



**HSRC**  
Human Sciences  
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# REVIEW

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**SUBSTANCE ABUSE:  
CRITICAL NEED FOR  
RESEARCH PAGE 6**



**SURVEY: FEELINGS  
ABOUT FOREIGNERS  
PAGE 11**



**ADDRESSING  
INEQUALITY IN BRICS  
PAGE 18**



# Contents

|  |    |
|--|----|
| NEWS ROUNDUP   | 1  |
| EXEMPLARY SCHOOLS – PROTECTIVE WEBS IN POOR COMMUNITIES                                | 4  |
| SUBSTANCE ABUSE: THE CRITICAL NEED FOR MORE USABLE RESEARCH                            | 6  |
| CHILD RIGHTS: IMPRISONMENT FOR MAINTENANCE DEFAULTERS?                                 | 9  |
| INTOLERABLE CRUELTY: ANTI-IMMIGRANT SENTIMENT IN KWAZULU-NATAL                         | 11 |
| WHO IS A FOREIGNER IN SOUTH AFRICA?  | 14 |
| XENOPHOBIA AT ODDS WITH SA 'RHETORIC OF INCLUSIVITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS'                  | 16 |
| LOOKING BEYOND SOUTH AFRICA: THE URGENCY OF ADDRESSING INEQUALITY IN BRICS             | 18 |
| WHAT IS THE VALUE OF A DOCTORAL DEGREE?  | 22 |
| HSRC PRESS BOOK REVIEW<br>DRINKING WITH GHOSTS: THE AFTERMATH OF APARTHEID'S DIRTY WAR | 24 |

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## PRODUCTION

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## Gender-sensitive science under the spotlight

The highly anticipated Gender Summit 5 Africa on gender and science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM), took place in Cape Town from 28 to 30 April 2015. It provided an opportunity to strengthen the research collaboration among scientists and stakeholders working in the STEM disciplines and to accelerate the promotion of gender-sensitive science that has the potential to influence policy.

### Broad spectrum participation

The summit included partners in academics, policy makers, funding agencies and civil society from 28 countries. Among the speakers were the Minister of Science and Technology, Naledi Pandor; the Minister of Women in the Presidency, Susan Shabangu (paper delivered by her director-general). Video addresses were delivered by Dr Jo Handelsman, associate director for Science at the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy, USA; EU Commissioner of the European Commission, Neven Mimica; Professor Peter Piot, director and professor of Global Health, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Disease, UK; and eminent gender managers and scientists such as Dr Wanda Ward, the US Deputy Director of National Sciences Foundation; Dr Elizabeth Pollitzer, founder of Gender Summits, and Professor Heisook Lee, president of the Center for Women in Science, Engineering & Technology, Seoul, Korea, which will be hosting Gender Summit 6 in Korea this August.

The four thematic areas were gender and scientific research; gender expertise and people; gender and science systems, and gender and societal and economic development. The participants shared international experiences on the benefits of including gender and diversity in STEM research, the application of gender analytic tools in growing the economy and how Africa could build human capacity in STEM. The HSRC presented a gender analytic tool for use in the social sciences. Their speeches are available on <http://gender-summit.com/g5-program>.

One of the many topics addressed were key drivers of gender inequality in STEM and the Africa development agenda.

### Africa's long-term vision

The African Union has developed its 50-year plan, i.e. Agenda 2063, and science is at the heart of this plan. The challenge now is how Africa can leapfrog by offering opportunities for both males and females to enter the field of STEM on an equal footing and ensure that workplaces are gender sensitive in all aspects, from employment to climbing the career ladder and remuneration. It is essential to ensure that Agenda 2063 is researched-based and gender sensitive. Should women be included in these areas, Africa's development would accelerate with a similar trajectory that Korea observed when its development plans removed gender bias in STEM.

*Continues on page 2 >>*

## DECADE OF AFRICAN SEAS AND OCEANS RUNG IN

South Africa's priorities for the Blue Economy, as set out in Operation Phakisa, span a broad area, from marine manufacturing and marine transport, to aquaculture, offshore oil and gas exploration, marine protection and governance.

These national priorities will be aligned with the priorities of the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) as an area of high value potential, said International Relations and Cooperation Deputy Minister, Nomaindiya Mfeketo, in the opening address of the first IORA Blue Economy Core Group Workshop held in Durban.

The meeting was organised by the Human Sciences Research Council under the theme, *Promoting fisheries & aquaculture and maritime safety*

*& security co-operation in the Indian Ocean region.*

South Africa will chair IORA from 2017–2018, with a specific focus on the Blue Economy. Mfeketo said preliminary thoughts on the priorities during this period included the ocean economy; research development and innovation; engagement with dialogue partners, and maritime security and civil society participation in IORA. This will take place in close coordination with the African membership of IORA.

South Africa and SADC's strategy, with respect to the Indian Ocean region, is embedded in the African Integrated Maritime Strategy (AIMS), which is a multi-dimensional approach and perspective on maritime security, governance and Africa's seaborne development potential.



*International Relations and Cooperation Deputy Minister, Nomaindiya Mfeketo.*

Mfeketo said the heads of state and governments adopted AIMS in January 2014, and Africa's leaders declared the 2015–2025 decade as the Decade of African Seas and Oceans, providing the continent with a clear continental framework.

## CONFERENCE AIMS FOR A PEACEFUL AND PROSPEROUS AFRICA

*I AM AN AFRICAN. The 2014 African Unity for Renaissance Conference was officially opened by former President Thabo Mbeki. On his left is Prof. Mammo Muchie, research chair in Innovation Studies, Tshwane University of Technology.*



The fifth African Unity for Renaissance Conference and Africa Day Expo, which consists of a series of conferences open to academics from all six regions of Africa and academics from the diaspora, took place from 22 to 24 May 2015 at the University of Johannesburg's Auckland Park Kingsway and Soweto campuses.

Over the years the conference has been an important annual gathering of African scholars who use the opportunity to explore and propose ideas for a peaceful and prosperous Africa. It is organised by the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa (HSRC) in partnership with Tshwane University of Technology

(TUT), National Research Foundation (NRF), Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute (TMALI), Department of Science and Technology (DST), International Council for Science, Regional Office for Africa (ICSU-ROA), BrandSA, Kara Heritage Institute, the City of Tshwane and the University of Johannesburg (UJ).

The three-day event featured academics from Ethiopia, Nigeria, Cameroon, Senegal, Kenya, Botswana, Uganda, Zimbabwe, USA, India, Canada, Finland and many more.

At the 2014 conference, participants reflected on achievements in the quest for solutions to Africa's multifaceted social, economic and political problems.

Similarly, the fifth African Unity for Renaissance conference entitled *2015 and beyond: engaging agenda 2063* aspired to engage with policies from the UN, IMF, World Bank and the African Union, by using research-based scholarly reflection to contribute to policy evaluation, recommendation and learning.

Academic speakers and policy makers spoke on pertinent aspects of the post-2015 global development agenda, that addresses the seven aspirations in the African Union's Agenda 2063.

More information will soon be available on [www.hsrc.ac.za](http://www.hsrc.ac.za), including a policy lobbying document, the Soweto Declaration.



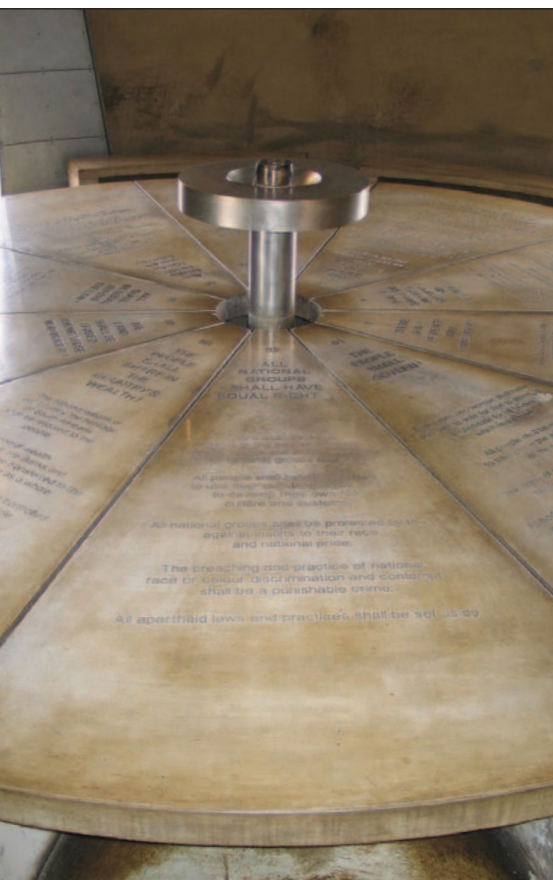
The next step is the development of a gender policy charter for scientific research, which would serve as a guide to encourage those engaged in STEM to take into account the needs of women and men, as well as transgender and gender non-conforming persons. The HSRC will lead the development of this charter by engaging the Gender Summit 5 participants.

Gender Summit 5 Africa was convened by the HSRC; the South African Department of Science and Technology; the Minister of Women in the South African Presidency, Ms Susan Shabangu; the Portia Gender and Science Summit; the National Research Foundation; the National Science Foundation, and Howard University.

The organisers of the meeting were led by Dr Phindile Lukhele-Olorunju of the Africa Institute at the HSRC. We are grateful for the financial contributions of the conveners as well as those of Elsevier, Wellcome Trust, Anglo American and Statistics South Africa.



Dr Olive Shisana  
CEO, HSRC



*The Freedom Charter memorial in Kliptown, Johannesburg.*

What does the Freedom Charter mean, 60 years after its adoption in Kliptown, Johannesburg on 26 June 1955? With racism and xenophobia prevailing in our country, do the words still ring true: 'We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know: that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white...?'

Of course not, says ex-ANC parliamentarian and director of the

## THE FREEDOM CHARTER AFTER 60 YEARS

Institute for African Alternatives, Ben Turok. Not as long as inequality exists in the country; inequalities of work, the loss of status of the poor and of people of colour, and unemployment, while the rich have multiple homes, multiple cars and money in overseas banks.

The Freedom Charter is still a very important vision statement and an ideal the country should strive for, said the octogenarian, who was speaking at a seminar to celebrate the Freedom Charter titled, *The role of government in an unequal world*.

He said he picked up 'an element of fatigue in the government; a degree of complacency creeping in' and with that, the dynamism of the early struggle years was not quite as visible as before.

Former constitutional court judge Albie Sachs, who along with Turok was involved in gathering thousands of statements from all over the country on thousands of small pieces of paper for what was to become the Freedom Charter, also spoke at the seminar.

Sachs maintained the charter had retained its 'pristine quality' and still enters current debates.

'Does that mean that I, Albie Sachs, who was so idealistic, aged 20 at the launching of the Freedom Charter, feel that this is not the country we were fighting for? My answer is yes, it is the country we were fighting for, but it's not the society we were fighting for.'

In a different register, Professor Vishnu Padayachee, distinguished professor at the School of Economics and Business Science at the University of Witwatersrand, gave an in-depth overview of economic policy. He expressed little faith 'in the vague, unprioritised claims and policy prescriptions of the national development plan, which has failed to win support even within the ANC alliance.'

