspapers and in the online press. Ratlebjane (2015, referenced in Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019:443) defines 'Black Tax' as the additional funds that Black professionals spend each month to help their family and friends. According to Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley (2019:444), the term ‘tax’ connotes a negative pressure and expectation. As a result, the word 'Black' implies that it is associated with being a Black South African. The term ‘tax,’ on the other hand, evokes a negative image of an honourable and respectable relationship between dependents and contributors, or employed graduates and their families (Fongwa, 2019:8).

The term 'Black Tax,' according to Mhlongo (2019:246), does not provide a true foundation on which to construct family obligations. Financial assistance offered by South Africa's burgeoning Black middle class is not altogether unique. The responsibility to provide for one’s family members and friends has been proven to be a necessary precursor in defining people's behaviour in collectivist societies like South Africa (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:76). 'Black Tax' describes the financial burden of providing for extended family as a result of challenges faced by Black people in a community (Vakira et al., 2021:3). It can also be characterised as a monetary duty paid by the working class to care for relatives who are unable to care for themselves. That being the case, Black professionals are expected to care for their younger brother and sister, as well as their disadvantaged sister's children, who have been abandoned by their father (Mhlongo, 2019:85). According to Vakira et al. (2021:1), in Zimbabwean society, it is traditional for individuals who are secured financially to support their economically disadvantaged relatives. In this community, adult children are encouraged to look after their parents and younger siblings. As a result, many

Zimbabweans and immigrants from many countries travel to other countries, particularly South Africa, in order to find work and send money home to assist their remaining families and extended family members. Therefore, individuals act in ways that ensure they meet society and family's expectations (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:76). Working-class Black people, on the whole, support their extended relatives (Vakira et al., 2021:1). As a consequence, extended family support becomes a critical component of coping and a vital source of social capital. People who are unemployed are obliged to seek assistance from friends and family.

Private transfers between family members are vital in providing economic and social security in the face of misfortune (Whitelaw & Branson, 2020). Some people are obligated to repay a financial favour when they are able to do so later in life, resulting in the payment of 'Black Tax' (Vakira et al., 2021:1). Whitelaw and Branson (2020) used data from the National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS) Wave Five, which was conducted in 2008 on a sample of about 28 000 people living in about 7300 homes across South Africa. Participants in the baseline survey were then called every two years and asked questions about their current living situation. As a result, 37 368 people were successfully interviewed as part of the Wave Five sample. Only 20.5% of the population sends remittances to their relatives, according to the findings. Graduate remitters are also more likely to send remittances to their children (36%) and to their parents (40%) than others (28%) according to the statistics (Whitelaw & Branson, 2020). This, on the other hand, is consistent with the assumption that parents fund their children's education through a loan that is repaid afterwards. However, according to Mhlongo (2019), sending money home becomes unavoidable in the face of hunger and hardship.

All of the contributors seem to agree that the 'Black Tax' is a daily reality for almost every Black South African, from sons and daughters who build the houses for their parents, to brothers and sisters who put siblings through school and students who divert bursary money to put food on the table at home (Mhlongo, 2019:9). South African youths are succumbing to the financial strains of being breadwinners to the point where their ambitions are being stifled. According to Matlala and Shambare (2017:76), many ambitions, plans and hopes are postponed or abandoned in order to maintain the extended family with the little resources available. 'Black Tax' in South Africa, according to Fongwa (2019:2), affects early mid-life or recent young, employed

graduates who provide for their family and extended family. As graduates enter a new phase of their lives, pressures such as expectations become more prevalent (Fredelito et al., 2020:547). Moreover, as new graduates complete their studies, their families and relatives typically expect the best of them, seeing them as accomplished individuals (Fredelito et al., 2020:547). These graduates are reported to be a source of pride for their families, as well as a source of hope for a better future. As a consequence, the new graduate is burdened by a degree of financial responsibility to their family and they are perceived as a family's change agent (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:77).

While young White South Africans may acquire support from their family as they enter the workforce, young Black South Africans pay an additional tax in the form of family support from their earnings (Whitelaw & Branson, 2020). Furthermore, a Black individual may earn the same pay as their white counterparts, but they may have additional financial responsibility to their family, which typically remained impoverished as a result of the apartheid system's disparities (Mhlongo, 2019:8). The foregoing viewpoint contrasts with some who argue that 'Black Tax' is an indisputable element of Black culture and the African way of life, as defined by the Ubuntu ideology. According to Fongwa (2019:2), graduate employment benefits the public by being shared with extended family through the 'Black Tax.' The 'sandwich generation,' which consists of middle-aged individuals who are raising dependent children while also providing for their elderly parents, is a worldwide phenomenon that has resonance in the United States (Fongwa, 2019:2). Taking care of family members, according to Mhlongo (2019:8), is a way of keeping the spirit of the ancestors alive and ensuring continuity between the past and present. It maintains the Black family's unity. Matlala and Shambare (2017:79) define and conceptualise the 'Black Tax,' as a prevalent and under-reported phenomena that influences entrepreneurial inclinations among South African teenagers. Their research claims that because people in strongly collectivist countries like South Africa regard themselves more as social actors than individuals, they prioritise communal ideals over personal goals (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:79).

Apartheid is defined as a socially designed system that resulted in Black people's poverty and land loss (Mhlongo, 2019:8). As a consequence, many Black families lack assets or financial resources to provide for their children and they remain impoverished. Because there are insufficient money resources circulating in Black

communities, those who are able to earn a living should extend their hands and assist their relatives who are unable to support themselves. According to Makotoko (2019), writing in the *City Press* newspaper, 'Black Tax' exists because of South Africa's economically unequal landscape. Furthermore, according to Mhlongo (2019:85), 'Black Tax' seems to have its origins in the early 2000s, when the Black middle class was among the hardest hit by the crisis. The 'Black Tax,' according to study, is one of the most significant reasons of financial trouble among South Africa's middle-class citizens (Mhlongo, 2019:242). As a consequence, it is regarded as a burden for young people or the Black working middle class, rather than a source of family fulfilment or responsibility. Thus, what was once referred to as ‘family fulfilment’ has been renamed ‘Black Tax.’ Suddenly, family fulfilment is seen as a harmful cultural practice, a hindrance to Black people's advancement, a source of stress and pain, a drain on limited resources, an imposition by family elders and so on (Mhlongo, 2019:86).

The firstborn child is usually the one who endures the most of the 'Black Tax' burden (Chauke, 2019:200). Moreover, one of the most desired changes in their lives as graduates is having their own wage. In exchange for their efforts in order for the graduates to achieve great things, the elders expect them to cover a percentage of the family's expenses and duties (Fredelito et al., 2020:548). Young professionals may be compelled to send remittances home to assist in paying for their parents' living expenses, younger siblings' school tuition, and monetary commitments to family celebrations, family emergencies and home extensions in order to offer a better home for the entire family (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:77). As a result, young graduates may feel under much pressure to contribute primarily to their families, in order to help them get out of bad economic situations. Most people, on the other hand, feel compelled to financially support their family in return for their efforts (Fredelito et al., 2020:548). Some alumni, on the other hand, see the 'Black Tax' as a crippling practice that prevents young Black professionals from attaining their personal and career goals since family members profit from their good deeds (Fongwa, 2019:10). This is because most newly employed people's families have high expectations for them. Furthermore, Fredelito et al. (2020:548) assert that, with hopes and goals for a bright future for their children and the family, parents will most likely persuade graduates to pursue a secure and well-paying career in order to construct a stable future. While many middle-aged South Africans may not be able to avoid paying the 'Black Tax,' they can learn to

handle their income in a way that supports their families while also meeting their own personal needs and goals (Fongwa, 2019:8). Realistically, there will be times when some of the expectations of family members do not align with one's financial situation (Masango & Kumalo, 2021). Hence, Mhlongo (2019:91) advises being honest with ones close family (parents and siblings) about one is earning potential and taking on only as much responsibility as one can bear. Moreover, one should not feel obligated to assist ones family members; rather, the offer should be freely given. Therefore, according to Mhlongo (2019:89), some individuals believe it is their responsibility to have children so that their children may look after them when they become old. In many African societies these beliefs are widespread. According to Mhlongo (2019:89), such ideas, however, foster exploitation because the child's existence is not recognised as valuable.

When it comes to job chances, most recent graduates are at a disadvantage (Fredelito et al., 2020:542). Work also gives financial security and aids people in carrying out their responsibilities as family and community members (Fredelito et al., 2020:543). 'Black Tax,' on the other hand, comes with an emotional cost. In its application to immediate family members, 'Black Tax' firmly combines script components of obligation, repayment, assistance, extortion, pooling and allowances (Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019:453). The sense of obligation leads to payback behaviour for the sacrifices made by the beneficiaries. Furthermore, family members may feel entitled to assistance because they believe the sender is required to do so. The notion of 'Black Tax,' according to Matlala and Shambare (2017:77), is simply the notion of a family or community (social and cultural obligation), feeling entitled to be repaid in full for all the years spent on an individual via monetary and/or non-monetary methods. As a result, the potential recipient perceives the sender as owing them a duty to assist or uplift them. Obligation might stem from a feeling of entitlement or extortion, but it can also stem from appreciation and a willingness to help those who have helped one (Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019:453). Extortion, duty and entitlement scripts can elicit feelings of rage and guilt on an emotional level. In addition, they might cause intrapersonal and interpersonal conflicts among family members. 'Black Tax' is also the source of sibling rivalry. Remarks that aim to alienate the sender for not prioritising family first can be used to reinforce extortion, either subtly or blatantly (Mangoma &

Wilson-Prangley, 2019:453). As a result, people may feel, or dread being perceived as ungrateful or unkind.

The strategy of family upliftment should not include guilt tripping (Mhlongo, 2019:90). Guilt is sometimes the driving force for paying a somewhat higher contribution to a family than others. Furthermore, the 'Black Tax' has placed an unjust and unneeded financial burden on individuals who provide or labour (Masango & Kumalo, 2021). In a study conducted by Fongwa (2019:1) the 'Black Tax' phenomenon is used to study the binary within the South African setting, using the African ideology of Ubuntu as a conceptual lens. The study concentrates on qualitative data gathered from news snippets and personal accounts of Black Africans. The study uses online newspaper snippets and opinion articles based on qualitative empirical evidence to determine how persons who pay the 'Black Tax' perceive it. As a result, the data reveal that Black professionals do not regard their degree's benefits as a personal accomplishment (Fongwa, 2019:6). Secondly, while Black professionals recognise and articulate the challenges of the 'Black Tax,' the majority of people believe it is their social and moral obligation to contribute to society's larger good. Finally, the findings show that the majority of respondents see the 'Black Tax' as a negotiated procedure due to the legacy in which society and the Black community find themselves.

The study conducted by Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley (2019:443), on the other hand, looks at how the emerging Black middle class transfers money to their immediate and indirect family. The study focuses on gaining a better understanding of the lived experiences of people who make financial transfers. The study used an inductive technique, combining the deductive analysis of six semi-structured interviews with the use of questionnaires (n=118) with quantitative and open-ended questions. The primary results were that the transfers were substantial and that they were mostly used for general spending and education. Many respondents reported a readiness to preserve what they saw as culture or tradition in the concept of assisting their family after obtaining a fulfilling work, according to the data (Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019:455). Participants said it was a responsibility to their immediate and extended family, which is consistent with the findings of the Fongwa's (2019:6) study.

Therefore, such being the case, Ngonyama (2016, cited in Fongwa, 2019:10) defines 'Black Tax' as a means of ending the cycle of socio-economic difficulties resulting from

previous generations' incapacity to attain the education and skills required to care for themselves and their families due to the discriminations and exclusions during the apartheid era. For that reason, Fongwa (2019:6) considers the 'Black Tax' to be a responsibility rather than a burden. However, according to Nair (2019) writing in the *Sunday Times*, 'Black Tax' becomes a hardship when people lack the financial acumen to draw the boundary between what they can pay and what they cannot. Secondly, 'Black Tax' is a burden when one sees no improvements at home but is required to transfer money on a monthly basis. Thirdly, the 'Black Tax' is a burden when one buys groceries for ones siblings, but they do not appreciate the effort or even try to find work to help pay the costs (Mkhize, 2019:69). As a result of the 'Black Tax,' some have identified their family's history of illiteracy, which they hope to reverse by assisting members of their family in obtaining an education. The 'Black Tax' is a major concern and it has historical roots in the from apartheid era. Apartheid laws forced Black South Africans to live in areas with limited economic opportunities (Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019:447), therefore, people, mostly men, were forced to relocate to other locations in search of work. Migrant labourers remitted money to their family in the rural homelands from there. For that reason, the concept of 'Black Tax' emerged. This is a crucial subject because of the amount of aid required, considering the size of Black households and the level of poverty they face (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021:2). Accordingly, South Africa's remittance history is intertwined with mining, migrant labour, colonialism and apartheid (Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019:447).

Many Black people have lost their traditional wealth due to the legacy of slavery, colonisation and apartheid. The events were violent and Black people were displaced and oppressed as a result. Consequently, Black people's engagement in the economy was limited to low-wage labour (Nyathi, 2019:239). Such being the case, Black people lost the potential to build wealth because they lacked the means (land ownership) necessary to build long-term wealth. Furthermore, many Black households have little or nothing to pass down to the next generation, which is why they are expected to lift their families out of poverty through the family responsibility or family fulfilment system, which is also referred to as the 'Black Tax.' Broken families can also contribute to the culture of 'Black Tax.' For instance, the loss of a parent or all parents could result in the imposition of a 'Black Tax' (Vakira et al., 2021:4). A large percentage of Black

South Africans rely on financial support from family members who have gained new employment prospects. As a result, a crucial aspect in these transfers is familiarity among Black South Africans and their extended relatives (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021:2). Despite possessing one of the world's most comprehensive social security systems, many Black South Africans remain impoverished (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021:3). As a consequence, underprivileged families frequently require the assistance of other family members to meet their fundamental needs, resulting in a diminished sense of independence.

The rise of unemployment in Africa according to Vakira et al. (2021:4), necessitates the imposition of a ‘Black Tax.’ For that reason, given the huge unemployment rates in both Zimbabwe and South Africa, as well as Black people's historic collectivist orientation, it is almost certain that anyone who works or is financially secured will be offering some kind of financial support to family members. Therefore, Vakira et al. (2021:4) argue that employees must look after their relatives who are unable to care for themselves. Although necessary and laudable, the phenomenon of ‘Black Tax’ is also responsible for trapping countless families in a never-ending cycle of poverty (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:76). When a country's youth unemployment rate exceeds 60%, it becomes a moral necessity for those who are fortunate enough to have jobs to assist their relatives who are struggling to make ends meet. As a result, they will face a significant 'Black Tax,' limiting their ability to save for the future. Moreover, spending money on family duties means not saving, particularly for things like retirement (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:77). Accordingly, these financial transfers may reduce savings and investments among those who make them (Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019:444), as well as have larger economic implications. They may also impede the Black middle class's ability to save and invest, suffocating its growth and sustainability (Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019:444). Thus, the 'Black Tax' has the potential to bind families in a cycle of poverty, as they will be forced to rely on their children for financial support if they do not prepare for a decent retirement at a younger age or as working professionals (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:77).

The 'Black Tax' contributes to the asset deficit by putting young Black employees at a loss when it comes to commencing their careers as compared to their peers (Fongwa, 2019:9). Student loans, big heavily reliant families and a lack of assets provided by parents all contribute to the shortage. As a consequence, if this asset shortfall is not

addressed immediately, it has the potential to perpetuate generational poverty. Aside from the asset gap, many employed people may be discouraged to go to work or even engage at work because of the financial and psychological difficulties they suffer at home. In light of this, Vakira et al. (2021:6) attempt to investigate the impact of the 'Black Tax' on employee engagement in the pharmaceutical manufacturing and retailing industries in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, as mediated by Idiocentrism-Allocentrism. Individualism and collectivism on a personal level are depicted by Idiocentrism-Allocentrism (Vakira et al., 2021:6). In order for the aforementioned two qualities to be higher on average, society plays a critical role. Individuals, on the other hand, may deviate from community patterns because personal experiences are so powerful (Vakira et al., 2021:6). Idiocentrism and allocentrism can be defined as a collection of values that influence how a person behaves, feels, and manages situations in the workplace on an individual level. The inquiry was led by pragmatism as a philosophical standpoint. Using closed and open-ended questionnaires, data was obtained from qualified pharmacists working in both the manufacturing and retailing industries in Bulawayo. The qualitative data was analysed using thematic analysis. According to the findings, 'Black Tax' has a direct impact on employee engagement in the presence of a mediator (Idiocentrism-Allocentrism). Furthermore, the indirect coefficient was shown to be especially important, according to the findings (Vakira et al., 2021:9).

As stated by Matlala and Shambare (2017:77), the 'Black Tax' has had such a devastating effect on young South Africans' lives that it not only influences, but also dominates their lives, whether willingly or not. 'Black Tax,' in addition to being considered by many as a culturally and socially respectable way to give back to the family, has been branded as the exploitation of young Black professionals by many younger workers as well as the media, binding them in a cycle of poverty and financial obligation. The young people's socio-economic experiences and possibilities are thereafter profoundly shaped by this. But the 'Black Tax' is actually a complicated combination of socio-economic limitations, familial obligations, and cultural expectations for a large number of young South Africans. Furthermore, recent media reporting of the 'Black Tax' has emphasised individuals' financial responsibility to assist their family networks. Therefore, while this research acknowledges that the 'Black Tax' is not exclusive to university graduates, it is focused on how it manifests for this group of citizens and the implications it has for the comprehension of African

Communalism. Furthermore, this research intends to provide less commercialised ways of thinking about youth's parental support while still acknowledging the social and psychological challenges they may confront.

3.3. AFRICAN COMMUNALISM AND BLACK TAX

Pre-colonial African society was designed to provide all of its members' basic human requirements. Most resources, including land, were thus collectively owned for the greater good of all (Ominde et al., 2020:281). Individuals do not and cannot exist alone in traditional African life unless they are part of a group (Horsthemke, 2018). Traditional African civilisation was communalist, based on kinship ties and a reciprocity system (Horsthemke, 2018). The preponderance of the extended system is a distinguishing feature of the African way of life (Etta et al., 2016:307). African Communalism, according to Negedu and Ojomah (2018:59), is manifested through the extended family system, which connects the entire community as a member of one family by extension. An extended family is comprised of two or more nuclear families, as well as married couple unions, which are formed by joining the nuclear families of a married adult and his parents. As a result, communalist ideas are genuine in that mutual support was and continues to be, a prevalent component of social life among extended families and villages throughout traditional African civilisations (Etta et al., 2016:307). An individual is so ingrained in the extended family system that he or she carefully manages the money of the family's prosperous member (Negedu & Ojomah, 2018:61). According to Ominde et al. (2020:280), society is considered as a web of interconnections in which each person contributes to the community's prosperity and sustainability and members are socialised to avoid disturbing or harmful behaviour. According to Etta et al. (2016:307), the family in traditional African society includes not only the husband, wife and children, but also grandparents, uncles, aunts and others who may have children of their own. In this sense, a big family is formed by a group of relatives who live with their wives and children, and, in many African contexts, this large family is often financially supported by one or two working people. Concisely, the extended family structure is intrinsically related to traditional African society since it is the bedrock of the African people's communalistic way of life, which is founded on the solidarity of family members and members of the local community (Etta et al., 2016:308).

Traditional African Communalism is based on a strong social responsibility ethic (Obioha-Olabisi, 2014:256). No member inside a community should be concerned about what would happen to him or her in the future if he or she does not acquire money today (Obioha-Olabisi, 2014:248). The member, his widow, or his orphan will be looked after by society. Thus, whenever an individual is suffering, he suffers with the corporate group and when he rejoices, he rejoices with his family members, acquaintances and relatives, whether dead or living (Horsthemke, 2018). Wealth was considered as serving the community rather than benefiting an individual in traditional African sociocultural frameworks (Ominde et al., 2020:283). Communalism assumes that advantages and liabilities are shared and distributed fairly within the society (Ominde et al., 2020:280). Additionally, in most cases, elders enjoy privileged status as stewards of a society's riches. They hold money in trust for the community's larger good (Negedu & Ojomah, 2018:59). As a result, when the tribe prospers, all of the tribe's members benefit (Obioha-Olabisi, 2014:261). Accordingly, sharing is encouraged since it emphasises the significance of social connection, whereas self-centredness and individual greed are discouraged (Venter, 2004:151). Furthermore, a person has a social obligation to share what he or she has with others. Similarly, Ubuntu represents African humanity, in which one is supposed to think about one's own wants in the context of the family's requirements (Fongwa, 2019:4). That is to say that, when an individual is earning an income, it should be shared with the family. However, in the new South Africa, sharing an income with the family and extended family members is coined as 'Black Tax' and worse, a 'Burden,' neglecting the fact that it is the African way of life to have a sharing or communal spirit.

African Communalism promotes mutual assistance in society. Clans, families and households bring people closer together, especially in times of need (Obioha-Olabisi, 2014:259). Thus, according to African Communalism, a hungry visitor may enter a village's gardens and take a bunch of bananas to fill his hunger and his acts would only be considered stealing if he stole more than was required to meet his requirements (Etta et al., 2016:307). Ubuntu presents itself in a variety of ways, similar to African Communalism and is plainly noticeable in social, political and economic contexts, as well as among family members (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:76). Within a community, there is a passive expectation that the person receiving aid today will also be able to provide support tomorrow, the next day, weeks later, or even years later.

When a member of the family or society becomes ill or experiences a catastrophic life-changing event, such as the death of a loved one, this is common. Extended family members and members of society step forward to help in some way. Etta et al. (2016:306) back this up by stating that when a member of a family or village is in a difficult situation, he or she is usually not left alone; rather, someone will be there to assist or provide a way out. Similarly, in the past, when there were internal conflicts, clan members banded together to fight hostile neighbours (Obioha-Olabisi, 2014:254). This demonstrates that if a person is in need, he or she can seek assistance from clan members and other relatives (family and household members). Finally, this demonstrates the extensive network of relationships that exists between and among community members, demonstrating that no one is anything without the community (Obioha-Olabisi, 2014:256). It is possible, however, that the so-called familial value system be exploited. It is possible, for example, that people become lazy because they know that others will always come to their rescue when they are in trouble. Some people even stop looking for work and rely on their siblings or parents to get by.

As a fundamental aspect of African cultural traditions, African Communalism plays a critical role in establishing ethical standards that are critical in developing good behaviour and assisting individuals in becoming contributing members of the society (Ominde et al., 2020:279). Because relatedness is a property of knowledge at this level, the children must know and understand things in relation to what the community wants in the community's teaching and learning system (Etta et al., 2016:305). Individuals are also anticipated to see and differentiate themselves in terms of how their culture trains, shapes and virtuously enlightens them to procure identity, as well as how their moral reasoning is shaped by the society's context in terms of their actions and behaviour, from a communalist perspective (Ominde et al., 2020:280). The idea is that communal knowledge, whose subject is still the person, emerges from the requirements of community life and its goal is to preserve the community's life and heritage, as well as its laws, practices and traditions.

The community has a moral obligation, or sense of duty, to raise morally upright persons who can support the community and instil values that contribute to human welfare, such as caring for aged parents (Ominde et al., 2020:280). Therefore, the child in a typical family is not just the parents' biological child, but also the community's child (Fongwa, 2019:5). In other words, ‘It takes a village to raise a child.’ In this way,

African Communalism gives youngsters a unique feeling of moral responsibility toward others and ensures the community's prosperity by assuming leadership from their elders. Communalism values community life, extended family qualities and how Africans commonly and easily endure the duties of being one another's 'brother's keeper' and caring for their parents and extended family members (Olufemi, 2016:95).

Abakare and Okeke (2018) conducted a critical examination of the dogmatic claims that Africans are by nature communalistic, demonstrating a sense of brotherhood among themselves and sharing equally common things. The study concludes that in order for Africa or Africans to demonstrate more human-centred social relations, they must band together to protect themselves from extinction by clamping down on excessive individualism and tribal hatred and promoting an authentic African humanism that stems from the communalist spirit rather than paying lip service to it. In light of this, Etta et al. (2016:303) argue that communalism is one of the most significant barriers to Africa's economic success, since it clashes with the mobilisation of labour and capital, both of which are crucial factors of production that lead to economic growth. Bisong (2018:1) goes on to say that communalism is a spoke in the wheel of progress. It is a hindrance to national development, unity, peace, progress and other national objectives. This indicates that, while communalism is an important part of Africa's history, it should be allowed to go away (Bisong, 2018:8). A study conducted by Olufemi (2016:81) provides some light on the African Communalism debate. It also criticises what both proponents and opponents regard as a viable kind of communalism, moderate communalism. As a result, the study contends that communalism has a problem with the 'individual' in general (Olufemi, 2016:81). This is because in traditional Africa, the community comes first, followed by the individual. Thus, an individual's individuality is a secondary characteristic of him or her (Bisong, 2018:2).

In the study conducted by Bisong (2018:1), the researcher applied philosophical approaches such as critical analysis and textual studies to the reinvigoration or strengthening of communalism in Africa. According to the facts, communalism is Africa's challenge and it, therefore, recommended that it be removed. Furthermore, the findings show that Africa will be unable to tackle the difficulties confronting modern African nations unless it casts off the yoke of communalism and dons the garment of independence (Bisong, 2018:1). Consequently, communalism—a fundamental tenet

of many African cultures—emphasizes the value of shared resources, mutual assistance, and social responsibility within the community. As a result, 'Black Tax' appears in this communal framework as a way to redistribute wealth and meet the financial requirements of low-income families. 'Black Tax' is consequently a type of social duty that ties one to the family in accordance with the communal standards. Yet this societal obligation is exploited in contemporary South Africa.

The way communalism is described in the literature on African Communalism contradicts what is observed in contemporary culture, where behaviours toward others do not suggest any remnants of communalism as an essential component of the African person. Furthermore, it is true that communalism was a defining feature of old African communities and that fitted in nicely. However, it is incompatible with the current structure of African nations, in which family support is viewed as a ‘Black Tax’ and a burden. As a result, this research acknowledges African Communalism and seeks to examine the concept of ‘Black Tax’ and its implications for comprehending African Communalism.

3.4. MEDIA DISCOURSES OF ‘BLACK TAX’

The media in South Africa has evolved as crucial avenues for monitoring and promoting people's social lives, as well as promoting their distinct interests and cultures. That is to say, contemporary mass media serve as a normalising venue for social reality production. The media have a key role in formulating, discussing and conserving civic discourse on social cohesion, integration, tolerance and intercultural understanding in the public sphere (Fursich, 2010:113). Furthermore, the media's capacity to draw attention to or away from public issues often decides whether or not a problem will be handled. The media develops representations as a major indicator of procedures for developing common meaning (Fursich, 2010:115). Representations shape culture, meaning and knowledge about people and the world around them. The notion of representation encapsulates the idea that the media constructs and represents meanings about the world, so assisting audiences in making sense of it (Mahadeo & McKinney, 2007).

Frequently, the media defines the bounds of a society considered to be a part of the country and excludes minorities as ‘others’ in order to build a mediated national identity in limited ways (Fursich, 2010:113). Furthermore, the media allow us to conceptualise

distinct identities and groupings, which can have a practical impact on how people are viewed and understood in the world. As a result, the mass media has the potential to represent some identities, meanings and exclude others, making them seem foreign or even dangerous (Mahadeo & McKinney, 2007). Thus, media depictions of the 'Black Tax' and media portrayals of African socio-practical practices will be examined in depth in this part.

3.4.1. Media Representation of ‘Black Tax’

The term 'Black Tax' is inherently problematic. According to Mhlungu (2015), writing in the *City Press*, the primary problem with naming it Black is that it isolates the nature of the high cost of being a member of a disadvantaged minority. As a result, rather than being an expression of their lived circumstances, 'Black Tax' soon becomes a pathology of Black people about the way they are or what they do (Mhlungu, 2015). Additionally, the 'Black Tax' tries to suffocate Black people in their quest for middle-class status (Legoale, 2015). According to Mhlungu (2015), the need to care for one’s family is not iconic to Black people, it is also not unique to working and middle-class individuals in a global economy where income and job opportunities for those who are not in the top 1% are shrinking.

The concept of a ‘Black Tax’ separates Black families and breadwinners but fails to investigate why Black people have such a distinct lived experience in relation to the various benefits that they continue to be denied (Mhlungu, 2015). There is a legitimate reason for Black people to feel taxed, but it is not because of unemployed family members, but rather because of what happens when one is disadvantaged in a global economy that is failing in general (Mhlungu, 2015). As a result, South Africa's capitalist economy has established institutions that perpetuate poverty and necessitate the use of a 'Black Tax' (Montle, 2020). Working adults are imprisoned in the sandwich effect, according to *Sunday Times* reporter Nair (2019), caught between financially supporting parents, younger siblings and other relatives, as well as their own children. Because their families demand payments, the majority of Black South Africans are in financial distress (Nair, 2019). Not only are money and responsibility important, but so are morality and ethics (Legoale, 2015). Families face financial difficulty when they expect more than they can afford (Nair, 2019). Almost all society structures, including South Africa, are built on the foundation of the family unit (Mhlungu, 2015). According

to Nair (2019), the European or Afrikaner family is a nuclear family system that consists of parents and children and does not extend beyond cousins. However, the tendrils of an African family extending to fourth and fifth cousins, or even sharing a surname is sufficient justification to claim responsibility.

Montle's (2020) study is reflected in *Skeem Saam's Seakamela* home through the figure of *Zamokuhle*, who demonstrates that 'Black Tax' has bad consequences for its payer. As depicted in the story, the youth, in particular, struggle to bear the burden of the 'Black Tax' due to circumstances related to their way of life. The goal of the study was to clarify the complexities surrounding the concept of 'Black Tax' in the context of South Africa. Through the prism of a telenovela, *Skeem Saam*, the study conducted qualitative research to investigate the consequences of the 'Black Tax' and the socio-economic isolation of the Black middle-class in South Africa. The findings reveal that the so-called 'Black Tax' is a perplexing practice that disproportionately impacts on young Black professionals in modern South Africa (Montle, 2020). As a working Black person, building a wall and renovating a parent's kitchen is not only expected, but anticipated (Legoale, 2015). Initially, it was intended as a gift of gratitude, a good gesture in recognition of the parents' sacrifice. However, it became regarded as a rite of passage over time.

There are very few academic studies on the media portrayal of the 'Black Tax.' However, there are more articles in the media, such as newspapers and television, regarding the 'Black tax.' According to the literature accessible, the media portray the 'Black Tax' as something that should be expected of the Black community. It portrays the 'Black Tax' as a burden for newly employed young people. It virtually often overlooks the causes and consequences of the so-called 'Black Tax' on young professionals and their families. The media also portray the 'Black Tax' as if Black people are the perpetrators rather than the victims of the tax. Thus, this research study seeks to analyse the Media Framing of youth's social responsibility to extended family, known as 'Black Tax', and to study how the Media Framing of 'Black Tax' reveals what issues are highlighted, preferred, negated and neglected in media discourses. In addition, it interrogates how the concept of 'Black Tax' is communicated and its implications on the understanding of African Communalism.

3.4.2. How the Media Frame other African Socio-Cultural Practices

Media portrayals such as film, television, photography and print journalism do more than just reflect reality; they also help to build a reality and legitimise specific views of the world or beliefs. For example, radio and print media remain important forums for cultural expression (Fursich, 2010:128). Some people in South Africa believe that local soap operas do not sufficiently portray Indigenous cultures (Onyenankeya, Onyenankeya & Osunkunle, 2021). Television, in particular, has emerged as a major cultural resource and a shared experience for many South Africans (Onyenankeya et al., 2021). Soap operas use visual texts in a socio-cultural context to represent ordinary people and events and influence their views of cultural reality as a media product (Onyenankeya et al., 2021). Since the independence of broadcasting in South Africa in the mid-1990s, Indigenous traditions have increasingly found expression in mainstream soap operas, where popular culture and traditional rites intersect (Onyenankeya et al., 2021).

Similarly, through its cultural representations, Nollywood has played a vital role in Africa's self-reflection and identity creation. Nollywood's products mirror Nigerians' daily lives and depict a variety of themes that Nigerians and other African residents can connect to (Uwah, 2011:84). They tell familiar anecdotes about Nigerians and Africans in general, as well as their concerns and values. In all of these, one of the most stunning aspects of Nollywood is the rendering of religious-cultural rites as a fundamental part of communalism. This, according to Uwah (2011:86), shows the ability of film producers and directors to integrate culturally familiar metaphorical language into their productions, especially to provide the experience of communal liminality, cultural integration and sentimental equalitarianism among proximate audiences, who are primarily Nigerians and other Africans. Some cultural activists refer to soap operas' tendency to portray traditional institutions and behaviours as inflexible and resistant to change, creating a binary opposition between Indigenous cultures and modernity (Onyenankeya et al., 2021).

South Africa is depicted as a multiracial and multicultural nation with diverse identities and sexualities in *Generations: The Legacy,* on the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC 1) (Onyenankeya et al., 2021). The show focuses on the traditional Indigenous cultures of Black South Africans. As a transcultural production and one of

the longest running indigenous soap operas broadcast by the SABC, the show has steadily evolved into a discursive arena that interrogates the portrayal of hegemonic ideology, traditional values, customs and practices (Onyenankeya et al., 2021). To find out how *Generations: The Legacy* reflects Indigenous cultures, Onyenankeya et al. (2021) used a combination of quantitative content analysis, critical discourse and focus group discussions to study and analyse spoken language texts and visuals. The research looked at 60 episodes of *Generations: The Legacy* from March 2016 to April 2019. The episodes were chosen at random from a YouTube playlist of 264. According to the findings, *Generations: The Legacy* uses everyday discourses to highlight patriarchy, gender relations, socio-economic inequalities, power asymmetries and contestations, as well as themes of domination and exploitation. The investigations also indicated that when it comes to ancestral beliefs, *Generations: The Legacy* engages in essentialism, portraying rites and superstitions as the essence of Black people without which they would be unable to function (Onyenankeya et al., 2021).

Africa is seen by Mahadeo and Mckinney (2007) as being torn apart by tribal conflicts. The fundamental causes are not adequately explained, reinforcing impressions of African pessimism and incompetence. Cultures and beliefs were highly valued in pre-colonial African societies, and they served to unite them. Traditional values, on the other hand, are portrayed in the media as antiquated, limiting, chauvinistic, prescriptive, ineffective and unrealistic (Onyenankeya et al., 2021). African rites are frequently depicted as mythological rituals (Uwah, 2011:87). In most situations, Nollywood films portray African culture as ceremonial, ecological, holy, cosmological and hence extremely cultural. These, on the other hand, bind Africans to their historical past as well as their physical surroundings. African rituals, according to Uwah (2011:87), build order and define roles, as well as reorganising time and space for the current era and celebrating important cultural values. As a result, to show ancestral beliefs, uttered phrases (i.e., overt references) and behaviours representing Indigenous belief systems such as witchcraft, superstitions, or rituals are used (Onyenankeya et al., 2021). In African traditional life, religion as an integral component of existence is a basic pillar of communalism. Religion is a way of life for many Africans as part of communalism. These are obvious in the contact between the living and the dead in African Communalism, which is directed by the hierarchical ordering of things. For example, a *Sango* film (Nollywood) shows the idea of African traditional religion

and belief in its richness of ritual links between the human and spirit worlds in great depth, with ethnic costumes, deep mystical powers of the gods and evocative music tracks (Uwah, 2011:90). Other Nollywood films, such as *Igodo* (1999) and *Festival of Fire* (1999), are similar to *Sango's* deep ecological representations of African ontology in that they focus not only on the relationship between humans and spirits in African worldviews, but also on how human activities are guided by the dictates of the gods.

While the ideological underpinning behind religion's appearance in most Nollywood films is indicative of a somewhat revelatory importance in Africans' identity creation and cosmology, religion is not a new occurrence in textual analysis (Uwah, 2011:94). South African television soap operas, in particular, represent characters who are unable to communicate their sentiments or the conditions in which they find themselves, according to Nzimande (2021). Men, on the other hand, solved problems in pre-colonial African communities as a group. In soap operas, marriage is depicted as oppressive and patriarchal (Onyenankeya et al., 2021). Family is portrayed as being overbearing and intrusive. Traditional rulers, or chieftaincy, are seen as exploitative and oppressive (Onyenankeya et al., 2021). Most Nollywood films are culturally centred, suggesting that the business, like any other folk media, is founded on Indigenous traditions and created and consumed by members of the group (Uwah, 2011:94). The development of Black female characters in *Generations* is heavily influenced by whiteness values (Landers, 2018). In terms of body form, skin colour and hair texture, Black women are depicted in a way that suggests their bodies are created to suit Western conceptions of beauty (Landers, 2018).

Sarah, a character in *Generations*, was depicted as inferior to her female contemporaries because she chose to dress in traditional African garb. In colonial and apartheid South Africa, Black women were portrayed as primitive and inferior to White women, but because to their differences, they were also portrayed as sexually desirable (Madlela, 2018). In portrayals of Black women, exoticisation and animalisation are recurring themes. Hypervisibility patterns have been used to show Black female bodies in particular, resulting in women being subjected to heightened levels of surveillance (Madlela, 2018). On South African television, white men are depicted as more powerful and in a position of authority over Black men, according to Nzimande (2021). Nzimande also believes, on the other hand, that Black men are primarily portrayed as aggressive, socially alienated and emotionally detached. In

addition, according to Milton (2008, cited in Nzimande, 2021), Black men in the SABC 2 soap opera *7de Laan* were portrayed as more problematic than white men. Some *Generations* actors thought the characters were stereotypical and unrealistic and that the show was a misrepresentation of South Africa due to its over-Westernization (Motsaathebe, 2009 cited in Landers, 2018).

In order to deliver more complex depictions of Black people to their audiences, South African soap operas have opted to embrace a revolutionary agenda since 1994. (Nzimande, 2021). Because opinions of Black males have changed dramatically over time, such as during colonialism and apartheid, the representation of masculinity is a key problem in South Africa. As a result, men have been portrayed in soap operas in a variety of ways. On television, men are portrayed in ways that are defined by their racial groups. According to Nzimande, White males are frequently depicted as being stronger in positions of leadership on South African television (2021).

The political and economic supremacy of the white ruling class represents white masculinity, whereas indigenous institutions such as chiefship, community land tenure and customary law reflect Black or African rural masculinity (Nzimande, 2021). Ratele (2017, cited in Nzimande, 2021) claims that the portrayal of White men as strong in the media is ‘not a blunder,’ but rather ‘colonial blindness,’ and that ‘White men reign.’ *Uzalo, Imbewu* and *Isibaya* depict Zulu males in positions of power and authority, preserving Zulu principles of honour and protection. British and American soap operas, on the other hand, reflect the 'negotiation of patriarch authority,' which refers to instances in which male characters are seen negotiating traditional male hegemony and domineering roles (Nzimande, 2021). While soap opera characters might exhibit power and control, they can also show compassion for their families. For example, in *Uzalo*, the criminal Nkunzi will torch his wife's nightclub and assassinate everyone who embodies aggressive, hegemonic views. Simultaneously, he will stray from the hegemonic ideal by expressing love and concern for his family, thus subverting the concept of the hegemonic ideal (Nzimande, 2021).

Nzimande's study aims to look into how three monolingual (IsiZulu) soap operas on South African television portray and interpret South African Zulu masculinities and identities. For the study, researchers conducted in-depth interviews with soap opera producers (*Uzalo, Imbewu* and *Isibaya*) and 30 focus group members in both rural and

urban areas of Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The data is analysed using deductive and inductive thematisation, which explains the relationship between the theme and theoretical perspectives from across the world and locally. According to the study, contemporary South African soap opera portrayals of masculinities both maintain and contradict dominant discourses of Zulu masculinities.

Despite its flaws, *Black Panther* provides a realistic portrayal of Africa. Despite these challenges, *Black Panther* successfully reflects Africa through character choices, wardrobe choices and spoken language. Many characteristics of Wakanda in *Black Panther*, the imaginary African country where the majority of the film's action takes place, are based on Lesotho, a country in Southern Africa, according to Olvera-Sandoval (2021). Lesotho has historically been able to repel external troops such as the Zulus and the British. As such, *Wakanda* was able to avoid colonial soldiers in the film thanks to a high-tech cloaking system that disguised the region as unfettered nature (Olvera-Sandoval, 2021). Furthermore, the W'kabi ethnic group's dress in Wakanda was similar to Basotho blankets, a typical Lesotho costume. The usage of Xhosa in the film lends it a sense of independence from colonialism and enriches its depictions of Africa. The inclusion of female worriors defies prejudices and demonstrates that women can be effective leaders as well. Africa is depicted in the literature on the representation of African socio-cultural activities as a ceremonial society that believes in superstitions. Additionally, both Black women's depictions imply that they are inferior to their White counterparts and that they do not cherish their inherent beauty. This research will in this regard interrogate how the concept of 'Black Tax' is communicated and represented in the Media Framing of the phenomenon, explore its implications on the understanding of African Communalism and examine the mediating effect of 'Black Tax' on Black youth within the historical and socio-economic contexts of Black South African families.

3.5. CAPITALIST AND MODERNIST APPROACHES TO AFRICAN COMMUNALISM

The family support provided by working youths to their families can also be understood from a collectivist culture that defines African Communalism. This is in contrast to the Western approach of individualism. Traditional African society. According to Etta et al. (2016:308) is not capitalistic, but rather democratic and communalistic. Traditional

African society's egalitarianism and communalism are incompatible with capitalism (Etta et al., 2016:308). The arrival of Europeans in Africa with capitalist agendas destroyed Africa's communal and traditional socialist culture. The colonial project of 'civilising' Africa from traditional society to a modern society changed the social, cultural and economic lifestyles of Africans. To be modern then implied to be civilised into European cultural ways. The introduction of Western education, Western economic activities, such as seeking employment for monetary exchange of ones labour and the global embrace of capitalism have culminated in a capitalist outlook of African culture and ways of existence. Take the payment of dowry or 'Lobola,' for example. It is an important part of African marriage and has long been utilised to bind families together as one and foster a sense of trust and mutual understanding (Parker, 2015:177). Weddings demonstrate how Black families negotiated and constructed their social standing in a context where White South Africans perceived Black marriages as a symbol of misappropriation (Erlank, 2014:30).

The Stone Age humans formalised the contractual connection of a husband and wife by the exchange of gifts and most hunter-gatherer tribes engaged in ritual courtship (Goldsmith, 2018). Wedding customs were also just one part of men and women's often difficult transition to married life in pre-colonial Southern Africa (Erlank, 2014:35). Marriage was always based on the transfer of cattle from the groom's family to the bride's according to endogamy or exogamy norms in the Sotho-Tshwana and Ndebele chiefdoms. As a result, a man's wealth can be measured in terms of the number of cattle he owns, the number of wives he has, or the number of daughters he has the potential to marry in order to acquire additional animals (Guy, 1987:20). The transfer of cattle is accomplished, according to Guy (1987:21), on the condition that the wife fulfil her productive and reproductive functions on her husband's farm. Because it might happen after a wedding ceremony, which in patrilocal Nguni tribes normally involved the lady relocating into her husband's family property or village. This migration was commonly continuing (Erlank, 2014:35). However, the marriage itself includes expectations of relative performance, shared housing, gender-based division of labour and resource management, a sexual relationship focused on procreation and collaboration in childbirth and training (Goldsmith, 2018). Many rites, such as marriages, were created to mark the beginning of a new stage of life and to foster community connection (Goldsmith, 2018).

