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ABSTRACT

South Africa remains an unequal society even nearly three decades post-apartheid. This puts the country in the limelight of the discourse on racism and its enduring effects. This article contributes to the literature on the effects of racism in South Africa particularly for the Black population group. Social inequality during and after apartheid is examined highlighting legal devices that entrenched racial discrimination in the country. The enduring social inequality for Blacks was emphasized through national survey research that has consistently over the years shown this group to be disproportionately affected. The authors then interrogated, using a psychological lens the effects that social inequality could have on three behavioral outcomes: aggression, crime, and social trust for Blacks. These variables were examined in the context of social inequality as a push factor for their manifestations. The authors emphasize the importance of providing a forum to uncover and address the trauma of the apartheid era on Blacks. Lastly, the importance of addressing the socio-economic inequality experienced by Blacks to ensure their wellbeing and capacity for self-restraint was emphasized.

Introduction

Racism has a long history and continues to pervade social discourse on group relations. This is because most societies exist within the structural, legal, and psychic legacies of racial discrimination. Some societies more than others continue to be in the limelight of race discourse because of persistent inequality between their constituent groups. One such society is South Africa. South Africa experiences a high level of social inequality between her population groups and this has been a topic of discussion and research for scholars within the country and beyond. The continued group disparity prompted this article as the authors, from a psychological standpoint are concerned with the effects of such inequality in the country. Specifically, the population group of Blacks captures the attention of the authors given the indigenous status of this group and as the most

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disadvantaged of all groups in the country (Mulaudz, 2022; Statistics South Africa [SSA], 2015). In addition, social and economic equality are indicated as important for sustainable societies in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. As such, societies with severe inequalities as part of their strategies to key into global sustainability efforts must increase their understanding of what sustains inequality and the effects of such inequality on its people.

The experiences of Black South Africans during apartheid deserve special attention as this group experienced the brunt of discrimination and maltreatment relative to the other disadvantaged groups (Anderson et al., 2001; Bhorat et al., 2016; Mphambukeli, 2019). First, Africans were a particular target for European and Western colonizers who because of a need to justify the invasion and exploitation of the African continent and violence against its people incited the idea of race and racial superiority (Clair & Denis, 2015). Second, Blacks in South Africa were people who fought relentlessly to protect their lands from foreigners who invaded their country and subjected them to the most inhumane treatment. For example, they were displaced to their homeland residents and their citizenship status was trivialized. Third, they were treated with disdain and legally excluded from social and sexual contact with the Europeans, a further emphasis on their "inferior gene" (Cejas, 2007; Khunou, 2017; Mulaudz, 2022). The untold hardship experienced during apartheid and in the present makes Black South Africans an important focal point for distinctive research and intervention because of the lasting effect such experiences may have had on their psyche. How has the apartheid experience imprinted on the psyche of Black South Africans? The authors propose that the experience of Black South Africans could have implications for the behaviors or conduct of members of this group and extensively, their general life outcomes. This article, therefore, seeks to explore some of the behavioral implications of the experiences of apartheid and its legacies among Black South Africans.

This article is presented in four sections. Section one highlights the social inequality in apartheid South Africa with a focus on some prominent legislative tools used to ensure the separation and subjugation of Blacks. Section two discusses continued social inequality for Blacks post-apartheid despite the government's efforts to ensure equality, a review of national survey reports on economic and social inequality in South Africa, and a theoretical anchor for persistent social inequality in the country. The third section focuses on three possible psychological outcomes of continued social inequality on Blacks with a review of theoretical postulations and empirical studies. The fourth section concludes and recommends interventions to manage the psychological effects of social inequality.

Social inequality in apartheid South Africa

South Africa is comprised of four different racial groups (population groups). Colored/mixed-group individuals are people of mixed ancestry and descendants of a complex mixture of Cape Slaves, Khoisan, African, European, and Asian origins. Blacks are the indigenous people of South Africa while Whites are the descendants of European immigrants. Asians are descendants of Asian immigrants imported into colonial South Africa and those who immigrated independently.

