



## Research Article

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# Social Exclusion and Inclusion in the Czech Republic and in South Africa: Comparison and Facts

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### Abstract

*The article's aim is to compare the opposite processes of social exclusion and inclusion in South Africa and in the Czech Republic, in the past and at the present time. Even though these societies differ culturally and geographically, the comparison of some important factors, which are causing the exclusion of some people groups, might be interesting. In both cases we will closely follow the social, ethnic and racial groups, which are mostly excluded in the given environment. In South Africa it concerns Black and Coloured Africans, and in the Czech Republic the Roma ethnic minority group, the only ethnic group which is to a high extent excluded. In the history of these two countries we can find a similar historic aspect, both of them had experienced totalitarian regimes. Today, with the benefit of more twenty years, we can see the changes, which both these countries have undergone, and observe as well how these changes influenced the processes of inclusion and exclusion of the given social, racial and ethnic groups.*

**Keywords:** social exclusion; Roma people; Romani; excluded areas; township; social geography; urban space; South Africa; Czech Republic

## 1. Introduction

The article's aim is to compare the opposite processes of social exclusion and inclusion in South Africa and in the Czech Republic at the present time. Even though these societies differ culturally and geographically, the comparison of some important factors, which are causing the exclusion of some groups of people, might be interesting. In both cases we will closely follow the social and ethnic groups, which are mostly excluded in the given environment.

## 2. Social Structure and Statistical Data of Socially Excluded Zones

### 2.1 Basic statistical data of excluded zones and enclaves in the RSA

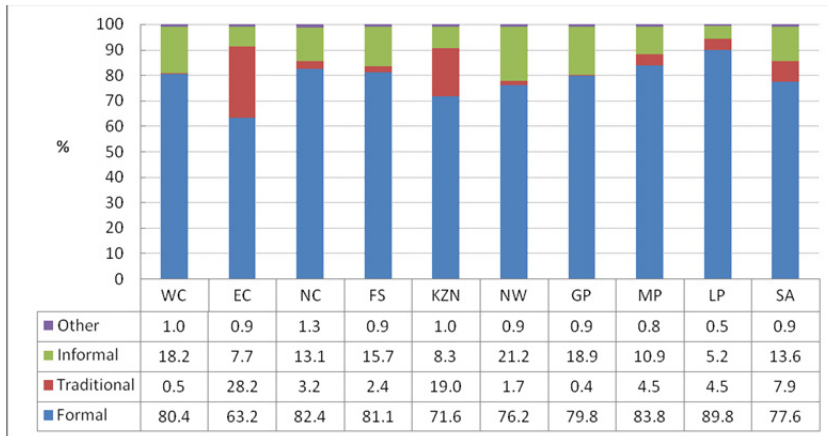
The Republic of South Africa has at present 51,7 million inhabitants as determined by the census carried out in 2011. The racial division is the following: Black African 79,2%, Coloured 8,9%, Indian or Asian 2,5%, White 8,9%, Other 0,5% (CENSUS 2011). It is apparent that the RSA's population has been growing, when comparing the current population with the outcomes of the 2001 census, which indicated 44,8 million inhabitants. (SLDB 2001)

As far as population growth and distribution is concerned, it shows that people mostly move from the countryside to urban areas. According to the 2000 estimate the urban population was estimated as high as 24,6 million with the annual growth rate of 1,63% as compared to the decreasing countryside population, which was estimated as high as 18,6 million with the annual

growth rate being – 1,45%. (UNHabitat, 2003)

According to the estimate carried out in 2002, the qualified estimate of the number of people living in informal settlements was 8 million, which represented almost 20% of the RSA’s population (O’Hara Murdock, Lutcmiah, Mkhize, 2003).