Parts of the wedding ceremonies harken back to pre-colonial customs. Furthermore, weddings are no longer common in early twentieth-century narratives of African marriage, which instead lay stress on polygamy and bride riches (Lobola) (Erlank, 2014:32). As a result, lobola is a challenging transaction that has had no sense of personal enrichment in the past. In today's capitalist society, cattle are primarily being replaced by money, as urban families may not have the physical capacity to accept livestock (Parker, 2015:185). There is a perception that paying for the bride renders her a groom's possession, making her vulnerable to mistreatment by the husband or in-laws, because cash is used instead of livestock. While the loss of parental authority and remuneration to the girl's family are frequently given as justifications for lobola, anthropologists and many missionaries concur that the concept of 'buy and sale' was not traditionally a key part of the ritual (Parker, 2015:178).

The present day is witnessing a significant change in bridal price inflation (Goldsmith, 2018). As a result of the institution of marriage, the wedding industry has evolved as a new economic growth area (Goldsmith, 2018). Furthermore, it appears that Black women enjoyed marrying in white gowns modelled after Anglo-American and European models (Erlank, 2014:31). The wedding industry is the most recent invention to add to the human component of marriage's complexity and it appears to be out of control (Goldsmith, 2018). In Nigeria, for example, the wealthy elite used to hold parties during which they would impress their guests by displaying millions of Naira bank notes in glass cases (Goldsmith, 2018). Nowadays, people expect their weddings to be flawless. Furthermore, the modern wedding is centred on expensive wedding attire. They want it to be better than the next person's, therefore they will go to great lengths to make sure it is finished (Goldsmith, 2018). Weddings have become so significant that attending one costs a fortune. Furthermore, these weddings are frequently expensive in comparison to Black families' earnings (Erlank, 2014:31). In contrast to Western and European weddings and marriages, Africans have adopted church ceremonies, which often include a white gown for the bride and a dark suit for the groom. Wedding cakes, wedding rings, farewell presents, costumes, speeches, dances and honeymoons are among the other western components. All of these changes, however, necessitate the expenditure of funds and the acquisition of goods. The disadvantage of wedding commercialisation is that a growing number of urban and peri-urban youngsters are having difficulty marrying (Goldsmith, 2018).

Furthermore, by the late 1930s, Black South Africans who modelled their lifestyles after those of the West were struggling to make ends meet and previously debt-free households had become indebted (Erlank, 2014:48).

A study conducted by Parker (2015:181) investigated the attitudes of some Grade 12 students in the South Africa concerning the practice of lobola. Paying lobola, according to male student participants in this study, gave them influence over the lady and was viewed as akin to buying a person. Similar to lobola, it is an African culture to pay damages in the form of cattle for getting an unmarried woman pregnant. However, nowadays the damages are given in the form of money or not at all. According to Masanda (2011), in Xhosa society, if a young female becomes pregnant, the man is responsible for the pregnancy. Damage payments, on the other hand, are not only performed by the Xhosas, but also by most African communities. In the past, the family elders would escort the daughter to the man's family, where the man would confirm or deny being the father of the unborn child. If the man admits to the act, he will be penalised in the form of a cow or whatever amount the elders would decide on (Masanda, 2011). Cows are no longer used in current times; instead, individuals use money, which can vary from R500 to R10000 (Masanda, 2011). The positive aspect of this is that it brings the two families together and allows the elders to discuss what has to be done for the child. However, in other situations, the father will not be allowed to visit his child until he pays damages.

When women married in pre-colonial African communities, they were expected to have as many children as possible. This was due to the assumption that having a large family, particularly daughters, was a sign of riches because they would marry and bring more cattle home. Women nowadays, on the other hand, do not give birth in the same way they did in the past. They believe that having a large family may have a serious impact, leading to deformity of the body. However, many African women now see the control over their reproductive rights as a freedom of choice to be celebrated, thanks to the feminist movement's tremendous win and social growth in human rights. Some even decide against getting married or starting a family. In addition to challenging traditionalist views of African ways of life, which generally believe in procreation, family and communalism, such individual rights should be respected and embraced. Hence, it was uncommon in traditional African culture for women to be single mothers.

Men on the other hand, are now being given the opportunity to express themselves and are being encouraged to discuss their thoughts, feelings, anxieties and wants in a secure environment. They are finally being given permission to display their fragility, gentler sides and creative sides without fear of being ridiculed, insulted, or told they are ‘weak’ in most places (Benson, 2021). Capitalist and Western notions have also influenced how women perceive themselves in terms of attractiveness, leading to skin bleaching and hair straightening in the majority of cases. Madlela (2018) used focus group interviews to learn how images on the covers of publications and commercials affect respondents' self-esteem and hairstyling habits, as well as their own impressions of Black hair. *True Love* magazine has increased the visibility of African Black women, according to the semiotic analysis and quantitative content analysis of *True Love* magazine in the study by Madlela (2018). This study used focus group interviews to learn how images on the covers of publications and commercials affect respondents' self-esteem and hairstyling habits, as well as their own impressions of Black hair. According to the study by Madlela (2018), several meanings were assigned to hair by respondents. The research also revealed that the selected black African women's perceptions of black hair were influenced by the intersectionality of race, gender and class. The survey discovered that the respondents used both Western-centric and Afro-centric hairstyling approaches. However, a quantitative content study of the hair kinds and styles depicted in *True Love* covers and adverts revealed that the Western-centric ideal of long, straight hair predominated. Additionally, extensively displayed hair improvement and alteration items gave the impression that only altered black hair could be beautiful (Madlela, 2018).

All of the aforementioned ideas show how the modernist and capitalist worldview have altered African values and beliefs. The African family support structure has also evolved as a result of modernist and capitalist approaches and/or ideologies. Black South Africans had a strong familial support system prior to the entrance of the colonisers (Mncube, 2019:104). Everyone had a role to perform in maintaining the family’s sustenance, and nobody lived in poverty. However, in contemporary South Africa, the African family support system is now considered a form of 'Black Tax.' Furthermore, it is framed as a burden rather than a requirement, which is why many young people feel that supporting their family members and their extended family members financially is a burden. At the same time, one cannot ignore the impact of

apartheid's legacies and current pattern of poverty that put more demand on today's youth to support their parents and extended family members. Thus, this research seeks to examine the mediating effect of 'Black Tax' on Black youth within the historical and socio-economic contexts of Black South African families and recommend ways of conceptualising youth's family support that subverts the capitalist framing and recognises the social and psychological pressures that youths may experience.

3.6. CONCLUSION

This chapter has indicated how the concept of 'Black Tax' impacts upon Black South African youth in general, as well as the consequences it has on Black African households, through a review of literature. The chapter also demonstrates African Communalism and how it links to the concept of 'Black Tax' through reference to literature. Media discourses of 'Black Tax,' where the works on the media coverage of 'Black Tax' and the works on how the media frame other African socio-cultural practices were also reviewed. The capitalist and modernist approaches to African Communalism have also been examined. In the next chapter, theories that provide conceptual framework for this study will be examined. The Theory of Deconstruction, as well as Media Framing and Agenda-setting, will be unpacked in the following chapter in order to better understand how the media frame African Communalism and the 'Black Tax.'

CHAPTER 4:
DECONSTRUCTION, MEDIA FRAMING AND AFRICAN COMMUNALISM (THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK)

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework relevant to this research and forms the conceptual basis for understanding how 'Black Tax' is framed and presented in the media and its implications on the understanding of African Communalism. The chapter focuses on the theory of Deconstruction and its elements, Media Framing as an umbrella of Agenda-setting and the theory of African Communalism.

4.2. THEORY OF DECONSTRUCTION

This study applies the Theory of Deconstruction in relation to analysis of media text, its meaning and interpretation. According to Sikirivwa (2020:44), the word 'Deconstruction' is related to the French verb 'deconstuire,' which means 'to undo the improvement or the development of, to take place to pieces' in English. However, the German phrase 'destruktion' of Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), which literally means 'Deconstruction' or 'de-building,' conveyed the sense of 'destructive' analysis, prompting the French philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930-2004) to coin the term in philosophy in the late 1960s (Sikirivwa, 2020:44). Hendricks (2016:2) contends, however, that the development of Deconstruction as a theory of language and literature in the 1970s was largely a response to the dominance of French structuralism and a repressive academic and intellectual system that strictly enforced a single interpretation of literary texts. Deconstruction, according to Gnanasekaran (2015:211), is a way of reading that reveals the contradictions and enigmas in the predictable structures of philosophical and artistic writings.

The goal of Derrida's critique of speech is to reveal the dishonesty and delusion of a Western interpretative discourse that ignored writing and saw speech as presence (Hendricks, 2016:1). According to Derrida, nothing could be said that would be too fundamental to Deconstruction in reference to other ideas (Sikirivwa, 2020:44). Deconstruction, according to Gnanasekaran (2015:212), is a system that combines all other building-related requirements radially and tenaciously and/or encompasses both obliteration that there is no advancement without destruction and the reverse.

Deconstruction, then, according to Hendricks (2016:2), looks for spots or flaws in the system where it hides the fact that it is not complete and cannot hold together as a cohesive whole. Deconstruction thus revolves around developing a fresh viewpoint that places the narrative outside of its dualisms or fixed points of view (Sikirivwa, 2020:46).

Derrida's Deconstruction is based on the idea that humans frequently represent their ideas as binary oppositions, with the assumption that each term in a binary opposition always mirrors the other (Sikirivwa, 2020:46). Hendricks (2016:1) contends that Deconstruction's purpose is to dismantle the dichotomous contradiction between speech and writing. Deconstruction, therefore, requires the dismantling of these binary oppositions (Sikirivwa, 2020:46). Dismantling does not really mean annihilating the rival groups; rather, it means demonstrating how one can forge new alliances by recognising their interdependence. Because each term contains what Derrida refers to as the ‘trace of its opposite,’ we can define a phrase of an opposition by naming another term and vice versa (Sikirivwa, 2020:46). For instance, because there is white, we can comprehend black. In South Africa, similar to how ‘White Privilege’ exists, ‘Black Tax’ is understandable. Apartheid in South Africa, which repressed and undervalued everyone whose skin colour was not White, created white privilege (Davids et al., 2021). Between their material benefits from apartheid and how they identify themselves in modern South Africa, White South Africans are in a privileged position (Luwaca, 2016). Having access to land allowed them to quickly accumulate money and achieve economic independence (Shezi, 2021).

Deconstruction primarily focuses on linguistic and interpretive discrepancies (Gnanasekaran, 2015:212). Language can be changed. The speakers are free to improvise and modify it to fit newer paradigms of understanding the world and ourselves. Derrida introduces a novel idea regarding the adaptability of language. It is known as ‘bricolage,’ which is the technique of putting something together using the materials available (Sikirivwa, 2020:61). However, in Derridean usage, it alludes to the practice of appropriating ideas from other sources and adapting them to one’s own purposes (Sikirivwa, 2020:61). Similar to how African Communalism or the African system of family support were modified to fit Black people who had family responsibilities, the ‘Black Tax’ was also modified. Similar to this, media statements about issues like the ‘Black Tax’ reflect the beliefs and values of media producers.

Deconstruction is the term for Jacques Derrida's philosophy, which involves a rigorous examination of language in philosophical and theological texts (Hendricks, 2016:2). Güney and Güney (2008:223) assert that the philosophy of Deconstruction aims to liberate the text so that it creates its own language. Deconstruction sees language as a game of contrasts and creates a method for identifying the significant role that language plays in our thinking (Hendricks, 2016:2). Despite Saussure's insistence that language is a diverse network of meaning, structuralism contends that language's very structure creates reality (Hendricks, 2016:4). Therefore, textuality—a perspective on language as it exists not only in books but also in conversation, history, media and society, especially in written language—is what Hendricks (2016:2) claims most distinguishes Deconstruction. Therefore, the main goal of Deconstruction is to dissect the text and highlight the figurative language's behaviour, which then leads to the pieces being assembled in a completely different manner.

Everything can serve as a text, according to the philosophy behind Deconstruction (Ramoya, 2016:69). That is to say, nothing in a human's experience is not textually interpretively open to interpretation. Sikirivwa (2020:63) asserts that Derrida's Deconstruction is always a ‘Deconstruction of text’ and that to deconstruct a text is to rearticulate it rather than to destroy it. In addition, Deconstruction, in the words of Silverman (1989), is concerned with what is occurring in a text. Deconstruction, then, considers how a text's explicit formulations conflict with its implicit or non-explicit elements. By highlighting what a text contains, it highlights what it excludes. Such being the case, Derrida (1967:65) admits that the desire for Deconstruction may transform into a desire to actively reappropriate the text through mastery, to reveal to the text what it ‘does not know.’ Deconstruction thereby emphasises what is still ambiguous and what functions as ambiguity within the text itself (Güney & Güney, 2008:224; Sikirivwa, 2020:61). It involves dissecting the logic contained therein to look for hidden or alternate meanings.

Finding out what the text does not know and what it is saying, as well as the ways in which it does not make the point it seems to be attempting to make, are all parts of Deconstruction (Sikirivwa, 2020:63). Deconstruction, according to Silverman (1989), is the interpretation of texts in terms of their markings, traces, or undecidable aspects as well as their margins, limits, or frameworks, as well as the ways in which they are themselves circumscribed or delimited as texts. It is a technique for conducting textual

analysis that considers a text in a way that begs inquiry about certain problems or occurrences. Moreover, it refers to a style of criticism and analytical inquiry that emphasises the pursuit of a text's meaning to the point of exposing the purported inconsistencies and internal oppositions upon which it is constructed. According to Sikirivwa (2020:47), Deconstruction is a type of philosophical framework that emphasises reading between the lines and provides an account of what is happening in a text. Furthermore, Derrida approaches the text through double reading (Hendricks, 2016:2). The goal is to demonstrate instances of self-contradictions in the text, not to undermine or replace common reading. Deconstruction can even bring up issues that have been neglected or concealed while exposing the text's limitations or internal conflicts (Sikirivwa, 2020:65). Since viewpoints and power structures are embedded in and around texts, Staton (2018) claims that critical literacy academics have argued for many years for the critical study of texts that goes beyond the words themselves.

Derrida stated that Deconstruction is an activity of reading and interpreting literary text rather than a method (Sikirivwa, 2020:47). Finding aporias, blind spots or instances of self-contradiction in the text that unintentionally reveal the conflict between rhetoric and logic, or between what the text says and what it is supposed to mean, requires vigilance (Norris, 1987 cited in Hendricks, 2016:2). Deconstruction thus tries to investigate what a text has overlooked and demonstrates how what is left out is inextricably indicated by the categories that the text uses. Deconstruction may also refer to exposing a text or discourse to discussions about its boundaries and the interplay between its explicit and covert textual levels. Derrida claims that by dissecting the text's content, the structure is effectively weakened in order to be understood more clearly, to reveal its motivations and to reveal the mystery that has been inserted, which is neither development nor destruction but rather an impediment or hindrance ‘of’ or ‘for’ something (Gnanasekaran, 2015:212). The significance, therefore, is neither before nor after, inside nor outside of the text, in Deconstruction (Gnanasekaran, 2015:212).

Derrida (1967:54) asserts that Deconstruction holds that all writings include some kind of ambiguity. A thing that has multiple meanings is said to be ambiguous. Deconstruction dissects the text's components, identifies the behaviour and figurative language and offers a new interpretation of the sign. Derrida contends that any linguistic sign or phenomenological object is not derivable from a presence before

representation because of this (Ramoya, 2016:71). Thus, according to Gnanasekaran (2015:212), reading and understanding the selected text are complicated by verbal cues, parallel opposing energies, wordplay, metaphors, allegories, allusions and implications. According to Deconstruction, logical paradoxes and discursive inequities plague all forms of speech, the development of arguments and systems, even the most effective ones (Ramoya, 2016:70). Derrida asserts that Deconstruction is a valuable strategy for expressing novel insights into the text (Hendricks, 2016:2). Nevertheless, no text is ever thoroughly dissected or deconstructed (Derrida, 1967:44). Deconstruction is thus a critical perspective concerned with the link between text and meaning, a philosophical theoretical investigation (Sikirivwa, 2020:47).

Deconstruction deconstructs a text as the pursuit of a basis, the behaviour of the critic acting as though "one means what they say in their text," and as the enjoyment of the limitless (Derrida, 1967:65). Deconstruction proceeds in this manner by revealing the centres (Being or Meaning) as always having been tainted by a loss of presence at the same time as presence is instituted, transforming the centres' peripheries into non-monolithic categories of sameness but of originary traces (Ramoya, 2016:70). Güney and Güney (2008:222) also claim that words are never set in time and are never steady. The meaning is always tainted because the meaning that is perceived in language is the result of difference (Güney & Güney, 2008:222). Additionally, since the meaning of words is not determined by the thing they connect to, they can alter at any time. Deconstruction is a double motion that simultaneously overturns and displaces a conceptual order in order to expose and force free the space that has always been constrained by the diverse heterogeneity of textuality (Derrida, 1982 cited in Ramoya, 2016:70).

Language is determined by and shaped by reality. This means that one must deal with meanings that are created through 'difference' rather than meanings that are derived directly from the world they refer to (Güney & Güney, 2008:222). What Derrida refers to as 'metaphysics of presence' is the need to reflect the real language, which is mostly speech (Sikirivwa, 2020:63). According to the concept of metaphysics of presence, everything has a predetermined meaning. Derrida asserts, however, that there can never be just one meaning associated with something because another meaning or way of thinking will invariably surface (Güney & Güney, 2008:223). Derrida believes that texts and discourses never simply signify how one initially interprets what they

mean because additional meanings are always concealed within them (Sikirivwa, 2020:65). Deconstruction, therefore, is to turn away from logocentrism (Güney & Güney, 2008:223). Derrida believes that signs and their meanings are constantly mutable, interpretable and potentially reconfigurable (Sikirivwa, 2020:62). Any sign's implicit meaning is always much greater than its overt meaning at any given time. As a result, the interior has always contained the meaning of the outside, whether it be inside the outside or the other way around (Derrida, 1976 cited in Ramoya, 2016:78). Hendricks (2016:4) maintains that language's signs and syntax, rather than a person's experiences or essence, are the sources of meaning. Therefore, structuralism places the structure at the centre of meaning rather than seeing an individual as that centre (Hendricks, 2016:4). Hendricks (2016:4) argues that rather than the human self, the structure is what creates or generates meaning. This means that social structures, which set limits on what each person can achieve, rather than people themselves, provide purpose.

While media houses may transmit the same topic, such as 'Black Tax,' their perception of the notion and its meaning and interpretation, as well as their transmission or communication method, may differ. Therefore, in this case, this research study seeks to apply a Deconstruction theoretical approach to uncovering what the media do not show in terms of African Communalism/collectivism and the issue of 'Black Tax' as well as the real meaning. Finally, Deconstruction meticulously separates the competing forces of signification from the structures of thought by using the same tools that were generated from these structures (Ramoya, 2016:70). Deconstruction, paradoxically, cannot function wholly inside the framework of logocentric philosophy, but it may function entirely outside of it, which is more essential (Ramoya, 2016:70). According to Derrida, the distinction between phonocentrism and logocentrism is that the former refers to the spoken word, while the latter refers to the written word (cited in Güney & Güney, 2008:220).

It is critical to comprehend that all media are constructed and form perceptions of reality, according to the fundamental principles of media literacy. As a matter of fact, each medium has its own style and set of recognised standards and content is entangled within each of them. Audiences, therefore, negotiate meaning from media messages that have both commercial and ideological and political overtones (Bergstrom, Flynn& Craig, 2018). For instance, media messages include both a text,

which is the message's explicit words, images and/or audio and a subtext, which is the message's underlying, unstated meaning. In order to deconstruct the media representations of 'Black Tax' through critical analysis and media literacy, the idea of Deconstruction will help in this study. Media images and messages have a significant impact on how different minority groups are seen. As a result, critical media literacy asserts that, like all types of literacy, popular media presents viewpoints and beliefs that can be embraced and criticised (Staton, 2018). The use, production and understanding of media in its different forms are the main goals of media literacy (Richardson, Garmer, Mahaney, Petrillio & Weber, 2016). Thus, by deconstructing the media text, the study can find out the messages embedded and implied in the selected media archival materials that focus on 'Black Tax' and why those messages were created. Therefore, the study can identify what meaning is communicated, preferred, neglected, highlighted and negated in relation to 'Black Tax' and the socio-economic history, conditions and future of South Africa.

4.2.1. Elements of Deconstruction

The elements of Deconstruction; difference, dissemination, destinerrance and geocatastrophe are discussed in greater detail below.

- *Difference*

The word 'difference,' which was coined by Jacques Derrida, is one of the components of Deconstruction. Derrida's Deconstruction is a critical perspective interested in the connection between text and meaning. The term 'difference' refers to distinction and delayed significance (Derrida, 1973:82). Another name for this distinction is 'defer,' which is a neologism for the Latin word *differre*, which also means 'to defer' (to postpone or take a detour) (Ramoya, 2016:78). Deferring (deferral) cannot, however, entail delaying a current possibility, delaying an action, or delaying a perception that is already possible (Derrida, 1978:203). Derrida (1978:203) asserts that the only way the possibility is possible is through difference, which requires thinking of possibility in terms other than those of calculus or decision-making mechanics. Therefore, differance must be conceptualised before being divided into deferring as delay and differing as an active labour of difference. According to Derrida (1973:82), the verb 'differ' denotes difference as distinction, inequality, or discernibility; however, it also conveys the interposition of delay, the interval of spacing and the temporalising of that

delay until ‘later’; what is currently denied-the possible that is currently impossible. In this instance, ‘to differ’ denotes non-identity, whereas in the other, it denotes the same thing in a different order. Difference in Deconstruction thus mean both the act of difference and deferring in understanding of meaning in text. So, understanding difference in interpretation of a sign, language or text opens up the possibility of generating meaning. Deferring implies designating meaning of a sign, text or word to another word, text, or language in generating understanding and meaning of the text. As such ‘Difference’ points to how meaning is not given or taken for granted, it is created.

Phonetic and graphic disparities, according to Derrida, lack rigor in terms of their differentiation because they are not perceptible presences in and of themselves, just as there is no justification for attributing naturalness to the phoneme and secondary grapheme (Ramoya, 2016:72). Difference is the articulation of space and time as a result (Derrida, 1978:219). However, the sense, or meaning, insofar as it is dependent on change in both time and location, is inevitably not being understood (Derrida, 1981 cited in Ramoya, 2016:79). Because difference is instantly and irreducibly multivalent, it can consequently relate to a vast array of meanings at once, which is crucial for the discourse (Derrida, 1973:137). The middle voice is indicated by differences rather than being merely active. It comes before and establishes the contrast between optimism and activity (Derrida, 1978:315).

‘Difference’ is not an idea or a word. Being composed of an actual difference that makes the sign conceivable but that can be instituted and interpreted in terms of other periods and circumstances in which the instituted difference systematically appears is thus a complex essential quality of signs (Derrida, 1973: xxiv). Because the sign is both signified and signifier, it can only be comprehended in the context of difference, which has an impact on the sign as a whole (Ramoya, 2016:78). The current thing, which serves as both a sense and a referent in this context, is replaced with a sign. Signs, therefore, act as a substitute for the present and represent it when it is absent (Derrida, 1973:89). Such a quality is unquestionably crucial at every linguistic level; it is what gives people meaning in the strict sense as well as linguistic significance in general (Derrida, 1973:89). The traces or tracks of something that is always absent establish the sign's structure (Ramoya, 2016:78). Because all structures are based on presences, the structure of the sign is also the structure of the trace. As a result, all

structures are subverted. In Derrida's focus on the impossibility of pure sameness and immediate present, as proposed by both linguistics and phenomenology signifies that a trace is thus another word for the (non)originary (Ramoya, 2016:79). The trace, therefore, is the difference which opens appearance and signification (Derrida, 1976 cited in Ramoya, 2016:79). In order to avoid erasing the myth of a present origin, it is important to understand what 'originary' means. Without it, difference would be derived from an original plenitude if one said that difference is originary (Derrida, 1978:203).

Life undoubtedly uses repetition, tracing and difference (deferral) to safeguard itself (Derrida, 1978:203). The unheard difference between the appearing and the appearance, and between the world and the lived experiences is the condition of all other differences between traces and it is already a trace (Ramoya, 2016:79). Derrida gives the term 'arche-writing' ('Archi-ecriture') to the same root of speech and writing (Ramoya, 2016:78). Arche writing consists of writing that has been erased 'sousrature', using language that has always been represented in that manner (Ramoya, 2016:78). Derrida (1978:226), however, asserts that writing is impossible without repression. According to Derrida (1978:226), the prerequisite of writing is that there cannot be a permanent connection or a complete separation between strata, the vigilance and failure of censorship. It is no surprise that the political concept of censorship is derived from the deletions, blanks and written disguises (Derrida, 1978:226). No text that has been created and is currently in existence, could be subjected to an operation and a temporalisation that would be external to it and float on its surface without changing in the process (Derrida, 1978:226). Therefore, this element of difference in Deconstruction, relating to 'difference' and 'deferring (to defer),' will be beneficial in analysing how the phrase and issue of 'Black Tax' is framed in media discourse with a focus on examining the implication of this framing on the understanding of African Communalism.

- ❖ Destinerrance

Another aspect of Deconstruction that is crucial to this study is 'destinerrance.' Destinerrance is also linked to difference, or a temporality of differing and deferring without a clear source or purpose; to trace, iterability, signature, event and context (Miller, 2006:894). Additionally, it relates to Derrida's peculiar idea of speech acts, the future of the 'to come,' decisions, responsibilities and responsibility, as well as to

another of Derrida's neologisms, ‘irresponsabilisation’ (Miller, 2006:894). The characteristic of iterability that Derrida links with any sign, trace, or mark—even prelinguistic marks—gives rise to destinerrance (Miller, 2006:896). Derrida believes that the transmission of meaning involves a homogenous space and a selfsameness process because meaning is "the content of the semantic message," which is transferred and communicated through many channels (Ramoya, 2016:80). The homogeneity of a sign is its ability to function either independently of its referent or as a detached assertion from its constituting sign. As a result, a sign can be ambiguous (as in the case of mathematical meaning) or agrammatical but still have meaning. The logic of an iterable sign is defined by how it continues to function even after it is separated from its referent. Derrida makes two interrelated arguments as a result of the sign or statement being thus detached: iterability regulates communication and everything conveyed is not so much totalisable in terms of context as well as presence (Ramoya, 2016:81). Iterability (repeatability) is a harbinger of death, absence in the form of detachment, dissemination-shortly defined, meaning and/or presence moving through irreducible and generative multiplicity (Derrida, 1981 cited in Ramoya, 2016:81). Generative multiplicity relates to the iterability of text. Iterability implies the possibility of text to be repeated a with multiplicity of meanings in a multiplicity of contexts, even with the absence (death) of the original context.

The term ‘iterability’ refers to the ability of a sign, set of signs, mark, or trace to function in drastically different contexts (Miller, 2006:896). On the other hand, a statement's detachability in Husserl's analysis of signs indicates its functioning even though it is torn from its ‘original’ speech or inscription (Ramoya, 2016:81). It has been suggested that the sign's detachability is what gives it its unique identity in the first place. For instance, Derrida claims that a text must be iterable in citation and be able to be removed from its context in order to qualify as a text; in other words, it must be quotable (Ramoya, 2016:81). Derrida's technique adopts a more metaphorical tone in expressing destinerrance (also a destination). The real purpose of metaphor, according to Derrida, is to transport (Ramoya, 2016:83). Thus, the metaphor of metaphor, which he labels ‘the postal principle’, captures communication, the transfer of a message from a scriptor (Ramoya, 2016:83). Derrida relates the concept of ‘sending’ as being ‘destined’ to the implications of the postal system, which is what makes all sendings possible. This means that a message gets spread in a variety of

ways and over a wide range of space and time (Ramoya, 2016:83). Destinerrance as an element of Deconstruction thus relates to the iterability of a sign or text, the possibility of a word to wander. Similar to the element of difference, this element is essential to this study in terms of the interrogation of how the concept of 'Black Tax' is communicated and its implications on the understanding of African Communalism

- On experience: Geocatastrophe

'Geocatastrophe' is the final element of Deconstruction which is essential to this study. Derrida defines experience as a term as either a traversal or a voyage, both of which are pertinent to the origins of the words 'originate' and 'arrive' (Ramoya, 2016:84). Therefore, experience encompasses both arriving at ones destination and whatever occurs, whether intended or not. Derrida uses the odyssey tale to illustrate this dilemma. For instance, a person is perceived to have a long journey that is derived from a continuous and organised trajectory and has an origin and an end (Ramoya, 2016:84). Everything that occurs to him or her on this journey, therefore, is vital and any calamity is an accident that confirms the purpose of the journey. As a result, the traversal and its occurrences become derivative; the calamities become a script that is followed and no longer affects a specific person (Ramoya, 2016:84). Because it is anticipated, planned for and expected, it is a disciplined chance that has been softened in advance. According to Ramoya (2016:84), it was a surprise that was anticipated; thus, it was never a surprise in the first place. Thus, geocatastrophe relates to the traversal of text, the mobility of text, words and meaning. It implies the movement of a word, which may relate to its intended meanings at the origin and its meanings on arrival. It raises critical interpretation questions about what is intended in the origin of a word and what it means at various points of arrival (interpretations). Therefore, this element will aid the study in studying how the Media Framing of 'Black Tax' reveals what issues are highlighted, preferred, negated and neglected in media discourses. The Deconstruction theory will also be supported by the theory of Media Framing.

4.3. MEDIA FRAMING

Media Framing Theory is an additional theory that will be helpful for this investigation. The focus of framing theory is largely on how issues are portrayed, managed, and even produced by the media (Fourie, 2018). The process through which people create

a certain understanding of an issue or change the way they view an issue is known as ‘framing theory’ (Chong & Druckman, 2007:104). The interpretive sociology, which holds that how people understand reality and daily life is largely dependent on interaction and situation definitions, provides the theoretical underpinnings for the creation and growth of the idea of framing (Arde’vol-Abreu, 2015:427). In an essay on perception psychology, Bateson (1972) used the term ‘frame’ for the first time in its current understanding. Bateson (1972) notes that ‘frame’ is a psychological notion but refers to the significance of messages as factors that influence how they are constructed. Many disciplinary traditions have contributed to the development of framing theory and various academics have defined framing as a concept at various levels of study (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). Since its inception in the field of sociology in the mid-1960s, framing theory has undergone a rapid development (Arde’vol-Abreu, 2015:423). As a result, framing has developed into a multidisciplinary paradigm that enables the comprehensive study of media's effects on audiences and individuals. The core tenet of framing is that a problem can be seen from various angles and can be understood to have implications for numerous values or factors (Chong & Druckman, 2007:104).

Frames can be created to clarify concepts or function as mental gimmicks to connect stories to a larger context (Arowolo, 2017). Thus, the concept of framing refers to the process of highlighting particular characteristics of the newsworthy things as well as the actual objects (Arowolo, 2017). Additionally, according to Arde’vol-Abreu (2015:424), frames highlight some parts of reality at the price of others, so it is important to consider what is described as well as what is omitted when defining them. Thus, from this perspective, framing may be described as a process where specific realities are chosen and given more significance or focus so that the issue is characterised, its causes are identified, moral judgments are put forward and suitable remedies and actions are presented (Entman, 1993 cited in Arde’vol-Abreu, 2015:424). Gitlin (1980 cited in Arde’vol-Abreu, 2015:428) makes the claim that a frame is created by selection, emphasis, and exclusion. In other words, every good story emphasises some details while omitting others. Additionally, a media message's impact frequently results from both what is said and what is left out of a narrative.

According to the framing theory, the way something is presented to an audience (referred to as the ‘frame’) affects the decisions that readers or viewers make

regarding how to interpret that information (Arowolo, 2017). Therefore, a frame offers a way to comprehend an event or an issue by stressing some aspects of a topic above others (de Vreese, 2005:53). Moreover, a certain frame causes people to disregard some messages and pay attention to others that are contained in it (those that are excluded from it). The origin, development, presentation, and impact of frames are all covered by framing theory (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). Therefore, a frame is what compiles information into a presentation that can have an impact on the audience (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). Any message that explicitly or indirectly defines a frame automatically provides the recipient with instructions or assists in his effort to comprehend the messages included within the frame (Bateson, 1977:188 cited in Arde'vol-Abreu, 2015:428). As a result, a frame helps viewers understand the contents it includes by emphasising that the messages included within it are significant and connected in some way, while the messages outside of it should be ignored (Arde'vol-Abreu, 2015:428). Frame construction, frame setting and the effects of framing on the individual and societal levels are the several stages of framing (de Vreese, 2005:51-52). The term 'frame-building' describes the variables that affect the structural characteristics of news frames. The interaction of media frames with a person's past knowledge and predispositions is referred to as 'frame-setting' (de Vreese, 2005:52).

An issue is presented and defined by a communication source as part of framing (de Vreese, 2005:52). Frame-building (how frames form) and frame-setting (the interaction between media frames and audience predispositions) are key components of the dynamic process of communication (de Vreese, 2005:51). By giving meaning to an evolving sequence of events and advancing certain definitions and interpretations of political concerns, a frame in communication organises everyday reality (Chong & Druckman, 2007:107). Thus, communication frames have an impact on audiences' attitudes and behaviours (Chong & Druckman, 2007:109). Furthermore, the information and pictures one receives from the media impact upon ones society, culture and ones perspective of reality. The same subject presented in a different way or by a different media outlet may elicit distinct frames. The communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture are some of the places where frames can be found (de Vreese, 2005:51). As such, the goal of Deconstruction theory is to determine what a text has missed and show how what is omitted is inextricably implied by the categories that are used (Sikirivwa, 2020:65).

Through their involvement in the development of popular social discourse, the media have a significant amount of power to create and alter societal frames of interpretation (Arde'vol-Abreu, 2015:428). For that reason, according to Deconstruction, speakers are free to improvise and change their language to suit newer worldviews. Deconstruction thereby emphasises the language and interpretative errors. Entman (1993, cited in Arde'vol-Abreu, 2015:431) points out that media frames are constructed through the use of the media's own resources (written or spoken word, still or moving images, sounds and visual elements of all kinds) to organise the narrated story in a way that promotes a definition of the problem, an interpretation of the causes, a moral assessment, and a recommended course of action. According to Chong and Druckman (2007:109), media frames may imitate those employed by politicians, social activists, other media sources, or citizens. Therefore, it is not surprising that people frequently adopt frames they pick up from conversations with other people. Tewksbury & Scheufele (2009) believe that frames are most effective when they encourage people to approach a problem in a particular way. Thus, according to Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007, cited in Arde'vol-Abreu, 2015:431), media frames are macro-constructs that are used to simplify issues, adapt them to the needs and constraints of the media and the audience, as well as the interpretive schemas they are accustomed to using, and to reduce their complexity. Arde'vol-Abreu (2015:431) contends that frames transform into micro-constructions in people's thoughts, enabling viewers to create their own impressions and mental pictures of the outside world based on the information they have been given. That is to say, despite the fact that media creators try to deliver a particular message, people may receive and interpret it in a different way depending on their own past information, experiences, values, and beliefs. Thus, according to Deconstruction theory, nothing in a human's experience is not textually interpretively open to interpretation.

The foundation of framing theory is that certain occurrences are brought to light by the media, who then contextualises them (Arowolo, 2017). In order to affect audience interpretation, societal and media discourses are frequently customised to specific fundamental frameworks (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). By portraying events and situations in a particular way, the media can have a significant impact on how the public feels (Vreese, 2005). According to Arowolo's (2017) framing theory, the media establish this frame by presenting news items with limited and prescribed

contextualisation. The way that news is presented can have a considerable impact on citizens' opinions, attitudes, and actions (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). The act of placing news items and story information in a recognisable setting is referred to as ‘framing’ (Arowolo, 2017). The way journalists describe persons and other political objects, what parts of an event to include in the news, how they choose to refer to an issue and other factors all serve as frames for the news (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). According to Fourie (2018), framing refers to how news reports are contextualised within a certain (ideological) framework and how they have an impact on the general population.

When writing texts according to Arde’vol-Abreu (2015:429), journalists employ frames to provide meaning to and simplify reality in some way while retaining the public's interest. When journalists create news, when they use words and images to create a certain depiction of a reality, they choose a frame (Arde’vol-Abreu, 2015:429). The media, for instance, may choose to report about a person, subject, group, or institution in a particular way. The end result is that because the public is only exposed to negative (or good) characteristics, they tend to view individuals, groups, institutions, or issues from a negative (or positive) perspective. Frames in the news will inevitably have an impact on how one learns about, understands, and judges issues and events (de Vreese, 2005:52). Omission is one of the many tactics that can be used to highlight one piece of information at the expense of others, albeit it is not always the most significant (Arde’vol-Abreu, 2015:429). It is impossible to examine a subject from all angles, hence all news reports have omissions, whether intentional or not (Arde’vol-Abreu, 2015:429). As a result, no one presents the entire picture; for instance, every media creator has a point to make.

The most obvious but superficial similarity between framing effects and agenda setting effects is a relationship which has attracted some interest (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). It is possible to advocate a specific problem, definition, causal interpretation, moral assessment and/or treatment advice for the item described by framing certain parts of a perceived reality and making them more prominent in a communicating text (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). Therefore, framing is similar to the tradition of defining the agenda but broadens the research by concentrating on the core problems at hand rather than on a specific topic (Arowolo, 2017). Agenda-setting Theory focuses on the importance of problems, while Framing is concerned with how issues are presented

(de Vreese, 2005:53). Furthermore, Fourie (2018) argues that although Agenda-setting places more focus on the media's choice of themes, issues, or events, framing theory places more emphasis on how issues are represented, managed, and even produced by the media. Deconstruction Theory, on the other hand, highlights the text's flaws or internal tensions by bringing up previously ignored or hidden topics (Sikirivwa, 2020:69). In this regard, the Media Framing Theory will be helped by the Theory of Deconstruction in order to explore the issue of highlighting some aspects of reality or stories at the expense of others in order to show what is primarily left out in a text. Thus, this research study uses the Theory of Deconstruction, Media Framing and Agenda-setting to analyse the Media Framing of youth's social responsibility to extended family, known as 'Black Tax' and to study how the Media Framing of 'Black Tax' reveal what issues are highlighted, preferred, negated, and neglected in media discourse. Therefore, Agenda-setting Theory is discussed in this study, under the umbrella of Media Framing Theory.

4.3.1. Agenda Setting Theory

The Agenda-setting Theory is another applicable theory to this research since the agenda framing effects resemble those of the Media Framing Theory. McCombs and Shaw's (1972) research is one of the most important studies that supports this notion. The Agenda-setting hypothesis examines how the media shapes the public's perception of a certain subject (Mohd Zain, 2014:3). According to Severin and Tankard Jr. (2001), the media's power to set the agenda refers to its capacity to increase the relevance of a topic in the public's mind through regular news coverage. Agenda-setting, therefore, focuses on the issues that the media convey to an audience and, secondly, the manner in which the information on the chosen topics is given (Fourie, 2018). Setting an agenda is a strategy for increasing audience awareness of a problem's accessibility (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). The idea explains the relationship between an issue's prominence in the mass media and media audiences or the general public's perceptions of, or responses to, that problem (Mohd Zain, 2014:3). The agenda setting concept has been used to explain how news signals influence how people perceive an issue and how to comprehend it (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009).

Mass media according to Neuman, Guggenheim, Jang and Young-Bae (2014), set an agenda that can affect public opinion (Mohd Zain, 2014:4). Daily, the media provide what they consider to be significant events (Fourie, 2018). Additionally, the media draws attention to certain events or actions by emphasising them (Severin & Tankard Jr, 2001). According to Graber and Dunaway (2015), the media also conveys to the public in a largely consistent manner which particular issues and actions are the most important and ought to be given a high ranking on the public's agenda of political concerns. Important information is conveyed through cues such as banner headlines, newspaper front-page placement and first-story placement on television. Although substantial media coverage increases the likelihood that a problem will be discovered, it does not ensure that the public will give it the same level of priority that the media has suggested (Graber & Dunaway, 2015). According to Mohd Zain (2014:4), the media has a special access to shaping or influencing the audience's views, values, priorities and emphases. In a similar manner, the news media significantly affects how one perceives the most pressing concerns of the day (McCombs & Reynolds, 2009). The news media's power to shape the importance of issues on the public agenda has come to be known as its ‘Agenda-setting function.’ The first step in the construction of public opinion is to establish this salience among the populace so that an issue becomes the centre of public attention, contemplation and possibly even action (McCombs & Reynolds, 2009). The Agenda-setting hypothesis, therefore, is extremely consistent with cognitive psychology because it examines the salience or importance that people give to different concerns and how they determine these saliences. The images of the world people create in their brains and how they do so are of interest to cognitive psychologists (Severin & Tankard Jr, 2001). The language employed by the media can influence how important a topic is seen to be (Severin & Tankard Jr, 2001). Therefore, Agenda-setting by the media results in uniform exposure and unimportant ratings of news items (Graber & Dunaway, 2015). However, media organisations frequently cover sensitive topics by citing the original report when they risk angering interest groups and to appear relatively unbiased (Neuman et al., 2014).

Therefore, the media draw attention to specific topics (Severin & Tankard Jr, 2001). Public awareness of an issue's importance is influenced by the emphasis provided in news coverage (Fourie, 2018). Severin and Tankard Jr. (2001) posit that the media connect the actions or occurrences that have drawn attention to them to auxiliary

symbols whose presence on the political scene is obvious. Furthermore, when a problem receives widespread media coverage, the public perceives it as being more important (Severin & Tankard Jr, 2001). Additionally, McCombs and Reynolds (2009) assert that journalists direct attention to and shape impressions of, the most crucial challenges affecting the nation through the daily selection and presentation of the news. They constantly reveal things or problems that imply what the general populace should consider, understand and feel (Severin & Tankard Jr, 2001). The media, however, is incredibly successful at informing its readers or viewers what to think about, even while it may not always be successful at telling people what to believe. Therefore, in Agenda-setting Theory, the main concern is not how a specific event is reported, but rather how much emphasis the media gives to events or its distribution and how long people are exposed to the coverage of the event (Arde'vol-Abreu, 2015:426).

Mass media are accountable for influencing and reshaping public opinion and agendas. Intentional or inadvertent, such mass media has an effect on the public agenda or viewpoint (Mohd Zain, 2014:4). According to Fourie (2018), the fundamental tenet of Agenda-setting Theory is that the media, whether intentionally or unconsciously, shape a specific perception of reality. Similar to Framing Theory, media users' perceptions of reality are established in a certain way by the exclusion of some events and concerns and the overemphasis of others (Fourie, 2018). Therefore, Agenda-setting is concerned with how ones views of reality are affected by the media's legitimisation of ideas and occurrences (Fourie, 2018). According to Mohd Zain (2014:8), current study has shown that the mass media has a significant impact on how audiences behave. Thus, Severin and Tankard Jr. (2001) maintain that Agenda-setting has a significant role in defining what the majority of people will talk about, what the majority of people believe the facts to be and how the majority of people view problems being solved. As a result of this media influence, media viewers often establish their own opinions or concentrate on certain subjects that they deem important enough to put on their mental agendas (Mohd Zain, 2014:4).