'While claiming some scholarly justification for new forms of state intervention, the NDP – far from offering a new vision of structural development economics as an alternative to the Washington consensus – constrains the restoration of a more activist role for the state.'

He said he would like to see much stronger government intervention in the economy and a coherent, funded, labour-absorbing industrial policy aimed at diversifying the economy away from its stultifying historical routes, or what has been defined as the minerals energy complex.

This would include growing manufacturing production, employment and exports, coupled with a revitalised well-governed set of state institutions and state enterprises in areas such as energy generation, and the provision of finance, especially for small business.



*Professor VN Attri, chair of Indian Ocean Studies of IORA, whose office is based at the University of Mauritius.*

The process of the long-term structural change in energy systems, in this case from fossil fuel energy to renewable energy (energy transitions), took up much discussion at the four-day meeting of the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), hosted by the Human Sciences Research Council. Sea renewable energy forms part of the concept of the Blue Economy.

IORA was established in March 1997 and consists of a group of 20 member states that, because of their countries' coastlines, have an acute interest in issues concerning the Indian Ocean.

A strong proponent of the energy transition approach is Professor VN Attri, chair of Indian Ocean Studies of IORA, whose office is based at the University of Mauritius.

## INDIAN OCEAN RIM, THE BLUE ECONOMY AND RENEWABLE ENERGY

Attri presented a seminar during the meeting. He said energy was vital for the growth of the global economy and looking back at history, every stage of economic development had been accompanied by a characteristic energy transition from one major fuel source to another.

Transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy requires cooperation between public and private actors, governments and regulators, economic and social factors, national resources, environmental concerns, and individual behaviour.

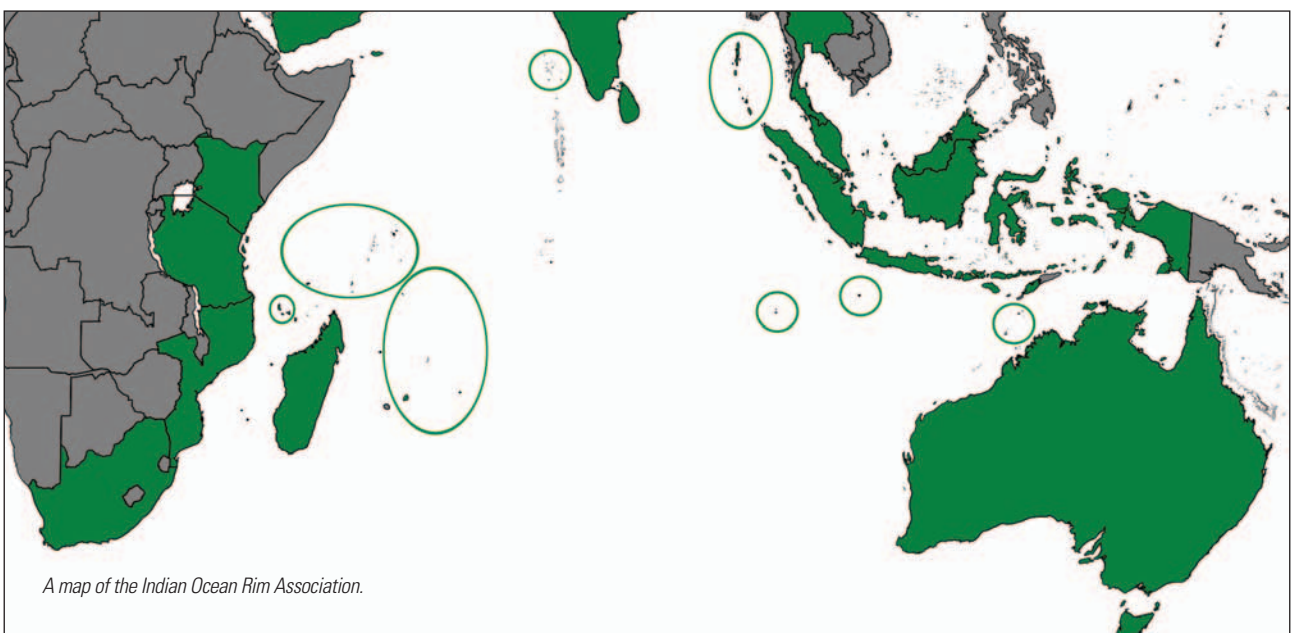
In 2013, the fossil fuels coal, oil and natural gas were the dominant energy sources in the industrial and developing economies, with global use sitting at 28.8%, 31.5% and 21.3% respectively. As a consequence of climate change and limits on fossil fuel supplies, transition to renewable energy has already begun to take place by solving the problems associated with the 'world energy trilemma', which is security, energy equity and environmental sustainability.

Countries such as Iran, Oman, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen rely heavily on natural gas and oil; the contribution of renewable energy sources in these countries is low. The other countries of the region, India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, mainly depend on coal. In contrast to this,

the vast majority of the energy needs of Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand are met by oil, natural gas and coal, with bioenergy representing 15% of the energy mix in these countries. The Comoros, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, Seychelles, Tanzania and South Africa depend heavily on coal (50%) and bioenergy (30%).

Attri said Thailand was committed to increasing its use of renewable energy from 10.6% in June 2013 to 25% in 2021, and that other member-states had undertaken a series of new initiatives to accelerate the deployment of renewable energy throughout the Indian Ocean region.

In the first Renewable Energy Forum of the Indian Ocean Rim Association at Abu Dhabi, UAE, on 21 January 2014, all member states agreed to focus on resource mapping, cost reduction strategies, capacity building through mutual cooperation, knowledge sharing, joint training programmes within the member states, collaborative partnerships in wind power, and market deployment of clean energy technologies with the USA and Japan – IORA's dialogue partners. IORA is also focusing on the environmental and security related problems of energy, along with shifts towards mixing different renewable energy sources, Attri said.



*A map of the Indian Ocean Rim Association.*

# Exemplary schools – protective webs in poor communities

Often, when addressing issues related to access to quality education for the poor, the emphasis is on the provision of resources. But is this the most important element for learners to succeed? Apparently not. *George Frempong* and *Charlotte Motha* report on a study of why some poor schools do well and others do not.

**T**he assumption is often that the major cause of the low performance of schools serving poor communities is a lack of resources, and that an improvement in resources would lead to successful learning outcomes in these schools. But improvements in resources at these schools have often not yielded the expected returns, while some schools serving poor communities are able to provide opportunities for their learners to succeed. We refer to these schools as exemplary, and ask the question, what is the story behind their success?

A recent National Research Foundation (NRF) funded research study led by George Frempong and a research team from the HSRC, University of Venda and Tshwane University of Technology (TUT), tells an appealing story.

The findings showed that exemplary schools serving poor communities succeeded largely through the promotion of the values of commitment and care, and the creation of an enabling environment that shielded these learners from their vulnerabilities and motivated them to learn and succeed.

Exemplary schools seem to have a better understanding of the vulnerabilities of their learners.

A metaphor to describe how these exemplary schools function, is like spiders building webs to protect and help their young ones survive in the jungle. Exemplary schools seem to have a better understanding of the vulnerabilities of their learners and pay more attention to developing the emotional resources their students require to be successful in learning.

## Profiles of exemplary schools in South Africa

Over the past decades, a number of studies have identified and profiled how schools should work to provide opportunities for all learners to succeed. In South Africa, studies exploring how schools work for the poor have focused on the leadership qualities necessary for school effectiveness. A study by Professor GD Kamper of the University of South Africa (UNISA) examined the kind of leadership style that was effective in successful disadvantaged schools in South Africa. The study was conducted at six successful high-poverty schools in South Africa that had sustained matric pass rates of 90%, and found that 'the essential solution to the plight of high-poverty schools lies in effective school leadership'. The findings were based on interviews with six principals, observations of school facilities and the surroundings, and field notes.

The features of these successful schools include:

- The creation of a climate and culture of mutual respect;
- Focus on quality teaching and learning with monitoring of learner progress and immediate action to correct problems;
- Optimal parental involvement and a sense of parent ownership of the school expressed in utterances such as, 'This is our school';
- Building parent self-esteem as full partners;
- Very low levels of teacher mobility and the sense of family among teaching staff;
- Focus on the learner and the non-negotiable emphasis on learner and teacher punctuality;
- Values of respect for individual and school, care, commitment (going the extra mile by giving extra classes); excellence (all learners deserve the same quality of education); collaboration (teamwork produces results); accountability (educators and learners honouring their responsibilities); and
- Passion for the upliftment of the poor.





These characteristics are consistent with findings from our analysis of exemplary schools based on data from the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) 2011, South Africa, and case studies in Limpopo. The TIMSS South Africa data consist of a random sample of 298 schools. The Grade 9 learners in these schools, who were assessed on mathematics and science content knowledge, also responded to questionnaires about their attitude towards mathematics.

## These schools instilled in their learners an identity to learn and succeed.

### Findings from our study of exemplary schools

Our analysis showed there were a few successful schools serving very poor communities in South Africa. What seemed to make a difference in these schools was their ability to instill in their learners an identity to learn and succeed.

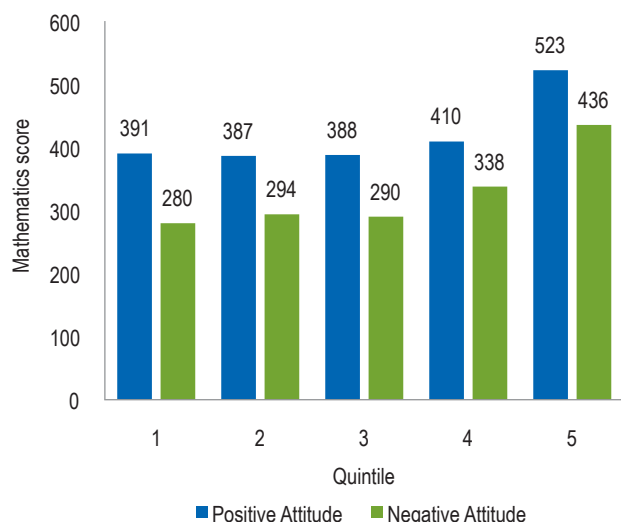
The children in these schools valued, liked and were confident learning mathematics (Figure 1). As Figure 1 illustrates, learners with positive attitudes towards mathematics (valued, liked and were confident learning mathematics) were more successful learning mathematics.

We found that the impact was particularly prominent in the poorest or quintile 1 schools. All ordinary South African public schools are categorised into five groups called quintiles, largely for purposes of the allocation of financial resources. Quintile 1 is the 'poorest' quintile, while quintile 5 is the 'least poor'.

## Exemplary schools tend to promote non-cognitive skills.

In those quintile 1 schools, the average mathematics score for learners with a positive attitude was 391, which was above the South African average of 372, compared with the average of 280 for those with negative attitude (a difference of about 119 points). This finding suggests that exemplary schools serving the poorest communities in South Africa tend to promote non-cognitive skills to support the development of their learners' cognitive skills.

Figure 1: Learners with positive attitudes towards mathematics are better at maths.



Source: HSRC, 2014



# Substance abuse: the critical need for more usable research

We conducted case studies at eight primary schools in the Vhembe district of Limpopo. Our analysis uncovered that challenges in the schools included a lack of resources and motivation to learn. Despite these challenges, teachers and principals worked hard to create an environment that provided opportunities for these learners to succeed. As one principal said during an interview, 'Even on weekends I come to school, you know when I am there I feel fulfilled'. A teacher told us that she listens to her learners, provides them with support, and motivates them to realise that maths is an easy subject, demonstrating the commitment and care some teachers employ to facilitate learning.