The racial categorization in South Africa is a legacy of the apartheid era, a divisive political tool rather than an objective biological construction of human differences. The apartheid government placed people into racial categories to ensure physical and social demarcation, emphasize superiority, and ease of administration (South Africa History Online [SAHO], 2019). In apartheid South Africa (1948–1994), the minority White population dominated the political and economic spheres and was portrayed as superior to other groups (Cejas, 2007; Khunou, 2017). Different divisive devices, both physical and legal were employed by the government of that period to ensure racial segregation. Most notable of these legal devices were the Group Area Act (1950) which enforced separate living areas for Whites and other groups. In particular, this law restrained the movement of Blacks into the city and White-only areas (SAHO, 2019; Saunders, 2003). This led to the eviction of non-Whites from areas earmarked for Whites only. Similarly, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 imposed segregation on the use of public utilities such as parks, toilets, cinemas, restaurants and beaches between Whites and non-Whites (SAHO, 2019; Saunders, 2003).

Also, the Marriage Act prohibited marriages between Whites and non-Whites while the Immorality Act prohibited sexual relations between Whites and Blacks (SAHO, 2019). Furthermore, the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act (1951) repatriated Blacks to a different settlement called homelands as a way of permanently ending their migration into White-only areas (SAHO, 2019). In addition, by this Act, these homelands were regarded as independent of the South African nation and Blacks required permission to enter South Africa. By its tenets, this Act emphasized the superior claim of Whites as South Africans (Cejas, 2007; Khunou, 2017). Lastly, the Bantu Education Act (1953) mandated a separate educational system in which Blacks were taught with the use of their native languages and limited to only training or skills acquisition required to function in their homelands and to serve in menial jobs under Whites (Anderson, 2020; SAHO, 2019).

By the various laws promulgated in the apartheid era, there was legalized and entrenched segregation in political, economic, residential, and educational systems amongst Whites and other groups (Mhlauli et al., 2015; Mphambukeli, 2019). Consequently, there were limits and boundaries to

physical and social interaction in public spaces. This discrimination led to a marked difference in the social and economic opportunities and development available to the different population groups more so for Blacks (Bhorat et al., 2016).

Social inequality post-apartheid South Africa

With an estimated population of 59.6 million, South Africa today is considered one of the most unequal countries in the world (Home Office, 2020). It is comprised of 8.8% Colored/Mixed, 80.8% Black, 7.8% Whites and 2.6% Asian (Cook, 2020). Post-apartheid, a democratic government led by the Black-dominated African National Congress (ANC) government came to power in South Africa. To address past injustices of the apartheid era, the ANC-led government took various initiatives to ensure peace and unite South Africans. Such initiatives include legislation and action policies such as the South African Human Rights Commission, the law against discrimination in the 1996 constitution, the Equality Act, and the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE). The B-BBEE, for example, aims to advance economic transformation and enhance the economic participation of Black South Africans in the economy. The policy was meant to focus on skills development and employment equity and the general inclusion of Blacks in economic and political processes. However, this initiative has only benefited a few Black South Africans (Lötter, 2022). Other initiatives include a Truth and Reconciliation Commission set up to address past human rights violations and economic policies to ensure redistribution and equal access to socio-economic services. However, despite these various efforts, South Africa remains an unequal society with the majority of Black South Africans still experiencing socio-economic hardship that impacts their life outcomes (Lötter, 2022; Mulaudz, 2022).

The different separatist devices employed by the apartheid government to limit group interaction are still largely responsible for socio-economic inequality for Blacks today. For example, the nature of living arrangements in the apartheid era was such that Blacks occupied less developed areas, had less conducive living conditions, and were mostly employed in low-skilled or menial jobs (Bhorat et al., 2016; Branson & Wittenberg, 2007). While the economic gap of today is not as pronounced as during the apartheid era, literature greatly supports the continued existence of unequal socio-economic conditions such as lesser education, little access to healthcare, and unconducive living environment for Blacks relative to other population groups in South Africa (Bhorat et al., 2016; Home Office, 2020; Naidoo et al., 2014).

In a report using data drawn from five years national surveys; Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development (PSLSD 1993), Occupation Health and Safety (OHS 1997), Labor Force Survey (LFS 2001, 2005) and

National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS 2008), Leibbrandt et al. (2010) reported group differentials in socio-economic conditions. The authors analyzed data from household survey data from 1993 to 2008 and found that compared to other groups, Blacks had the lowest labor force participation, highest unemployment rate despite increased educational attainment during this period, and lowest average monthly wage. In addition, unemployment was highest in 2008 in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo which are two major provinces occupied majorly by Blacks.