This figure has, according to the census carried out in 2011, dropped to 13,6% of the overall population living in informal settlements. It is obvious from the “Percentage distribution of households” chart, the percentage of people living in informal settlements varies significantly in the big cities provinces, i.e. the rate of informal households in the Cape Town province reaches 18,2%. (See figure)



**Figure:** Percentage distribution of households by type of main dwelling and province

Although the apartheid government was ended by the 1994 polls, still we can see the effects of the former regime. What we presently see is that there are great social class differences as a consequence of the racial segregation of the former regime. The class barriers result in the excluded areas of townships being inhabited exclusively by the black and coloured population. (Findley, Ogbu 2011)

According to the census carried out in 2011, 16,4% of the Africans live in informal dwellings along with 8,1% of the Coloured people, 1,3% of the Indian and 0,5% of the White . (CENSUS 2011)

For the purposes of comparison, we can look at the Gugulethu township (Cape Town Metropole), where there were, according to official records, 98,5 thousand inhabitants in 2011 living in less than 30 thousand households, with the average size of a household being 3,3meters squared. The population in Gugulethu is predominantly Black African (99%) (Census Suburb Gugulethu 2011). It is apparent that the townships show high population density as compared to their size, as it is clearly shown in the case of Gugulethu. Even more extreme in terms of population density is the Soweto township, which comprises 10% of the Johannesburg area but is inhabited by 40% of the overall Johannesburg population (Digital Humanities Initiative 2014). Another township with a significant population density can be mentioned, that being Nyanga in the Cape Town Metropole comprising an area of 17000 square kilometres but with a population density of 45000 inhabitants per 1 square mile. (Murray 2014) A good example of one of the biggest townships is the Suburb Michells Plain, where, according to the census carried out in 2011, there were 310 thousand inhabitants in 44square kilometres and with the average size of a household being 4,6 square meters (City of Cape Town –2011, Census Suburb Mitchells Plain). The inhabitants of Michells Plain are 90,8% Coloured and 7,3% African.

As aforementioned, the inhabitants of the townships are in the RSA represented mainly by Africans and Coloured people. It is interesting, as far as sociology is concerned, that there was a

question as to how many white inhabitants are living in informal dwellings in the BBC report in 2013. The reporter John Simpson concluded that there are 400 thousands of such white people. (Simson 2013) This figure was later proved to be exaggerated. (Rademeyer 2013) Statistics South Africa's 2011 General Household Survey found that about 1.1-million South African households of all races lived in informal settlements or what were described as "shacks not in a backyard".<sup>1</sup> A further 712,000 lived in shacks in the backyards of existing houses. (CENSUS 2011) (See table)

**Table:** Distribution of households by type of main dwelling (number); CENSUS 2011

House or brick/concrete block structure on a separate stand or yard or on a farm	<b>9 384 030</b>
Traditional dwelling/hut/structure made of traditional materials	<b>1 139 916</b>
Flat or apartment in a block of flats	<b>720 327</b>
Cluster house in complex	<b>146 392</b>
Townhouse (semi-detached house in a complex)	<b>213 105</b>
Semi-detached house	<b>213 559</b>
House/flat/room in backyard	<b>422 849</b>
Informal dwelling (shack; in backyard)	<b>712 956</b>
Informal dwelling (shack; not in backyard; e.g. in an informal/squatter settlement or on a farm)	<b>1 249 777</b>
Room/flat let on a property or larger dwelling/servants quarters/granny flat	<b>118 985</b>
Caravan/tent	<b>14 439</b>
Other	<b>113 826</b>

## 2.2 The basic statistical data of the excluded areas and enclaves within the Czech Republic

According to the census carried out in 2011, there were 10 436 560 people living in the Czech Republic, of whom the greatest minority are the Slovaks 147 152, the Ukrainians 53 253, the Polish 39 096 and the Vietnamese 29 660. 5135 people claimed to be of the Roma nationality as compared with the previous census findings, when 11 746 people claimed to be of Roma nationality. These figures are largely underestimated, though. This is often caused by the Roma purposefully declaring themselves to be Czech rather than Roma. The fact that the Roma do not declare themselves as Roma is given by the way that the Roma are perceived by the majority of the Czech population. Due to the Roma being stigmatised, many of them do not want to be regarded as Roma. The reason for it being so could be the widespread, though not evident, racism and xenophobia among the Czech population. (Balážová 2001: 7) Kateřina Klíčová looked into the issue of the Roma claiming to be of Czech origin. (Klíčová 2006: 221–255)

Qualified estimates as to the size of the Roma population vary in terms of hundreds of thousands. According to the ERRC estimate, there are between 150 000 and 300 000 Roma, which makes for 1,4-2,8% of the overall Czech population. (ERRC 2013: 7) According to findings of the analysis carried out by the Gabal Consulting Agency and the RVP monitoring project, commissioned by the ministry of education in 2009, the Roma population is nowadays estimated to be as high as 150 000-200 000 people. (Gabal, Víšek 2010; CENSUS 2011)