## Concluding remarks

The current South African education policy draws attention to transformation with emphasis on improving resources and the capability of schools to provide quality education for all. This emphasis tends to ignore the emotional challenges that children from poor families bring to school. These challenges, including a lack of confidence in their ability to learn, make these learners in poor schools able to succeed.

Our findings suggest that the schools serving learners from the poorest communities need more than just resources. They need a better understanding of how to create an enabling environment that allows these poor learners to overcome their vulnerabilities. They need encouragement to develop within their school cultural context, a social and emotional learning curriculum and activities. Quality education for all must include exemplary schools – schools that serve as webs protecting learners from their vulnerabilities. ■

*Authors: Dr George Frempong, chief research specialist, Education and Skills Development (ESD) programme, HSRC; Dr Charlotte Motha, post-doctoral research fellow, ESD.*

Substance abuse is a growing problem in South Africa, with just more than 13% of the population having used a substance during their lifetime. But the lack of comprehensive data to understand the changing trends of substance use and the lack of treatment facilities leaves much to be desired. *Ina van der Linde* reports on two seminars on substance abuse facilitated by the Department of Science and Technology and hosted by the HSRC.

**R**esearch on substance abuse is fairly conclusive: South African police data shows a 123% increase in drug-related crimes from 2003/2004 to 2013; driving under the influence of alcohol increased by 148% in this period.

During this period, the national injury mortality surveillance system on post-mortem investigations found that 54% of violence-related deaths and 52% of transport-related deaths were alcohol-related. A study at five trauma units in Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth found that one-third of patients tested positive for cannabis, 15% for metaxalone and 14% for white pipe (combination of cannabis and metaxalone). The same study showed violence was strongly related to the use of substances:





67% of trauma cases in these hospitals was alcohol related, 45% related to illicit drug use, 84% related to at least one substance, 40% related to cannabis use, and 17% related to white pipe use.

These are some of the statistics from two research seminars that aimed to encourage a wider dissemination and application of research in the social sciences and humanities. The seminars brought together local and international researchers to discuss the latest research, identify research gaps, suggest new research agendas and explore potential policy relevance.

Of interest was an analysis of the effects of specific drug types on behaviour, for example, amphetamines and cocaine were associated with violence; opiates with illegal opiate procurement and sex work, and cannabis with impacted concentration and reaction times.

**13.3% of the South African population had used drugs during their lifetime.**

### **South Africa's ever-increasing drug challenge**

Dr Paul Seale, Mercer University School of Medicine, USA, researched drug use in South Africa and found that 13.3% of the South African population had used drugs during their lifetime, resulting in substance abuse in 3.9% of people and dependence in 0.6% of the population. There were high levels of inhalant use among youth, he said. Cannabis (dagga) was the drug of choice among those undergoing substance abuse treatment, and methamphetamine (tik) abuse was common in the Western Cape and Eastern Cape. There was also a noticeable increase in the use of over-the-counter and prescription medicines, especially by young people, which includes the highest use of methaqualone (mandrax/ Quaalude) in the world.

Of concern was the use of emerging new concoctions, such as nyaope (whoonga), which may contain dagga, heroin, household cleaner, rat poison and the HIV drug Efavirenz.

He pointed out that countries with economies in transition and developing countries have become increasingly affected by illicit drug use as they have experienced a range of socioeconomic changes. 'In absolute numbers, there are almost twice as many illicit drug users in [these] countries...'

**We should aim to collect self-report and bio-marker data in national surveys.**

Seale emphasised the role environment played in drug abuse, including the level of urbanisation, socioeconomic status, ethnic diversity and genetics, the latter contributing to 50% of the risk of addiction. Quoting from the US National Institute on Drug Abuse's mission statement, he said there is a need to change people's perceptions, replacing stigma and shame with a new understanding of addiction as a treatable disease.

### **Quest for data on substance abuse**

But to understand addiction, information is needed in the form of data gained from surveys to inform the prevalence of unhealthy substance use; identify areas of special need; highlight new emerging substances and their effects and consequences; and raise consciousness by educating the public and policy makers.

Professor Pamela Naidoo, research director at the HSRC, also emphasised the use of surveys for data-gathering, saying existing information was mostly restricted to sub-groups.

‘We must continue with surveys but use innovative approaches to reach adolescents who are out of school and drug users who are not in treatment. Ideally we should aim to collect self-report and bio-marker data [for example, blood tests] in national surveys to get a more accurate account of the presence and the levels of toxicity in the bloodstream at the time of data collection.’

Drug use is often under- or over-estimated, and survey participants do not always want to disclose their drug use. What is needed are national surveys every three to five years that follow drug consumption trends; disaggregate data for sex, age and geographic region, and to evaluate interventions. This information would be useful to draw up budgets for research, treatment and prevention.

### Treatment for drug addiction

The lack of treatment services was emphasised by Dr Katherine Sorsdahl, University of Cape Town. Several provinces having only one residential treatment facility and the Northern Cape has none.

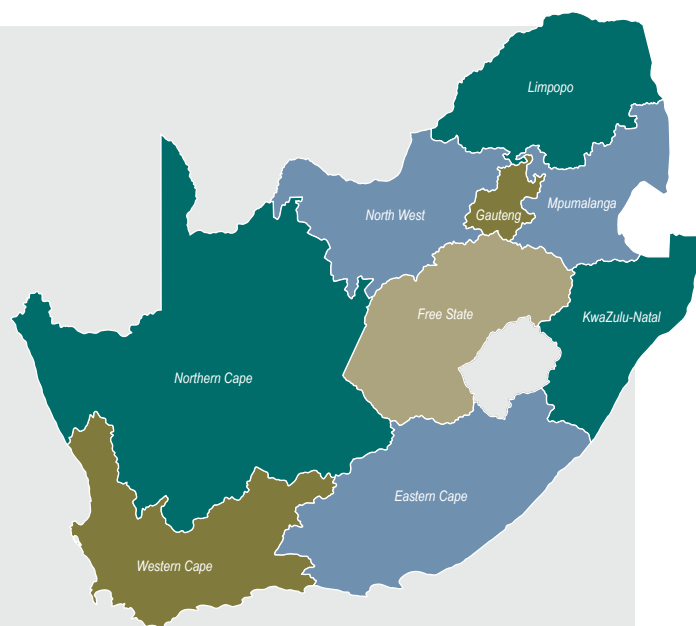
She described several interventions, but said a shortage of finances prevented the possibility to scale up these interventions and to make them routinely available in all parts of the country.

But what happens to people after they have been treated at a facility and they return to their community? This question was posed by a pastor who pleaded for after-care services, saying that often former drug-users, often severely damaged by years of substance abuse, come back into the community without any support.

Figure 1: Type of treatment services available by province

- Limited availability of Rx
- Services only for abuse/dependence (no SBIRT)
- Structural barriers to accessing care

|  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <b>Limpopo</b><br>1 residential                  | <b>North West</b><br>1 residential<br>1 outpatient    | <b>Northern Cape</b><br>No services                    |
| <b>Mpumalanga</b><br>1 residential               | <b>Free State</b><br>1 residential<br>3 outpatient    | <b>Eastern Cape</b><br>3 residential<br>3 outpatient   |
| <b>Gauteng</b><br>18 residential<br>8 outpatient | <b>KwaZulu-Natal</b><br>7 residential<br>5 outpatient | <b>Western Cape</b><br>32 residential<br>16 outpatient |



Hope resides in the South African Mental Health Care Policy Framework (2013–2017) that embraces ‘task shifting’ as a strategy for more substance abuse services in primary health care settings, Sorsdahl said. Task shifting models imply using nurses or community health workers instead of medical doctors.

Table 1: Number of professionals available in the public sector

| Staff category          | Available in the Public Sector (2010) |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Psychiatrists           | 0.28 per 100 000                      |
| Psychologists           | 0.32 per 100 000                      |
| Nurses (in psychiatry)  | 10.8 per 100 000                      |
| Social workers          | 0.4 per 100 000                       |
| Occupational therapists | 0.13 per 100 000                      |
| Nurses and midwives     | 490 per 100 000                       |

### The next step

Recommendations for policy included performing an audit of substance abuse research to make existing research more widely available, and to assess the reliability and validity of results. Population-based surveys over time are still the best method to answer key research questions about the national situation and will generate reliable data on incidence, prevalence and trends.

Participants concluded that the effectiveness of treatment and rehabilitation needed to be properly evaluated; patient management and tracking remained problematic, and research was required on ‘the multi-level influences on the individual’ to better understand social support, the role of family and the community, coping strategies and resilience. ■

Author: Ina van der Linde, science communication and editor, HSRC Review.

\*Disclaimer: The HSRC Research Seminar series is funded by the Department of Science and Technology (DST). The views and opinions expressed therein as well as findings and statements do not necessarily represent the view of DST.



# Child rights: imprisonment for maintenance defaulters?

Child support is a child's right, and the premise of the maintenance regime in this regard is to protect the child. The current South African maintenance system is flawed, says *Isabel Magaya*, who reviews the criminal sanctions proposed in the new Maintenance Amendment Bill (2014) to ensure that child maintenance obligations are met.

**W**omen in South Africa have great difficulty in obtaining support from those legally obliged to provide maintenance to them or their children. The blatant disregard of maintenance orders results in great hardships for these women and children. Therefore, how the maintenance system deals with recalcitrant defaulters is an important mechanism for endorsing children's rights and ensuring maintenance obligations are met.

**Non-payment of maintenance is a children's rights issue.**

## **Child maintenance a primary obligation**

The South African maintenance system is flawed. Women and children battle to exercise their right to maintenance and to enforce these rights in terms of the Maintenance Act. Non-payment of maintenance is a children's rights issue. Section 28(1) of the constitution provides that 'every child has a right to be protected from neglect' and Section 28(2) states that 'the best interests of the child are of paramount importance

in every matter concerning the child'. Hence maintenance obligations towards children should be regarded as a primary obligation, because the money is for immediate personal needs and is therefore life sustaining and relied upon for survival.

## **Review of Maintenance Amendment Bill**

Due to the plight of many women and children, the legislature found it necessary to tighten the noose on recalcitrant maintenance defaulters, as evidenced by the harsh criminal sanctions proposed in the Maintenance Amendment Bill (2014). The bill proposes to increase the penalty for failure to pay maintenance from a maximum of one year in prison to three years.

The Children's Act also has similar criminal provisions for defaulters with a maximum of 10 or 20 years depending on the nature of the offence. The stiff penalties in the amendment bill have been hailed by some as progressive in that they give effect to the rights of the child, but others argue these lengthy prison sentences are counterproductive in that they kill the so-called goose that lays the golden egg. The maintenance defaulter's future earning capacity is also jeopardised together with the child's right to claim maintenance.



Recent discussions in parliament around the new Maintenance Amendment Bill revealed some interesting facts:

- 48% of children in South Africa are raised with only one parent; and
- 90% of maintenance defaulters are fathers.