In another report by SSA (2015) based on the South Africa Census of 2011, the provinces of Gauteng, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu Natal and Limpopo which are predominantly occupied by Blacks had the highest number of households that reported no income and low income in 2001 and 2011 (SSA, 2015). In addition, relative to other groups, Black-headed households constituted the highest proportion of households within the no-income and low-income categories in 2001 and 2011. Furthermore, the households in the no-income and low-income categories had the highest proportion of people with no access to piped water, refuse disposal and toilet facility in 2001 and 2011 (SSA, 2015). Equally, Bhorat et al. (2016) using data from SSA, Labour Market Dynamics (2013) found that Blacks relative to Whites and Asians are more likely to be employed in the public sector than the private sector. Blacks constituted 80% of non-union public sector employees who are likely to have less than average education, be engaged in low-level jobs and have been employed through the Government's Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP). This means that many Black employees in the public sector do not belong to unions that can help negotiate better wages and conditions of employment, are involved in low-skilled jobs due to lesser education and have jobs only because of an affirmative action effort of the government.

Furthermore, a joint study by the National Planning Commission, SSA, and the World Bank to examine poverty and social inequality in South Africa spanning 2006 to 2015 confirmed social inequality along group identities. The study utilized data from the Income and Expenditure Surveys for 2005/2006 and 2010/2011, the Living Conditions Surveys for 2008/2009 and 2014/2015 and WDI for 1996. Some of the findings of this study are that group identity is a consistent predictor of poverty and being Black is associated with a higher likelihood of being chronically poor. KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape, and Limpopo between 2006 and 2015 were consistently the three most impoverished provinces with KwaZulu-Natal harboring the largest share of the impoverished in South Africa in 2015. Also, poverty is most pronounced in rural areas and Blacks constitute the largest group in rural areas. Furthermore, the 20 most impoverished municipalities in South Africa are in Limpopo, Eastern Cape, and KwaZulu-Natal. In addition, the study reports a strong relationship between municipality-level poverty rates in 1996 and 2011 such that higher municipality poverty in 1996 was associated with a higher poverty rate in 2011,

thus, showing a consistent pattern across time ("Department of Planning," 2018).

Similarly, an analysis of the data from the South Africa Demographic and Health Survey 2016, revealed the following: Black women of age 15–19 years relative to other groups in the same age category were most likely to have begun childbearing. Blacks also had the highest rate of HIV prevalence. Also, over 70% of White men and women have health insurance coverage while only about 10% of Black men and women have coverage. Furthermore, 78% of White women, 60% of Indian/Asian women, and 62% of Colored women are more likely than Black women (32%) to have ever done a Pap smear for cervical cancer screening. Also, Blacks relative to other groups reported the most problem in accessing healthcare, the least compliance with taking prescribed medications, the poorest health, and were the least likely to receive treatment for oral health (National Department of Health et al., 2019).

The Socio-Economic Review and Outlook [SERO] (2019) which focused on socio-economic growth in South Africa in general and the Gauteng Province of South Africa reported the following. Between 2012 and 2017 at the national level and within the Gauteng Province, the Black population has the highest percentage of people living in poverty. Also, although there was an improvement in educational attainment for the residents of Sedibeng, a district in Gauteng province in 2017, compared to Whites (50.6%), Indian/Asian (35.7%), and Colored (14.9%), only 13.3% of Blacks aged 20 years and above had tertiary education. In addition, Blacks relative to other groups had the highest proportion of individuals with no schooling (SERO, 2019).

These findings show that Blacks relative to other groups are lagging in socio-economic development. The relative lower educational attainment, inequality in access to public services, self-reported ill health, and unemployment are all linked. This is because improvement in any of these socio-economic indicators is likely to lead to improvement in other areas for this group. For instance, acquiring a tertiary education increases the probability of getting a good job which in turn would reduce poverty and other social inequalities (Bhorat et al., 2016, "Department of Planning," 2018; National Department of Health et al., 2019). In summary, these reports which were purposefully selected as recent results from large-scale investigations by public institutions monitoring social and economic disparity in the country, emphasize social inequality in South Africa with Blacks being the most disadvantaged group despite holding majority status in numerical strength. Although this does not constitute an exhaustive review of studies on economic inequalities in South Africa, it, however, establishes that the majority of Blacks in South Africa have consistently over the years experienced unconducive living conditions. This review shows how consistently across time social inequality varies by population group. The group inequality in socio-economic conditions is a legacy of the apartheid period as areas formerly considered homelands

exhibit the least development in terms of income and other socio-economic markers. The consistency in findings shows the enduring nature of apartheid.

