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LAND, HOUSING AND THE SPACES WE SHARE

WOMEN AND LAND
– Hearing their voices **9-20**



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Research Council

Editor's note

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Cover caption:

Christina Kaba (69) at the Moya We Khaya community garden in Khayelitsha in the Western Cape. This urban farming project is supported by Abalimi Bezekhaya (meaning farmers of the home in isiXhosa). The NGO's Harvest of Hope project links the farmers to consumers by delivering fresh boxes of vegetables to selected local partners. Kaba joined Abalimi in 1989 and has helped to train many of her community members to practise organic farming.

The HSRC Review would like to thank Kaba and her colleagues for showing us their garden and agreeing to be photographed. Learn more about Abalimi's work here:

<http://abalimibezekhaya.org.za/>

The spaces that people live and work in are much more than natural or built structures with economic value. For some, moving away from their place of birth leads to spiritual disconnectedness or a loss of identity, even more so if they were forced to leave and unable to return.

Therefore, it is easy for politicians to capitalise on the sentiment around land expropriation without compensation. There is enough pain and fear to work with.

Late on Tuesday 31 July, President Cyril Ramaphosa announced that the ANC will move to amend section 25 of the Constitution to allow for expropriation of land without compensation.

His critics were quick to say that it was a swift move to prevent the ANC's political opponents from using the highly emotive issue of land reform as they mobilise towards the elections. The critics also warned of disinvestment and threats to food security that could bring the country to its knees.

It is part of the HSRC's mandate to conduct evidence-based research to inform government policies on issues that will improve the lives of all South Africans, including the provision of land and housing, and spatial development.

The challenges are complex and multi-layered.

For example, at a recent public dialogue hosted at the HSRC, women spoke of their struggle to gain access to land during apartheid when they were disempowered by racism and the patrilineal system. They demanded 50% of all redistributed land and made it clear that they felt impatient towards white land owners, patriarchal men and government bureaucracy.

Data from the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS), however, indicate that attitudes among women vary somewhat with elite and historically privileged women being more likely to oppose changing the status quo of land reform.



This edition of the *HSRC Review* focuses on land reform, housing and spatial development, and we report on the landless women's dialogue and the SASAS findings.

We also feature research around the challenges faced by land reform projects in the Bela-Bela municipal area in Limpopo. The researchers were concerned that land reform was primarily understood and evaluated according to the absolute volumes of land transferred from the predominantly white commercial farmers to the previously disadvantaged black emerging farmers, and that not enough attention had been paid to support and productive use of the land by the beneficiaries.

HSRC researchers also wrote about low-cost housing. The housing crisis now reaches deeply into the working population who earn above the bare minimum to qualify for a free house, but too little to afford a property in the formal sector.

Three articles also discuss the contributions that the HSRC made to the Motlanthe High Level Parliamentary Panel report, which assessed key legislation that enables or impedes transformation in the country. One article looks at spatial divisions in the country and the others focus on skills development and social cohesion.

Please see the contact details of the researchers below each article and share your thoughts and suggestions for further research and collaboration.

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REDUCING POVERTY

through land reform and rural development:
A NEED TO ENGAGE LOCALLY

Much populist capital is built on the back of the promise of land reform and land restitution that has been held out to the poor in the countryside. About 35% of South Africans live permanently in rural areas and they are among the worst affected by rising poverty levels. Government needs to boost productive land use to push back.

Prof. Leslie Bank and Tim Hart report.

South Africa's poverty levels have increased sharply over the past five years with an additional 3 million people now classified as living in absolute poverty. This means that about 34 million people from South Africa's population of more than 55 million people lack basic necessities like housing, transport, food, heating and proper clothing.

Much of the commentary on these sad statistics emphasises the poor performance of urban job creation efforts and the country's education system. Little has been said about the role of rural development or land reform.

Yet, about 35% of South Africa's population live permanently in rural areas. They are among the worst affected by the rising poverty levels.

Large tracts of land lie fallow in the country's rural areas, particularly in former homelands that were fully integrated into South Africa in 1994 bringing with them large amounts of land under traditional authorities.

Rural development

Researchers investigating the land needs of marginal communities, such as farm workers and rural households in the former homelands, have uncovered a considerable desire for opportunities on the land.

But municipalities, government departments and banks are offering relatively little assistance to poorer would-be farmers seeking to improve their land and its value.

In the former homelands, many families reportedly felt opportunities existed on their doorsteps but they lacked the means and support to grasp them. A common response among young people is to pack up and leave for the cities.

The need to rekindle rural development in South Africa is widely recognised and the country has many policies that speak to the ideal of lifting the rural poor out of poverty. Some policies are just not implemented while others have proven to be inappropriate.



Cattle grazing in the fields outside Qunu, a small rural village in the Eastern Cape.
Photo: Rodger Bosch (Brand South Africa)

A split between policies

A fundamental problem underpinning successive rural development initiatives has been the split between the two main strands of government land reform policy: land restitution and land redistribution.

Land restitution is largely conceived as a means of addressing the colonial legacy of land dispossession while land redistribution intends to create a new class of black commercial farmers.

Neither has been successfully implemented. Land restitution has been painfully slow, while land redistribution has been criticised for becoming increasingly elitist.

To advance land redistribution, the government put in place a land acquisition strategy that acts as an enabler for entrepreneurs who want to get into large-scale, commercial agriculture. The poor are left at the margins.

In the early years of democracy, the government adopted a “do no harm” approach in relation to land tenure in the former homelands. The reasoning was that this land served as a bulwark against poverty.

But that policy appears to have shifted to focus on bolstering the power of local chiefs to oversee land use.

Land hunger

A two-day HSRC workshop in Cape Town on national land hunger and needs revealed that the government’s

land reform programme appears to be failing to promote the widespread productive use of land to provide household food security and to strengthen agricultural markets. The workshop, which reported on family and community experiences in the Western Cape, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape, found that land hunger in many rural areas took the form of a groundswell of demand for small tracts that could be developed with relatively modest government help.

Struggles of small-scale farmers

In the Eastern Cape, many households look to town commonage land to be extended to enable them to raise goats, sheep or chickens or plant crops around their new homes on the urban fringe. They want local officials to work more closely with central government departments to help them gain access to land, fencing and water – with a common complaint being that commercial farmers outside the town boundaries were drawing off too much water.

Aspirant small-scale farmers are fearful of debt and in search of a flexible response from the state including incremental financial help, while acknowledging that, if their projects failed, they would willingly step aside to give others a chance. They want the department and the municipalities to be capacitated, versatile and responsive at the local level – demands that run counter to conventional land-reform practice, which is to fund big farm transfers.

Too narrow a focus

In Limpopo, the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform was found to be targeting farms of 40ha or larger for redistribution to individual farmers, although aspirant farmers said they were looking for between 1ha and 5ha plots to start their businesses, many of which revolved around non-agricultural commercial activities such as brick-making. The department was accused of too narrowly focusing on the agricultural uses of land.

Informal deals

In KwaZulu-Natal, an informal market in land has been rapidly emerging with many families in the former homeland areas trading land without any exchange of deeds, thus bypassing formal land administration and registration systems. Many of the deals were witnessed by traditional leaders, who took a small cut. Such transactions raise important issues for those seeking to develop land. Without proof of title, rural households cannot leverage capital from the private sector and often remain dependent on family remittances or state aid for support to develop their land. This can also often leave them dependent on traditional leaders and officials, who might not have their best interests at heart.

Unworkable cooperatives

Meanwhile, cooperative projects were criticised for creating often unworkable partnerships among large groups with widely divergent interests, with some individuals

The high cost of land in the Western Cape, makes it difficult for members from poorer farming communities to break into the large-scale commercial sector.
Photo: Durbanville Valley (Brand South Africa)

merely seeking to raise cash thought short-term real-estate trading while others in the group sought to farm the land.

The preference seemed to be to keep things small or to work with family members and there was considerable curiosity about the new “one household, one hectare” programme which has been mooted by the government but not developed at scale.

High land values

In the Western Cape, land values were reported to be so high that breaking into the large-scale commercial sector seemed almost impossible for members of poorer farming communities. Even graduates from local agricultural colleges and trained wine-makers said it was tough to enter a sector which had become increasingly capital intensive and globalised. They viewed land reform as a potential means to assert their rights to inclusion and beneficiation from a vibrant rural economy and sought opportunities within agricultural value chains, including rural tourism.

Benefiting connections

In the National Development Plan of 2011, the ANC set its sights on placing 300 000 new black commercial farmers on the land by 2030 and creating upward of 130 000 agro-processing jobs. The plan also spoke of the urgent need for

better water management to make agriculture less vulnerable to climate change.

However, as the state has sought to increase the percentage of land in black hands, it has focused increasingly on transferring large farms, often to established black businesses and commercial operators, rather than supporting smallholders and emerging new farmers.

At the same time accusations have mounted that rent-seeking officials and private elites are using the reform process to consolidate their control of land and economic privilege. Family favouritism in land allocations is alleged. Exploitation by owners only interested in profit-taking with no concern for their farm workers has been reported in the Eastern Cape. While in Limpopo, some of the new farms acquired by the state have gone to well-established, successful beneficiaries from previous waves of redistribution rather than to new farmers.

Use it or lose it

In addition to fostering graft and inequitable patterns of ownership and control, the current large farm acquisition model relieves the state of the responsibility of growing the agrarian economy through continuous, energetic intervention at local level. By declaring that new owners with capital should “use their land or lose it”, the state has

shrugged off its accountability for the outcome of the programme, which can now be presented as a matter of personal rather than policy failure.

Anger on the ground

Meanwhile, after 23 years of often haphazard land reform efforts, poorer small-scale farmers seeking incremental, steady growth with state support remain largely ignored. The extension support in terms of capitalisation, mechanisation, seeds, and agricultural and business training offered by the department to small farmers was roundly criticised at the workshop as woefully inadequate.

Engage rather than enrage

To forestall a crisis, the government should consider fundamentally changing how it acts and thinks on the rural periphery, bearing in mind that engaged localism, rather than enraged African nationalism, may offer the best path to providing actual solutions for the majority.

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Supporting black small-scale commercial farmers:

Access to land is not an end in itself

A key objective of the land reform process in South Africa is that it supports the emergence of a cohort of black small-scale commercial farmers who contribute to local and national agricultural value chains. Nationally, this has not happened. HSRC researchers looked at land reform projects in the Bela-Bela municipal area in Limpopo and found that they had a limited impact on the livelihoods of the majority of the beneficiaries.

“ PROVIDING ACCESS TO LAND SHOULD NOT BE AN END IN ITSELF, BUT NEEDS TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY A FULL PACKAGE OF INSTITUTIONAL AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT. ”

Since 1996, South Africa has been grappling with the design and implementation of land ownership reforms. These reform processes were intended to support the transfer of commercial farms from predominantly white owners to black people who were previously disadvantaged by apartheid policies of racially segregated spatial development.

The Bela-Bela farms

HSRC researchers looked at small-scale irrigated farms that emerged from the land redistribution process in the Bela-Bela area, to measure the impact of the land reform process. There are more than 50 land reform projects in Bela-Bela. Based on their engagement with key players in the sector, the researchers developed a generic framework and criteria for a typically successful emerging farmer. The farm needed to be occupied and running as a single commercial agriculture entity producing agricultural products for commercial purposes rather than just for subsistence. The beneficiaries had to benefit from stocks and flows of food and income and the farm owners had to practise irrigated agriculture with proper access to water and all required inputs. The successful farmers' levels of agricultural production should have been relatively reasonable compared to that of previous owners, they should have exhibited confidence in the farming venture with clear plans to sustain the venture.

The status of projects

Table 1: The status of land reform projects in Bela-Bela (n = 40)

Variable	Number	%
Attempted use of land but no significant production (no benefits gained)	19	47.5
Land partly used & partly leased out (no significant benefits gained)	2	5
Land being used (some benefits gained)	9	22.5
Land partly used & partly leased out (some benefits gained)	8	20
Land used as a joint venture	2	5
TOTAL	40	100

As indicated in Table 1, the impact of the reforms on socioeconomic transformation was limited since the majority of the schemes were not performing well. This confirms earlier findings by other scholars who carried out research in different parts of South Africa and concluded that more than 70% of South African land reform projects in a post-settlement phase experience operational difficulties or have been considered completely unsuccessful.

Not capacitated

Most of the emerging farms in Bela-Bela are between 20 and 80 hectares in size. Those that produce, do so on a relatively small scale (usually vegetables and livestock) while most farms are either struggling to become viable or lying idle and not functioning at all. Government paid between one and two million rand per farm and also invested money through the farm recapitalisation support programme (averaging 25% of the farm price) and continuing assistance. However, little attention has been given to the capacity of the beneficiaries to practice commercial farming. In the Bela-Bela sample, there was no evidence that the beneficiaries had been capacitated.

Main constraints

The researchers asked the emerging farmers about the main constraints that they faced and categorised their perceptions of the severity of the constraints as *low* (not a major challenge), *medium* and *high* (severe in terms of its impact on their productivity).

Table 2: Main constraints that emerging farmers faced and severity (n = 40)

Constraint	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
Access to water	10 (25)	10 (25)	20 (50)
Funding	2 (5)	5 (12.5)	33 (82.5)
Lack of farming knowledge	3 (7.5)	6 (15)	31 (77.5)
Extension support services	22 (55)	8 (20)	10 (25)
Farm infrastructure	11 (27.5)	12 (30)	17 (42.5)
Access to energy	7 (17.5)	3 (7.5)	30 (75)
Farming inputs	8 (20)	9 (22.5)	23 (57.5)
Farming machinery & implements	6 (15)	11 (27.5)	23 (57.5)
Labour	30 (75)	3 (7.5)	7 (17.5)
Fencing	4 (10)	12 (30)	24 (60)
Markets	17 (42.5)	5 (12.5)	18 (45)
Roads	25 (62.5)	8 (20)	7 (17.5)
Post-harvest storage	12 (30)	12 (30)	16 (45)
Transport	18 (45)	10 (25)	12 (30)

Table 2 shows that 82.5% of the farmers cited lack of funding as the biggest constraint. This was followed by lack of farming knowledge (77.5%) and the costs of electricity (75%). They placed all three of these constraints under the *high* level of severity category. Under the *low* level of severity bracket, access to labour (75%), extension services (55%) and roads (62.4%) were cited most, not posing serious constraints to the emerging farmers.

Lasting dependency

While a business plan was a prerequisite for a person to acquire a farm, most of the plans were produced by hired consultants who did not provide post-acquisition support. Most of the farmers depended a lot on inputs and technical assistance from the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries to survive, thereby creating a lasting dependency syndrome.

In some cases, grants were used for other purposes such as paying for school fees rather than being ploughed back into the farming enterprise.