The Roma population is, geographically speaking, quite equally spread out within the Czech Republic, with there being areas of greater concentration of Roma and excluded areas mainly in the North Moravia shire and Ústí nad Labem shire (the highest concentration of Roma within the Czech Republic 24,3 %). (CENSUS 2011) An estimate carried out in 2006 suggested that there were around 60 000-80 000 excluded areas in cities and villages across the Czech Republic. (Hlaváček 2014) Later studies on enclaves found an increase in the number of Roma, ethnical homogenisation and a new influx of Roma, which in practice means an increase in the number of excluded areas. (Gabal, Víšek 2010) Taking into consideration the estimates of the overall Roma

<sup>1</sup> *Informal Settlements and Human Rights in South Africa. Submission to the United Nations Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living. Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI). May 2018. [Online] Available: <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Housing/InformalSettlements/SERI.pdf> (July 30, 2019)*

population in the Czech Republic, the rate of Roma living in excluded areas can be as high as one half of all the Roma living in the Czech Republic. According to the UNDP report, 14% of Roma families live in houses that are in a ruined condition and one out of ten families live in a flat with an unsatisfactory interior. (UNDP Europe 2011: 31-32) The fact is that the Roma present a minority with the greatest rate of excluded people.

The Roma, who are often presented as a homogenous ethnicity, are in fact divided into several groups. The largest of them is the group of Slovak Roma (Servika Roma), who came to the Czech Republic from Slovakia after the WW2. Czech lands were inhabited by the Czech and Moravian Roma before the WW2, most of whom did not survive the WW2 and nowadays there are only a handful of them remaining. Current estimates show that 65-80% of the Roma are represented by Slovak Roma. Other groups form the Hungarian Roma, who make up 15-20% of the overall Roma population in the Czech Republic. They also arrived after the WW2 from Slovakia. The smallest group is the Sintas, who originally came from Germany. Their numbers are nowadays insignificant, though. The Olach Roma (Vlachika Roma) represent the most culturally different group of Roma, who makes up 5-15% of the Roma population in the Czech Republic. The Olach Roma came to the present Czech Republic after the WW2 from Romania, and even in the fifties lived a nomadic way of life. They are a closed group of Roma, who associate themselves neither with the majority of the population nor with other Roma groups. (Hlaváček 2014)

While judging changes in the Roma population, in terms of numbers, two things must be taken into consideration. One being the demographic development, the other being the migration intensity. (Gabal, Víšek 2010) The age structure of the Roma population is rather young due to the percentage of children (0-14 years), who, according to the CENSUS carried out in 2011, made up 23,2% of the Roma population. Even though the rate of children in the Roma population is bigger as compared to the average rate in the overall Czech population, with it being 14,1%, the natality is declining in the Roma population. (CENSUS 2011) The census carried out in 2001 found that the rate of children under 14 within the Roma population was 30,5%, which suggests that the rate dropped almost by one quarter by 2011 as compared to the statistical data from 2001. (CENSUS 2011) The fact that the age structure of the Roma population is younger than the average of the overall Czech population is influenced by the low numbers of Roma people over 65 years of age. The rate of people over 65 years in the Roma population has been around 3% since 2001. The CENSUS from 2011 showed that the rate was 3,2%. As the rate of people over 65 years is in the Czech population around 17%, it is obvious that life expectancy is lower in the Roma population. Despite the life expectancy being low and the natality being low as well, the Roma population is growing, which is in accordance with the general demographical principles in the Czech Republic(?). The explanation could be that numerous generations come to reproductive age, which will ensure growth in terms of numbers, even though the number of children given birth to by a woman is expected to decline. (Gabal, Víšek 2010)

As far as the statistical data is concerned, they give no information as to mixed marriages of Roma and the other members of the Czech population. It is apparent, though, that Roma have the lowest rate of married couples (35,4%) and the highest rate of single persons (49,1%). The greater rate of singles among the Roma is typical, and is explained by the fact that many Roma regard marriages as formal, and many of them live in relationships, which they call the life of trust. That is, in fact, unmarried couples, or factual marriages. (CENSUS 2011) Among the majority of the population as well as other nationalities, the number of households represented by 2 or more families is exceptional, whereas the rate of such households in the Roma population is 7,7% (CENSUS 2011).