When events are portrayed as significant by the media, both the general people and politicians discuss them and create opinions (Graber & Dunaway, 2015). However, the public agenda is the principal worry or subject that the general public or members of society are most focused on (Mohd Zain, 2014:3). Therefore, whether or not an

agenda is set may depend on how intrusive the topic is (Severin and Tankard Jr, 2001). People tend to rank topics according to indicators in the news sources they consume when asked which are more crucial to them personally or to their communities (Graber & Dunaway, 2015). From another perspective, Agenda-setting is hastened when prominent and reliable people start to speak out about a problem (Severin & Tankard Jr, 2001). For instance, media personalities were featured in the media when discussing the ‘Black Tax’ phenomenon. An issue's framing by the media and the language they choose to describe it can have an impact and the contributions of well-known people to the discussion can be significant (Severin & Tankard Jr, 2001). People analyse the information they receive from the media and depending on who is doing the evaluating, this evaluation may have an impact on how some people set their agendas (Severin & Tankard Jr, 2001). As a consequence, many people quickly adopt the media's assessment of importance, often unintentionally, as opposed to choosing or reflecting news based on their own preferences (Graber & Dunaway, 2015). Consequently, agenda setting includes audience members analysing information, rather than being a mechanical or automatic process (Severin & Tankard Jr, 2001). Focus is on the viewpoints that communicators and their audiences employ to portray themes in the daily news through framing and the attribute of Agenda-setting (McCombs & Reynolds, 2009). For that reason, this research study used Media Framing to analyse how the issue of ‘Black Tax’ is framed in media discourse with a focus on examining the implication of this framing on the understanding of African Communalism. Additionally, the research study sought to interrogate how ‘Black Tax’ was communicated, emphasised and/or presented in the media by using Media Framing. The study also used Agenda-setting Theory under the umbrella of Media Framing Theory. Therefore, in order to interrogate how the concept of ‘Black Tax’ is communicated in the media, the research study used the Agenda-setting Theory as well to study the media representations of ‘Black Tax’ and to evaluate how they create or influence its particular image of reality. Thus, by using both the theories, the research study would be able to analyse the Media Framing of youth’s social responsibility to extended families and known as ‘Black Tax’ in most cases.

4.4. AFRICAN COMMUNALISM

The theory of African Communalism is the last theory that is useful for this study. The concept has been briefly introduced in Chapter 3. According to Ominde et al. (2020:279), African Communalism is the customary way traditional African societies have worked in the past. Communalism is defined as a strong sense of belonging to and commitment to one's own group as opposed to society as a whole (Etta et al., 2016:304). Thus, African Communalism is a combination of cultural practices and a philosophical framework that emphasises a group's collective role over the individual's role. Bisong (2018:2) goes on to say that communalism is a way of life that prioritises the community's common good over individual gains. It can be defined as the community's priority over the individual. According to Ominde et al. (2020:279), African Communalism has become a recurring subject in most debates on African philosophy and ethics in traditional African societies. As a moral theory, communalism encourages community members to work together and pool their resources for the benefit of all community members (Ominde et al., 2020:279). This is true because communalist principles argue that a person may only become conscious of their obligations, existence and privileges toward other members of society through other individuals. For instance, whether people enjoy or grieve, they share their feelings with their family, which is a cooperative group.

Communalism is founded on the idea of shared identity, or the belief that people belong to specific groups that share history, language, culture and geographical area (Etta et al., 2016:304). Communalist ideology according to Ominde et al. (2020:283), incorporates a component of justice that necessitates a continuous effort to acknowledge and uphold an equitable balance in the sharing of resources as a recipe for building cohesion in diverse component portions of the society. A recognition of people's fundamental connection is communalism. Hence, one behaves in accordance with the belief that serving ones social group comes before personal interests and privileges (Venter, 2004:151). The doctrine or Theory of Communalism holds that the community or groups should be the focus of each individual member of society's efforts (Bisong, 2018:2). African Communalism, according to Ikuenobe (2018), is a moral philosophy that upholds human rights, dignity and accountability. It is also a concept about social relationships and moral principles regarding the kinds of relationships that should exist between people in a community and the requirement

to consider the interests of the larger society (Abakare & Okeke, 2018). Therefore, according to Venter (2004:153), an individual person is an essential component of the society in African culture and philosophy and, as a result, an individual can only exist corporately. According to Abakare and Okeke (2018), communalism is giving communal ambitions precedence over individual desires.

The guiding principle of African Communalism is that it ensures personal accountability within the context of communal ownership and relationship (Etta et al., 2016:303). Therefore, under communalism, the individual is viewed as subservient to the community since, regardless of the values held by the individual, the community's state of being dictates what becomes of the individual (Bisong, 2018:2). It is a way of life where individuals of a community are anticipated to share a common spirit in order to cooperate, coexist, empathise with and adjudicate among one another (Bisong, 2018:2). It is a system of social interactions in which individual claims are typically ranked behind the demands or claims of a group of individuals (Abakare & Okeke, 2018). According to Bisong (2018:2), communalism causes a person to view their group as superior and deserving of all aid from the front self. Therefore, the individual is born out of and into, the African community and will always be part of the community (Venter, 2004:149).

In Africa, communalism is often praised and recognised by many political thinkers as the main foundation of traditional society (Etta et al., 2016:309). African Communalism is rooted in the conviction that the society forms an ontological (Nature of being) and well-structured unit in which everybody is linked with all the other members, living or dead through a complex network of spiritual relationships into a kind of a mystical body (Ominde et al., 2020:280). Because of this, the African community resembles Buddhist conceptions of the human community as a large web of spiritual, psychological, biological and emotional connections that is always increasing (Venter, 2004:152). The African community also shares the planet with the unborn, the living souls of the dead, the ground, mountains and sky, just like the Buddhist community (Venter, 2004:151).

Another important aspect of African Communalism is social responsibility (Ominde et al., 2020:280). As a result, communal values such as mutual sharing, solidarity, mutual aid, mutual trust, interdependence and cooperation are required of each member.

African Communalism sees society's members as interconnected, related and bound to one another (Ominde et al., 2020:284). At the micro level, a family is a community of members connected biologically and, as such, the individual in a family shares a sense of collective support and social responsibility to the family. Therefore, an individual financially assisting parents and siblings relate to this idea of African Communalism.

African Communalism is related to the African philosophical concept of Ubuntu, which relates to the idea of a universal bond of connectivity. Ubuntu as a way of life emphasises interdependence, communalism, sensitivity to others and care for others (Venter, 2004:149). Similar to this, an African philosophy of life places great emphasis on interconnectedness, collective consciousness and a communalist worldview (Venter, 2004:156). Communism provides the foundation for the ethics of helping one another and showing compassion (Etta et al., 2016:309). As a result, in African culture, the welfare of the community is always prioritised (Venter, 2004:157). The African community spirit is embodied in the concepts of Ubuntu and communalism (Etta et al., 2016:305). In the African worldview, the idea of ubuntu, or human being, is extremely important. Ubuntu is derived from the East African Bantu word 'muntu,' which literally means a person or a human being (Fangunwa, 2019:4). Ubuntu is an African ideology that aims to encourage peaceful interactions and relationships between people (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:76). Furthermore, Ubuntu is a way of thinking that emphasises a society's overall well-being and views humanness as a crucial component of that growth (Venter, 2004:156).

The idea of Ubuntu, according to Venter (2004:150), is mostly derived from a socio-economic structure in which the chief, the clan and the extended family were the key sources of wealth and values. It speaks about a good manner of acting or being in regard to others that is ethical or moral (Venter, 2004:150). From an African perspective, it represents a process of humanisation (Fongwa, 2019:4). However, according to Fangunwa (2019:2), Ubuntu represents humanistic traits that are rapidly vanishing in today's individualistic culture. According to the African philosophy of life, a person learns about himself and the world around him through his society (Maris, 2020). Therefore, African Communalism is founded on the principles of systemic thinking and the communal notion of ‘I am because we are and because we are, therefore, I am’ (Ominde et al., 2020:284). In addition, the value of the self being

connected to, and a part of the community should be instilled in society (Venter, 2004:151). On the other side, the phrase ‘motho ke motho ka batho’ (Sotho) or ‘umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu’ (Nguni) that means ‘I am because we are and because we are, therefore, I am’ expresses the dependence of the self (Venter, 2004:153). As a result, in the African worldview, the concept of Ubuntu, or human being, is extremely important. It entails acts of compassion, sympathy, care, respect, concern and kindness toward other people, based on the underlying universal brotherhood of Africans, but also expressed by and to non-Africans (Fongwa, 2019:4). Thus, an individual who is financially stable and assisting the struggling family members materially or financially is considered to have Ubuntu.

The first view of Ubuntu is from a moral perspective, defining a person's human responsibility to others and society (Fongwa, 2019:4). As a result, Ubuntu is a philosophy that promotes a society's common good while also acknowledging humanness as a fundamental component of human progress (Venter, 2004:159). The 'We in I' is another notable element of African Communalism, in which an individual considers himself in relation to others in the spirit of collectivism, brotherhood, communal spirit and togetherness (Ominde et al., 2020:280). A more probable perspective is that African Communalism does not always envision a contradiction between individuals and communities (Ikuenobe, 2018). The concept of communalism also implies a consensus-based decision-making process (Etta et al., 2016:305). This agreement is reached through dialogues, such that everyone must join and speak in a meeting where political decisions are decided. Every adult is involved in the decision-making process as well as in the implementation of those choices. Similarly, communal challenges are shared collectively because community members tackle survival problems as a unit (Ominde et al., 2020:280). As a result, a key component of traditional African life is the sense of community and belonging (Venter, 2004:149). The theory will, therefore, aid in the study and comprehension of the African way of life, as well as how it is portrayed in the media. In addition, the theory will help in the study of the phenomenon of financially assisting family members who are struggling as well as recommending ways of conceptualising the youth’s family support that subverts the capitalist framing and recognising the social and psychological pressures that youth may experience.

4.5. CONCLUSION

The chapter concentrated on Jacques Derrida's Theory of Deconstruction and its key elements, which largely emphasises how people frequently represent their ideas as binary oppositions with the assertion that each term in a binary opposition always reflects the other. It primarily focused on linguistic irregularities, textual interpretations and the events contained inside texts. The Media Framing Theory and Agenda-setting Theory were also covered in this chapter. Media Framing Theory and Agenda-setting Theory both draw attention to the viewpoints that communicators and their listeners adopt when visualising media stories. While the focus of Agenda-setting is on the themes, issues, or events that the media chooses to cover, the focus of framing theory is more on how the media portrays, handles and even creates media concerns (Fourie, 2018). In order to investigate and comprehend the African communal and social support system, within which individuals materially supporting family members relates, the study also utilised the philosophy of African Communalism. Thus, with the use of all the theories selected, the study will be able to analyse the Media Framing of youth's social responsibility to extended family, known as 'Black Tax' and deconstruct how the phrasing and framing of this social support to family as 'Black Tax' reveals what issues are highlighted, preferred, negated and neglected in the media discourses. The theories will also be useful in interrogating how the concept of 'Black Tax' is communicated and its implications for the understanding of African Communalism, as well as recommending ways of conceptualising youth's family support that subverts the capitalist framing and recognises the financial, social, and psychological pressures that youths may experience.

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CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1. INTRODUCTION

With the goal of studying how the issue of ‘Black Tax’ is framed in media discourses, this study used a qualitative research method. The qualitative research approach, according to Du Plooy-Cillers et al. (2014), strives to obtain the richness and complexity of data gathered from complex and diverse events in a specific social context. The qualitative research approach was important for this study because it allowed the critical assessment of the media discourses on ‘Black Tax’ in great detail and helped in learning more about the participants' various subjective ideas and viewpoints on South African history and inherited inter-generational poverty, which in some cases led to the formation of ‘Black Tax.’ The data from this study were analysed using an explanatory research methodology, framing analysis, thematic analysis, and a Deconstruction approach to the text. This chapter goes into greater detail about the research design, sampling, data gathering technique, research process, data analysis techniques and quality standards.

5.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

Using qualitative research, the researcher wanted to explore and examine the experiences and opinions of young Black professionals through semi-structured, in-depth interviews. On the other hand, the intention also was to examine how the media frames ‘Black Tax’ with a focus on examining this framing on the understanding of African Communalism. Thus, this research used an explanatory research design. The overall objective of explanatory research according to Du Plooy-Cillers et al. (2014), is to understand how and why there is a relationship between distinct occurrences. In other words, one can find explanations as to why certain things happen.

Unlike other approaches, qualitative research enabled the collection of data that more thoroughly addressed the research objectives. Additionally, it helped disclose and discover statements or place them in the context of a text, which would have otherwise resulted in their augmentation of the textual material. By summarising, categorising, and paraphrasing, it also assisted in reducing the original content. On the other hand, in the understanding and analysis of how ‘Black Tax’ is portrayed in the media and how young Black professionals perceive it. The study was able to address the issue

more thoroughly and comprehend the ‘Black Tax’ phenomenon more effectively in this study due to the use of an explanatory research approach. In this research, secondary data about ‘Black Tax’ from the media was gathered and documented. To interview young Black professionals, interview guides were developed, and the conversations were recorded. This made it easier to examine how the media frames young people's societal responsibility and how the idea of ‘Black Tax’ is presented in the media. It also allowed the research to learn from young people themselves about their experiences with and perceptions of ‘Black Tax.’ The data collected helped in addressing the objectives of this study. To recall, the research objectives as set out in Chapter 1 were:

- To analyse the Media Framing of youth’s social responsibility to extended family, known as ‘Black Tax.’
- To study how the Media Framing of ‘Black Tax’ reveals the issues that are mostly highlighted, preferred, negated, and neglected in media discourses.
- To interrogate how the concept of ‘Black Tax’ is communicated and its implications on the understanding of African Communalism.
- To examine the mediating effect of ‘Black Tax’ on Black youth within the historical and socio-economic contexts of Black South African families.
- To recommend ways of conceptualising youth’s family support that subverts the capitalist framing and to recognise the social and psychological pressures that youths may experience.

5.3. POPULATION AND SAMPLING

The study population and sample for the subset of the population for this study are explained in detail below.

5.3.1 Population

Every recent graduate who is employed or self-employed as well as those who are unemployed made up the population for this study. According to Widd & Diggines (2013 cited in Du Plooy-Cillers, 2014), the term ‘population’ refers to the entire collection of individuals or entities from whom the information is needed. For that reason, the researcher chose to use a relevant, appropriate youth population, which consisted of recent graduates who were employed, self-employed as well as the unemployed. The justification for selecting this particular population was because

every group, from the employed to the unemployed, have unique experiences with the 'Black Tax' phenomenon. All different media outlets that have covered the 'Black Tax' phenomenon made up the population of the media materials. The study's target population comprised of easily accessible media resources, preferably from a variety of media sources to acquire a range of perspectives on the topic.

5.3.2. Sampling

In this study, non-probability sampling was employed. The study utilised non-probability sampling because it was impossible to get access to the entire population. The sample was carefully chosen from the population that was available. In order to pick the participants intended to be included in the sample, purposive sampling was utilised, which involves using a preset set of criteria.

5.3.3. Purposive Sampling

The sample for this study was carefully and purposively chosen from the general community to ensure that the characteristics that were crucial for this research were present. The distinctive qualities or traits of this sample of units allowed for an in-depth exploration and comprehension of the primary themes, frames and questions that had to be investigated. Additionally, data could be collected more rapidly thanks to the versatility of this sampling. It also helped identify the extreme perspectives held by each demographic group.

- *Sampling of the Interview Participants*

In this purposive sampling, nine young adults were interviewed (N=9). The participants in the study were specifically chosen because they were still living at home with their parents, were supporting or were expected to support their families and had first-hand knowledge of the effects of the ‘Black Tax.’ One of the requirements for this study was the participants' degree of education, ideally tertiary. This is due to the pressure that many graduates have to start supporting their families as soon as they finish their higher education. Thus, as soon as they graduate or obtain a job, they are immediately confronted with the ‘Black Tax.’ In the light of this, Fongwa (2019:2) asserts that most newly employed people’s families have high expectations for them. In this study, nine young individuals were chosen for interviews, mostly based on their relevance to the topic at hand rather than their representativeness. Additionally, the nine individuals

were selected because this study made use of both primary and secondary data, with the media data serving as the secondary data. For that reason, three professionally employed and three self-employed participants were selected for this study as they had directly faced or were experiencing 'Black Tax' and are contributing to their families. Three unemployed individuals were also interviewed to learn about the pressures they faced with regard to 'Black Tax,' as compared to the employed and self-employed adults. To learn more about their perspectives on the 'Black Tax,' these young professionals were interviewed. Furthermore, in the study sought to learn from these groups about their experiences of 'Black Tax.' The interviews enabled the researcher to learn more about these young professionals' experiences in supporting their families, how they were treated at home in comparison to their employed relatives or siblings and how the stress of not having a job and being expected to support the family affected them psychologically.

- *Sampling of Media Archives*

Five media materials were used in this study. They were selected based on the fact that each material was about 'Black Tax.' The five materials were from the *eNCA (eNews Channel Africa), BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) Power FM (Power Frequency Modulation), News24* and *Daily Sun.* That is, two were from television broadcasting stations, two from newspapers and one from radio. The media were chosen because of their broad reach and popularity. The research used a radio show from *Power FM 98.7MHZ* 'Speaking Black Tax' since it can be accessed everywhere in South Africa. It was selected for this study primarily because it was one of the radio stations that discussed the 'Black Tax' and because its online page allowed access to the audio recording of the programme. Moreover, according to the station, Power FM is the second-most influential Agenda-setting media channel in business (Power987, 2022). *Power FM* currently has 71 000 listeners all across South Africa and targets people aged 25-49. This target group, therefore, fits the target group of this study. The selected radio show from *Power FM* was 25:44 minutes in length and reached 178 listeners and 5 likes as of 04 January 2023. The show was broadcast on the 01 November 2017. The video was accessed on the *Power FM* website. Although the audio could not be downloaded, it was played on the website and recorded, using a smart phone.

The rationale behind using two YouTube videos from *BBC* ‘South Africa: Is Black Tax help or burden’ and *eNCA* ‘Black Tax is seen by some as a form of financial abuse’ is that their main focus of the show was ‘Black Tax’ and youth. Moreover, in the *BBC* video, young Black professionals were the ones sharing their views and experiences about the issue of ‘Black Tax.’ In addition, YouTube is one of the biggest social media platforms where users interact by giving comments and opinions. Hence, the videos were posted on YouTube. The *eNCA* video was 5:34 minutes in length and had reached 2925 views and 22 likes on YouTube as of 04 January 2023 and had received eight comments. Although the viewership was relatively high, the video had low likes and comments. This might have been the case because, although not being young themselves, the show's host and speaker addressed concerns affecting young people. Furthermore, the guest speaker was White and was speaking about problems that mostly impacted upon Black people. In contrast, the *BBC* video was 3:03 minutes in length and had reached 43 976 views and 372 likes on YouTube with 197 comments as of 04 January 2023. This was mostly because the *BBC* brought in young Black professionals to discuss the ‘Black Tax’ issue, offering their first-hand knowledge of the problem with which many young people were familiar.

This study also used Online newspaper articles from the *Daily Sun* and *News24.* The rationale behind using an online version of the *Daily Sun* was that the article on ‘Black Tax’ could be easily found, thus, saving time and money. *Daily Sun* is the biggest daily newspaper (Media24, 2023) and a widely circulated newspaper in South Africa. Both newspapers are accessible online. News24 according to Similar Web (2023), ranked number one and was the most visited news and publishers website in South Africa as of May 2023. According to News24 (2014), there are 5.6 million *Daily Sun* users in South Africa, whereas there are 38.8 million visitors to *News24*'s news websites. The latest report shows that *News24* remained South Africa’s most popular online publication with a readership of 12.2 million unique monthly browsers (Staff writer, 2021). According to Ledwaba (2022), *Daily Sun’s* current paid circulation is 30 775, free circulation 167 and the total number of circulations 30 942.

5.4. DATA COLLECTION METHOD

The methods utilised to gather the data were a crucial component of the research design. The study examined how the topic of ‘Black Tax’ was framed in media

discourses with an emphasis on assessing the implications of this framing on the understanding of African Communalism. The study utilised qualitative data collection techniques of media archival sources and in-depth interviews

5.4.1. Media Archives

The study employed existing data resources. Thus, it analysed five purposefully selected materials, two from television, one from radio and two from newspaper articles that discussed 'Black Tax.' The study used a Radio show from *Power FM*, two YouTube videos (one from *eNCA* and the other from *BBC) and* two newspaper online articles (one from *Daily Sun* and the other from *News24)*. These archival media sources were crucial to this research because they aided with the evaluation and Deconstruction of the media's framing of 'Black Tax.' The *eNCA* and *BBC* videos on YouTube had comments and thus, this study also analysed the YouTube comments under each video used. Three distinct benefits were associated with this study's use of YouTube videos. First off, all videos—especially those on YouTube—were in the public domain. Secondly, the YouTube-created transcriptions could be downloaded, replayed and, if necessary, modified. Videos are collections of conversations. One may make sense of the dialogue by looking at the sequences rather than at individual turns of speech. The thorough transcripts of the videos allowed a deeper look into specific passages or statements without being restricted to YouTube excerpts.

The eNCA video was from a segment of *eNCA* show, 'Morning News Today.' The segment is hosted by Dan Moyane, and it was titled 'Money Matters.' In the segment Dan Moyane, a Black male presenter interviewed a White female Financial Advisor, as a financial expert for the segment. The topic of discussion in this segment was Black Tax (eNCA, 2019). The *BBC* video on the other hand was one produced and edited by Christian Parkinson. The focus of the discussion in this video was 'Black Tax.' The show was titled 'South Africa: is "Black Tax" help or a burden?' The *BBC* news spoke with four young Black South African professionals who shared their heartfelt opinions, knowledge and understanding of 'Black Tax.' The professions of these young people comprised of Journalism, writing, literary activism, and entrepreneurship (BBC News, 2020).

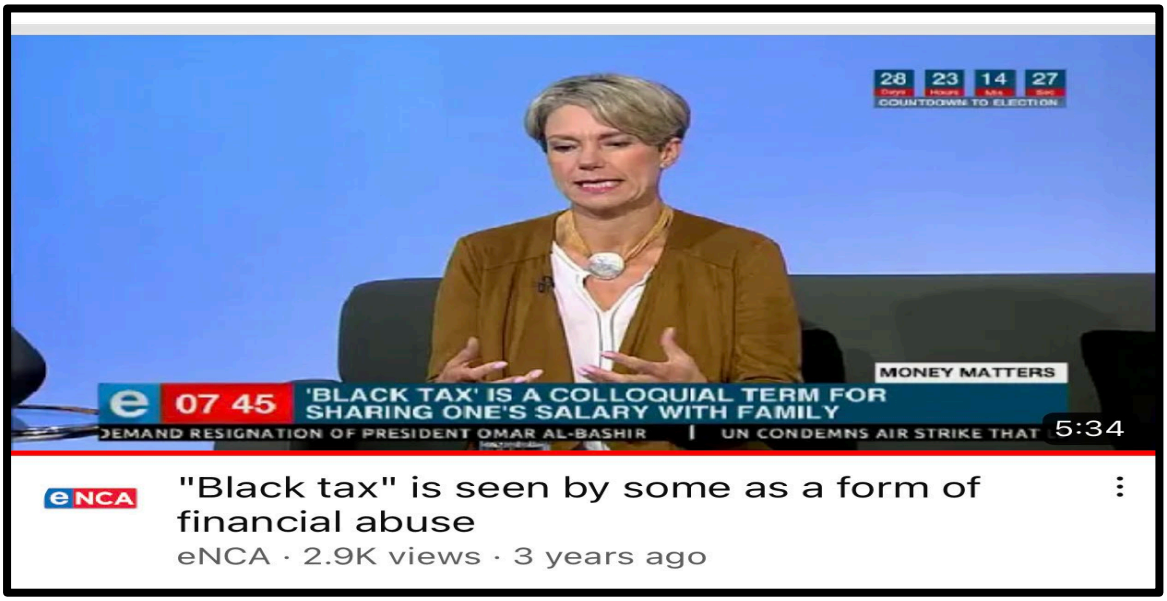
The *Power Fm* 'Black Tax' show was a segment of a morning show, 'Power Breakfast.' The segment was written by Motlalepula Maduna and hosted by Kwena Moabelo. The

show was titled, ‘What really is ‘Black Tax?’ In the segment, Kwena Moabelo interviewed the deputy chairperson of the Black Wealth Foundation to unpack the Black Tax definition and its historical link to the apartheid system (PowerFM, 2017). The *Daily Sun* article was titled ‘Black Tax: What to look out for!’ written by the SunReporter. The focus of discussion in the article was the ‘Black Tax’ issue. The article also quoted John Manyike, the head of financial education and media spokesperson at the Old Mutual Limited Group (SunReporter, 2019). The *News24* article was titled ‘Black Tax: A responsibility not a burden.’ The article discussed ‘Black Tax’ from the historical aftermaths to the current issues pertaining to ‘Black Tax’ that young Black professionals are currently facing (News24, 2018). The online newspapers helped complete this study's objectives. The study employed a range of media, including print, the internet, television, and radio, because this study focused on how the term ‘Black Tax’ is defined by the media, hence, an attempt was made to have samples of audio, audio-video and print media. Therefore, as mentioned earlier, the samples of the media outlets in South Africa were used to study all aspects of ‘Black Tax’ and to fully comprehend what these media highlighted, preferred, and neglected. This was done in order to fully understand this capitalist framing of ‘Black Tax.’

Figure 5.1. A screenshot of *BBC* News episode: South Africa: Is ‘black tax’ help or burden?

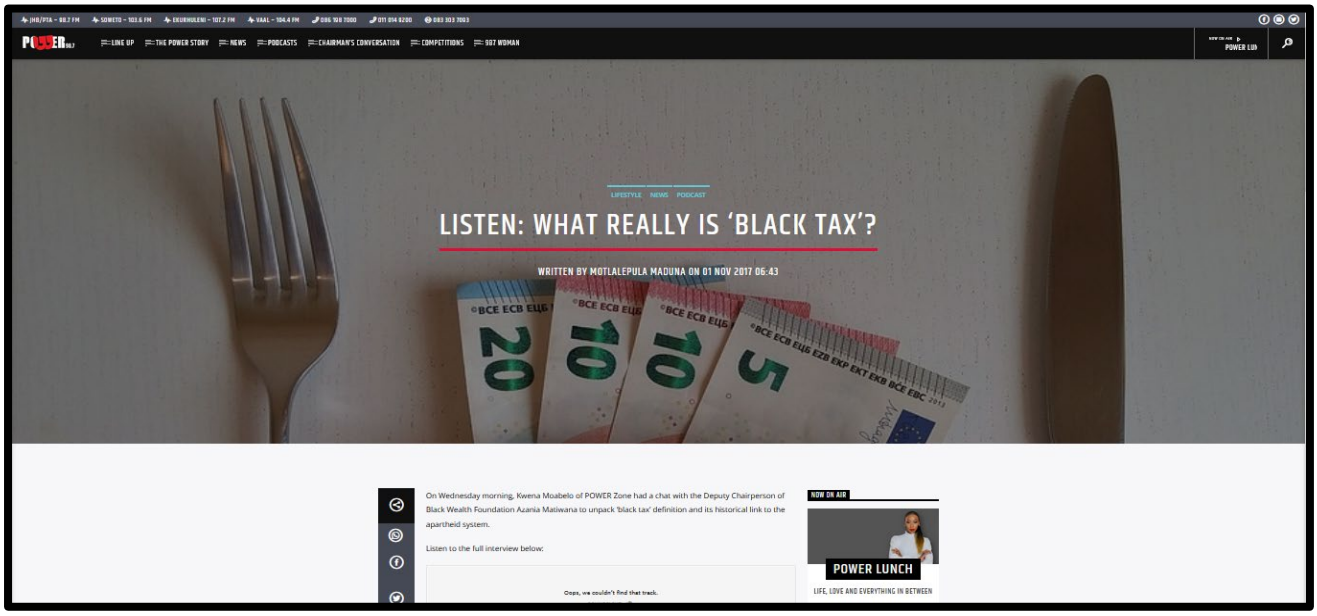
(Source: *BBC* News 2020, 3:03).

Figure 5.2: A screenshot of the eNCA: 'Black Tax' is seen by some as a form of financial abuse.



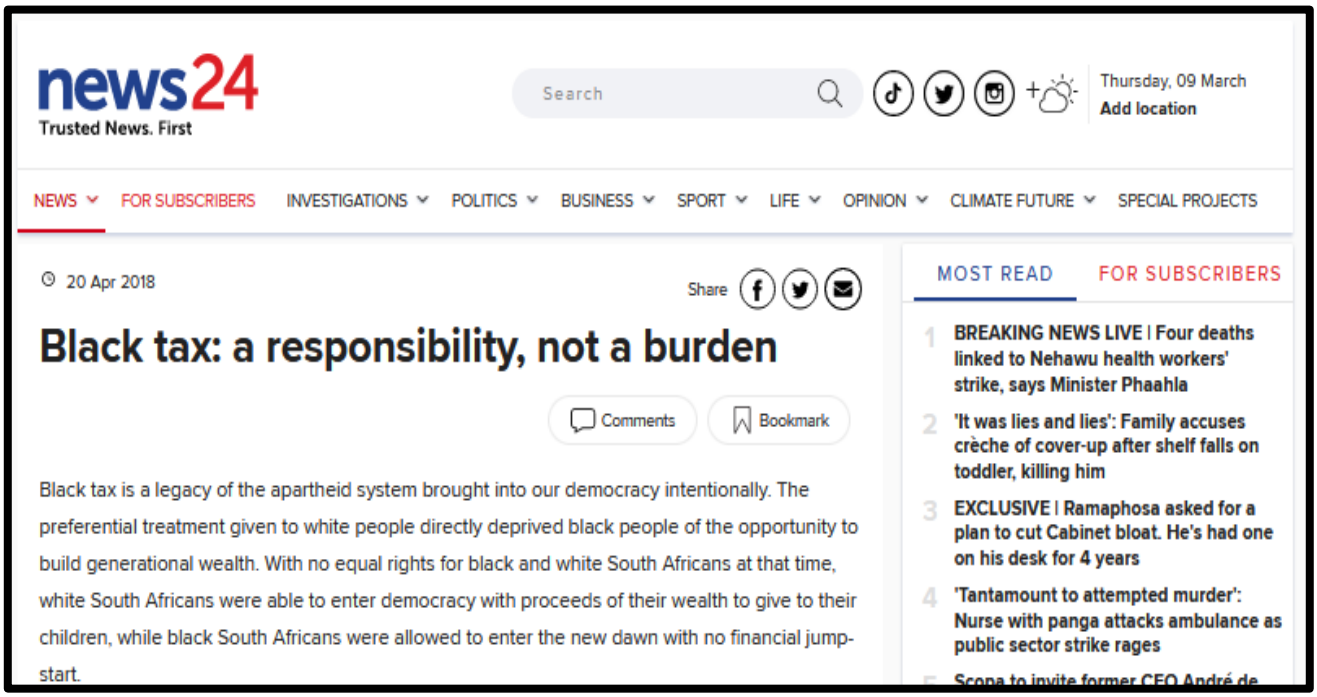
(Source*: eNCA2019, 5:34)*

Figure 5.3: A screenshot of Power FM: What really is 'Black Tax'.



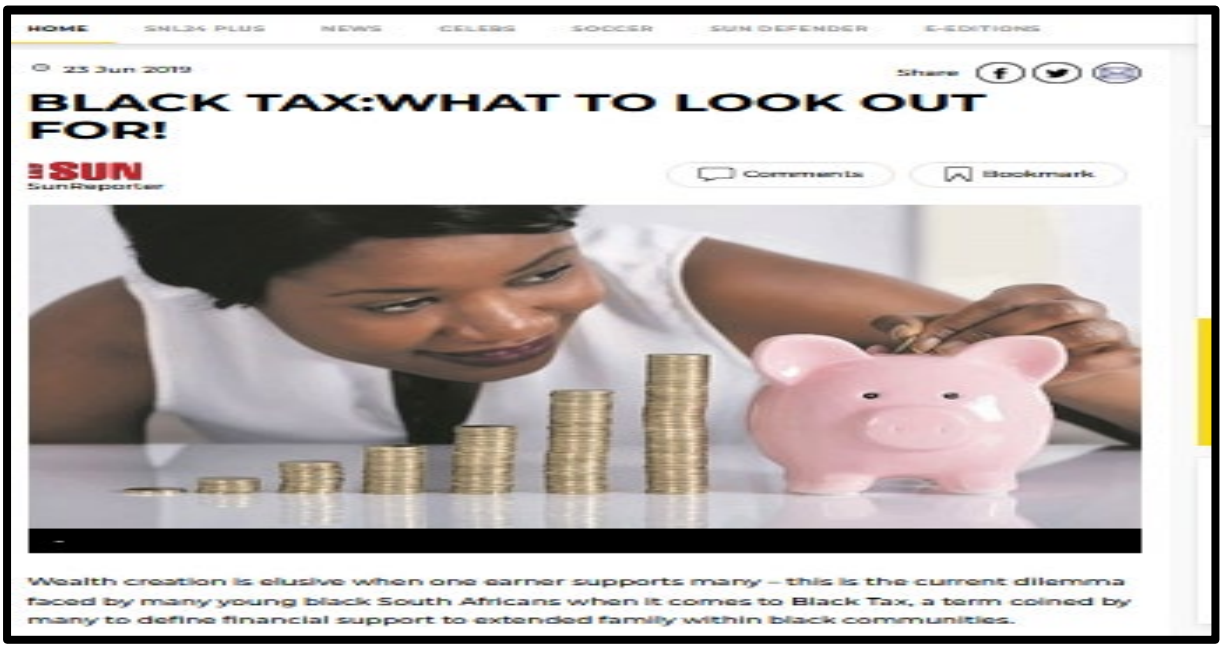
(Source: *Power FM 2017, 26.04)*

Figure 5.4: A Screen shot of News24: Black Tax: A responsibility, not a burden.



(Source: *News24,* 2018*).*

Figure 5.5: A Screenshot of Daily Sun: Black Tax: What to look out for!



(Source: *Daily Sun,* 2019).

5.4.2. Interviews

Semi-structured, open-ended interviews were conducted to gather data. Semi-structured, open-ended interviews focus on asking the same set of open-ended questions to all participants (Du Plooy-Cillers et al., 2014). As a result, when interviewing the individuals, an identical set of questions were utilised. The interviews were conducted with three young people who were professionally employed (two males and one female), three self-employed males and three unemployed adults (two females and one male). Face-to-face and online interviews were done using the Google Meet, Zoom and WhatsApp platforms. The participant's preference guided the choice between these possibilities. Face-to-face interviews were beneficial for this study because they enabled an interpretation of participants' non-verbal cues, and which could assist in better understanding of their responses.

The interviews were planned with the participants via Zoom, Google Meet and WhatsApp because the process was flexible enough for people who were uncomfortable with in-person interviews or had busy schedules. Zoom was used to interview Participant 6. However, due to some technical error that occurred during the interview, it was opted to continue the interview using a WhatsApp video call. Google Meet on the other hand was used to interview Participant 4 and Participant 9. Both the meetings were recorded and transcribed using the Otter transcription app. The rest of the participants, however, were interviewed face-to-face. The researcher was thus, free to probe further during these semi-structured, open-ended interviews if an answer was vague or unsatisfactory. The information gathered in this regard included the participant's views and sentiments regarding the ‘Black Tax,’ their duty to their family, the psychological pressures they experienced and their opinions on how the ‘Black Tax’ was communicated in the media. The knowledge gained during the interview also made it possible to compare notes on the thoughts and opinions of the participants in a more organised way. Using both the media archival materials and interviews lead to data source triangulation. In triangulating these sources, the data were combined in order to support and enhance each other's conclusions regarding the study's proposed theory and body of literature, thereby generating robust conclusions on the issue of ‘Black Tax.’

❖ *Summary of interviewees*

Overall, nine interviews were conducted with participants to learn and understand more about their experiences of 'Black Tax.' The participants involved three females and six males. The participants were between the ages of 22 and 31. The biographical information also captured the educational level of the participants, with only one participant having a college qualification (NCV Level 4) and the rest of the participants' ranging from junior degrees to Masters degrees. The educational qualifications of these participants suggested that they qualified as the middle class. In addition, the marital status and number of children the participants had were captured. None of the participants were married and only five participants had children, with Participant 5 having two children. The data was gathered in order to understand the dynamics of these young people. The youngest interviewees were 22 years old, with the oldest being 31 years and the average age being 26 years. The participants' summary is presented in table 5.2 on the following page.

Table 5.1: Interview duration summary

Description	**Quantity**
Number of interviews	9
Total duration of interviews	303 minutes
Average total duration	34 minutes
Shortest interview	19 minutes
Longest interview	61 minutes

Table 5.2: A Summary of the Participants' Demographic Information

Participants and aliases	Age	Sex	Qualifications	Occupation	Business
Participant 1 (Thabo)	26	Male	B Ed (Senior & FET)	Educator	None
Participant 2 (Masilo)	23	Male	B Ed (Senior & FET)	Educator	General dealer
Participant 3 (Sandy)	28	Male	B Ed (Senior & FET)	Unemployed	None
Participant 4 (Zandile)	27	Female	MA (Media Studies)	Lecturer and Marker at Unisa	None
Participant 5 (Tony)	31	Male	NCV LV4 (Civil Engineering)	Self-employed	Carpentry
Participant 6 (Tebogo)	27	Male	BSC (Physical sciences)	Self-employed	Internet café, Consultation Firm, Sovenga Wise, Photography studio.
Participant 7 (Thatego)	22	Female	BA (Languages)	Unemployed	None
Participant 8 (Hlulani)	22	Female	BA (Languages)	Unemployed	None
Participant 9 (Lesedi)	24	Male	BA (Information Studies)	Self-employed	Poultry farm, bush clearing and painting company

❖ *Interview guide*

The interview questions for this study were influenced by interview guides that were created specifically for each group based on their job situation. There were two interview guidelines made, one for people who were employed or self-employed and the other for people who were looking for employment (See Appendices E and F for complete lists of questions). The way the questions were organised and presented was crucial for making the participants feel comfortable. It carefully considered the available literature and the research objectives before choosing specific questions. The majority of the questions that were created were open-ended. Although the participants' right to anonymity was considered, inquiring about financial information was sensitive. For that reason, sensitive questions on incomes, savings and remittance amounts were carefully structured and worded so that participants could only provide ranges of answers. The interview language used was English and it was roughly on par with the research sample's understanding level. The phrasing of the interview questions was chosen, based on the participants' educational background and their use of idioms and phrases. As a result, it was appropriate to ask the questions and use such language to elicit the attitudes, perceptions and feelings of the participants. The inquiries were made in English and in a direct manner. For example, these are some of the questions I used:

What are your thoughts about ‘Black Tax’?
How do you feel about contributing money every month?
How does your family treat you when compared to your unemployed/employed siblings?
Some say the term ‘Black Tax’ is problematic, while others prefer that it is called family responsibility. What is your opinion about the term?
How does ‘Black Tax’ affect your personal development and mental health?
What are your thoughts on the way ‘Black Tax’ is portrayed in the media?
The media normally portray Black people as mostly affected by ‘Black Tax’, but according to you, is it really a Black phenomenon?

5.4.3. Data collection process

Below are the collection processes for both the media archive data and the interview data.

- *Collecting Media Archives*

The study started collecting the media archive materials on 24 July 2022. The selection of the media materials necessary for this study was quite challenging as there were a number of media houses and considerable coverage of 'Black Tax' as a topic. However, the study selected at least seven materials from YouTube; the ones that aligned with the research objectives. Two videos were from the *eNCA,* two from *SABC,* two from *CNBC Africa and* one from *BBC.* After a careful screening and consideration of the data collected and compiled, it was decided to revisit the research topic itself and the research objectives to get a better understanding of which materials to particularly choose and analyse. On 13 August 2022, another list of media archive materials was compiled, but this time with a consideration to use data from different media platforms. The media selected were based on the research topic itself and the objectives were now down to five. The data came from two YouTube videos, one from *eNCA* and one from *BBC,* the online newspaper articles (*Daily Sun* and*News24*) and a radio show from *Power FM.* On the 25 August 2022, the final list of media archive materials was compiled and ready for analysis. The materials used for this study were carefully chosen for their broad audience reach and recency.

- *Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews*

The study started conducting the interviews on 6 February 2023. Three face-to-face interviews with two employed participants and one unemployed participant were conducted on 6 February 2023. To get permission to access these employed participants, at their workplace at a high school in Tzaneen Bolobedu South, a detailed email was sent to the school principal and attached was the ethical clearance from TREC, a consent form, interview guide and interview schedule. Upon arrival at the research site, the researcher visited the principal's office and discussed the details of the research and its objectives thoroughly with the principal and permission was granted for access to the two participants, Participant 1, and Participant 2. The participants were interviewed individually and notes and records that were later

transcribed using Otter transcription app were taken. The unemployed participant, Participant 3 was also given a chance choose a research site and was interviewed at a site of her / his choice at Mopje Village, Tzaneen Bolobedu South.

On 9 February 2023 there was another interview with employed Participant 4 on Google Meet at 15h00. The meeting was recorded as audio in the Otter transcription app. On 10 February 2023 there was a face-to-face interview with a self-employed participant, Participant 5 at the site chosen by the participant, at Ga-Kgapane Modjadjiskloof. On 13 of February 2023 at 07h30 there was another interview with a self-employed participant, Participant 6 on Zoom. However, the scheduled time cut out and the interview had to immediately continue via a WhatsApp video call and a recording of the audio of the interview was captured on a smartphone. On 24 of February 2023 there were two face-to-face interviews with two unemployed graduates, Participant 7, and Participant 8. The graduates indicated their availability and were interviewed at the researcher's office. They were interviewed at different times and the interviews were recorded and archived. On 04 March 2023, the last interview was conducted at around 09h00 on Google Meet. The interview was also recorded and archived. The semi-structured interview process created a comfortable environment to encourage the flow of conversation and enabled the participants to feel at ease during the process. For that reason, in-depth and rich insights on 'Black Tax' emerged from the interviews, most of which complement the data or findings of the previous chapter.

Before each interview, rapport was established with the participants, and they were handed consent forms to go through while the details of the research and its objectives were thoroughly explained. All the face-to-face participants were given a consent form to go through and to pledge their participation to the research by signing. The online participants on the other hand, were sent the consent forms through WhatsApp and email and they pledged their participation with a go-ahead short message, and they chose an online platform and time that was suitable for them. All the participants were given advance notice to make them aware that since they were semi-structured interviews, their answers, especially those that were not clear, would lead to some follow-up questions. The time it took to finish the whole interview for a single participant depended on the amount of time each of them took to answer the questions and how

broad their answers were. However, the minimum time it took to conduct a single interview was about 20 minutes and the maximum time was one hour. The interviewer observed the participants' non-verbal cues. For the face-to-face interviews, the non-verbal cues were clearly and thoroughly observed and analysed. They all expressed their thoughts and experiences on 'Black Tax' and their answers were recorded as data. After the interviews, the participants were thanked for taking their time to participate in the study and an explanation was given to the participants of how their data would be used and they were also reassured that their names would not be mentioned anywhere in the study.

- *Transcription Process and its Limitations*

The transcription process was a critical step in this study, and it involved multiple stages, beginning with a rough transcript and processing by editing and adding the information that the app could not process and transcribe. For YouTube videos, the transcripts were taken out from the YouTube where they had been copied and transferred into a word document ready for analysis. The detailed transcripts of the videos helped to inspect sequences or utterances without being limited to the extracts from YouTube, for it is within these sequences, rather than in single turns of talks, that one can make sense of the conversation. For the radio audio, which was online, it was played online while recording it on another phone in an app called Otter that records and at the same time transcribes. The transcription was later transferred to a word document ready for analysis. The newspaper articles were copied from the internet, and each transferred to a separate word document, ready for analysis (The interviews of this study were also transcribed using the transcription app called *Otter*).