Leasing of some of the redistributed farms to white commercial farmers, who are better prepared for the farming enterprise, has been on the increase. In the process, the land goes back under white ownership and control, with blacks being employed as farm workers.

Communal property

Farms categorised as communal property associations (CPAs) co-owned by groups of people or communities showed mixed results. The researchers identified 12 CPAs of which at least half were dysfunctional or not operational due to challenges associated with the required collective action.

For instance, some CPA members brought their own cattle onto the property without consulting others leading to overstocking and overgrazing. Some of the CPA boards did not function effectively leading to mismanagement, poor leadership, lack of community

The article is based on this HSRC policy brief:

<http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/research-outputs/view/9207>

cohesion, individuals prioritising their own interests, and unsustainable exploitation of natural resources.

More groundwork needed

The researchers concluded that the land redistribution projects they looked at were not contributing to rural socio-economic transformation in a systematic and predictable way.

One of the disturbing features of the main academic and policy-oriented discourses on the success or failure of the land reform programme is that, right from the beginning, land reform was primarily understood and evaluated according to the absolute volumes of land transferred from the predominantly white commercial farmers to the previously disadvantaged black emerging farmers. Achieving targets was prioritised and continues to pervade most assessments of progress in this domain. Much less attention has been paid to the actual use of the land for productive purposes by the beneficiaries of the land redistribution programme once the land transfers are in place. There is an urgent need to go beyond assessment of land transfers from whites to blacks in volumetric terms and more needs to be done to provide proper post-land transfer support systems for the emerging farmers, the researchers recommended.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

Policy

Land reform policy needs to ensure that it sufficiently addresses emerging farmers' access to financial capital after they acquire farms. Most farmers are unable to get the capital needed to invest in farming implements and irrigation infrastructure, which diminishes their chances of meaningful production. Measures need to be put in place to address poor planning, inadequate access to water and post-land transfer support systems and limited understanding of agricultural value-chains. There is also a need to address systemic challenges related to bureaucratic obstacles in obtaining water-use licenses and land title deeds.

Different needs

The study found that not all recipients of redistributed land have a commercial farming mind-set. Many end up focusing more on feeding their families and maintaining their livelihoods through subsistence agriculture rather than commercial farming and profit-making. The implications of farm acquisition and ownership should be discussed in detail in advance with an emphasis on the need for commercial production if South Africa is to remain food secure.

A comprehensive approach

Our farming systems approach to agrarian reform needs to consider the total environment in which emerging farmers survive. We need to examine the whole value-chain starting with land acquisition through farm recapitalisation, farmer capacitation, through to the input-output-to-market dimensions that are crucial in a commercial farming entity.

Wholesale land acquisitions

Acquiring land without compensation to replace the willing-buyer-willing-seller approach is on the cards since the ANC's recent announcement to amend the Constitution. The HSRC researchers however warn that providing access to land for previously disadvantaged groups should not be treated as an end in itself. It needs to be accompanied by a full package of institutional and financial support systems and services. Until this is addressed on the currently redistributed farms, it makes no sense to make more land available without proper plans in place to ensure that the farmers use the farms productively.

The voices of landless women: Fighting racism and sexism

Parliament recently endorsed a motion to expropriate land without compensation. This has direct implications for South African women who have been disempowered by racism and patriarchy over centuries. Recently the HSRC, along with key female stakeholders and activists, hosted a public dialogue where women voiced their opinions. *Thobekile Zikhali* and *Antoinette Oosthuizen* report.

During *apartheid*, black women in South Africa faced double discrimination, based on race and gender. The resultant poverty and inequality persists. Women's struggle to gain access to land is a central concern, delegates said at the dialogue themed "Landless women of South Africa: Expropriation of land without compensation". The outcome of the discussions formed part of a submission to the National Assembly Portfolio Committee on Constitutional Review dealing with the land issue.

At the dialogue, South Africa's Minister of Women, Bathabile Dlamini, said that the patrilineal system where land was passed on via the male line in a family should be challenged. "If you are a woman you benefit through your sons, not you. If you have girls only, the system throws you out because you are not counted. If you have problems in your marriage and come back home, you are treated as a non-human being," she said, referring to the names that divorced women were called in communities. One

word sometimes used to ridicule a divorced woman was 'uNtombifuthi', which translated to "you are a young woman again because you are back home".

Referring to the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform's (DRDLR's) "one household one hectare" programme, the minister said 50% of these hectares should go to women, not only for subsistence farming, but to empower women because land dictated power relations.

“THE PATRILINEAL SYSTEM WHERE LAND IS PASSED ON VIA MEN IN A FAMILY SHOULD BE CHALLENGED”

Nthabiseng Kgobokoe with sheep on a farm near Buhrmansdrif in North West. Kgobokoe is a North-West University LLB graduate who decided to become a farmer instead. She leases a piece of land from an elderly couple from where she runs Batswana Farms & Training (Pty) Ltd. "The fate of people who work land that they do not necessarily own, is an important issue to consider in discussions on expropriation of land without compensation. I have to develop the portions, but everything I do has to be movable because the land is not mine."

Women seen as minors

Karabo Magagane, managing director of the Lowe Foundation, cited a clause from the Black Administration Act of 1927 (section 3B) which stated that a black woman who was in a customary union and living with her husband was seen to be a minor and her husband was deemed to be her guardian.

A DRDLR report on a land audit released in November 2017 showed that women owned less than 30% of agricultural land, 815 hectares, compared to the 2,425 hectares owned by men. Referring to the “one household one hectare” programme, she said one hectare was inadequate for a farmer.

Intentions, but no action

Adv. Karabo Kgoadira, a legal expert and rural women’s representative, said that women were still poorer than men despite comprising more than half of the population. This was despite several attempts to end discrimination, including a 1996 green paper on land reform, which expressed a clear commitment to gender equality in land ownership.

“In 1997, we had a white paper on SA land policy. It was conceded that a key contributory factor to women’s inability to overcome poverty is lack of access to and rights to land. The ANC-led government also guaranteed 30% representation for women on its own parliamentary list. In April 1997, the Commission of Gender Equality and the Office of the Status of Women [were] set up. But, we are still having discussions of women being landless. How?”

A woman farmer’s struggle

Nthabiseng Kgobokoe, a North-West University LLB graduate who was crowned the female entrepreneur of 2016 in the category “Best subsistence farming” by the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, shared her struggle to be taken seriously in a patriarchal



Beetroot from a piece of land leased by Nthabiseng Kgobokoe near Buhmansdrif in North West.

system.

After graduating in law, she wanted to become a farmer, but her parents had no access to agricultural land. She went to traditional houses to ask for permission to use land, but they first wanted to know who her father was and whether she had studied agriculture. Turning to the DRDLF, she was told to await the outcome of a local newspaper advertisement process. Eventually, an elderly couple agreed that Kgobokoe could lease their private land.

Kgobokoe emphasised the sensitivity of expropriation in the light of land being central to the wealth of the country, but added that the Constitution needed to ensure social justice. There was also a need to look at the secondary aspects of agriculture, including ownership of the oftakers, retailers and exporters supplied by farmers.

Women’s role in food security

The HSRC’s Prof Narnia Bohler-Muller, a human rights and constitutional law expert, said statistics from UN Women showed gender inequality to be a major cause and effect of food insecurity. “It is estimated that 60% of chronically hungry people in the world are women and girls. On average, women make up almost 43% of the agricultural labour force in developing countries. Evidence

indicates that if these women had the same access to productive resources as men, they could increase yields on their farms by 20-30%, raising total agricultural outputs in those countries to 2,5-4%. This would reduce the number of hungry people in the world by about 12-17%.”

Seventy per cent of employed women in South Asia work in agriculture, as do more than 60% of employed women in sub-Saharan Africa. In South Africa, 60% of women are involved in some way in the agricultural sector. This highlights the importance of developing proper policies and programmes that support women and recognise their contribution to food security.

Section 25 had to be read within the context of the Preamble of the Constitution, which referred to people’s rights to dignity, equality and freedom. “There is scope in Section 25 to allow for expropriation. Basically, the state should not be arbitrary in its approach to land reform and not being arbitrary means also taking into account the needs of women when we look at the distribution of land.”

Additional challenges

Cultural activist Nikiwe Bam warned that the government needed to look at the issue of borders when it considered land expropriation.

Europeans had arbitrarily drawn national borders, and inhabitants of Swaziland, Lesotho and even Zimbabwe might want to claim back land or insist on dual citizenship as their ancestors might have lived in a neighbouring country.

Bam believed it was crucial to involve traditional leaders. "If there are systems put in place and traditional leaders are introduced to those systems, then it could be possible to allocate land to women."

The leasing of state-owned land was a problem. "If you do not own the land, you will not be able to build permanent structures, which is unfair. The land must be given to the people and people should own the land. We cannot be restricted."

Understanding the importance of land

Youth activist Precious Banda said the land debate needed to correctly portray black people's understanding of land. She referred to the descendants of farm workers who were asked to leave farms where their forefathers were buried. "As black people, our bones are our heritage. If you leave that behind, you are disconnected from your past. When you have kids they will not know where you are from, they will not connect even when you tell them, and

[the farmer] will be farming potatoes on top of your parents' bones. That is why we need to politicise the question of land, we need to raise the issue that this is not a simple discussion. In this complexity, we must fight for women to be at the centre stage."

Banda also questioned the narrative that land expropriation would threaten food security. "Black people have been working the land of white farmers. If the land is in the hands of those that acquired it unfairly and forcefully, then food security is not threatened. So, the threat to food security just comes when the land must go to the rightful owners?"

She said women were very impatient regarding the question of land, and that government should not stand in their way.

"During the consultations, it has been painful to see women cry, sharing experiences of how they were chased from farms, refused permission to go and vote and lose their jobs when they do. We speak of gender-based violence. Women have suffered in the hands of men on farms, in the hands of those with authority. Women farm and work day and night but their children die of malnutrition. They work the land to farm food that they cannot afford to eat themselves. That will have to come to an end."

Khoe and San women: We need to reconnect our youth

The HSRC also received a written submission from the Khoe and San Women's League of South Africa in support of expropriation without compensation stating that the land of their ancestors was systematically taken from them from 1652 onward. They lost their stock, their grazing land and access to the plants that they foraged and the game that they hunted. "We as women have lost our birthright and source of life ... this resulted in generational poverty negatively affecting our lives and that of our children in all spheres of life." They said that their communities fell victim to substance abuse and teenage pregnancies and that they wanted to reconnect their youth with the land to teach them culture and ritual practices. To them, land therefore represents much more than economic activity.



Nthabiseng Kgobokoe with vegetable crop on a farm near Buhrmansdrif in North West.

NO MAN'S LAND:

A gendered analysis of support for land reform in South Africa

In mid-August, the HSRC convened a gender dialogue on land as a contribution to ongoing debates and public hearings relating to land reform policy in the country. From a social and restorative justice as well as development perspective, the dialogue drew attention to the critical importance of ensuring access to and ownership of land for women in the country. *Dr Ben Roberts, Prof. Narnia Bohler-Muller, Jarè Struwig, Thobeka Radebe, and Samela Mtyingizane* examine survey data on support for land reform in South Africa over the past fifteen years to determine the scale of gender-based variation and the degree of uniformity of support among women.

Gender inequality in access to, and ownership of, land remains a critical challenge that infringes on human dignity, rights and security. Therefore, ensuring that the voices of women are heard and effectively shape the legislative and policy choices made around the redistribution of land is of paramount importance. It is one of the motivating factors informing the decision to convene the recent gender and land dialogues.

Against this backdrop, HSRC researchers used data from the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) to explore gender differentials in support for land reform, as well as the degree to which women share a solidaristic view of this policy issue.

Asking about land

The HSRC has been conducting the SASAS annually since 2003. The nationally representative, repeated cross-sectional surveys have an average sample of approximately 3,000 adults living in private residence and the survey is typically conducted in the last quarter of each calendar year. For this analysis, the researchers used data from all 15 annual rounds conducted to date, covering the period from 2003 to 2017. They relied on a standard land reform question that is included in a battery of items aimed at assessing public opinion about redistributive

policy. The question is phrased as follows:

To what extent do you agree or disagree that government should redistribute land to black South Africans?

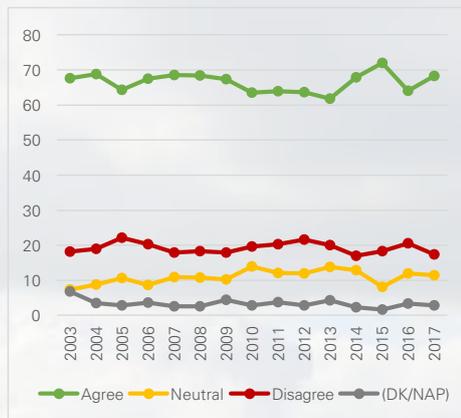
Respondents' answers were recorded using a standard 5-point agreement scale. The consistent fielding of this item over a long period offered important insight into societal support for land reform policy.

A gender difference?

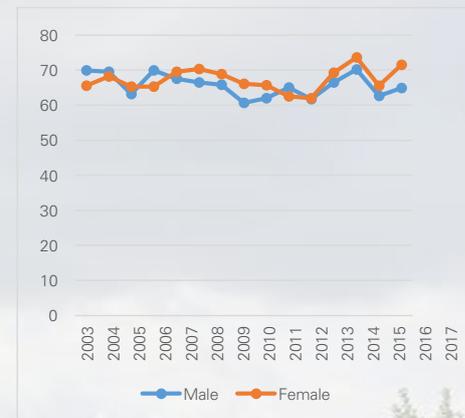
Figure 1(a) demonstrates that, despite modest fluctuations, there has been a generally consistent pattern in public preferences for land reform since the early 2000s. Over the period, an average of 67% of South African adults favoured land reform, with support ranging between a low of 62% to a high of 72%. By contrast, around a fifth of South Africans voice opposition to land reform (19% on average, ranging from 17-22%), a tenth (11%) are neutral and a nominal share are uncertain (3%). These results point to the robust, favourable view that South Africans have of this redress policy. It is also worth noting the slight upswing in support that has occurred post-2013, which possibly reflects the growing political discourse and sense of urgency around addressing the land question.

Figure 1: Support for land reform in South Africa, 2003-2017 (%)

(a) National distribution



(b) Gender differences in support (% favouring)



Source: HSRC South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) rounds 1-15, 2003-2017



Xoliswa Magutywa (63) working in the Moya We Khaya community garden in Khayelitsha in the Western Cape. "It is my passion to grow vegetables and to work with my hands in the soil. These plants are like my children and they help to put food on the table."