The persistent social inequality in South Africa can be understood within the tenets of Massey and Denton's (1993) model of social inequality. Persistent social inequality is linked to prolonged spatial and income segregation between unequal groups. In unequal societies, the residential pattern often corresponds with social class such that the economically disadvantaged live in impoverished neighborhoods with substandard public facilities like schools and businesses. Through spatial segregation, members of the disadvantaged group experience a social environment characterized by deprivation, unemployment, underdevelopment, and structural failures which impacts their quality of life and opportunity for improvement. The prolonged exposure to such an environment reduces the opportunity for economic and social mobility. For instance, impoverished neighborhoods would experience an overwhelming unemployment rate due to the underdeveloped nature of the neighborhood which reduces its economic viability (Mouw, 2000). Likewise, such a neighborhood is likely to have educationally ineffective schools (Orfield & Lee, 2005). The gap between the affluent and those living below the poverty threshold in the quality of residential areas and the facilities they contain can perpetuate social inequalities in a society. This model aptly explains the South African situation.

Relationship between socio-economic deprivation and negative behavioral outcomes

An important question regarding the lived experience of Blacks is how such living conditions affect life outcomes for this population. Empirical literature has linked being economically disadvantaged to negative outcomes, in particular, poor self-regulation or behavioral control. Socio-economic deprivation is characterized by inadequate income to meet needs, lack of access to services, lack of resources to have a dignified quality of life, poor health, social exclusion, and inhabiting poor housing (United Nations, 1995). Socio-economic deprivation may give rise to myriad outcomes unconnected to behavioral control. However, what is emphasized in this paper is the behavioral outcomes that result from psychological processes within the individual.

Socio-economic deprivation, for example, has a pernicious effect on the limit of behavioral control and can cause desperation in an individual (Adamkovič & Martončik, 2017; Banerjee, 2000). The link between this disadvantaged position and self-regulatory capabilities is predicated on the prior leading to stress and cognitive overload and the resultant need to destress and reduce overload (Berkowitz, 1993). How this need is achieved is then dependent on the factors unique to an individual and the peculiarities of the social environment. However, the deleterious effect of socio-economic deprivation is

such that it can lead to decisions that hamper the physical and mental well-being of the individual (Mani et al., 2013).

Blacks in South Africa are the most implicated in social ills. For example, crime rates in the country are highest in provinces that have a high proportion of Blacks (Home Office, 2020; SSA, 2019). Also, they are the most implicated in xenophobic attacks against foreigners in South Africa (Human Rights Watch, 2020). The authors contend that the socio-economic conditions under which some Black South Africans live and the resultant social-psychological implications of such conditions could have associations with their behavioral outcomes. The link between socio-economic conditions and behavioral problems among marginalized groups has been largely documented in the literature (Akindès, 2018; Balsamanta & Reddy, 2018; Malti et al., 2013). Aggression, crime, and social trust are three major behavioral outcomes linked to socio-economic deprivation among disadvantaged groups (Akindès, 2018; Balsamanta & Reddy, 2018). The behavioral problems associated with socio-economic deprivation are numerous. However, aggression (or violence), crime, and social trust (social distrust) are topical issues in South Africa as indicated in different national studies and reports examining group relations and social development in the country (Levy et al., 2021; Moosa, 2021; South African Government, 2022). They are therefore the focus of this paper.

Aggression and violence

The frustration-aggression hypothesis suggests that under conditions of frustration, aggression may likely result (Berkowitz, 1993). Frustration occurs when there is a thwarting of some needs, and it increases as the gap between goals and accomplishment widens. This might in turn instigate aggressive behaviors. Also, the relative deprivation thesis suggests that when a certain group perceives itself to be deprived of certain resources in comparison to another group it might result in aggressive, violent, or antisocial behaviors to rectify the inequality (Myers & Spencer, 2001; Pallmeyer, 2003). As societies undergo changes such as industrialization, urbanization and increasing material awareness, groups/individuals who feel relegated are likely to experience more frustration as goals may become increasingly out of reach. Such poverty and perceived social inequality and exclusion may feed feelings of despair and culminate in violence and community breakdown (Akindès, 2018; Pallmeyer, 2003).

The frustration-aggression link is supported by studies that have examined aggression and violence as outcomes of relegation, discrimination, and frustration. For example, Burt et al. (2012) using data collected from minority youth in the US found that experience of racial discrimination is directly related to increased involvement in crime largely due to the amplifying effect of such discrimination on

depression, hostile views of relationships and detachment from social norms. Likewise, Jimenez et al. (2016) found that early exposure to adverse experiences among children from disadvantaged groups was associated with the expression of aggression later in life. Also, using data collected from 2,399 South African adults from all population groups, Claassen (2017) found that among Black respondents, having a post-secondary school education is associated with less xenophobia. In addition, being unemployed while in one's prime working years and having a perception that the government is inattentive to one's plight was associated with increased xenophobia.