To ensure the quality of the transcript, additional quality assurance by comparing the transcript notes to the audio in the process of editing was conducted. This was done to correct any errors that might have occurred when transcribing using the app. The words spoken in an African language were translated into English in the transcript. While the application worked faster, it was still not capable of recognising words when the speaker talked fast. In addition, the software was not capable of isolating human voices and transcribed everything it heard. Moreover, sometimes it would transcribe the background noises or words. For the most part in the transcriptions, because the audio contained natural conversations, problems were encountered such as

overlapping speech, mispronounced words, jargon, unintelligible words, and inaudible speech, due to too much background noise. As such, the limitations of using the transcription app were that it sometimes did not transcribe the exact words that the participants said or had been asked and one of the major challenges was that the app did not at all transcribe words spoken in an African language. So, the essence of the narrative was at risk of not being captured accurately. However, the researcher used the correct reasoning to make decisions so as to counter the risks.

After the transcription of every set of data, it was organised into a repository for easy access with backup files for all files. Because qualitative research produces a wealth of data, it was sorted for analysis as part of the organising process. The nature of the sorting process of this study was dependent on how much data had been collected. Therefore, a separate file for each 'chunk' of data was created. For instance, media archive data and interview data and each of the media selected and each of the participant interviewed had their own document. The analysis of the data of the media archives ran from 20 November 2022 to 11 January 2023, and the interview data from 06 February to 05 March 20203.

5.5. DATA ANALYSIS METHOD

This study used a qualitative data collection strategy, as previously stated. Thus, the data was analysed using the qualitative analysis method. Framing Analysis, Thematic analysis and the Deconstruction analytical methods were used to Analyse media archival materials chosen for this study. Thematic analysis on the media archival materials was used to analyse the comments that were under the comment section of the two YouTube videos. In addition, it was also used to analyse the data collected from the semi-structured interviews. The data of this study was transcribed using a software program called Otter and coded using qualitative research software called NVIVO.

5.5.1. Data Coding

In-depth qualitative data was collected through the interviews and the media archive materials. The data were aggregated into smaller codes, categorised and themes emerged. NVIVO software application was used to code, categorise, and analyse the data of this study. It was beneficial for this study because it had full command language

for the merging of the analytic files from the two or more research projects which initially ran separately. It was also used because of its ease of coding and categorising the data efficiently. The typical feature of this programme includes system closure; the memo or search results can be added to the original data and the display codes on screen (indexing) in a hierarchical tree structure and order. The analysis developed and used categories from statements in the interviews and media data and labelled them by giving them a category through coding. For supporting this coding and categorising, NVIVO software program was used. This coded and categorised parts of data and took them out of their context and grouped them with other bits of data (Similar statements) and put them in relations into categories and subcategories. The codes used in this research study were determined by the literature and theory of this study. That is, a deductive approach was used in the analysis of the media archive data. Braun and Clarke (2022) define the deductive approach as a more researcher- or theory-driven approach, where the data set serves as the basis for theme development and coding while the research questions posed, and the codes created, reflect the theoretical and conceptual ideas that the study seeks to understand through the data set.

Through data familiarisation, multiple points of potential analytic interest were identified. The coding initially produced a few codes (thirty-two), but these were clustered to easily reduce them to a more workable number. Initially, codes were clustered together into five broad patterns deducted from a theory of Media Framing. As such, the five broad patterns were thematic frames that define the Media Framing Theory. These are the human impact frame, powerlessness frame, economic frame, moral value frame and conflict frame. In addition, a cultural frame and a racial frame were identified and added to the list to make up seven frames. The frames were driven by a guiding methodology of Media Framing analysis. One of the benefits of using NVIVO is that it encouraged one to pay attention to detail and constant review to create an unusual degree of closeness of data. The study followed an inductive approach for the analysis of the comments found on the YouTube videos and the interview data. Although the data was analysed and moulded into emergent themes, the coding procedure did not attempt to fit the data into preset codes. Emergent codes were processed, combined into categories and then themes were identified. For example, emergent codes such as pressure, burden and extended family were combined into a

category such as a burden and a theme ‘Black Tax’ as a burden emerged. The coding process was lengthy and time consuming, thus the NVIVO software was used. Inevitably, the initial coding of the data yielded eighty-six codes from the interviews and fifteen codes for the comments under the YouTube videos and reviewing of the coding resulted in the most similar and frequent codes being progressively merged into each other to yield unique categories that were progressively aggregated into themes.

Figure 5.6: Comments’ NVIVO codes

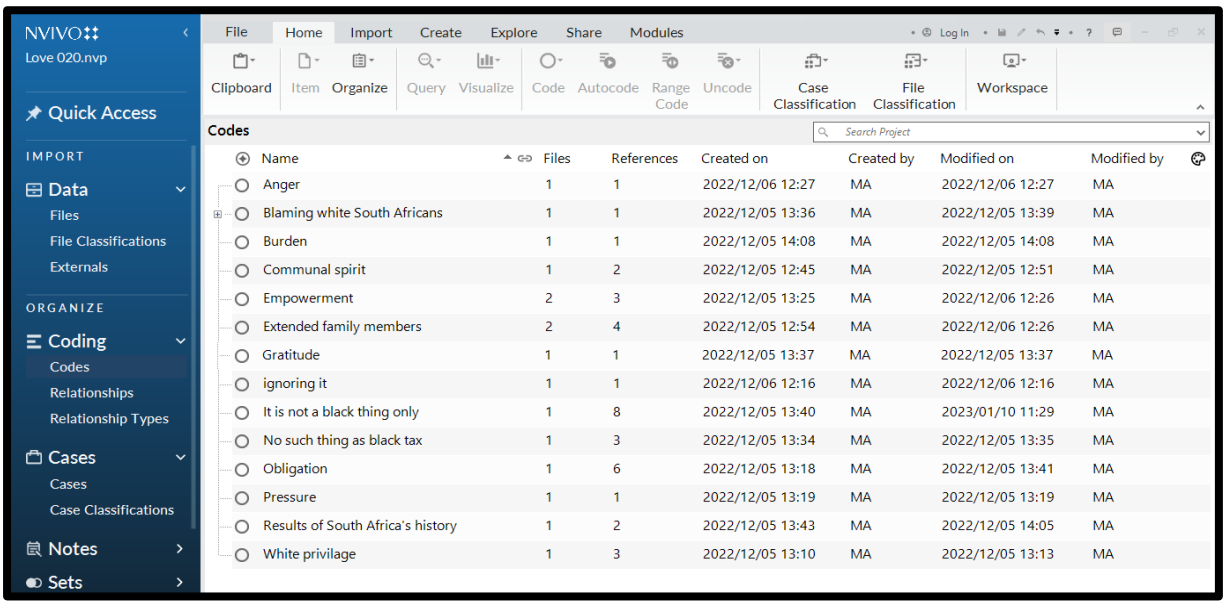


Figure 5.7: Media archives NVIVO codes

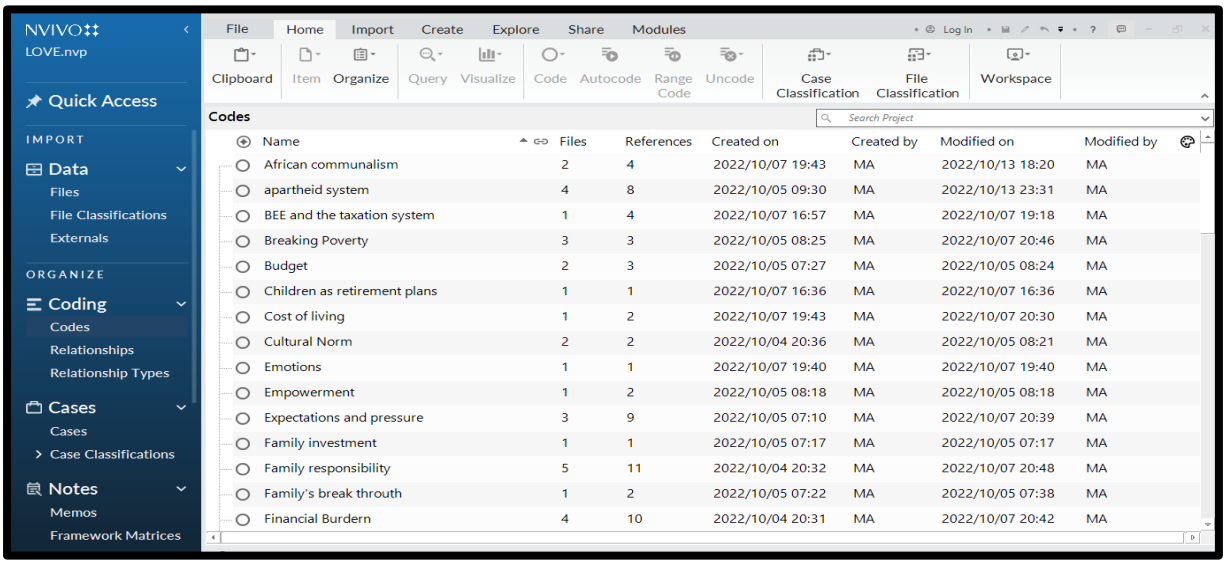
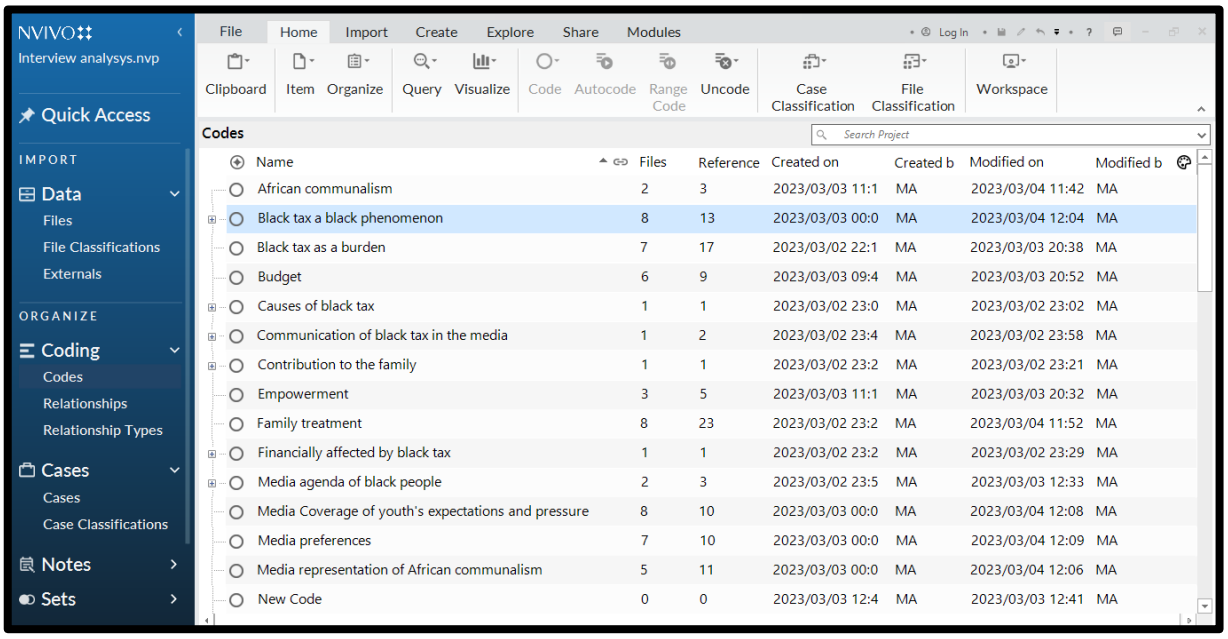


Figure 5.8: Interview NVIVO codes



5.5.2. Framing Analysis for Media Archives

To answer the research questions and objectives, this study used qualitative framing analysis to analyse how the issue of 'Black Tax' is framed in media discourse with a focus on examining the implication of this framing on the understanding of African Communalism. Devices such as word choice, metaphors, exemplars, descriptions, arguments, and visual images helped establish frames. The study was able to comprehend how forces and groups in societies shape public discourses about the issue by developing dominant labels in a more engaging way than other approaches by selecting framing analysis as a theoretical framework for the examination of journalistic texts.

In order to diagnose, identify, assign values to, and recommend solutions for problems within the context of media study, framing analysis was used. Framing analysis was employed to perceive news texts as consisting of organised symbolic devices of meaning formation rather than considering them to be psychological stimuli with clear meanings. According to Linström and Marais (2012:26), framing analysis is not restricted to a content-free structuralist approach to news discourse; rather it accepts the assumptions that text formation is rule-governed and that news texts are multidimensional, and which will enable cognitive shortcuts in news production and

consumption. Thus, by applying qualitative framing analysis, the study was able to interact thoroughly and repeatedly with text while also taking a comprehensive approach to the information to find frames. It was also able to examine the key words and metaphors in the text and identified what was included in the frames as well as what was left out, recognising that the words repeated most often in the text might not always be important. The common frames identified in this study were the human impact frame, powerlessness frame, economic frame, moral value frame, conflict frame, cultural frame, and racial frame. See Chapter 6 for definition and explanations of these frames.

5.5.3. Deconstruction as Analytical Method for Media Archives

Deconstruction was utilised as an analysis technique in this study because it was appropriate given the nature of the investigation and its goals. According to Tracy (2020:259), Deconstruction emphasises fundamental oppositions, draws attention to absent symbols or discourses and reimagines new meaning if the marginalised symbols are given the same status as the dominant one. In order to identify and carefully read the texts or discourses (as they are portrayed in images or words) and to look for any missing or marginalised notions, the Deconstruction method was utilised in this study. Hence, Jacques Derrida's Deconstruction tries to investigate what a text has overlooked and demonstrates how what is left out is inextricably indicated by the categories that the text uses. In addition, Deconstruction is a double notion that simultaneously overturns and displaces a conceptual order to expose and force free the space that has always been constrained by the diverse heterogeneity of textuality (Derrida, 1982 cited in Ramoya, 2016:70). Thus, it was used to study how the Media Framing of 'Black Tax' reveals what issues are highlighted, preferred, negated, and neglected in media discourses. Finally, it was used to study and reveal the dichotomous symbols in the data.

5.5.4. Thematical Analysis for Media Archives and Interviews

Thematic analysis was also used in this study to analyse the comments under the YouTube videos and the semi-structured interviews. A technique for finding, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within the data is thematic analysis (Flick, 2014). It minimally arranges and elaborately summarises data sets. Additionally, it typically

interprets different facets of the research issue (Flick, 2014). Analysis of this kind is very inductive. As a result, rather than being imposed by the researcher, the themes employed in this study arose from the data. This analysis approach included background reading since it clarified each developing theme. NVIVO was used to develop the codes that were later categorised, and the themes emerged. The overall total of the comments was 201, with 197 comments from the *BBC* video and four from the *eNCA.* Overall, the comments generated six themes namely, 'Black Tax' as a communal spirit, 'Black Tax' as an obligation, 'Black Tax' as a burden, 'Black Tax' as a result of South African history, and those that claimed that 'Black Tax' is not uniquely Black. The data from the semi-structured interviews yielded seven themes, namely, rationalising the concept of 'Black Tax', The origins of 'Black Tax', rationalising the influence of 'Black Tax' and its generic emotions, scripts associated with the contribution and treatment within the family, financial discussions, media representation of Black people and their African-collectivist culture and finally, the media representation of 'Black Tax'.

5.6. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The set of principles that guided the research and its practices are detailed below. These principles include ethical clearance, informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, potential for harm and objectivity.

5.6.1. Ethical Clearance

For this study, ethical clearance certification was acquired from the University of Limpopo's Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC) with the project number TREC/532/2022: PG. The clearance certificate enabled the data collection of this study. See the Appendix A sheet for a copy of the Ethical Clearance Certificate.

5.6.2. Informed Consent

An informed consent form was developed and signed by the participants before engaging in research interviews. The form acknowledged that the participants' rights would be protected during data collection and that their identity would be kept anonymous and confidential. The researcher did not misrepresent the nature of the study in any manner, therefore, the study's objective was clearly stated and explained in this study. No participant was forced to participate in this study and where

participants did not wish to continue with the research questions, the researcher respected them and abided by their wishes. Depending on the circumstances, one interview was quite different from another. This was because as the participants were interviewed, follow-up questions emerged spontaneously in reaction to the participants' comments.

In qualitative research, interviewing is increasingly viewed as a moral investigation. (Creswell, 2009). Therefore, it was considered how the interview would help improve the human situation as well as enhance scientific knowledge. Other ethical procedures during the data collection process involved gaining the agreement of individuals in authority (gatekeepers) to provide access to the study's participants in their workplace. Therefore, an email was sent to the principal of the school where two participants worked to ask for permission to conduct the interviews and the permission was successfully granted.

5.6.3. Anonymity And Confidentiality

Confidentiality, anonymity and polite handling of the study's subjects were guaranteed in this study. Information that seemed invasive or personal was dealt with carefully. Additionally, taking part in the interview was entirely voluntary. Never were the participants' regard or sense of self-worth violated. Other than what was revealed in the video, radio recordings and newspaper articles, the researcher refrained from divulging any personally, identifiable information. During the analysis and recording phases of this research project, the names of the participants were separated from the responses. The participants' names in the media archival data were also removed from this study. In other words, all of the names of those referenced in the interviews and media items were kept private and anonymous. Therefore, they were never mentioned in the research. They were all referred to in this study with aliases that were allocated to the participants, in order to safeguard their privacy and anonymity. The study accurately relayed the information provided by the participants regarding the interpretation of the findings. The risk of reducing data analysis to a purely practical process exists when methodological and theoretical frameworks are removed.

5.6.4. Potential For Harm

One of the main ethical problems involving individual values relates to openness, honesty and personal integrity. No mention of any circumstance that might have been mentally traumatic for the participants or encouraged dishonesty was made. The participants' possible physical and psychological needs were considered when they spoke about their individual experiences. Participants were not hurt physically. The study also anticipated the possibility of harmful, private information being disclosed during the data collection process. Hence, the participants were free to withdraw from the interview at any time without any penalty or harm. The researcher would maintain the mutual confidence that had already been built up with the participants.

5.6.5. Objectivity

The data of this study was obtained without bias. As such, the data analysis of this study was also completed without any personal prejudice. Thus, the results were reported objectively. The findings of this study were not distorted, and no personal bias influenced the study. The main issues with the media archive documents were impartiality, objectivity, balance, bias, privacy and public concerns. Although one of the goals of this study was to analyse the media frames used with respect to 'Black Tax' coverage, the researcher was able to get around these obstacles. The use of media archives also raised significant concerns about matters of accuracy, fairness, and responsibility. The complexity of the data generated, which contained information on multiple levels, necessitated selectivity in data analysis and raised the question of what would serve as the analysis unit. Additionally, employing media archives presented issues with interpretation (what should be paid attention to in the materials) and selection (which media house should be selected and analysed). However, it was considered that the study's goals were important and only data that was pertinent to the investigation was examined. The study was also fully aware that videos could be deceptive and might not be an accurate representation of the actual phenomenon. In order to prevent the spread of false information, television shows published by well-known-news outlets (*eNCA* and *BBC*) were utilised.

5.7. QUALITY CRITERIA

The study subscribes to the qualitative research method. Therefore, the quality criteria for this type of research are divided into credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

5.7.1. Credibility

This refers to how accurate, trustworthy, and believable research findings are to others. The data submitted by the participants was accurately collected and evaluated without bias in this study. Credibility is enhanced, according to Du Plooy-Cillers et al. (2014), when a large amount of time is spent with the participants to better understand them and gain insights into their lives. Purposeful sampling was used for the media sources and semi-structured interviews to increase their trustworthiness. The findings of this study's investigation were credible and believable. The research topic, data collecting, data analysis and the study's findings were all in line with the theory that was applied in this study. In the context of this investigation, the sampling method, the depth and volume of the data and the analytical techniques used were adequate.

5.7.2. Transferability

Transferability refers to the ability of the findings to be applied in a similar situation and yield similar outcomes (Du Plooy-Cillers et al., 2014). The same study would yield insights that were applicable to other fields or departments if it were conducted with solid data gathering procedures and a credible sample. The results might be applied to a different venue, situation, or group. This study also provided a thorough explanation of the setting in which the research was conducted and how this affected the findings. In light of the findings, existing literature from many domains was analysed.

5.7.3. Dependability

Dependability refers to the quality of the integration process that happens between the data collection method, data analysis and the theory developed from the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Collis & Hussey, 2003; Inton, 2004 cited in Du Plooy-Cillers et al., 2014). Data was gathered in greater depth until a saturation point was reached, allowing subsequent researchers to utilise the data acquired as a reference. There

was also sufficient information provided such that another researcher could follow the same procedural steps, albeit reaching different conclusions.

5.7.4. Confirmability

The term ‘confirmability’ describes how well the data obtained support ones findings and interpretations (Du Plooy-Cillers et al., 2014). It shows how well the conclusions are drawn from the data. This was done without the researcher’s own biases and data was collected from multiple sources. A record of what data the participants provided, as well as data acquired from the media and its interpretations, was retained for future reference. There was also a clear link between the data and the findings. The confirmability in this study was enhanced by the inclusion of quotes or similar research data from the literature and the theory used in this study.

5.8. CONCLUSION

The research methodology was discussed in this chapter. The chapter thoroughly discussed the research design, sampling, data collection method, data analysis method and their ethical considerations as well as the quality criteria. To collect and analyse data, this study used a qualitative research method. The study’s sample was chosen purposively, using the purposive sampling method. Through the use of this purposive sampling, five media archival materials were chosen and analysed as data. On the other hand, nine young Black professionals were also purposively selected for the participation in the interview sessions for this study. The data analysis method included the framing analysis, Deconstruction as an analysis method and thematic analysis. The methodology chosen and used in this study accurately met the study’s main goal and objectives. Findings of the study are presented in two consecutive chapters. The next chapter, Chapter 6, presents the findings of the media archival data and Chapter 7 presents findings from the interviews.

CHAPTER 6:
DECONSTRUCTING MEDIA DISCOURSES OF 'BLACK TAX'
(RESEARCH FINDINGS PART 1)

6.1. INTRODUCTION

The media discourses around 'Black Tax' are discussed in this chapter. As explained thoroughly in the research methodology chapter, the data used in this analysis were five media materials, namely:

- 'Black Tax is seen by some as a form of financial abuse,' by *eNCA* broadcasting station,
- 'South Africa: is Black Tax a help or a burden?' *BBC* broadcasting station,
- From *Power FM 98.7Hz,* a radio station, 'Speaking 'Black Tax,'
- 'Black Tax what to look out,' for published by *Daily Sun* and
- 'Black Tax: a responsibility, not a burden,' published online by *News24*.

The materials were all available online. For instance, the television station materials were both accessible on YouTube, while the radio station material was available online and the newspaper stories were also all available online.

To recall the methodology process, the reading and analysis of these texts were done through the use of qualitative content analysis in conjunction with Media Framing analysis. In conducting the framing analysis, the study drew on both the common frames identified by Neuman, Crigler and Just (1992 cited in Linström & Marais, 2012:28), as well as the elements of Deconstruction such as difference, dissemination, destiny and geocatastrophe (See Chapter 4). Framing refers to how the news reports are contextualised within a certain (ideological) framework and how they have an impact on the general population (Fourie, 2018). When writing texts, according to Arde'vol-Abreu (2015:429), journalists employ frames to provide meaning and to simplify reality in some away, while retaining the public's interest. As a result, the mass media have a potential to represent some identities, meanings and exclude others, making them seem foreign or even dangerous (Mahadeo & McKinney, 2007). Therefore, when journalist create news, when they use words and images to create a certain depiction of a reality, they choose a frame (Arde'vol-Abreu, 2015:429). Thus,

in this research study, five media materials were analysed to find the frames that were used.

6.2. INTERPRETATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS

The interpretative analysis of the meaning and the purpose of the texts are provided in detail below.

6.2.1. YouTube Videos of Media Outlets, eNCA and BBC.

Both of these videos, which discuss 'Black Tax,' feature speakers who shared their experiences and education on the phenomenon of 'Black Tax'. According to the Theory of Agenda-setting, such Agenda-setting is hastened when prominent and reliable people start to speak about a problem (Severin & Tankard Jr, 2001). For instance, speakers were featured in both videos, with the *BBC* featuring young Black professionals (a literary activist, journalist, entrepreneur and a writer) each offering their unique perspectives and experiences on the phenomenon and the *eNCA* featuring a financial advisor from Cape Town. Thus, the media was able to establish a particular agenda and framing by employing these particular individuals.

6.2.2. Radio Material from Power FM

The show discusses 'Black Tax' with the host and a guest (the deputy chairperson of the Black Wealth Foundation). As mentioned above, Agenda-setting is hastened when prominent and reliable people start to speak out about a problem (Severin & Tankard Jr, 2001). In this programme, the chairperson was a notable individual to discuss 'Black Tax'. The programme covered the origins of the 'Black Tax' and how it mostly affected Black South African professionals. The programme offered some suggestions for how Black South Africans and the government might address the 'Black Tax' challenges.

6.2.3. Newspaper Articles (Daily Sun and News24)

The article in the *Daily Sun* analysed the rhetoric surrounding the 'Black Tax' and how it limited the financial goals of young Black South African professionals. The article also covered financial planning and understanding ones limits when it came to paying 'Black Tax.' The *News24* piece, in contrast, emphasised that paying the 'Black Tax'

was a responsibility, not a burden. Although it emphasised that the ‘Black Tax’ was a relic of apartheid, it also insisted that it should be viewed as having a moral justification.

This chapter presents the framing of ‘Black Tax’ in the media, a self-Deconstruction of the ‘Black Tax’ in the media and the public framing of ‘Black Tax’. The analysis of framing of ‘Black Tax’ in media uses the seven frames: human impact frame, moral value frame, conflict frame, cultural frame and racial frame. However, the five frames; the human impact frame, powerlessness frame, economic frame, moral value frame and conflict frame were adapted from Neuman, Just and Crigler (1992:74 cited in Linström & Marais, 2012:28). Two more frames emerged from the data during the analysis, which were the cultural frame and the racial frame. In the Deconstruction of ‘Black Tax’ in the media, the researcher looked into the text and relationships, the meaning highlighted in the media on the phenomenon of ‘Black Tax’, the contradiction of media texts on the phenomenon and what was preferred and ignored by the media on the ‘Black Tax’ phenomenon. In the public framing of ‘Black Tax’, the researcher analysed the data found under the comment sections of the *BBC* and *eNCA* videos and presents the findings thematically. The themes identified are ‘Black Tax’ as an obligation, ‘Black Tax’ as a communal spirit, ‘Black Tax’ as a burden, ‘Black Tax’ as the result of South African history and ‘Black Tax’ as not uniquely Black.

In the presentation of findings of the analysis of media discourses of ‘Black Tax,’ three categories of analysis are presented. The first adopts framing analysis to show how ‘Black Tax’ is framed in the selected media materials. The second part adopts ‘Deconstruction’ as a method of deconstructing the framing of ‘Black Tax’ in the selected media discourses. The third is the public framing of ‘Black Tax’, and it is based on the analysis of public comments and reactions to the selected media materials.

PART 1: ANALYSIS OF MEDIA DISCOURSES: FRAMING ‘BLACK TAX’

6.3. FRAMING ‘BLACK TAX’

The study used a deductive analysis method to analyse how ‘Black Tax’ was presented in the chosen media outlets. A more researcher- or theory-driven approach is referred to as a deductive approach, in which the data set serves as the basis for theme development and coding, but the research questions posed, and the codes

created reflect the theoretical or conceptual ideas the researcher seeks to understand through the data set. In this section of the findings, the researcher used the elements or frames from the work of Neuman, Just and Crigler (1992: 74 cited in Linström & Marais, 2012:28). The frames are the human impact frame, powerlessness frame, economic frame, moral values frame and conflict frame. In addition, the researcher identified two more frames in the data, cultural frame and racial frame. Therefore, below, the data is analysed using the frames identified.

6.3.1. Human Impact Frame

One of the generic news frames that is frequently utilised is the human impact frame. The human impact frame according to Linström and Marais (2012:28), focuses on descriptions of the people and groups impacted upon by a problem. According to Boukes, Boomgaarden, Moorman and De Vreese (2015), the underlying idea behind most definitions of human impact framing is that a more general problem is clarified by focusing on one or more specific people who have a stake in the problem at hand. Citizens who deal with a particular topic on a daily basis may, therefore, be thought to be more knowledgeable about it than politicians or statistical sources. In this frame, the 'Black Tax' affects young Black South African professionals and according to the data, these young Black professionals are typically the first in their families to excel and come from low-income backgrounds. The *BBC* video featured the young professionals from different disciplines talking about their experiences with the 'Black Tax' phenomenon as they were directly faced with this phenomenon. According to the media analysed for this study, these young professionals frequently relied on a single paycheck. The media also claimed that young Black professionals were the ones faced with the pressure to redress the legacy of apartheid through 'Black Tax'. In the *eNCA* video, the financial expert mentioned,

> *I remember one man saying to me, 'you know, if you want to understand unemployment in South Africa be a young Black professional because we're supporting so many family members.'* (eNCA,2019,0:53)

The financial expert on the *eNCA* show also noted,

> *The reality is, when you have so many people unemployed in South Africa, the one person who has the job is going to be supporting more people. So, actually*

> *to me, the critical problem is actually unemployment, in solving that, but that doesn't really help the young Black professional who is right now supporting mom and dad, sisters and cousins and has all these expectations and it's putting massive pressure on the young people, especially those who are trying to get ahead and break that poverty cycle* (eNCA, 2019, 1:07).

The SunReporter in the *Daily Sun* article also mentioned,

> *Wealth creation is elusive when one earner supports many, this is the current dilemma faced by many young Black South Africans when it comes to 'Black Tax'* (SunReporter, 2019, Para 1)

The author of the *News24* article stated,

> *Many young Black professionals are faced with the pressure to redress the legacy of apartheid through 'Black tax'* (News24, 2018, Para 3).

According to the remarks made by these media outlets, the young Black professionals are the ones who are confronted with the 'Black Tax' phenomenon directly. They are basically the ones who are faced with the pressure to redress the cycle of poverty. For that reason, the *eNCA* broadcast referred to these young Black professionals as 'money makers' and 'ATMs,' implying that they were expected to contribute or send money home. Thus, according to Matlala and Shambare (2017:77), young professionals may be compelled to send remittances home, assist in paying for their parents' living expenses, younger siblings' tuition fees, monetary commitments to family celebrations, family emergencies and home extensions to offer a better home for the entire family. Therefore, young Black professionals are the dominant group affected by the 'Black Tax,' according to the data or media analysed in this study. This finding resonates with the study conducted by Montle (2020) whose findings reveal that the so-called 'Black Tax' is a perplexing practice that disproportionately impacts upon young Black professionals in modern South Africa.

6.3.2. Powerlessness Frame

One of the frames that the study's findings revealed is powerlessness. The supremacy of forces over weak persons or groups is referred to as powerlessness (Linström & Marais, 2012:28). The powerlessness frame here relates to how the family recipients

of financial aid and the young professional benefactors are framed as both powerless by the pressures from history and social-economic conditions. Many young Black professionals are paying ‘Black Tax’, thus, helping their families escape poverty. However, at the same time, they are upholding their culture. Thus, the SunReporter in the *Daily Sun* article stated,

> *Families co-existed and their wealth was distributed amongst themselves, this was disrupted by colonisation and apartheid which pulled families apart* (SunReporter, 2019, Para 8).

This demonstrates how helpless Black people have been under the dominance of colonialism and apartheid. Therefore, when their means of subsistence were compromised, they were unable to act. According to Terreblanche (2002), taking land from indigenous people was a powerful instrument for benefiting whites and impoverishing or proletarianising indigenous people and turning them into a dependent and subservient labour force during the colonial and apartheid periods. In this situation, Black people experienced oppression and even lost their ability to fight for what was rightfully theirs. They were so helpless that in order to provide for their families, they gave in to being used as cheap labour. This further denied Black people the chance to accumulate their own wealth for future generations, leading to a pattern of dependence on either the state or on any successful family members.

In addition to lacking wealth or strength, being powerless can also refer to a lack of authority or the ability to act. Consequently, young Black professionals frequently experienced pressure and expectations from their family members. They were under pressure to overcome the cycle of poverty in their families, therefore, they felt helpless. For example, the *eNCA* financial expert stated,

> *Expectations are putting massive pressure on young people, especially those who are trying to get ahead and break that poverty cycle* (eNCA, 2019, 1:29).

This sentence indicates that young people are facing the pressure of breaking the poverty cycle at the expense of their own success. The host in the *eNCA* show also mentioned,

> *Sometimes there are families where you cannot avoid it, I speak about myself I've been looking after three households for many years besides my own family,*

> *which is my wife and my four kids. There's been my parents' family and my sister's family for some time while they were still alive. They've passed on and there's my mother-in-law's place because my wife is the only daughter who's still around. So, you end up working out from this one income or income stream and sometimes it's expected and sometimes you can't do much about it* (eNCA, 2019, 2:27).

The quotation clearly points to the helplessness of the young Black professional to help support their families and extended family members. The quote highlights how helpless young people might be in the face of the 'Black Tax' in this instance. In addition, the media analysed was attempting to convey the idea that if a child achieved success, their family was entitled to the pay or support for that achievement. However, realistically, there will always be times where some of the expectations of the family do not align with one's financial situation (Masango & Kumalo, 2021). Nevertheless, it is the people on the media platform that convey their opinion which then reveals a certain frame in the media. For that reason, their opinions make it seem like the media is attempting to paint Black families as deserving beneficiaries of assistance because they feel compelled to do so, forgetting that in an African collectivist culture or African Communalism, social responsibility is highly valued and mutual assistance is encouraged in African societies. Additionally, communalist ideas are genuine in that mutual support was and continues to be a prevalent component of social life among extended families and villages throughout traditional African civilisations (Etta et al., 2016:307). Young people in South Africa today are battling the poverty that they have inherited from the previous generation. In contrast to their White counterparts, the author of the *News24* article claimed,

> *Black tax is a legacy of the apartheid system brought into our democracy intentionally. The preferential treatment given to white people directly deprived black people of the opportunity to build generational wealth. With no equal rights for Black and White South Africans at that time, White South Africans were able to enter democracy with proceeds of their wealth to give to their children, while Black South Africans were allowed to enter the new dawn with no financial jump-start* (News24, 2018, Para 1).

Here, the quote indicates that White individuals in positions of power were able to take Black people's riches, trapping them in a generational cycle of poverty. As a result, many young South Africans were left helpless and subject to the 'Black Tax,' while their White counterparts were taking advantage of the wealth that their ancestors had left for them. On the other hand, the analysed media appear to be trying to convince the readers or listeners that the 'Black Tax' is a debt that only Black people inherit because they lack a financial start and are compelled to provide for their family. Many young people are obliged to give up their dreams or goals in order to support their families or break the cycle of poverty due to a lack of financial support. Hence, Matlala and Shambare's (2017:76) maintain that many ambitions, plans and hopes are postponed or abandoned in order to maintain the extended family with the resources available. However, Africans are by nature collective Individuals. Thus, according to the doctrine or theory of communalism, the community or groups should be the focus of each individual member of society's efforts (Bisong, 2018:2). Furthermore, communalism causes a person to view their group as superior and deserving of all aid from the individual self.

Considering this, the analysis indicates that the media are demonstrating that young people are capable of forgoing their ambitions, such as buying dream automobiles or earning PhDs, in order to assist their family or, more appropriately, to pay 'Black Tax'. Many people sacrifice their aspirations in order to support their families, but they are unaware that by doing so, they are giving in to the financial pressures that could leave them without assets and retirement plans. This relates to Fongwa's (2019:10) study, which says that some graduates see 'Black Tax' as a crippling practice that prevents young Black professionals from attaining their personal and career goals since family members profit from their good deeds. This is, however, in contradiction with the theory of African Communalism. According to the theory of African Communalism, communalism is a way of life that prioritises the communities' common good over individual gains (Bison, 2018). In addition, the theory states that an individual is expected to give communal ambitions precedence over individual desires, but to give communal concerns precedence over individual desires means that an individual has to make many sacrifices. In the *BBC* video, one young female Black professional said,

> *We had to make sacrifices that they didn't understand you know; nobody sees that our grocery bill was insane* (BBC News, 2020, 0:01).

The phrase demonstrates the power of forces over the helpless young professional who must somehow send money home. The word ‘sacrifices’ was used in the video to describe how young people go above and beyond to provide for their family. The media was attempting to imply that young people are burdened or suffering as indicated by this statement. Thus, Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley (2019:444) maintain that the term ‘Black Tax’ on its own connotes negative pressure and expectations. A female Black professional mentioned in the *BBC* video,

> *I personally have to make a lot of sacrifices, so a lot of people struggle with that mainly because the obligation is engraved within us like deep mentally. It has definitely gone too far and i think it’s still going too far for a number of people mainly because of the inability to set boundaries* (BBC News, 2020, 1:21).

The media is attempting to convey that young Black people learn as children that they will have to pay the ‘Black Tax’ and support their families. Most of this is correct. Black parents in South Africa frequently encourage their children to mature so that they, the children, can take care of them. Some parents remind their children that they must care for them in return because they gave birth to them. This relates to the theory of African Communalism. The theory maintains that an individual in a family shares a sense of collective support and social responsibility to the family (Ominde et al., 2020:284). This means that African children learn from an early age that they must share this feeling of community and social duty. So, it should not come as a surprise when a young Black professional looks after their family. However, the media seeks to portray this social obligation and group support as sacrifices and a ‘Black Tax’ on today's youth.

All these relate to Montle’s (2020) viewpoint that reflects *Skeem Saam's Seakamela* home through the figure of *Zamokuhle*, who demonstrates that ‘Black Tax' has bad consequences for its payer. As depicted in the story, the youth, in particular, struggle to bear the burden of the ‘Black Tax' due to circumstances related to their way of life. The findings reveal that the so-called ‘Black Tax' is a perplexing practice that disproportionately impacts upon young Black professionals in modern South Africa (Montle, 2020). As a result of having to support their families, many young Black professionals are unable to save for retirement or live the life they want.

The media portrays helping out more family members as the standard for Black people, something that any young Black professional should anticipate as soon as they land a job. However, unemployment is the major issue just as poverty is in South Africa. People who are unemployed have little to no financial freedom, which makes them helpless and forces them to rely on family members who have jobs and frequently only have one source of income. According to Matlala and Shambare (2017:77), often young professionals are compelled to send remittances home to assist in paying for their parents' living expenses, younger sibling's school tuition and other members of the family. However, supporting more family members might arouse a feeling of entitlement or extortion, which in many circumstances could elicit feelings of rage or guilt on an emotional level for family members. However, Mhlongo (2019:8) asserts that taking care of family members is a way of keeping the spirit of the ancestors alive and ensuring continuity between the past and present. It maintains Black family's unity. These relate to the theory of African Communalism. the theory promotes mutual assistance in the society. In conclusion, young Black professionals lack the ability to influence or control the 'Black Tax' issue. They are raised knowing they must pay 'Black Tax' when they become adults.

6.3.3. Economic Frame

The focus on profit and loss is reflected in the economic framework (Linström and Marais, 2012:28). According to this frame, 'Black Tax' refers to financial contributions made to the family and the advantages that might be gained from them. The 'Black Tax' that many young Black South Africans pay may only be seen as financial help, a social responsibility, or a financial burden in this media frame's anthropocentric interpretation. The economic semantic field—exploitation, economic interests, profitability and economic activities—is prevalent in the texts where this frame is found. The results of this study show that, instead of being viewed as a family obligation or a cultural practice, 'Black Tax' is portrayed as a financial burden borne by Black South Africans who must provide for their immediate and extended families. Family responsibilities are typically linked to African Communalism, where each member is expected to uphold values such as reciprocal sharing, solidarity, mutual aid, mutual trust, interdependence and cooperation. The concept of 'Black Tax' is also portrayed as a form of financial exploitation because one is expected to sustain a large family on one paycheck.

One female professional on the *BBC* video said,

> *The thing is if you're always coughing up money, you're not actually going to be able to progress because it is a lifetime commitment. Actually, I think, set a budget of how much you can afford and how much you can give them and how far you are willing to do it for* (BBC News, 2020, 1:59).

The author of the *News24* article stated,

> *In a recent article on News24, I read about black tax being a burden for a certain young black professional. I was left with a heavy heart as a she expressed how the tables have turned. She mentioned a few reasons why she feels this way, one being her brother's asking for money to finance his lavish lifestyle that she cannot afford. She now feels unhappy about this state of affairs. It is a burden to give another person money to buy expensive champagne to show off* (News24, 2018, Para 4).

The SunReporter in the *Daily Sun* article also mentioned,

> *It becomes a burden when individuals do not have proper financial literacy and acumen to differentiate between what they can afford and what they can't. One needs to understand and maintain their own financial health and limits before they can offer up a helping hand* (SunReporter, 2019, Para 15).

These texts discuss metaphors in which the 'Black Tax' is shown as a barrier to young people's personal economic growth. The texts also suggest that paying 'Black Tax' becomes a burden when one finances a lifestyle one cannot afford. In other words, young Black professionals feel pressured to support a lifestyle they cannot afford. The article also makes clear that before lending a helpful hand, there must be a set financial limit and an established spending plan. Thus, according to Mhlongo (2019:242) 'Black Tax' is one of the most significant reasons of financial trouble among South Africa's middle-class citizens. With the cost of living going up regularly many young professionals are giving up their personal and career goals (Fongwa, 2019:10) and are compelled to send remittances home to assist with their parents' living expenses (Matlala and Shambare, 2017:77).

The SunReporter in the *Daily Sun* article stated,

> *Young professionals who come from previously disadvantaged backgrounds often remain in the same financial position for an extended period because they need to support their parents, siblings and extended family on a single salary* (SunReporter, 2019, Para 6).

A male guest on the on-Power FM show mentioned,

> *The parents are still alive, and you have to maintain them now. For every month that he has to pay for the well-being of the grandfather, the grandmother, the parents, the additional nephews and nieces, it simply means that the guy's expenditure goes and reduce the disposable income. Meaning that it's reducing the income that he was going to take from it and put aside for savings. So, there's a negative one* (PowerFM, 2020, 8:56).

As this text demonstrates, the term 'Black Tax' relates to a restriction on the development and promotion of young professionals. Thus, it may affect some young Black professionals in that they may be unable to put money aside or make investments for their retirement. As the texts indicate, the financial transfers may reduce the savings and investments among those who make them. That is to say that 'Black Tax' may impede the young Black professional's ability to save and invest for their future, as they are faced with an expectation to support family members with their income. A person could, however, achieve their long-term financial objectives and make investments in the future with adequate financial planning and budgeting. For instance, the *Daily Sun* article stated,

> *Knowing your financial status will help so many youths stifle the frustrations of having to pay for things they don't feel responsible for, which often times lead to tensions in families. Once you know your financial limits, it makes it much easier to establish how much you are able to contribute on a monthly basis when it comes to assisting family members (SunReporter, 2019, Para 14).*

In the *eNCA* video, the financial expert said,

> *I think that you know one of the things that I find, that people find very difficult is to put down boundaries as to say, look 'this is how much I can afford to give, you can you give me your budget because if "m sitting here having to do a*

> *budgets that I can fit all these things, I need to see your budget I need to see what is happening.* (eNCA, 2019, 2:58)

The head of financial education quoted by the SunReporter in the *Daily Sun* article advised,

> *In instances where an individual is regularly contributing towards family needs, it must be factored in the person's plan. This is where sound financial planning becomes critical. With good financial plan, the person would be able to still attain their lifetime financial goals* (SunReporter, 2019: Para 13).