“
OPPOSITION TO LAND REFORM IS MORE APPARENT AMONG ELITE AND HISTORICALLY PRIVILEGED WOMEN, MEANING CHALLENGES TO THE STATUS QUO MAY REMAIN HIGHLY CONTESTED”
”

Figure 1(b) shows that there is not a sizeable gender-based cleavage in preferences for land reform, and that the patterns over time are broadly consistent. The percentage favouring land reform in principle was 66% for men and 67% for women on average over the 15 years of annual surveying. More sophisticated analysis testing the influence of gender on preferences for this redress policy (results not shown) revealed that women are marginally more likely than men to voice support for land reform.

How unified were women?

While two-thirds of women favour land reform in principle, this view is not necessarily uniformly held among all. Table 1 presents the all-year averages (combined data covering 2003-2017) for women based on birth cohort, population group, educational attainment, subjective poverty status and type of geographic location.

The results suggest that there are discernible cleavages in preferences for land reform among women in the country. This is fairly modest along generational lines, with younger women more inclined to support land reform than older women (70% among those born after 1980 vs. 62% among generations born before 1960). The gradient of variation is more appreciable along race, class and political party identification lines. For instance, 80% of black African women support land reform compared to slightly more than a quarter of coloured and Indian women and a meagre 15% of white women. There is also a 20 to 25 percentage point gradient of difference in support based on educational status, subjective poverty status and geographic locations, with social disadvantage associated with higher support for redistribution. Politically, support for land reform is not especially different among female supporters of the ANC and EFF (79% vs. 72%), though the divide between these supporters and DA supporters is more than 45 percentage points.

Table 1: Support for land reform among women in South Africa on average between 2003 and 2017 (row %)

	Support	Oppose	Neutral or uncertain	Total
All women	67	18	15	100
Birth cohort				
Born Free (born after 1980)	70	15	14	100
(Born 1990 and after)	(69)	(11)	(15)	(100)
(Born 1980s)	(71)	(11)	(14)	(100)
Struggle Generation (1960-79)	67	19	14	100
Grand Apartheid (1945-59)	62	23	15	100
Early and pre-apartheid (born before 1945)	62	21	17	100
Population group				
Black African	80	8	12	100
Coloured	28	46	26	100
Indian/Asian	27	55	18	100
White	15	61	24	100
Educational attainment				
Primary or no formal schooling	74	12	14	100
Grades 8-11	70	16	14	100
Matric or equivalent	64	22	15	100
Tertiary or equivalent	53	29	18	100
Subjective poverty status				
Poor	78	10	12	100
Just get	70	17	13	100
Non-poor	55	27	18	100
Geographic location				
Urban formal	58	25	17	100
Urban informal	81	8	11	100
Rural traditional authority areas	82	8	11	100
Rural farms	63	21	16	100
Party identification				
ANC	79	9	12	100
EFF	72	11	17	100
DA	26	55	20	100
Other political party	59	23	18	100

Source: HSRC South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) rounds 1-15, 2003-2017

Note: The percentages in the table are based on combined data over the 2003-2017 period, meaning that the results should be interpreted as all-year averages.

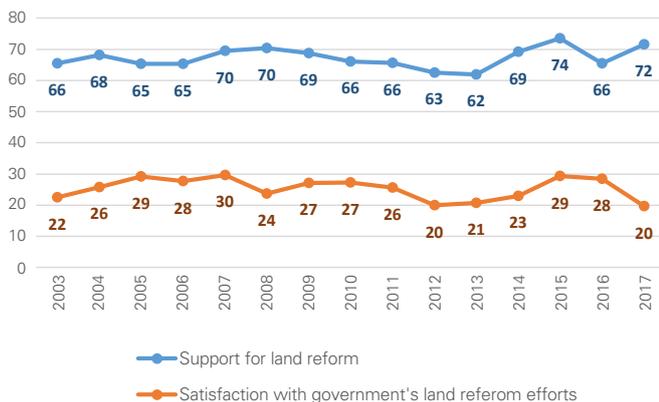


These findings show that while on average there is fairly broad-based support for land reform among women, there clearly exists what some scholars have referred to as a 'stubborn kernel of opposition' to redistribution underlying this aggregate picture. The fact that this opposition is more apparent among elites and the historically privileged means that policy proposals challenging the status quo are likely to remain highly contested.

Are government efforts matching expectations?

After nearly a quarter-century of post-apartheid land reform, how appreciable is the gap between support for land reform and evaluations of government performance in this regard? Perhaps unsurprisingly, we find that the women tend to rate progress in a harsh light. In late 2017, only 20% of women were satisfied with progress in relation to government's land reform programme, and satisfaction fluctuated between 20 and 30% over the fifteen-year interval. Current levels of satisfaction with the implementation of land reform are at an all-time low, which may also partly explain why this policy issue has once again come firmly under the spotlight.

Figure 2: The gap between female support for land reform and evaluations of state progress, 2003-2017 (%)



Source: HSRC South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) rounds 1-15, 2003-2017

Land reform and competing national priorities?

One of the paradoxes of land and associated policies and programmes is that, despite the attention it commands in political discourse, public debate and the media, it does not feature high up on the public's national agenda. When asked to specify what the most pressing societal challenges are that face the country, land appears considerably lower down the list of priorities, especially when compared to unemployment, crime and safety, poverty, corruption and service delivery.

In late 2017, land reform issues were mentioned as a national priority by fewer than 5% of South African adults. This did not vary much by gender (4% women; 3% men). From a rank order perspective, land did not even feature in the top ten cited priorities, being placed 13th by women and 15th by men. This pattern also did not alter appreciably over the last fifteen years, with the percentage citing land reform as a national priority varying in a small range between 2% and 4% over this period on aggregate (1-4% for women and 2-5% for men).

This apparent attitudinal inconsistency between strong approval of land reform as a general programme of government and its low public ranking as a national priority certainly warrants more attention. It might again reflect the different symbolic and material meanings attached to land in the country and how these can intersect in different ways to inform contemporary land reform debates and seemingly paradoxical public opinion on land reform.

Conclusion

The survey results show that land reform is a redistributive policy that is as widely (if not marginally more) supported among women as it is for men, and that this support has remained relatively stable over time. The significant gap between support for this policy in principle and satisfaction with programmatic implementation is likely to be one of the factors driving the increasingly popular and political appeals for new approaches and a policy rethink to progressively advance the land reform agenda. Yet, the results also point to the polarising nature and complexities that are associated with such debates. This is apparent in the cleavages in support among women, most especially along racial, class and political lines, as well as the disjuncture between support for state-led land reform programmes and the relative ranking of land reform in the public agenda.

The survey evidence points to the urgent need for a fuller, more nuanced examination of land reform attitudes and policy preferences that takes into account emerging new global challenges and the evolving policy context. This is something that the HSRC intends to prioritise in forthcoming rounds of its social attitudes survey series.

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Land reform, housing and urban agriculture: **A gendered approach to realising the right to food**

In many parts of South Africa, women make up the majority of urban farmers operating in their own backyards or driving food security in their communities as part of larger groups that sell or donate their surplus produce. The country's land reform policies require an explicitly gender-sensitive approach to support them, write *Ashley Fischhoff, Adv. Gary Pienaar and Dr Yul Derek Davids.*

The history of land in South Africa is one of conquest, dispossession and structural oppression, geared at the marginalisation of the African majority. Despite the introduction of the land reform programme in the early 1990's, the legacy of institutional subjugation continues to dictate individuals' positionality and socio-economic status.

Land reform operates at the nexus between restorative justice, and the enhancement of human security and dignity, including the realisation of the socio-economic right to food.

“ URBAN AGRICULTURE CAN ENHANCE FOOD SECURITY AND NUTRITIONAL STATUS, WHILE ALSO INCREASING INCOMES.”

As South African socio-economic development strategies increasingly envisage the promotion of urban agriculture as a sustainable livelihood strategy, we consider the potential effects of this strategy for urban women.

Legal and policy framework

In its 2007 Urban Agricultural Policy, the City of Cape Town defined urban agriculture as, 'the production, processing, marketing and distribution of crops, animals and products in an urban environment using resources available in that urban area for the benefit largely of residents from that area'. A South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) research brief *'The Right to Access to Nutritious Food in SA 2016-2017'* recognises that the realisation of the right to food is complex and 'dependent on the realisation of associated rights such as water, land and social security, and is an enabling right

for other additional rights such as the right to health, education and affects people's potential or capabilities'.

A livelihood strategy

According to the HSRC's 2014 South African National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (SANHANES-1), approximately 26% of all South Africans are food-vulnerable, amounting to 14 million, mainly black people living in rural formal households or urban informal households. Access to food is closely linked to poverty and unemployment, and those lacking access to a disposable income, employment or social grants are more likely to be food-insecure. While healthier and nutritious foods become increasingly more expensive and inaccessible, household agriculture has also decreased across South Africa. SANHANES-1 therefore recommended that government review its food systems, including through encouraging household agriculture.

Nancy Maqungo (71) has been working at the Moya We Khaya community garden in Khayelitsha in the Western Cape since 2014. "I love it. It is therapeutic in many ways. I plant vegetables that I would never have afforded to buy in the shops. I have also learned a lot, so that I am now googling recipes to cook with vegetables and herbs that I did not use before."

Protection against market shocks

Urban agriculture can enhance food security and nutritional status, while also increasing incomes and contributing to an overall improvement and diversification of livelihoods for urban residents. It can also increase protection against external market shocks, as well as opportunities for individual and communal social and economic mobility. Urban agriculture also has socio-political benefits, enhancing social cohesion through “community development”. The City of Cape Town is one of a few municipalities that recognises the benefits and challenges unique to urban woman farmers through an urban agriculture policy that supports woman farmers on the Cape Flats by donating infrastructure, inputs and equipment.

However, there is currently a scarcity of empirical evidence to support the possible benefits of urban agriculture in South Africa. There has also been little meaningful engagement with the role of gender in land reform food security policies, particularly as a means to address the social and structural disempowerment of women.

Need for a gender-sensitive policy

South African land reform hearings highlighted associations between land and notions of citizenship, identity, customs, power, wealth and self-sustainability. For the promotion and development of a gender equitable society, access to land rights needs to be extended to women. In a patriarchal South African society, where women bear the bulk of the burden of caring for and supporting other vulnerable groups, strategic intervention is required to disrupt power imbalances, including by prioritising women’s access to opportunities for socio-economic advancement.

Current land reform policy often employs gender-neutral language, specifically within first-tier policy commitments. The use of gender-neutral language fails to take account of women’s particular need for land, as it overlooks the many systemic obstacles experienced by women. These include cultural challenges, the existing disparate division of labour and remuneration, the absence of women’s voices in decision-making processes, and women’s consequent inability to acquire wealth and power within a patriarchal society.

Existing efforts

Since the early 1990’s, the government has shown a commitment to the promotion of women’s rights with regards to land. However, implementation at grassroots level is rarely observed. The approach to gendered land reform policy has been critiqued as an “add-on” approach. We need radical policy reform to move away from perceiving women as merely vulnerable beneficiaries, to viewing them as key stakeholders whose vulnerable status needs to be prioritised in the land reform programme.

Transformative Governance Index (TGI): Housing Indicators

In 2016, the HSRC initiated a project to create a Transformative Governance Index (TGI). The TGI project encourages a multi-stakeholder process to identify and assemble a body of evidence in support of the development of a multi-year index that can help spur social accountability and responsiveness. One of the key objectives of the project is to enable stakeholders to track efforts through a set of indicators to address the overarching challenges of poverty, inequality and exclusion in our country.

Included are housing indicators as a means through which to accelerate access to the right to adequate

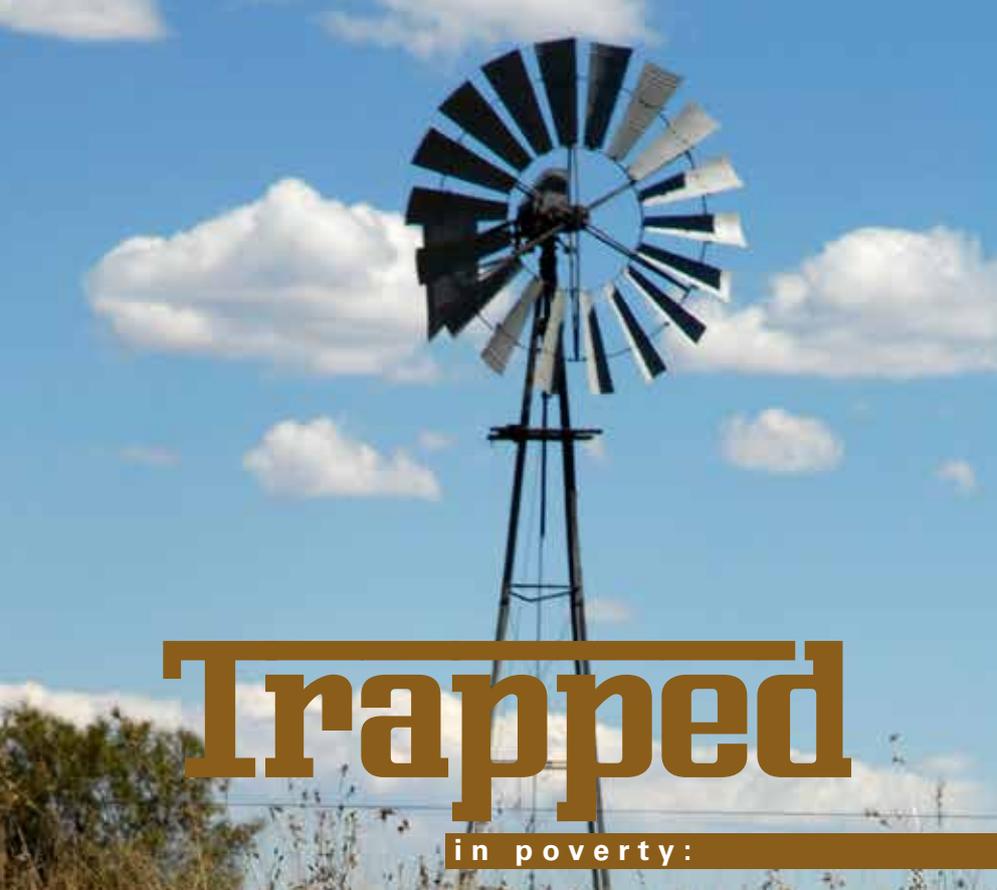
housing. Certain housing indicators are specifically relevant when considering the option of urban agriculture as a livelihood strategy for the empowerment of women.

The ‘Percentage of houses and basic services allocated to women-headed, child-headed, indigent and persons with disabilities households’ is one of these indicators. In discussing determinants of food security, socio-economic factors have dominated popular discourse. As indicated in the SAHRC study, the practise of urban agriculture is also reliant on the provision of basic services. Therefore, empirical knowledge of the number of houses and the extent of basic services allocated to women is necessary to determine the viability of urban agriculture for these women-headed households. For this reason, it is essential that TGI indicators use gender-sensitive language. It is envisaged that additional indicators will monitor the extent to which housing developments are designed and constructed to optimise the opportunities for and impact of household urban agriculture on the right to sustainable nutritious food.