The amendments to the Maintenance Act that aim to streamline the process for claiming maintenance money include:

- The introduction of interim maintenance orders so as to prevent delays.
- The tracing of a defaulter's address through a cellphone company in cases where the defaulting parent cannot be found.
- The issuing of maintenance orders in the absence of a parent.

There is a possibility that maintenance defaulters could be blacklisted with credit bureaus, but this issue, contained in clause 11, is still being debated.

*Source: April/May Parliamentary Monitoring Group publication, MONITOR*

## What history tells us

A historical look at the maintenance regime's criminal sanctions is instructive. Criminal sanctions against maintenance defaulters have been in existence since 1935. Even then the imprisonment of maintenance defaulters was thought to be counterproductive and did nothing to improve the position of maintenance claimants. Several of the acts that followed continued to make failure to comply with a maintenance order an offence, including the current Maintenance Act. The existence of these criminal sanctions since the 1930s is indicative of maintenance enforcement difficulties, and frustrations with the evasion of payment of maintenance claims by maintenance debtors.

Mamashela notes that the development of maintenance law in each successive act sought to improve the mechanisms for holding maintenance defaulters accountable. It is interesting that even though these criminal sanctions have been in existence since 1935, presiding officers have been cautious in sentencing defaulters to imprisonment. Prison sentences have almost always been suspended sentences; no one has ever been jailed for not complying with a maintenance order. It seems that there is an imbalance in protecting children's rights and the rights of defaulters.

According to South Africa's constitutional imperatives and international law obligations, the best interests of the child are of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child. However, this does not seem to be the case in the maintenance system. There are high rates of failure by maintenance debtors in complying with their maintenance obligations.

## The illusive golden egg

Maintenance defaulters appear to be safeguarded under the guise of protecting the goose that lays the golden egg, but what good does it do to protect a goose whose golden egg one never benefits from? A review of court judgments reveals courts are not using the available sentencing options optimally. Courts are continually suspending sentences and not using more effective sentences for recalcitrant maintenance defaulters.

The issue is a contentious one. Lengthy prison sentences do not benefit the maintenance debtor or the child in the long run. Apart from maintenance, parents have other roles they play in children's lives. The importance of having a parent in a child's life cannot be gainsaid. As we look for solutions to these problems, we should not downplay the emotional and psychosocial role played by fathers. The law should not illustrate the role of fathers only as providers, but should also signify their presence and contribution in other ways.

The issue at hand is how do we effectively enforce maintenance orders and deal more strictly with maintenance defaulters without losing sight of the best interests of the child? The aim is to be progressive in giving effect to the rights of the child, as children are the most vulnerable members of society thereby needing better protection from the legal system as they are unable to participate in human rights discourse.

A critical issue centres on family support and how best the law can support the family institution in maintaining its children and ensuring that children are not prejudiced in anyway. The problem is how to deal with recalcitrant maintenance defaulters who abuse their financial power and disadvantage their children in law and policy, and translate these into feasible solutions in practice. Children need innovative maintenance enforcement methods that have a positive effect on their lives in the short and the long run. What we need is a practical and holistic solution to the debilitating problem of recalcitrant maintenance defaulters.

We are looking for solutions that strengthen existing enforcement processes while remaining cognisant of the children's best interests.

## Prison for defaulters?

Looking at the proposal to increase the prison sentence from one to three years one has to ask, will this effectively resolve problems experienced by users of the maintenance system? What we are looking for are solutions that can strengthen existing enforcement processes while remaining cognisant of the children's best interests. Criminal sanctions in the past did little to ensure that those who claimed maintenance benefits were assisted or actually benefited. There is no guarantee for women who claim maintenance for their children that the maintenance claim will be paid. Criminal sanctions are supposed to have a deterrent effect, but since 1935 they have gradually been losing that effect.

Whether this proposed increase in the prison sentence will actually yield the desired outcome for children remains to be seen. ■

*Author: Isabel Magaya, junior researchers, Research Use and Impact Assessment unit, HSRC*

Refugees of xenophobic attacks are housed in an inner city shelter in Durban, 7 July 2008.



# Intolerable cruelty: anti-immigrant sentiment in KwaZulu-Natal

What is the xenophobic sentiment that underlies the recent violent attacks on foreign shop-owners throughout eThekweni, resulting in several deaths and the displacement of thousands? *Steven Gordon, Benjamin Roberts and Jarè Struwig* reflect on attitudes towards foreign nationals over the last decade, with a particular focus on KwaZulu-Natal, relative to other provinces.

**T**hese incidents by no means represent the first instance that anti-immigrant violence has occurred in KwaZulu-Natal, and have provoked national reflection on, and concern about, the character of our society.

## Data used

We used data from the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS), a repeated cross-sectional survey series conducted annually by the HSRC since 2003. Each annual SASAS round consists of a nationally representative sample of the adult population (16 years and older) living in private households.

The number of respondents in each survey round ranges between 2 500 and 3 500 people. Since its inception, the survey has employed a range of questions designed to capture perceptions about foreigners, thereby providing a

range of indicators with which to understand and monitor public attitudes towards foreign immigrants in the country.

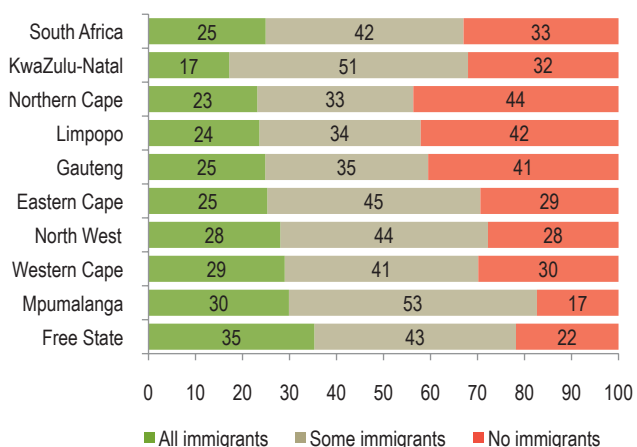
## An atypical province?

In all survey rounds, with the exception of 2005, SASAS respondents were asked whether they generally welcomed all, some or no foreign immigrants to the country. The national and provincial responses to this question from the SASAS round conducted in late 2013 are presented in Figure 1.

People in KZN were less welcoming of foreigners than many other provinces.



Figure 1: South Africans' overall perceptions of foreigners in 2013, by province (percent)



Source: HSRC SASAS 2013

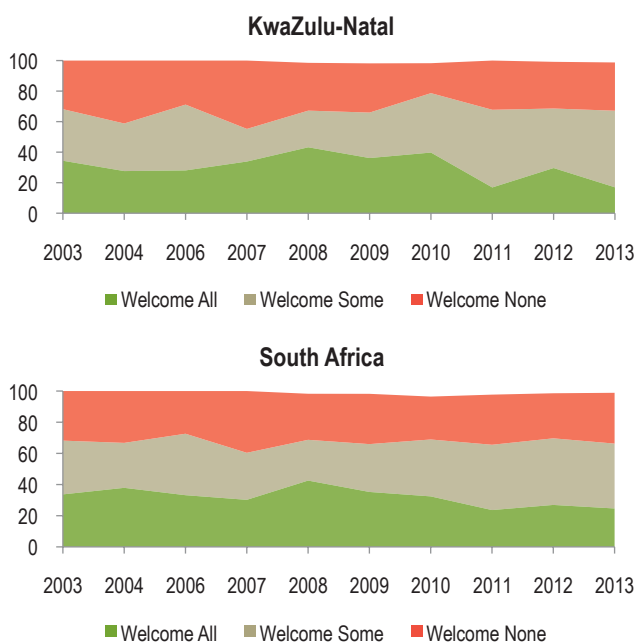
Findings showed people in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) were less welcoming of foreigners than many other provinces. Less than a fifth (17%) indicated they would welcome all immigrants. Some 50% indicated they would only welcome some immigrants and about a third (32%) would not welcome any foreigners to the country.

South Africans residing in Limpopo, Gauteng and the Northern Cape also voiced strong anti-immigrant sentiment. In each of these provinces roughly two-fifths of the population reported they would not welcome foreigners.

There was a notable dip in extreme anti-immigrant attitudes in the province in 2010.

The SASAS data series also allowed for an examination of patterns of change in the attitudes of KZN residents towards immigrants over the decade between 2003 and 2013, and how this differed relative to the national average. Figure 2 shows the share of the adult population in KZN that reported they did not welcome any foreigners to the country. However, this figure has fluctuated over the period. Since 2009, the share of people who indicated they would only welcome 'some' foreigners has risen both in KZN and nationally. There was a notable dip in extreme anti-immigrant attitudes in the province in 2010, which could have been related to the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. More research is required to better understand this finding. Aside from 2010, xenophobic sentiment in the province has tended not to differ significantly from the national average.

Figure 2: Overall perceptions of foreigners in KwaZulu-Natal and South Africa, 2003–2013 (percent)



Source: HSRC SASAS 2003–2013



Cape Town 23 May 2008. Following xenophobic attacks and violence which started in Johannesburg and spread to Cape Town, thousands of Capetonians staged a protest outside parliament calling for an end to the attacks on foreign African migrants living in the country.

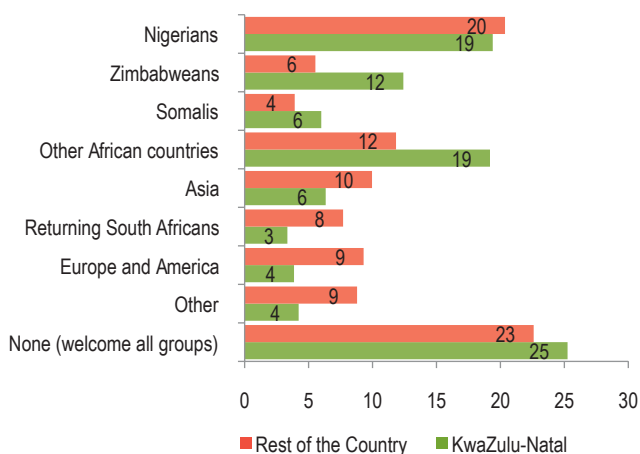


## The most mentioned foreign African groups were Nigerians, Zimbabweans and Somalians.

### 'Afrophobia' in the Zulu Kingdom

Addressing journalists in parliament on 14 April 2015, Police Minister Nathi Nhleko suggested that the term xenophobia, which had been used to describe the violence against foreigners in eThekweni, be renamed 'Afrophobia'. Many of the foreigners attacked in the recent anti-immigrant violence in eThekweni were from other sub-Saharan African nations, such as Zimbabwe and Somalia. In order to better understand whether South Africans generally, and residents in KZN specifically, exhibit a particular aversion to certain types of immigrants, respondents to the SASAS 2013 survey were asked, 'Which, if any, group would you least want to come and live in South Africa?' The results for KZN in comparison to the rest of the country are portrayed in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Most disliked foreign groups in South Africa, 2013 (percent)



Source: HSRC SASAS 2013

People in KwaZulu-Natal were more likely than those in the rest of the country to select groups from sub-Saharan Africa as their least tolerated foreign group. The results

showed that more than half (57%) of all adult respondents in KwaZulu-Natal selected a group from sub-Saharan Africa, compared with approximately two-fifths (42%) in the rest of the country. The most mentioned foreign African groups were Nigerians (20%), Zimbabweans (12%) and Somalians (6%), all of which tended to be associated with entrepreneurship and commerce in the province. Only a minority of those in KZN selected groups from Asia (6%) or from Europe and North America (4%). The findings suggested that foreigners from Africa were not the only foreign group that South Africans were hostile towards. The findings shown here raise questions about the existence of 'Afrophobic' attitudes among people in the province as well as the country as a whole.