These texts show that a person can match their financial condition with the expectations of their family provided they are aware of their financial limitations. They will be able to establish boundaries and determine how much money per month they can devote to their family as a result. In addition, the responses indicate that having proper financial planning will enable the young professionals to still attain their goals. The results of this study also show that having financial conversations with family members is also important. The author of *News24* article stated,

> *We have shifted responsibility to a burden, failed to set and implement financial boundaries, believe materialism is the report card of success and find it unwise to communicate about our finances with our parents and guardians as we believe they are illiterate. Yet, setting the tone with them on how you are going to spend your finances with them reduces expectation and limits unnecessary pressure. One should be transparent and share ones financial vision and plan with those who benefit from their fortune* (News24, 2018, Para 5).

In the *eNCA* video, the financial expert noted,

> *You have to be open and honest with your family and you've also got to say, 'these are my priorities like I was saying, why don't you ask me if I have an education fund for my children, why don't you ask me if I have a will in place?', those are the conversations we should be having* (eNCA, 2019, 5.04)

These texts demonstrates how having an appropriate financial discussion with the family can set the tone for how one will use their money. It can lower expectations and minimise unwarranted pressure from the family. The texts also demonstrate that

having financial discussions with the family is very important and thus, will enable the family to know how much a young professional is willing to contribute to the family, reducing the amount of pressure and expectations that a young contributor has to bear. Therefore, it is important for the family to know the contributors' financial plans to limit the pressure the young Black professionals face. These connect to Mhlongo's (2019:91) advice to only take on as much responsibility as one can handle and to be open with one's immediate family (parents and siblings) about ones earning capabilities. As a result, the texts also suggest that by talking about financial plans with one's family, one may get rid of any sense of entitlement that exists inside the unit. Although having a financial discussion with the family is imperative, having investments and savings is also important for a young Black professional. Thus, the author of the *News24* article stated,

> *I do understand and encourage selfishness in the form of some savings and investments, in order to achieve a different reality – a reality that will turn the inherited responsibility into a sheer gesture of Ubuntu* (News24, 2018, Para 7).

The male guest on *Power FM show* also mentioned,

> *On the other side, the other guy can manage to be able to save more and then by the time they retire, they've got enough for retirement. We can really not tax you on whatever things that you have made as a result of black tax. So, you can be able to start building up some sort of a pension or something for yourself, so that when you retire, you can be able to have some retirement income, but you can be able to do so* (PowerFM,2017, 9:30).

The texts indicate that it was important for young professionals to save for their retirements. That is, it was imperative for young professionals to have savings and investments for their future benefit. Although the 'Black Tax' efforts could help individuals and families, it could also unintentionally push them into a never-ending cycle of financial hardship. As a result, some people, according to Mhlongo (2019:89), think it is their duty to have children so that they can be cared for when they are old. These beliefs are widely held and have developed into a standard or custom in many African civilisations. On the other hand, other families rely on social subsidies from the government, and, in most cases, this is because they are unable to save for their

retirement. The results of this study demonstrate that without financial contributions from young Black professionals, 'Black Tax' cannot be comprehended.

6.3.4. Moral Value Frame

The Moral Value Frame according to Linström and Marais (2012:28), alludes to societal norms and morals. Moral values are principles that help a person discern between right and wrong. As a fundamental aspect of African cultural traditions, African Communalism plays a critical role in establishing the ethical standards that are critical in developing good behaviour and assisting individuals in becoming contributing members of the society (Ominde et al., 2020:279). This frame, therefore, suggests that 'Black Tax' is a family responsibility or duty that a young Black professional has to the family. African Communalism provides a foundation for the ethics of helping one another or showing compassion (Etta et al., 2016:308).

The author of the *News24 article* noted,

> *I hold a strong belief that the expectation or the idea her brother holds about her finances could have been avoided, because Black Tax is not about feeding a lavish lifestyle, is about fulfilling a responsibility. It is a responsibility to buy another person school items such as responsibility* (News24, 2018, Para 4).

The author of the *News24* further mentioned,

> *This is done mainly because we want to relieve our guardians or parents of the financial burden they face on a daily basis. This should be the first responsibility of a young Black professional in South Africa. The merit for fulfilling this responsibility is reducing the high levels of heritage illiteracy* (News24, 2018, Para 8).

As noted in the texts, 'Black Tax' is about upholding a duty owed to one's family. Additionally, the narrative tries to persuade us that 'Black Tax' is about meeting necessities rather than wants. One young male professional on the *BBC* video stated,

> *At one point I had to pay for my younger sister's creche fee, and I didn't look at it as something that I was forced to do, I had to do it because I was not going to look at suffering in my presence while I can help* (BBC News, 2020, 1:34).

This text demonstrates that for some people, paying the ‘Black Tax’ is voluntary. It also demonstrates that another reason why young people pay the ‘Black Tax’ is concern for their families. These findings relate to a study conducted by Fongwa (2019:6) which revealed that Black professionals do not regard their degree's benefits as a personal accomplishment. Secondly, while Black professionals recognise and articulate the challenges of the 'Black Tax,' the majority of people believe it is their social and moral obligation to contribute to society's larger good. Finally, the findings show that the majority of respondents see the 'Black Tax' as a negotiated procedure due to the legacy in which society and the Black community find themselves.

These findings relate to the theory of African Communalism where it says that an individual has a social obligation to share what he/she has with others. In a similar way, Ubuntu represents African humanity in which one is supposed to think about one’s own wants in the context of the family’s requirements (Fongwa, 2019:4). Moreover, according to African Communalism, a community has a moral obligation or sense of duty to raise morally upright people who can support the community and instil values that contribute to human welfare, such as caring for aged parents (Ominde et al., 2020:279). Thus, the author of the *News24* article stated,

> *One feel compelled to break the cycle of socio-economic problems in South Africa by developing and supporting the coming generation in his or her family or community, through paying for tuition fees, giving an allowance, donating to a church or organisation and putting food on the table in the house one grew up in* (News24, 2018, Para 8).

With the text above, the media was trying to convince the readers or listeners that by helping these people, one could break or reverse the cycle of poverty and the family's history of illiteracy. The media also tried to convince people that young people feel compelled to end the poverty cycle in their family because they cannot stand watching their parents suffer. Moreover, the theory of African Communalism maintains that individuals are expected to see and differentiate themselves in terms of how their culture trains, shapes and virtuously enlightens them to procure the identity, as well as how their moral reasoning is shaped in the society’s context in terms of their behaviour and actions (Ominde et al., 2020:280). That is to say, a person cannot abandon a suffering or impoverished family. Therefore, they will take all measures

necessary to ensure that they improve the condition for the family. These findings relate to the study conducted by Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley (2019:456), which revealed that the transfers are substantial and that they are mostly used for general spending and education. Many respondents reported a readiness to preserve what they saw as culture or tradition in the concept of assisting family after obtaining fulfilling work, according to the data (Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019:455). the results also revealed that the participants saw it as a responsibility to their immediate and extended family. In conclusion, this framework emphasises the personal responsibility of every young Black professional to support their family, turning the concept of the 'Black Tax' into a moral or communal duty. The frame also emphasises the 'Black Tax,' which many young Black professionals must pay, as a familial or social responsibility rather than a financial burden.

6.3.5. Conflict Frame

Conflict Frame, according to Linström and Marais (2012:28) addresses the news media's 'game interpretation of the political world' as a continuous sequence of situations, each with a different set of victors and losers. This frame describes 'Black Tax' issues in terms of confrontation. The text reflects the polarisation of a debate identifying the opposing interests of two groups or figures (Contributors and families/beneficiaries; Black and white people). Most of the texts did not include explicit arguments for the defence and relevancy of 'Black Tax'. Hence, the theory of Deconstruction considers how a text's explicit formulation conflicts with its implicit or non-explicit elements. By highlighting what the text contains, it highlights what it excludes. The debate on the 'Black Tax' issue is the background of a conflict which is the true focus of the media archives used in this study (*BBC* and *eNCA* videos, *News24* and *Daily Sun* articles and *Power FM* radio show). Some strategies stand out, like the use of financial terms, the taxation systems vs tax rebates and the use of binary choices and these force the reader to take sides without allowing for the possibility of grey areas.

These relate to the theory of Deconstruction which is based on the idea that humans frequently represent their ideas in binary oppositions, with the assumption that each term of the binary opposition always mirrors the other (Sikirivwa, 2020:46). They also relate to the Theory of Media Framing wherein the frames are constructed through the

use of the media's own resources to organise a narrated story in a way that promotes the definition of the problem, an interpretation of the causes, a moral assessment and a recommended course of action, thus, leading the people to take sides. They also relate to the Theory of Agenda-setting wherein the media constantly reveal things or problems that imply what the general population should consider, understand and feel. Therefore, the media selected in this study all gave conflicting interpretations of 'Black Tax'. In the *BBC* video, 'Black Tax' was framed as a sacrifice which could be interpreted as a burden to young professionals because as the video claimed, they sacrificed some important aspects of their lives to provide for their families. On the other hand, they also framed it to be a family responsibility that was engraved on young professionals. In other words, this is telling us that young professionals grow up knowing they are going to pay 'Black Tax'. The article also claimed it was a family responsibility. On the *eNCA* video however, 'Black Tax' was framed as a financial abuse, while on *Power FM* it was claimed to be the leverage of apartheid and a form of inherited poverty for Black people. These contradictory meanings and misinterpretations of 'Black Tax' show that each media had a point to make and an agenda to set. As a result, there is no single voice in the media.

The data used in this study makes it quite evident that young Black professionals are the only group to experience the 'Black Tax.' Despite the fact that the *BBC* video had discussions with young Black professionals who discussed their perspectives on the 'Black Tax' phenomenon, the *eNCA* video and the *Power FM* broadcast included older individuals discussing the issue. While 'Black Tax' was portrayed in the media as a crisis that young Black professionals must deal with, inviting an elderly speaker to discuss the phenomenon was completely incongruous and irrelevant. A White individual being invited by the *eNCA* to speak on 'Black Tax' was also highly puzzling. Additionally, the financial expert in the *eNCA* video gave hearsay accounts rather than first-hand accounts of the phenomenon. As a result, it may seem contradictory to discuss the 'Black Tax' phenomenon and the challenges faced by young Black professionals while also being a White person and without first-hand experience. This demonstrates that the media's decision to feature these well-known speakers was motivated by a certain agenda. This resonates with the theory of agenda setting. Severin and Tankard Jr (2001) maintain that agenda setting is hastened when prominent and reliable people start to speak out about a problem.

Although the historical viewpoint of ‘Black Tax’ was not mentioned in the *eNCA* or *BBC* videos, it had been conveyed by the authors of the *Daily Sun* article, *News24* article and the broadcast on *Power FM*. The 'Black Tax' was acknowledged as originating from the apartheid regime, in both the *News24* article and the *Power FM* broadcast. The *News24* acknowledged that many Black people entered democracy without the benefits of riches because of the legacy of apartheid. The male guest on the *Power FM* show further noted that Black people had been compelled to inherit supporting their families and extended family members because of the apartheid system. For example, the author of the News*24* article mentioned,

> *Black tax is a legacy of the apartheid system brought into our democracy intentionally. The preferential treatment given to white people directly deprived black people of the opportunity to build generational wealth. With no equal rights for black and white South Africans at that time, white South Africans were able to enter democracy with proceeds of their wealth to give to their children, while black South Africans were allowed to enter the new dawn with no financial jump-start* (News24, 2018, Para 1).

The *Power FM* host also noted,

> *Some say it's a unique type of debt that's inherently only levied on black people as a result of apartheid legacy* (PowerFM, 2017, 0:20).

The male guest on *Power FM* mentioned something similar,

> *But because of the historical part of Africa, Black people have been forced to inherit maintaining your grandparents, your family, like, your parents and all those things. Look, as I mentioned before, one of the things that was never addressed and still today, they've never been addressing the issue of the tax reform. Now tax reform, to take into cognisance of the fact that apartheid as a system, its taxation system was having an apartheid element, meaning that it had a repressive element whereby inherently it was to disadvantage black people while advancing White people. And then, on the other hand, Black people were disadvantaged by the whole system, so that was never addressed* (PowerFM, 2017, 1:43).

The *Daily Sun* article however acknowledged ‘Black Tax’ as coming from an African way of life. The article acknowledged that although ‘Black Tax’ stems from an African way of living, this was disrupted by the colonisation and apartheid. For example, the SunReporter on the *Daily Sun* article mentioned,

> *‘Black Tax’ stems from the origins of the African family originally sharing in a commonwealth. Families co-existed and their wealth was distributed amongst themselves. This was disrupted by colonisation and apartheid, which separated and pulled families apart. It left families essentially operating in miniature silos. This meant that the large wealth reserves Africans initially had to distribute, were now significantly minimised to individual salaries of working family members* (SunReporter, 2019, Para 7-9).

The above texts indicate that Black people inherited poverty as part of the apartheid aftermath. Since they had no proceeds of wealth as the texts indicate, it meant they had to start over, thus, in many Black households through ‘Black Tax’. The findings relate to a study conducted by Hay (2014:747), who investigated how ordinary people in Limpopo province, Letaba (current-day Mopani district) earned and lost land rights throughout the 20th century. The findings showed that the land ownership was not as static as popular narratives and official discourse suggests and that personal histories of the land access and loss were not as linear as popular natives and official discourses suggest. Despite the fact that the apartheid system impoverished Black people even further, the Africans themselves are by nature collective and look after one another. That is to say that ‘Black Tax’ stems from the African way of living. Thus, according to the theory of African Communalism, a person has a social obligation to share what he has with others (Venter, 2004:154). Moreover, the theory also maintains that the community has a moral obligation or a sense of duty to raise morally upright persons who can support the community and instil values that contribute to human welfare, such as carrying for the aged parents (Ominde et al., 2020:279).

6.3.6. Cultural Frame

Cultural Frame in this study focuses on the traditions, value systems, myths and symbols that are common in each society or community. The texts describe ‘Black Tax’ matters in terms of its relation to African culture or African Communalism. In

general, ‘Black Tax’ is associated with the positive characteristics the of pre-colonial culture. In other texts it is presented as the legacy of apartheid and colonisation, as exemplified in the *Daily Sun* text, the SunReporter noted,

> *‘Black Tax’ stems from the origins of the African family originally sharing in a commonwealth. Families co-existed and their wealth was distributed amongst themselves. This was disrupted by colonisation and apartheid, which separated and pulled families apart. It left families essentially operating in miniature silos* (SunReporter, 2019, Para 7-8).

These texts refer to the African culture that was later disrupted by apartheid and colonisation. They indicate that ‘Black Tax’ stemmed from how African families operated in the past. These relate to the theory of African Communalism which suggest that in African societies, and traditional African socio-cultural frameworks wealth was considered as serving the community rather than benefiting an individual in (Ominde et al., 2020:283). In other words, communalism assumes that advantages and liabilities are shared and distributed fairly within the society. Therefore, when the tribe prospered, all the tribe’s members benefit as well (Obioha-Olabisi, 2014:261). According to Mazibuko (2000:13), indigenous inhabitants in South Africa were self-sufficient in terms of food and other necessities prior to the arrival of Europeans. However, the current South African way of life has changed dramatically. Thus, a study conducted by Falola and Fleming (2011:1) used the common experiences of Africans in general to provide an analysis of civilisation throughout the African continent. The findings demonstrate that African civilisations have changed dramatically since the continent's earliest settlers began the process of establishing states. The findings also highlight the African people's adaptability and resiliency from early state creation to the present day (Falola & Fleming, 2011:1).

African people lived as a collective whole in the past. That is to say that they lived as one big family and took care of each other. Thus, the male guest speaker in the *Power FM* asserted,

> *Let’s say an ordinary guy, he has parents. The parents are still alive, and he still has to maintain them. Now for over a month, he has to pay for the well-*

> *being of the grandfather, grandmother, the parents, the additional nephews and nieces* (PowerFM, 2017, 8:56).

The financial expert in the *eNCA* also claimed*,*

> *I remember, one man saying to me "You know if you want to understand an employment in South Africa be a young black professional because we're supporting so many family members" and I think it's quite important to define and understand what the problem behind that is. Yes, it's a cultural thing, so you can look at historical factors, but the reality is when you have so many people unemployed in South Africa the one person who has the job is going to be supporting more people* (eNCA, 2019, 0:53).

According to the texts above, 'Black Tax' was an African traditional practice. It demonstrates how naturally considerate Africans are. These findings are relevant to the African Communalism Theory. According to the theory, in traditional African society a family also comprises grandparents, uncles, aunts and other people who may have their own children in addition to the wife and children (Etta et al., 2016:307). As the cornerstone of the African people's communalistic way of life, which is based on the solidarity of family members and members of the local community, the extended family structure is, according to the theory, inextricably linked to the traditional African society. This suggests that African culture values taking care of one's immediate and extended family. In other words, the term 'Black Tax' has its roots in ancient African culture.

Despite the fact that paying 'Black Tax' is associated with African culture, the text from the *eNCA*'s financial expert also suggested that when just one family member was employed, that person assumed full responsibility for seeing to the needs of the family. This is supported by the African Communalism Theory. The theory states that a person has a social obligation to share what he has with others (Venter, 2004:154). That is to say, sharing is encouraged in an African culture since it emphasises the significance of social connection. However, the theory also promotes mutual assistance in the society. Therefore, a single person who is employed will be able to support the entire family on their own, according to the financial expert's insights. This suggests that

there fails to be any mutual aid in this situation since one person is taking care of the family by themselves. This does not fit well with the theory of African Communalism.

6.3.7. Racial Frame

The term ‘Racial Frame’ refers to how the main categories into which humankind is occasionally subdivided based on physical traits, such as Blacks and Whites, have implications on social understanding of issues. In this context, the term ‘Black Tax’ refers to a phenomenon that many Black people experience. In other words, it is seen primarily as a Black practice. This frame makes clear that the 'Black Tax' is most acutely felt by young Black professionals. Many White people are privileged because of the history of apartheid as they benefited economically from colonialism and apartheid, They were able to enter democracy with their riches while many Black people stayed in poverty. As a result of this, many White people are financially comfortable and are not generally expected to financially help their extended family members due to poverty.

The author of the *News24* article mentioned,

> *The preferential treatment given to White people directly deprived Black people of the opportunity to build generational wealth. With no equal rights for Black and White South Africans at that time, White South Africans were able to enter into democracy with the proceeds of their wealth to give to their children, while Black South Africans were allowed to enter the new dawn with no financial jumpstart* (News24, 2018, Para 1).

The article further mentioned,

> *Many young Black professionals are faced with the pressure to redress the legacy of apartheid through ‘Black Tax’* (News24, 2018, Para 3).

The SunReporter in the *Daily Sun* article also mentioned,

> *Wealth creation is elusive when one earner supports many. This is the current dilemma faced by many young Black South Africans when it comes to ‘Black Tax’, a term coined by many to define financial support to extended family within Black communities* (SunReporter, 2019, Para 1).

The *Power FM* male guest noted,

> *Look, I think the majority of people don't actually understand what 'Black Tax' is. Many people have just been saying any kind of expenditure incurred by a Black person is 'Black Tax'. That definition emanating from the fact that 'Black Tax' or any type of debt that is inherited by people and leveraged Black people out of apartheid. Loosely speaking, it's just a form of inherited poverty* (PowerFM, 2017, 0:47).

These texts clearly indicated that 'Black Tax' was an obligation that was incurred by Black people, mostly by young Black professionals in this regard. Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley (2019:444) assert that the term 'Black' in 'Black Tax' is associated with being a Black South African, while the term 'tax' connotes a negative pressure and expectation. This suggests that the only South Africans who are subject to the 'Black Tax's adverse pressures and expectations are black South Africans. Additionally, it was implied in the texts that Black South Africans were the sole ones providing for their families. However, it is fairly common in an African collectivist culture for the person who can support their family to do so. Consequently, reciprocal aid is promoted in an African collectivist culture. However, the media and capitalist framing portray caring for one's family and keeping ones culture and the spirit of Ubuntu as a tax, one that Black people in particular must pay. Therefore, the term 'Black Tax' is problematic and conjures up negative connotations about Black people and their culture.

6.3.8. Recapitulating the Media Framing of 'Black Tax'

This section of the findings dealt with the Media Framing of 'Black Tax'. The focus of the framing is largely on how issue are portrayed, handled and even produced by the media (Fourie, 2018). The frames identified by this study on the media selected for analysis were the human impact frame, powerlessness frame, economic frame, moral value frame, conflict frame, racial frame and cultural frame. The analysis in this study indicated that young Black professionals are those who are more intimately associated with the 'Black Tax' issue from a human impact frame. That is, they are the ones who pay 'Black Tax'. The media, in this regard, framed 'Black Tax' as faced only by the young professionals, while in reality, everyone can be confronted with the issue of 'Black Tax', especially in a case where their families are living in poverty. The media

failed to recognise the fact that even unemployed individuals and people of all ages as a matter of fact, also face this issue of ‘Black Tax’.

In the powerlessness frame, the findings indicated that Black families inherited poverty as an after-effect of apartheid. Thus, young people were facing the pressure of breaking the poverty cycle. Economically, however, the concept of ‘Black Tax’ was presented as financial exploitation. It was framed as the financial transfers that in most cases limit the young Black professionals from having their own savings and investments and from progressing personally and career wise. The findings also revealed that with proper financial planning and budgeting, ‘Black Tax’ can be managed. In the moral value frame, the findings pointed out that ‘Black Tax’ can be seen as a family responsibility; a duty that one had to their family and a moral responsibility to uphold the communal spirit of Africanism. Although ‘Black Tax’ in the media was presented as a responsibility, it was also presented as a burden to other young Black professionals. However, the media also presented the remedies of dealing with this issue of ‘Black Tax’ and one of those was the drawing up a budget plan and having financial discussions with the family.

The powerlessness and economic frames were the frames most strongly highlighted in the media materials analysed in this study. This indicates that those who contribute to their families’ well-being are helpless under the dominance of the aftermaths of colonialism and apartheid. It also indicates that they became powerless in the face of poverty and were, therefore, compelled to send remittances to their family and break the cycle of poverty. The preference of the economic frame, on the other hand, also indicates that the media are trying to bring the issue out as an exploitation that holds many young Black professionals’ personal development and financial freedom back. Therefore, the economic frame highlights the capitalist framing of ‘Black Tax.’ Paying ‘Black Tax’ is viewed as financial exploitation according to the capitalist paradigm, thus economic operations should generate profit or enormous advantages of some kind. In addition, the capitalist perspective sees 'Black Tax' as a burden on young Black professionals because they are providing financial support for their families. However, in an African culture it is known as ‘social obligation or the taking care of one’s family and others in the community.

Although the media materials analysed in this study produced seven frames, the study identified two frames that were missing from the media. For example, a historical frame which focused on the historical aspects of 'Black Tax', in this case the exact history of South Africa and African people's collectivist culture. For instance, Black people are collective by nature and, therefore, take care of each other. According to the theory of African Communalism, a person has a social obligation to share what he has with others. However, the media in this study made minimal mention of this. The social inequality frame was also one of the frames that the media in this study ignored. South Africa's inequality is exceptionally high due to both significant income differences in the workplaces and a wide gap between the employed and unemployed (Keeton, 2014:29). The inequality in South Africa is exacerbated by unemployment. The media analysed in this study made no acknowledgement of this issue. Because of enormous inequalities, the majority of Black people do not gain from the economy, nor do they participate in economic activities. As a result, Black families become more impoverished leading to an endless cycle of poverty. In spite of this, the media made no mention of these.

PART 2: ANALYSING MEDIA DISCOURSES - DECONSTRUCTING 'BLACK TAX'

6.4. DECONSTRUCTING 'BLACK TAX'

With the goal of studying how the Media Framing of 'Black Tax' reveals what issues are highlighted, preferred, negated and neglected in the media discourses, this study used Deconstruction theory. Deconstruction, according to Hendricks (2016:2), looks for flaws in the system where it hides the fact that it is not complete and cannot hold together as a cohesive whole. It primarily focuses on the linguistic and interpretive discrepancies (Gnanasekaran, 2015:212). According to Tracy (2020), Deconstruction as an analysis draws attention to symbols or discourses that are absent and reimagines altered meaning if the marginalised symbol were elevated to the same status as the dominant one. In this part of the analysis, the texts and relationships, meanings highlighted by the media about 'Black Tax', the contradictions made, and the meanings preferred and ignored are closely analysed and deconstructed.

6.4.1. Text and Relationships

One needs to be aware of the context of a text in order to comprehend it. Meaning is created by association with or through reference to another word or idea. As a result, certain words that conceal some underlying associations, hints and meanings are employed to mean different things (Khan & Zahra, 2016). These are acceptable tags used in place of direct words. Deconstruction Theory, therefore, involves dissecting the logic constrained therein to look for hidden or alternate meanings (Sikirivwa, 2020:63). Mostly, the purpose of using these words is to characterise certain common ideas associated with different people or situations.

For instance, the financial transfers made by the young Black professionals to support their family were referred to as ‘Black Tax’ in the media materials chosen for this study. Despite the fact that everyone provides for their families, regardless of colour, the name ‘Black Tax’ alone gives the impression that only Black people do so. On the other hand, the term implies that Black people mostly pay ‘Black Tax.’ This is due to the disadvantage and poverty that the majority of Black people in South Africa experience. Therefore, it makes sense that those who are successful in the family would look out for their less fortunate relatives. However, these actions are referred to as ‘Black Tax’ in a capitalist context. To make matters worse, it is also seen as a financial burden or a barrier to the aspirations of young Black professionals and their quest for middle-class status. On the other hand, for other professionals, it is seen as a family responsibility. Even though the capitalist approach refers to taking care of ones family as ‘Black Tax,’ Africans naturally look out for one another. Sharing what they have with their family and the community is part of their culture. Furthermore, there are numerous collective cultures. For instance, many Asians live as a collective whole and look out for one another and their families. However, providing for their families is not referred to as the ‘Asian Tax.’ Since the phrase is problematic, it should not be used to describe someone who adheres to their culture by providing for their family. It promotes racial inequity because it portrays Black people and their culture negatively. Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley (2019:444) claim that the word ‘tax’ denotes a burden and expectation that is negative. Thus, the term ‘Black’ connotes a connection to being a Black South African. The word ‘tax,’ on the other hand, conjures

up a bad image of a dignified and respectable relationship between dependents and donors, or employed graduates and their families (Fongwa, 2019:8).

The term ‘Being an ATM’ was also used in the *eNCA* ‘Black Tax’ video to characterise someone who constantly distributes money. ‘Being an ATM’ is a term used locally to describe someone who constantly gives money to others, sometimes without prioritising their own needs or budgeting for them. Such people are sometimes viewed as people who carelessly distribute money without considering their needs or wellness. This implies that one may easily ask these folks for money, and they will do so without hesitation. The media, specifically the *eNCA* video analysed for this study, portrays young Black professionals as ‘Money makers’ and ‘ATMs,’ even though many of them view providing for their families’ financial needs as a family duty. The financial expert in the *eNCA* video used the words ‘ATM’ and ‘Money maker’ in her phrases. For example, she noted,

> *If I’m sitting here having to do a budget that can fit all these things, I need to see your budget. I need to see what is happening and moving away from being an ‘ATM’ to actually having a commitment that is in your budget. That you know you are going to give them, but then you’re getting these ad hoc things all the time and in fact we did something with ‘money maker’* (eNCA, 2019, 3:08).

‘Money Maker’ is another example from the *eNCA* video. In the video, this phrase is used to characterise those who were at work. A person who makes a lot of money or puts in a lot of effort to make sure they have money to spend was referred to as a ‘Money maker’ in the local language. A person who provides money frequently or has numerous side businesses that bring in a lot of money is another definition of a ’Money maker’ in the South African context. Young Black professionals are frequently seen as wealth creators since they are employed and able to support their families and other aspects of their personal lives. Thus, Mhlongo (2019:91) mentions that if you drive a car, you are considered wealthy and a walking ATM in most communities, which is why one is perceived as being self-centred if one tells ones family that one is unable to assist them. The two expressions are typically used interchangeably to describe someone who makes sporadic financial contributions. The expressions, however, were used to describe young professionals in the video.

Derrida's Deconstruction is based on the idea that humans frequently represent their ideas as binary oppositions with the assumption that each of the terms in a binary opposition always mirrors the other (Sikirivwa, 2020:46). Because each term contains what Derrida refers to as the 'trace of opposite,' one can define a phrase of an opposition by naming another term and vice versa. Since the 'Black Tax' affects those from underprivileged, socio-economic backgrounds or who lack privilege, those whose families have wealth that has been passed down through generations are not impacted upon by the 'Black Tax,' hence they are privileged. 'White privilege,' 'privilege,' and 'soft life' are the opposing connotations of the term 'Black Tax' in this context. That is to say, individuals who do not pay the 'Black Tax' are privileged and lead 'soft lives.' A 'soft life' is a comfortable, stress-free way of living (Dictionery.com, 2023). Some people interpret the phrase to mean living in prosperity and luxury, while others see it as simply leading a life free of worry and obligations (Dictionery.com, 2023). As a result, individuals who are not burdened by family obligations are fortunate enough to enjoy comfortable lives. Nevertheless, there are synonyms for the phrase 'Black Tax' that are also used to describe it. The terms 'Black contribution,' 'Black tribute,' and 'Black Burden' can all be used to refer to the 'Black Tax.' When used as metaphors for humans, terms such as 'ATM' and 'Money maker' have their opposing connotations and meanings. These two capitalist terms are used in the media to portray young professionals as contributors, 'Money makers,' and perpetual 'ATMs.' However, if they do not contribute, the reverse meaning of the two concepts is utilised. For instance, the phrase 'being an ATM' has opposite phrases such as 'being a penny-pincher' or 'a stingy person,' depending on the context. In this aspect, a person is labelled as 'being stingy' or a 'penny pincher' if they do not distribute money like other family members do. The most common term used in South Africa to describe someone who is frugal with their money or only spends sometimes is 'stingy person.' The term 'Money maker' also has a negative connotation. The phrase is frequently used interchangeably with 'being an ATM' and generally refers to people who work hard and make a lot of money. According to the *eNCA* video, the definition of 'Money maker' also includes 'Money spender.' However, the opposite definition of 'being an ATM'—being frugal or a penny-pincher—is also similar.

6.4.2. Meaning Highlighted

Words are never set in time and are never steady. The meaning is always tainted because the meaning perceived in language is the result of a difference (Güney & Güney, 2008:222). Additionally, since the meaning of words is not determined by the thing they connect to, they can alter at any time. Deconstruction is a double motion that simultaneously overturns and displaces a conceptual order in order to expose and free the space that has always been constrained by the diverse heterogeneity of textuality (Derrida, 1982 cited in Ramoya, 2016:70). For example, 'sacrifices' was a phrase used in the *BBC* 'Black Tax' video. The female young professional said,

> *We had to make sacrifices that they didn't understand* (BBC News, 2020, 0:01).

When used in this sentence by a young professional, the word 'sacrifices' connotes that young people go 'above and beyond' to ensure the welfare of their families. It demonstrates their willingness to do whatever it takes to support their family. However, the other interpretation of this statement is that young people are burdened or suffering because of the 'Black Tax' commitment. This correlates with Carpenter and Phaswana's (2021:2) definition of 'Black Tax' which refers to a financial burden carried by Black South Africans who must pay or send money and other commodities to support their families.

A female young professional in the *BBC* video said,

> *So, a lot of people do struggle with that, mainly because the obligation is engraved within us like deep mentally* (BBC News, 2020, 1:21).

The emphasis in this extract is on the fact that young Black professionals have grown up knowing they cannot escape the 'Black Tax,' which is an inescapable reality. According to the statement, 'Black Tax' is a cultural standard or practice that young people must endure. It demonstrates that young Black professionals are well aware of the expectations placed on them by their families. Therefore, as a fundamental aspect of African cultural traditions, the theory of African Communalism plays a critical role in establishing the ethical standards that are critical in developing good behaviour and assisting individuals in becoming contributing members of the society (Ominde et al., 2020:279). Traditional African Communalism is based on a strong social responsibility (Obioha-Olabisi, 2014:256). In relation to this, another male professional argued,

> *To me, the term is still foreign. I do not think that me as an African man agree with the word, especially tax. I'd rather say family responsibility* (BBC News, 2020, 0:29).

Every African child has a duty or responsibility to their family, which is the meaning of the sentence. As a result, the refusal of the word 'tax' informs us that the idea of a 'Black Tax' by itself poses difficulties. Even if today's South Africans view family responsibilities as a burden or a destructive habit, pre-colonial Africans took care of one another. They engaged in Africanism, which encouraged interdependence in society. That is to say, no person would ever have to deal with hunger on their own because the community would always come to their aid. As a result, the expression 'family responsibility' was ambiguous because it implied that a person had a duty to care for both their family and the community as a whole. These thoughts pertain to the African Communalism idea, which holds that every member of the family feels a sense of societal obligation and collective support for the family.

The purpose of Deconstruction, according to Hendricks (2016:1) is to dismantle the dichotomous contradiction between speech and writing. It requires the dismantling of these binary oppositions (Sikirivwa, 2020:46). In the *eNCA* video, the financial expert mentioned the following,

> *I remember one man saying to me, 'you know, if you want to understand an employment in South Africa, be a young Black professional because we're supporting so many family members* (eNCA, 2019, 0:51).

What this comment was stating is that young Black professionals were the only ones who understood employment. They were also the only ones who were fully aware that as soon as they landed a job, they should begin supporting a large number of family members and they should have made this a cultural norm. However, it is not surprising given that African Communalism holds that each person's primary concern should be the community or group (Bisong, 2018:6). These language semantics act as a conduit between the writer and the reader for the concealed information in the content. By using comparisons, all of these are employed to convey to readers a common understanding of the concept. According to the theory of this study, Deconstruction sees language as a game of contrasts and creates a method for identifying the significant role that language plays in ones thinking (Hendricks, 2016:2). Moreover, it

is endorsed that these semantics are not mentioned in the content directly but are latent meanings which the readers presume.

For instance, the perception that ‘Black Tax’ is a family responsibility for a young Black professional and is mostly linked with Black people who live in poverty and are still affected by the history of apartheid, was frequently mentioned in the data. According to the data, ‘Black Tax’ was a cultural practice that many young professionals in South Africa engaged in. Therefore, through their written language, writers in both the *eNCA* and *BBC* broadcast stations, the *Daily Sun* and *News24* articles and *Power FM* scripts, presented ‘Black Tax’ as a responsibility that a young Black professional could not run away from, but they also made it seem like a sacrifice and a burden that a young Black professional had to bear for the rest of their lives. However, they also implied that while a young Black professional could not avoid the ‘Black Tax,’ they might seek financial guidance to manage it or establish some limitations. The media also portrayed young Black professionals as being held back in life and not progressing with their lives and jobs, let alone saving for retirement, if they did not establish clear budgets, boundaries and limits. In conclusion, the media mostly highlighted the fact that many Black professionals who had found success and financial security frequently found themselves caring for their less fortunate relatives. Additionally, they frequently overemphasised the sacrifices and financial struggles that black professionals went through to support their immediate and extended families. They concentrated most heavily on the 'Black Tax' as a financial burden and a kind of financial exploitation, but they also brought attention to the difficulties many young black professionals had in juggling their own financial well-being with the expectations of their families and communities.

6.4.3. Contradiction

Deconstruction is a way of reading that reveals the contradictions and enigmas in the predictable structures of philosophical and artistic writings (Gnanasekaran, 2015:211). Finding aporias, blind spots, or instances of self-contradiction in the text that unintentionally reveal conflict between rhetoric and logic or between what the text says and what it is supposed to mean, requires vigilance (Norris, 1987 cited in Hendricks, 2016:2). Because of this, the study's data revealed conflicting information about ‘Black Tax’ across all media sources. Modern South Africans and the capitalist society

mistake family fulfilment and responsibility as a burden or compensation for sacrifices made by the family. While some young Black professionals pay the 'Black Tax' because it is a cultural requirement, many do so because they feel they have a duty or commitment to their families. Numerous scholars such as Fongwa (2019), Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley (2019), Vakira et al. (2021) and many others, conducted research to determine how people who pay 'Black Tax' perceive it. These researchers have proved that 'Black Tax' is a responsibility to the immediate and extended family members. However, the media analysed for this study showed that there was a great contradiction between the understandings of 'Black Tax'.

The media supported the capitalist view that young Black professionals should establish limitations, engage in financial planning, create a detailed budget and so forth by equating the term 'Black Tax' with a burden. Nevertheless, a person has a duty to share what they have with others, according to African collective culture and the philosophy of African Communalism. Additionally, communalism presupposes those benefits and costs be allocated evenly within the society. The term 'Black Tax' was used in the same context to emphasise the capitalist ideas and was described as a burden, a sacrifice and a responsibility. On the other hand, it was also labelled as a duty, family responsibility and gratitude towards the family. Therefore, there is competition in how the people in the media presented the issue of 'Black Tax.'

In the *BBC* video, 'Black Tax' was framed as a sacrifice which could be interpreted as a burden to young professionals because, as the video claims, they sacrifice some important aspects of their lives to provide for their families. On the other hand, they also frame it to be a family responsibility that was engraved on young professionals. In other words, this is maintaining that young professionals grow up knowing they are going to pay 'Black Tax'. In the *News24* story, 'Black Tax' was said to be the legacy of apartheid and also a burden for a young professional. The article also claimed that it was a family responsibility. In the *eNCA* video however, 'Black Tax' was framed as a financial abuse, while on *Power FM* it was claimed to be the leverage of apartheid and a form of inherited poverty for Black people. These contradictory meanings and misinterpretations of 'Black Tax' show that each media has a point to make and an agenda to set. Thus, according to the theory of Media Framing, specific realities are chosen and given more significance or focus so that the issue is characterised, its

causes identified, and moral judgements put forward and suitable remedies and actions presented (Entman, 1993 cited in Arde'vol-Abreu, 2015:424).

6.4.4. What is Preferred

It can be seen that all five news sources used many of the same phrases and conceptual framing signals. Both the use of frames and framing cues revealed differences. By using a Deconstruction technique, the researcher evaluated the use of these cues by examining the preferred meaning and the persistence of specific terms in the content that helped the researcher uncover latent meanings in such content. According to the researcher's evaluation, terms such as 'Black Tax,' 'financial burden,' 'family responsibility,' 'obligation,' 'poverty,' 'budget,' and 'boundaries' were relevant to the topic and the objectives. All the data selected for the analysis of this study was scanned using NVIVO to count the frequency of these words and to dig out the alternative terms used for these words. Furthermore, it was also intended to comprehend the underlying context in which these words were used.

The frequency of the words was counted to identify the patterns in the text and also to contextualise the terms. To confirm the findings of the framing analysis and to identify the connotation that was most usually associated with the term 'Black Tax,' the list of the most frequently used words was extensively analysed. Through the NVIVO frequency word count, the researcher was able to discover the most preferred words in all the materials used for this study, and similar terms and their opposites were discovered. For example, for the term 'poverty', several alternative terms like 'the disadvantaged', 'the poor' and 'distress' were used. All these terms were used in a context presenting Black people as living in the shackles of poverty and that was inherited from the past generation and as part of the apartheid legacy that young Black professionals were trying hard to break. The oppositional terms generated by the term 'poverty' in the data of the study was 'wealth' and 'the advantaged'. These oppositional terms were used in the context presenting white people as being more advantaged and carrying generational wealth to pass on to their next generation. The terms were also used in a context presenting Black people as lacking generational wealth and deprived of the opportunity to build their wealth due to the oppressing apartheid laws. Thus, young Black professionals are also deprived of the opportunity or held back from

building their own wealth to pass on to their children, all in the effort of trying to break the cycle of poverty in their families.

All these correlates with the Theory of Deconstruction, because, according to the theory, each terms contains what Derrida refers to as a ‘trace of its opposite’ (Sikirivwa, 2020:46). The theory further states that one can define a phrase of an opposite by meaning another term and vice versa. Thus, the preferred terms found in this study all have other terms to describe them. For example, for ‘contribution’ terms such as ‘supporting’, ‘commitment’, ‘pay’, ‘sustain’, ‘assisting’ and ‘remitting’ were all used, denoting that young Black professionals support or help sustain their families and extended family members. On the basis of this contribution, the media analysed in this study preferred ‘Black Tax’ as a contribution to, and a fulfilling of, a responsibility that one has to the family. The oppositional meanings or the terms generated by the term ‘contribution’ were ‘budget’, ‘limits’, ‘boundaries’, ‘savings and ‘investments.’ These terms were used in the context of providing remedies or solution to ‘Black Tax’ and the building of one’s wealth. These terms were used to suggest that young Black professionals could have a specific budget on how much they would commit to their families and having specific limits or boundaries that would then enable them to have monthly savings and investments.

Further exploration of the use of terms demonstrated that ‘responsibility’ was a term used presenting ‘Black Tax’ as being a family responsibility or a duty that a child had to the family. It was used in the context of presenting ‘Black Tax’ as fulfilling a responsibility. Another term preferred was ‘sacrifices.’ The phrase was preferred, especially in the *BBC* video. The phrase was used to describe the sacrifices made by young Black professionals in order to support or contribute at home. The implication was that young people could not just watch their families live in poverty; thus, they felt compelled to take up the family responsibilities instead of just ‘wanting to.’ In conclusion, the predominant definition of 'Black Tax' in all media channels was that it was a responsibility that a young Black professional had to the family and they could not escape it since they did not have generational wealth. Therefore, the iterability of all the phrases in all the data used for this study links up with the element of Deconstruction (destinerrance). Iterability, according to Ramoya (2016:81) implies the possibility of a text to be repeated with the multiplicity of meanings in the multiplicity of

contexts even with absence (death of the original context). Thus, the preferred terms identified were repeated in every media outlet used in this study.

6.4.5. What is Ignored

Deconstruction Theory tries to investigate what the text has overlooked and demonstrates how what is left out is inextricably indicated by the categories that the text uses. It may also expose a text or discourse to discussions about its boundaries and the interplay between its explicit and covert textual level (Hendricks, 2016:1). In a similar manner, frames highlight some parts of the reality at the price of others. So, it was important to consider what was described as well as what was omitted when defining them (Arde'vol-Abreu, 2015:424). On the other hand, Gitlin (1980 cited in Arde'vol-Abreu, 2015:428) makes a claim that a frame is created by a selection, emphasis and exclusion. In other words, every good story emphasises some details while omitting others. Similar to Framing Theory, the Agenda-setting Theory claims that media users' perception of reality are established in a certain way by the exclusion of some events and concerns and the overemphasis of others (Fourie, 2018).

With the goal of studying how the Media Framing of 'Black Tax' revealed what issues were ignored, this study carefully analysed the data and looked for the loopholes that were not mentioned in the media content or rather ignored in the discourse of 'Black Tax'. The first meaning that was ignored by the data was that 'Black Tax' for Black people was not something that had started recently in the 21st century, but it stemmed from the ancient way of living. All the data, except for the *Daily Sun* article, ignored the fact that Africans were by nature collective individuals who were accustomed to look after one another. In most African communities, everyone was looked after and cared for in some way, but in today's society, there is an expectation that the one that succeeds first has to take care of the entire family on a single salary. For example, the SunReporter in the *Daily Sun* article mentioned,

> *Black Tax stems from the origins of the African family originally sharing in a commonwealth. Families co-existed and their wealth was distributed amongst themselves. This was disrupted by colonisation and apartheid, which separated and pulled families apart. It left families essentially operating in miniature silos. This meant that the large wealth reserves Africans initially had to distribute,*

were now significantly minimised to individual salaries of working family members (SunReporter, 2019, Para 7-9).