As South African socio-economic development strategies continue to explore the trajectory of the promotion of urban agriculture, this cluster of indicators can help contextualise and monitor the extent of urban agriculture development and reform, particularly with regard to the extent of support required for and provided to women in urban agricultural projects.

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Trapped

in poverty:

An analysis of gender and the role of agricultural development support in agrarian land reform

The December 2017 ANC 54th Conference resolution to support expropriation without compensation, has ignited vigorous debates, but the ensuing debates have been largely silent about the necessity for coupling land transfer with effective post settlement support to land reform beneficiaries, especially women. *Shirin Motala and Stewart Ngandu report.*

Infrastructure, such as windpumps to access underground water, is crucial for farmers in dry parts of South Africa.

Photo: Graeme Williams (Brand South Africa)



Post-1994, South Africa adopted very ambitious goals with respect to land and agrarian reform that would contribute to an overarching integrated rural economy vision. The focus was on five outcomes including the promotion of rural job creation, improving access to affordable and diverse foods and a promise that women should make up at least one-third of all land reform beneficiaries. After two decades of farmland redistribution, evidence suggests that these outcomes have not been achieved. In fact, the National Development Plan Vision 2030 (2011) identified the lack of support to small-scale farmers as a major risk for agricultural expansion. Evidence from global and national research studies suggests that post settlement support is critical for sustaining rural agrarian-based livelihoods. Researchers have also identified the need for a gendered approach in the provision of agricultural development support.

Women have not benefitted equally from land reform

A micro-level study conducted by the HSRC in 2012 found that few land reform beneficiaries had had access to agricultural development support and that women had not benefitted equally or equitably through land transfer mechanisms and agricultural development support.

The study, which combined a purpose-built household survey with key informant interviews and focus group discussions, was conducted in two districts in each of three provinces, KwaZulu-Natal, North West and the Western Cape. These provinces have varied agrarian structures and agro-ecological zones suited to different types of agricultural production. The study uniquely over-layered farmland transfer data with the provisioning of agricultural development support information. It focused on beneficiaries of three farmland transfer mechanisms

implemented in South Africa since 1994, namely redistribution, restitution and security of tenure and their access to government-funded agricultural development support programmes, namely the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme and the Recapitalisation and Development Programme. The researchers used the sustainable livelihoods framework as the lens for making sense of gendered livelihood outcomes in the countryside.

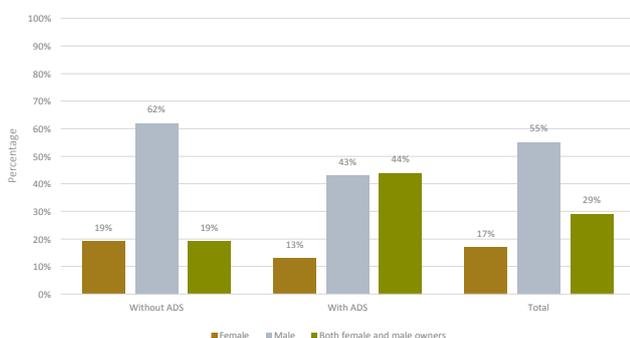
Land reform beneficiaries

Of the 286 land reform beneficiaries in the sample, over half (54%) were men, followed by joint ownership at 29% and females exclusively owning land at a mere 17%. The ownership rates for women in sub-Saharan Africa, based on a study of 16 countries, was reported as 24% in a paper *Gender Inequalities in Ownership and Control of Land in Africa: Myth versus Reality* published by the International Food Policy Research Institute.

Access to agricultural development support

The study found that less than half (43%) of all land reform beneficiaries had accessed agricultural development services. Of those beneficiaries, male land owners (55%) were the largest recipients of state-funded agricultural development support interventions as Figure 1 shows. The importance of post-settlement agricultural development support to enable access to markets, infrastructure, education and training to enhance productive use of agricultural land has been well documented.

Figure 1: Gender of land owners without and with agricultural development support: Land received from land reform programme (n = 286)



Source: Motala, Ngandu and Aubrey Mpungose, 2017

Asset accumulation

Ownership of farming assets is an indicator of a household's ability to invest in productive resources, which in turn is expected to contribute to increased agricultural productivity for subsistence and commercial farming. The researchers probed the changes in asset ownership

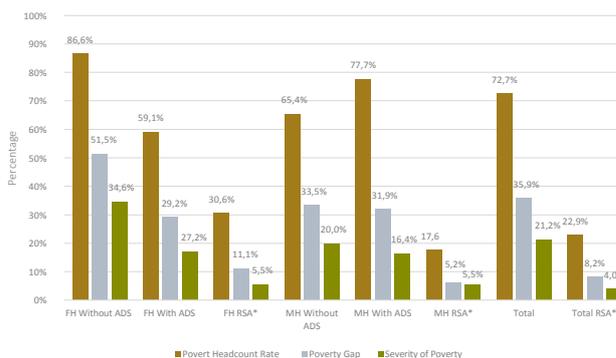
from the time of land transfers to the time that the survey was conducted. Lists of assets owned were consolidated into an index of seven common assets that can be found across different types of farming activities, and this included irrigation equipment, light farm equipment (wheelbarrows, axes, etc.), heavy farm machinery (tractors, harvesters, trailers, bakkies, etc.) and farm infrastructure (storage tanks, sheds etc.).

On average, female-headed households with access to agricultural development services had acquired the highest number of assets post-land transfer (higher by at least 3 units) reflecting a positive relationship between access to agricultural development support and asset accumulation. The study did not probe how these assets contributed to enhancing livelihoods, hence it was not possible to assess the contribution of asset ownership towards improved agricultural production and enhanced livelihoods.

Poverty status by gender

Most land reform programmes have poverty reduction as one of their intended outcomes for beneficiaries. The findings in Figure 2 show that female-headed households who received agricultural development support had the lowest levels of poverty in terms of its incidence, depth and severity. This is in sharp contrast to female-headed households who did not receive support that fared worse across all three indicators and relative to all household types. While female-headed households with support had better welfare outcomes than their counterparts, their poverty levels were still substantially higher than the national average. This suggests that land reform, even with the requisite support, might not be the panacea to rural poverty alleviation.

Figure 2: Poverty measures incidence, depth and severity by gender of head of household and ADS (n = 286)



Source: Motala, Ngandu and Aubrey Mpungose, (2017); *Statistics South Africa (2017) based on the lower-bound poverty line (LBPL) 2011



Working at the Moya We Khaya community garden in Khayelitsha in the Western Cape has provided Christina Kaba (69) and many of her community members a means to escape extreme poverty. This urban farming project is supported by the Abalimi Bezekhaya NGO, but Kaba does not own the land. "We would like to build a cold store and other infrastructure on the land, but the funders are reluctant, because the land is leased. What will happen to the investment if the lease comes to an end? We need title deeds to move forward."

Conclusions

The study provides a compelling storyline of female-headed beneficiary households without agricultural development support who are trapped in poverty. Land-based agriculture households are highly vulnerable with low levels of human capital (educational levels), financial and physical capital (infrastructure), despite their access to natural capital in the form of land. The findings show that poverty is more nuanced for female-headed households and women have not benefitted equally or equitably through land transfer mechanisms and agricultural development support. Female-headed beneficiary households with access to state-funded agricultural development support demonstrated a positive relationship with increased household food expenditure, which is a proxy for food consumption responsive to chronic food insecurity. This finding suggests that agricultural development support is an important mediator of land reform success. Land transfer without agricultural development support is unlikely to generate enhanced livelihoods outcomes, especially for female-headed beneficiary households. The researchers found that households are engaging in agriculture mainly for household consumption and not as a main source of livelihoods, which might explain low levels of land use. The researchers believe support for women's agricultural activities is justified despite low commercial potential as there are few alternatives for livelihood generation.

Recommendations

The study suggests that there is a need to generate gender-disaggregated evidence to inform policy making and argues for more considered measurement of impacts of policy and programme interventions that is underpinned by well-articulated theories of change. There is also a need to address the barriers to access for marginalised women farmers including capacity development, access to appropriate resources and financial support.

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Affordable housing in Philippi, a township in Cape Town, allows some people to escape the crowded conditions of informal settlements.

Solving the AFFORDABLE HOUSING crisis facing the working poor

The frustration of working families unable to find affordable housing lies behind some recent land grabs. Housing policy has focused on building free houses for indigent households, and neglected the struggles of low wage earners to obtain decent homes. *Prof. Ivan Turok and Dr Andreas Scheba report.*

People who should be able to afford reasonable accommodation are condemned to squalid and overcrowded conditions. Their exclusion from the formal property market contributes to mushrooming backyard structures and rising rentals.

What was once a housing crisis for unemployed and destitute groups now reaches deeply into the working population. People's dreams of owning their own home have faded because they earn above the bare minimum to qualify for a free house, but too little to afford a property in

the formal sector. The 'gap' market has become a chasm.

An increasing gap market

Households earning between R3,500 and R15,000 a month conventionally fall into this category, but dwindling house-building, elevated house prices and high interest rates have pushed the threshold beyond R17,000. They include policemen, mechanics, bricklayers, secretaries and administrators. Despite stable jobs and steady incomes, their hopes of getting onto the housing ladder and accruing a family asset are receding.

A recent Financial and Fiscal Commission report showed a striking reversal in their fortunes compared with people eligible for free houses. More and more households fall into this income bracket, but fewer houses are being built within their price range.

Going beyond free houses

It's a systemic problem related to the growing urban population, the deficient supply of new properties and people's inability to afford available stock. Solving this conundrum will require a more elaborate housing policy and stronger

partnerships with the private sector to address its multiple dimensions. The response needs to go well beyond the existing programme for Breaking New Ground (BNG) housing, previously known as RDP housing.

For instance, people need help to get loans because housing is the costliest item most will ever purchase. Low earners are high risk to the banks because they struggle to manage their tight household budgets and many are saddled with debt. Historic dispossessions deprived many families of inherited wealth for collateral. Many have impaired credit records and will find it hard to repay their home loans. Less than one in 20 of all mortgages go to households earning under R15,000 a month, according to the latest Consumer Market Credit Report.

Excessive regulation

Financial regulations also encourage bank caution, with rules about the minimum earnings required to purchase properties in different price brackets. If a house is considered beyond a person's reach, their application is automatically rejected. The cheapest new houses in cities range between R400,000 and R600,000. People need to earn at least R17,000 to R20,000 a month to qualify for a loan. Banks have the added concern that affordable houses won't hold their value because of their location.

The price of new houses in desirable locations is driven up by high building costs and high land prices. These reflect inefficiencies in the development process, coupled with onerous regulations surrounding the planning, design and execution of new projects. Excessive and un-coordinated regulations create bottlenecks and make even the cheapest formal houses unaffordable to gap-market households. Red tape needs to be streamlined and more

creativity encouraged, such as micro-housing, which is booming in other parts of the world.

Affordable housing schemes

A decade ago, the government introduced several separate schemes to improve access to affordable housing, but their individual and aggregate impact has been small. The main scheme for buyers to enter the gap market is the Finance Linked Individual Subsidy Programme (FLISP). It offers people earning between R3,500 and R15,000 a month a one-off subsidy to reduce the amount they have to borrow by between R87,000 to R10,000, depending on their income. But the subsidy is too small to help. Most still cannot afford even the cheapest houses.

FLISP also ignores people's other debt burdens and general budgeting difficulties, so the banks remain cautious. Administrative inefficiencies compound the low uptake. Against a target of providing 70,000 FLISP subsidies between 2014 and 2019, only 4,400 were dispersed after three years. FLISP has clearly failed to make inroads into the problem because of its limited scope.

The government is currently revising the policy and is likely to increase the subsidy amount and speed-up its procedures. But a one-off adjustment will soon lapse because of inflation, so it could be back to square one. Additional measures are needed to strengthen working families' effective demand for housing.

Increasing creditworthiness

Low earners would benefit from practical support to clear their debts and to build up a track record showing they are credit-worthy to bank lenders. The HSRC recently studied a government scheme that helps people to rent their home at first and then purchase it later. During the subsidised rental period, people

learn to manage their finances, establish a positive credit record and accumulate some savings towards a deposit. They take responsibility for maintaining the property and paying the service charges to show they can repay a future bank loan. Although the scheme has had challenges, we believe its basic principle of rent-to-buy is worth preserving.

A good case can be made for revising the FLISP policy and linking it to an improved rent-to-buy scheme. Government support for rent-to-buy would have a bigger impact on the gap market by helping a wider group of working families overcome the obstacles they face to accessing housing finance.

Additional measures are required to expand the supply of inexpensive homes. This is another big agenda, including more innovative house designs, more appropriate building standards, more flexible regulations and simpler approvals. A burgeoning urban population needs more determined efforts on the part of government and the private sector to deliver affordable housing closer to jobs and amenities.

Authors: *Prof. Ivan Turok, the executive director, and Dr Andreas Scheba, a research specialist at the HSRC's Economic Performance and Development programme*

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“ THE GAP MARKET REFERS TO THOSE WHO EARN ABOVE THE BARE MINIMUM TO QUALIFY FOR A FREE HOUSE, BUT TOO LITTLE TO AFFORD A PROPERTY IN THE FORMAL SECTOR. ”

A ROADMAP:

Making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable

Satisfactory housing for all in South Africa is a constitutionally enshrined right. *Dr Cyril Adonis* writes about the development of a ten-year Science, Technology, and Innovation for Sustainable Human Settlements roadmap by the Department of Human Settlements (DHS), the HSRC and other stakeholders.



An aerial view of an informal settlement near East London in the Eastern Cape

The issue of sustainable human settlements is a critical factor in South Africa's drive towards ensuring that the challenges of unemployment, poverty, and inequality are addressed. The South African government's medium-term strategic framework for 2014 – 2019 and the National Development Plan (NDP) regard the provision of sustainable livelihoods as an important priority and highlight the need for human settlements and services to be conducive to small and medium enterprise expansion. The aim is to get more people living closer to their workplaces, better quality public transport and more jobs near dense, urban townships.

A constitutional right

The DHS is tasked with the responsibility of realising South Africans' constitutional right to housing, which requires a concerted effort by all relevant stakeholders, including the science, technology, and innovation sector.

The NDP explicitly acknowledges that advances in technological innovation, the production of new knowledge, research collaboration and the application of knowledge through teaching are vital for a thriving economy.

In addition to this, South Africa is a signatory to the United Nations' 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, titled *Transforming Our World*. This agenda consists of 17 sustainable development goals and 169 targets, with goal 11 being about making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.

