

## Ep. 117 South Africa After the Rainbow

**Judith Kelley** [00:00:02] Welcome to Policy 360, I'm Judith Kelly, Dean of the Sanford School of Public Policy. The U.S. is currently fighting battles on multiple fronts. We're trying to rein in the pandemic, of course. And at the same time, the transition from President Trump to President elect Biden is not as smooth as it could be. And in addition, the country is still in the midst of a long simmering racial divide. So with all of this going on, our thoughts turn to South Africa. That country, of course, continues to deal with deep racial divisions. And when it comes to the coronavirus, there might be lessons we in the US can learn as well. My guest today is Anne Maria Makhulu. She's an associate professor of cultural anthropology and African and African-American studies and a core faculty in innovation and entrepreneurship at Duke University. And she specializes in South Africa. Welcome to policy 360.

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:01:00] Thank you so much.

**Judith Kelley** [00:01:02] Anne Maria, let's start with the coronavirus. How is South Africa doing?

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:01:07] Surprisingly well, or perhaps I shouldn't say surprisingly. I think some of the Western media coverage of South Africa, but also sub-Saharan Africa more generally has tended to express surprise at how well the region is doing in the middle of a pandemic and express surprise in terms of, well, why aren't they doing, you know, worse than they are, which is a, sort of unfortunate framing. So there are a few different things going on. I mean, one is that the initial lockdown in South Africa beginning in March, April, was fairly stern, certainly by U.S. standards.

**Judith Kelley** [00:01:56] Right.

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:01:57] And that, I think, was both a good thing and also a very complicated thing. And many activists argued, and I think I understand this quite correctly, that the lockdown was particularly stringent for poor people living in informal housing as winter weather was beginning, that it was very, very tough to ask people to, you know, keep distance, physical, social distance in overcrowded settlements.

**Judith Kelley** [00:02:29] Sure.

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:02:30] And at the inception of the lockdown, the South African government really used its coercive arm, as it were, the policing system, to try and coerce people into staying at home. And there were a few instances in which it was very clear that the strong arm of the state was used liberally. And that was that was very unfortunate. But it did by South Africans time in both the medical system time. And it just so happens that by the time the lockdown began to, you know, to essentially end and people were able to go about their business a little more. Again, this is also coincident with the arrival of warmer weather, the ability of people to be outside. So there have been some factors, both political, social and then environmental, that perhaps have facilitated a different kind of outcome. But in the end, epidemics and pandemics are political. And so how they are managed politically really matters.

**Judith Kelley** [00:03:39] And South Africa has also more experience with pandemics and epidemics more generally than we have in the United States, right?

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:03:46] Right. Certainly more recently, I mean, everyone in the U.S., of course, keeps on invoking the 1918 1919 influenza pandemic. But, yes, South Africa and its neighbors and then across the sub-Saharan region, more generally, these are parts of the world that do battle with various diseases on a fairly routine basis. South Africa, however, has most recently experience of a very, very serious HIV AIDS epidemic and South Africa was in the 2000s sort of to 2010, really the epicenter of the global HIV AIDS pandemic. So there were lessons learned from that. And one of the things that South Africa has to offer is with national population about one seventh the size of the United States, 14 times the number of contact traces, at least at the very beginning of of the pandemic.

**Judith Kelley** [00:04:54] So 14 times the number of contact traces for one seventh of the population. So...

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:04:59] Correct.

**Judith Kelley** [00:05:00] Almost nine times per capita as many.

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:05:04] Right, right. Yes. And I know that the U.S. has ramped up its contact tracing efforts. But of course, this is different from state to state given the political system here. So really, what the South African public health system did was roll out a preexisting human infrastructure of contact tracers to now trace people for something other than HIV AIDS. And that got ramped up quite quickly. The other thing is that the testing sites that had previously been used for things like TB testing were very quickly adapted to testing for coronavirus. I don't know the exact numbers on daily numbers of tests that were run and so on, but it appeared in the early days of of the epidemic in South Africa there weren't some of the same challenges that we were seeing in the United States around the processing of tests.