In another study conducted by Tuwe (2018) with immigrants in New Zealand, the author found that the experience of racism and discrimination at work led to frustration, depression, and stress for these immigrants. Furthermore, the effect of the experience of discrimination and other forms of trauma can be vicarious. Studies have shown that people who experience traumatic events may adopt a pattern of relationships with others characterized by aggression. For example, Braga et al. (2012) reported that descendants of survivors of the Nazi holocaust in Brazil described the pattern of their parent's communication as aggressive.

These studies support the association between experiences of frustration and negative outcomes such as aggression and violence. Adverse experiences such as discrimination and exclusion may deprive an individual of the ability to engage in an optimistic outlook and prime the individual to react defensively and with frustration and anger to any provocation (Malti et al., 2013). In turn, having to experience such negativities for an extended period leads to a persistent pattern of hostility toward others as the individual becomes especially sensitive to threatening cues and overestimates threat levels (Jaspal et al., 2021).

Furthermore, experiences of traumatic events challenge and alter the victim's view or assumptions of the world and themselves (Haskell & Randall, 2019; Janoff-Bulman, 2006; Norris et al., 1997; Wasserman & Ellis, 2010). Humans are oriented to view the world as a just place where negative outcomes would not come to them. This kind of cognition helps to maintain personal sanity and wellbeing when people are exposed to negativities around them. However, when there is a direct experience of negative outcomes, an individual must restructure his/her assumptions about how the world works (Janoff-Bulman, 2006; Wasserman & Ellis, 2010). Being a victim of a violent incident affects an individual's cognitions in terms of feelings of safety, personal esteem, and interpersonal trust (Malti et al., 2013; Norris et al., 1997; Wasserman & Ellis, 2010). The aftermath of experiencing a violent incident is that people have flashbacks of it, become preoccupied with it, and talk and dream about it (Wasserman & Ellis, 2010). As such the memory of the event remains fresh for a long time.

Another aspect of cognition affected by traumatic events is that victims of such events may become preoccupied with thoughts of revenge on the perpetrator (Field, 2012; Mendeloff, 2009). The embitterment that follows a traumatic event stems from the victim's feeling that some injustice, violations of rights, and threat to self-identity have taken place and motivates a desire for revenge (Gäbler & Maercker, 2011). Such thoughts might bring some sort of comfort to the victim as they may even smile when engaged in thoughts of revenge (Linden et al., 2007; Linden, 2003). There is thus psychological evidence that memories of injustice remain with the victim who might derive some comfort from "fighting back" the offender. This supports the frustration-aggression link.

Likewise, frustration, aggression, and violence have equally been linked to unconducive living environments. Living under conditions of high population density, overcrowding, noise, uncomfortable temperatures, and unpleasant smell are associated with physical and mental ill health (Berkowitz, 1993; Kuo & Sullivan, 2001; Kuo, 2010; Wahdan et al., 2014). First, psychological research on the role of personal space in mental health has shown that being able to maintain one's privacy is directly related to wellbeing (G. Brown et al., 2005; Margulis, 2003; Olonisakin & Adebayo, 2017). Humans have an inherent need to have space. This gave rise to the phenomenon of territoriality, solitude, anonymity, and privacy which characterize humans' need for personal space (Adebayo, 2004; Altman, 1975; Milgram, 1970). As such, insufficient space or privacy can lead to mood disorders, stress, and aggressive behaviors. This is supported by reports that have shown a high rate of violence and aggression among people living under housing conditions where there is constant encroachment on privacy or where they are entitled to limited space (Bierie, 2011; De de, 2015; Korkus, 2016; Litman, 2021).

Second, noise and unpleasant smells in the environment can trigger aggression as these environmental conditions can trigger negative emotional states (Berkowitz, 1993). Living in slum areas or an unfit environment is associated with greater risks of aggressive behaviors, violence, and other antisocial behaviors (Bierie, 2011; Kuo & Sullivan, 2001; Kuo, 2010; Wahdan et al., 2014). For instance, Kuo and Sullivan (2001) found police reports of violent crime to be highest in America's impoverished neighborhoods. Similarly, Bierie (2011) found environmental factors of dirtiness, noise, and lack of privacy to be associated with increased violence among prison inmates. Perhaps, the most worrisome aspect of living in a violence-prone environment is that it leads to the learning and acquisition of deviant behavioral patterns and positive evaluation of aggressive and violent acts (Akindès, 2018; Crick & Dodge, 1994).