The roadmap

The Department of Science and Technology (DST), through its directorate for science, technology, and innovation for sustainable human settlements, has partnered with the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), the Nelson Mandela University (NMU) Research Chair for Human Settlements and the DHS to embark on a process to define and develop a ten-year Science, Technology, and Innovation for Sustainable Human Settlements (STI-4-SHS) roadmap.

An HSRC workshop for experts

The project plan has four work packages, each consisting of a range of activities and deliverables to be completed over a 24-month period. The first was an expert workshop and initiation meeting with road map experts, which was hosted by the HSRC in March 2018. Bringing together relevant stakeholders from different levels of government, science councils, academia, funding agencies and housing agencies, civil society, research organisations and regulatory bodies, the primary objective was to define and develop a ten-year STI-4-SHS roadmap to deliver a coherent, targeted, portfolio of science, technology, and innovation for sustainable human settlement interventions and programmes. The roadmap is meant to serve as a high-level framework for stakeholders and industry partners to plan, reflect, invest, make decisions and prioritise key science, technology, and innovation programmes, projects, strategies and initiatives for the sector.

The waste roadmap example

The delegates drew on lessons from the DST and CSIR's Waste Research and Development and Innovation Roadmap, which aimed at providing strategic direction on the disposal and utilisation of waste. It has led to more effective decision-making, faster insertion of context-appropriate technology, the export of know-how and technology, and it strengthened research, development and innovation capability and capacity.

Need for inclusivity

The workshop highlighted the fact that the STI-4-SHS roadmap document was the beginning of a long process and its development needed to be all-inclusive. Communication with stakeholders was highly important to be clear on why the roadmap was needed and it was emphasised that the roadmap should capture the fact that human settlements are not only about housing, but also the environment. There was consensus that the roadmap should be developed over the following 18 months.

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A row of almost identical affordable houses in Philippi, Cape Town



A MINIMUM WAGE: MUCH TOO LOW. WHAT ABOUT A CAP TO EXECUTIVE INCOME?

The current recommendation for a minimum wage of R3500 for South Africans is far too little. It should be at least twice that. In addition, we should also legally cap the income of company executives. This is according to the majority of people who participated in the HSRC's most recent social attitudes survey. They responded to questions related to a minimum wage and whether there should be a limit to what company heads could earn. These questions were included as part of the HSRC's ongoing work into issues of poverty, inequality and restitution. *Dr Ben Roberts, Prof. Sharlene Swartz and Dr Adam Cooper* report.

Income inequality has grown in post-apartheid South Africa, as the democratic period has brought with it greater disparities in earnings between a small, increasingly deracialised affluent group and the poor Black majority. This has been shown by Prof. Murray Leibbrandt and his colleagues at the Poverty and Inequality Initiative at the University of Cape Town who describe a shift in the Gini-coefficient, a measure of income inequality, from 0.6 in 1993 to 0.7 in 2008. According to Leibbrandt and colleagues, wage income is responsible for 85% of income inequality with the labour market playing the defining role in ongoing income differences.

To test how the South African public feels about these differences in wage earnings, questions on the topic were included in the 2017 edition of the annual South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS). SASAS is a nationally representative sample survey of adults aged 16 and older that investigates public opinion in the country. The long-term aim of this survey programme is to construct an empirical evidence base that will enable analysts to track and explain the attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviour patterns of the country's diverse populations by age, sex, population group, educational attainment, province, geographic subtype and class.

The survey questions explored South Africans' perceptions regarding appropriate legislative interventions

in labour market rewards aimed at both the top and bottom end of the income continuum. Specifically, the questions probed what respondents thought were appropriate minimum wages for workers and whether remuneration of corporate executives should be restricted. The participants were asked:

"What do you think is a fair minimum amount that all South African workers should earn each month? (No worker should earn less than this a month)."

and

"To what extent do you agree or disagree that a law should be introduced in South Africa that limits the amount that a person in charge of a large national company can earn?"

“THE MINIMUM WAGE OF R3,500 FOR SOUTH AFRICANS IS FAR TOO LITTLE ... WE SHOULD ALSO LEGALLY CAP THE INCOME OF COMPANY EXECUTIVES.”

Table 1: Individuals preferred minimum wage amount, 2016 (in Rands per month, mean)

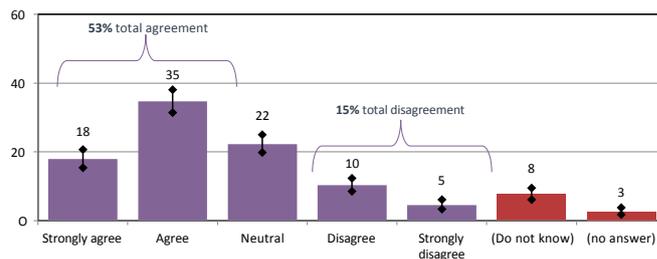
	Preferred minimum wage value (Rands) per month
South Africa	R 6,953
Age group	
16-24	R 8,257
(16-19)	(R 10,121)
(20-24)	(R 6,879)
25-34	R 6,380
35-49	R 6,618
50-64	R 6,597
65+	R 6,604
Gender	
Male	R 6,629
Female	R 7,256
Population group	
Black African	R 6,878
Coloured	R 6,463
Indian/Asian	R 8,837
White	R 7,475
Educational attainment	
Primary or no schooling	R 6,469
Grades 8-11 or equivalent	R 6,892
Matric or equivalent	R 6,924
Tertiary	R 8,990
Employment status	
Employed	R 6,412
Unemployed	R 6,607
Pensioner	R 6,662
Student	R 9,678
Other labour inactive	R 6,047
Subjective poverty status	
Poor	R 6,231
Just getting by	R 7,045
Non-poor	R 7,543
Geographic location	
Urban formal	R 6,576
Urban informal	R 5,844
Rural traditional authority areas	R 8,314
Rural farms	R 5,707

Source: HSRC SASAS 2017

Results showed that South Africans believe that a mean figure of R6,953 per month is an appropriate minimum amount, substantially more than the R3,500 for a 40-hour week proposed in the National Minimum Wage Bill. Differences between sub-populations within the sample were noteworthy, with figures ranging from rural farm dwellers believing R5,707 to be adequate, in comparison to R9,678 for students and R10,121 among adolescents.

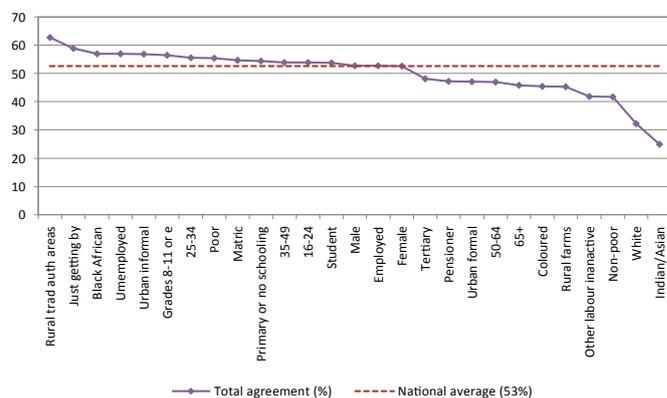
Opinions about executive pay were recorded on a five-point scale (ranging from 'strongly agree' that a law should be introduced to limit earnings to 'strongly disagree'). In total, 53% of the participants agreed that executive pay should be limited, 15% disagreed, 22% remained neutral and 11% were uncertain of the appropriate course of action or did not answer the question. Interesting differences between attitudes of sub-groups also emerged from this question, as Black Africans displayed greater support for limiting executive pay, in comparison to White and Indian adults. More unemployed people favoured income restrictions than employed respondents, as did young people in comparison to those over 50 years old.

Figure 1: Support for legislation to impose limits on executive pay (percent)



Source: HSRC SASAS 2017

Figure 2: Support for legislation to impose limits on executive pay by socio-demographic attributes (% total agreement, ranked highest to lower)



Source: HSRC SASAS 2017

The results resonate with data from elsewhere in the world – for example in the United States (US), between half and three-fifths of Americans concur with this kind of regulatory policy. Populations in the highly unequal societies of South Africa and the US therefore agree that measures to restrict corporate salaries should be introduced.

The survey results indicate that the public is acutely aware of existing wage disparities and favours courses of action to reduce these differentials. This was true both at the top end, in terms of executive pay, and for attitudes towards those most vulnerable in our society, people who receive very low wages. At the very least, the minimum wage should be closer to R40 per hour according to the South African public. Importantly, these findings were consistent across the class spectrum, suggesting that a broad consensus exists in relation to this issue, one that can only function to bolster the South African democracy.

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ASSESSING KEY LEGISLATION TO SUPPORT TRANSFORMATION



- The HSRC's contribution to the Motlanthe Panel

In 2016, the Speakers' Forum of Parliament established a high-level panel to assess the content and implementation of legislation passed since 1994 to determine the extent to which it facilitated or constrained South Africa's transformational goals. The panel, chaired by former president Kgalema Motlanthe, focused its work on issues related to poverty, unemployment,

inequality, land reform, social cohesion and nation building. The HSRC contributed to the evaluation of legislation related to spatial inequality, skills development, social cohesion and national building. The next three articles report on findings from each of these projects, identifying critical insights for legislation and policy change.



Reducing spatial inequalities

through better regulation

South Africa is one of the most unequal and unevenly developed countries in the world. This is palpable in the spaces that we live and work in, reflecting the legacy of racial separation. HSRC experts assessed regulations that reinforce rather than reduce spatial divisions in a report to parliament.

Spatial inequality fosters deep resentment among many poor communities who feel left behind and with no stake in the country's progress. In many cities and towns, exclusive business precincts and upmarket suburbs with outstanding amenities are juxtaposed against overcrowded townships and squalid informal settlements. In rural areas, remote villages with mud schools and no electricity contrast with luxurious private game lodges and affluent country estates.

These disparities are a legacy of racial separation imposed under colonialism and then reinforced under apartheid through residential segregation, influx controls, forced removals, separate public administrations and differentiated education systems. Today, other factors reproduce spatial divisions, including powerful economic forces, unequal natural resource endowments and continuing disparities in institutional capacity, essential infrastructure and public services. Polarisation persists despite universal rights, uniform policy frameworks, common institutions, inter-regional fiscal transfers and national programmes to promote social justice, urban integration, rural development and township upliftment.

The HSRC report to the Motlanthe High Level Parliamentary Panel looked at how many people are physically marginalised from productive activity and how informal settlements and enterprises remain under-developed. It identified key legislation that inhibits equitable, integrated and affordable development, including state rules and procedures related to land-use planning, housing, environment, business licencing, building regulations and public procurement.

Separated from productive activity

There is a damaging spatial divide between where most people live and where jobs and resources are located. The economy is much more concentrated geographically than the population, resulting in extensive unemployment and poverty for people living on the periphery and imposing an extra cost on their mobility. Economic forces of agglomeration and institutional inertia tend to reproduce this pattern as commercial success breeds success and established strengths generate additional resources that get reinvested locally. This cumulative process has far-reaching implications for people's living standards and life chances in different places. Uneven economic performance also influences the tax revenues available to municipalities and their capacity to deliver decent public services.

THERE IS A DAMAGING SPATIAL DIVIDE BETWEEN WHERE MOST PEOPLE LIVE AND WHERE JOBS AND RESOURCES ARE LOCATED

Access to opportunity

Affluent areas have superior public and private schools, nursery schools and healthcare, more reliable physical infrastructure, safer and more attractive public spaces, and a wider range of consumer services, shopping facilities and social amenities. These enabling environments improve people's living conditions and enhance their

prospects of achieving success in life. Conversely, poorer localities offer fewer economic opportunities, inferior social infrastructure and mediocre services. These communities experience greater insecurity, worse social and health problems, higher risks of disaster and more crime and violence, which makes it more difficult for people to realise their full potential and hampers their contribution to the economy.

Affordable housing

Most black South Africans are obliged to live in places where it is relatively inexpensive and easy to build accommodation, rather than in places with stronger economies and more jobs. In cities, national housing policies favour low-cost land, which pushes poor households into peripheral sites. State land-use and environmental controls are also more relaxed the further one is away from affluent suburbs and their protectionist mindsets. Outside cities, poorer municipalities are desperate for development, but rely on government grants to fund housing and social infrastructure. Housing is one of the few tangible benefits that politicians can deliver to hard-pressed communities, so it is often offered as a substitute for economic development.

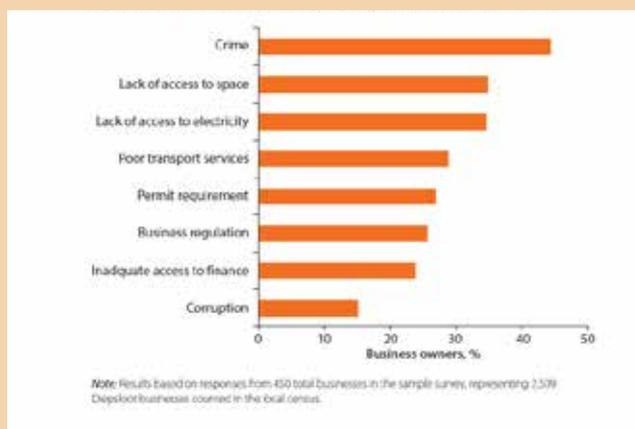
Held back by informality

The concentration of poverty in some localities and regions is also reflected in extensive informality and unauthorised activity. Poor people use their agency and ingenuity to improve their livelihoods and overcome adversity by engaging in simple income-generating activities and limiting their expenses by reverting to makeshift shelter. They often choose not to abide by official rules, legal procedures and by-laws because these are too onerous and unaffordable for their own improvised solutions. Yet, their informal status can hold them back and keep them vulnerable through lack of protection from legal safeguards and risks to their health and safety. Front-line officials can extort bribes by threatening to confiscate their goods or destroy their shacks.

Ambivalence

Many government policies are ambivalent about informality and state responses range from piecemeal 'pro-poor' projects to hard-hearted evictions and enforcement of by-laws under the guise of cutting crime. Rhetorical support for township economies is growing, but often without acknowledging the informal and unregulated character of township enterprises. Elsewhere, informal activities are regularly cleared from the inner cities to try and attract major private investment, tourism and affluent consumer spending, yet there are undoubtedly more inclusive and effective ways to reinvigorate such areas. This illustrates a dilemma in responding to spatial divides: should policy prioritise immediate needs, protect existing

Business constraints cited by Diepsloot Business Owners, 2012 (Source: World Bank, 2014)



A large survey of informal enterprises in Diepsloot found that nearly one in three owners listed formal permits and regulations as constraints (World Bank, 2014).

livelihoods and seek to upgrade low income activities incrementally, or impose 'world class' standards from the outset and clear space for brand new activities and commercial investment that promises dramatic physical transformation?