Most of the Roma living in the Czech Republic have been assimilated, in terms of language, and thus they do not use the Roma language as their first language, or they are bilingual. According to the UNDP Education survey, 45% of Roma households use the Roma language. (UNDP Europe 2012) The census carried out in 2011 shows that around one quarter use two languages, one of them being the Roma language (36 000 people). Five thousand Roma use only the Roma language (Census 2011).

As far as education is concerned, 62,2% of Roma finish primary education, or do not finish it at all (CENSUS 2011). There is a trend towards the rate of Roma with low education declining, as

compared with the 2001 census when the rate was 73,7%. The number of Roma with a university degree is growing too. This rate has increased to 9% since 2001, when it was only 1,6%. Nonetheless, it is still a matter of fact that the Roma are the least educated in comparison with other nationalities living in the Czech Republic (CENSUS 2011)

The problem of Roma education can be because of a language barrier, by Roma children not being prepared for schools, as well as by discrimination against Roma children and efforts to segregate them in Czech schools. The UNDP survey clearly shows that 17% of children of the age of 7-15 attend so-called special schools, and more than half of those are put into classes that are ethnically segregated. (UNDP Europe 2012: 67-68)

A survey conducted by the office of the Czech Ombudsperson showed in 2012 that Roma children are often put into special schools (schools for children with light mental disorders), as around 35% of the pupils in these schools represent the children of Roma parents. (Office of Public Defender of Rights 2012) Although the government adopted measures strengthening safeguards against inadequate diagnostics as well as strengthening parental consent, child assessment continues to be inadequate and fails to take into account relevant factors relevant to Roma children. (ERRC 2013: 10)

The unemployment rate has long been high among Roma. According to CENSUS 2011, 47 out of each 100 Roma are unemployed, which means that the unemployment rate is 53% among the Roma population. (CENSUS 2011) According to the ERRC survey, the rate is 39%, which is still a high figure as compared to the average unemployment rate of 10% of the overall population in the Czech Republic. (ERRC 2013) The unemployment within the Roma population is gender biased, with 48% of Roma women of employment productive age who are unemployed, according to the UNDP survey. (UNDP Europe 2012) The unemployment rate among the Roma is also influenced by the fact that many of them are employed informally. In the 2012 UNDP survey 20% of working Roma admitted to working without having a job contract. (UNDP Europe 2012) The high unemployment rate and rather high percentage of Roma working informally is directly in relation to the issue of education, and there can thus be no improvement in the unemployment rate of The Roma unless there is improvement in their education.

### 3. The Concept of Social and Spatial Exclusion

The concept of social exclusion is a broader explanation of current social problems, and a more relevant one, rather than the widely used concept of poverty. Poverty is only one of many dimensions of social exclusion, whether we take it as the cause or the effect of social exclusion (Woodward, Kohli 2001). Petr Mareš speaks of social exclusion as a structural mechanism preventing some people from reaching the standard of living as well as social standards common for the majority of the population. These preventing mechanisms are independent of their will to integrate and independent of the will of the majority to integrate these groups of people. According to Petr Mareš an example of such a mechanism preventing people from integrating locally can be the local labour market, insufficient infrastructure, the environment being polluted, etc. (Mareš 2006).

If we talk about spatial exclusion, it is obvious that structural mechanisms are connected to the character of a specific area. The inhabitants of this area are not excluded on the basis of belonging to a group of people but on the basis of the deprivation which they face, which is given by there being little resources in the area. (Mareš 2006). By resources it is meant, for example, insufficient public transport, lack of job opportunities, low quality of schools, lack of schools, little safety, etc. Amartya Sen uses for these factors the term capabilities, and regards them as one of the main reasons for social and further for spatial exclusion (Sen 2000).

According to the United Nations Human Settlement Program, slums or excluded areas can be defined on the basis of many characteristics, physical and legal, causing exclusion in social terms. These are namely insufficient access to drinking water, insufficient access to infrastructure, low living standards, overpopulation, and high criminality (UN Habitat 2003). A more complex definition is reached if we include in the structural factors, apart from the aforementioned, social characteristics such as social barriers, economic isolation, cultural differences and symbolic



exclusion, which is exclusion on the basis of determinable features (Šimůnková, Šimáček 2011: 5).