Furthermore, in addition to living under the most unpleasant conditions, having to deal with everyday infrastructural inequalities can be a trigger for violence and aggression among people experiencing economic hardship (Balsamanta & Reddy, 2018). The living areas or communities occupied by

people of low socio-economic status usually lack basic amenities such as good water, drainage, and toilets. When the basic amenities, for example, water is available occupants of these areas may have to go to communal access points to get their supply. Given that this water may only be available for a limited amount of time, the squabble about who gets first, how much each person is entitled to, and who jumped the queue are all elements that contribute to frustration, stress, and aggressive outbursts (Westaway, 2006).

The experience of Blacks during apartheid was a traumatic one. Blacks despite being indigenous people of South Africa and the majority experienced and continue to experience the most social inequality in the country. During apartheid, the legal exclusion from public resources, the numerous Black massacres, the Pass laws that limited the movement of Blacks, and the appropriation of their lands by the apartheid government were traumatic events. In addition, there was discrimination in the application of punishment for the same offenses which led to more death sentences and execution of Black offenders compared to Whites. The many legal restrictions and social exclusion created stress and friction between Blacks and the authorities resulting in diminished respect for the government and the laws.

Post-apartheid, Blacks as the largest population group in South Africa have an estimated current and long-term unemployment proportion of 33.8% and 44.1% (Cook, 2020). Asides from this, a large proportion of this group belongs to the no-income and low-income categories (SSA, 2015) and has the largest proportion of youths who are currently unemployed despite improved educational attainment (Branson & Wittenberg, 2007; SERO, 2019). In addition to this, constant reminders of their relegation and unequal social status surround them. For instance, land ownership is still a highly prominent reminder of the apartheid legacy as Whites still own the largest share of farmlands in South Africa (Akinola, 2020; Pogue, 2019). Knowing that these lands originally belong to the indigenous people of South Africa and currently owning just a paltry percentage of them can feel demeaning to this group.

Equally, having to live in abject poverty in the face of minority groups' relative wealth would be a constant taunt for Blacks. Appropriation of land by Blacks has thus been a major occurrence in the country as they perceive their actions as a measure to right past wrongs to them (Pogue, 2019). Most of the homes that are constructed on such lands are done with the barest of comfort. Many of these homes and the communities where they are located lack basic amenities such as electricity, water and sanitary facilities and are described as "squatter camps" and "shantytowns" to depict their poor quality. When some sort of amenity such as water is made available to the occupants who live in these unfit environments, they might have to get it from communal supply points where they must engage in a squabble with each other for access (Westaway, 2006). The trauma experienced by Blacks in the past and the

memories of it, the social inequality they continue to bear, and the unconducive living conditions they endure could culminate in frustration and may manifest in aggressive or violent tendencies.

Crime

Maslow's theory of needs (1943) emphasizes that physiological and safety needs are the primary of all needs, and their potency is emphasized by the position they occupy on the hierarchy. These needs are primary, foremost, and recurrent for all individuals. When these needs are unfulfilled or the means to fulfil them are challenged, individuals may engage in antisocial or deviant ways to have them met (Gire, 1999). This is also the position of Merton who proposes in his Anomie theory that challenges or obstacles to legitimate means to satisfy needs may lead individuals to recourse to illegitimate means to have their needs met (Merton, 1938). What this implies is that being economically disadvantaged could be a push factor for criminal involvement.

The link between socio-economic deprivation and crime has been adequately documented in the literature (Akindès, 2018; Cheteni et al., 2018; Mathuthu, 2019; Richardson, 2011; Sampson & Wilson, 1995). For example, Akindès (2018) through a qualitative investigation of push factors for social deviancy found that socio-economic status, perceived social exclusion or invisibility, and unemployment are factors associated with joining criminal gangs in Abidjan. Similarly, Sampson and Wilson (1995) argue that impoverished neighborhoods are "criminogenic," encouraging the pursuit of criminal rather than legitimate careers.