Importance of location

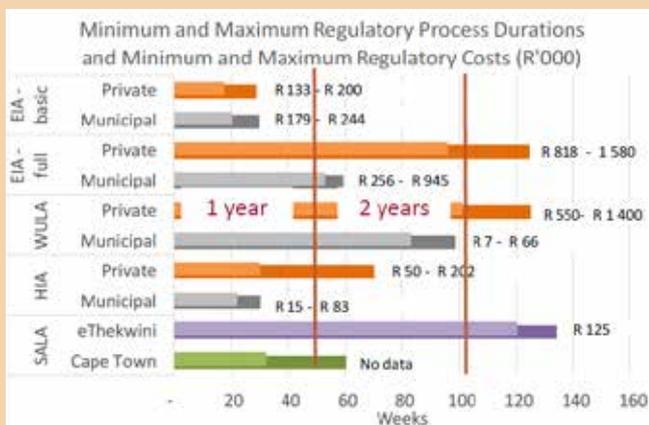
Location is crucial to the prospects of success for all businesses. The danger in South Africa's stringent regulatory framework is that emerging enterprises are obliged to trade in places that are easy and expedient to operate from, rather than in places with better infrastructure and support services, access to customers with greater spending power, and assets that facilitate the growth and development of the business. In cities, this is because business licences, trading permits, health and safety regulations, land-use controls and building regulations are enforced much more strictly in central business districts and suburbs than they are townships and informal settlements. Informal traders are disapproved of in town, but disregarded in the townships.

A pervasive status quo

Spatial inequalities within cities are widening rather than diminishing. This is partly because the peripheral location of mass housing built by the state is maintaining past divisions. The single-minded focus on large-scale delivery and a complex regulatory framework result in a preoccupation with dormitory settlements on the urban outskirts, rather than building more integrated and interesting cities and towns. Many regulations complicate the process of managing urban growth and promoting spatial transformation because of the focus on control and compliance, rather than enabling diverse actors and agencies to work together on more organic and incremental forms of development. Demanding standards

for infrastructure approval, including standards for plot size, building density and car parking, can prohibit low cost housing.

Lengthy regulatory procedures:



Researchers from Berrisford Associates sought to measure the financial costs and timescales required by several of the main regulations governing the provision of urban infrastructure and the development of land for housing and related purposes: (i) land-use planning and building controls, (ii) environmental regulations, (iii) procurement rules and procedures, and (iv) occupational health and safety regulations governing construction sites. The figure shows that three separate regulatory processes can each take over two years to complete. This is before any construction work can begin on site.

Delay

One of the adverse consequences of excessive red tape is serious delay. It takes years for development proposals to obtain approval before building work can commence. This adds substantial costs which are passed on to households and businesses, putting new housing out of reach of low-income groups. Convolved and costly rules also add uncertainty to the development process, which discourages smaller, more creative private investors and niche builders with original designs. They favour larger, standardised housing schemes, which are low risk and relatively predictable, but tend to create sterile, socially-homogeneous urban landscapes inaccessible to poorer households.

The way forward

A more pro-active and capable state is required for spatial transformation. The mindset of prescriptive controls and compliance needs to be replaced by a more developmental and iterative approach. This means relaxing rigid and inappropriate rules to permit more flexibility and responsiveness to diverse conditions on the ground. Regulations need to be more finely tuned to target the greatest risks of harm and reduce the compliance costs where risks are low. Cumbersome procedures that constrain initiative need to be replaced by more intelligent systems that encourage ingenuity and bolder experimentation.

State regulations also need to accommodate more external interaction and collaboration. A developmental approach means enabling and mobilising different actors in civil society and the private sector to play a stronger role, in conjunction with government. The state cannot force private investment into lagging areas or deliver well-located affordable housing at scale on its own. A stronger emphasis on working in partnership with other stakeholders is vital to break down barriers and encourage constructive dialogue and joint action.

One way forward may be to offer selective flexibilities to municipalities that have proved to be competent, efficient and prudent in their use of public resources. This would give them greater scope and autonomy to innovate around the urban development agenda, leading hopefully to a significant shift in the scale and nature of affordable housing provision. This discretion could go hand-in-hand with more effective partnership working to accelerate investment in property development. Such rewards would also provide an important incentive to other municipalities to improve their performance.

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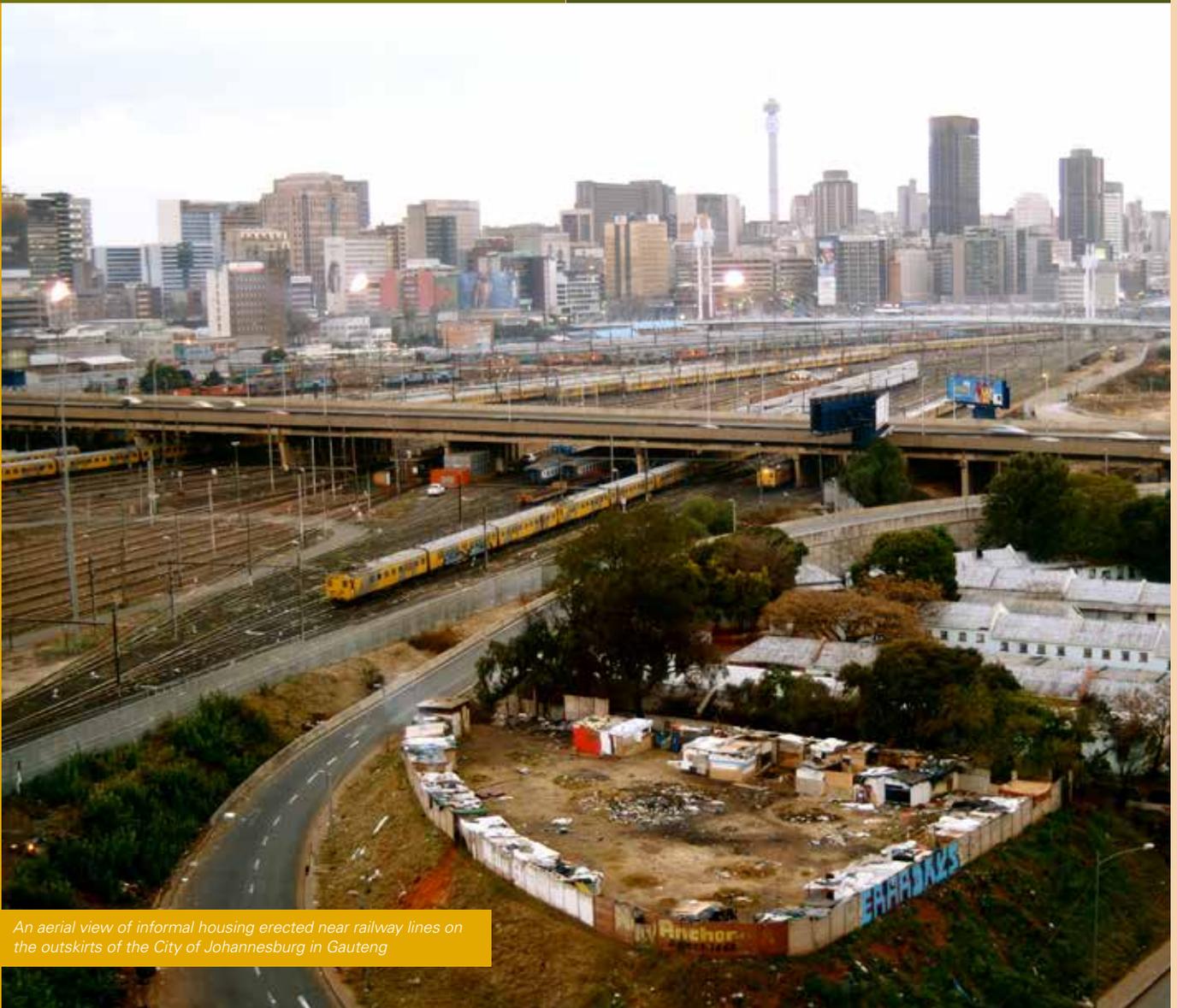
Some specific recommendations

- (i) **Affordable land** - The Government Immovable Asset Management Act regulations should be used to insist that public entities formulate explicit plans for their surplus land that go beyond selling it to the highest bidder and recognise the wider social value of urban land. The starting point might be an audit of all well-located and under-used land to identify the opportunities for low- and middle-income housing development.
- (ii) **Reduced compliance costs** - Environmental impact assessments and water use licenses should be more discriminating about development proposals that pose the greatest threats and reduce the administrative burdens on proposals that pose little risk to surrounding communities and the natural environment.
- (iii) **Simpler procedures** - A single approval process to deal with matters such as environmental, water and planning authorisations would reduce duplication of consultation processes and speed-up decisions. Certain regulations and procedures such as land-use zoning, building regulations, business registration and public procurement need to be streamlined. A simpler arrangement for property registration through the Deeds Office would assist people living in informal settlements, backyard accommodation and inner-city buildings.

- (iv) **Simplifying the land-use management system** - This will enable enterprises in townships to operate without the constant threat of being closed down or having their stock confiscated. Instead, moving towards a smarter, more pro-active, problem-solving culture will support the growth and development of informal enterprises. Simpler business licensing procedures would also help enterprises formalise their activities.
- (v) **Exemptions and fast-tracking** - Special zones established in and around certain low-income townships and informal settlements could offer different management arrangements, infrastructure, financial incentives and relaxed regulations as an experiment to support investment, enterprise and job creation.
- (vi) **Creative approaches to mixed-income housing** - The national department of human settlements should do more to support mixed-income housing projects. This includes a requirement that all private sector developments above a certain size should make provision for a specific proportion of the housing units to be within

an affordable price bracket. The policy should include proposals for public-private partnerships that will deliver practical solutions to the current residential segregation, and to limit gentrification and the displacement of low-income households from well-located neighbourhoods.

- (vii) **Encourage higher-density housing in well-located areas** - The national department of human settlements should also formulate a policy to support higher-density housing in and around economic nodes and along public transport corridors. More flexibility in housing subsidies may be required as well as more explicit support for rental housing rather than ownership. Careful alignment with transport, education and land-use planning policies may be important on matters such as requirements for car parking, school playgrounds and floor area ratios. Land-use zoning schemes could also be relaxed in designated areas to permit second and third dwellings to be built on properties without permission.



An aerial view of informal housing erected near railway lines on the outskirts of the City of Johannesburg in Gauteng

EVALUATING SKILLS LEGISLATION:

A lever to reduce poverty, inequality and unemployment



Levels of poverty, inequality and unemployment remain alarmingly high in South Africa. This is despite political and policy intentions, interventionist legislation and active labour market strategies. Can better skills legislation have an impact? *Dr Angelique Wildschut, Prof. Thierry Luescher and Dr Vijay Reddy* report on the HSRC's contribution to the Motlanthe High Level Parliamentary Panel, a recent assessment of key legislation.

Against the backdrop of the South African skills challenge, the HSRC examined the regulation and legislation of post-school education and training and skills development (PSET-SD) as a lever to reduce the triple challenge of poverty, inequality and unemployment in the country.

The investigation traced the legislative and policy frameworks as well as the institutional arrangements for education, training and skills development since 1994. The team conducted a systemic review of the policy goals and instruments that are recognised and provided for in the legislative and policy system. This work also included focused analyses of three core acts, the Skills Development Act, the National Qualifications Framework Act and the Continuing Education and Training Act. The aim was to identify aspects that enable or impede South Africa from addressing the triple challenge.

One overarching and critical policy recommendation is the need to shift the policy gaze away from regulation to provision and outcomes, emphasising both continuing education and training and higher

education. Another is the need to provide for a wider set of actors to participate in skills development.

The 'institutional sprawl'

A theme running across the legislative analysis has been (what we have called) the 'institutional sprawl' in the PSET-SD regulatory space, referring to the numerous authorities, councils and bodies that are not directly involved in skilling but have functions that include those related to funding, governance, planning and quality assurance. The review confirmed that much of the skills policy system and its sub-goals focus on improving the regulatory structures and institutions for skills provisioning as opposed to actual skills production. Our research finds that the over-regulation and bureaucratisation of the system may be impeding rather than facilitating skills delivery.

The sheer number of bodies that have some role in relation to quality, for example, has reached unsustainable proportions. They include the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), the Higher Education Quality Committee of the Council on Higher Education,

Umalusi, the Quality Council for Trades and Occupations, 21 Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs), 93 professional bodies, the National Artisan Moderation Body and the South African Institute of Vocation and Training (SAIVCET). The number of bodies with planning, monitoring and/or advisory responsibility is also extreme.

The key principle here is to be guided away from a complex and overcrowded legislative and regulatory field and related and overlapping authorities. There is excessive complexity in the skills development system overall, which must be simplified, consolidated, and efforts to rationalise regulatory institutions (e.g. related to planning, advising, and quality assurance) need to be considered seriously. The complexity and lack of flexibility of the policy system create severe difficulties and disincentives for key stakeholders (for example SMMEs) to participate in skills development such as workplace-based learning provision. It also obfuscates communicating the opportunities in the PSET system to the wider population, especially to specific marginalised target groups.

An overarching recommendation from the evidence is therefore that the legislative framework over the next few years needs to play a much bigger role in enhancing the quantity and quality of actual provision as opposed to regulation, as well as concentrating on consolidation and rationalisation of the system.

Pathways to high skills

There is a need for continued investments in a differentiated higher education system, which contributes to high-level skills development and knowledge production. Drawing on the new evidence base established through this project, we argue that a greater impact on poverty, inequality and unemployment, which mostly affects persons who have not yet achieved an NQF level 4 qualification (such as 'matric'), can be made. This could be achieved through a stronger focus on quality lower NQF level qualifications (NQF levels, 1 – 4, or Grade 9 and above), as goals and pathways into higher skills, technical, vocational and occupational qualifications, and academic and professional qualifications.

In the last ten years, the higher education system has expanded to a level where it is now 'massified' and provides learning opportunities for close to 20% of the 20 to 24-year age cohort. Conversely, the vast majority of the same age cohort (80%) cannot access or do not successfully participate in higher education, and the number of youth in general who are not in employment, education and training is enormous and growing. Our research shows that currently the skills policy system has a greater emphasis towards facilitating the production of higher and intermediate level skills than on employability skills and core competence skills (which include literacy, numeracy, communication, teamwork, problem solving and other relevant generic, transferable, and specific skills). These are critical building blocks for further development and overall learning ability, as well as the ability to adapt to a changing labour

market. Historically, the policy system has focused on developing higher-level skills, which we know to have limited reach and impact on reducing inequalities. To better address unemployment, inequality and poverty, the system needs to become better aligned to focus on the needs of the majority of our society, especially the vulnerable and marginalised. Therefore, we recommend a further strengthening of the policy emphasis on the continuing education and training subsystem. This includes skilling at community, and technical and vocational education and training (TVET) institutions and a focus on occupations, trades and workplace-based learning, especially at further and higher education and training levels, alongside general, academic and professional higher education.

