

HSRC review

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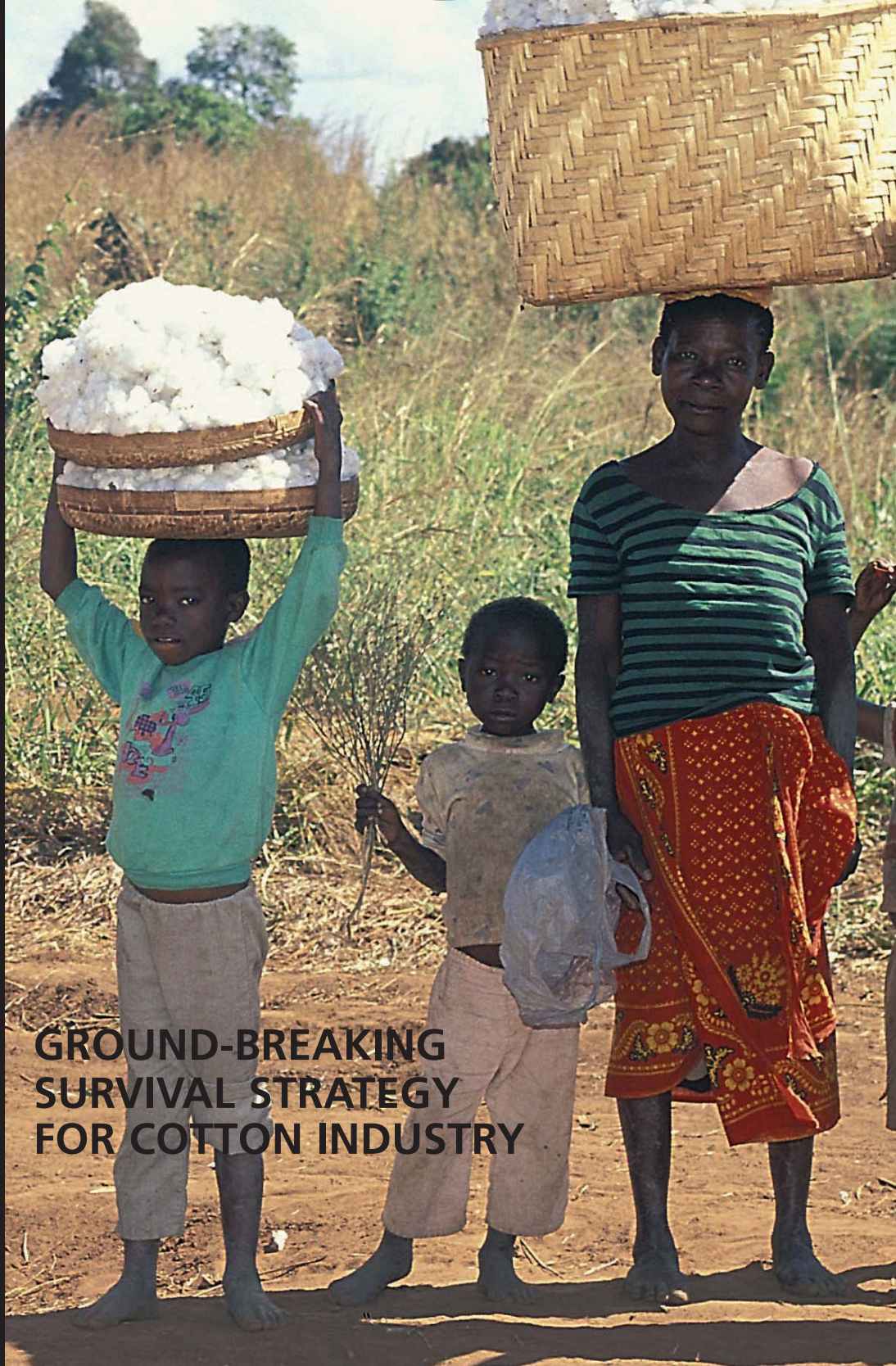


Human Sciences Research Council

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review



**GROUND-BREAKING
SURVIVAL STRATEGY
FOR COTTON INDUSTRY**

Who we are

The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) is South Africa's statutory research agency dedicated to the social sciences. It has approximately 150 researchers and 100 support staff. Its revenue comes in equal shares from a Parliamentary grant and from earnings (tenders, commissions and foundation grants).

What we do

The HSRC does "social science research that makes a difference", concerned with all aspects of development and poverty alleviation in South Africa, the region, and in Africa. It undertakes large-scale, policy relevant, collaborative research primarily for government departments at national, regional and local levels, other public entities, and local and international development agencies.

How we do it

The HSRC has transformed itself to respond flexibly and comprehensively to users' requirements by:

- radically restructuring and expanding its research capabilities into ten Research Programmes aligned to major development challenges,
- recruiting top-quality research executives and specialists,
- conducting national research programmes which integrate its work with that of other science councils, tertiary institutions and research entities.

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Message from the CEO, Dr Mark Orkin

Early in October a panel of experts spent a fortnight conducting the second five-yearly review of the HSRC. Our Council, chaired by Professor Jakes Gerwel, will shortly consider its recommendations and decide the way forward.

Such reviews are one way in which the HSRC is held accountable for "what we do", as described in the adjacent column. More regularly, the organisation accounts for its activities through its annual strategic cycle.

In two *lekgotlas* around year-end, managers and researchers review development challenges and users' needs, plan and budget likely projects for the HSRC's ten Research Programmes, and interact with the Research Committee of the Council that represents stakeholder interests.

The resulting business plan is shaped through Council and its Audit Committee, and presented in February to the Minister of ACST, Dr Ben Ngubane MP. His view of broad priorities is informed by the R&D strategy, Parliament and his National Advisory Committee on Innovation.

Projects that are large or draw appreciably on parliamentary funds are subject to scientific review involving external academics. In March the budgets are finalised and activities for the new financial year can commence.

Projects arising during the year, from commissions and contracts, are screened by a committee of senior researchers. All designs are assessed by a research ethics committee, which includes expert external advisers.

Around mid-year, the Auditor-General completes the financial audit of the previous year, and the HSRC reports to the Minister and the Parliamentary portfolio committee, including a slate of key performance indicators. Then it is time to propose a budget for the coming year, which is advised by the Minister in time for the end-year *lekgotlas*... and so on.

This sequence for shaping and monitoring the HSRC work programme is rigorous, and involves inputs from multiple stakeholders. It in turn draws on internal management systems that need to be effective but not bureaucratic. And that is a story for another column.

HSRC contributes towards President's 10-Year Review

In the build-up towards the celebration of ten years of democratic rule in South Africa and to help chart the road ahead, the Presidency has been conducting a "10-Year Review" of the performance of Government across a wide spectrum. In an initial round of research, the HSRC was commissioned to help prepare brief, issue-identifying papers on infrastructure and service delivery, natural resource management, and the incidence of poverty.

This was followed by a second round of more analytical research, during which the HSRC was contracted to assess the impact of Government programmes on social security, infrastructure, public works, poverty relief, human resource development, investment incentives, small business promotion, agricultural extension and tourism using administrative data sets. Another area of research was on the impact of Government projects in eight localities (Durban CBD, Alexandra, Crossroads, Inanda, Nelspruit, Colesberg, the Wild Coast and East London), and on trends in social indicators sensitive to HIV/AIDS.

The first two assignments were particularly challenging, as they had to be completed within four months. Teams spanned across seven of the HSRC's ten research programmes and included collaboration with the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand, as well as with independent consultants.

All of the reports were used in compiling the synthesis report published in October 2003 by Government Communications and Information Services. The expectation is that many of the individual reports will be published shortly.