Another meaning that was ignored or rather given less attention or preference was that ‘Black Tax’ stemmed from the continued economic imbalances of South Africa and that it stemmed from the lack of Black assets, i.e., wealth deficits that could be traced back to apartheid and migrant labour laws. Black tax was frequently framed in a way that ignored or failed to acknowledge the underlying social, economic and historical elements that are causing it. Thus, due to oppressive apartheid laws, many Black South Africans today do not have wealth to transmit or transfer to their children and thus the children are subjected to, or are faced with, the issue of ‘Black Tax’ or family responsibility. All these were perpetuated by the fact that Africans were driven from their homelands and forced to live in the limited reserves with less fertile soils and shorter fallow periods, resulting in lower outputs (Stock, 2013). Decades later, the children and grandchildren of the dispossessed were addressing the asset and wealth deficits of the previous generation as a legacy of colonialism and apartheid.

The Native Land Act passed by the colonial South African government in 1913, limited the African property ownership to defined regions covering 7% of the country’s total land area (Clark & Worger, 2011; Piotrowski, 2019:57; Terreblanche, 2002). This, then continued to impoverish Black South Africans which is why even today they still live in poverty and young people are faced with the responsibility of breaking the cycle of poverty, even though at times they feel they cannot do it alone as they also need to make something for themselves and their children. Therefore, ‘Black Tax’ is referred to as a burden, and according to Young (2021), parents who are trapped in the cycle of inter-generational poverty as a result of their economic and social conditions, are sadly condemned to pass those situations on to their children. The media analysed in the study neglected to look at the generational poverty that keeps black communities' finances in such a bind.

As a result, the triple challenges (poverty, inequality and unemployment) in South Africa are also among the problems that cause ‘Black Tax’, and they are ignored by the media. Although it is a duty or responsibility to provide for the family financially, doing so will be challenging without a job. Additionally, it will be challenging to end this poverty in the absence of employment due to the cycle of poverty that many African

families inherited. Therefore, unemployment has a negative effect on fresh graduates who must subsequently take care of their impoverished families. In this respect, the media failed to mention that fulfilling a family obligation without a job was all but impossible. The lack of access to high-quality education and employment prospects, as well as institutional racism, were not addressed. Additionally, the media failed to mention that the 'Black Tax' could also affect older individuals who were still expected to care for their immediate and extended family as well as the unemployed. Therefore, regardless of employment status, income, or race, 'Black Tax' can have an impact on everyone who is responsible for providing for their family.

6.4.6. Recapitulating the Deconstruction of 'Black Tax'

The primary objective of Deconstruction in this study was to analyse the text and highlight the behaviour of the figurative language, which subsequently resulted in the pieces being put together in an entirely different way. In this part of the investigation, the logic was examined to discover any hidden or alternative meanings. Three distinct phrases such as 'Black Tax,' 'ATM,' and 'money maker,' found in the media used for this study were dissected in the study. According to the findings, the term 'Black Tax' raised issues because it referred to the financial burden and familial responsibilities that young professionals must shoulder. Additionally, the name implied that only Black people experience the 'Black Tax.' The *eNCA* speaker referred to a young professional who earned more money and contributed money to others as the 'ATM' and 'Money maker' in her remarks. The analysis discovered that 'White privilege,' 'privilege,' and 'soft life' were phrases that were opposed to the term 'Black Tax,' whereas 'Black contribution,' 'Black tribute,' and 'Black burden' were words that were comparable to, or synonyms with it. A 'penny pincher' and a 'stingy person' are the opposites of an 'ATM' and a 'money producer,' respectively. Only when a person does not want to pay the 'Black Tax' do they use these terms. The results of using NVIVO to count the frequency of words showed that phrases like 'Black Tax,' 'financial burden,' 'family responsibility,' 'obligation,' 'poverty,' 'budget,' and 'boundaries' are the most frequently used ones in the media studied. The study's objective was to determine how the media's portrayal of 'Black Tax' reveals the issues that the media chooses to downplay. It turned out that the most obvious meaning that the media failed to mention was that 'Black Tax' for Black people was not a modern phenomenon; rather, it had

its roots in the traditional African way of life. Because Africans are by nature communal beings who live as a collective whole and take part in collective endeavours, all the media content examined for this study neglected this fact.

PART 3: PUBLIC FRAMING OF 'BLACK TAX'

6.5. PUBLIC FRAMING OF 'BLACK TAX'

This section explores how 'Black Tax' has been framed publicly. This is based on the reactions to the two audio-visual materials (*eNCA* and *BBC*) on the 'Black Tax' posted on YouTube. These broadcast materials have been explained in-depth in the methodology chapter. Therefore, to understand the public framing of 'Black Tax', the researcher studied the comments that people posted under the comment sections of the videos. The study used a qualitative research approach, allowing for the systematic categorisation process of coding and identifying themes or patterns to subjectively interpret the content of the text data. Thematic analysis is a technique for finding, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) in the data (Flick, 2014). The overall total of the comments comprised 201, with 197 comments from the *BBC* video and four from the *eNCA.* Overall, the comments generated five themes namely, 'Black Tax' as a communal spirit, 'Black Tax' as an obligation, 'Black Tax' as a burden, 'Black Tax' as a result of South African history, and those that claimed that 'Black Tax' is not uniquely Black.

6.5.1. 'Black Tax' as an Obligation

Mass media set an agenda that can affect the public opinion (Mohd Zain, 2014:4). They have a special access to shaping or influencing the audience's views, values, priorities and emphases. Based on this, the study considered the comments from audience members as to whether they were influenced by the Media Framing of 'Black Tax' and sought to understand their opinions about 'Black Tax' as opposed to how the media frame it. There were particularly seven people on the comment sections who identified 'Black Tax' as an obligation. Although the commenters there agreed that 'Black Tax' was an obligation, in this theme, the findings focused on two main points: 'Black Tax' as an obligation or duty to the family, and 'Black Tax as compensating for family sacrifices.

- *Black Tax as Obligation to the Family*

The first is ‘Black Tax’ being an obligation to take care of one’s family. Young people are expected to fulfil obligations to their families immediately after they get jobs before building their own lives. For example, one commenter said,

> *Yes, we ensure everyone in the family is well taken care of. But it's a big responsibility trying to support yourself and those in the village.*

Another commenter mentioned,

> *Black South Africans are building their parents’ houses before they even start building their own. It goes beyond family responsibility and care, it’s an obligation. Anyone who does not is seen as a terrible child, it’s a lot to carry.*

This comment suggested that young professionals typically put their families' demands ahead of their own. It also conveyed the heavy burden of responsibility placed on a young professional. As a result, paying the ‘Black Tax’ has an emotional aspect which is why the commenter posted that, *anyone who does not is seen as a terrible child*. This connects to the African Communalism theory, which contends that it is a social duty for people to share what they have with one another. One of the commenters argued that ‘Black Tax’ resulted from the lack of financial management skills in the society. For example, the commenter stated,

> *It does not matter where your family falls within the tax bracket, if you are Black you are bound by ‘Black Tax’. It isn’t even a positive feeling of wanting to uplift your people anymore, it’s this heavy-weight burden of obligation. That comes from not just Black families being impoverished but from the deep cultural inability to manage money.*

This comment suggested that Black people still require advice and guidance in money management. It also indicated that in most cases young Black professionals felt burdened by ‘Black Tax’, yet they could not escape from it as they had to take care of their impoverished families. Thus, according to Mhlongo (2019:242), the 'Black Tax' is one of the most significant reasons of financial trouble among South Africa's middle-

class citizens. Consequently, it is regarded as a burden for young people or the Black working middle class, rather than a source of family fulfilment or responsibility.

- *Black Tax as Compensating for Family Sacrifices*

The second point was that 'Black Tax' was considered an obligation to repay those who had sacrificed themselves to look after their children. Therefore, according to Mhlongo (2019:89), some individuals believe it is their responsibility to have children so that their children may look after them when they become old. In many African societies, these beliefs are widespread. Based on this, one commenter said,

> *This concept isn't new nor is it exclusive to Black South Africans. The concept is called family. It is looking after the people who sacrificed themselves to look after you and to those you bear responsibility directly or indirectly for.*

Another commenter added,

> *What you are talking about is not black tax. It is repayment for your family sacrifice. Would you rather never send, and they get ahead without help so you can then say, "I got this, so I don't owe you anything." No, you still have a responsibility to move the family forward. Gratitude*.

The above comments indicate that after young professionals becomes successful, they have a duty or an obligation to repay the sacrifices of their parents. Overall, obligation tends to lead back to payback behaviour for the sacrifices that were made by the beneficiaries (parents in most cases). Furthermore, family members may feel entitled to assistance because they believe that the sender was required to do so. Moreover, these findings relate to Matlala and Shambare's (2017:77) notion of 'Black Tax' which they claim is simply the notion of family or community (social and cultural obligation) feeling entitled to be repaid in full for all the years spent on an individual through monetary and/or non-monetary methods. However, Mangoma and Wilson-Prangely (2019:453) maintain that obligation might stem from a feeling of entitlement or extortion, but it can also stem from appreciation and willingness to help those who have helped. On the other hand, the second commenter suggests that 'Black Tax' should be viewed as an expression of gratitude to the family or a responsibility.

6.5.2. ‘Black Tax’ as a Communal Spirit

In pre-colonial African society, communal life was a prerequisite of the human existence and action. Therefore, communalism was a way of life that prioritised the community’s common good over individual gains (Bisong, 2018:2). Most of the commenters in this theme saw ‘Black Tax’ as upholding a communal spirit and empowerment. For example, a commenter said,

> *In communities where there is no social security, the people, the families, the local communities get together and make things happen, e.g., put someone through university, contribute to a piece of machinery, etc., I think it’s a good thing that shows communal spirit that should be celebrated.*

Another commenter added,

> *Yes, we ensure that everyone in the family is well taken care of, but it is a big responsibility trying to support yourself and those in the village.*

According to the aforementioned comments, no one suffered in an African way of life if the community was available to help. They also demonstrated how individuals—or society as a whole—empowered one another to improve their circumstances. The second response acknowledged that it was a great responsibility to make sure that everyone in the family was taken care of, while also agreeing that it was important to do so. Another commenter argued slightly differently,

> *Only help people when you are able to help. You cannot pour from an empty cup. If you have a family member who is young and still strong, help them start small business. They should sell something and try to help themselves.*

This comment, therefore, promotes empowering family members or beneficiaries so that they can take care of themselves in the future and reduce the dependency culture within the family. Indirectly, this benefits the young Black professionals who support their families. These findings are related to the African Communalism Theory. The theory states that African Communalism promotes mutual assistance in a society (Obioha-Olabisi, 2014:263). Etta et al. (2016:306) support this by stating that when a family member or a villager is in a difficult situation, he/she is not usually left alone.

Rather, someone will be there to provide a way out. Therefore, it can be said that paying ‘Black Tax’ is a responsibility and that doing so demonstrates that one has the same communal spirit as those in the family or society. This implies that paying the ‘Black Tax’ demonstrates a commitment to the values of African Communalism.

6.5.3. ‘Black Tax’ as a Burden

In most cases, ‘Black Tax’ is described as a financial burden carried by Black South Africans who must pay or send money and other commodities to support their immediate and indirect families (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021:2). Therefore, in this theme, the commenters claimed that it was a burden to pay ‘Black Tax’ or support extended family members. For example, one commenter said,

> *Most young professionals have one or two children or none, but they have to support their families, mothers, fathers, siblings, nephews, nieces, cousins, uncles, aunts, etc. It is a huge burden on an individual who is the first in their family to reach this level of social and economic mobility. All that turn slows down personal growth. Remember, this is in the context of South Africa, one of the direct results of our history. Most White people are not burdened by this.*

This comment demonstrates how difficult it is for a young Black worker to support family members and other relatives. Additionally, it shows that taking care of a large family can hinder one’s ability to advance financially, materially, or professionally. Additionally, the commenter emphasised that ‘Black Tax’ was a result of South Africa's history, which, in accordance with the message provided by the comment, impoverished Black South Africans. Another comment disagrees that supporting extended family members is a huge burden. For example, the comment read,

> *You think ‘Black Tax’ is a joke. How are you going to let your brothers and sisters go to bed with an empty stomach while you are in Joburg enjoying? That’s evil.*

This comment relates to the theory of African Communalism which states that communalism provides a foundation for the ethics of helping one another and showing compassion (Etta et al., 2016:309). The comment also tries to show that despite the fact that ‘Black Tax’ is seen as a burden, it is impossible to allow ones relatives or

siblings to go hungry while one lives a good life. As a result, under such circumstances, African culture's inherent Ubuntu will always come to the surface. These findings imply that although South Africans complain about the 'Black Tax,' when confronted with difficult circumstances, their Ubuntu emerges, and they adhere to the African communal ethic of supporting one another in need. Thus, a study by Abakare and Okeke (2018) was a critical examination of the dogmatic claims that Africans are by nature communalistic, demonstrating a sense of brotherhood among themselves and sharing equally common things. The study concludes that in order for Africa or Africans to demonstrate more human-centred social relations, they must band together to protect themselves from extinction by clamping down on excessive individualism and tribal hatred and promoting an authentic African humanism that stems from the communalist spirit rather than paying lip service to it.

6.5.4. 'Black Tax' as a Result of South African History

Another theme that emerged from the analysis of the comments related to South African history. All of the commenters on this theme pointed out that the history of South Africa was what led to the 'Black Tax.' Many Black families, the majority of which were impoverished, have suffered as a result of history. The most frequent sources of wealth for Black South Africans were things like land. The Natives Land Act of 1913, enacted by the apartheid government of South Africa, however, restricted Black Africans' ability to own property (Piotrowski, 2019:59). Thus, according to Stock (2013), many White South African's property rights were preserved, while Blacks were driven from their homelands and forced to live in limited reserves with less fertile soils and shorter fallow periods, resulting in the impoverishment of the Black Society. For example, one commenter said,

> *Well, unfortunately, this is the direct results of South Africa's history and the negative impact it had on Black and coloured people and the positive impact it had on White people.*

Another commenter added,

> *Y'all clearly don't understand why it's called 'Black Tax', and it isn't racist. South Africa has a majority of Black people and most Black people group in poverty because of apartheid and most White people are wealthy. It's a mindset within*

mostly Black communities within South Africa in order to stop the cycle of poverty within a family. It is called 'Black Tax' because it is prominently present in Black communities. It's an SA term so it's made within the context of South Africa.

Both of the aforementioned comments draw attention to the reality that only White people have profited from history and carry generational wealth, whereas Black South Africans have suffered from historical disadvantages and carry the generational poverty that they are attempting to end. According to the second comment, 'Black Tax" had now been accepted as the norm by many Black South Africans in an effort to break the cycle of poverty. They had assimilated into its culture. The most crucial element of breaking the cycle of poverty, however, is asset accumulation. Because of this, inter-generational poverty will continue to exist without any assets to pass down from one generation to the next. Since Black people have neither inherited riche nor generational wealth to pass down, they have developed a culture of 'Black Tax' to attempt to break the cycle of poverty. In conclusion, South African history has had a significant role in the impoverishment of Black people.

6.5.5. 'Black Tax' is Not Uniquely Black

The commenters on this theme asserted that 'Black Tax' affected people of all races, including Whites, Indians, Chinese and others, and was not just a Black phenomenon. There were eight comments that fell under this theme. One comment read,

It's not a Black concept. All poor nationalities, religions and races do this. It's not new. Fathers have been doing this forever ago now.

Another one read,

There's no such thing as black tax. I'm Asian and I support my family when they need money, and my white friends give their family money too. It's called caring about your family. There's no need to blow this out of proportion and make this a problem only black people have.

These statements make it abundantly evident that 'Black Tax' was not just practised by Black people, but by people of other nations as well. Indians, Koreans, Chinese

and other nationalities are communal beings that typically live as a large family and take care of one another. Consequently, ‘Black Tax’ is not specifically Black in this instance; rather, the phrase arose in South Africa since most of the people taking care of their families are Black and mainly because they are the ones who have been impacted upon by South Africa's past. This leads us to the conclusion that the phrase ‘Black Tax’ is problematic in and of itself. Mhlungu (2015) writing in the *City Press,* asserts that the primary problem with naming it ‘Black’ is that it isolates the nature of the high cost of being a member of the disadvantaged minority. The findings, therefore, resonate with Mhlungu’s (2015) article in the *City Press*, that the need to care for one’s own family is not ironic to Black people and it is also not unique to working- and middle-class individuals. In the *eNCA* video and *Power FM* show they also discussed ‘Black Tax’ and being uniquely Black. In the *Power FM* show, the host asked the speaker if ‘Black Tax’ was uniquely Black and among his answers he also mentioned,

> *But in this case, ‘Black Tax’ which is uniquely Black, then you can be able to claim back from the system because they took them every time every year for the donation tax.*

This claim suggested that the term ‘Black Tax’ was used to describe a phenomenon that only affected black people. This conclusion runs counter to what the commenters assert. The *eNCA* video, however, coincides with them in that ‘Black Tax’ is not only a Black phenomenon. For example, the *eNCA* speaker noted,

> *So, he’s a guy, John Koekemoer who says, ‘well, I understand your ‘Black Tax’, but I feel like I am going to be discriminated against because I also take care of my grandmother, my aunties and so on and so forth, so should I be excluded?’*

Given that the individual referred to in the comment was White, it was quite evident that ‘Black Tax’ is not a phenomenon that only affects Black people. Therefore, according to the findings, ‘Black Tax’ is not uniquely Black.

6.5.6. Recapitulating of the Public Framing of ‘Black Tax.’

This section of the findings dealt with the thematic analysis of the comments found in the comment section of the audio-visual’s materials posted on YouTube. Overall, there were 201 comments, 197 from the *BBC* and four from the *eNCA.* The findings of the thematic analysis revealed five themes; ‘Black Tax’ as a communal spirit, ‘Black Tax’

as an obligation, ‘Black Tax’ as a burden, ‘Black Tax’ as a result of South African history, and those that claimed that ‘Black Tax’ was not uniquely Black. The findings in this section made it clear that caring for one’s family was a responsibility. In addition, it was owed to the people—in this example, the parents—who gave up their own interests to care for the children. This suggested that young Black professionals who succeeded, had a responsibility to provide for their family. The research also showed that paying the ‘Black Tax’ was on par with sustaining the African communal ethos. On the other hand, commenters noted that the ‘Black Tax’ was a hardship and that it was a direct result of South Africa's history. In other words, it was a result of colonialism and the apartheid system. Study findings also demonstrated that ‘Black Tax’ affected people of all races and due to the fact that it affected people of all races, including those who are not Black, the term ‘Black Tax’ itself becomes controversial.

6.6. CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the research findings from the media archive materials. These were ‘Black Tax’ is seen by some as a form of financial abuse by *eNCA* broadcasting station, South Africa: is ‘Black Tax’ a help or a burden? By *BBC* broadcasting station, *Power FM 98.7Hz* Speaking ‘Black Tax’ from a radio station, ‘Black Tax’ what to look out for by *Daily Sun* and ‘Black Tax’: a responsibility, not a burden by *News24*. They were analysed using Media Framing, Deconstruction and Thematic analysis for the comments under the comment sections of the *BBC* and *eNCA* news videos on YouTube. Five frames were adopted from Linström and Marais (2012:28) namely, human impact, powerlessness frame, economic frame, moral value frame and conflict frame, whereas two frames; cultural and racial frame were identified by the researcher. The results of this study showed that every media outlet had a point to make about ‘Black Tax,’ hence each outlet chose a particular reality about ‘Black Tax’ and gave it greater importance or focus. Each media also made moral judgments and suggested solutions or actions. The study's findings also demonstrate how the media portrayed the ‘Black Tax’ as a duty owed by young Black professionals to their family. However, it ignored the fact that South Africa has a high percentage of youth unemployment, making it extremely difficult for unemployed people to fulfil their obligations to their families.

Largely, it portrays the ‘Black Tax’ from a materialist and capitalist framing as a financial hardship on young Black professionals, ignoring the fact that Africans are by nature social beings who take care of one another. As a result, a person shares a sense of communal support and social obligation to the family, according to African Communalism (Ominde et al., 2020). The chapter also provided a thorough analysis of the results of Deconstruction. In the next chapter, the research shifts from analysis of media presentation and framing of the ‘Black Tax’ to exploring the real-life experiences and opinions of youth. The data (lived experiences or opinions) from the interviews with both working and unemployed young people are presented and interpreted in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7:
YOUNG PROFESSIONALS' OPINIONS ABOUT 'BLACK TAX'
(RESEARCH FINDINGS PART 2)

7.1. INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the findings from the media materials were. The data was analysed using the Media Framing analysis, Deconstruction and thematic analysis. In this current chapter, the findings from the analysis of the interview data are presented. In order to objectively evaluate the context of the interview data, this study used a qualitative research approach that allowed for the systematic categorisation process of coding and identifying the themes or patterns. Because the researcher desired to fully study a topic or a phenomenon, a qualitative research design was used. Given that thematic analysis is inductive and that the topics utilised in this study arose from the data rather than being imposed upon it, this was the research design of choice.

To examine the mediating impacts of 'Black Tax' on youth within the historical and socio-economic framework of Black South African households, it is important to understand the thoughts and experiences of young Black professionals on this topic. In this study, nine young Black people; three employed, three unemployed and three self-employed were interviewed. The following themes emerged from the analysis of the data; understanding the concept of 'Black Tax', the origins of 'Black Tax', rationalising the influence of 'Black Tax' and its generic emotions, scripts associated with contribution and treatment within the family and financial discussions.

7.2. UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT OF 'BLACK TAX'

The findings from the semi-structured interviews showed that everyone had a different understanding of the idea of 'Black Tax.' Since most people are affected by the phenomenon, they were able to define the term 'Black Tax' with precision. They each expressed a distinct understanding of 'Black Tax' when asked about it. The participants also expressed their various degrees of thoughts on the phenomenon when asked whether they believed that the 'Black Tax' was a responsibility for some people and a burden for others. Through analysis of the interview data, four themes emerged as to how the participants understood and rationalised the concept of 'Black

Tax'. These are as follows; payback to the family, 'Black Tax' an amiss term, family responsibility and empowerment and 'Black Tax' as a burden.

7.2.1. Payback to the Family

The majority of the participants (5 participants) in this study viewed the 'Black Tax' as giving back to the family who raised them. As indicated in an earlier chapter, the names of the participants are aliases given to guarantee their anonymity. They asserted that there was an expectation to repay the parents even though they also stated that they considered the 'Black Tax' as the norm and did not see it negatively. Paying back to the family after success was a common practice, according to the findings of this study. For example, Zandile a female lecturer said,

> *In my own opinion, 'Black Tax' could be people that feel like they've helped you before, you owe them. So, you need to pay them back. That is them taxing you. Another idea and it was because of things that I've read or things that I've seen, was that 'Black Tax' is when a Black child is working, then they need to pay back to their family.*

Hlulani, a female unemployed graduate stated,

> *Parents have these high hopes of you coming back to them and supporting them financially because it's more like you are paying them for giving birth to you.*

Lesedi, a self-employed male counter expressed it as follows,

> *Well, I don't really see it as a bad thing. I see it as helping your family. I see it as helping the people who raised you. I see it as giving back to your family.*

According to the comments above, 'Black Tax' expectations extend beyond just family members. The comments also demonstrated the desire for recompense among those who contributed to the achievement of young Black professionals. Additionally, the data suggested that young Black professionals should begin supporting their families as soon as they began working. The majority of the time, the idea of payback was associated with entitlement and/or excessive expectations from the family. For example, Hlulani, a young unemployed female argued,

So, parents have this entitlement that us as their children, as soon as we get jobs and start working, we should start by building them houses.

The results of this study suggest that young Black professionals feel obligated to give back to their family for the efforts and sacrifices they have made on their behalf as soon as they secure employment or become successful in their enterprises. It might be inferred from this that these young Black professionals were accustomed to the concept of repaying the family. Thus, Sandy, an unemployed male argued,

Well, I'll say that it's a normal thing to Black people, it's no longer an issue. Okay, let's say youth, right? We grew up around it. It's like uhm, we are seeing people doing it too.

Sandy further added,

Yes, because it felt like their responsibility as parents to make sure that we grow having almost everything that we have, not that we have to repay them for providing for us as we grow, but then it's because it's a normal thing, we have to help them somehow.

This participant saw the 'Black Tax' as a common occurrence that young people were accustomed to. The participant asserted that the concept of paying 'Black Tax' became popular among young people. The participant also asserted that providing some assistance to the parents was common. The claims above, indicate that young Black professionals are expected to pay back to their parents. Lesedi, a young self-employed male claimed,

It's not that parents expect you to do that, you are doing it because you do not want to see your parents suffer.

The he further added,

You just feel the need that these people have been working hard all their lives so that I can have a better future, but now that I have a better future, let me help them out as well. It's not forced. That is why other people don't even do it.

Sandy and Lesedi shared the belief that they were not required to pay back their parents. However, they noted in their declarations that their parents had made provision for them to have a brighter future, hence they should support their parents. Because of the sacrifices their parents had made in order to raise them to be as successful as they were, their expressions essentially reflected emotions of obligation to support or assist their family. As a result, they disagreed with the idea of 'Black Tax' as a payment to the parents. These findings are supported by Fredelito et al. (2020:548) who claim that most people feel compelled to financially support their family in return for their efforts. The findings also resonate with Matlala and Shambare's (2017:77) claim that 'Black Tax' is simply a notion of family or community feeling entitled to be repaid in full for all the years spent on an individual via monetary or non-monetary method. However, according to the theory of African Communalism, an individual in a family shares a sense of collective support and social responsibility to the family. This implies that an individual assisting family member who have spent some efforts on them to be successful, relates to African Communalism.

7.2.2. 'Black Tax' an Amiss Term

Another sub-theme that emerged in how participants understand the concept of 'Black tax' was as an 'amiss term'. Amiss implies that a certain thing or an issue is not quite right, or rather it is inappropriate and not suitable for the situation (Cambridge Dictionary, 2023). Two participants said that the term 'Black Tax' did not exist when questioned about their opinions of the phrase, while others claimed that the phrase's connotation was incorrect on its own. For example, Thabo, a young male educator maintained,

> *My opinion of 'Black Tax', I feel like it doesn't exist. From my perspective I feel like it doesn't really exist. Like people sensationalise it. There is no such a term as 'Black Tax'.*

The above participant asserted that 'Black Tax' did not exist. The participant expressed the view that people were making 'Black Tax' as shocking and exciting as possible. Other participants claimed, however, that 'Black Tax' was a wrong term. For example, Zandile, a young female lecturer stated,

> *My thought on 'Black Tax', I would start by saying the connotation of it sounds really wrong.*

Tony a young self-employed male added,

> *So, 'Black Tax' is not actually the right term. It's basically racial. Because you cannot say black tax. It's more like saying black made. it's more like everything comes from black stuff, which actually comes in a bad way. So, Black tax it's not actually the right term, I would say, because even white people do have such experiences.*

Lesedi, a young self-employed male also argued along similar lines,

> *I don't think it's a good term. It's not. I don't think it's actually best way to describe what we do for our families as 'Black Tax'. And that's just tax, you know. It's something that is forced in a way. So, I feel like it's not a good term. Because when people think of 'Black Tax', people think of something that they are being forced to do in a way, like it's a bad thing to do.*

Lesedi went further to say,

> *So, they obviously have a bad attitude towards it. When people or family ask for help, we always think of it as 'Black Tax', that these people are just taking advantage of us. So, if we have a better name and then we will have a good attitude towards it and we will be able to help our family members and those close to us who are really in need.*

The aforementioned comments suggest that the phrase 'Black Tax' is incorrect. According to Lesedi, the phrase was often problematic as a tax because everyone was required to pay taxes. One of the issues with the term 'Black Tax' was that people have a negative attitude about it and most of the time when individuals seek for assistance, it is seen as 'Black Tax,' according to Lesedi. The participant suggested that a phrase better than 'Black Tax' should be used to describe someone who supported or helped their family. Only one person claimed that the phrase 'Black Tax' was accurate, and that the majority of people did not want to hear about it. The participant went on to say that the phrase 'Black Tax' was not objectionable. For example, Tebogo a young self-employed male stated,

> *So, I think it is suitable because no one loves tax, even employees or whatever. They are enemies of tax, they hate tax, hence they even dodge it. So, I am fine*

with the term. There is nothing problematic about it. It's just a realistic term which most of us, we don't want to hear about it.

This comment alone demonstrated that the term 'Black Tax' was problematic and incorrect. People did not want to get out of budget because of taxes. Thus, the participant mentioned that *they dodge it.* This suggests that the tax is metaphorical in this situation and that people try to avoid paying it.

7.2.3. Rethinking 'Black Tax': Family Responsibility and Empowerment

The majority of the participants (6 participants) said that they would prefer 'Black Tax' be termed 'family responsibility' or 'family empowerment,' even if their perspective of 'Black Tax' was that it was a payback to the family and that the term 'Black Tax' was inappropriate. The participants said that taking care of one's family was a family responsibility and that it was the participants' responsibility to do so. They acknowledged that it was their duty to enhance the quality of life for those who had reared them. Accordingly, these participants believed that the term 'Black Tax' was incorrect and that they would prefer the term 'family responsibility.' For example, Sandy, a young unemployed male maintained,

I think the thing of responsibility is a good word. How can you use 'Black Tax'? It's not a good word. As a responsibility I can link it to what I just said, we grew up around it, it's like a normal thing now. We have to somehow help them.

Thatego, a young unemployed female also claimed,

I can say family responsibility because you only focus on the family. You have to take care of the family. It just depends on what you want it to be.

Lesedi, a young self-employed male added,

I would say family responsibility, because as I said, it's just helping out at home. Just helping those who raised you, making their lives better because now you can, you're in a better position to help. So, I would take it as a responsibility rather than a burden.

According to Lesedi's comment, only those who could help and those in a better position to help, and in this case, young Black professionals, should assume the responsibility of taking care of their families. But in the case of 'Black Tax,' not only

those who were better off were required to support their families, but even recent graduates who were still looking for work were expected to do so. So long as they had completed their studies, they were expected to contribute. According to some participants in this theme, ‘Black Tax’ should instead be named ‘family empowerment.’ They acknowledged the need to empower their family members so that they could fend for themselves. That is, ‘Black Tax’ would be reduced on the contributor’s side, since family members would be able to provide for themselves. For example, Thabo, a young male educator stated,

> *Black empowerment, like empowerment or maybe family responsibility. Because everybody is taking care of their family. Even if we go to these other races, they all take care of their families. So, if it means taking my sister to school, taking my younger brother to school, just giving back, not because I owe them, but because that’s what I should do. Then, if I don’t empower them, what am I doing in life because you will need to live with them.*

Masilo, a young male educator also added,

> *I am not going to support them, I’m just going to try by all means to create opportunities for those who don’t have, try by all means so that they can buy for themselves.*

Tebogo, a young self-employed male further maintained,

> *If it’s for example, my parents, I have to send them money every time, I’ll opt to tell them to identify something that side. We are selling fat cakes, lets hire someone to sell them so that they can get to have money to buy bread. So that one I wouldn’t call it ‘Black Tax’.*

The remarks made by the participants suggested that empowerment was the most important factor and that one should try to create opportunities for their family members or for those who were less fortunate rather than just taking care of them or sending them money, so that in the end they would also be able to take care of themselves. 'Black Tax' was, therefore, reduced for those that contribute. Although ‘Black Tax’ is a duty for these individuals, it can also be seen as a means of empowering their families. The findings relate to Fongwa’s (2019:6) findings that Black professionals recognise and articulate the challenges of the ‘Black Tax’ and that the

majority believed it is their social and moral obligation to contribute to the society's larger good. Fongwa's (2019:6) findings also show that the majority of the respondents see 'Black Tax' as a negotiated procedure due to the legacy in which the society and the Black community find themselves. The findings of the current study also align with the study conducted by Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley (2019:452) which revealed that participants see 'Black Tax' as a responsibility to their immediate and extended families. Furthermore, these findings also resonate with the theory of African Communalism. The theory states that African Communalism promotes mutual assistance in the society and social responsibility.

7.2.4. 'Black Tax' as a Burden.

Another theme that emerged from the interview data was a category of assertions that the 'Black Tax' was or might be a burden. Although the majority of the participants felt that the 'Black Tax' was a responsibility, three participants asserted that it might also be a burden and they provided a range of thoughts and insights as to why they believe it might be a burden for young Black professionals. Two participants in particular shared their ideas or insights on 'Black Tax' as a burden and as a family responsibility. Participants in this theme noted that paying 'Black Tax' could be difficult if their parents pressured them to do so even when they had their own families to support. Additionally, they emphasised that since everything fell on the shoulders of the first graduates, they were typically the ones who bore this burden. For example, Thatego, a young unemployed female maintained,

> *If one of us gets a job first, it's a burden to that person, because he/she has to take care of things, plus the parents and also maintain the house, buy groceries and everything on one person.*

Zandile, a young female lecturer added,

> *My opinion is that it could be a burden if you did not prepare your mind for it, it could also be a burden if financially you are not okay, then that comes as a burden to you, or when you don't feel the need to do it, then it becomes a burden. But if you are doing it out of the goodness of your heart, it can never be a burden.*

One of the self-employed participants also indicated that parents have too many expectations and that they are burdening him if his business is not doing well. Thus, these findings relate to Mhlongo's (2019:242) opinion that one of the most significant reasons of financial trouble among South African middle-class citizens is 'Black Tax'.

7.3. THE ORIGINS OF 'BLACK TAX'

Different viewpoints on the causes or origins of the 'Black Tax' among South African youth were expressed by members of the newly emerging middle class or young Black professionals. The participants in the interviews shared their opinions about the history of 'Black Tax,' which they connected to their personal encounters with the phenomenon. Their responses yielded four sub-themes which the participants exclaimed were the causes of 'Black Tax'. The sub-themes were the triple challenges, lack of resources, illiterate parents and entitlement.

7.3.1. Triple Challenges

The triple challenges refer to the interconnected socio-economic phenomena of inequality, poverty and unemployment. In this survey, four individuals claimed that unemployment and poverty were to blame for the 'Black Tax.' It is generally known that poverty and unemployment are two of the most pressing problems in South Africa, affecting not just the unemployed but also employees who regularly have to maintain their families on a single wage. For these participants, unemployment and poverty were the root causes of the 'Black Tax.' The interviewees also mentioned how Black people's limited access to resources contributed to poverty in the community. For example, Sandy, a young unemployed male stated,

> *Maybe poverty or maybe lack of opportunities. There's only one person who's providing for the family. So like others don't have opportunities to also help in the family. So, only one person who gets to, maybe who has an opportunity to provide or to be able to help you all. But still, you might find that within the family, it's only one person at a time who gets an opportunity. So, if you're the only one somehow maybe, others don't have opportunities. You are going to feel like somehow has to help them also get opportunities to survive.*

Tony, a young self-employed male argued,

I think it's an issue of unemployment. Yeah, and the issue of coming from a poor background and then your family supports you so that you can be successful. Once you graduate, then they actually look up to you because you become their breadwinner. I think the cause of 'Black Tax' is actually being a breadwinner coming from a poor background.

Sandy, a young self-employed male further added,

Poverty, the high unemployment rate and also the marginalised existence where you find that us as Black people were not given a certain opportunity to get the higher position or to get the fundings which other White people are getting. So, it happens that we have a lot of people sitting at home. They are hungry, they have nothing. They believe that begging is the only solution.

In addition to South Africa's extreme poverty and high unemployment rate, Sandy's comment suggested that another factor contributing to the so-called 'Black Tax' is the marginalisation of Black people. Thus, his claim that Black people being marginalised inhibits them from pursuing opportunities, or rather pushes them away from opportunities. He went on to raise the topic of folks who were sitting at home and were in need. This suggests that the high unemployment rate was a problem that destroyed and impoverished many families or young Black professionals who were just trying to make ends meet. The comment made by this participant resonates with Piotrowski (2019:59) who maintains that the marginalisation of Black people limited and denied them opportunities, further impoverishing them and contributing to inter-generational poverty. These participants claimed that a particular root cause of the 'Black Tax' was poverty and the high unemployment rate. However, the participants neglected to emphasise that inequality also contributed to the 'Black Tax,' in addition to poverty and high unemployment rates. Among the problems that affect many South African families it can be concluded, are the triple challenges.

7.3.2. Illiterate Parents

Another sub-theme that emerged from the interview data, was that 'Black Tax' was the result of parents' illiteracy levels. Three participants in this theme emphasised that 'Black Tax' was a result of illiterate parents. Additionally, they said that the systems established by Black parents were what led to the term 'Black Tax.' They emphasised

that the conditions of their impoverished parents were the cause of the 'Black Tax' they encountered as young Black professionals. For example, Hlulani, a young unemployed female stated,

> *Our parents not going to school. Our parents not going to school created this 'Black Tax' situation because I believe if you are from a middle-class family, or a family that has been broad with job opportunities or educational background, they wouldn't even require you to build them a house because they already have one, which they built for themselves, you understand.*

Similarly, Masilo a young male educator argued,

> *Am not sure, but I think it's our parents. If you can check, we no longer follow our dreams, we no longer follow our goals. In fact, we follow our parents'. If my mother wanted to become a doctor and she failed to be a doctor, she will try by all means to make sure that I become a doctor. Then if I become a doctor, she will wish to achieve a lot of things that she wanted to achieve if she was a doctor. That's where 'Black Tax' comes.*

Masilo further added,

> *After completing the course, to her it's like an achievement whereby you are now a photocopy of something. A photocopy of money and if she wants something, it has to come through you. Why? Because you achieved what she wanted to become.*

The remarks given by these participants suggest that if Black parents were sufficiently literate and had a good education, they would take care of things on their own rather than depend on their children. In other words, they would suddenly be considered middle class. The comments also showed that the children were held back by their parents' illiteracy, preventing them from achieving their professional and career ambitions. The participants' comments indicated that parents had high expectations for their children. Masilo's comments also showed that pressure might lead to giving up dreams and aspirations for the parents. As a result, Masilo indicated signs of stress when he expressed that *you are now a photocopy of something, a photocopy of money.* He continuously looked down and scratched his head, displaying signs of worry and anxiety. His non-verbal cues and the words he used suggested that his

parents were controlling and that they viewed him as always having money because he was a young, Black, working professional. He further stated that as he is the first born and the first graduate in his family, all duties fell solely on his shoulders. This was supported by Zandile, a young female lecturer who expressed it as follows,

> *In one perspective, it is caused by the system that our parents have created. If you may observe, it's only Black children that are the first graduate in their families that go through this, but for those that their parents are prepared and all that, they do not go through this. If your parents are not well off, you will experience 'Black Tax', but if they are well of, you will not.*

The participant claimed that 'Black Tax' was experienced by first-generation college graduates. The first graduates were typically the first born in Black families and they typically shouldered the responsibility of caring for their parents, siblings and several other household duties. Therefore, these were the ones that usually paid the 'Black Tax,' according to the participant above. This suggests that by the time the family ultimately welcomed the second graduate, the first graduate would already have taken care of the family, built houses and completed other tasks. As a result, the second graduates automatically had the chance to develop themselves and their future, whereas the first graduates, who were constrained by 'Black Tax,' might only hope and pray for it. This resonates with Chauke (2019:200) who asserts that the first-born child is usually the one who endures most of the 'Black Tax' burden. The illiteracy of Black parents was emphasised by the participants as one of the causes of 'Black Tax'.

People and those around them are affected by illiteracy in various ways, whether directly or indirectly. Finances, personal growth and career ambitions and dreams are difficult for illiterate people to comprehend. Additionally, it is more difficult for parents who lack literacy to comprehend the personal obligations of their children. In most cases, they tend to not be concerned about their kids' feelings or aspirations; they just want things done the way they want. However, it is worth noting that many Black families' parents are illiterate as a result of apartheid and its education systems. Furthermore, during the apartheid days, many Black families fought for survival, and they submitted to the colonial apartheid government and worked as migrant labourers to sustain their families. Hence, things like education for many Black families were hard to attain. The findings relate to the study conducted by Tilahun et al. (2021:218)

which revealed that education, or rather the lack thereof, was a particularly powerful indicator of adult poverty. Thus, the adults pass this poverty to their children, making it intergeneration poverty.

7.3.3. Entitlement

Another theme that emerged from the analysis of the interview data with regard to understanding the origin of ‘black tax’ was the theme of ‘entitlement’. Family members could feel entitled to help because they thought that the sender had an obligation to help them. In light of this, three participants indicated that the ‘Black Tax’ was caused in part by the parents' sense of entitlement to their children's achievement and wealth. One also noted that the parents thought that their children owed them for bringing them up. For example, Hlulani, a young unemployed female maintained,

> *So, parents have this entitlement that us as their children as soon as we get jobs and start working, we should start by building them houses and you are not supposed to buy your own house or build your own house before you actually build them a house. You should buy them cars if like you're able then after that you should become a mother to your siblings and start taking care of them-sending them to school.*

Hlulani further claimed,

> *It has to do with entitlement. It has to do with entitlement, because I don’t know, I don’t know. Parents just think we owe them for bringing us up. We owe them a portion of our salary, or you should show appreciation with money. You should give them money to show them that ‘our child has grown up, is working and he/she is taking care of the family’. So, I can say it’s entitlement.*

Thatego, a young unemployed female also expressed a similar viewpoint,

> *I don’t know where this culture is coming from, but they have this mentality that you have to do everything. Who? why do I have to do everything? You can get up and get a job also or you can find something that can help maintain the house, not focusing on one person just because she/he has a job. And then*

after you are going to take the burden again for that person, you're going to call siblings, you're going to call whoever to come there. No guys, it's not needed.

The remarks made by the participants above indicated that family members might feel entitled to assistance because they believed that their child should do so. In addition, the family members in need of assistance might perceive the sender as owing them, and that they required assistance and upliftment from the sender. According to Matlala and Shambare (2017:77), the notion of 'Black Tax' is simply the notion of a family or a community feeling entitled to be repaid in full for the years they spent on an individual in the form of monetary and/or non-monetary methods. However, the theory of African Communalism counters this by encouraging sharing as it emphasises the significance of the social connection, whereas self-centredness and individuals' greed are discouraged (Venter, 2004:151). Thus, according to the theory, a person has a social obligation to share what he has with others.

7.4. RATIONALISING THE INFLUENCE OF 'BLACK TAX'

The goal of the study was to ascertain how the so-called 'Black Tax' affected the contributors, in this case, the young Black professionals who support or are expected to support, their families. Therefore, the participants were questioned on how the 'Black Tax' phenomena had affected their lives. They each provided unique perspectives on how it affected them. According to the findings, five of the nine young Black professionals who were interviewed experienced 'Black Tax' on a financial, psychological and personal development level. The research demonstrates and affirms that the so-called 'Black Tax' does affect the new middle class of young Black professionals. Four participants, however, stated that they were not at all impacted upon by the 'Black Tax.' That being the case, the data provided by the participants, generated four sub-themes: the influence on personal development, financial impact, psychological impact and no impact.