A simultaneous process to ensure that TVET institutions and the suite of occupational qualifications and workplace-based learning provisions are attractive and have parity of esteem in society is critical for this recommendation to be successful. Critical pre-requisites are improved throughput and success rates and achieving closer links with workplaces.

Non-traditional actors

An inclusive skills policy regime must focus on employability and support skills development that result in a qualitative change in the lives of South Africans. It should foster holistic human development, capabilities for sustainable livelihoods, employment, as well as self-employment and entrepreneurship. Often, this requires the recognition and support of 'non-traditional' skills development actors, as opposed to formal avenues for skilling, such as schools, colleges, and universities.

Non-traditional actors (for example, NGOs, community-based organisation, co-operatives and SMMEs) are often better placed to address the skills needs of vulnerable and marginalised social groups that

might need support to access skilling. In addition, such actors are often needed to play a role by connecting, translating and facilitating the flow of information on the skills needs of these groups and the types of skills development provision that is needed. Where there is a lack of suitable skills development providers, the actors that may have the necessary expertise (e.g. NGOs, extension officers) may also provide skills development, to address the gap.

When we explored the extent to which such non-traditional actors are included in governance structures or receive support in providing skills development, we found that the legislation and policy documents emphasise mainly the role of communities and community-based organisations as new types of skills development actors. Conversely, there is much less emphasis on and recognition of the role that SMMEs can play in skills development; however, they are an important focus for promoting employment amongst youth especially.

Related is also a gap in terms of a more comprehensive consideration of the role that private providers can play in reaching vulnerable and marginalised target groups and serving their skills needs, be it at lower, intermediate and higher skills levels. The overall expansion of the PSET system must harness the role of private providers, ensuring their accountability and quality of provision, while enabling them to play a role complementary to that of public providers.

In sum, we find that while the skills policy system is attempting to recognise a wider range of

“ THE OVER REGULATION AND BUREAUCRATISATION OF THE SYSTEM MAY BE IMPEDING RATHER THAN FACILITATING SKILLS DELIVERY. ”

skills development actors and stakeholders, there is a tendency to emphasise the traditional formal routes to skilling and its purpose as leading to employment in the formal labour market.

Towards inclusivity

Skills development must also respond to the twin challenge in the South African economy which involves participating in a globally competitive environment that requires a high skills base and a local context that creates low-wage jobs to absorb the large numbers who are unemployed or in vulnerable jobs. Unfortunately, this paradox has been interpreted in skills policy similar to the way in which the relation between economic growth and inequality has been conceived - that investments in higher education would have a trickle-down effect for growth, inequality and unemployment.

Our analysis suggests that such a skills policy system emphasis, alongside critical policy silences (around key target groups and the explicit identification of poverty, inequality and unemployment as policy goals) has limited the contribution that skills development legislation and policy can make towards addressing poverty, inequality and unemployment. The full report presents a more detailed description of the nature of these obstacles and our recommendations around how to address them within the policy system.

Researchers: *Dr Vijay Reddy, a distinguished research specialist, Dr Angeliqe Wildschut, a former senior research specialist, Prof. Thierry Luescher, a research director, and Jennifer Rust, a master's intern, in the HSRC's Education and Skills Development programme; and Dr Il-haam Petersen, a senior research specialist at the HSRC's Centre for Science and Innovation Indicators.*

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SOCIAL COHESION AND NATION BUILDING: Can legislation help?

More than two decades into a post-apartheid dispensation, South African society is still very fragmented, with division being fuelled by poverty, racism, inequality and misunderstanding between ethnic and cultural groups. Contributing to the Motlanthe High Level Parliamentary Panel report, HSRC researchers assessed the impact of legislation on social cohesion and nation building in South Africa since 1994. *Dr Gregory Houston* reports.

Despite social cohesion and nation building becoming significant themes in the national discourse since 1994, as well as significant efforts to promote social cohesion and nation building,

South Africa remains a deeply divided society.

The divide, created during the previous dispensations through racial discrimination and the denial of socio-economic, political and civil



'It is your duty to care', reads a poster held by a protester during the Zuma-must-fall march in Cape Town in April 2017.

rights to black people, is even perceived by some to have worsened.

The HSRC research team provided research support for the analysis of key legislation and inputs into the Motlanthe Panel's processes, including submissions at public hearings, written submissions, and presentations at roundtables. Looking at the historic, current and future factors that influence relations in the country, the aim was to assess the impact of legislation on social cohesion and nation building in South Africa since 1994, and for the panel report to produce recommendations that would accelerate change.

Threats to social cohesion

Apart from enjoying equal socio-economic, political and civil rights in a non-racial and non-sexist society, social cohesion will only come about when South Africans have a common perception of the nation, when they trust institutions and when they live in integrated human settlements.

However, the researchers identified several threats to social cohesion, including a sharp increase in acts of racism in recent years as well as class divisions due to increasing inequality and poverty, which are creating an explosive situation. High levels of xenophobia and competition for resources with foreign migrants cause social fragmentation and the country has 11 official languages that are associated with different race and ethnic groupings. There is a growth in vulnerable and marginalised communities who are excluded from socio-economic opportunities, as women still are. Finally, vulnerable and marginalised communities still have unequal experiences of the law compared with those from wealthy communities.

The Social Assistance Act

In their focus on socio-economic rights, the researchers noted that

“CHALLENGES INCLUDE ENDEMIC CORRUPTION, LIMITED ACCESS TO INFORMATION, A LACK OF ADMINISTRATIVE JUSTICE AND CONSTRAINTS ON PUBLIC AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION.”

there were several challenges with the Social Assistance Act (No. 13 of 2004). The panel report also recommended several amendments to the Act and steps to be taken to improve implementation. An example of the former is the recommendation to amend the Act to enable teen mothers and child-headed households to receive the child support grant simultaneously for themselves and the children in their care, while an example of the latter is the recommendation to index social assistance grants against inflation.

Eliminating discrimination

The right to equality is the fundamental constitutional mandate underlying all legislation, policies and programmes related to the elimination of discrimination. There are several challenges in this area, including racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerances; gender discrimination; discrimination against refugees and migrants; discrimination against members of the lesbian, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex (LBTQI) community; discrimination against children and youth; discrimination against older persons; and discrimination against people living with disabilities. A total of eighteen relevant Acts were considered here, and recommendations were made to amend or repeal legislation, and to improve implementation.

The LBTQI community case

The researchers identified policy goals underlying the relevant legislation in each area where challenges were identified, for

example with regard to discrimination against members of the LBTQI community. South Africa is one of the first countries in the world to explicitly enshrine in law the rights of people who identify as gay, lesbian or bisexual, or who practice same-sex sexuality. However, they continue to face discrimination, violence and homophobia in their daily lives. There are several

challenges in existing legislation that affect members of the LBTQI community, including the Alteration of Sex Description and Sex Status Act (No. 49 of 2003), which often forces couples to divorce following a gender description change and makes no provision for any person who does not wish to be identified as male or female. There are several challenges in the implementation of existing legislation that affects members of this community, including the discriminatory manner in which officials of the Department of Home Affairs interpret the Alteration of Sex Description and Sex Status Act, leading in some cases to individuals undergoing intrusive medical surgery, which they may not have wanted to subject themselves to. Consequently, the Motlanthe Panel recommended several amendments to the Act and the recommendation that Parliament should consider having a once-off public hearing with the relevant departments and stakeholders to obtain feedback from departments and input from the public on progress with the implementation of the Act.

Active citizenship and corruption

Accountability, responsiveness and openness are values in the Constitution that aim at building democracy through active citizenship and governance. These values are enshrined in various sections of the Constitution, including the right of access to information held by the state (Section 32), the right to 'just' administrative action (Section 33), and the right to participate in some activities of parliament (Sections 59

and 72). However, these values are challenged by endemic corruption; limited access to information; a lack of administrative justice in many areas; and constraints on public and community participation. A significant number of the written submissions made by the public at public hearings organised by the Motlanthe Panel raised concerns about corruption, including corruption of ward councillors, the appointment of school principals, processing of asylum seekers, in processes assisting disaster-affected communities, in issuing drivers' licences, at police stations, by traditional leaders, and in the implementation of land reform.

Despite the explicit constitutional right to access to information and the provisions of the Promotion of Access to Information Act (PAIA), there have been problems in the implementation of the Act and its use has been limited. Also, despite the existence of several laws enjoining institutions to promote public participation, the resources to do so are inadequate. The Motlanthe panel recommended that: 'Parliament should consider identifying and reviewing all legislation that includes a public participation component, including those that relate to Parliament's interaction with citizens, and ensure that it conducts oversight of and the provision of adequate resources for the implementation of these provisions, so that where provision is made for the public to be consulted, this consultation is meaningful and effective.'

Figure 1: Key fault lines during the apartheid era

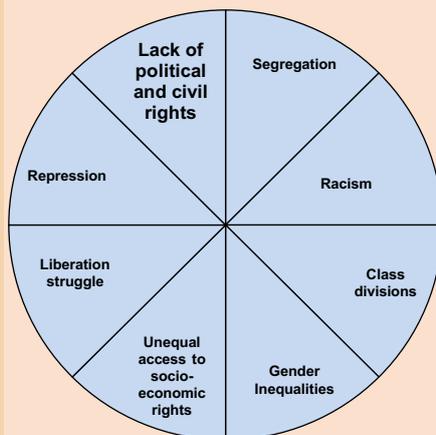
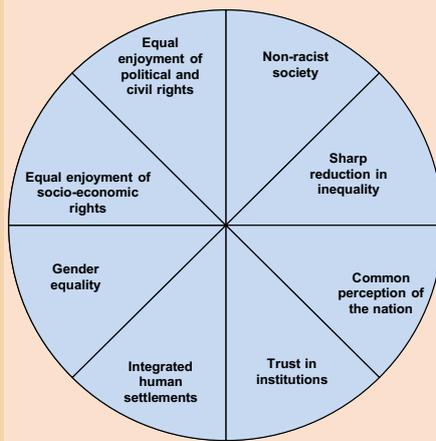


Figure 2: Characteristics of a social cohesive and united South Africa



Parliament's role

Although no constitutional mandate exists to encourage nation building, there are several provisions in the Constitution that have a direct bearing on social cohesion and nation building, including the preamble, the affirmation of 'non-racialism' and 'non-sexism' as foundational principles in Section 1, and Section

3(1), which declares that '[t]here is a common South African citizenship'. The HSRC research team noted that South Africa has several nation building policies, including education and language policies. Attention was drawn to the lines of fracture during the democratic era. Statistical data drawn from several sources indicate that very little has been achieved in the country's nation building project. The most significant recommendation made in this regard was that: 'Parliament should consider institutional measures to enable it to play a more active role and to more effectively oversee and monitor implementation of key legislation, and this could include: enabling Parliament to promote a common vision and take lead of the process of nation building by holding annual public hearings on social cohesion and nation-building.'

The HSRC research team that contributed to the Diagnostic Report and chapter on Social Cohesion and Nation Building in the Motlanthe Report included Dr Gregory Houston, chief research specialist, Dr Stephen Gordon, post-doctoral research fellow, Dr Yul Derek Davids, chief research specialist, Prof. Joleen Steyn-Kotze, senior research specialist, Adv. Gary Pienaar, senior research manager, Prof. John Stanfield, research director, Dr Tyania Masiya, post-doctoral research fellow, Marie Wentzel, chief researcher, Johan Viljoen, senior researcher, and Thabani Mdlongwa, researcher, all from the Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery programme.

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WHY

DO PEOPLE ATTACK FOREIGNERS LIVING IN SOUTH AFRICA?

ASKING ORDINARY
SOUTH AFRICANS

A new study from the Human Sciences Research Council contributes to our public debate on anti-immigrant violence by looking at the opinions of ordinary South Africans. Using public opinion data, *Dr Steven Gordon* looks at which explanations for anti-immigrant violence are most popular amongst the country's adult population. By understanding how the public views this important question, we can better comprehend which xenophobia prevention mechanisms would be most acceptable to the general population.

A fan walk organised by Charly's Bakery in Cape Town to celebrate the 92nd birthday of Nelson Mandela and to create awareness of xenophobia in South Africa. Source: Wikimedia



SAY NO TO XENOPHOBIA!
ACCEPT -
CELEBRATE - OUR REFUGEES
LEARN FROM

Anti-immigrant violence is one of the major problems facing South Africa. This type of hate crime discourages long-term integration of international migrants and acts as a barrier to otherwise economically beneficial population movement. It also sours the country's international relationships on the African continent.

Relations between South Africa and Nigeria (one of the region's largest economies) have, for example, deteriorated because of recent episodes of anti-immigrant attacks. Since the early 1990s, state officials, legislators and policymakers in South Africa have debated the causes of anti-immigrant violence. There are a thousand different opinions on what causes such hostility and some politicians (like former President Jacob Zuma) have even suggested that this problem does not exist.

Getting an unbiased survey answer

Data from the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) 2017 was used for this study. A repeated cross-sectional survey series, SASAS is specially designed to be nationally representative of all persons 16 years and older in the country. Survey teams visited households in all nine provinces and the sample size was 3,098. Fieldworkers informed respondents that they were going to be asked: "some questions about people from other countries coming to live in South Africa". Respondents were then asked the following: "There are many opinions about why people take violent action against foreigners living in South Africa. Please tell me the MAIN REASON why you think this happens." This question was open-ended which allowed respondents to answer in their own words. This encouraged respondents to give an unbiased answer.

“ ABOUT 30% OF THE PUBLIC IDENTIFIED THE LABOUR MARKET THREAT POSED BY FOREIGNERS AS THE MAIN REASON FOR ANTI-IMMIGRANT VIOLENCE. ”

The response

Using SASAS, I identified main causes of xenophobic violence given by the public. These explanations are depicted in Table 1 across economic groups. Here, I use the well-known Living Standard Measure: Low (1-4), Medium (5-6) and High (7-10). Almost every person interviewed was able to offer an explanation for why people attack foreigners in South Africa. Only a small minority (5%) described such violence as irrational, illogical or unknowable. An even smaller portion (2%) of the public rejected the premise of the question and said that attacks against foreigners were 'just the work of criminals'. Before the different reasons are discussed in more detail, it is important to note that when talking about international migrants, respondents made

little distinction between different types of foreigners. Most made general reference to this group and only a relatively small proportion cited specific types (e.g. undocumented) of foreigners.