**Judith Kelley** [00:06:06] That's very interesting. I'm wondering, too, rather as a cultural anthropologist, when you when you look at how the population itself has reacted in the United States, there has been a real divide about actually believing that we were facing a threat or even that the pandemic itself was real. Do you think that the South African population, given their experience with diseases, has approached it differently? Or have you also seen the kind of skepticism that that we sometimes do experience in South Africa and other countries, in sub-Saharan countries, sort of with skepticism towards international health aid and other things like that?

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:06:52] Mhm. Yeah, that's a tricky question. I think it depends on who you ask. There, there is a echo of Trump-ism amongst a certain subset of white South Africans, for example, and amongst that constituency probably some skepticism.

**Judith Kelley** [00:07:12] Yeah.

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:07:13] And really that alongside all sorts of other performances of a politics at odds with an otherwise Black majority society. But I think, again, epidemics, pandemics are as much public health crises as they are political events. And to the degree that you have solid leadership and I I have some criticism of the president, Cyril Ramaphosa, but in this particular instance, I think he did a relatively good job of messaging alongside his public health officials, a consistent line around the coronavirus, its risks, the need for caution that within limits, understanding that South Africa has a very large, impoverished population without some of the resources that would make it easier to

combat a pandemic, that the message was solid and consistent. And you can see this now in the way that South Africans have been released to go about their business. Not quite as usual, but offices are opening up, children are at school. It's now summertime. People are going to the beach. Of course, being outside is good. It's, you know, safer. But to see what's going on with relatives and friends via social media in South Africa is like night and day different compared with what's going on in the United States more broadly across the region. And it depends very much, again, on the political infrastructure of a given country. I think it's been very striking to see the degree of caution and precaution taken by governments across the sub-Saharan region, not all of them, of course, and not consistently, but understanding that with limited resources, the risks of moving from containment to mitigation, which is what's happened in the United States, would be calamitous, that the health systems couldn't support a virus gone wild and so as one example in Sierra Leone, beginning in about, I would say maybe even February, but certainly by March, people coming into the ports of entry in Sierra Leone were being tested. The other example in Senegal, very interesting efforts by public health officials, local medical scientists and engineers to quickly ramp up locally produced tests, locally designed, cheaper ventilators and a message from government. OK, so Senegal is a small country with 16 million people, but with very limited resources. The message that in order to contain coronavirus that anyone who was testing positive would be afforded and again, whether or not this was actually what happened, at least the message would be afforded a hospital bed, if only to contain the spread. So you might be asymptomatic, but if you were covid-19 positive, you should be in a place removed from family, removed from social gatherings and so on. So this is a very different way of thinking about things. And I think the political message there was that the collective effort would yield a collective results. And of course, that's distinct from the United States.

**Judith Kelley** [00:11:13] Right. No, for sure. I mean, I'm struck by your I think you've, twice now, mentioned, you know, that pandemics are political. And I certainly if we hearken back to the the Chinese response, we have similar very, very aggressive isolation tactics where our people were literally forcefully removed from their homes and put into isolation wards just to protect the family and the community. So as a spectrum of approaches. But it does seem like it's instructive for us to think that there are actually things we could learn from countries like Sierra Leone or Senegal.

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:11:50] Right, yeah. I mean, one one last example, which I sort of tickles me as an anthropologist, the education, and I think he's technology minister in Sierra Leone, was quite active on Twitter during the early weeks and month or two of the pandemic spread to to West Africa and was really trying to promote this image of, yes, we're in this together. The tweet that really went viral was one of him taking care of his infant daughter. He was in a cabinet meeting. He had her strapped to his back, you know, with a wrap. And the tweet said something to the effect of, you know, in these times, I want people to understand what home life looks like. And I enjoy nothing more than caring for my infant daughter. And, you know, we're again, we're all in this together. It emerged soon after that that so he was actually trained at Harvard. He was a student of Paul Farmer, the well-known anthropologist. And then Dr. Wright, he's a Duke alum, graduated from from Duke and majored in cultural anthropology. And so by about April, the state of Massachusetts had adopted Sierra Leone's contact tracing protocols because they were regarded as exemplary. So this was a lovely example of knowledge transfers, both north, south, south, north, in ways that you wouldn't quite anticipate, yeah.

**Judith Kelley** [00:13:32] That's a great example. Well, speaking of knowledge transfers, obviously in the United States now, there has been a heightened focus on racial equity in

connection with the Black Lives Matter movement over the spring and the summer that has intensified. And what parallels do you see between South Africa and the United States?

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:14:00] I do some comparative work between the US and South Africa and the challenge, of course, with comparative work is to distinguish between the things that are very similar and the things that are very different. And that's even the similarities may be determinant of very different consequences. So it was like to sort of hold those things in tension. But it is clear that both countries have rather parallel histories, beginning with things like the efforts at settler colonialism, one consequence being indigenous genocide. South Africa had chattel slavery, as the United States did, it's probably a slightly more obscure history than that of the Americas. And then political systems very much predicated on white supremacy and the trajectory of the two countries separated by a few decades have concluded in a moment when South Africa is recovering from the system of apartheid. Only twenty five. Twenty six years on and in the US, we're looking at what could conceivably be a third reconstruction, you know, following Jim Crow and the Civil Rights movement. So there are some very, very interesting parallels there. And it does make for some some good comparisons. I think the one major difference and this is what on one hand is distortive of the comparison, but also highly instructive is that South Africa is a Black majority society. And yet both societies continue to wrestle the problem of white supremacy, which I think tells us something about one, what's in common, but also, well, what is it? What is this thing that makes it possible, even in a Black majority country, for Black people to continue to suffer at the hands of a white supremacist, I wouldn't exactly call it a system, but a political economy that that seems to operate by white supremacist logic. So, you know, again, social media has been very interesting because I obviously can't be in South Africa at the moment. But to read the responses of political commentators, their colleagues, also friends, their responses to the events of this summer, to the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis and the response that was first local, then became regional and national, and then, frankly, more or less global. So at first, the response, interestingly enough, was along the usual lines, which was, oh, yes, the United States continues to have a race problem and continues to have a race problem that implicates the police, that police conduct police violence against Black people is so prevalent. But within a few months, South African activists started doing their own tally of incidents of police violence, the death of particularly Black people, Black detainees at the hands of of South African police. And what emerged per capita was that, in fact, South African police are probably deadlier than US based police. So the the activism in South Africa around lingering questions on the other side of South Africa's transition to a democracy seemed to have morphed into questions around policing, around police brutality, around what the geographer Ruth Wilson Gilmore refers to as premature death for Black people. And in that sense, South Africa and the US look relatively similarly, I think, where one of the differences lies is that South Africa within limits doesn't have the extensive carceral system, sort of prison industrial complex that the United States has. That would be one of the differences.

**Judith Kelley** [00:18:44] ...the incarceration rate is much lower.

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:18:47] Is lower, is lower. Yeah, the conditions in prisons are terrifying, but there is a certain sort of lip service given to the idea that prisons are supposed to be I don't want to use exactly the word corrective, but they're supposed to do something other than what one sees happening in the United States, where they're basically exclusively punishing. Now, in practice, prison conditions are pretty dreadful in South Africa. But there is, again, a kind of value of prison is not a place where people are

dispatched for life terms necessarily. There is no death penalty in South Africa. Inmates have the right of the franchise, so they vote.

**Judith Kelley** [00:19:40] Yes. That's a big it's a big difference.

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:19:44] And so all the things that Black activists and, you know, Black studies scholars are thinking about in the United States in relationship to incarceration, specifically, that incarceration is responsible for the denial of the franchise and for submitting quite strategically a certain portion of the population to the loss of the right to vote that that feels quite strategic, that that's not really what's going on in the South African context, yeah.

**Judith Kelley** [00:20:22] So, so South Africa, of course, had a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and yet it sounds like, you know, it certainly didn't address every underlying problem, which I guess one would be, it would be naive to think that a singular process could do could eradicate decades of injustice and repression. But is that a process that's worth for the United States to consider? I mean, we've had some hint of it, like Greensboro and other practices in the United States, but is in the moment the United States is in right now. Are there any insights to be gained from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that South Africa had?

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:21:04] I started doing research in South Africa coincident with the beginning of of the commission. So this is in the late 1990s. And at the time, it was a very open institution. I mean, you could walk into the headquarters on Agilely Street in Cape Town and the research department was open to researchers like myself, you know, to come in and request box files from the basement and hearings were open and I think that there's something very valuable in that that that that notion of what people at the time referred to as transparency. Everyone was into openness and transparency was was was critical. It was important that the sort of veil could be pulled back, the curtain could be pulled back and people could see what had been going on before the transition. But the truth will not set you free and it was clear to to some people, even from the outset, that the commission was a symbolic exercise. It wasn't a practical one and it concretely didn't address the needs of the vast majority of South Africans who had suffered forms of systemic and structural violence, not the kind of violence that a human rights framework would address. So the commission was organized around the idea of bringing perpetrators of gross human rights violations face to face with the victims or their families if they were deceased. It offers an opening for people to come forward because the commission was not a court of law, it couldn't prosecute people. And so if people came to come forward willingly and could demonstrate the things that they had done, no matter how atrocious, were in line with a political agenda, then they would be essentially relieved of of the possibility of criminal prosecution. So several tens of thousands of people came through the doors of the commission over a period of about two, three years, and those those hearings, they're not really cases, were were settled to varying degrees. But I think aside from families coming forward and saying they really wanted to know what had happened to loved ones, they wanted to reclaim human remains, these sorts of things, it didn't resolve much about how the society was going to move forward. There were several special hearings on the complicity of the medical and legal professions as well as big business. But these were really slaps on the wrist. They were very performative. They were not substantive in any way. And so afterwards people sort of went about their business. There was an effort to try and pay families so pay victims. But these were really very small amounts of money. They didn't do anything to eradicate this larger underlying problem, which is that apartheid and the system of the Colaba and the colonial order before it had

intentionally engineered a society in which the economy was designed for the benefit of a white minority at the expense of a Black majority, and that Black people en masse were being miseducated or de educated for purposes of being funneled into unskilled and semi-skilled work, and that the entire edifice of that system, particularly the apartheid system, relied on the super exploitation of of Black Black people. So how to get rid of all of that? You can't do that in a hearing. And hearings like apologies are quite cheap. You would really need to have a conversation about mass mass redistribution of wealth, of land, you know, of property, and that went more or less nowhere. There was a commission set up to address land claimants. But the parameters within which that commission could operate, both in terms of the historical time frame and the time frame in which the work of the commission had to be completed. So two, two sets of temporal limitations meant that, yes, the commission could argue on the other side of commission's work that it had completed. I think they said something like ninety six percent of their work, but they had been severely constrained in terms of what that work would be so that none of those questions have been addressed. And I think where the other parallel with the US emerges is in the now more than ever active conversations in the United States about reparations.

**Judith Kelley** [00:26:46] I was going to bring that up. Our colleague, Sandy Darity, of course, has been outspoken in this area. And when you were talking about these amounts being rather symbolic, I was thinking, you know, what really is a reasonable amount? And is there even a way that an amount begins to address the structural issues that are still embedded in the education system and in the health system and in the lending system and in the housing system and on and on?

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:27:16] Mm. Well I know Sandy quite well, and if I were, if I were to ventriloquize him, I think he might say something along the lines and he will have to forgive me if I'm not right about this. I think he'd say something along the lines of all of that is true. But it isn't an argument against the attempt to repair people for historic harms. And he would also say that there is, in fact, a way to calculate this. We should calculate it. So which isn't mutually exclusive of acknowledging that there is work to do in K through 12, higher education, in the medical system, as you note, in the legal system, in policing, in the carceral system, on and on and on and on. These things need not be mutually exclusive. I also know that he would say this cannot be something that happens piecemeal. So, for example, just as Greensboro had its own Truth and Reconciliation Commission, really, the United States should have had a national commission. By the same token, Asheville has announced it will be doing some sort of reparations work. And I know that Sandy would say that's piecemeal. We have to have a national reparations process, you know, and I think globally it's emerging more and more. There are many places where this conversation has been had in the past to little effect. I think the sort of probably the most infamous case is the fairly routine request from the Haitian government that the French state payback Haiti. For the payments that Haitians had to make to buy their freedom after the Haitian revolution in 1804, and until now, this request has been regarded as absolutely laughable. But it seems to me that we are in a historical moment where the ability to imagine a more sober, more serious conversation about reparations is is emerging.

**Judith Kelley** [00:29:42] So let's talk about the ability to imagine, because you're working on a project called South Africa After the Rainbow, which was, I think, an attempt to imagine that idea. Tell us a little bit about that idea of After the Rainbow and the examination that you are doing in that project about the relationship between race and mobility?

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:30:09] Yeah, the subtitle is Aspiration, Ambition and Social Mobility. And so I'm inspired by two things. The the reference to the Rainbow is, in fact, a reference to Archbishop Desmond Tutu. He coined this phrase during the early days of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and he is has always been someone who saw an advantage in a certain kind of conciliation or compromise, not not the kind of compromise that would compromise his values, but, you know, meeting people where they are to some degree. Most famously, he he writes a letter to, I want to say, it's P.W. Botha right before or right after the nineteen seventy six Soweto uprising and tries to meet Botha sort of halfway by saying, you know, I worry about my children, you worry about your children, we're really at a boiling point in this country and we have to come to some kind of compromise. Now, of course, it would take almost another two decades to to get to that point. But I think it's it's very consistent with his his worldview and his approach to political problems to to try and think of a kind of middle ground. And so during the commission, he coined this phrase the rainbow nation. South Africa has adopted a flag that is rainbow practically, you know, it's all sorts of different colors. It's supposed to represent the multiplicity of complexions and hues and national origins and languages and ethnic profiles, as well as the land, the gold beneath the ground, et cetera, et cetera. And it's really a way of saying we are all these things and we're not going to be exclusionary in the way that the apartheid regime had been exclusionary.

**Judith Kelley** [00:32:22] A rainbow nation has come to be?

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:32:24] No, not at all, South Africans are different, certainly, but the differences are still very, very challenging to overcome and it goes back to this problem of a Black majority country in which the vast majority of Black people are agonizingly poor. And why is that? You know, and so the political economist, the Marxist in me would say, well, it has to do with capitalism's need for these kinds of distinctions. That all capitalism, is actually racial capitalism and that the South African economy functions by that logic, the US economy functions by that logic, where effectively in one way, shape or form Black people are either super exploited or once made completely redundant or obsolete to the system, really suffer the consequence of being utterly sidelined and marginalized. So, you know, here in the United States, you see the rolling out of that first coronavirus pandemic financial package, right to boost the economy, and it becomes very clear that the anxiety within the current administration is that white male unemployment is high. The minute that white male unemployment begins to recede or drop. There is no longer any political will or any interest in a second round of coronavirus stimulus.

**Judith Kelley** [00:34:17] And that is precisely the debate that's going on right now. So in your project, South Africa After the Rainbow, are you looking specifically at our young people and mobility?

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:34:27] I am. And they're the ones the so-called born frees. These are young people born in 94 after the transition who reject what they refer to as rainbow ism. They think it's absolutely nonsense. Yeah, because what they have experienced is a system that is ostensibly a democratic system, has done very little to advance them, very little to enable them to climb the social ladder, very little to enable them to fulfill their aspirations. And what I find so interesting is that notwithstanding all of the obstacles, young people have lots of aspirations. They have dreams. So the bottleneck institutionally, and this is in some respects quite predictable, has become the university, because these are young people of about university age, whether undergraduate or graduate and what emerges is that even as the, what South Africans refer to as the doors of learning are flung open, this is old sort of revolutionary language that the promise of free

education is not fulfilled. And in the period from ninety four until about twenty five South African universities, which is to say public universities, which also means that they are historically white institutions that have been transformed. Public universities have to submit to a process of massification, which is really just that more and more students are entering the university system. As that happens, the education budget, not so much shrinks, but shrinks per capita. So there's less and less money per student, even as the profile of those students is such that they need additional support to get through the higher education program because there are linguistic differences, most students coming from African families operating in a second or third language when they are learning either in English or maybe Afrikaans. So and they may not have benefited from the best education up through the end of secondary school. And so they arrive in the university with all sorts of ideas and aspirations about what university education will get them. And instead they end up heavily indebted because the doors of learning have been flung open, but they still get a bill for it. And the system is such that there's a kind of tabulation of what's owed. And so a lot of there's a large, large attrition. And so many students not only don't earn diplomas, but they now are indebted very heavily so.

**Judith Kelley** [00:37:41] Remind me, are you talking about Africa or the United States.

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:37:44] Well, that's right, that's right, except that somehow the the sensibility around where to place the emphasis politically feels a bit different, and I think it's because in the US, the the system of lending and the sort of tolerance for high levels of leverage is is different. And so the the focus is not so much on I have all these federal loans to pay off, though, of course, that is a very important conversation. But that's not what brings Black students out into the streets. I think what brings Black students out into the streets and other Black people is the movement for Black lives, actually. And sometimes it traverses back into the campus. But somehow the determinants are different, you know.

**Judith Kelley** [00:38:48] It feels like there are similarities between when you think about this idea of after the Rainbow and Desmond Tutu's idea of a rainbow nation, you think about comments in the United States around post-racial America that the Black lives matter in some ways may parallel some of that "are you kidding me" reeaction. This this was a gullible idea and it's not panning out at all. And we've had it.

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:39:21] Yeah, I think there are similarities, and it's also interesting to see the generational differences, so in the South African case, I think a lot of born frees have looked on with, in some instances, a degree of frustration of their parents and grandparents for either the struggles that they have been willing to engage in themselves, which were focused on the anti-apartheid struggles, and then after the transition, things around service delivery. So the delivery of homes and services, those sorts of things, or frustration around maybe with with grandparents, perhaps, that they're perceived as having sat by trying not to be too disruptive because there are so many risks associated with with activism and making the country ungovernable, as people used to refer to it. On the other hand, with the emergence of the student movements five years ago, on some campuses, most visibly the university, the (unintelligible), the strategy was to ally with facilities, workers and the language, the kind of metaphorical language that students used to refer to those facilities workers was that they are our parents, our grandparents, our mothers, our fathers, that there's a kinship there. In the US, in the early days of post Ferguson, so summer of twenty fourteen, when the Movement for Black Lives reignites around the murder of Michael Brown, you find young Black activists and allies coming to Ferguson, Missouri, from across the country and then this tension with Civil

Rights era activists, people like Jesse Jackson, shows up and really that generation is discouraged from being a part of what young activists are working out for themselves. Their very social media savvy. Same is true of the student movements in South Africa, which are hashtag movements. #Feesmustfall, #Rhodesmustfall. And so there's a clear generational difference. So I think, yeah, there are some very interesting parallels that you could call one, sort of, as you say, frustrations with the idea of the post-racial in in the US and then in South Africa, the frustration with Rainbow, the Rainbow ism and seeing that, well, actually Rainbow ism is a little bit like being post-racial. You know, everyone's sort of the same and different and it doesn't matter.

**Judith Kelley** [00:42:20] Are there any (unintelligible) the United States can learn from South Africa when it comes to race and governing?

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:42:28] That's actually a hard one. They're such different systems. And again, this this challenge of thinking through South Africa with the US when South Africa is a majority Black country, you know that that that is challenging. Some of it is has to do with why it is that this small white minority and a minority within that minority has taken up a politics so parallel to Trump ism. That there is something about in this historical moment about what I would call transnational whiteness. A sense of threat that produces transnational solidarity along very, very politically retrograde lines. I think that's that that, in a sense, is actually an insight. It is a lesson that even in a place like South Africa, this sort of politics is alive and well. And then maybe the other lesson is, yeah, so looking to a place like South Africa with expectations of enormous transformation is unfair because it's only been twenty six years, you know, and that's a very short span of time. But the other lesson, too, is that the intractable nature of the problems that South Africa confronts are, in fact, the same intractable problems that the United States confronts. And there has to be a conversation about the infrastructure of racism, which is economic and has to do with land ownership and questions of indigeneity. You know, all those things that make reparations really a starting point, I think, for a new round of conversation.

**Judith Kelley** [00:44:34] As an anthropologist, one could observe that on both sides of the globe, at the end of the day, human beings have similar reactions to being repressed and to systemic repression, and that it is not a system that can be maintained in perpetuity and that the human spirit cries out for freedom and it will never stop and simply give in to these types of systems. It is encouraging at least to see that young people around the globe are getting caught up in this movement once again to stand up for the rights of every every young person, for everybody to have a future in their society.

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:45:25] Yeah, agreed.

**Judith Kelley** [00:45:26] Well, thank you so much for joining me today. Anne Maria Makhulu is an associate professor of cultural anthropology and African and African-American studies and the core faculty in innovation entrepreneurship at Duke University. Thank you so much for joining us today.

**Anne Maria Makhulu** [00:45:43] Thank you so much Judith.

**Judith Kelley** [00:45:44] It's been a pleasure to have you for Policy 360, I'm Judith Kelly.