7.4.1. The Influence on Personal Development

'Black Tax' has devastating effects on young Black South Africans' lives, so much so that it not only influences, but also dominates their lives, whether willingly or not (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:77). The participants highlighted that 'Black Tax' affected their personal development. They also indicated that 'Black Tax' delayed them

personally. Furthermore, the participants who had businesses expressed that it affected their businesses in a negative way. For example, Tebogo, a young self-employed male maintained,

> *It affects me because instead of me focusing my mind on something that can grow me and create the legacy that I want, I need to reshuffle it or maybe prioritise it to the family. You find that at some point I didn't want to. So, it affects the growth of my business and my growth as a human being.*

Zandile, a young female lecturer said,

> *Looking at the economical state, the money I am giving them, if I did not have to, I believe I'll be far. And maybe I will be driving a better car or owing a better house. So, that is how it affects me.*

Hlulani, a young unemployed female maintained,

> *It can deprive me, because the budget that was supposed to be mine and my child alone or mine alone if I didn't have a child, it is going to be divided now and a portion of it will go to the family.*

Hlulani further added,

> *So then, I have the responsibility, or I will be obliged to do certain things the longest time, because my siblings might take years to finally get jobs. So, those years I was supposed to be upgrading myself, like developing myself doing what I want, doing what I love, but finances won't allow me.*

The comments made by the participants above unmistakably indicated that 'Black Tax' was preventing them from doing or having the things they want in life. Additionally, Hlulani's comments suggested that the first batch of recent graduates were responsible for caring for their younger siblings and which was holding back their personal and professional development. It is significant to note that many young people in South Africa are giving in to the financial pressures of becoming the family's primary provider to the point that their aspirations are being suppressed. These opinions are backed up by Matlala and Shambare (2017:76), who claim that many goals, plans and expectations are put on hold or given up in order to sustain the extended family with the few resources at hand. As a result, as the findings of this

study showed young Black professionals' plans and aspirations are being delayed or abandoned due to the duty of caring for their family. Thatego, a young unemployed female maintained,

> *Okay, 'Black Tax' for me I can say it holds us back, because as young people we are expected to do great things, shine out there, have our own things and be independent. But with our Black people and their mentality, like they don't understand that we also need to be independent and grow.*

Thatego further added,

> *Our siblings demand and demand as if like you are earning a lot and they don't get it that I also need to develop, I also need to be good.*

Masilo argued,

> *So, 'Black Tax' exists. And it's really stressing because I also have my own wishes, my own responsibilities, my own ambitions. The time I come to work, I know that my salary that I'll be earning and already I've divided the salary according to the way I want to use it. I have a plan for the salary and then out of the blue they say, stokvel has rounded up, or say there is no maize meal, a lot of things. Siblings needs this and that and when you don't provide, eh!*

The participants of this study indicated that they were being held back by 'Black Tax.' This in most cases is caused by the families who had high expectations of their newly employed young graduates. In most cases, these expectations did not align with one's financial situations and budget as the participants have indicated. Thus, according to these participants, they were presented with much responsibility, that they often could not bear, thus, leading to delayed personal development or the abandonment of one's personal goals and dreams. These findings relate to the findings of a study conducted by Fongwa (2019:10) which revealed that some alumni see 'Black Tax' as a crippling practice that prevents young Black professionals from attaining their personal and career goals since family members profit from their good deeds. However, the theory of African Communalism gives communal ambitions precedence over individual desires (Abakare & Okeke, 2018).

7.4.2. Financial Impact

Another theme that emerged from the participants about the effect of ‘Black Tax’ was that of financial impact. Financial transfers may reduce the savings and investments among those who make them (Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019). When questioned about how ‘Black Tax’ affected their financial standing in the context of this topic, the participants said that it not only had an impact on their personal growth, but also their finances. They acknowledged their susceptibility to the 'Black Tax' phenomena and how it affected their potential to thrive financially. Additionally, the self-employed stated that their inability to preserve and grow their business had a significant negative influence on their finances. For example, Tebogo, a young self-employed male claimed,

> *Immediately you get something, you get a call from your little sister that ‘eish I am struggling here, I am in short of money to pay rent and the landlord is now saying he will chase me’ and by that time also you’re planning that okay, I’ll use this money to save for something else. I am not sure whether I have a good heart or what, but in most cases, it sometimes kills me in such a way that I can even compromise my last money and give it to someone and struggle myself.*

Masilo, a young male educator stated,

> *Yes, it does. Take for example, if I wanted to extend a business or start a new business, it wouldn’t be possible for me because now I have been taking minus 6000, how much am I left with, 4000. Don’t forget that at work I have to eat, I have to wear, look like other people, bath, other bills to pay, petrol as well. So, if I wanted to invest 2000, do you think I’ll be able to invest it? It won’t be possible.*

The comments given by these participants suggested that they were dealing with severe consequence of the ‘Black Tax.’ Matlala and Shambare (2017:76) noted that ‘Black Tax’ had the potential to bind families in a cycle of poverty, as they would be forced to rely on their children for financial support if they did not prepare for a decent retirement at a younger age or as working professionals. The findings also relate to a study conducted by Montle (2020) which revealed that the so called ‘Black Tax’ was a perplexing practice that disproportionately impacted upon young Black professionals in modern South Africa. When asked how the 'Black Tax' could, or might not, affect

their children, the participants responded that they were saving for them and improving themselves so that they would not be held back. Others claimed to have life insurance. Although the participants claimed that 'Black Tax' would not harm their children, it was obvious from their comments that 'Black Tax' had a negative, financial impact on them and prevented them from saving or investing money. Masilo mentioned that he could no longer even afford to buy some things for himself since the 'Black Tax' keeps him broke. For example, Masilo claimed,

> *This 'Black Tax', being honest with you, it keeps me broke, because I can't afford (to buy things for) myself anymore. Looking at the fact that I have to afford other people's lives and you know, focusing on parents. Parents will be saying my son is a teacher. They would be bragging about a lot of things and then leading me to making a lot of loans.*

This suggests that they were merely asserting that the 'Black Tax' would not harm their children and that they were saving for their future to ensure this. The results of these interviews indicated that the participants predicted financial hardship brought on by the 'Black Tax,' and it might be inferred from this that these young, Black professionals were struggling to start or advance their careers and accumulate assets. In a follow-up question, the participants acknowledged that they are financially impacted by 'Black Tax' and that it hindered their ability to save and advance personally. However, they also acknowledged that they were saving for their children. But how do people save when they are in debt and have so many obligations?

7.4.3. Psychological Impact

In many instances, paying the 'Black Tax' has an emotional cost. The issue of psychological consequences was discovered while evaluating the costs related to 'Black Tax'. Four participants in this research reported that 'Black Tax' had a psychological impact on them, affecting everything from their mental health to their emotional stability. These outcomes were connected to the justification for helping their families. For example, Tebogo, a young self-employed male said,

> *Sometimes it delays us in the things that we want to achieve in life, and it also creates a mental problem. For me to go out and enjoy while I don't have money and someone thinks that they are entitled to my money, it is a problem, because you can also get hated.*

Tebogo went further to say,

> *This system that has been created or pressure to say because this person is working, must do 1,2,3 and if they fail to provide or do what they have been doing, I sometimes feel it even myself. This certain thing shift in my mind is stressing me and I don't know what to do. I think if there can be education specifically for our Black parents to say this is your son or your daughter trying 1,2,3,4. Please give him enough time.*

Tebogo's comments suggest that 'Black Tax' had either negatively or psychologically harmed him. In his statements, he displayed signals of hopelessness and desperation to the point where he advised that Black parents should receive specific education on the 'Black Tax' and concerns affecting young people with regard to this phenomenon. On the other hand, several individuals admitted to being emotionally distressed and having problems with blackmail and guilt. For example, Masilo, a young male educator claimed,

> *Sometimes it makes me arrogant. Sometimes I lose temper, because sitting like this, I'll be thinking about my brokenness, I'll be thinking about what is it that is needed and then if I ever fail to achieve those things because of 'Black Tax', I become angry in a lot of things, people. Even the happiness. It also affects my happiness.*

Masilo expressed it further as,

> *They have expectations, they will be saying things like 'I gave birth to you, now that you're working, you are able to provide for yourself. You no longer care about others, but we were there for you.' That's the only thing they say.*

Tebogo added,

> *Sometimes you even get blackmailed or get hated for something which you don't have, but because there's an expectation from them or from people to say he is there but cannot assist.*

Thabo, a young male educator also mentioned such concerns,

> *Yeah, because what I go through, my peers through them. But they don't go through what I go through in some way. Because their families take care of*

them. So, I take care of my family. So, I am in a position where I worry a lot about the bills like their moms do.

These participants' comments revealed that the demands of their families emotionally drained them. Therefore, the evidence provided by these participants suggests that they are negatively affected by the 'Black Tax.' Their experience with the 'Black Tax' left them with unfavourable thoughts about themselves and their circumstances and which had an impact on those around them as well. These findings also suggest that young Black professionals may frequently find it difficult to engage at work due to psychological problems they have experienced at home as a result of the 'Black Tax.' 'Black Tax,' therefore, is linked to psychological and emotional distress.

7.4.4. No Impact

Although five participants out of nine indicated being affected by 'Black Tax' in various ways from personal development to their psychological state, four participants indicated that 'Black Tax' did not affect them in any way. They indicated that their finances were not affected, their personal development was not delayed and that their psychological state was unharmed. One participant even indicated being motivated by 'Black Tax', while others indicated that 'Black Tax' made them mentally strong and that they also learned responsibility to the family and in terms of their finances. For example, Thabo, a young male educator claimed,

I am not affected. I am even growing wiser because I am spending more money on my family. So, I grow wise. I can only grow so I can grow wise. I have this much responsibility and I can't say it's going to affect my goals. Because if I do too much, I am learning too much.

Lesedi, a young self-employed male also claimed,

I am not affected, as I said that it's not forceful or something that I'm doing because of the pressure or anything. So, it's something that makes me even happier because I am contributing and helping.

Tony, a young self-employed male also added,

It's balanced because actually it doesn't affect me in a negative way. It doesn't harm me in any way. Because to me, it's balance.

These participants' remarks demonstrated that they were in no way impacted upon by the ‘Black Tax.’ Furthermore, Lesedi’s comment suggested that he was proud to help support his family. In response to a follow-up question, the participants further emphasised that the ‘Black Tax’ did not in any way prevent them from reaching their individual goals. This indicates that the individuals mentioned above value reciprocal help or sharing and social responsibility. The results support the notion of African Communalism, accordingly. The theory states that communalist ideas are genuine in that mutual support was and continues to be, a prevalent component of social life among extended families and villages throughout traditional African civilisations (Etta et al., 2016:307). Moreover, the theory promotes social responsibility and mutual assistance in the society (Ominde et al., 2020:281). Thatego, a young unemployed female stated that she would not be impacted by the ‘Black Tax’ since she would simply walk away from it. The participant further stated that once a person assisted Black people, there was no turning back. This suggests that Black people have high expectations and a sense of entitlement and that they frequently use guilt as a motivating factor for their contributions. For example, Thatego, a young unemployed female stated,

> *It doesn’t affect me because I just walk away. Because if you don’t with Black people, if you don’t walk away, then it’s going to be hard. Yeah, I am walking away. I don’t want it. Because once you say okay, let me help twice, you’re not going to go back I am telling you. You’re not going to go back because it’s like, no, these are my family, why should I watch it? And once you go back it unfolds.*

These findings contradict the theory African Communalism. The theory of African Communalism promotes assistance and social responsibility. Therefore, the finding from the above participant indicates no sense of mutual assistance to the family or sense of responsibility. This finding also indicates no sense of desire, whatsoever, to assist the struggling family members, nor sharing or collective support.

7.5. SENTIMENTS ASSOCIATED WITH CONTRIBUTION AND TREATMENT WITHIN THE FAMILY

‘Black Tax’ in its functioning is not restricted to caring for aging parents according to Fongwa (2019), but it also encompasses siblings and extended relatives. Thus, the responsibility to provide for one’s family members and friends has proven to be the

necessary precursor in defining people's behaviour in collectivist societies such as South Africa (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:76). Family relationships are also affected by 'Black Tax'. Thus, associated with family contributions, elements such as family appreciation and treatment were highlighted by the participants. The participants expressed both negative and positive sentiments towards family contributions. The positive sentiments the participants revealed were linked to the positive treatment, feeling appreciated after contributing and the feelings of happiness and independence when i providing for the family. On the other hand, some participants revealed the negative sentiments which they linked to the feelings of entitlements by their families and unequal treatment in the family and which may be the source of sibling rivalry.

7.5.1. Positive Sentiments Towards Family Contribution

Although the five participants in this study widely discussed 'Black Tax' as having a negative impact, six participants highlighted that by paying 'Black Tax' they felt a sense of independence, responsibility and they felt blessed making a difference to their families. In addition, six participants in this theme expressed the opinion that their family appreciated their actions and treated them equally with their siblings, whether employed or not. For example, Thatego, a young unemployed female claimed,

> *Feeling independent. Yeah, I feel good about it, but sometimes, no guys it's a lot.*

Thabo, a young male educator claimed,

> *I feel like it's a blessing. There is not blessing that can be above that, because there is not feeling that can take the feeling I have when I buy things for my mom. When I buy whatever that I buy for my mom, I feel more blessed than whatever I do. Even if I buy my kid something, I don't feel as bad, just as I do when I buy for my mom.*

Sandy, a young unemployed male added,

> *I feel like somehow, I am taking a responsibility.*

Zandile, a young female lecturer also added,

It comes naturally as a responsibility and sometimes it makes you feel good and proud that you're taking care of your own family, that they don't have to suffer while you're here. So, providing them soft life motivates me to work even harder.

The participants' comments clearly demonstrated their favourable feelings toward making contributions to the family and their willingness to lend a helping hand to relatives. Although each participant's response to the question regarding how they felt about assisting their extended family members varied, five participants emphasised that they did not have any issues doing so. They expressed strong feelings in favour of helping their extended relatives. They stated that as long as they were not compelled to, they had no trouble providing for extended relatives. The participants' comments showed that even though they were willing to assist their extended family members, they did not want to take on all of their responsibilities. Because of this, it demonstrated their willingness to assist where they were able to do so. The notion of helping out extended relatives was, however, emphasised by the other participants as being influenced by ones upbringing. Additionally, Lesedi, a young self-employed male connected the idea of Ubuntu with helping out extended relatives. For example, Lesedi stated,

As an African, I am a strong believer of Ubuntu. So, I believe that if you are in a better position to help them as well as their families, extended family are also family. In an African way, there is no such thing as an extended family. We are all family. So, if you're in a position to help, I think one should help. I have no problem with that.

Tony, a young self-employed male added,

I think that one has to do with the heart. It has to do with the way that you grew up, your community where you grew up. So, I don't think of it as a bad thing to support your external family because at the end of the day they are family and you are also an extended family, so what if it was you in that position?

The remarks made by these participants indicated that they placed much importance in the 'family' and Africanism, such that they identified themselves as one with their extended family members. These findings relate with the theory of African

Communalism which manifests through the extended family system that connects the entire community as a member of one family extension (Negedu & Ojomah, 2018:59). Furthermore, the theory states that a person has a social obligation to share what he has with others (Venter, 2004:154). Similarly, the notion of Ubuntu entails acts of compassion, sympathy, care, respect, concern and kindness towards other people and based on the underlaying universal brotherhood of Africans, but also expressed by non-Africans (Fongwa, 2019:04). Therefore, these participants understood the value of family assistance. Four study participants mentioned that their families valued their actions or efforts in helping their immediate and extended family members. Additionally, they mentioned how equally their parents treated them with their working or unemployed siblings. Young graduates were motivated when their family recognised the efforts they had made, and they would feel a need to assume responsibilities without making it feel like a burden.

Lesedi, a young self-employed male claimed,

> *Well, I would say fairly. Because I would say there is no attitude or behaviours that this one is treated special, this one is treated in a certain way because of this and this. So, no, there is no such a thing in my family.*

Tony, a young self-employed male also added,

> *Now, there is a difference between being self-employed and having a monthly salary. So, no, in my family there is not much difference in treatments from the one that gets a monthly salary and the one that is self-employed.*

The study asked the participants a follow-up question on how the treatment was in the family should they skip a month or two without contributing. Although four of the participants agreed that the treatment in their families did not change as compared to their siblings, only two participants maintained that the treatment at home did change.

7.5.2. Negative Sentiments Towards Family Contribution

This subtheme captures the negative sentiments of participants regarding contributions towards their families. Two participants reflected that their families were

entitled to contributions. Moreover, they also highlighted the notion of supporting their extended family members as a burden and as exposing themselves to vulnerability. For example, Thatego, a young unemployed female claimed,

> *Why should I support extended? extended! That's a lot of burden. Am adding a burden on top of a burden? Come on, no, no, no.*

Tebogo, a young self-employed male added,

> *I don't feel entitled to support extended family members. I believe that the moment I can start doing that, that will open loopholes for other family members to also approach me and say, 'Help us.' I just feel like I have to do that, but now is not the right time to do that because I feel like I still want to grow. So, if I can invite such a pressure, I cannot be able to maintain it now.*

The participants in this theme did not indicate that their families appreciated their deeds or contributions to the family when asked about it. Only two participants said their family did not appreciate what they did and two more were not sure if their families had appreciated what they had done. Conflicts with the family, according to Zandile, a young female lecturer, made her feel unappreciated. Therefore, this participant felt that the parents' expressions of gratitude when a child contributes were quite important. It can be considered disrespectful to not express gratitude when someone helps one, and in other cases, as with these young professionals, they may view it as a burden. These findings resonate with Mkhize (2019:69) who maintains that 'Black Tax' is a burden when one buys groceries for ones siblings, but they do not appreciate the effort or even try to find work to help pay the costs, although the majority of the participants claimed that their families gave and showed them the same treatment when compared to their siblings, whether unemployed or employed. Three participants in this theme claimed that the treatment from their families was different when compared to their employed and/or unemployed siblings. Moreover, five participants also reported that should they skip a month or two without contributing to the family expenses, the treatment changed. One unemployed participant also noted that he was not given the same treatment as his siblings. For example, Sandy, a young unemployed male stated,

It's not the same as when you do it monthly and only on that month it is going to be different. Let's say maybe someone else does something, he/she will get more attention than you. You might feel like you don't belong while your siblings are treated special.

Thatego, a young unemployed female argued,

They treat you like a president, you're a superior because you bring bread on the table, and I think that's the reality of life. If you have nothing they tend to undermine, but if they knew your capabilities, they would give you all the respect.

Thabo, a young male educator added,

Ah! To them I will be useless. I will be nothing because it will appear as if I am not existing.

These participants' statements suggest that 'Black Tax' may lead to intrapersonal and interpersonal conflicts between family members. They also suggested that 'Black Tax' might give rise to rivalry between siblings. For that reason, parents who treated their kids unfairly, unintentionally sowed a discord among them. Additionally, the comments made by the participants in this theme suggested that parents did not appreciate their children and instead kept expecting more from them, oblivious to the reality that they too had lives and ambitions of their own. Young Black professionals' personal aspirations and mental health suffer as a result of the expectations that their families place on them. Unemployment is one of the situations that is life-threatening because it frequently causes structural disorganisation in the family system, impacting upon the entire family. Therefore, graduates who are unemployed may not be treated equally at home, which may also cause conflict in the family. Even employed young professionals in this research felt they would be treated unfairly if they missed a month or two of contributions. However, among the participants who insisted that their parents did not value them and did not treat them like their siblings, there were two who insisted that they had never missed a payment month. The participants said that since their parents were accustomed to receiving such contributions each month, skipping a month would cause them mental harm.

7.6. FINANCIAL DISCUSSIONS

In this theme of financial discussions, issues concerning finances, or financial spending are covered. The theme emerged in the interview analysis, wherein the participants' opinions about taking a loan to pay 'Black Tax', their opinions about budget discussions with their families and their stance on whether they spent money on themselves or always prioritised their families, were studied and analysed.

Because young Black professionals' families demand payments, the majority of the Black South Africans are in financial distress (Nair, 2019). Thus, many young Black professionals resort to taking loans to pay 'Black Tax'. The study's participants provided a variety of perspectives on taking out a loan to pay 'Black Tax.' The idea of taking out a loan to pay 'Black Tax' was opposed by the vast majority of participants. Taking out a loan, according to two participants, was a bad choice, but someone could do it if their family was pressuring them to do so. These participants did, however, make it very clear that they opposed taking out a loan to pay 'Black Tax.' For example, Sandy, a young unemployed male claimed,

> *I don't recommend that. I think that one can do it only if they always put you under pressure telling you, you have to do this and that and then, yeah, just limit the situation to make it better. You can take a loan, but I don't recommend it.*

Masilo, a young male educator stated,

> *I won't take a loan to pay 'Black Tax', reason being, you will take a loan and pay 'Black Tax'. You will think you have satisfied their needs while you did not. While you're busy looking forward to paying the loan, they will be expecting other things that you should be paying, or they will be expecting you to give them money.*

Masilo went further to said,

> *You buy grocery, you buy everything, but they also expect you to give them money. Money to do what because you have satisfied their needs, like food is there, everything is there but they are also expecting. So, it shows that even if*

you were to pay the 'Black Tax', they will still require or ask a lot from you. You will never get out of 'Black Tax'.

The comments provided by Masilo suggest that he was dealing with domestic pressures and expectations that, more often than not, might stifle his pursuit of middle-class status. This means that if a young Black professional took a loan to pay 'Black Tax,' they would be caught in a cycle of poverty and financial misery due to the demands and high expectations that their families placed on them. The remarks made above, however, demonstrate that the young Black graduates cannot abandon their impoverished family while they are in a position to act. Young graduates, therefore, may feel under a lot of pressure to support their family first and foremost in order to help them out of difficult financial situations. Many of them are so susceptible to experiencing financial hardship and giving up on personal objectives. Four participants in the theme stated that, as a result, they would choose to make a sacrifice and do the necessary tasks at home rather than take out a loan. Another participant said he would rather use what he already had than take out a loan. This just serves to demonstrate the participant's preference for forgoing a loan in favour of making do with what he had.

Only one person said that it was a good thing to take a loan to pay 'Black Tax,' even though nearly all of the participants (eight) claimed they were not in support of doing so and each provided their own unique perspectives. The participant presented a conflicting argument on the subject, arguing that taking out a loan to pay 'Black Tax' was a good thing if done voluntarily and without coercion, but that it might be negative if done so. For example, Zandile, a young female lecturer mentioned,

It's a good thing if you are taking it out of the willingness without pressure. And it means you have to calculate all of your things, that this is what I'll be able to do.

Zandile said further,

It becomes a bad thing if you are doing it under pressure. If it's your family that is pressurising you to do this, then you're not going to get the whole purpose of you taking a loan. Hence, it has two sides. But for me personally, is a good thing. As long as I've calculated my things and I know I'm doing it for a good cause. No pressure, nothing, our free will about it.

The comment made by the participant above indicates that when one is pressurised to take a loan it becomes a bad thing. However, it becomes something good if one is not pressurised. According to the theory of African Communalism, the concept of communalism also implies a consensus-based decision-making process (Etta et al., 2016:305). In this regard, it means that these young Black professionals should discuss the cost implications with their families before taking out loans to pay 'Black Tax'.

7.6.1. Self-Reward

Self-reward is another theme that emerged during the analysis of the interview. Despite the fact that many young Black professionals make monthly contributions to their families, some of them occasionally forgot to treat themselves. This theme is related to the financial discussion since it examines whether these young Black professionals prioritise their family over their own needs or whether they also remember to spend money on themselves. The participants were asked if they rewarded themselves often or did, they always prioritise their families over themselves. This study interviewed three employed, three unemployed and three self-employed participants. However, only the employed and the self-employed were asked this question. Two employed participants and one self-employed participant claimed they did not reward themselves. That is, they always prioritised their families before themselves. For example, Lesedi, a young self-employed male claimed,

> *No, sometimes I forget about myself and just focus on other people, family and stuff honestly.*

Masilo, a young male educator added,

> *I prioritise my family and I come after them. I don't remember one day rewarding myself. I rather reward myself through them whereby I do something so that will have benefit to them.*

Thabo, a young male educator also argued,

> *Well, I have a whole lot of important things to do.*

These the remarks made by the participants demonstrated their neglect of themselves and their preference for the welfare of their families over their own personal objectives and growth. These sentiments, therefore, align with the theory of African

Communalism which is a system of social interactions in which individual claims are typically ranked behind the demands or claims of a group (Abakare & Okeke, 2018). This implies that an individual should always prioritise their family and community before themselves. Thus, the majority of these individuals stated that 'Black Tax' hindered their personal development and ambitions. Additionally, Masilo's comments showed a lack of regard for oneself. His comment also showed that he was familiar with the culture of giving something back to the parents. Three participants—two self-employed and one employed participant—asserted that they remembered to treat themselves each month, despite the claims of the other three participants that they did not. All three participants claimed that they came first. That is, they rewarded themselves first before everything else. This indicates that apart from supporting their families, these participants did remember that they had a life of their own. Thus, they claimed to prioritise themselves. These findings indicate that these participants always had a budget for themselves specifically, such that the self-employed participants also restructured their finances and rewards according to their budget.

7.6.2. Budget

Budget is also one of the themes that emerged during the interview analysis. When asked their opinions about discussing their budget with their families, the majority of the participants (eight) claimed that they did not discuss their budget with their families. Only one participant claimed to have discussed the budget with the family. Some of the participants gave insights about the budget discussions with their families. For example, Sandy, a young unemployed male explained,

> *It's not a good idea. I think I can make them expect something if I tell them that I am going to contribute this much. They're obviously going to expect that amount and you might find that this month they want to expect more than that. So, I think you just have to give them whatever you want to give them, the amount that you feel like you are going to manage. So, you don't have to tell them that this is what I am going to contribute.*

Masilo, a young male educator also explained,

> *I don't discuss my budget. Number one, they will look for a valid reason why I am saying I have to contribute as much instead of the one that I was contributing. Number two, they will want to know how the contribution did affect*

me. Number three, they will want to know how much you're earning since you are now changing.

Tebogo, a young self-employed male also added,

I don't discuss my budget with my family because if I can discuss my budget with my family, I believe they will start controlling whatsoever I do in my life.

Sandy, a young unemployed male said that if he talked to his family about his spending plan, it would offer them the chance to always expect money and even more. This suggests that the family's treatment of the participant might change if he is out of budget for a few months and he will be subjected to pressure and expectations from them. However, Masilo emphasised that his family would question his quick decision if he discussed his budget with them. They would want to know why he wanted to contribute a certain amount and how the contributions affected him. This shows that his family was highly sensitive and compassionate, but with good cause. On the other hand, Tebogo, a young self-employed male claimed that if he discussed his budget with his family, they would begin to control him and everything he did in life. Since this participant worked for himself, it was clear from his comments that he did not want his family to know the exact amount of money his enterprises brought in or the amount of support he was willing to give them. His comments also suggested that he was under pressure.

Only one person in this study claimed to have discussed her budget with her family, despite the fact that the majority of participants in this survey reported against doing so. The participant allegedly told her relatives about her pay stub. However, the participant also claimed that when coming across financial difficulties, the family demanded reasons, so that they could extend help. This shows that her parents were not very demanding and did understand when their child was going through financial difficulties.

Although supporting the family and extended family members is part of African Communalism, this support operates within a capitalist society, where assistance to family carries financial implications and, as such, communalism may also have financial implication for the youth. Hence, there are talks about financial implications, using the capitalist financial system to consider loans to pay 'Black Tax.' In addition, the capitalist society views family responsibility as a burden on young professionals.

So, whilst one may critique the capitalist framings of family responsibility and the African Communalism approach to supporting ones family, the society is ruled and governed by a capitalist economic structure and relationships. Karl Marx's theory states that a capitalist society emphasises self-interest, private wealth accumulation and the acceptance of human rivalry as core principles (Guillermo, 2021). The working class is oppressed by the capitalist class, which owns the means of production, according to Karl Marx's (1887) theory of capitalism as a system founded on exploitation. According to Marx, capitalism leads to social inequality. Much of this is reflected in South African societies where the richest 10% of the population holds more than 72% of the agricultural land (Piotrowski, 2019:67).

7.7. CONCLUSION

The findings of this study clearly show that ‘Black Tax’ as a term is problematic. Thus, the young Black professionals preferred that the term be called or referred to as ‘family responsibility.’ The majority of individuals encountered the 'Black Tax' issue, but they were not entirely aware of, or rather, did not comprehend, its roots. The results, according to the participants, showed that ‘Black Tax’ was a result of the triple challenges that South Africa was experiencing, poverty, unemployment and inequality, as well as a lack of resources and wealth in Black households, illiteracy and entitlement. Overall, the participants in this study saw ‘Black Tax’ differently. Although some of them considered ‘Black Tax’ a burden and a payback to the family, the majority of the participants reported that they would rather call ‘Black Tax’ a family responsibility or empowerment. Thus, these young professionals viewed ‘Black Tax’ with different reactions, opinions and impacts. The results also showed that the majority of the participants (five) indicated that ‘Black Tax’ had various negative consequences in their lives, affecting their personal and professional development, financial well-being and psychological health. However, the majority of these individuals (eight) also reported that they did not discuss their budgets with their families.

The discussions, summary, recommendations and conclusion of the whole research study will be covered next in Chapter 8. The chapter will summarise the findings thoroughly based on the objectives of this study. In addition, the contributions and the limitations of the research will also be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

8.1. INTRODUCTION

The entire research investigation is summarised in this chapter. The chapter presents the summary of the main findings set out in the previous two chapters in the context of the research questions and provides a review of the communication of 'Black Tax' in the context of young Black professionals. The summary and discussion of the research are based on the study's aims as well as the finding's relevant to society and to academia at large. Moreover, the findings are discussed in relation to the literature and theory. The contribution of the research, the research limitations and recommendations are also discussed in this chapter.

8.2. SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH PROCESS AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH

'Black Tax' is the financial responsibility carried by Black South Africans who must pay or send money and other commodities to support their immediate and extended family members (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021:2). The effects of the 'Black Tax' on young people are usually disregarded. Additionally, framing a concept such as 'tax' reflects a capitalist interpretation of the social and cultural norms that underpin African collectivism. As a result, the media, which serves as a potent platform for communication in society, shapes how a given topic is presented and viewed by the public. For that reason, this study's main goal was to analyse how the issue of 'Black Tax' is framed in the media discourse with a focus on examining the implication of this framing on the understanding of African Communalism. In summarising the entire study, it is essential to recall the objectives of this study:

- To analyse the Media Framing of youth's social responsibility to extended family, known as 'Black Tax.'
- To study how the Media Framing of 'Black Tax' reveals the issues that are mostly highlighted, preferred, negated, and neglected in media discourses.
- To interrogate how the concept of 'Black Tax' is communicated and its implications for the understanding of African Communalism.
- To examine the mediating effect of 'Black Tax' on Black youth within the historical and socio-economic contexts of Black South African families.

- To recommend ways of conceptualising youth's family support that subverts the capitalist framing and to recognise the social and psychological pressures that youths may experience.

To address the above research objectives, a qualitative research approach was employed. In this study, the qualitative research approach was crucial since it allowed the gathering of data that more fully answered the study's aims. It was also extremely helpful in examining and comprehending how the media portrays the 'Black Tax' and how young Black professionals view it. In order to comprehend how and why there is a relationship between 'Black Tax' and African Communalism, an explanatory research technique was applied in this study. Thus, it assisted in explaining the origins of the 'Black Tax,' how it is presented in the media, as well as how young Black professionals view it. Purposive sampling was used where the data that had the characteristics crucial for this study was carefully selected. Therefore, this study used both primary (Interviews) and secondary (media archival materials) data. The media items used for this study were purposively selected based on the fact that each was about 'Black Tax.' Thus, five media items were selected, one from the *eNCA:* one from the *BBC,* one from *Power FM,* one from *Daily Sun* and one from *News24*. In summary, two items were from television broadcasting stations, two from the newspapers and one from radio. These samples of the media outlets in South Africa were used to study all aspects of 'Black Tax' and to fully comprehend what these media highlighted, preferred and neglected on the 'Black Tax' phenomenon. This was also done to understand the capitalist framing of 'Black Tax' fully.

Additionally, nine young Black professionals were specifically chosen and interviewed mainly because they were still living with their families and had first-hand experience and knowledge of 'Black Tax.' They were also chosen based on their relevance to the topic at hand rather than their representativeness. Thus, semi-structured interviews were used to interview these nine young Black professionals, three of whom were professionally employed, three self-employed and three unemployed. This was because of their distinct experiences with the phenomenon of 'Black Tax.' The semi-structured interviews were important for this study as they enabled an in-depth understanding of the 'Black Tax' phenomenon from the participants, while on the other hand it enabled an interpretation of their responses and non-verbal cues better. An

interview guide that guided the questions with which the participants were presented was developed. The participants' preferences guided the choice of context or venue of the interview. Thus, six face-to-face interviews were conducted, two on Google meet and one on Zoom.

Framing analysis, Deconstruction and Thematic analysis were used to analyse the media archival materials. Framing analysis was employed to study the news texts as consisting of organised symbolic devices of meaning formation, rather than considering them to be psychological stimuli with clear meanings. By using the Framing analysis, the researcher was able to interact with the texts completely and repeatedly while simultaneously using a holistic perspective to identify the frames. Deconstruction analysis was utilised to examine how the media's portrayal of 'Black Tax' highlights, prefers, negates, and ignores certain aspects. The data was analysed deductively using the Framing analysis and Deconstruction techniques. Therefore, the frames used for the analysis of this study were adopted from the work of Neuman et al (1992: 74 cited in Linström & Marais, 2012:28). Thematic analysis in the media materials was used to inductively analyse the comments found under the comment sections of the e*NCA* and the *BBC* videos. The data from the semi-structured interviews were also inductively analysed using Thematic analysis. The NVIVO software application was used to code, categorise, and analyse the data of this study. It was specifically beneficial for this study to use the application as it encouraged the researcher to pay attention to detail and constant review to create an unusual degree of closeness of the data.

8.3. SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

The data gathered were helpful in generating the conclusions that met the objectives of this study, which are outlined below:

8.3.1. To Analyse the Media Framing of Youth's Social Responsibility to Extended Family Known as 'Black Tax'.

The media, which is a potent social communication medium, shaped how a given topic was presented and viewed in society. The analysis of the Media Framing of youth's social responsibility to the extended family in this study revealed five common frames that were adopted from Neuman et al. (1972:74 cited in Linström & Marais, 2012:28);

human impact, powerlessness, economic, moral value, and conflict frame. Two more frames emerged in the analysis of the media, cultural and racial frame.

- *The Human Impact Frame*

The findings of this study showed that 'Black Tax' was a phenomenon that many young Black professional faced. The findings also pointed out that these young Black professionals were typically the first ones to excel economically in the families and were faced with the pressure to redress the legacy of apartheid through 'Black Tax.' Overall, this implies that young Black professionals are the ones who are confronted with the issue of 'Black Tax' directly. This resonates with a study conducted by Montle (2020), whose findings reveal that the so called 'Black Tax' is a perplexing practice that disproportionately impact upon young Black professionals in Modern South Africa.

- *Powerlessness Frame*

The same subject presented in a different way or by different media outlets may elicit distinct frames. Accordingly, the study's findings showed that the media portrays young Black professionals as helpless against the demands and expectations placed on them to support their extended families, while also breaking the cycle of poverty and putting their own successes and aspirations at risk. To help their family members, young people forsake their dreams and ambitions in order to support their families or break the poverty cycle, but they are unaware that by doing so, they are giving in to the financial pressures that could leave them without assets and retirement plans. This relates to Matlala and Shambare (2017:76) writing, that many ambitions, plans, and hopes are abandoned or postponed in order to support family members with the few resources available. Prioritising the family and community is promoted and encouraged in the doctrine of African Communalism. The media analysed for this study, also saw 'Black Tax' as a standard for Black people, something that young Black professionals should anticipate as soon as they land jobs.

- *Economic Frame*

The focus on profit and loss was reflected in this frame. The 'Black Tax' that many young Black professionals pay to assist their families is seen as a financial help and a financial burden in this frame. Instead of being seen as a family obligation, or a cultural

practice, it was deemed a financial burden, borne by Black South Africans who must support or provide for their immediate and extended families. ‘Black Tax’ was also portrayed as a financial exploitation because one was expected to sustain a large family on a single paycheck. In addition, according to the data, ‘Black Tax’ was a financial exploitation faced by young Black professionals who must give up their aspirations in order to support their family. As a result, it became a barrier to their personal development and financial growth. However, the media analysed also suggested that a person should establish boundaries and financial limits of how much they were going to spend on their family each month. They claimed that having proper financial planning would enable young professionals to still attain their goals. However, according to the theory of African Communalism and the philosophy of Ubuntu, ‘Black Tax’ is not a financial exploitation or burden per se, but it is taking responsibility for one’s family. Thus, the media analysed in this study failed to notice that just as Africans are collective by nature, their way of life prioritises the community’s common good over individual gains. Thus, according to Ominde et al. (2020:279), communalism encourages community members to work together to pool their resources for the benefit of all community members.

- *Racial Frame*

‘Black Tax’ was seen as a phenomenon primarily practised by Black people in this frame. The data of this study suggested that ‘Black Tax’ was acutely felt and experienced by young Black professionals. Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley (2019) maintain that the term ‘Black Tax’ is associated with being a Black South African. This then implies that Black South Africans are the only ones providing for their families. However, it is fairly promoted in the African collectivist culture to take family responsibility and provide for one’s family, whereas self-centredness and greed are discouraged. Therefore, referring to the actions of one taking care of their family as ‘Black Tax’ is quite problematic and conjures up negative connotations about the African collectivist culture.

- Moral Value Frame

This frame suggested that ‘Black Tax’ was a responsibility or a duty that one had to their family. It was the moral and social responsibility that young Black professionals contribute towards supporting their family members and breaking the cycle of poverty.

The data from the *News24* and the *BBC* analysed for this study in particular framed, 'Black Tax' as a duty that one had to their family. The results relate to a study conducted by Fongwa (2019:6) which revealed that while Black professionals recognise and articulate the challenges of 'Black Tax,' the majority of people believe it is their social and moral obligation to contribute to the society's larger good. The results also pertain to the African Communalism theory, which holds that everyone has a social responsibility to share what they have with others. Similarly, the community has a moral obligation or a sense of duty to raise morally upright people who can support the community and instill values that contribute to human welfare such as caring for aged parents (Ominde et al., 2020:279). Thus, paying 'Black Tax' or rather taking care of the family is African Communalism and it is part of upholding the spirit of Ubuntu.

- *Conflict Frame*

The media analysed for this study framed 'Black Tax' as a financial help, family responsibility and a duty that young professionals have to their family. However, the very same media materials analysed in this study also claimed that 'Black Tax' was a sacrifice which could be interpreted as a burden. This implies that 'Black Tax' is a burden borne by young Black individuals according to the materials analysed. The media also claimed that 'Black Tax' was a financial exploitation that delayed young black professionals. This shows that there was a great contradiction in the materials analysed in this study pertaining to what 'Black Tax' as a concept is, or how it is understood. This relates to the theory of Media Framing which states that the same subject presented in a different way or by different media outlets may elicit distinct frames.

- *Cultural Frame*

In this frame, the texts described the 'Black Tax' issue in terms of African culture. The texts where this frame was found indicated that 'Black Tax' stemmed from how traditional African families operated in the past. These relate to Mazibuko (2000:13) who maintains that the Indigenous inhabitants of Southy Africa were self-sufficient in terms of food and other necessities prior to the arrival of the Europeans. This implies that 'Black Tax' or rather family responsibility for Africans is something that dates back centuries ago, prior to colonisation and apartheid.

❖ *Public Framing of 'Black Tax'*

The study also analysed the public framing of 'Black Tax' based on the reactions of people (commenters) to the two audio-visual materials (*eNCA* and *BBC* videos) posted on YouTube. The findings showed that the public viewed 'Black Tax' as a debt owed, and as restitution for the family. This implies that because Black people feel indebted to their families for their achievement, they shoulder the duty of providing for them. Even though they feel obligated, it is important to remember that every parent has a responsibility to provide for their children without expecting anything in return. Additionally, it is problematic to refer to the 'Black Tax' as compensation to the family because, in accordance with African Communalism, everyone has a duty to share what they have with others. Therefore, taking up social responsibility and mutual assistance is promoted according to the doctrine of African Communalism. The results also pointed out that the public frames 'Black Tax' as caused by the South African colonial and apartheid racist history, and which as a result is a burden that hinders Black people from progressing financially. These findings resonate with Fongwa (2019:10) who maintains that some graduates see 'Black Tax' as a crippling practice that prevents young Black professionals from attaining their personal and career goals since family members profit from their good deeds. These findings are particularly significant since they offer less commercialised ways of thinking about 'Black Tax' or youth social responsibility, while also raising public awareness of how the media portrays 'Black Tax.' To appreciate the youth's social responsibility to their family, known as the 'Black Tax,' it is crucial for every South African to think back to the African way of life in regard to the family support system and the ideology of Ubuntu. This research will serve to remind many people that Africans are a collective people and that caring for one another is part of their culture and of who they are.

8.3.2. To Study how the Media Framing of 'Black Tax' Reveals the Issues that are Highlighted, Preferred, Negated and Neglected in the Media Discourses.

This study employed Deconstruction as an analysis method with the aim of examining how the Media Framing of 'Black Tax' discloses the issues that are mostly highlighted, preferred, negated, and ignored by the media. Deconstruction, according to Derrida (1982, cited in Ramoya, 2016:70), is a twofold idea that simultaneously overturns and displaces a conceptual order in order to expose and pull the open space that has

always been confined by the different heterogeneity of textuality. In addition, the frames highlight some parts of the reality at the price of others, hence, it is always important to consider what is described as well as what is omitted. Below, is a summary of the findings on the issues mostly highlighted, preferred and ignored by the media.

- *Mostly Highlighted.*

The majority of the media sources examined for this study focused on the premise that many young Black professionals who have found success and financial security frequently find themselves caring for their less fortunate family members, which can include parents, siblings, and extended relatives. Additionally, they frequently highlighted the difficulties and sacrifices that young Black professionals face in order to provide for their personal and extended families. Although, they mostly highlight 'Black Tax' as a financial burden and financial exploitation, they also emphasised the difficulties faced by young Black professionals in juggling their own financial security with the demands made on them by their families and communities. However, some of the expectations or demands may not align with one's financial situation (Masango & Kumalo, 2021), but one can be honest with their family about their earnings and take on as much responsibility as one can bear (Mhlongo, 2019:91). In general, the media emphasise 'Black Tax' to highlight the financial strains that Black professionals suffer when helping out their family and extended families.

- *What the Media Preferred*

According to the media sources examined for this study, the preferred expression for 'Black Tax' frequently emphasised the financial burdens, exploitations, obligations, and responsibilities that Black people or members of Black communities bear. They preferred highlighting how the 'Black Tax' impacted upon Black people from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds. They also liked the idea that young Black people pay a 'Black Tax' to break the cycle of poverty, but that they do so at the expense of their goals and aspirations. The results showed that concepts like 'Black Tax,' 'financial burden,' 'family responsibility,' 'obligation,' 'poverty,' 'budget,' and 'boundaries' were commonly used while counting the frequency of words or phrases that the media preferred on the 'Black Tax' phenomena. However, the media also used terms such as the 'disadvantaged,' 'poor,' 'suffering' and 'distress' to describe as

alternatives to the term, ‘poverty.’ The results also showed, through binary opposition, that the media preferred the interpretation that ‘Black Tax’ refers to contributing to, and meeting, ones obligations to the family. Thus, every media content examined for this study employed the word ‘responsibility.’ The results are consistent with the Deconstruction theory, which holds that every phrase has a "trace of its opposite," as Derrida put it (cited in Sikirivwa, 2020:46). In addition, the idea entails dissecting the reasoning in order to uncover any hidden or alternative interpretations.