Table 1: Main reasons given to explain anti-immigrant violence in South Africa (multiple response)

	Total	Living Standard Measure		
		Low	Medium	High
Threat reasons				
<i>Criminal activities of foreigners</i>				
Immigrants bring/sell drugs	17.6	24.1	17.4	15.9
Immigrants increase/cause other types of crime	15.5	13.5	15.9	15.8
<i>Economic activities of foreigners</i>				
Immigrants increase/cause unemployment	30.4	29.3	31.1	30.4
The practices of foreign-owned businesses	4.8	6.2	4.7	4.6
Immigrants use up resources	5.3	2.7	5.1	6.4
Other threats from foreigners	5.4	8.1	5.2	4.2
Non-threat reasons				
People are misinformed about immigrants	2.0	0.3	1.4	3.1
People are prejudiced about immigrants	2.5	0.6	2.7	3.1
People are jealous of immigrants	10.3	8.6	11.7	9.4
The violence is the fault of the government	2.0	0.3	1.3	3.7
The violence is the fault of criminals	1.8	2.3	1.3	2.6
Immigrants are undocumented	2.2	0.1	2.2	3.5
Other reasons	2.8	4.6	2.8	2.0
The violence is irrational	5.4	5.1	5.8	5.6

The financial explanation

The most popular explanation given for attacks against international migrants concerned the negative financial effect that immigrants had on South African society. About a third (30%) of the public identified the labour market threat posed by foreigners as the main reason for anti-immigrant violence. The other main economic causes identified by the general public were: (i) the unfair business practices of foreign-owned shops and small businesses; and (ii) immigrants use up resources (such as housing). It is interesting to note that poor people were not more likely to give economic reasons than the wealthy.

Criminal activity

The criminal threat posed by international immigrants was the second most frequently mentioned cause of anti-immigrant violence. Almost a third (30%) of the adult population said that the violence occurred because communities were responding to the criminal activities of international migrants. Many people attributed the violence to foreigners' involvement in illegal drug trafficking specifically. Poor people were found to be particularly likely to give illicit drug trading by foreigners as a main cause. About 5% of adults identified other threats from foreigners as the main reason for the attacks. These threats included disease, sexual exploitation of women and children as well as a general sense that immigrants wanted to 'take over the country'.

Jealousy

Overall, 70% of the general public identified the threat posed by immigrants as the main explanation for anti-immigrant violence in South Africa. Looking at the minority that named a non-threat explanation for the violence, we found that few identified individual prejudice or misinformation spread about international migrants as a reason for anti-immigrant violence. Remarkably, the most frequent non-threat explanation for violence was jealousy. Approximately 10% of the population told fieldworkers that envy of the success or ingenuity of foreigners had caused this kind of hate crime. People who responded in this way tended to tell fieldworkers that South Africans were lazy when compared to international migrants.

Conclusion

Most South Africans have a strong opinion about why anti-immigrant violence occurs in the country. Reviewing the responses given to fieldworkers, it is apparent that the majority of reasons provided by the general population concern the harmful conduct of international migrants. There is no evidence to support the belief that South Africa's international migrant community is, however, a significant cause of crime or unemployment in the country. Indeed, as former President Jacob Zuma has himself acknowledged, many in the migrant community "contribute to the economy of the country positively". Current Minister of Home Affairs Malusi Gigaba has himself said that it is wrong to claim that all foreigners are drug dealers or human traffickers.

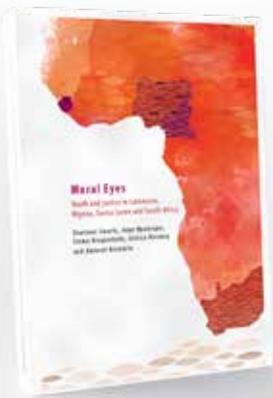
If a progressive solution to anti-immigrant violence is to be found, then there is a need to persuade the general population to support a different interpretation of the causes of anti-immigrant violence. Only with public support can anti-xenophobia advocates end hate crime against immigrants in South Africa. Government and activists need to change the way ordinary people think about this type of hate crime.

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People marching against xenophobia outside Little Ethiopia in Jeppe Street, Johannesburg
Source: Wikimedia



KNOWLEDGE FROM THE SOUTH: A RESEARCH JOURNEY investigating youth and justice in **four** African countries

The demand for knowledge production from the South about the South is increasingly seen as a justice issue that strives for equality within the global intellectual marketplace of ideas. *Prof. Sharlene Swartz and Anye Nyamnjoh* describe lessons learnt from a recent research study investigating youth and justice with students in four African countries. These lessons affirm the importance of such endeavours, but also show that the task is not without its difficulties.

One of the pressing issues in South Africa today is the demand for free, decolonised and quality education. This struggle and the claims for it are not only a South African issue, but one that is intimately connected with Africa and the Global South. The core claims revolve around multifaceted issues of access, in relation to those within and outside of academia. In academia, issues of access are discussed in terms of epistemic injustice, which characterises the experience of exclusion among Southern scholars in the global academic space. Calls for decolonisation in academia are anchored in a desire to engage in

research that understands societies on their own terms. In addition, it is about establishing ownership of the resources and conditions in academia which are fundamental to carrying out autonomous knowledge production whether through independent research, institutions, methodological perspectives or subject matter.

Scholars' expressions

While this urgent task is rightly framed as an issue of justice, it is a monumental one. There is a need for scholars to share their experiences of the challenges of such endeavours. Considering an intellectual commitment to decolonising knowledge production, what are the challenges Southern scholars face while producing knowledge about the South? We describe the lessons from a recent HSRC research project titled "Moral eyes: Cultivating youth moral responses to privilege, injustice and restitution". The project included emerging and established Southern scholars looking to produce knowledge on responses to injustice in Africa. It interrogated identity based privileges and oppressions through the concept of restitution among students in

South Africa (race), Nigeria (religion/ethnicity), Sierra Leone (ethnicity) and Cameroon (language/geography). Across these four contexts, we dealt with questions such as how past histories of injustice are reproduced in the present, and what a process of restitution that restores dignity, opportunity and belonging in these countries might look like. Seventy-two students from diverse backgrounds (race, religion, ethnicity, educational discipline) were interviewed for this study.

Lessons learnt

In thinking about the lessons learnt from this project, we reflected on the how the research was conducted and funded, who we were as researchers, and considered the local and international response to our work presented at various conferences.

We identified three main lessons. Firstly, the necessity and urgency of producing 'knowledge about the South from the South' was reaffirmed. Secondly, some of the responses to our work show that as Southern scholars, we can perpetuate the very thing we seek to change. Most Southern scholars

“MOST SOUTHERN SCHOLARS ARE PRODUCTS OF WESTERN EDUCATION TO SOME DEGREE AND CAN BE BLIND TO ITS DECONTEXTUALISED REPRODUCTION.”

are products of Western education to some degree and can be blind to its decontextualised reproduction. Finally, knowledge production is a material as well as an intellectual activity. As such, publishing, as a facet of producing knowledge, is made easier by having engaged but non-intrusive funders.

How little people know

In conducting this research, we came to see just how much 'research about the South from the South' was needed 'internally' and 'externally'. Externally, we were struck by how little people knew about the countries we were writing about. In fact, one of the things we realised over the course of the research journey was that we ended up structuring our participation at international conferences in response to this problem. Our first international conference (held in Brazil) in 2015 was dedicated solely to providing country backgrounds and the historical context of identity based privilege and oppression. While some were familiar with the South African context, the same could not be said of Cameroon, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. In the case of the latter, two participants had only vague ideas in relation to "terrorism and civil war" and "Ebola" respectively. Internally, ignorance about the South is unfortunately espoused by those from the South as well. In this regard, it is worth noting that our own understandings of these contexts improved as well, such that by the second conference (this time at Harvard University in the United States), each of us could speak on themes across these contexts with familiarity and confidence. This ended up being a project whereby in the process of writing about the South from the South, we bridged the epistemic gaps between North and South and within the South as well.

Complicity

Some of the responses to our project suggest that despite noble intentions,

we can be complicit in the very Western epistemic hegemony we seek to disrupt. Although the notion of restitution we use is not within African theoretical underpinnings (such as our understanding of personhood for example), one criticism of the monograph (from a Zambian peer reviewer) is that we relied almost exclusively on Western theories of change in our discussion of the role of dialogue in leveraging social change. When it came to deepening African theory, we were caught short. Finally, researching and publishing in Southern contexts is made easier by having accommodating and understanding funders. One of the most fortunate aspects of this research journey was the engaged, yet non-intrusive disposition of our funders.

Requires incessant reflexivity

In conclusion, this journey affirmed the importance of writing about the South from the South from an internal and external perspective. There is much room for Southern and Northern scholars to know more about Southern contexts. The task requires incessant reflexivity, embodied in a commitment to interrogate one's complicity in

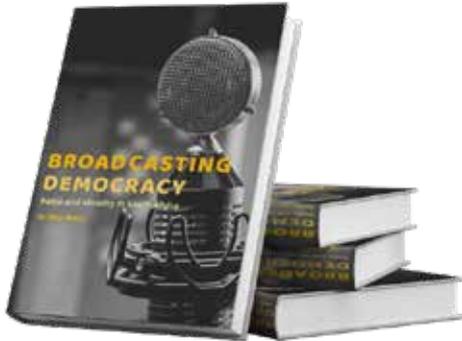
reproducing Western epistemic hegemony, as well as patience with the audience with whom one is engaging. Failure to do so results in Southern knowledge being relegated to either only a Southern audience or a small committed audience. In contrast, our research when presented in Brazil and at Harvard attracted large audiences. Finally, research funders who share a vision for Southern knowledge production and who understand its difficulties, are key to promoting autonomous intellectual pursuits and academic freedom by being non-intrusive, while remaining engaged.

A monograph produced from the study, detailing the findings rather than the research journey has been published by the HSRC Press entitled *Moral eyes: Youth and justice in Cameroon, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and South Africa*.

Authors: Prof. Sharlene Swartz is the executive director of the HSRC's Education and Skills Development research programme and an adjunct associate professor of sociology at the University of Cape Town. Anye Nyamnjoh is a researcher in the Human and Social Development research programme.



Anye Nyamnjoh and Jessica Breakey discussing their work on the book, Moral Eyes: Youth and justice in Cameroon, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and South Africa, at the annual conference of the Association for Moral Education at Harvard University.



Price R190,00

Broadcasting democracy

Radio and identity in South Africa

Author:	Tanja Bosch
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About the book

The media play a key role in post-apartheid South Africa and are often positioned at the centre of debates around politics, identity and culture. Media, such as radio, are often said to also play a role in deepening democracy, while simultaneously holding the power to frame political events, shape public discourse and impact citizens' perceptions of reality. *Broadcasting democracy: Radio and identity in South Africa* provides an exciting look into the diverse world of South African radio, exploring how various radio formats and stations play a role in constructing post-apartheid identities. At the centre of the book is the argument that various types of radio stations represent autonomous systems of cultural activity, and are 'consumed' as such by listeners. In this sense, it argues that South African radio is 'broadcasting democracy'. *Broadcasting democracy* will be of interest to media scholars and radio listeners alike.

This is an emphatic, engaging, well-grounded and richly argued study of the centrality of radio in claims and contestations that pertain to identity and democracy in post-apartheid South Africa.

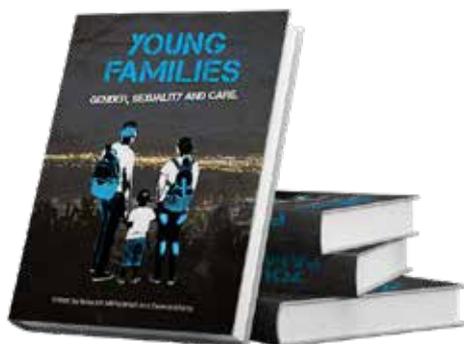
- **Francis B. Nyamnjoh, author of *Africa's Media, Democracy and the Politics of Belonging***

Tanja Bosch's new book is an important addition to the literature. It tackles the under-researched medium of radio, demonstrating how public, community and commercial stations in South Africa contribute to identity formation and to the public sphere in distinct but related ways. Both scholarly and readable, the work is essential reading for anybody wanting to understand South Africa's unique media landscape and still new democracy.

- **Franz Kruger, Professor of Journalism and Director of the Wits Radio Academy**

Radio is Africa's most ubiquitous medium. South Africa's race-space relations were footprinted during apartheid by transmission technology, therefore, making sense of radio helps to make sense of the post-apartheid condition. Talk radio is part of the ideological topography. *Broadcasting democracy* addresses contemporary issues in historical context.

- **Keyan G Tomaselli, Distinguished Professor, University of Johannesburg; Professor Emeritus and Fellow, University of KwaZulu-Natal**



Price **R220,00**

Young families: Gender, sexuality and care

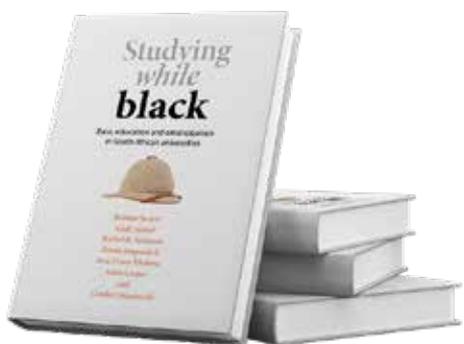
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About the book

Young families: Gender, sexuality and care draws together unique and compelling essays about the contexts of early childbearing, a topic that is now taken for granted. It draws on empirical data, multi-level approaches and inter-disciplinary perspectives on the dynamics that underpin young people's experiences of being pregnant, having a child and caring for the child.

The book explores the contexts in which young families are constituted and shaped along with the kinds of social relationships and communities of care that early childbearing creates (or in some instances destroys). It shows the entanglement of gender, sexuality, race, age and class in the formation of young families and its effects on caring practices.

This book draws together unique and compelling accounts that address a gap in the existing literature on families in South Africa while also providing an understanding of the diversity of young South African families. *Young Families* will be of interest and of benefit to those in the fields of women and gender studies, anthropology, education, sociology, history and demography.



Price **R280,00**

Studying while black

Race, education and emancipation in South African universities

Authors:	Sharlene Swartz, Alude Mahali, Relebohile Moletsane, Emma Arogundade, Nene Ernest Khalema, Adam Cooper and Candice Groenewald
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ISBN soft cover:	978-0-7969-2508-4
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Extent:	272 pages
Rights:	World Rights

About the book

Between 2013 and 2017, a team of HSRC researchers undertook a longitudinal qualitative study that tracked 80 students from 8 diverse universities in South Africa and documented their experiences at these higher education institutions. Midway through the study, the student protests erupted and focused national attention on many of the stories we had already heard. In the subsequent years of the study, we also heard from students who were actively involved in these transformation struggles as well as those who sat on the side-lines.

Studying while black is an intimate portrait of the many ways in which students in South Africa experience university and the centrality of race and geography in their quest for education and ultimately emancipation. Students' voices can be heard directly in a 45-minute documentary that accompanied this study entitled *Ready or Not!: Black students' experiences of South African universities* – available on social media.