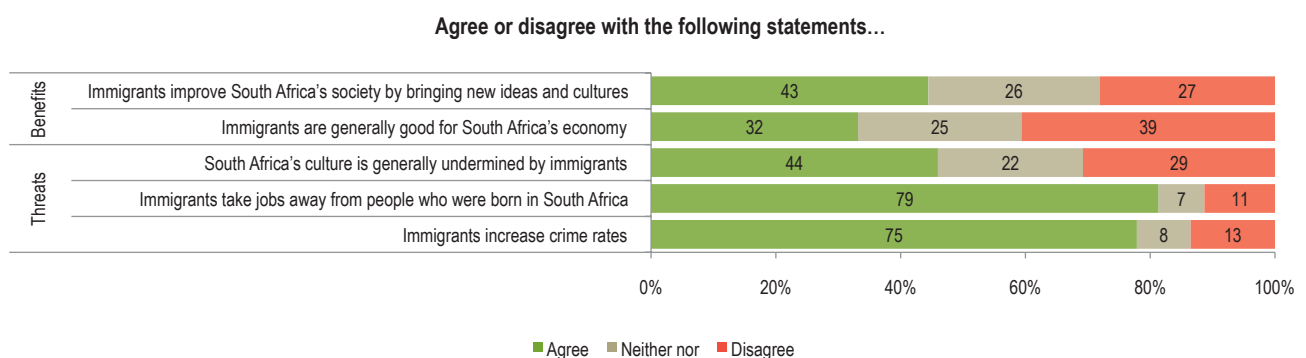
## Perpetrators of the violence linked foreign immigrants with crime and unemployment.

### Placing blame on the 'threat'

An HSRC investigation into the causes of the xenophobic violence in 2008 highlighted the fact that many of the perpetrators of the violence linked foreign immigrants with crime and unemployment. The belief that foreign immigrants are a threat to the material livelihoods of local communities is particularly widespread in KZN. In 2013, survey respondents were asked to specify the extent to which they agreed or disagreed that immigrants (i) increased crime rates and (ii) took jobs away from people who were born in South Africa. As Figure 4 shows, it is evident that more than three-quarters of the adult population in KwaZulu-Natal agreed with these statements. A far lower share (44%) in the province believed that immigrants undermined their culture, indicating that many did not see foreign nationals as a symbolic threat to their identity.

## Immigration can strengthen communities.

Figure 4: Perceptions about the positives and negatives of immigration, 2013 (percent)



Source: HSRC SASAS 2013

Immigration can strengthen communities by bringing new skills and new ideas that could help improve the economic and social livelihoods of a society. The National Development Plan outlines an important role for migration in the country, linking immigration with economic development and with part of the solution to South Africa's human capital deficits. Many people in KZN do not share this viewpoint, and do not believe that foreign immigrants are generally good for South Africa's economy or that foreigners make the country more open to new ideas and cultures. If we compare KwaZulu-Natal with other parts of the country, we do not detect a considerable difference between responses recorded in the province and the national average (Figure 4). Despite government efforts to promote tolerance, most of the adult population could not see the value of immigration.

The 2013 SASAS results for KwaZulu-Natal were broken down by a range of socioeconomic attributes in order to provide more insight into the patterns of xenophobic sentiment within the province. The results (not shown) suggested that people across the province's socioeconomic spectrum tended to hold an anti-immigrant opinion. Low levels of variation were noted between age cohorts, population groups, labour market status or by level of educational attainment. This evidence challenges the popular tendency to identify xenophobia as the 'problem' of one particular group (such as the youth or the unemployed) in the province. In this respect, KwaZulu-Natal was found not to differ from other parts of the country.

## Conclusion

The attitudinal analysis presented in this article confirms that the xenophobic sentiment in KwaZulu-Natal is shared by a considerable share of the province's adult population. Despite efforts to encourage and enforce a culture of human rights, people from across the socioeconomic divide in the province continue to express negative attitudes towards foreign nationals. However, it is important to remember that KwaZulu-Natal is not atypical relative to other provinces in the country. Most provinces in South Africa tend to be home to significant shares of people who voice anti-immigrant opinions.

Given government-sponsored initiatives in recent years to build social cohesion and create spaces for positive societal integration, the results of this study are disquieting. The April 2015 attacks call into question the success of current efforts to combat intolerance and xenophobia in our society. Leaders in government and civil society should be applauded for their condemnation of the April attacks. However the results of this study suggest that the underlying problem of widespread xenophobia is not being addressed with the necessary effort required. ■

*Authors: Steven Gordon, PhD researcher; Benjamin Roberts and Jarè Struwig, SASAS coordinators; in the HSRC's Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery (DGSD) programme, HSRC.*

# Who is a foreigner in South Africa?

It is not only people from outside South Africa who are regarded as 'foreigners'.

*Hangwelani (Hope) Magidimisha*, a Tshivenda-speaker from Limpopo, relates how she was advised to stay in her house in KwaZulu-Natal during the recent xenophobic attacks that gripped that province.



Your accent and the 'shades of black' of your skin are still used as a measure of being a 'foreigner', even for South Africans. It seems tribalism is alive and well in our country. I have personal experience of this.

I grew up in a very poor rural area in Limpopo. We used to fetch water from the river for cooking and drinking, spending hours chasing locusts and termites for relish. My parents' daily refrain was that 'education is the only weapon' that could rescue me from this situation. This made me work hard at school so I could qualify to go to university. I was motivated by dreams of studying in Durban, visiting the beach and enjoying the splendid infrastructure and Durban lifestyle.

Little did I know that by moving out of my home town, an unimaginable challenge awaited me.

## South Africans' ignorance of South Africa

During registration for my first year at university in Durban, I met a beautiful young woman who introduced herself to me as Hlengiwe, a second year Master's student. I wanted to congratulate her on her achievement as a post-graduate, but before I could she asked me, 'Are you from here?' My heart started pounding. What did she mean by 'here'? Did she mean KZN, Westville campus or the country?

She pronounced that people who looked like me were not from South Africa.

She surely could not be asking whether I was from South Africa? 'No,' I reluctantly answered, but why did she ask the question? With great confidence she pronounced that people who looked like me were not from South Africa. My complexion and accent made it easy to conclude that I was a foreigner.

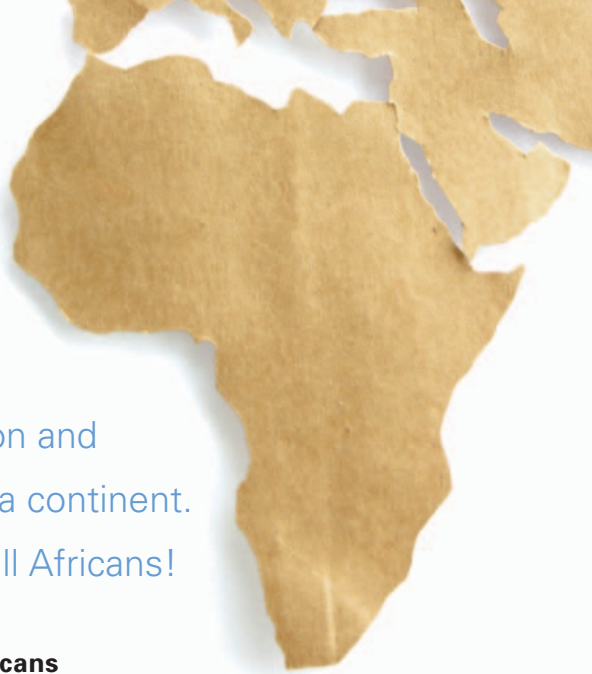
As she was saying all this, my whole body went numb; I felt excluded, unwelcome and discriminated against. She asked me again where I came from. 'Limpopo,' I said. To my surprise she retorted, 'Which border post did you use when coming into South Africa?'

As I stood there struggling to come to terms with her response, especially being labelled a foreigner in my own country, she asked if I had a passport. As this drama was unfolding I thought that my geographical knowledge was being put to test. It suddenly dawned on me, this second year Master's student did not know Limpopo was in South Africa.

This initial incident became the preamble for similar encounters that were to follow. In the malls, churches, university, salons, parking lots... everywhere I went, I found myself having to defend my identity and lecturing people on the geographical location of the Limpopo province. It also made me realise why some of my foreign friends had resorted to bleaching their skin – to hide their identity in an effort to be assimilated into the society.

There are still South Africans who do not know the spatial location of South African provinces.

From these encounters it is clear – and very sad – that there are still some South Africans who do not know the spatial location of South African provinces and the languages of the country they live in. What is even more worrying is the way in which some South Africans use skin colour, accent and physical features to characterise 'the others' as foreigners.



South is  
a direction and  
Africa is a continent.  
We are all Africans!

## We are all Africans

They seem to be oblivious to the rapid integration that is taking place among Africans, of intermarriages, and the forces of globalisation. Instead of embracing the similarities among Africans, they use differences between people as a tool to discriminate and label people. Common sense will tell you that we have those similarities because we share the same roots. South is a direction and Africa is a continent. We are all Africans!

I refuse to be excluded in my own country because of my skin colour and accent.

This is not an apologetic note for a crime I did not commit. I do not have a study permit, visa or work permit I can show, because I do not need one. I am a South African-born child who proudly speaks Tshivenda. Some of my 'local' friends I have successfully educated about the spatial location of South African provinces advised me to stay indoors as xenophobic attacks mounted. I found myself having to use sign languages when greeting people because of the fear of being labelled a foreigner due to my accent and beaten to death by the so-called 'locals'.

I refuse to be excluded in my own country because of my skin colour and my accent. I will not bleach my skin to meet others' ideas of how I should fit into my country. I refuse to live in fear of being beaten to death due to xenophobic violence in my own country. I refuse to be a victim of misleading 'local' characterisation and wrongfully labelling migrants.

As a mother of two, I also refuse to let my children be contaminated by the demons of xenophobia and ignorance. I have therefore begun to teach my children about the country they live in and the many beautiful languages spoken. I have decided to use my pen, the most powerful tool I possess, to send tough and clear messages to all perpetrators of xenophobia, in all its guises, that this madness has to stop! ■

*Author: Hangwelani (Hope) Magidimisha is a PHD's intern in the Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery programme, HSRC.*



# Xenophobia at odds with SA 'rhetoric of inclusivity and human rights'

Everyone in South Africa – citizens and foreigners alike – should be worried by the recent spate of attacks on black foreigners that started in KwaZulu-Natal, which subsequently spread to other parts of the country, says social anthropologist *Francis Nyamnjoh*.

It is most unsettling that South African political leaders and policy makers are not doing enough to encourage South Africans to disabuse themselves of the illusion that their problems can be solved through the logic of exclusion and scapegoating of certain types of foreigners that has pervaded, paradoxically, since the dawn of democracy in 1994. What is happening in Durban and KwaZulu-Natal reawakens a monster that political leaders and policy makers should have sought a way to bury for good after the xenophobic violence of 2008.