- *Issues Ignored by the Media.*

This study sought to identify inconsistencies in the media's coverage of the 'Black Tax' phenomenon in order to analyse how the issue was framed in order to identify which aspects were disregarded. The findings indicated that the 'Black Tax' stereotypes were frequently reinforced and perpetuated by the media content analysed in this study, and which frequently failed to explore the multifaceted history and complexity of the aforementioned concept. 'Black Tax' was typically framed in a way that ignored or failed to acknowledge the underlying social, economic, and historical reasons that contributed to the issue, according to the data utilised in this study. The triple challenges (poverty, inequality, and unemployment) were also neglected by the media content analysed in this study. They failed to mention that the 'Black Tax' was a result of economic inequalities, a lack of Black assets and wealth, which may be linked to the colonial and apartheid regimes. They failed to examine how systematic racism restricted access to possibilities for high-quality education and employment. They also skipped over the generational poverty that keeps Black communities' finances in disarray.

Many Black South Africans were reduced to abject poverty during colonialism and apartheid. They were compelled to live in the sparsely populated reserves and were unable to pass on wealth or assets to their future generations. Without wealth or assets, individuals who succeed in the family, therefore, are expected to provide for their financially strapped relatives (Young, 2021:2). But this truth was ignored by the media. The media also ignored the fact that the generations that lived under the apartheid and colonial era had no opportunities to build wealth or accumulate assets and as such, they passed down their poverty to the current generation who are now trying to address the asset deficit inherited (Cooper & Bird, 2012:528). Another

important fact ignored by the media was that African people are collective individuals who look after one another. This means that ‘Black Tax’ or rather, family responsibility dates back to centuries ago before colonisation or apartheid. So, Black people are accustomed to look after one another. However, taking care of one’s family is seen as a ‘Black Tax’ and a financial burden in the capitalist perspective.

The media also ignored the fact that Black people were not the only ones taking care of their families, but also people from other ethnic groups did take care of their families as well. For example, the majority of Asian people do take care of their families as well and just like Africans, they are collective individuals by nature. However, the baffling part is that their actions are not labelled as ‘Asian Tax.’ By solely focusing on the individual level, the Media Framing can inadeptly reinforce the notion that Black people are solely responsible for their own financial struggles, detracting attention from the larger structural issues at play. A frame is thus produced by the selection, emphasis, and exclusion of other facts, in accordance with the Media Framing Theory. Similar to this, the Agenda-setting Theory contends that the media users' perceptions of reality are shaped by the absence of some issues and events and the overemphasis of others (Fourie, 2018). This study is particularly significant for increasing awareness of how the media tries to construct its own version of reality about particular subjects. It raises awareness of the problems surrounding the 'Black Tax' phenomenon that the media chooses to ignore. Concisely, this study informs South Africans about the reasons and effects of the ‘Black Tax,’ which were both covered and disregarded.

8.3.3. To Interrogate how the Concept of ‘Black Tax’ is Communicated and its Implications on the Understanding of African Communalism.

How issues are presented, addressed and even manufactured by the media is a major area of interest in Media Framing (Fourie, 2018). As a result, taking care of one’s family is portrayed in the media contents in this study through a capitalist lens as exploitation, a burden and an obligation that drags young professionals back, both financially and professionally. Family obligations are viewed incorrectly by the capitalist society as a burden on young Black professionals. But African Communalism, which is built on a strong sense of social responsibility, encourages cooperation in society (Obioha-Olabisi, 2014:256). This means that it is ones responsibility as an African or a human being to see to the needs of one’s family, not

only the nuclear family, but also the extended family members. The media contents in this study supported the capitalist viewpoints that young Black professionals should set boundaries and make comprehensive budgets, so that ‘Black Tax’ did not financially affect them because they believed that ‘Black Tax’ was a hardship to young Black professionals.

This runs counter to the African Communalism idea, which contends that assets are shared and distributed fairly throughout the society and that money is seen as benefitting the community (Ominde et al., 2020:280). A person also has a social responsibility to share what they have with others. This suggests that in an African society, when one person succeeds, the entire family benefits. As a result, integrating capitalism concepts into African culture alters the culture and its values and beliefs. Young Black professionals are consequently led to adopt these ideologies suggesting that taking care of one’s family is a financial burden. However, because Africanism is ingrained in them, the concept of the ‘Black Tax’ interferes with their mental health because it places them in conflict with the capitalist ideologies that say they should set boundaries and prioritise taking care of their families. As a result, knowledge about African Communalism, collectivist culture and Ubuntu ideology is filtered.

The way the term ‘Black Tax’ was used in the media materials used in this study suggested that it only applied to Black people. The name ‘Black Tax’ gives the notion that only Black people pay it, despite the fact that everyone provides for their family, regardless of colour or age. Consequently, 'Black Tax' refers to a financial burden experienced by Black South Africans who must pay or send money and other goods to sustain their family (Carpenter & Phaswana, 2021:2). According to Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley (2019:443), it is also described as the extra money that Black professionals set aside each month to assist their family and friends. Therefore, the situation is framed and portrayed in the media as only impacting upon Black people, to the point where even their demonstrations of the ‘Black Tax’ feature young Black people or rather young Black professionals discussing the phenomenon. The Agenda-setting Theory applies to this. According to the theory, Agenda-setting is accelerated when credible, well-known people begin to discuss the topic. In this instance, the media makes use of young Black professionals to discuss the 'Black Tax' phenomena.

It is particularly problematic when the term ‘Black Tax’ is used to describe family responsibilities or acts of caring for one another. Therefore, the phrase should not be used to describe a circumstance in which someone upholds their culture by supporting their family. Because it depicts Black people and their culture or Africanism in a capitalist light, the idea alone perpetuates racial inequality. Therefore, providing for one’s family is a universal virtue that transcends all racial and ethnic boundaries. People have a natural inclination to help out their loved ones when they need help. However, Black people have a peculiar experience. The historical and systemic circumstances that have led to economic inequalities or financial constraints have forced them to shoulder more familial and financial duties. The results are significant because they spread the message that providing for one’s family is in no way improper. Black people must understand that family responsibility is part of their culture and is part of being human. The results also bring insights to the unique challenges faced by individuals within the Black communities.

8.3.4. To Examine the Mediating Effects of ‘Black Tax’ on Black Youth Within the Historical and Socio-Economic Context of Black South African Families.

- *South Africa’s Triple Challenges*

According to the young professionals interviewed for this study, South Africa's triple challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment were what led to the so-called ‘Black Tax.’ The devastation and poverty of Black people are notably caused by the economic disparities in South Africa. As a result, many young Black people feel under pressure to alleviate the hardships and poverty that their families are experiencing. However, given South Africa’s high unemployment rate and the lack of opportunities and resources for Black people, it is difficult to address these issues. Therefore, Piotrowski (2019:59) contends that the marginalisation of Black people in terms of education, land and other opportunities constrained and denied them opportunities, further impoverishing them and, thereby, causing inter-generational poverty.

- *Parents’ Lack of Education*

Additionally, it was noted in the research that the 'Black Tax' was a product of parents' lack of formal education and a sense of entitlement that the family had over the achievement of young Black professionals. Illiterate parents frequently found it

challenging to comprehend their children's personal and professional goals. As a result, they frequently tended to be overly demanding of their children, or to pressure them into doing things for the family without considering their feelings. It is crucial to remember that the apartheid era and its educational systems contributed to the fact that many families, or parents, lack literacy. Education was previously difficult to obtain because the majority of families were forced to be compliant with apartheid rules and were employed as migrant labourers. Thus, the study conducted by Tilahun (2021:218) revealed that education or rather lack thereof, is a particularly powerful indicator of adult poverty. Thus, these adults pass this poverty on to their children and in this case the young Black professionals who are trying so hard to break the cycles of poverty in their families.

- *'Black Tax,' Socio-Economic and Psychological Impacts on Black Youths.*

'Black Tax' has an impact on the personal growth, financial stability, and mental health of young Black professionals, according to the study results. Although the majority of the participants (6) stated that they preferred the term 'Black Tax' to be referred to as 'family responsibility' or 'family empowerment,' they nonetheless asserted that it causes them individually to be delayed in progressing in life. One member who was self-employed added that it affected the development of his company. These results resonate with Matlala and Shambare (2017:76), who contend that numerous plans, ambitions, and hopes are postponed or abandoned in order to support the extended family with the few resources available. The results of this study suggest that these young Black professionals' ambitions and aspirations are being postponed or given up as a result of the responsibility of caring for their families. African Communalism, however, supports this style of life that prioritises the common welfare of the community before personal gain, in accordance with its ideology. The idea also gives social responsibility a high priority (Ominde et al., 2020:281). To put it another way, young Black professionals should prioritise their families' needs before worrying about their own success or other outcomes. Even though six participants said their families appreciated their actions, four of them said the 'Black Tax' also had a psychological impact on them in addition to having an impact on their finances and personal growth. According to them, 'Black Tax' made them emotionally unstable. Therefore, this study showed that 'Black Tax' has an impact on the personal growth, financial stability, and mental health of young Black professionals. The findings also showed that these

young Black professionals acknowledged their duty to care for their families and improve the lives of people who gave birth to them, but they also asserted that the ‘Black Tax’ had an impact on their finances and emotional well-being. These findings are in line with a study by Montle (2020), which showed that the 'Black Tax' is a perplexing practice that disproportionately affects young Black professionals in contemporary South Africa. Even though this study's participants did not bring up all pertinent 'Black Tax' causes, the study's findings are crucial for educating the public about the 'Black Tax's' mediating affects. Parents, in particular, should be aware of the damaging consequences their expectations and pressure on their children have on them, especially on their mental health, because it saps their joy and motivation to work.

8.3.5. To Recommend Ways of Conceptualising Youth’s Family Support that Subverts the Capitalist Framing and Recognising the Social and Psychological Pressures that Youth’s May Experience.

In collectivist societies like South Africa, the responsibility to support ones family and friends has been shown to be a crucial factor in determining people's behaviour (Matlala and Shambare, 2017:76). Accordingly, the money that young Black professionals spend every month to support their family and friends is known as the ‘Black Tax’ (Ratlebjane, 2015 cited in Mangoma & Wilson-Prangley, 2019:443). Some of the participants thought that the term was inappropriate and, thus, recommended the following:

- *From Black Tax to Family Responsibility or Family Empowerment*

The participants in this study observed that ‘Black Tax’ was not the appropriate term to describe a situation where one was taking care of their family. They advised using an alternative phrase. Because it is their obligation to improve the life of their families, the majority of participants (6) stated they would prefer the term ‘Black Tax’ to be replaced with ‘family responsibility’ or ‘family empowerment’ when asked what they would prefer the word to be called. In other words, they would rather that their acts be described as family responsibilities than taxes. These results are in line with research conducted by Fongwa (2019:6), which found that Black professionals understand and articulate the difficulties posed by the ‘Black Tax,’ as the majority felt it was their social

and moral duty to contribute to the general welfare of society. The findings also resonate with a study conducted by Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley (2019:452) which revealed that participants see ‘Black Tax’ as a responsibility to their immediate and extended families.

Overall, as it describes a circumstance where a person assumes responsibility for caring for their family, the term ‘Black Tax’ should be changed to ‘family responsibility.’ The so-called modern South Africa, where people feel burdened and delayed because of taking care of their families, is less characterised by the spirit of Ubuntu and African Communalism due to the capitalist ideologies that doing so is a ‘Black Tax.’ Since no one enjoys paying taxes, Mangoma and Wilson-Prangley (2019:444) claim that the word ‘tax’ evokes negative pressure and expectations, while Fongwa (2019:8) claims that it conjures up an unfavourable perception of an honourable and respectable relationship between the contributors and their dependents. It is troublesome to call taking care of one’s family 'Black Tax' because it is not just practised by Black people.

The study's findings are particularly useful for shedding light on the effects that the ‘Black Tax’ has on young Black professionals. The findings will also shed light on the fact that caring for one’s family should be referred to as a family responsibility rather than ‘Black Tax,’ since the former (family responsibility) refers to ones obligation to care for one’s family. Therefore, it is important for people to understand that taking care of one’s family is not ‘Black Tax,’ but rather family responsibility or, as per the theory of African Communalism and Ubuntu, ‘social responsibility.’ African Communalism is a social paradigm that encourages mutual assistance and social responsibility. However, the capitalist approaches refer to social responsibility and reciprocal aid as ‘Black Tax.’

8.4. CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESEARCH

This study significantly improves the body of knowledge by highlighting previously, unmentioned aspects of the ‘Black Tax’ phenomena. The 'Black Tax' is discussed in the present literature from the perspective of the people, but it is not addressed in terms of its causes or implications on young Black people. This report addressed that gap and described the alleged reasons for, and effects of, the ‘Black Tax,’ among other things. The major goal of this study was to analyse how the issue of ‘Black Tax’ was

framed in the media with the focus on examining the implications of this framing on the understanding of African Communalism. Therefore, this research study contributes more knowledge, understanding and information about how the media frames ‘Black Tax’ and the deconstructed binary oppositions of ‘Black Tax.’ South Africans will benefit from the study's explanation of the capitalist ideology underlying the 'Black Tax' phenomena and how it relates to family responsibilities.

The study's most essential contribution will be to enlighten South Africans on the 'Black Tax' issues that the media frequently prefers, highlights, and dismisses. It is crucial for South Africans to understand how the idea of ‘Black Tax’ is presented in the media. As a result, this study will help the readers comprehend and gain knowledge about the media's framing of the idea as well as the effects that framing has on understanding the ideology of African Communalism or the collectivist society in general. The study will also serve as a reminder to Black South Africans of how colonisation, apartheid and capitalist ideology mostly destroyed or altered their culture. They will be educated on the effects of colonialism on Black South African families, as well as the economic inequalities that have contributed to their continued poverty. Additionally, the South African society will also discover and comprehend that the 'Black Tax' is a product of apartheid and the economic imbalances that South Africans are experiencing and which the media largely ignores.

8.5. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

One of the major limitations of this study was that, although it employed purposeful sampling, it was not meant to be representative of all the individuals impacted on by the ‘Black Tax’. It was used, considering the fact that just nine young Black professionals were specifically chosen and interviewed. The study could not cover a huge number of media materials as a result. Therefore, generalisations about Black people in South Africa, Africa, or the Black middle class are not possible. The conclusions should be viewed as an initial attempt to analyse and comprehend how the concept of ‘Black Tax’ functions, linking it to research on financial transfers, pressures and expectations within families as well as media representations of the concept. Furthermore, in order to have a thorough understanding of the ‘Black Tax,’ it is crucial to be aware that different media outlets may give diverse perspectives on the subject. It is also vital to keep in mind that the phrase itself may be the subject of many

discussions and interpretations in the media. Thus, the theory of Media Framing states that the same subject presented by different media outlets may elicit distinct frames and interpretations (Chong & Druckman, 2007:106).

Employing videos and radio audio files included the fact that they could occasionally be challenging to interpret. The transcriptions, however, allowed an analysis and interpretation of the data. One of the major limitations with the interviews was that some participants did not answer some of the questions asked. Another limitation was the issue of recording online meetings on the platforms used because of internet connection problems. Therefore, the researcher used two smartphones and a record of the audios of all the meetings via the phones' record apps and a transcription app (Otter) was kept for analysis purposes. However, the transcription application was not without limitations. The limitations in using the transcription application are that it was not capable of recognising words when speakers talked fast. In addition, the software was not capable of isolating human voices, thus, transcribing everything it heard. Sometimes it would also transcribe the background noises and words. The app sometimes did not transcribe the exact words the participants said, especially if those words were said in an African language. So, the essence of the narrative was at risk of not being captured properly and accurately. To minimise the risk, the researcher listened to the records over and over again, correcting the misspelt words, inappropriate words and the words which were left out.

8.6. RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to accommodate capitalist views, African culture or African Communalism has been filtered. African Communalism thus runs counter to what is observed in modern South Africa. When people in contemporary South Africa take care of their family, their acts are referred to as 'Black Tax.' However, African Communalism views these actions as social responsibility, making them a part of humanity and African culture. Therefore, as per the results of this study, it is recommended that taking care of one's family should not be considered a 'Black Tax,' but rather 'family responsibility' or 'family empowerment.'

The experiences and reality of individuals who might not fit the dominant narrative tend to be marginalised as a result of the lack of diverse voices in the media coverage of

the ‘Black Tax’ as well. The generalised framings limit the ability to comprehend all of the different ways that people and families manage their financial obligations. Therefore, the media must work to provide a more thorough and nuanced story of ‘Black Tax’ in order to solve these flaws. The media may reflect the many experiences and approaches used to manage financial commitments more accurately by promoting stories of resiliency, community support and successful financial management within Black communities. It is important to conduct research on how public policies and social programmes might lessen the impact of the ‘Black Tax’ and advance economic fairness. To address the underlying causes of economic inequality, new initiatives should be developed.

It is also important to promote financial awareness and education in Black communities. People can make wise decisions and more successfully oversee the difficulties of ‘Black Tax’ if they are given the knowledge and abilities to manage their finances wisely. Recognising and addressing the psychological and emotional toll that the ‘Black Tax’ can take on a person and their families is also important. To recognise and recommend ways of addressing these mental and emotional tolls, a large study involving a generalisable population of the contributors, and their families is essential. The media materials on ‘Black Tax’ should also be studied to determine how the concept of ‘Black Tax’ is used in the media and how the frames shape the viewpoints of South Africans on the issue. This would require conducting a large study that would involve enormous amounts of media data and a large population of young Black professionals. To analyse the phenomenon from a different perspective, a different methodology and theory should be used.

8.7. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The media, Black South African youth, South Africa and academia can all benefit from this study. The study's benefits are discussed in more detail below.

8.7.1. Significance to the Media

This study clarifies the topics that the media prefers and emphasises the most. It raises awareness of the 'Black Tax' concerns that the media tends to overlook or downplay. The study further expands an understanding of how the term ‘Black Tax’ is used and discussed in the media. Additionally, this study has a significant impact on the

understanding of how the media frames the ‘Black Tax’ issue and how it influences the understanding of African Communalism.

8.7.2. Significance to Black South African Youth

This study provided insight into the realities of black youth in South Africa and the difficulties they encounter in coping with the financial constraints imposed on them. Their voices are amplified, their struggles are highlighted and recommendations for conceptualising the support of the youth's families that challenge the dominant capitalist narrative are made as a result of this research. Therefore, South African Black youth will gain knowledge and understanding of ‘Black Tax’ and the implications it has for their personal and financial growth, thus learning from this study how to deal with the ‘Black Tax’ phenomenon.

8.7.3. Significance to South Africa as a Country

This study sheds light on the social, political and economic aspects that have influenced the 'Black Tax' and its effects on families, communities and young black people in South Africa. With this study, South Africans can now comprehend the broader socio-economic processes that lead to the persistence of the ‘Black Tax.’ The larger socio-economic disparities and historical injustices faced by Black communities are also reflected in this study. South Africans will be able to better grasp the structural problems that contribute to this phenomenon, thanks to this study. It can also help guide initiatives and policy choices targeted at lessening the financial strain on Black people and families. Additionally, it can foster cooperation and understanding amongst various socio-economic groups.

8.7.4. Significance to Academia and the Discipline of Communication Studies

This study presents a chance to inform academics about how the media shapes public views and narratives about the ‘Black Tax,’ particularly within the Communications disciplines. Researchers will be able to comprehend how African Communalism and the ‘Black Tax’ are portrayed in the media. Researchers will be able to examine many aspects of the ‘Black Tax’ phenomena through this study. Additionally, this study contributes to the knowledge of how communication effects and whether structural inequities in societies are maintained or challenged. Overall, within the field of Communication, this study contributes to a more thorough comprehension of the

complexities of communication in various socio-economic circumstances and may help to influence methods for fostering more inclusive and equitable communication practices. The value of this work rests primarily on its ability to advance equity, inspire social change and create a more inclusive society. South Africa may endeavour to create a more just and equitable future for everyone by comprehending the complexities and nuances of the 'Black Tax.'

8.8. CONCLUSION

The focus of this study was to analyse the framing of 'Black Tax' in the media discourses, with a focus on examining the implications of this framing on the understanding of African Communalism. 'Black Tax' is a colloquial term used to describe financial support that young working people provide to their nuclear and extended family members (Matlala & Shambare, 2017:76). It is frequently seen as a demand to provide financial support to people in a large family or a kin network while also attempting to generate long-term wealth. One of the key themes of the literature of this study was the colonial apartheid and the impoverishing of Black families. This was done to explore and understand the current trends of young Black professionals financially supporting their families, as well as studying to understand the African collectivist culture in the pre- and post-colonial era.

Post-apartheid triple challenges and the Black family and the post-apartheid government's inability to address the triple challenges also formed part of the key themes of the literature. 'Black Tax' and the South African youth, African Communalism and 'Black Tax', media discourses of 'Black Tax', as well as the capitalist and modernist approach to African Communalism were also the key themes of the literature of this study. The aforementioned themes were explored to study the discourses of 'Black Tax' and capitalist approaches to African cultures. Deconstruction, African Communalism and Media Framing provided the theoretical framework of this study. The theoretical framework forms the conceptual basis of understanding how 'Black Tax' is framed and presented in the media and the implications of this framing on the understanding of African Communalism.

The study collected and analysed data using a qualitative research methodology. Due to their varied experiences with the 'Black Tax,' the population for this study

purposefully comprised young graduates who were; self-employed (3) employed (3) and unemployed (3) and they were interviewed using semi-structured interviews. Furthermore, the study used five media archival materials that covered the Black tax phenomenon namely.

- ‘Black Tax is seen by some as a form of financial abuse’, by *eNCA* broadcasting station,
- ‘South Africa: is ‘Black Tax’ a help or a burden? by *BBC* broadcasting station,
- From *Power FM 98.7Hz,* a radio station, ‘Speaking Black Tax’,
- ‘Black Tax what to look out for published,’ by *Daily Sun*, and
- ‘Black Tax: a responsibility, not a burden,’ published online by *News24*.

The data from the media was analysed using Framing Analysis, Deconstruction as an analysis method and Thematic Analysis for the remarks that were found under the comment sections of the *BBC* and *eNCA* videos respectively. To analyse the interviews this study used Thematic Analysis.

The results of this study showed that the 'Black Tax' phenomena were portrayed in the media as mostly affecting young Black professionals. However, the media used for this study overlooked the reality that this problem affects people of all ages and colours, including the unemployed. The findings also demonstrated how the media portrayed the ‘Black Tax’ as a burden faced by young Black professionals. They applied capitalist theories and methods to argue that the ‘Black Tax’ was a form of financial exploitation experienced by young Black people. They advised young Black professionals to establish limitations and boundaries as well as a monthly budget for the amount they should spend on their families. These results contradicted the theory of African Communalism which encouraged sharing since it emphasised the significance of social connection whereas greed and self-centredness were discouraged (Venter, 2004:151). The theory also claimed that a person had a social obligation to share what they had with others.

The results of media Deconstruction revealed that the phrase ‘Black Tax’ generated concerns since it referred to the financial burden and familial responsibilities that young Black professionals bore. The term ‘Black Tax’ was used in a way that suggested that only Black people were subject to it. In spite of the media's emphases

on the sacrifices made by young people in order to provide for their families, they failed to mention that South Africa's ‘Black Tax’ was a result of economic imbalances and the effects of colonialism and apartheid. They also ignored the fact that African cultures are communal and value social responsibility and mutual assistance. The findings from the semi-structured interviews showed that while the participants saw the ‘Black Tax’ as a way to repay the family, they also insisted that the word was not the proper one to describe how they took care of their loved ones. So, according to the majority of participants (6), ‘Black Tax’ should be referred to as ‘family responsibility’ or ‘family empowerment.’ The study's participants further asserted that the triple challenges; poverty, inequality and unemployment, as well as their parents' lack of formal education and the entitlement that parents and relatives hold over their achievement, were the causes of the ‘Black Tax.’ The findings also showed that the young Black professionals interviewed experienced financial, psychological and personal growth challenges.

When it comes to explaining the historical dynamics and intricate socio-economic aspects that contribute to the problem, the media's portrayal of ‘Black Tax’ falls short. However, the way the term ‘Black Tax’ is used reinforces stereotypes and oversimplifies the experiences of Black people and their communities. Therefore, it is critical that media sources work to create a more diversified, multifaceted and multidimensional narrative that fairly depicts the socio-economic difficulties that Black people experience. By doing this, it will be possible to promote a society that is more knowledgeable, empathic and which actively fights to eliminate systematic injustices. In conclusion, this study essentially questions accepted conventions and motivates social change. This study contributes to the development of a more just and equitable society by highlighting the voices and experiences of young Black people who have direct knowledge of the ‘Black Tax’ phenomena.

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APPENDIX A

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TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

MEETING: **26 September 2022**

PROJECT NUMBER: **TREC/532/2022: PG**

PROJECT:

Title:	Rethinking Communication about 'Black Tax': A deconstruction of media and capitalist framing of African communalism.
Researcher:	MA Boima
Supervisor:	Prof T Oyedemi
Co-Supervisor/s:	N/A
School:	Languages and Communication Studies
Degree:	Master of Arts in Communication Studies

PROF D MAPOSA
CHAIRPERSON: TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

The Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC) is registered with the National Health Research Ethics Council, Registration Number: **REC-0310111-031**

Note:

i) **This Ethics Clearance Certificate will be valid for one (1) year, as from the abovementioned date. Application for annual renewal (or annual review) need to be received by TREC one month before lapse of this period.**

ii) **Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure as approved, the researcher(s) must re-submit the protocol to the committee, together with the Application for Amendment form.**

iii) **PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES.**

APPENDIX B

Agreement about the informed consent and data protection in interviews.

Dear participant

The participation in the interview is voluntary and can be withdrawn at any time. **The one responsible for conducting the interview and analysing it are:**

Interviewer	: Boima Maite Abigail
Name of the institution	: University of Limpopo (Turfloop Campus)
Supervisor of the project	: Prof T Oyedemi
Degree	: Master of Arts in Communication Studies

The topic under investigation:

Rethinking communication about 'Black Tax': A Deconstruction of the media and capitalist framing of African Communalism.

The main objective of the study:

The study aims to analyse how the issue of 'Black Tax' is framed in media discourse with a focus on examining the implication of this framing on the understanding of African Communalism.

The researcher will ensure that all data are treated confidentially and only for the purpose agreed upon herewith:

1. Your participation involves answering open-ended interview questions that the researcher will be asking, with the purpose being to learn and understand more about your experiences, opinions, knowledge and understanding of 'Black Tax.'
2. The interviewee consents to the recording and scientific analysis of the interview. However, the interviewee has the option to request that certain portions of the interview be deleted after it has been recorded.
3. Should you agree to participate, your **anonymity, identity and confidentiality will be highly protected and maintained.**

4. Note that your name will not appear in any of the research reports and your participation is voluntary. Therefore, you are free to withdraw without any penalties or charges.

FOR ASSURING DATA PROTECTION, THE RECORDED MATERIAL WILL BE PROCESSED ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING AGREEMENT ABOUT DATA PROTECTION:

1. The recording

1.1. The recording will be stored in the researcher's OneDrive account for protection purposes.

1.2. Only the interviewer and the project supervisor will have access to the recording and the transcribed document for analysing the data.

1.3. In addition, the recording will also be used for reference purposes during the course of the study.

2. Analysis and archiving

2.1. For the analysis, the recording of the interview will be transcribed on a word document and the researcher will make sure that the document is password protected.

2.2. The names mentioned by the interviewee will be anonymised in the transcript as far as necessary.

2.3. In publications, it is guaranteed that the identification of the interviewee will be kept confidential and anonymised.

The interviewer holds the copyright of the interviews. The interviewee may take back his or declaration of the consent completely or in parts within 14days.

Potential for Harm

There will be no physical harm to you. However, you may experience distress by recounting experiences that may be stressful. Thus, the researcher will also be aware of this possibility of emotional weariness during the interview. Therefore, the researcher will stop the interview and, if possible, offer immediate support in cases where you indicate you are experiencing a high level of stress or emotional distress or you display behaviours suggesting that the discussion or the interview is too stressful or sensitive, such as uncontrollable crying, shaking, or fidgeting. The researcher will provide you with the necessary support and she will ask whether you feel comfortable

enough to continue the interview or not. The researcher will continue with the interview if you feel comfortable doing so. However, if you feel uncomfortable with continuing the interview, the researcher will end it. Information about how to access counselling and psychological help will be provided to you. In an instance where you are still not feeling well, the researcher will ensure that a courtesy call is made to check on your well-being (only if you consent).

Contact details and addresses of potential psychologists in the event that you may need psychological assistance, below are the contact details which you will choose based on your residential address.

1. Clinical Psychologist in Tzaneen (MPS)
   3a Agatha St, Arbor Park, Tzaneen, 0850
   Contact number: 083 460 8675
2. Kgapane Hospital Psychologist

   Rapitsi Ga-Kgapane, Modjadji Road, Duiweskloof, 0835.

   Contact number: 015 328 7800

3. Mokgaetji Mamabolo (Psychologist, MA, HPCSA-Clin.psych)
   64 Burger Street
   Polokwane
   0700
   Contact Number: 087 250 0592
4. Hlala Julia (Student counsellor)

   Office: D Block

   Email: julia.hlahla@ul.ac.za

   Tel: 015 268 2437

I_____Hereby volunteer to participate in the above written study. I have read and understood the Informed consent. I have understood that my identity and confidentiality will be protected, and I am free to withdraw at any time without a penalty.

Name & Signature of the participant Date

Signed at

Name & Signature of a researcher Date

Signed at

In case of an oral agreement.

I confirm that I have informed the interviewee about the purpose of the data collection, explained the details of this agreement about the data protection and obtained his or her consent or agreement.

Name & Signature of the researcher Date

Signed at

APPENDIX C

A letter requesting participation in research

Dear participant

My name is Boima Maite Abigail, I am currently enrolled for Master of Arts in Communication Studies at the University of Limpopo in the Department of Communication, Media and Information studies. I am conducting a research study titled: **Rethinking communication about 'Black Tax': A Deconstruction of the media and capitalist framing of African Communalism.** The study aims to analyse how the issue of 'Black Tax' is framed in the media discourse with a focus on examining the implication of this framing on the understanding of African Communalism.

The study intends to analyse the Media Framing of youth's social responsibility to extended families known as 'Black Tax' and to recommend ways of conceptualising youth's family support that subverts the capitalists framing and to recognise the social and psychological pressures that youths may experience. The researcher identifies you as suitable participant in this proposed study, mainly because you are a South African young Black professional. In the event that you consent to participate in this study, your participation will be entirely voluntary, and you will be free to leave at any time without incurring any fees or penalties. Also keep in mind that the researcher cherishes your privacy, therefore, your name will not appear in any of the research papers.

Should you require any further information, please contact me or my supervisor on the following contact details:

Researcher: Boima MA
0724039984
Boimamaiteabigail@gmail.com
Supervisor: Prof Oyedemi T
Tokunbo.oyedemi@ul.ac.za

Regards
Boima MA

APPENDIX D

Interview Schedule

This schedule is meant to formally inform or invite the participants of the interview scheduled days and time. The duration of the interview will be guided by the scope of the interview and how much the participants has to say about the topic rather than the researcher. The location of the interview will be determined by the participants. In this case they will have to choose the location, which is more comfortable and conducive enough, to conduct interviews professionally. In a case where they are indecisive, the researcher will suggest interviewing them in their places of work, but in a private space.

Date of the interview: From 6 February 2023

Time: 10h00 to 16h00

APPENDIX E

Interview guide for the employed youth

This guide is designed to collect data or information about 'Black Tax', the experiences and expectations or pressures that South African young Black professionals face with regard to 'Black Tax'. The information obtained will be used only for research purposes and is subject to ethical rules and clearance of the University of Limpopo Turfloop Research Ethical Committee. Please be aware that the participants' names and identities will not, under any circumstances, be made public.

Section A

Gender:

Age:

Home Language:

Occupation:

Residential Place:

SECTION B: Work History

1. When did you start working?
2. How old were you?
3. Are you the first graduate in your family?
4. How long did you stay unemployed before being employed?
5. What are the challenges you faced when you were unemployed?
6. What challenges did you come across when you started working?
7. Do you depend on a single salary?

SECTION C: Comprehension of the concept of 'Black Tax'

8. I would like to know your thoughts on 'Black Tax'.
9. Some people think it is a responsibility, some think it is a burden. What's your opinion?
10. What is your opinion about supporting extended family members?

11. From your own point of view, what caused ‘Black Tax’ among the South African Youth in South Africa?
12. Explain how ‘Black Tax’ may affect or not affect your children or your next generations going forward?
13. Some say the term ‘Black Tax’ is problematic. Some prefer that it is called family responsibility. What is your opinion about the term?

SECTION D: Youth’s social responsibility to extended families known as ‘Black Tax’

14. How many are you in your family?
15. How many family members are you supporting with your income?
16. Do you have a family of your own (Wife/Husband/children)?
17. How do you feel about contributing money monthly?
18. How much do you contribute every month when you calculate?
19. According to your observations, do you think your family appreciate it?
20. Please tell me how you feel about supporting your immediate and extended family?
21. Since you are employed, how does your family treat you as compared to your unemployed siblings or relatives?
22. If you skip a month or two without contributing or sending money to your family, how is their treatment towards you?

SECTION E: Conceptualising youth’s family support, financial, social and psychological pressures that youth face

23. What is your opinion about discussing your budget with your family?
24. Can you explain how ‘Black Tax’ affects you financially?
25. How does ‘Black Tax’ affect your personal development and your mental health?
26. I would like to hear your thoughts about taking a loan to pay ‘Black Tax.’
27. What is your opinion about looking for other opportunities to earn extra income, like having a second job or a business on the side?
28. Do you always remember to reward yourself every month or do you always prioritise your family and forget yourself?

29. Looking at your peers, do you think ‘Black Tax’ is hindering you in any way from buying your dream car, building your own house etc?

SECTION F: Communication of ‘Black Tax’ in the media and its implications on understanding African Communalism.

30. I Would like to know your thoughts about the way in which ‘Black Tax’ is communicated or rather portrayed in the media.
31. According to your own view, what agenda do you think the media is trying to push about Black people?
32. The media normally portray Black people as most affected by ‘Black Tax’, but according to you, is it really a Black phenomenon?
33. Tell me about how you feel about the media misinterpreting our African collectivist culture.
34. Do the media fully cover the pressures and expectations that many young professionals face?
35. In your own view, what issues are most preferred or highlighted the most by the media?
36. What issues do you think the media neglects about ‘Black Tax’?

APPENDIX F

Interview guide for the unemployed youth

This guide is designed to collect data or information about 'Black Tax', the experiences and expectations or pressures that South African young Black unemployed youth face with regard to 'Black Tax'. The information obtained will be used only for research purposes and is subject to ethical rules and clearance of the University of Limpopo Turfloop Research Ethical Committee. Please be aware that the participants' names and identities will not, under any circumstances, be made public.

Section A

Gender:

Age:

Home Language:

Residential Place:

SECTION B: Educational background.

1. Which qualifications do you have?
2. When did you graduate?
3. How old were you?
4. What are you currently doing?
5. How long have you been unemployed since your graduation?
6. Are you actively looking for a job?
7. What challenges are you currently facing with regard to job hunting?
8. Are you receiving unemployment relief funds (SASSA grants)?

SECTION C: Comprehension of the concept of 'Black Tax'

9. I would like to know your thoughts on 'Black Tax'.
10. Some people think it is a responsibility, some think it is a burden. What's your opinion?

11. What is your opinion about supporting extended family members?
12. From your own point of view, what caused 'Black Tax' among the South African Youth in South Africa?
13. Explain how 'Black Tax' may affect or not affect your children or your next generations going forward?
14. Some say the term 'Black Tax' is problematic, some prefer that it is called 'family responsibility.' What is your opinion about the term?

SECTION D: Youth's social responsibility to extended families known as 'Black Tax'

15. How many members are there in your family?
16. Do you have a family of your own (Wife/Husband/children)?
17. In most cases, are you expected to contribute money every month even when you are unemployed?
18. How much do you contribute monthly?
19. According to your observations, does the family appreciate it?
20. How do you feel about contributing money monthly?
21. In a month where you are unable to contribute, how is your family treatment towards you?
22. Since you are unemployed, how does the family treat you as compared to your employed sibling(s) or relative(s)?
23. Please tell me how you feel about supporting your family?
24. Since you are unemployed, how do you finance your expenses?

25. If someone in your family is financing your expenses, how do you feel about them financing you?

SECTION E: Communication of 'Black Tax' in the media and its implications on understanding African Communalism.

26. I Would like to know your thoughts about the way in which 'Black Tax' is communicated, or rather portrayed, in the media.

27. According to your own view, what agenda do you think the media is trying to push about Black people?

28. The media normally portray Black people as most affected by ‘Black Tax’, but according to you, is it really a Black phenomenon?

29. Tell me about how you feel about the media misinterpreting our African collectivist culture.

30. Does the media fully cover the pressures and expectations that many young professionals face?

31. In your own view, what issues are most preferred or highlighted the most by the media?

32. What issues do you think the media neglects about ‘Black Tax”?

APPENDIX G

SOURCES USED FOR ANALYSIS (MEDIA FRAMING ANALYSIS AND DECONSTRUCTION)

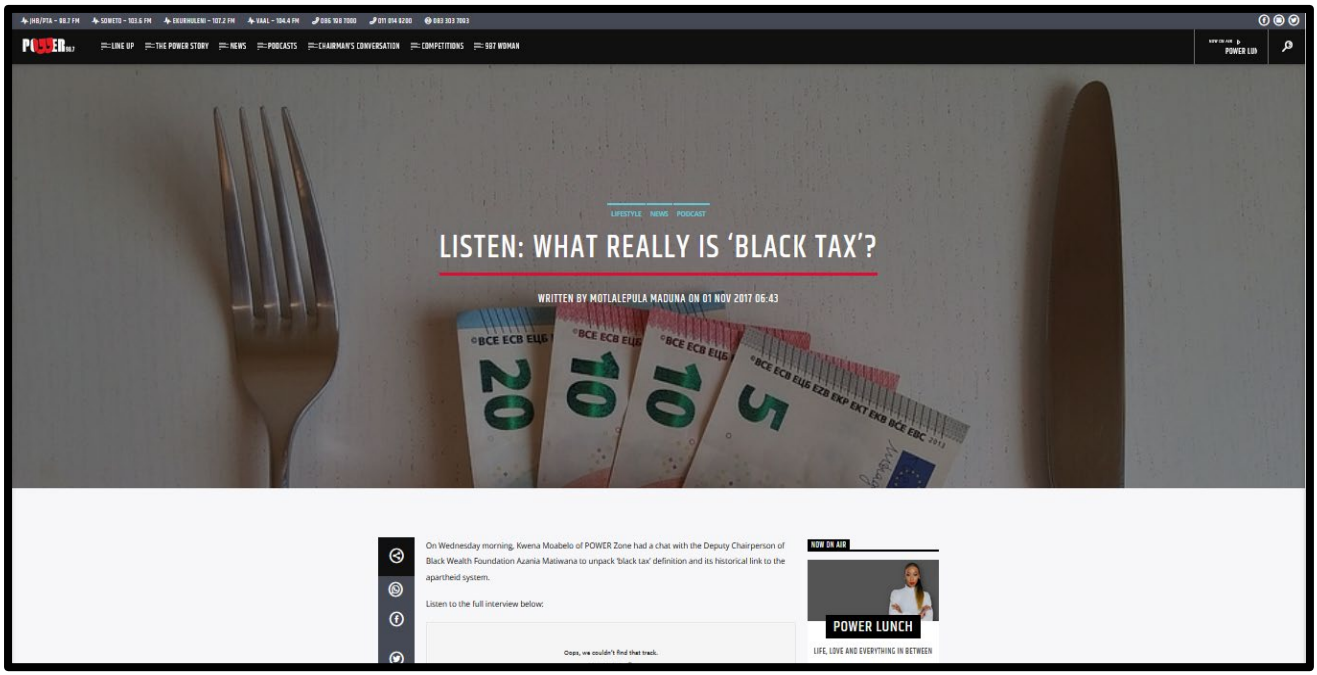
Figure 5.1. A screenshot of *BBC* News episode: South Africa: Is 'black tax' help or burden?

(Source: *BBC* News 2020, 3:03).

Figure 5.2: A screenshot of the eNCA: 'Black Tax' is seen by some as a form of financial abuse.

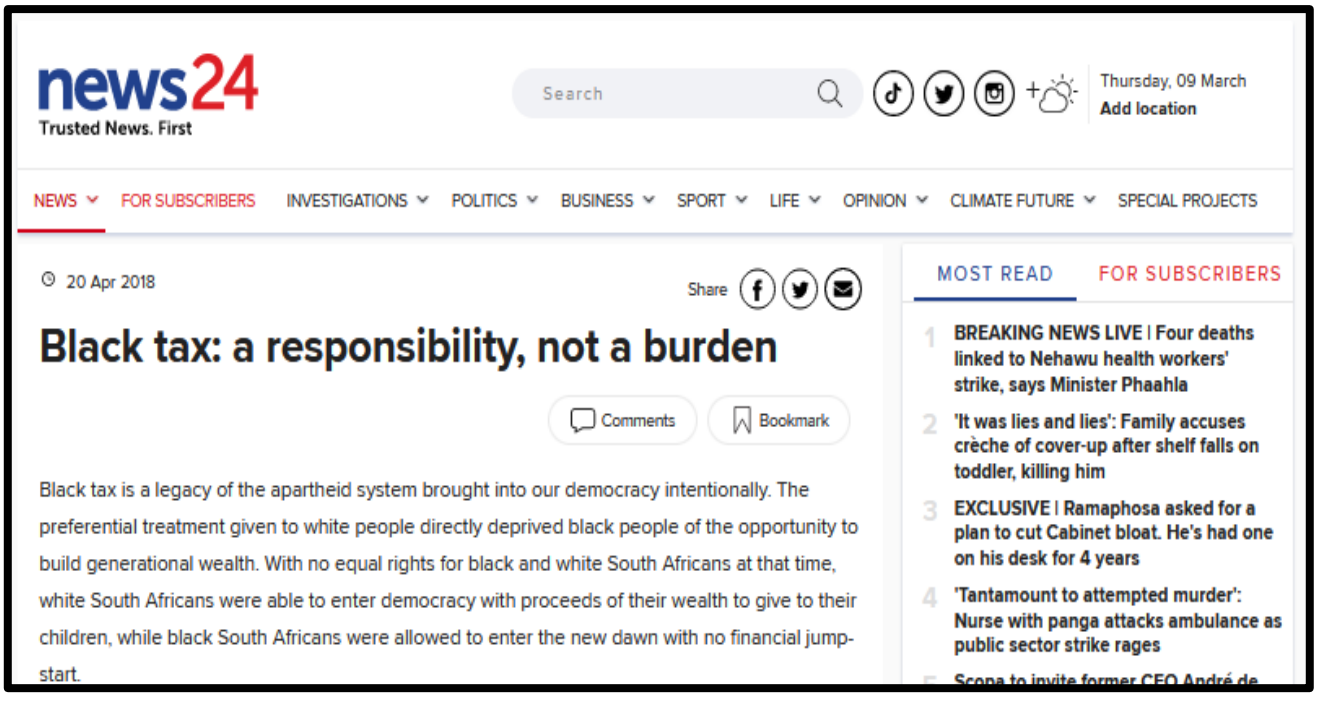
(Source*: eNCA2019, 5:34)*

Figure 5.3: A screenshot of Power FM: What really is 'Black Tax'.



(Source: *Power FM 2017, 26.04)*

Figure 5.4: A Screen shot of News24: Black Tax: A responsibility, not a burden.



(Source: *News24,* 2018*).*

Figure 5.5: A Screenshot of Daily Sun: Black Tax: What to look out for!

(Source: *Daily Sun,* 2019).