Black-dominated communities in South Africa have the highest reported crime rates in the country (Home Office, 2020; SSA, 2019). Furthermore, there is a higher number of Black inmates in South African prisons relative to other groups (Makou et al., 2018; Shabangu, 2006). In addition, Blacks are the most implicated in xenophobic incidents in the country (Human Rights Watch, 2020). Perhaps, the high crime rate associated with Blacks communities can be linked to the emotional states of some members of this group. The xenophobic attacks on foreigners associated with this group could also be because they are the ones who feel the most threatened by the presence of foreigners who are perceived as competitors for the jobs which are already inadequate. If socio-economic deprivation is linked to frustration and aggression, perhaps the concentration of people who might be frustrated and prone to aggressive tendencies could be responsible for high crime rates and violence in Black dominated areas. Also, Black youth constitute the largest proportion of the unemployed workforce in South Africa (Home Office, 2020; SERO, 2019). Living in a non-conducive environment where employment is difficult to get can be a strong push factor toward a life of crime, particularly for youths who are struggling to be integrated into society (Akindès, 2018; Bangane, 1999;

Sampson & Wilson, 1995). The desire for inclusion in society, particularly the economy can motivate a life of crime for impoverished Black youths. Also living in a crime-prone environment could make an individual begin to see violence as normal (Akindès, 2018; Crick & Dodge, 1994).

Social trust/Inter-racial trust

Trust is an important aspect of human behavior and is implicated in defining the outcomes people have in social interaction. It involves a feeling or perception that another individual has one's interest in mind and would not commit actions that are detrimental to one's interest. Trust is a prominent factor in the success or failure of a relationship and a critical component of social interaction in multi-ethnic settings. In ethnically diverse societies, myriad values, languages, religions, and worldviews may sometimes conflict. These diversities in the cultural make-up of multi-ethnic societies simultaneously emphasize the importance of social trust and complicate the ability to trust. Naturally, as social beings, humans identify with their kin and people of the same natural or social grouping (Olonisakin & Adebayo, 2017). Consequently, intragroup trust facilitates favoritism, devotion, and care for members of the same group relative to outgroups (Olonisakin & Adebayo, 2021).

Various research associates low social trust with low social status or belonging to a disadvantaged group (Akindès, 2018; Balsamanta & Reddy, 2018; Dinesen & Hooghe, 2010; Pratsinakis et al., 2017; S. S. Smith, 2010). Such low levels of social trust among low-status groups have been associated with perceived discrimination, marginalization, powerlessness, and exclusion felt by these groups (Akindès, 2018; Balsamanta & Reddy, 2018). Consequently, low-status groups are wary of other groups, particularly dominant groups and the societal structures, agencies and policies that legitimize or represent power differentials. Furthermore, research concerning social trust has also shown that there is higher trust for non-ethnics in ethnically heterogeneous communities relative to homogeneous ones (Pratsinakis et al., 2017; Robinson, 2016). These studies show that living in ethnically diverse communities facilitates inter-ethnic contact which can help mitigate inter-ethnic distrust. Extended positive interaction with non-ethnics can help reveal similar interests with non-ethnics, improve understanding of their cultures, and lead to the formation and acceptance of norms that apply to all groups.

In South Africa, social relations among the different population groups exist within the context of the historical feud of the apartheid era. The elevation of White minority rights and entitlements over Blacks, the promulgation of laws that ensured the subservience of Blacks, and the relatively better social conditions for Colored/Mixed and Asian individuals led to a high level of distrust for non-group members among Blacks (Akinola, 2020; Home Office, 2020; K. Brown, 2000). Post-apartheid,

inter-group trust among Blacks is still low due to the continued social exclusion they experience (Akinola, 2020; Jaynes, 2007; Pogue, 2019). Such distrust among Blacks is exemplified by low support for inter-group marriage (Amoateng & Heaton, 2017; Jaynes, 2007), indignation when their group is misperceived (Jaynes, 2007), distrust of White numerical strength in the workplace ("Report," 1998) and perceived discrimination in the workplace (Magubane, 2019). For instance, Amoateng and Heaton (2017) found the ratio of ingroup marriage to outgroup marriage among Blacks to be 290.3. Also, a report of the National Prisons Project of the South African Human Rights Commission (1998) showed that Black employees in South African prisons were dissatisfied with the relative numerical strength of White staff. Similarly, Magubane (2019) reported that Blacks are uncomfortable with being stereotyped by White colleagues in the workplace and are comfortable only when in the company of other Blacks.

Despite the government's efforts at group integration, South African communities remain largely segregated (Mhlauli et al., 2015; Mphambukeli, 2019). Although there has been a change in the intensity of interaction and relationship between the population groups compared to the apartheid era, the different groups still largely stick together (Amoateng & Heaton, 2017; Home Office, 2020). For instance, the physical demarcation of apartheid is still observable in the country. South African cities still feature a spatial arrangement in which the White population occupy well-located city cores in gated and fenced communities while the Black population occupy the racialized excluded fringes of the cities (Turok, 2016).