## Everyone in South Africa should be worried by the eruptions in Durban.

Everyone in South Africa – citizen and foreigner alike – should be worried by the eruptions in Durban that are now spreading to other parts of the country.

The logic of ever diminishing circles of inclusion dictates that the next *amakwerekwere*, foreigners or strangers, is always one layer below the obvious one. This was made quite evident in a song by popular Zulu musician Mbongeni Ngema, released in May 2002, which has been banned from public broadcast.

Titled *AmaNdiya*, the controversial song claims to 'begin a constructive discussion that would lead to a true reconciliation between Indians and Africans,' and accuses South African Indians of opportunism and of enriching themselves to the detriment of blacks. In the song Ngema goes on to say that if the Indians are to be taken seriously as belonging to South Africa, they must display greater patriotism and stop straddling continents. Implied in his song is that the Indians risk losing their South African citizenship should they refuse to change their ways.

And if and when the Indians are gone in this bizarre nativity game of exclusionary violence and South Africa's problems are still unsolved, who is next? If the *Kill the Boer* song, the row over Premier Helen Zille's tweet on economic migrants from the Eastern Cape in the Western Cape and the Rhodes Must Fall movement are anything to go by, your guess is as good as mine who the next layer of 'outsiders within' will be.

This regressive logic and the scapegoating of perceived outsiders is also well captured by the Nando's diversity advert released in June 2012. The advert articulates an idea of identity and belonging in South Africa that is both conscious and cognisant of the histories of mobilities of peoples that have made South Africa possible, that remains open to new and ongoing mobilities. Like other Nando's advertisements, the diversity ad is very provocative and ambiguous, and it understandably elicited mixed reactions, including a ban from being broadcast by the SABC. The ad starts with black Africans illegally crossing a barbed-wire border fence into South Africa. There is a voice over and each time the voice calls out a name, the group of people who represent that particular identity are transformed into a cloud of smoke, as follows:

*You know what is wrong with South Africa: all you foreigners. You must all go back to where you came from – you Cameroonians, Congolese, Pakistanis, Somalis, Ghanaians and Kenyans. And of course you Nigerians and you Europeans. Let's not forget you Indians and Chinese. Even you Afrikaners. Back to Swaziland you Swazis, Lesotho you Sothos, Vendas, Zulus, everybody.*

In the end only one person is left standing, a San man who, armed with a bow and arrow and ready to explore the wilderness, confronts the voice over with these words: 'I'm





*Foreign nationals seek refuge after xenophobic attacks at the Cato Manor police station in Durban, South Africa, 23 May 2009.*



*The Nando's diversity advert released in June 2012.*

not going anywhere. You found us here.' The ad concludes with the voice over saying: 'Real South Africans love diversity. That's why we have introduced two more items: new peri-crusted wings and delicious trinchado and chips.'

To my mind, far from promoting xenophobia, this ad challenges narrow and parochial identities, or ideas of being and belonging as a zero-sum game. It is against prevalent regressive logics and ever-diminishing circles of being South African in a world characterised by the flexible mobility of people. It invites us to contemplate what it is to be South African, if every colour of its current rainbow configuration must go back to their Nazareth and be counted. If belonging is articulated in rigid exclusionary terms, where everyone however mobile, is considered to belong to a particular homeland somewhere else, a place they cannot outgrow and which they must belong to regardless of where they were born or where they live and work, then South Africa can only belong to one group of

people – those who were there before everyone else: the San. They, who know only too well that they are the bona fide sons and daughters of the South African soil and its resources – the only authentic South Africans.

Being and belonging is a permanent work in progress – open-ended, complex and nuanced.

The immigration policies and practices of the South African state, as well as the xenophobic attitudes of some South Africans, contradict the rhetoric of inclusivity, human rights and ties to the rest of Africa that proliferate official pronouncements and civil society discourses.

Yet we are reminded by ethnographies of everyday lives and living that being and belonging is a permanent work in progress – open-ended, complex and nuanced.

It is the duty of South African leaders (political, economic, cultural, intellectual and others) and media to make this abundantly and repeatedly clear to all and sundry. Good leadership does not go to sleep between eruptions. ■

*Author: Francis B Nyamnjoh is professor of social anthropology at UCT, chair of the HSRC Press Board and has ties to the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA).*

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## Looking beyond South Africa: the urgency of addressing inequality in BRICS

There is broad agreement among economists of differing persuasions that socioeconomic disparities and inequalities impact on the material, physical and psychological quality of life and capabilities of individuals and the communities in which they live. *Jaya Josie* looks at how inequality manifests itself in the five BRICS countries.

It is well established that economic inequality and disparity can become a permanent structure of the political economy of society. From an economic perspective, inequality and disparity in society have been concerns for political economists since the writings of Adam Smith in his famous 1776 treatise, the *Wealth of Nations*.

Structural inequality is accompanied by a plethora of myths that keeps it in place, for example that the victims of inequality have themselves to blame for their status

in society. Such myths follow a circular and cumulative process that generates a cycle of evolving consciousness and practice, reflecting attitudes and roles of inferiority and superiority among victims and perpetrators respectively.

The negative socioeconomic impacts of this process on the capabilities and functioning of human beings have been extensively documented in literature. From an economic perspective the systemic relationship between inequality, poverty and deprivation has devastating consequences for society as a whole.



## The systemic relationship between inequality, poverty and deprivation has devastating consequences for society.

### Structural inequality in South Africa

The consolidation of evolving patterns of unequal labour and socioeconomic relations under apartheid since the 1960s has been characterised by the increasing unemployment and poverty of black workers in general and African workers in particular. The systemic exclusion of black people from the mainstream of the economy combined with low levels of direct investment and low levels of skills have marginalised African workers in particular and have made them ineligible for employment in the formal sectors of the economy – a feature that distinguishes South Africa from countries such as Brazil and India.

The patterns of unequal labour relationships have become structurally entrenched as a result of the laws that forcibly relegated African and coloured workers to remote rural areas far from the cities and access to infrastructure and public services, and persists despite 20 years of post-apartheid democracy.

One reason for the persistence of such inequality is the structural disjuncture between the intended policy objectives of the post-apartheid state based on the constitution, and the entrenched existence of socioeconomic, political and institutional arrangements that have their roots in the political economy of colonialism and apartheid.

While inequality in South Africa emerged in the specific historic context of colonialism and apartheid, the consequences of inequality across Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) are the same, and many of the other BRICS countries are faced with the same challenges.

## BRICS member states continue to experience levels of poverty, inequality and unemployment.

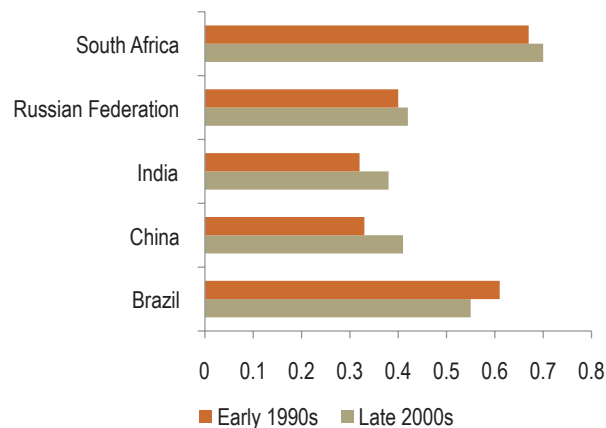
### Looking beyond South Africa

While BRICS has managed to sustain considerable economic growth, it continues to face significant challenges to ensure social and economic justice at national and regional levels. The presence of high rates of entrenched inequality is a unifying factor across the diverse political and economic contexts of the BRICS countries.

Despite rapid economic growth, BRICS member states, like many developing countries, continue to experience levels of poverty, inequality and unemployment that collectively undermine the rights of their citizens to social justice and a better quality of life. For example, Russia, India, China and South Africa saw increasing levels of inequality over the

last two decades (Figure 1). It is noteworthy that while the inequality level decreased in Brazil, it is still significantly high. South Africa features the highest level of income inequality with a Gini coefficient of almost 0.7.

Figure 1: Inequality levels (Gini coefficient of household income) BRICS, early 1990s and late 2000s



Source: OECD (2010b), *Economic Policy reforms 2010: Going for growth*.

Table 1 shows the levels of poverty in BRICS countries. The extreme poverty headcount ratio is the percentage population in poverty (PPP) living below \$1.25 per day at 2005 international prices. The data is not consistent but nevertheless paints a picture of poverty in these countries.

## Decreasing levels of extreme poverty can be partly attributed to the introduction of social protection policies.

What is worth noticing is that there has been a general trend towards decreasing levels of extreme poverty from 2000 to 2009, which can partly be attributed to the introduction of comprehensive social protection policies across BRICS countries.

Table 1: Extreme poverty headcount ratio (%), US\$ PPP 1.25 per day

| Country      | Poverty headcount ratio (%) |            |            |
|--------------|-----------------------------|------------|------------|
|              | Circa 2000                  | Circa 2005 | Circa 2009 |
| Brazil (a)   | 14.0                        | 8.1        | 4.8        |
| Russia       | 1.1                         | 0.2        | 0.0 (d)    |
| India        | No data                     | 41.6       | 32.7 (e)   |
| China (b)    | 28.4                        | 16.3       | 11.8       |
| South Africa | 26.2                        | 17.4 (c)   | 13.8       |

Source: World Bank, *World Development Indicators* (accessed May 2013). (1) Brazil, *IV National MDG Monitoring Report, 2010*; (2) Russia, *National Human Development Report, 2010*. (a) 2001; (b) 2002; (c) 2006; (d) 2008; (e) 2010

### Social protection against inequality

In line with the BRICS agenda to progressively advance a better life for all, BRICS countries have increasingly adopted social protection as the key response to unemployment and poverty.

Social protection can be grouped under two main categories: social security (contributory schemes that protect income earners and their dependants against temporary or permanent involuntary loss of income as a result of exposure to contingencies that impair earning capacity) and social assistance, which refers to non-contributory assistance or benefits provided to poor and needy groups in a population.

The provision of social protection in all the BRICS countries is enshrined in explicit legislations and regulations. In Brazil and South Africa, these countries’ constitutions serve as the legislative foundation while in India, the Russian Federation and China, social protection programmes and policies are linked to the promulgation of various government labour regulations.

Virtually all BRICS countries provide workers with various forms of social security.

It is largely due to this enabling legislative and regulatory framework that virtually all BRICS countries provide workers with various forms of social security (Table 2). It is noteworthy, however, that since social security is typically financed by three sources (a percentage of covered wages or salaries paid by the worker, a percentage of covered payroll paid by the employer, and a government contribution) the benefits are only available to salaried workers in the formal sector who are able to contribute to social security.

Informal sector workers, accounting for a notable proportion of the employed in BRICS, do not have access to the benefits.

Table 2 : Types of social security programmes, BRICS, 2013/14

| Country      | Old age, disability and survivors | Sickness and maternity |                                 | Work injury | Unemployment | Family allowances |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|
|              |                                   | Cash benefits for both | Cash benefits plus medical care |             |              |                   |
| Brazil       | YES                               | YES                    | YES                             | YES         | YES          | YES               |
| Russia       | YES                               | YES                    | YES                             | YES         | YES          | YES               |
| India        | YES                               | YES                    | YES                             | YES         | YES          | A                 |
| China        | YES                               | YES                    | YES                             | YES         | YES          | YES               |
| South Africa | YES                               | B                      | B                               | YES         | YES          | YES               |

Source: International Social Security Association (2014). *Social Security Programs, Throughout the World*. Washington, DC: Social Security Administration.