Over the time and growing homogenisation, or growing concentration of the population, mainly in larger areas, differences between the majority and the excluded enclave become bigger. The biggest excluded areas gain the character of ghettos, where inner structure is acknowledged. Its own rules and laws are legitimised, as well as shadow economy, criminal activities and unemployment aid claims are supported as well as being on welfare. By enclosure of ghettos, social exclusion turns into physical segregation, which leads to the estranging of the enclave's environment from the outer world. (Gabal 2010).

#### 4. The Character and Physical Appearance of Excluded Areas in the RSA and the Czech Republic Townships of the RSA

##### 4.1 The character of a township in the RSA

The character of a township in the RSA is of a densely populated settlement, which can either be formal or illegally built. Walking past these identical single-storey sheds, marshalled into grim repetitive rows (not nicknamed dog kennels for nothing), it is often hard to distinguish the RDP buildings from the hated matchbox houses built in the townships under apartheid. They have been thrown up quickly and cheaply, and many have already come crumbling down, while their dreary layout reinforces the sense of living in an open-air prison. They also have the tendency to spawn their own informal buildings next door, fuelling the development of choked streets of unplanned shacks. (Wainwright 2014)

Typical township homes are built from corrugated sheets of metal without having any foundations, standing on a sandy bed. Most often the homes are built on lands that are not owned by the occupier, so it is there illegally.



**Fig.:** Khayelitsha informal settlement in the Western Cape.

**Source:** Klára Brožovičová (2015)

The houses are rather small, of the length of 3-5 meters, nonetheless occupied by many people. A family of 7 persons could be an example. (Wainwright 2014) Panyaza shares the tiny cabin with her

two daughters and four grandchildren, a family of seven with two beds between them. (Wainwright 2014) Apart from many people concentrated in confined spaces of the small houses, hygienic conditions are also a current issue in the townships. While the officially built part have shared outdoor toilets (one for approx. ten houses), the unofficial parts have none. Another issue is also the sewage system, which is not only insufficient but difficult to maintain in the conditions of densely built-up areas. With torrential rains, flooding occur and the toilets become flooded, as well as people become cut off from the supply of drinking water. This means a great risk of spreading infections in the area.

The water is a very challenging situation to deal with. With the mass numbers of residents, the pressure of the pumps becomes very low because the way it is used so much at the same time. With low pressure the water becomes difficult to get and sparse amounts are already available to each household. With each section of the township there is normally one pump per section.<sup>2</sup> For comparison, in Silvertown (Johannesburg) 74% of households have access to tap water, whereas in Khayelitsha township 35% of the families have a water line in their houses and 27% have access to a waterline in the yard. (STATSSA 2013; Census 2011 Suburb Khayelitsha: 6) The overloading of electrical wires strung along the trees leading to the only power box in the area is an ubiquitous sight in the townships. Hundreds of wires come out of the power box because the residents of the area were not given access to the electricity they need so they decided they would take it. This is, of course, illegal and not to mention very dangerous but every house in the area has a wire coming out of it and every wire is known by their owner in order to fix problems as soon as they arise.<sup>3</sup> Mitchells Plain had in 2011 99,3% of households using electricity for lighting (around 85% used it for heating) as compared with Khayelitsha township where at the same time 81% of households used electricity for lighting, 15% used paraffin for lighting and 55% used paraffin for heating. (Census 2011 Suburb Mitchells Plains; Census 2011 Suburb Khayelitsha) In Silvertown in 2011 82% of households used paraffin for lighting and 11% used electricity. (STATSSA 2013).

The access to services as well as equipment of the households varies among these areas. The government is trying to improve the standard of living in these areas as well as it is trying to boost new housing development. The improvement of the current situation is complicated by population growth, given not only by natality but also by immigration from other African states and SA Provinces.

#### 4.2 *The character and appearance of excluded areas in the Czech Republic*

Excluded areas are inhabited by Roma and socially weak people of the majority, the concentration of Roma is high though. According to a GAC analysis, in more than 80% of the excluded areas the Roma make up more than 50%, and in more than 40% cases the Roma make up 90% of the population.