The socio-economic conditions of Blacks are largely implicated in their living in ethnically homogenous communities. The lack of economic means to afford housing in the more affluent areas and the feelings of inferiority due to their economic wherewithal may necessitate living in a community of other Blacks in less developed areas (Chutel, 2018; Turok & Scheba, 2018). Blacks' feeling of inferiority to Whites has been associated with the economic realities of this group (Fanon, 1967). Also, the experience of discrimination can lead to the internalization of negative stereotypes by a marginalized group such that they come to accept the negative qualities used to characterize them (Drapalski et al., 2013; Magubane, 2019). In the study by Magubane (2019) on the experiences of Blacks in the workplace, Blacks expressed feeling inferior and doubting their abilities when in the company of White employees. The feeling of inferiority was linked to the historical endorsement of White superiority in South Africa (Magubane, 2019). Thus, economic inequality and internalized stereotypes of being inferior may push Blacks to limit interactions with people of their group.

Lastly, as a matter of choice Blacks may opt to reside in black communities as the sense of community and the opportunity to engage in certain cultural practices might not be available outside their communities.

Conclusion and recommendations

History cannot be erased and 27 years after apartheid scholars and researchers all over the world are still writing and debating the negative legacies of apartheid in South Africa. From the literature reviewed it is obvious that Blacks experience social inequality in almost all spheres of living. While being socio-economic disadvantaged is not a justification for deviancy, it is important to know this variable has psychological correlates in that it can affect the human psyche and the ability for self-restraint from behaviors that are antithetical to a society.

Socio-economic deprivation affects both physical and psychological health which is important if an individual is to take personal agency or responsibility for his or her behaviors. It is therefore important that the government and all other stakeholders consider the psychological effect that the living conditions of Blacks had on them during apartheid and after this period. Not only do the physical legacies of apartheid exist for Blacks, but the psychological trauma of that period persists and is passed from generation to generation as each relates history to the next. Each individual, family or subgroup of Black heritage will have their version of the effect of apartheid. One can easily see how hatred, mistrust and a strive for revenge can be passed from generation to generation. While history cannot be abolished, the trauma must be treated. One important starting point is to unearth the feelings that Blacks still hold about their experience during and after apartheid. This can take the form of research in which Blacks document the personal and group effects of their experiences in South Africa.

It is equally important to have a forum where Blacks can contribute to what they believe constitutes enough reparation for apartheid maltreatment of Blacks. This will give an insight into the depth of hurt or trauma still borne by people of this group and how the government and important stakeholders can address this hurt. Also, walk-in centers for "at-risk youths" to seek psychological counseling may help to address the perceptions and cognitions that may motivate negative behaviors that could threaten societal order. Such counseling could also be provided in institutions of learning starting with primary education to ensure the development of healthy cognitive processes.

Likewise, healthcare professionals of various specialties must take cognizance that the lived experiences of people of different groups play a role in their conduct and is important in designing techniques or approaches for intervention, care, and rehabilitation. With multi-group societies, social identities, in particular, racial or ethnic identity largely shapes people's life

outcomes. Therefore, the incorporation of group-specific considerations in social welfare administration would be a productive approach to promoting wellness.

All indices of socio-economic deprivation such as education, employment, and access to social amenities must also be addressed. The disparity in access to these social services encourages feelings of social exclusion among Blacks and distrust for the government and individuals of other population groups. Members of society must perceive fairness and justice in social processes as this is important for intergroup trust and psychological wellbeing. Aspiration for a psychologically healthy populace, effective crime control, and social trust in South Africa might remain an elusive goal if efforts to ensure social justice do not come first.

Lastly, while the legacy of the apartheid era still greatly reverberates and perpetuates social inequality and grievances in South Africa, the failure of the different policies and initiatives put in place to address it is also largely implicated. There is consensus that various laws and affirmative action policies to address inequality and justice in South Africa are attributable to corruption and incompetence in the government and amongst officials who are vested with the authority and responsibility to administer these policies. In addition, while the state has initiated various progressive policies such as the National Action Plan and Strategy to Combat Racism, it has failed to successfully implement such plans and commit the resources needed for their actualization. It is therefore paramount that the government take steps to ensure that officials responsible for implementing laws and policies to address social inequality, discrimination and unity are committed to the realization of these mandates. Rebuilding trust in the government and its institutions can rekindle hope and trust and encourage compliance with laws put in place to ensure social order.

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