Notes: A: Programme/information not available; B: Coverage provided under other programmes or through social assistance



## Social assistance

**Brazil** is increasingly not seen as a model for BRICS, and for developing countries as a whole. Since the mid-1990s, the country's social assistance policies have largely hinged on education and health reforms that also include the provision of conditional transfers to poor families. Numerous evaluations of the Brazilian system have consistently shown that it has resulted in significant declines in poverty (from 16.4% in 1995 to 4.7% in 2009) and reduced equality by more than 10% in the same period. Critics of the Brazilian social protection system suggest that the country created a dual society where one is covered by social security and the other by social protection.

**South Africa:** With just more than 16 million recipients at the end of January 2013 out of an estimated population of more than 50 million people (Statistics South Africa, 2011), the social assistance system in this country is one of the most comprehensive in the developing world. It is wholly made up of social assistance and it comprises a menu of grants that provides monthly cash payments to targeted individuals, essentially children, the old and the disabled. Thus, while comprehensive, it has been argued that the system only caters for those who are not meant to work, excluding other socially marginalised populations such as young adults.

**India** has a number of large national social assistance programmes implemented at both the central and state levels. There are three distinct types of programmes: labour market/microcredit programmes designed to provide food for work and generate employment for able-bodied people, especially in rural areas; food-for-work programmes, and employment assurance schemes. There are also welfare programmes for specific vulnerable groups such as the elderly, people with disabilities and pregnant or lactating mothers. These include a food distribution system providing subsidised rice to the poor, a mother and child protection scheme, and a programme providing housing for the poor.

**China** has a social assistance system that comprises a minimum livelihood guarantee system that covers urban residents with a per capita income lower than the local urban minimum living standard and rural households where annual per capita net income is below the local minimum living standard in rural areas; a type of welfare scheme for the widowed, disabled and orphans in rural areas that provides basic livelihood and funeral expenses; and a medical assistance system for rural families with members suffering from serious illnesses. In urban areas, the medical assistance system covers family members suffering from serious illnesses that affect their basic livelihood, and the assistance method combines direct relief aid payments where some of the medical costs are waived.

Unlike the other four countries, Russia does not have a social assistance system with an explicit poverty benefit per se. Rather, there are numerous categorical benefits and privileges in cash and kind. Overall, the formal system of social protection includes labour pensions, unemployment compensation, family allowances, sickness and maternity benefits, and housing allowances.



## Concluding remarks

The post-2015 agenda for BRICS is informed by the UN's sustainable development goals and is captured in the five pillars of the BRICS long-term strategy. The pillars include promoting co-operation for economic growth and development; peace and security; social justice, sustainable development and quality of life; political and economic governance, and progress through knowledge and innovation sharing.

Of the five pillars, social justice, sustainable development and quality of life speak directly to the way BRICS countries wish to address inequality, poverty and unemployment. The last BRICS heads of state summit in Brazil in 2014 committed the countries to co-operate and learn from each other in addressing inequality and poverty. ■

*Author: Dr Jaya Josie, Director, BRICS Research Centre, Human Sciences Research Council.*



# What is the value of a doctoral degree?



At a recent HSRC seminar entitled *A slightly irreverent guide to surviving your PhD*, a member of the audience wanted to know: what is the value of a PhD? **Safiyya Goga** considers a possible answer to this astutely-posed question that cuts to the heart of a bigger question about the role and value of research within the humanities and social sciences (HSS), particularly in present-day South Africa.

**A**t a discussion on the humanities, someone said the significance of the ‘softer’ sciences was in helping the ‘harder’ sciences better understand the communities and people in whose lives they hoped to make a difference. In other words, the social sciences play a crucial role in providing insight into the human and social dimensions and political/economic/historical contexts of communities.

Yet, does the value of the HSS rest primarily in the service of interdisciplinary, policy-oriented projects? And if its value extends beyond this role, how does it do so? There are many

possible answers to this question. Certainly the value of research in any discipline may be measured by the extent to which the research produces valid and authoritative knowledge. However, what is it about the kind of knowledge produced by the HSS that makes it distinctly valuable? What is the particular value of such knowledge? Perhaps its value becomes most evident when we are confronted by a good piece of social science/humanities work, or when we are dealing with difficult questions about social conditions that require complex answers, such as the question of statues, national memory and racial history that recently gripped the nation.

## The value of research... may be measured by the extent to which it produces valid and authoritative knowledge.

Perhaps the question of value is related to the question of necessity. What precisely does the humanities offer that makes it a necessary discipline? Is it that it does interesting work? What should it be doing, and doing well, for us to see its value?

For example, the humanities faculty is sometimes seen as commensurate with the law faculty. Yet, within the field of legal studies is an area called the sociology of law. The purpose of this area of law is to study the relationship of law to society, i.e. to subject laws to critical analysis because laws have significant social power. This has significant implications because it suggests the sociology of law sits both outside and in some sense *in evaluation of* the law. It evaluates the purpose, effects and functions of laws not from within the confines of legality or legal thinking, but from the outside, in order to provide some kind of understanding of how law functions as an area for the exercise of power and to critically assess the effects of this on societies, on social justice, and so forth.

According to Italian philosopher Mario Perniola, it is the duty of the humanities to 'underline the ambiguous and enigmatic character of knowledge and power'. Meaning that anywhere that social power resides, including within the academic world and the places from which knowledge emerges, is a valid site for interrogation.

## Does social critique give the humanities its purpose, its *raison d'être*?

Does social critique then give the humanities its purpose, its *raison d'être*? Is it perhaps alongside the investigative journalism or documentary modes of inquiry where a subject is critically analysed and put into context, with the idea of providing critical insight, knowledge or even truth about a subject? The necessity of the humanities, in such an understanding, would be underpinned by the idea that knowledge/truth/critical insights are not always self-evident or easily accessible. That there is something in the nature of being human or of grasping social realities or of living socially that necessitates in-depth critical inquiry, in order for truths to be revealed. And that this revelation of insight goes beyond the exposé of the investigative journalist, and beyond the criteria of giving a voice to the voiceless.

One of the crucial offerings of the humanities is its interpretative work, which provides a critique of the obvious and that which is taken for granted as 'true'. Its revelations are seldom shocking but always eye opening. It uncovers not what is deliberately or insidiously kept hidden, but what is hidden

because it is too obvious, in the way that a fish is not aware of being surrounded by water. This is also where HSS are at their most vulnerable, and most open to standing accused of heresy and mere conjecture. It was Adorno who said, 'The person who interprets, instead of accepting what is given and classifying it, is marked with the yellow star of one who squanders his intelligence in impotent speculation, reading things in where there is nothing to interpret.'

## What makes a study *scientific* and what is necessary in order to make it scientific, are crucial to how much value a study has.

While everything may be worthy of being studied then, what makes a study *scientific* and what is necessary in order to make it scientific (what takes it beyond the realm of everyday knowledge), are crucial to how much value a study has.

The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu draws a distinction between practical knowledge and scientific knowledge. Practical knowledge is the way people make sense of the world around them. When people 'do what they have to do', they apply practical knowledge to 'get by' and indeed, to 'get ahead' in the(ir) world. It then means to understand people or social phenomena (or communities, or societies, or nations, or social worlds), we need to understand and interpret the way people act within and make sense of their worlds, their actions and the meaning of these actions. It is the rigour of this analytical process that enables the production of scientific knowledge about social/human lives.

It may be that this will be insisted on as simply the distinction between applied and basic research, and that the value of basic research is reduced to research on topics and subjects that are of interest to a particular researcher without the burden of providing relevant policy implications. Yet the value and indeed necessity of the HSS do not lie in their allowing researchers to pursue whatever research they want to or to pursue obscure topics that are of interest only to a select few; their value cannot lie in allowing eccentric, elitist or inaccessible scholarship. For Pierre Bourdieu, sociology is meant to produce knowledge that is 'liable to exert a political efficacy every time it reveals the laws of functioning of mechanisms that owe part of their own efficacy [and power] to being misrecognised.' In other words, sociology that is valuable is sociology that reveals how social power is misrecognised.

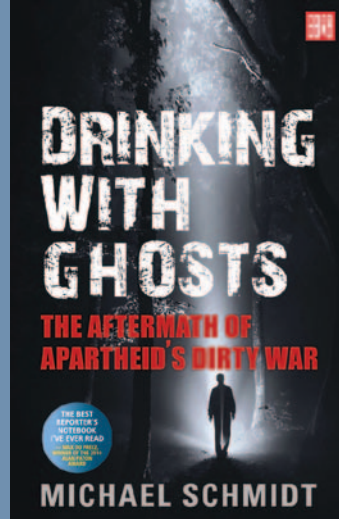
The HSS then gain their value, necessity and distinction through producing knowledge that can be powerful in a revelatory way, and even politically effective. And the value of a good PhD is that it can do the valid and authoritative interpretative work on rigorously collected data to produce powerful and revealing knowledge and insights. ■

Author: Safiyya Goga, PhD intern, Human and Social Development research programme, HSRC.

# Not fade away

## *Drinking With Ghosts: The Aftermath of Apartheid's Dirty War*

Author: Michael Schmidt. HSRC Press; 320 pages.  
Book review by Hamilton Wende



Michael Schmidt is one of those reporters about whom movies are made. I have known him as a colleague for many years, and have always been struck by his sincerity, gravitas, and most important of all, his determination to decipher and explain stories. But I should also add that he has the sense of humour of all seasoned hacks, which comes through a life well lived, dangers faced and horrors confronted for which there are no comprehensible explanations.

It is this mix of accuracy, dirt-digging and plain old good story-telling that makes his book, *Drinking with Ghosts: The Aftermath of Apartheid's Dirty War*, such compelling reading. There is something both mesmerising and appalling at witnessing his deeply principled years of reporting on South Africa's dark side for over three decades.

There are five sections in the book. It begins by covering the apartheid regime's nuclear programme, its attempts at developing biochemical weapons and the brutal, atavistic cruelty of the death squads led by men such as Dirk Coetzee. The other sections deal with South Africa's long and destabilising war in Angola, and forensic analysis of killing and massacres in South Africa and further afield in places such as Rwanda. The title of the final chapter speaks for itself – Epitaph: Breaking our Pact of Forgetting.

### Lest we forget

It is here that one encounters the moral centre of Mr Schmidt's world and the passion that drove him to write this book. He is determined that South Africans today – especially in the terrifying shadow of Marikana (where police shot and killed 34 striking miners) – should not be allowed to forget the brutality of our past. It echoes through the litany of lost and forgotten files that he documents. The truth of who ordered the killing of people like Jeanette and Katryn Schoon, Dulcie September and so many others is now lost after a purge of state archives in 1992–1993. The removal of records was so massive that when the shredders could no longer cope, the furnaces at steelmaker Iscor were used to incinerate the mountain of paper.

The relatively few that remain have survived through a combination of luck, incompetence or, for darker, self-interested motives, as Mr Schmidt quotes advocate Dumisa Ntsebeza as saying: 'people keeping files or stealing files just in case something happens to them; then they can say 'if you disclose who I am, I have this file and I won't go [down] alone.'