Agricultural science in schools popular but lacks basic facilities

Agricultural education has an important role to play in South Africa's social transformation, particularly in rural contexts. Dr Andrew Paterson and Mr Fabian Arends from the HSRC's Human Resources Development (HRD) Research Programme are conducting research into the prospects for agricultural science – taught as a school subject to Grade 12 – to contribute to sustainable development.

Data from the South African Senior Certificate (Matriculation) Examinations shows that one in five learners still chooses to take agricultural science as a compulsory subject. In 2001, 58 481 (or 21%) of all successful matriculation candidates passed agricultural science.

What is striking about schools currently offering agricultural science at Grade 12 is their distribution, which is overwhelmingly in the former apartheid homelands – 82% of all schools where agricultural science was taught in 2001 are located on land formerly designated as homeland territory.

This analysis raises two fundamental issues, says Paterson. Firstly, the agricultural curriculum in South African schools still has negative historical associations with unskilled labour. The future of agricultural science depends on the extent to which this curriculum is perceived by students and parents to meet their needs, rather than as an easy option.

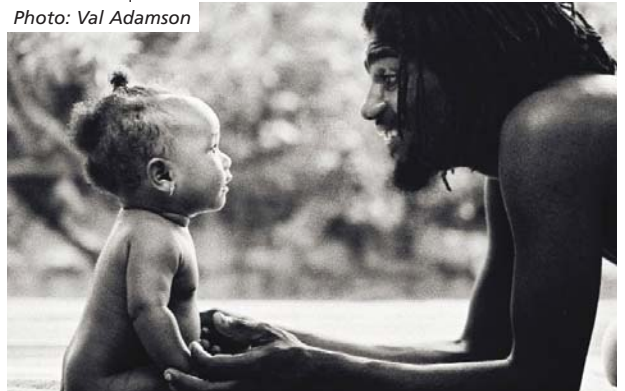
Secondly, a revitalised agricultural science curriculum involving practical activity requires basic facilities such as water, fences and land. Such resources are essential to balance classroom theory with practice.

Strong bonds between fathers and children keep men safe

Men, especially young men who are connected to and spend time with their children, are less likely to engage in high-risk behaviour, including sexual behaviour that makes them vulnerable to HIV infection. This research finding has prompted a new undertaking by the HSRC, called the Fatherhood Project. The project aims to promote caring relationships between men and children for their mutual benefit.

The Fatherhood Project, driven by the HSRC's Child, Youth and Family Development (CYFD) Research Programme, aims to recognise, encourage and

Photo: Val Adamson



support men's care and protection of children – both their own and others' – in their households and neighbourhoods.

Professor Linda Richter, Executive Director of CYFD says, "fatherhood is a mental concept; it consists of the ideas and images we have of men who protect, encourage and guide us. In a country where so many fathers are absent from homes and from the lives of their children, fathers nonetheless feature strongly in the minds and yearnings of young people, including young men at high risk for HIV/AIDS infection."

The project includes a collection of photographic images of men with children by professional and amateur photographers (in some cases children), selected to bring out the protection and pleasure that children enjoy when they are with caring men.

The exhibition will travel to a number of towns and cities and will be published in a book early next year. "It aims to demonstrate what some men are, and all men can be: guardians, companions, teachers, playmates, supporters, friends and guides to children," Richter explains.

Significant improvements in school management and performance

In just 18 months, the Quality Learning Project (QLP), a R171 million district-based school-improvement intervention programme, has made a significant impact on school management and performance, says Mr Cas Prinsloo, Chief Research Specialist in the Assessment Technology and Education Evaluation (ATEE) Research Programme. Such is the initial finding in the 2003 mid-term report of the QLP evaluation project run by the HSRC. The baseline evaluation took place before the programme began in 2000 and the summary assessment is planned for 2004 by which time two sets of QLP interventions will have taken place.

The QLP project was established by the Business Trust – a consortium of private sector organisations that is working with Government to facilitate research and development in key areas. As part of a R500 million allocation by the Trust for education and training research, the QLP was developed towards the end of 1999 as a five-year intervention programme into 500 schools, covering management practices from district to school to classroom level. Joint Education Trust Education Services, a non-government organisation, is managing the programme.

The interventions were contracted to eleven national or regional service providers. They involve management development, classroom practices, content teaching in mathematics as well as reading and writing skills, assessment practices, the provision of learning support materials, and other areas.

The HSRC was contracted to conduct the impact evaluation in three phases: before the first set of interventions, after the first set and after the second set of interventions.

The evaluation involves collecting a wide range of qualitative and quantitative data, including learner performance statistics in mathematics and language at Grade 9 and Grade 11 levels; the results of questionnaires completed by learners and their caregivers,

teachers, principals and school management teams; information gathered through classroom observations, site visits, document reviews and interviews; and site visits and surveys of district offices and core officials. With the addition of a set of 16 control schools in 2002, and intervention data covering 2003 and 2004 to come, the HSRC's evaluation project is expected to guide education practitioners, managers, funders, policy-makers, Government, and other important stakeholders in identifying ways to improve learner performance.

Huge challenges to training unemployed youth for smallest enterprises

The difficulties of training unemployed youth for very small and micro-enterprises (VSMEs) are immense, says Dr Simon McGrath, Director of the Human Resources Development (HRD) Research Programme.

Education and experience are weak among unemployed youth, even after a training intervention, says McGrath in a paper delivered at the National Skills Conference (in Midrand on 14 October) as part of a panel discussion with representatives of the Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs) on skills for SMMEs.

Since 1994 there have been a series of relevant Government policies, but there has been no coherence, McGrath said. The overall fragility of SETAs has been well documented, and business associations have failed to develop sufficiently to support SMMEs.

The greatest development challenges lie in the smallest and least developed enterprises. "It is clear that conventional education and training providers cannot easily become micro-enterprise-oriented," McGrath said. Better skills could be a way of increasing incomes in VSMEs and enabling them to strengthen links with larger firms. However, it is crucial to understand the current pattern of skills development in VSMEs, which is largely informal.

It is difficult to find suitable mechanisms for intervening in VSMEs to improve

training quality and effectiveness, given the difficulty they face in releasing staff for off-the-job training, McGrath said. In South Africa, there is the particular difficulty of linking VSME training to the National Qualifications Framework, which expects a sophistication that is largely irrelevant to the smallest enterprises.

Improving child health in Zanzibar

Do *both* the mother's health and the infant's health impact on an infant's development? If this is the case, intervention to improve child development should be targeted at the mother as well as the infant.



The research assistant in charge of data collection on Pemba Island in Zanzibar, Ms Nadra Subeit Ali (on the left), recently visited the HSRC's Durban office. Discussing a coding programme with her is Dr Jane Kvalsvig of the HSRC.

The HSRC is involved in this aspect of a larger research study on child development with researchers from the Ministry of Health in Zanzibar and several American universities, including Johns Hopkins, Cornell and California, Davis. The purpose of the research, due for completion in 2004, is to find ways to protect the health and development of children on Pemba Island, where malaria and other parasitic infections are endemic, and iron deficiency anaemia is common.

Another aspect of the research is whether iron and zinc supplementation protects the health and development of children. These issues are complex and the benefits to children in high-risk environments are by no means clear, says Senior Research Specialist Dr Jane Kvalsvig.

The research has reached the stage where the interactions of 160 mother-infant pairs have been video-taped, and a system has been devised for coding the speed and variability of the interactions.

GROUND-BREAKING SURVIVAL STRATEGY FOR COTTON INDUSTRY

By Mike de Klerk

Faced with the rapid winding down of tariffs on cotton imports from fellow countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the 30-year low in the dollar price of cotton and the high level of subsidies given to many cotton growers abroad, South Africa's cotton farmers are fighting for survival. As a result, cotton production has dwindled to a dismal 70 000 bales in 2003 – the lowest since 1964 and only a fraction of South African textile manufacturers' needs.

Cotton farmers have approached the Director-General of Agriculture, Ms Bongiwe Njobe, for help. Drawing on the recommendations of a report commissioned from the HSRC, she asked the growers to formulate a strategy for the development of the South African cotton industry as a whole, bearing in mind the interests of SADC. Under the Department's wing, a working group representative of all role-players in the industry – input suppliers, farmers (commercial and emerging), ginners, spinners and textile manufacturers – forged a strategy, facilitated by the HSRC.

The strategy aims to preserve and expand employment in the agricultural sector, including 80 000 farm jobs and 200 000 jobs in processing. It not only takes into account the needs of the country's 50 large farmers, but also those of the 250 medium and approximately 3 000 small farmers, of whom about 40% are women. Because small farmers face the greatest difficulties, the national strategy focuses largely on revitalising small-scale production through training, research, technological transfers, land allocation and



The strategy recognises that for SADC to improve its competitiveness, internal barriers to the flow of trade, capital and human resources must be eliminated

management, investment and education on debt consolidation, and financial management.

The strategy also aims to help develop the SADC cotton industry by continuing the tariff wind-down and promoting its collective lobbying power in international trade forums, thus contributing to the broader goals of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). It recognises that for SADC to improve its competitiveness, internal barriers to the flow of trade, capital and human resources must be eliminated.

Another goal is to boost the size of the South African cotton crop to take advantage of export opportunities offered through the US African Growth and Opportunities Act. The strategy aims to increase farm output to a stable 370 000 bales per annum by 2007 – with 100 000 bales from small farmers – and to expand exports in terms of value, diversity, country of destination and client base. Growers will liaise with textile manufacturers

to meet world-class production standards, increase sales and employment, develop the skills base, expand capital investment, achieve empowerment goals and comply with international environmental standards.

The Department of Agriculture's Executive Committee has endorsed the strategy. At a cotton awards ceremony, Njobe announced the Government's acceptance of the partnership and its commitment towards the implementation of the strategy. A full-time co-ordinator has been appointed to drive implementation and a Cotton Development Council has been formed.

The Department is now considering similar processes to develop inclusive, sustainable growth strategies for other sub-sectors, such as grain, poultry and potatoes.

Recently, the importance of the development of such action plans was emphasised by Agriculture and Land Affairs Minister, Thoko Didiza. She said at the 2003 Agricultural and Information Conference that they "focus on the key outcomes ... and set up a ... basis for collaboration between Government and its agencies and the industry involved". •

For more information, e-mail media@hsrc.ac.za

Mr Mike de Klerk is Executive Director of the Integrated Rural and Regional Development (IRR) Research Programme of the HSRC.

Integration must be approached with reference to difference, ... class, race, gender and other differences are always interlocked and entangled



SCHOOL INTEGRATION

By Carolyn McKinney and Linda Chisholm

Local and international perspectives

How integrated have our schools really become? This was one of the questions raised at the Colloquium on School Integration hosted by the HSRC this past October in Muldersdrift.

For many, the assumption has been that desegregated schooling might create a racially integrated society or, conversely, that the opening of schools would necessarily lead to integration. However, as Dr Naledi Pandor remarked in her keynote address, when South African schools opened their doors to learners of all races in 1991, nobody considered that we might need strategies to facilitate the racial integration of learners and educators. Pandor chairs the National Council of Provinces.

The main aim of this Colloquium was to hear papers that reflected on the latest research in both local and international contexts. The Colloquium learnt that the large majority of schools in South Africa remain uni- or mono-racial and that there are small pockets of integration. But who is integrated into what, how and with what effects still needs a great deal of work.

A paper by Professor Crain Soudien, Head of the School of Education at UCT, and Mr Nazir Carrim from the Wits School of Education, showed that the dominant model of integration is assimilation. They approached the concept of integration largely within the framework of the concept of inclusion.

Their approach is that integration must be approached with reference to difference, that class, race, gender and other differences are always interlocked and entangled, and that present within every inclusion are exclusions.

Within this conceptual approach, their main conclusions were that constructions of race and schooling dictated the mode of assimilation into schools. The consequence has been the development of a two-tier system in which social class is a major factor in determining who is included and who is excluded.

A contribution by Harvard's Professor Gary Orfield drew attention to a very different set of issues. Here the most important message was that diversity is a good thing and that diverse classrooms improve the life-chances

Here the most important message was that diversity is a good thing and that diverse classrooms improve the life-chances of learners

of learners. Dr Sarada Balagopalan, from Delhi University in India, addressed the deep exclusions in poor communities and raised questions about the social constructions of formal schooling, and how this determines the terms on which inclusion or integration occurs. Together the two papers suggest

important new areas for research which will help to explain some of the complexities raised by the Soudien and Carrim paper.

Papers from the University of Natal and the Human Rights Commission, among others, showed that there are initiatives to give students and teachers the diversity of experiences that would enable white teachers to go into black schools and black teachers to go into white schools with confidence, but that much more needs to be done in this realm.

Professor Thobeka Mda, Dean of the Faculty of Education at Unisa, showed that one of the greatest challenges for African learners in desegregated schools is the English medium of instruction, coupled with educators' lack of knowledge of the learners' home languages. Schools often say that they are "colour blind" and that they treat all learners the same. But this means that they provide no extra support for learners whose home language is not English (or Afrikaans, as the case may be). Such an oversight ultimately means discrimination against some learners.

The Colloquium identified a number of priorities for further research and intervention. These have provided a long-term agenda of research for the school integration team. •

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Dr Carolyn McKinney is a Research Specialist and Professor Linda Chisholm is a Research Director in the HSRC's Child, Youth and Family Development (CYFD) Research Programme.

First comprehensive survey of

INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

Tracking the size, shape and performance of the formal independent schooling sector

The formal independent schooling sector has grown significantly since 1990 and its profile now more closely reflects the demographics of South African learners. Such are the findings of the first comprehensive national survey of the sector, conducted by the Human Resources Development (HRD) Research Programme of the HSRC.

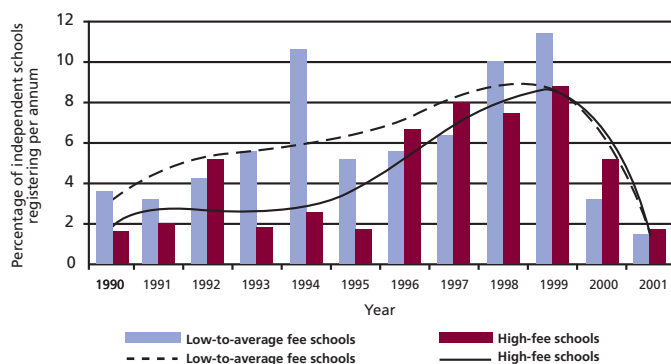
The survey, which is part of the forthcoming Biennial Review of HRD in South Africa, assesses the size and shape of the sector by counting learners and teachers, and examining performance indicators such as pass rates.

Table 1: HSRC statistics on independent schools vs DoE statistics

	DoE	HSRC
Number of independent schools	984	1 287
Number of learners	245 150	391 248
Number of teachers	14 857	24 453
School / learner ratio	1:249	1:304
Teacher / learner ratio	1:17	1:16

Table 1 compares statistics from the survey to official statistics from the Department of Education (DoE).

The HSRC assessed a much larger number of learners in the sector than the DoE, partly because it identified a larger number of schools – including schools registered with recognised independent schools associations but not necessarily with the DoE. However, the HSRC survey also reflects a larger school/learner ratio. Inferential statistics revealed that school sizes were most significantly associated with school fees, with a significantly larger percentage of large schools charging high fees. This means that a greater proportion of large schools would not receive a subsidy and are therefore unlikely to be included in the DoE's annual "SNAP" surveys. This is likely to explain the difference between the two sources, and it also strongly suggests that the size of the sector has been underestimated. The independent school sector currently contributes approximately 3.2% of total schooling, whereas it contributed approximately 1.9% during the nineties.



The survey confirms the popular perception that the sector grew significantly during the nineties – more than 60% of all schools registered between 1990 and 2001. Trend lines in the above graph suggest that growth of low- to average-fee schools (associated with excess schooling demand in lower socio-economic areas) was largest, whereas growth of high-fee schools (associated with differentiated demand in higher socio-economic areas) was at a stronger rate than



before. However, growth of both types of schools declined sharply after 1999.

The survey also debunks the popular misconception that the sector is predominantly white and elitist. It shows that African learners constitute the majority of learners in the sector at 58.3%, whereas white learners constitute less than 30.0%. There are also far more girls than boys in the independent sector than in the public sector.

More than half of all schools charge low to average fees, that is, no more than R6 000 per annum. It should be noted, however, that historical inequalities are echoed, as most African learners are found in low- to average-fee schools and most white learners in high-fee schools. A comparison with data from the HRD's recent Grade 12 Learner Choice Survey also revealed that predominantly white and Indian independent schools are less integrated than former white and Indian public schools.

Table 2: Annual school fee categories

ANNUAL SCHOOL FEE CATEGORIES	TOTAL	
	Number	% of schools
R0 – 6 000	640	52.9
R6 001 – 12 000	261	21.6
R12 001 – 18 000	141	11.7
R18 000 +	166	13.8
No information	79	
Total	1 287	100

Teacher/learner ratios are lower in low-to-average and high-fee independent schools (1:21 and 1:13 respectively) than in public schools (1:34). Similarly, total pass rates for the 2001 Grade 12 National Senior Certificate examination of both groups (66.5% and 72.8%

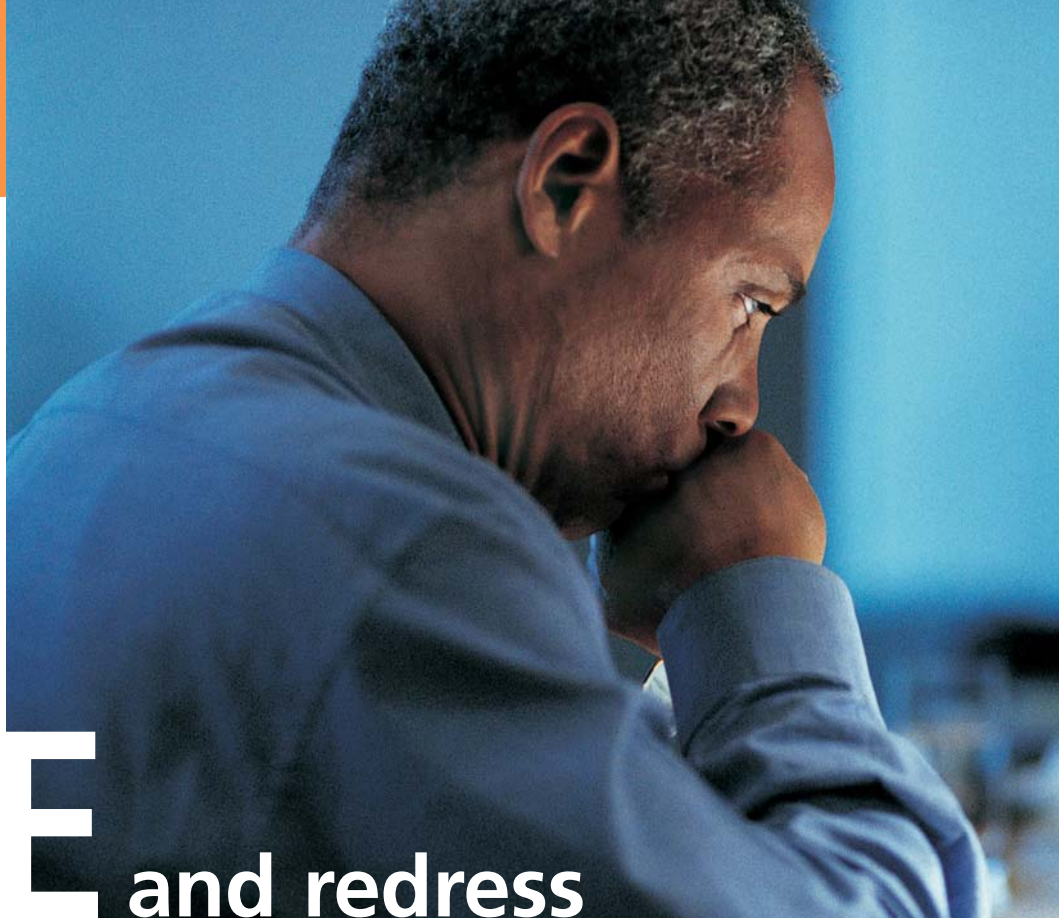
respectively) are higher than public schools (61.7%) – although the reverse is true when results are disaggregated for some provinces. It should be noted that these findings pertain to the formal (registered) component of the sector, whereas the informal component – which is also perceived by some to have grown significantly – still remains unexplored. [For more information, e-mail jdutoit@hsrc.ac.za](mailto:jdutoit@hsrc.ac.za)

Mr Jacques du Toit is Chief Researcher in the Surveys, Analyses, Modelling and Mapping (SAMM) Research Programme at the HSRC. At the time of this research he was with the HSRC's Human Resources Development (HRD) Research Programme.



*In conversation
with Adam Habib*

I am an upper middle class South African, probably of Indian descent. I say probably, because I don't really know. Yet I'm often categorised as Indian and when I protest, especially when my views are attributed to the pigmentation of my skin, I get the distinct feeling that I am not taken seriously. In most people's eyes I remained 'Indian' and that is what defines me.



RACE and redress in SOUTH AFRICA

I'm not an isolated case. When colleague Professor Jonathan Jansen, the Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria, recently appeared on a radio talk show, the hostile responses by the audience, who thought he was a white Afrikaner, only changed when informed that he was black.

Then there is the celebrated case of Jeremy Cronin and the racist diatribe he was subjected to by fellow-NEC member Dumisane Makhaye with the implicit sanction of the ANC leadership. If somebody with the political credentials of Jeremy Cronin can be subjected to racial charges, who can be exempt?

Add these cases to Mbongeni Ngema's song, the killing of farmers, the murder of farm workers, the taunting and torture of black prisoners by white policemen, and columns in national newspapers by some black writers tarring critics and investigative journalists with the brush of racism, and one has to ask: what is going on?

How can an anti-racist struggle with a non-racial goal culminate in this? Why is race and ethnicity more politicised and race relations more tense in 2003 than in 1994?

I believe two factors, one direct and the other indirect, account for the current racial tensions.

The direct influence on racial tensions is the racial character of the attempt to remedy the past. The post-apartheid Government's transformation agenda, encapsulated in its programmes and policies, is largely based on race. Transformation, in all sectors, from education and health to the economy, is defined in racial terms. Black people, defined in the legislation as African, coloured and Indian, are affirmed and given preference with regards to access to infrastructure and resources.

Why is race and ethnicity more politicised and race relations more tense in 2003 than in 1994?

Black pigmentation has become a valuable commodity. On the positive side the status of the "historically disadvantaged" has become a bargaining chip, a resource that enables one

to compete effectively in a market environment. Black empowerment legislation and programmes are intended to diversify the ownership, managerial, staff and stakeholder profiles of South African corporates to reflect the demographic realities of our society. Higher education policy is designed to increase the intake and employment of black students and staff. Welfare policy has aims at the inclusion of black people as beneficiaries and the equalising of grants and services across the racial groups. In sector after sector, the advancement of black interests has become the primary aim of transformative legislation.

The negative side is that the benefits of this redress policy have been monopolised by a small elite minority within the black population. Moreover, some white, Indian and coloured citizens perceive the redress project as unfair discrimination, and this in part accounts for the significant increase in emigration. The racial character of the redress project has also led to tensions within the black population, and in particular between people of African and Indian ancestry.

Coupled with the above is the glamourisa-



market flexibility, and a shrinking state. Most of the policy prescriptions were implemented from 1994, although they were only formally codified as state policy in 1996 when Government abandoned the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in favour of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR).

The reward for policy compliance was capital's acceptance of black economic empowerment. In the initial years, foreign and domestic businesses were merely encouraged to take on both black managers and partners. In subsequent years Government made it mandatory for companies receiving state contracts or competing for tenders to have black partners or enter into consortiums with black companies. And now, Government has established black ownership targets for the mining industry, and more are to follow for other sectors of the economy.

address the disparities of the past. The alternative is to rethink the redress policy without using race as the criteria for public action and public policy.

How to do this? One option is an experiment in redress by the State Government in California, which targets affirmative admissions policies to universities at the materially disadvantaged – in other words a redress policy structured along class lines.

Could such a redress programme be the answer to our dilemma? South Africa's class structure is largely racially defined. An overlap between race and class categories would allow for a situation where a redress strategy with class objectives at its core would remedy historically racial disparities. And, it would do so without reinforcing racial identities and advancing racism.

However, this alone could not counter the racial polarisation of our society. One would

Is our transition about non-racial poverty, or is it about getting rid of poverty?

tion of racial identity by a small elite of black politicians, activists and intellectuals – most with impeccable anti-apartheid credentials. In the new ideology, socially constructed racial identities constitute the cultural blocs of society. This is seen as a positive feature that will enable the affirmation of previously disadvantaged groups. But it is a dangerous phenomenon that will come to haunt this elite. It legitimises playing the ethnic card when it suits them and will inevitably lead to a fractured and politically divided society.

The second factor contributing to the current politicising of race is our macro-economic policy. The fundamental compromise of our transition was not, as many believe, in the political sphere, but in the economic.

Confronted by the overwhelming power of corporate capital, largely the result of global developments (collapse of the Soviet Union, mobility of capital as a result of the technological revolution), the political elites in our society struck a deal to abide not only by a market economy, but also by neoclassical economic policy prescriptions.

This involved a commitment to privatisation, deregulation, trade and currency liberalisation, low inflation and fiscal deficits, labour

The effect has been dramatic. Recent studies have shown that the size of the African component in the richest income bracket rose from 9% in 1991 to 22% in 1996. But it “de-racialised” the tip of the class structure, while leaving the rest largely untransformed. The result is a polarisation of the social and political environment. A shrinking economic pie means access to a job is a life-and-death matter, effectively pitting the poor of all racial groups against each other.

The poorer and unskilled sections of the minority racial groups are the most vulnerable to affirmative action. Coupled with the neo-liberal economic environment, it effectively enforces choices between different sections of the poor. It robs the poor to benefit the poor. Should we, then, be surprised at the volatility in race relations in South Africa?

Is our transition about non-racial poverty, or is it about getting rid of poverty? And, if it is the latter, should our political programme not be directed at achieving non-racialism through the redistribution of the available systemic resources?

Where do we go from here? Clearly, abandoning the redress project is not an option as the State has an obligation to

expect that a class-structured redress project would be coupled with an alternative social-democratic macro-economic strategy. This is likely to include, among others, increased social expenditure, significant regulation of the markets and capital, and an industrial policy directed at facilitating both employment and a decent standard of living.

Is a class-structured redress policy and a social democratic economic strategy on the horizon? I think not. The ANC knows that the electorate has nowhere else to go. As a result there is no incentive for them to make concessions to this electorate. This is why I believe that political discourse will benefit from initiatives aimed at establishing an opposition party and new social movements to the left of the ANC, because their presence will address this imbalance of power in our society. Only then will alternative policy options become significant, as befits a vibrant democracy. •

For more information, e-mail media@hsrc.ac.za

Professor Adam Habib is Director of the Centre for Civil Society, Research Professor in the School of Development Studies, University of Natal, and part-time Research Director in Democracy and Governance (D&G) at the HSRC.

Government can meet its employment objectives by putting South Africans to work

By Miriam Altman



The Government has significant scope for creating sustainable jobs while meeting the basic needs of all South Africans. Opportunity can be found in adversity. It should therefore be possible to align the meeting of basic needs with Government's employment objectives.

This would require a complement of creative industrial and social strategies in three broad sectors: construction and building, social services, and food production and distribution.

In a context where the majority of the unemployed are low-skilled and the internationally traded sector has been shedding rather than absorbing unskilled labour, less orthodox avenues of employment creation require investigation. Many industries that provide basic needs are non-traded and absorb relatively large numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled labour, both directly and indirectly.

In each of these three basic-needs sectors, Government has a powerful policy lever to influence the pace and pattern of employment creation. Ultimately, employment creation strategies that are aligned with industrial strategies and that fulfil the Government's obligation to meet basic needs are more sustainable, especially where there is a recognition of the important role of both private and public sectors.

The need for such a strategy is massive. Recent data from the labour-force surveys show that total employment (excluding subsistence agriculture) has been stagnant since 2000. This is partly explained by a tapering off and even a decline in informal sector employment, as well as slow growth in the formal sector. At the same time, the labour force is growing each year. This means that more forceful and creative strategies are needed in stimulating demand, whilst also

improving the functioning of the labour market.

Government can only go so far in stimulating jobs directly. The more credible and sustained a programme is, the more the private sector will respond – not just by delivering the procured service, but by mobilising investment to provide inputs, logistics, and related goods and services. These are the desired spin-offs required to enhance the ability of the economy to create more jobs.

The number of jobs created would have to be in the order of hundreds of thousands. To illustrate: if 150 000 additional public works jobs were created in year one, that figure would have to be sustained and doubled in the subsequent years in order to keep employment levels stable. In other words, the current allocation would be the base, and expenditure and delivery would be expanded on top of this base to have the effect of

creating the equivalent of an extra 150 000 jobs. The kind of expenditure required would therefore be out of reach if expanded at scale over many years.

The construction and building sector is an important avenue for employment creation because Government expenditure has a large influence on its expansion or contraction. In this sector, it is estimated that an increased output of R1 million would result in the creation of nine jobs directly and eight jobs indirectly. There are few other sectors in South Africa that have this kind of employment impact, particularly in relation to the employment of semi- and unskilled labour.

Government is the main source of demand for infrastructure. The public sector plays a leading role in civil construction, accounting for about 75% of its expenditure, and has committed itself to massive expansion in this type of expenditure. The Department of Public Works has initiated a labour-intensive infrastructure programme, which is designed to transform conventional capital-intensive construction methods into labour-intensive methods in the construction and maintenance of local and provincial roads, sewage pipes and storm-water drains. Based on experience in Limpopo, it is estimated that this programme can expand the employment-generating potential of civil works projects from 17 to 50 jobs per R1 million of output.

Social services is another sector with substantial employment growth potential. There are already about 1.8 million people working in this sector, in formal and informal, private and public sectors, and professional and paraprofessional roles. Dramatic social and economic dislocation; weak community care for children, the aged, the disabled and HIV/AIDS sufferers; and a dearth of basic support services in education, health and welfare, amongst others, characterise the South African situation. There is an important role for private actors – whether for-profit businesses or not-for-profit community organisations.

In social and personal services, 47 jobs are generated for every R1 million invested (largely for low- and semi-skilled workers). Given that women workers are disproportionately represented in the social services sector, creating new social service jobs as well as improving the quality and security of existing

jobs also have important implications for women empowerment and gender equity.

In the context of the care sector, where women dominate the labour market and many are volunteers, this is a compelling reason to transform voluntary jobs into paid jobs – this provides essential services in the South African context, draws women into recognised careers and would have a dramatic impact on income distribution.

Finally, there is a significant need for food provision. The ultra-poor are estimated to spend over 50% of their income on food, and up to 20% on maize alone. It has been estimated that 39% of the South African population is vulnerable to food insecurity and about 25% of all South African children are stunted due to malnutrition. It would therefore appear that there is a substantial unmet demand for food – unmet due to the lack of money in poor households. Were

The policy issues to be addressed include: how the industrial structure of these sectors affects and is affected by Government food provision; the optimal sourcing of food for Government programmes; and mechanisms for making jobs based on such sourcing secure, even beyond the life-span of particular Government programmes.

There is an urgent need to develop job opportunities in these sectors. Sustained and credible expenditure will ultimately encourage more private sector interest and raise the probability of higher output and employment linkages. In light of the commitments made by Government at the recent Growth and Development Summit, the challenge will be to locate sustainable and effective delivery in these sectors, with an eye to optimising the employment effects.

The full paper is available at www.hsrc.ac.za, or e-mail media@hsrc.ac.za

The construction and building sector is an important avenue for employment creation because Government expenditure has a large influence on its expansion or contraction



this demand met through Government intervention, output and employment in food and logistics would be significantly boosted.

The challenge for Government is to find ways of closing the food gap so that it stimulates employment retention and creation.

Dr Miriam Altman is Executive Director of the Employment and Economic Policy (EEP) Research Programme at the HSRC. This is an abridged version of a paper presented at the Trade and Industrial Policy Strategies/Development Policy Research Unit (TIPS/DPRU) Forum in Johannesburg in September 2003.

HIV/AIDS spending in southern Africa

well below requirements for prevention, care and treatment

By Gayle Martin

A new HSRC study on the health-care expenditure of six southern African countries has found that, with the exception of South Africa and Zimbabwe, these countries are not meeting the promises made in international declarations and agreements of Government expenditure on healthcare. This implies that present levels of funding by governments and donors on HIV/AIDS falls far short of what is needed.

In April 2001, African leaders meeting in Abuja, Nigeria, adopted the Abuja Declaration on HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Other Related Infectious Diseases, in which they committed themselves to allocating 15% of their national resources to healthcare expenditure. This was subsequently reiterated at the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS held in June 2001.

The report, "A comparative analysis of the financing of HIV/AIDS programmes in Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe", assesses the level of financing on healthcare and HIV/AIDS in these six countries, and evaluates their progress towards meeting these commitments.

According to the study, only South Africa and Zimbabwe have managed to meet the 15% commitment. Botswana allocates 10% of its expenditure to healthcare. The report highlights that poorer countries, such as Lesotho and Mozambique, are unlikely to meet the 15% target. Estimated expenditure on healthcare in the six countries ranged from a high of US\$255 per capita in South Africa to a low of US\$9 per capita in Mozambique.

Southern Africa is the region most severely affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. UNAIDS estimates that of the 41 million people living with HIV/AIDS, 33% are living within the six countries under review; yet according to the study, the total spending on HIV/AIDS by governments and donors falls well below requirements for an

effective response that combines prevention, care, support and treatment.

Total expenditure by governments and donors on HIV/AIDS, excluding both household out-of-pocket spending and the Global Fund allocations, amounts to approximately US\$250 million for the year 2001, or to US\$3 per capita and US\$27 per person living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA). This is far below the estimated US\$4.6 billion required annually for prevention, care, support and treatment (including anti-retroviral therapy).

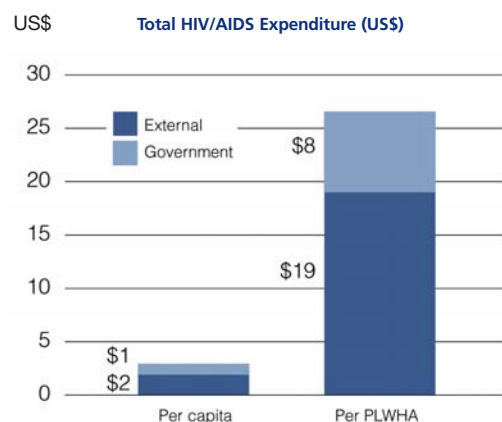
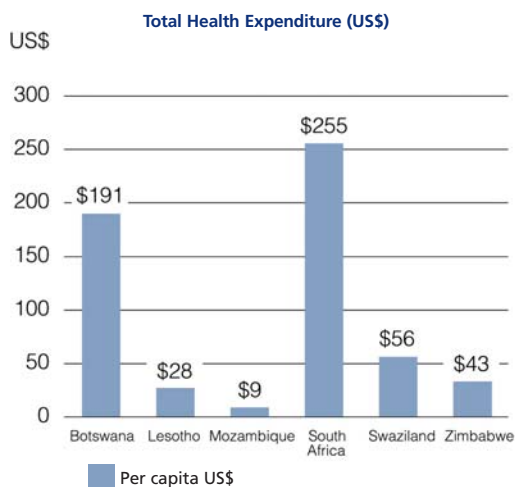
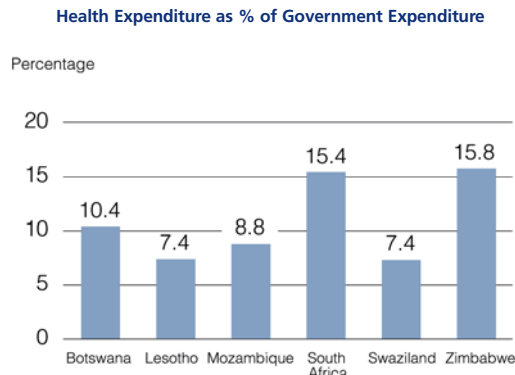
The study found that the combined annual government expenditure on HIV/AIDS for these countries is close to US\$70 million, while donor funding accounts for US\$180 million.

The median per capita HIV/AIDS expenditure by the governments of the six countries is US\$1, and that of donors US\$2.

The Government of Botswana is the highest per capita spender on HIV/AIDS (US\$30 per capita) – almost 30 times the level of expenditure in the other five countries (below US\$1.50 per capita).

With the exception of South Africa, expenditure on HIV/AIDS in these countries is financed mainly by external sources. In Mozambique, Lesotho and Swaziland more than 80% of total HIV/AIDS spending is funded by external sources, the study found. The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria adds an additional US\$479 million over the total period of the allocations, and US\$192 million over the first two years of each award.

The study illustrates that there is still a long way to go before governments and donors meet their promised commitments in addressing the HIV/AIDS situation in these six countries, and calls for the prioritisation and targeting of HIV/AIDS spending. It is, however, important that the increased allocations, which the various mobilisation initiatives for international resources aim to effect, are not accompanied by increased inefficiency in budget management and budget execution. This would be a tragic outcome given the unprecedented level of commitment and focus on resource mobilisation for HIV/AIDS. •



Dr Gayle Martin, an independent consultant in health economics and health policy in developing country settings, prepared this article for the HSRC's Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS and Health (SAHA) Research Programme.

The full document is available at www.hsrcpublishers.ac.za

Commonage land in the Free State presents municipalities with a paradox – they are expected to use this land to help poorer citizens become emerging farmers but their efforts are frustrated by limited staff, finance and expertise.

An HSRC survey on the use and management of commonage in the Free State established that while municipalities make this land available to emerging farmers, the municipalities by themselves cannot help this sector to develop. National Government departments such as Labour, Agriculture, Local Government and Housing, and Environmental Affairs and Tourism should have a definite role.

MUNICIPAL COMMONAGE

A resource for emerging farmers? By Ntobeko Buso



Sustainable commonage management should be the joint task of municipalities, the relevant government departments, non-governmental organisations, commonage users and civil society. Such collaboration is the prerequisite for commonage to assume its rightful role in improving citizens' standard of living.

The research, based on surveys and interviews in 20 Free State municipalities, revealed that amalgamation of various towns has resulted in some large-scale municipal ownership of land. Commonage varies from one municipality to the other, from Maluti-a-Phofung (Butchers Camp, Kestel, Phuthaditjhaba, Tshiame) which has only 83 hectares, to Moqhaka (Steynsrus, Kroonstad) which has 7 173 hectares, and Kopanong (Philippolis, Springfontein, Reddersburg, Edenburg, Fauresmith, Gariep Dam, Trompsburg, Jagersfontein) with 29 701 hectares. Municipal commonage totals about 112 795 hectares in the Free State.

Most users of commonage are from lower-income groups and farm livestock – cattle, sheep, horses, goats and ostriches. They hope their stock will grow and enable them to generate income from selling their surplus. Commonage is also used by middle-income groups, such as teachers, policemen and clergy, who farm livestock to supplement their income.

Some users keep stock with no intention of becoming commercial farmers. For others, commercial farming is the goal. This difference in purpose results in conflict over how to develop the farming potential of this land.

Municipalities, assisted by Government departments, should develop clear policies and guidelines on who should use commonage, and how it should be used. However, municipalities lack qualified personnel and funds to administer and manage this land. They need officials with an agricultural background to handle this responsibility effectively.

A possible solution is apparent: commercial farmers could be of great assistance by serving as mentors. They could also help emerging farmers identify markets for their produce and stock. Already, at Philippolis in the Southern Free State, emerging goat farmers co-operate with a commercial farmer who transports their goats to the market in Kimberley.

But it can be an unequal relationship. In municipalities such as Mantsopa and Tswelopele, small-scale farmers and a commercial farmer work together in the commonage to plough fields. Because the machinery belongs to the commercial farmer, he gets 85% of the produce and 15% goes to emerging farmers. The emerging farmers battle to generate enough income, and they

want more funding from Government to become self-sustainable.

Good working relations between commercial and emerging farmers could ease the burden on Government departments and the municipality. There is clearly a need for a formal arrangement to use the expertise of commercial farmers for the benefit of emerging farmers. It would be in the interest of stakeholders to work out terms of compensation for commercial farmers who assist emerging farmers.

Another concern for municipalities is maintenance of infrastructure. Most commonage has windmills, dams, fences, troughs, enclosures and the like in place. However, the survey revealed a problem with maintenance, lack of repairs, vandalism and theft. There are unclear lines of responsibility and some municipalities carry the total responsibility for maintenance, while others delegate it to users.

In many municipalities, commonage is the single most important developmental resource. There is an urgent need to develop policies and programmes to assist municipalities and emerging farmers to maximise their returns from this land in ways that are environmentally and financially sustainable. •

The full paper is available at www.hsrc.ac.za, or e-mail media@hsrc.ac.za

Mr Ntobeko Buso is a Researcher in the Democracy and Governance (D&G) Research Programme.



Executive Director of the Social Cohesion and Integration (SCI) Research Programme

By Michael Morris

It is a tribute to the firm vision and empowering management style of Professor Wilmot James that just a year after he founded the HSRC's Social Cohesion and Integration (SCI) Research Programme, he was able to take up a year's fellowship at the California Institute of Technology (Caltech) where he is teaching courses on modern South African politics, culture, African resources and global science.

As Executive Director of the HSRC's SCI Research Programme, he has not, however, left behind the projects that are closest to his heart, or stopped exploring the key questions of what holds us together in society today. At Caltech he is working with scientists in providing biological and sociological answers to the fundamental question of human xenophobia from an evolutionary point of view.

Wilmot James summarises the essence of human society at the beginning of the 21st century with what seems unnerving detachment: we are uncertain about where we are heading, and we are uncertain about whether we will survive.

It's not moral disquiet that grips him, but curiosity.

Painting a broad brush-stroke of human life on this planet, from hunters and gatherers through the agricultural revolution, to the technological sophistication of today, James points out that humans have also wrought the means to destroy themselves and damage the environment.

So, at the beginning of the 21st century, James argues, we might well ask how it is all this actually works, and how it is going to work in the foreseeable future.

It is a line of thinking that helps explain what might otherwise seem a somewhat intimidating name for the HSRC directorate he now heads. In fact, the Social Cohesion and Integration Research Programme seeks to do just what it says.

James's directorship follows his year-long associate editorship at the Cape Argus, and, before that, his tenure as Dean of Humanities at the University of Cape Town and a spell

but do other wonderful things as people, in the arts and sport, for instance? And how did we reconcile as a nation, and avoid descending into warring or ethnic blocs?

"It's an effort to begin to understand – and do research to better understand – how we stick together in an age of increasing globalisation and fragmentation. One thinks, for instance, on an intimate level, of the increasing divorce rate, and the emergence of different forms of family life. We are going through an interesting and unknown process of reconstitution, and it's not very clear how we are reconstituting."

Drawing on the thinking of the late Stephen Jay Gould, James argues that while religion and science occupy or function in different spheres, it's important for each to engage with the other

heading the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), all of which were opportunities for the former sociology professor to scan the societal landscape for answers to a range of elemental questions.

"My primary concern is to understand how it is that South Africans cohere in this age, and in the positive sense of cohering, because there's a tendency to pathologise our environment, to talk of moral degradation as if there is something romantically wonderful about the past, or to bemoan the fact that we are moving into an 'immoral' world requiring moral regeneration.

"That's fine, but how do we stick together and manage to excel, and find the right kind of engagements in which we not only deal with AIDS and other public health disasters,

Within this philosophical framework James has, in four months, put together a range of projects within the areas of focus of his directorate – culture, the media, the arts, religion and sport – through which he hopes to exercise both the scholarly and the public mind. The biggest project, which has a deliberate and far-reaching international dimension, is the Africa Human Genome Initiative. In March this year a major four-day international conference on the potential impact of the genome project on research and development in Africa was held at Spier, Stellenbosch. The conference followed a colloquium on science and a two-day workshop on the historical, archaeological and paleo-anthropological implications of genomics research.

NEW BOOK ANNOUNCEMENT

In March 2004 the next Africa genome conference will be held in Cairo, Egypt.

“What we are trying to do in this exercise is promote greater connections between ourselves and the rest of the world with regards to momentous new biological knowledge, especially around the genome and the wider public discourse on its implications for biomedicine, history and archaeology, law and ethics, education and biotechnology.”

Drawing on the thinking of the late Stephen Jay Gould, James argues that while religion and science occupy or function in different spheres, it’s important for each to engage with the other.

“I am trying my utmost to break traditional academic and disciplinary boundaries,” James says, “because it’s fruitful to put people together from different backgrounds to focus on common issues.”

Understanding the sources of cohesion – and threats to it – is the common theme of James’s conception of social activities that straddle religion, the arts, culture, sport and media ... activities, he points out, “which occupy a lot of our time”.

The primary agents of cohesion are family and faith. But there have been significant shifts, or a “reconstitution”, in family and faith relationships that he believes call for study.

“If there are myths in dogma, science should help to change that, while science has nothing to say about morality. But there’s a value in nurturing that engagement. The faith community is a blessed thing, and we need to look after it. It’s a question of commitment and values, but it also needs supporting.

“The long history of rising divorce rates, the absent male, single parents and violence in the family suggests this institution is in deep trouble.

“Fundamentalists say this is so, and that we should go back to earlier ways, but I am not convinced that that is the answer. It is just a moral injunction. We are finding our feet, searching for different ways of cohering.

“Globalisation has brought with it a breaking down of boundaries, a loss of traditional anchors and a process of global capitalism where everything is commodified and where there are no moral goalposts, and we are having to find them in ourselves.

“And we are having to find that moral guidance under circumstances where there has been declining mainstream church attendance, a growth of so-called independent churches, and the emergence of religion as big business.

“Coupled with that is the impact of modern media, of instant communication in a world where our view of what is real is powerfully influenced by fleeting TV imagery.”

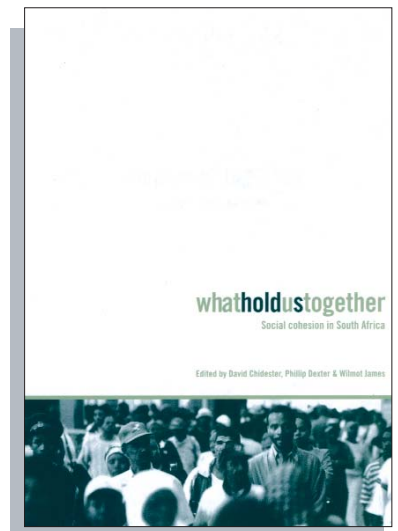
These are indeed circumstances under which, as he sees it, uncertainty is pervasive. Yet, if it’s not to be cast merely as a form of terminal degeneration that is hopeless and depressing, now is the time to get the measure of it, to take soundings, and to grant society some sense of its true worth. •

Mr Michael Morris is a journalist at The Argus newspaper in Cape Town.

What Holds Us Together *Social cohesion in South Africa*

Edited by David Chidester,
Phillip Dexter and Wilmot James

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What holds us together when everything seems to be pulling us apart? Leading intellectuals from business, organised labour, community organisations, government structures and academic institutions examine the effects of a whole range of cross-cutting global forces on local forms of identity, coherence and cohesion. Exploring contexts as varied as fruit pickers and multi-national corporations, the sovereignty of the state and political tolerance, African immigrants and urban street art, indigenous African culture and speculative capitalism, human rights movements and the dynamics of global citizenship, the authors illustrate the many ways in which globalisation is experienced in local transactions of social identity.

THE EDITORS OF THE PUBLICATION ARE:

- ▶ David Chidester, a Visiting Fellow at the Social Cohesion and Integration (SCI) Research Programme of the HSRC. He is Chair of Religious Studies at the University of Cape Town and Director of the Institute for Comparative Religion in Southern Africa (ICRSA).
- ▶ Phillip Dexter, a Senior Researcher in the Social Cohesion and Integration (SCI) Research Programme of the HSRC.
- ▶ Wilmot James, Executive Director of the HSRC, responsible for the Social Cohesion and Integration (SCI) Research Programme.

In addition to the three editors, contributors to the volume include Professors Amanda Gouws, Giles Gunn, Thomas Koelble, Sandra Klopper, Andrietta Kritzing, Steven Robins, Peter Vale and Susan Ziehl; and scholars and researchers Stephanie Barrientos, Adrian Hadland, Tony Ehrenreich, Jan Hofmeyr, Chirevo Kwenda, Sandra Prosalendis and Owen Sichone.

Moving well beyond issues of economic and political hegemony, this compelling book merits close attention from anyone interested in the wide-ranging effects of globalisation on South Africa.

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BOOKS

State of the Nation 2003-04 has an extraordinary grasp of contemporary South Africa. Creating agreement around the issues central to debate and encouraging meaningful dialogue, it is vital to the intellectual life of our society. Edited by John Daniel, Adam Habib and Roger Southall. <http://www.hsrcpublishers.ac.za>

Limits to Liberation is a ground-breaking collection of essays which opens the long-awaited debate on former liberation movements in southern Africa, who have become authoritarian and elitist governments rewarding party loyalty and hostile to 'outsiders'. Edited by Henning Melber. <http://www.hsrcpublishers.ac.za>

NEW RESEARCH MONOGRAPHS

Government Incentivisation of Higher Education-Industry Research Partnerships in SA: An Audit of THRIP and the Innovation Fund. How have government and industry partnerships kept up with global trends in biotechnology, ICT and new materials development? Part of a series, this report looks at the extent of network practices in South Africa. Authored by the HSRC Research Programme on Human Resource Development. <http://www.hsrcpublishers.ac.za>

Fertility: Current Issues of Poverty, HIV/AIDS and Youth. Fertility is inextricably linked to socio-economic development. This collaboration of the Department of Social Development, the South African Regional Poverty Network and the HSRC explores the complex and evolving fertility trends in post-apartheid South Africa. Authored by the Department of Social Development in collaboration with the Child, Youth and Family Development Research Programme of the HSRC. <http://www.hsrcpublishers.ac.za>

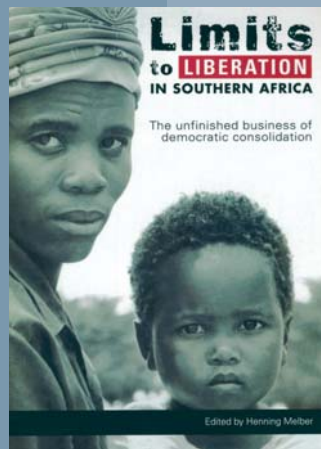
OCCASIONAL PAPERS

Whose Right it is Anyway? explores the modern democracy's need to negotiate and legislate between group and individual rights, especially those of women and Children. Authored by Kristina Bentley. <http://www.hsrcpublishers.ac.za>

Protecting our Cultural Capital looks at the question of what constitute our common heritage as South Africans: sites, artefacts and memories. They discuss the key outcomes of this debate, as well as the limitations in the current structures that prevent other benefits from being realised. Authored by Harriet Deacon, Sephai Mngqolo, Sandra Prosalendis. <http://www.hsrcpublishers.ac.za>

RESEARCH PAPERS (UNPUBLISHED)

A Passion to Govern: Third-generation issues facing local government in South Africa. This "think piece" serves as a groundwork for policy debates on specific municipal management issues, for example,



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the desirable degree of involvement of the private sector in municipal service delivery; the trade-offs between the urban and rural developmental tasks of municipalities; the allocation of powers and functions between district and local municipalities; and the authority of municipalities vis-à-vis national and provincial departments in the design and implementation of integrated development plans. Authored by Doreen Atkinson et al. Download the full text at:

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CONFERENCE PAPERS

The Politics of Curriculum Review and Revision in South Africa is a reflection on the review and revision of Curriculum 2005, and the creation of the Revised National Curriculum Statement which became education policy in South Africa in 2002. Linda Chisholm, who was intricately involved in the process, presented the paper at the "Oxford" International Conference on Education and Development in September 2003. For the full text, go to:

<http://research.hsrc.ac.za/output/CYFD/>

Jobless or Job Creating Growth? Some preliminary thoughts. Miriam Altman explores whether South Africa is on a sustainable job-creating growth path. It concludes with some thoughts about policy implications and policy balance. The paper was presented at the TIPS/DPRU Annual Forum in September 2003. Download the full text: <http://research.hsrc.ac.za/output/EEP/>

Creating a Learning Culture in Rural Schools via Educational Satellite TV Broadcasts. Joan Roodt and Pieter Conradie presented a study on teachers' and learner's perceived benefits from a tele-education programme offered by a university (University of Pretoria) at the Globalisation, Regionalisation and the Information Society – A European and South(ern) African encounter in October 2003, in Bruges, Belgium. The study also looked at the extent to which schools are able to participate in the various ICT-related options available; and what problems participating schools are experiencing. The full text is available on: <http://research.hsrc.ac.za/output/EEP/>

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