There are not, unlike in Slovakia, Roma settlement in terms of living in a rural environment. The excluded areas are mainly in cities and are made up by a single house, more houses or even all streets (for example Brno Bratislavská - Cejl, Ostrava Přednádraží, Šluknovsko etc.) These are often old city houses, sometimes blocks of flats in the suburbs. The common sign of these houses inhabited by Roma is that they are in a very poor condition.

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<sup>2</sup> Interactive Planning Workshop for Johannesburg. Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council. Johannesburg, South Africa. September 27–30, 2000. Available: [http://dictionnaire.sensagent.leparisien.fr/Township\\_\(South\\_Africa\)/en-en/](http://dictionnaire.sensagent.leparisien.fr/Township_(South_Africa)/en-en/); <http://web.mit.edu/urbanupgrading/upgrading/case-examples/overview-africa/alexandra-township.html> (July 30, 2019)

<sup>3</sup> Interactive Planning Workshop for Johannesburg. Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council. Johannesburg, South Africa. September 27–30, 2000. Available: [http://dictionnaire.sensagent.leparisien.fr/Township\\_\(South\\_Africa\)/en-en/](http://dictionnaire.sensagent.leparisien.fr/Township_(South_Africa)/en-en/); <http://web.mit.edu/urbanupgrading/upgrading/case-examples/overview-africa/alexandra-township.html> (July 30, 2019)



**Fig.:** Poor quality of housing in the residential house on Cejl Street in Brno inhabited by Roma population

**Source:** Jana Pospíšilová (2008)



**Fig.:** Entrance into the residential house on Cejl Street in Brno. Poor quality of housing inhabited by Roma population

**Source:** Jana Pospíšilová (2008)

Some of the houses are in an unsatisfactory condition, some are uninhabitable. The electricity wiring is usually in bad condition, doors and windows are often broken, roofs are often damaged, the stability can partly be damaged and moulded walls. (Gabal Analysis 2006: 18) The state these houses are in is due to maintenance not being carried out as well as metal parts of the houses being stolen (rain gutters, railings, heating) and fires being set by the houses' residents. Most of the houses in the excluded areas do not live up to standards of living expected by the majority of the population(?). People often live in confined spaces there; a family of six living in a two roomed flat is no exception. The houses inhabited by the Roma often have unsatisfactory toilets, which are



often shared. The shared areas of the houses are littered with household trash, which contributes to the hygiene standards being poor. As far as the equipment of the households is concerned, 80% of them have tap water, 50% have hot water access. 80% of these households have access to electricity, although electricity is often stolen from street lamps. Only 50% of the households have functioning heating, but solid fuels are often burnt to produce heat. (Gabal Analysis 2006: 18) As many of these residents make little money, they are often indebted due to not paying rent.

## 5. Conclusion

The basic and the biggest difference, when comparing the exclusion mechanism, between the Czech Republic and the RSA is the fact that in the Czech Republic a social and ethnic minority is excluded, in this case the Roma, whereas in the RSA part of the majority is excluded. Exclusion is in the Czech Republic on the basis of social and economic characteristics, nonetheless due to the high rate of the Roma living in excluded areas, we can also talk about there being an ethnic basis. The exclusion in the RSA also has a social basis but there is also a racial context to it, as Africans and Coloureds are excluded. Segregation and exclusion is a heritage of former regimes of both countries, incidentally totalitarian ones. The politics of apartheid segregated people on the basis of their race, while the communist regime stood for forced integration and homogenisation of minorities. These methods of social engineering, however reversed, have had similar outcomes.

The mechanism of social exclusion, regardless of the country, is the same and brings the same problems. The social characteristics are the same, no matter what the physical appearance might be. The people living in excluded areas suffer from poverty, a high unemployment rate, low education, high natality, high teen mothers' rate and the families being broken up.

The existence of excluded enclaves leads to polarisation of the society in both countries on many levels, whether it be ethnic, social or racial. The polarisation of the society and deepening of the separation leads to there being social tension. Long term exclusion leads to the enclaves enclosing, and social problems only deepen, which will in the future demand investments made by the state. It is obvious that money spent on preventing exclusion and fighting it, is money well spent, even though in the long term view.

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