Mr Schmidt writes that as late as 2003 some of the surviving files were languishing in a huge, mixed-up heap in a basement in police headquarters.

The reader shares his outrage at this cancerous eating away of memory and accountability. This is because Mr Schmidt writes in a clear, understated way that slowly builds one's sense of incredulity that so much suffering, so much sacrifice by those who were victims of the apartheid regime, should be forgotten, or even erased so carelessly. Then one feels his incandescent, hapless anger at this callous, self-serving attitude. There is something eerie in the way it prefigures what is happening in South Africa today, as virtually every excess committed by corrupt officials and still violent police goes unchecked.

### Chronicle of hope

But one must not forget the fine, crafted narrative of his prose. He writes from the frontlines of South Africa's ongoing and deeply-ingrained capacity for brutality. He has seen the dirty side of apartheid's clandestine wars in the 1980s and he carries this knowledge of horror into the xenophobic pogroms of 2008 and beyond into the heart of Marikana.

He visits places like the 'informal settlement clinging by the skin of its teeth to the promise of proper houses, tarred roads, electric lights and decent jobs... where an icy winter wind cuts straight across the desolate, litter-fouled fields.'

This is the landscape of South Africa's post-apartheid dreams betrayed. It is a landscape that haunts Mr Schmidt and his readers alike. This broken landscape is why the memory of the brutal past that he works so hard to keep alive matters.

It is a fascinating book. There is both a journalistic toughness and a haunting moral tenderness in his prose, some of which reminded me at times of Michael Ondaatje in *Anil's Ghost*, about evidence, memory and the aftermath of decades of killing in Sri Lanka.

Ultimately, though, *Drinking with Ghosts* is a chronicle of hope. Journalists like Mr Schmidt remind us that South Africa, for all its worrying ugliness, remains an open society. Accountability has been under constant assault for decades. It is more under threat today than it has been for 20 years. But many South Africans remain committed to the notion of revealing the truth. Mr Schmidt is unquestionably one of them. At the same time, he has written an unputdownable page-turner. Quite an achievement. ■

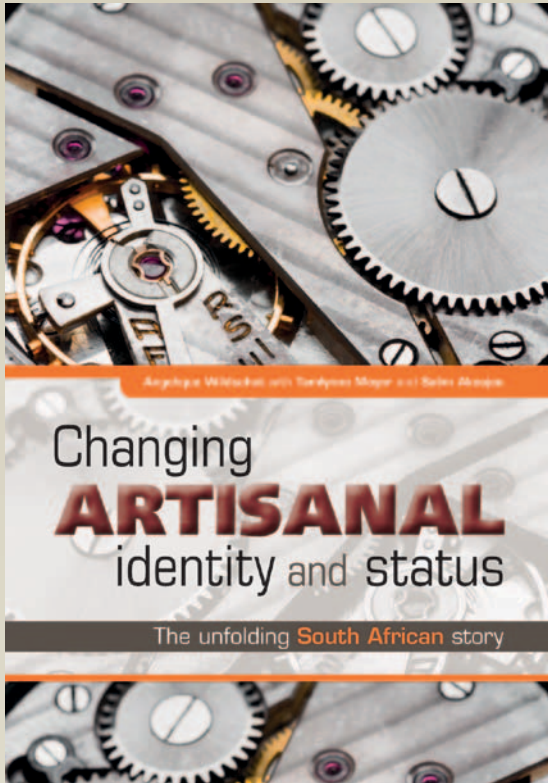
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## CHANGING ARTISANAL IDENTITY AND STATUS

**The unfolding South African story**

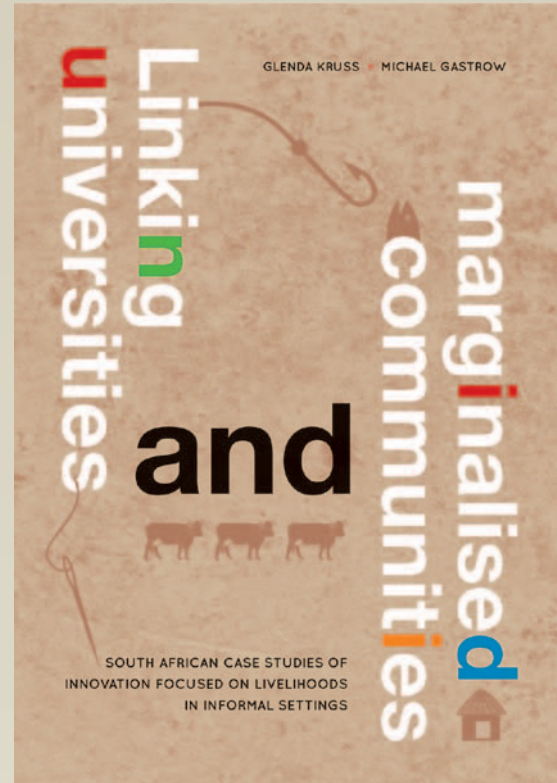
Author: Angelique Wildschut with Tamlynne Meyer and Salim Akoojee  
Pub month & year: January 2015  
ISBN (soft cover): 978-0-7969-2492-6  
Publisher: HSRC Press  
Format: 240 x 168 mm  
Extent: 128 pages  
Price: R150.00  
Rights: World Rights

### About the book

Discussions around the increase in number and improved quality of artisans have been widely supported. There is, however, a need for the notion of artisan to be interrogated. This compelling study does this by exploring two focus trades in the manufacturing sector in South Africa and evaluating the changes to artisan identity and status.

By extending a methodological framework for studying professions, the study adds to the academic engagement on understanding artisan identity and status. In addition, it contributes to the international literature on artisans, which seldom focuses on the level of trade and is often highly compartmentalised.

*Changing artisanal identity and status: The unfolding South African story* is therefore a vital resource for those interested and invested in the future of artisans and understanding how this profession unfolds in the manufacturing, engineering and related services sector.



## LINKING UNIVERSITIES AND MARGINALISED COMMUNITIES

**South African case studies of innovation focused on livelihoods in informal settings**

Author: Glenda Kruss and Michael Gastrow  
Pub month & year: June 2015  
ISBN (soft cover): 978-0-7969-2500-8  
Publisher: HSRC Press  
Format: 240 x 168 mm  
Extent: 144 pages  
Price: R130.00  
Rights: World Rights

### About the book

South African universities are mandated to promote scholarship that is socially and economically responsive to local contexts. The contribution of universities to innovation is a key driver of economic and social development, but should be more effectively harnessed to address poverty and inequality.

*Linking Universities and marginalised communities* examines how South African universities engage with the informal sector in marginalised communities to improve livelihoods through inclusive innovation. The knowledge imperatives of universities are explored in relation to the public good and social justice, and the roles of innovation and technology transfer. Case studies provide examples of coherence between teaching, research, innovation and community engagement, and illustrate the enablers and constraints to such interaction. These insights find policy application in the spheres of higher education, science and technology, and economic development. The analysis also provides lessons for innovation studies, pointing out the need to refine the notion of innovation so that it may be more appropriate for the developmental challenges of countries such as South Africa.

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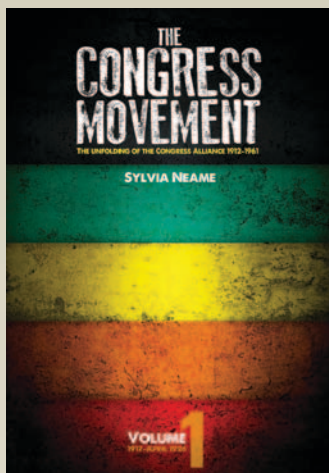
## THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT

### About the series

Author Sylvia Neame's study of the development of the national liberation movement in South Africa is in stark contrast to the frequent depictions of the history of the ANC by leading academics as fragmented, fractured and discontinuous. Not only does her analyses disprove the belief that the ANC's development has been episodic, several of the conclusions drawn point to its essential inner coherence.

Crucial to the development of the congress movement was the search for an alliance strategy that would ensure the ANC its central role. Particularly striking, and essentially new, is the depiction of the various alliance partners – including the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), the Communist Party and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (COSATU) – and their complicated interaction.

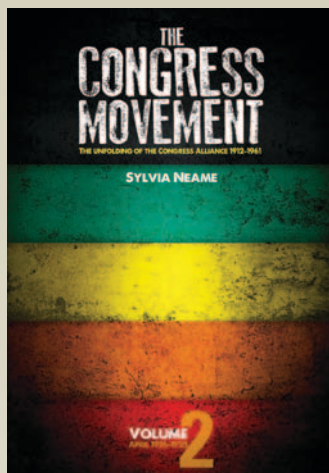
The research, based on extensive primary and secondary sources including some eighty interviews dating back to the early 1960s, uniquely combines narrative and analysis. *The Congress Movement* invites the reader to engage in the fascinating development of the national liberation movement in South Africa in its formative period and uncovers its outstanding continuities as well as the considerable range of its methods.



### THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT VOLUME 1 The unfolding of the Congress Alliance 1912–1961

Author: Sylvia Neame  
Pub month & year: April 2015  
ISBN (soft cover): 978-0-7969-2486-5  
Publisher: HSRC Press  
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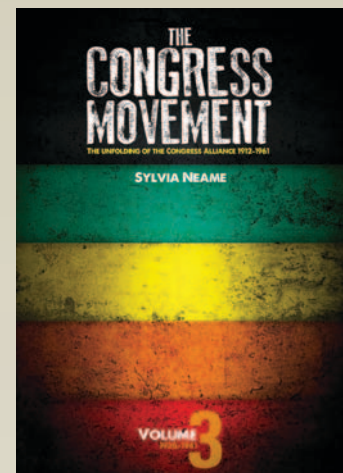
**Volume 1: 1917–April 1926** traces the unfolding of the congress movement from 1917 and looks at socialist and other forces that played an integral part in its formation. The 1918–20 upsurge, which included an African mineworkers' strike, played a key role in this development and laid the basis in the 1920s for a partnership between the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union and the African National Congress.



### THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT VOLUME 2 The unfolding of the Congress Alliance 1912–1961

Author: Sylvia Neame  
Pub month & year: April 2015  
ISBN (soft cover): 978-0-7969-2487-2  
Format: 240 x 168 mm  
Extent: 592 pages  
Price: R490.00  
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**Volume 2: April 1926–1928** examines the intricate development of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union and the African National Congress in the second half of the 1920s. Various trends of reformism and radicalism affected these two organisations. This later led to the beginning of the breakup of the ICU with the secession of the Natal contingent, in part under the influence of a narrow ethnic Zulu nationalism. The breakaway also took place in the wake of an important phase in which the ICU leaders had become identified with a peasant uprising on white farms.



### THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT VOLUME 3 The unfolding of the Congress Alliance 1912–1961

Author: Sylvia Neame  
Pub month & year: April 2015  
ISBN (soft cover): 978-0-7969-2488-9  
Format: 240 x 168 mm  
Extent: 640 pages  
Price: R490.00  
Rights: World Rights

**Volume 3: 1928–1961** explores how the ANC emerges and steps into its primary role as a national liberation movement resulting from a complex process stretching from the 1920s to the beginning of the 1960s. A key theme in this context is the integral role of the then Congress Youth League leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo.