

# Review

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## DIGITAL DISRUPTION

- THE IMPACT

## SOCIAL INNOVATION

- the need to consult

## YOUNG PEOPLE

- TRANSITIONING OUT OF POVERTY



CONTENTS	
<b>Deconstructing the Fourth Industrial Revolution: Defining the concept and research agenda</b>	3
<b>The future of research: Knowledge production outside institutions</b>	5
Understanding the risks and opportunities of <b>digital evolution</b>	7
Tweeting #FeesMustFall: <b>The case of #UCTShutdown</b>	9
<b>Social innovation: Making a case for participatory approaches</b>	12
<b>Who might engage in anti-immigrant violence? A quantitative analysis of anti-immigrant aggression</b>	14
<b>Low-skilled immigration and the South African policy dilemma</b>	17
<b>Migrants in Cape Town: Settlement patterns</b>	19
Urban land occupations need <b>purposeful action</b> rather than opportunism	22
<b>The love-hate triangle</b> between rural municipalities, traditional leaders and traditional councils and its impact on local communities	24
The social cost of <b>violent and destructive service-delivery protests</b> in South Africa	26
<b>Lifting young people out of poverty: Factors that influence the transition</b>	28
<b>"Sho't Left"</b> - Youth going nowhere slowly: Enhancing labour-market outcomes for youth in the tourism industry	30
<b>Navigating the academy: The perspectives of black women academics as narrated in journal articles</b>	32
<b>Depression symptoms in South Africa: The link to subjective social status</b>	34
<b>Race and racism in post-apartheid South Africa: A book project</b>	38
<b>HSRC Press</b>	40

In a recent survey, we asked our readers what they thought the *HSRC Review* should focus on. One respondent answered, "anything that reflects the extreme crisis through which we are living".

Without more context, the concept of an 'extreme crisis' will differ among people in an unequal society such as ours. However, there seems to be growing angst among South Africans, caused by the slumping economy, political uncertainty, fragile social cohesion and, for many, a struggle to keep up with the pace of the global digital revolution.

In their presentations at the 2018 HSRC Social Sciences Research Conference in September, HSRC researchers demonstrated the organisation's continued focus on things that have an impact on the lives of South Africans. In this edition of the *HSRC Review*, we feature articles based on some of those presentations.

The first section focuses on the impact of rapid digital advancement on society and the concept of a Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR), a phrase that has become a buzzword. A common definition of the 4IR is that it is characterised by a fusion of technologies that blurs the lines between the physical, digital, and biological spheres. The 4IR focuses on the disruptive elements of technological change. In his presentation, Dr Michael Gastrow emphasised the need for researchers to properly conceptualise the meaning of the term to better focus their work.

Dr Hester du Plessis warned about a social class called the precariat, who are unequal, poor and technologically insecure. As possible casualties of the 4IR, their feelings of anger, anxiety and alienation influence the way they think and write about society. Edward Thabani Mdlongwa spoke at the conference on digital capitalism, a new form of capitalist exploitation by global firms through the development and use of technologies for huge profits at the expense of the poor. One example is the Uber platform, a type of platform capitalism that has been the centre of some violence in South Africa's taxi industry.

In an article based on his presentation Assoc. Prof. Thierry Luescher wrote about the #FeesMustFall-related Twitter activism

by students at the University of Cape Town, explaining how they used media houses and mobilised sympathisers they call 'twitter cows'.

In May this year, parliament heard that 31% of South African municipalities were dysfunctional and another 31% almost dysfunctional. People in some poor communities have protested violently about the resultant deteriorating service delivery, destroying infrastructure that they actually need to transition out of poverty. HSRC researchers looked at the potential social cost of these protests and at the conflict between local municipal and traditional leadership structures. In some areas, protests are driven by xenophobia and competition for resources. This *HSRC Review* includes articles on foreigners' migration patterns and South Africans' attitudes towards them.

Based on data from the National Income Dynamics Study, Dr Ian Edelstein writes about the unique factors that help some young people to transition out of poverty. Those who do not succeed in doing this, face a significantly higher risk of depression, the prevalence and severity of which are related to their subjective social status, writes Chipo Mutyambizi.

Those who manage to escape poverty might face new challenges, perhaps finding themselves in the precariat, where a degree does not guarantee a secure income. Others find themselves in a draining daily commute to and from work, because they are unable to find affordable accommodation near their jobs. Prof. Ivan Turok writes about the housing challenge in our cities.

Several more articles provide a glimpse of HSRC's work that provides insight or informs policies to improve the lives of South Africans. For more information, please connect with our researchers using their email contact details below each article.

Antoinette

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## DECONSTRUCTING THE FOURTH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION:

### DEFINING THE CONCEPT AND RESEARCH AGENDA

Over the last few years, the phrase 'Fourth Industrial Revolution' has been appearing in many contexts as a signifier of technological disruption, but what does this mean? In his presentation, *Dr Michael Gastrow* emphasised the need to define the concept for the South African context as well as for the development of a research agenda that speaks to issues of technological change and disruption in South Africa.

The idea that we are in a Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) is premised on the observation that technological change is accelerating, that technologies are converging, and because of the velocity, scope and impact of these changes we have entered a new technological era. The term was first used in 2016 by the World Economic Forum (WEF) executive chairman, Prof. Klaus Schwab. According to Schwab, the first industrial revolution used steam power to mechanise production, the second used electric power to create mass production, and the third used electronics and information technology to automate production. The 4IR is building on the latter.

A defining feature of the 4IR concept is that of a 'blurring of the boundaries' of physical, biological, and digital systems. There are many examples of this, from the use of virtual reality and online avatars to the use of sensors and robotics in advanced

prosthetics. This posthumanist discourse argues that humans are evolving beyond our biological origins, and that personhood increasingly encompasses biological, physical and cybernetic systems.

The WEF argues for the importance of cultivating intellectual and policy responses to this new era. This call has captured the attention of institutions around the world, perhaps by providing a conceptual hook upon which individuals and institutions can hang the many issues that are emerging from the rapid technological changes happening around us.

In South Africa, institutions are responding to the 4IR through multiple, parallel and sometimes interlinked processes. These include structured policy-and strategy-development processes within parliament, the government, higher education institutions, the private sector and research institutes.

## The 4IR and social sciences

Social scientists need to ask why there is such a sudden interest in the 4IR. Academics have been studying innovation and its impact for a long time. What has changed? How does the concept of the 4IR differ from other ways of understanding technological change?

Innovation systems analysis is the main discipline and conceptual foundation for South African and global science and technology policy. Mainstream innovation studies have a wider focus than the 4IR. They include the study of incremental innovation that doesn't have world-changing consequences yet is nonetheless critical for specific groups. The 4IR approach, on the other hand, focuses on the disruptive elements of technological change.

Innovation systems analysis is, in effect, the study of evolutionary economics. Unlike innovation systems analysis, the 4IR concept is not embedded in a body of disciplinary research. It can be read as an ideological statement of the WEF, generated by a discourse that draws on both academic research and non-academic ideas in a loosely structured rhetorical argument. Within this, the 4IR approach draws significantly on the language of 'future studies'. Future studies is infused with the language of Silicon Valley, with its interest in being exponential, and in tipping points and megatrends. Mainstream economists and innovation specialists have a hard time predicting the future – predictions are always likely to be wrong. However, future studies is now becoming mainstreamed, and for good reason. The more rapidly technology advances, the more important it becomes to get a handle on where it is going.

### A research agenda

Social scientists are increasingly having to confront a dynamic language of technological change

and future orientation. Policy makers, institutions, and the broader public are seeing whole industries and sectors and social practices change before their eyes, creating demand for explanations and solutions.

Social science and humanities have important roles to play in responding to these imperatives. The term '4IR' is appearing in many contexts as a marker or signifier of technological disruption. However, we need to ask whether this term has a coherent and consistent meaning. Is the notion of an iterative sequence of industrial revolutions supported by the economic history literature? Are the associated changes really about industry? Are the changes better conceived of as revolution or evolution?

The concept of 4IR has emerged from developed economies. We therefore need to develop a home-grown South African response to technological change and disruption. This includes changes to the production of goods and services, what it means to be human, and changes to global power structures.

Industrial automation means that machines increasingly compete with humans in labour markets. We need to establish economic and innovation systems intelligence related to disruptive technologies, including affected sectors, value chains and city regions.

Humans are undergoing multiple changes, such as increased longevity, augmentation of human bodies and minds, genetic modification, the changing nature of work learning, human connectivity, and identities.

New technologies are important to the future of power. For example, artificial intelligence is being used by geopolitical actors to gain power in the military, intelligence, economic and public arenas. At the same time, rogue artificial intelligence might present global existential risks.

### The role of the HSRC

The HSRC's position in the research-policy nexus, its research capabilities, and its public mandate all point towards a responsibility to engage with issues of technological disruption. It is therefore developing an institutional response to the 4IR, including a position statement, co-ordination with internal and external stakeholders, and capacity development. The overall objective is to develop a research agenda that will cultivate an empirical understanding of opportunities and threats, to inform appropriate policy responses.

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# THE FUTURE OF RESEARCH:

## Knowledge production outside institutions

For many years, researchers have been producing knowledge in a tightly-controlled peer-review system from within institutions. Rapid global change and connectivity is changing the status quo. *Dr Hester du Plessis*, who is part of an international team working on a project to explore the academic tensions arising during the production of knowledge in the context of the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR), presented on this.

A remnant of a protest decorates a pole in Chicago in the US. New social classes experience anxiety and anger as a result of job insecurity and a loss of faith in government and the politics. Photo: Kayle Kaupanger, Unsplash

Within the broader context, the French philosopher Gilles Deleuze wrote about the move from a disciplinary society to a more invasive 'society of control'. We still have institutions that, by separation and segregation, control the behaviour of society and regulate the academic production of knowledge within the boundaries of religion, the monarchy and the state. But that authority is no longer confined to particular institutions. It is being integrated into every aspect of social life through increasingly interconnected networks.

New players include members of social classes that were previously excluded from formal knowledge production.

### Beyond the three-class system

On a global social level, the British economist Guy Standing describes a new class structure replacing the concept of the traditional three-class system. A tiny *plutocracy* (0.0001%) own most of the money and property on the planet. They are atop a much bigger elite, called the *salaried*, who are in relatively secure salaried jobs. The *proficians* are the freelance professionals who are still striving to be part of the economy, followed by a core and growing working class called the *precariat* and a *lumpen-precariat* (jobless and poverty stricken) at the bottom.

In the *precariat*, those who are unequal, poor and technologically insecure, experience a mix of rising

anger, anomie (social detachment and moral degeneration), anxiety and alienation. Their anger relates to the impossibility of advancing towards, and, in most instances, living, a meaningful life. This is directly coupled with the frustration of not having any career and/or career prospects. If they work, it is for others only at their behest, with chronic workplace insecurity and feelings of passivity born of despair.

The *precariat's* experience of the world influences the way they think and write about society.

### Political identity still emerging

We see growing evidence of Standing's ideas around the *precariat's* political identity that is emerging in

three ways. The *atavistic-populist* trend is displayed in the support for neofascist parties and populist demagogues in which populists play on the fears of the national precariat to depict government as alien and to see 'strangers' (migrants, Muslims, etc.) as the cause of their insecurity. The *anarchic detachment* mode is displayed in anomic, anti-social behaviour, the rise of violence, social illness and loss of faith in politics. Standing describes the *idealistic-progressives*, or utopian-progressives, as those who use social media as a communication and organisational tool for global uprisings and social movements of political and economic defiance. This explains the rise in recent resistances in the wake of the Arab Spring in Tunisia, the Indignados Movement in Spain and America's Occupy Wall Street movement. It also indicates the ability of social media to mobilise crowds.

### Precarity and the production of knowledge

In the expanding control of our knowledge systems by science, technology and digital media, the opportunities in which the *precariat* create knowledge are unrestrained. This makes disagreement and even revelations of new findings and information possible outside the manipulative spaces of ideologies, politics, religions and the academic environment. The danger we encounter within these uncontrolled spaces is manifesting itself in the form of post-truths (appeals to

emotion instead of facts in debates) and excessive, often speculative, belief in information and big data, at the cost of experience. In addition, our imaginary, which includes the values, laws and symbols of specific social groups, is being shaped not by religion, art and philosophy, as it was in the past, but by the new technologies. We are losing the basic distance we need between external reality and our inner lives. This is because the digitised world has no respect for contemplation or reflection. It delivers instant stimulation and gratification, forcing and manipulating the brain to give most attention to short-term decisions and reactions.

Although this has certain advantages, the casualties are the literate mind and intellectual individuality.

### The future of research

Against this background, researchers need to challenge the utopian notion that good men do good science and are incapable of disrupting, distorting, destroying and manipulating scientific research and findings.

The production of big data and algorithms, due to the variety and ease of technological capabilities, are becoming a dominant feature of research. It is competing with the geographical limitations of fieldwork and the often taxing actions required for deep reflection. However, big data is easily abused and manipulated to aid self-serving ideological and political agendas.

In the future, knowledge might be formed through socio-political dissent as well as through a technologically manipulative understanding of our world.

Members of the international project are focusing their work on the *precarisation* of knowledge (epistemologically new ways of knowing), how this affects the process of knowledge production and how information is shared. Understanding the *precarisation* of knowledge is crucial in our understanding of both socio-political and epistemological transformations in the context of the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR).

Once we think about the difference between knowledge and information and wonder how much of that information is actually embedded in real knowledge and how much of that knowledge is being technologically manipulated, we could navigate our way to understanding this new world.

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*This presentation discussed the broader framework behind the project 'Knowledge from precarity' currently conducted at the Research Laboratory in the Science of Information and Communication institute, which forms part of the School for Advanced Studies in Information Studies and Internal Communication at the Faculty of Arts, Sorbonne University, Neuilly and Paris*



A pink smoke bomb and tear gas fired as protesters, police and journalists scramble during a May Day protest in 2017 in Paris. Uprisings and social movements of political and economic defiance are often organised and communicated using social media tools. Photo: Damien Checoury, Unsplash

# UNDERSTANDING THE RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF DIGITAL EVOLUTION

Technology is a crucial component of economic development in South Africa. However, we need to understand the risks and opportunities that come with the rapid advances of the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) and the implications for building a capable developmental state in South Africa. *Edward Thabani Mdlongwa* discusses some of the concerns.



Photo: Dan Gold, Unsplash

South Africa's effort to build a capable developmental state requires a balance between moving forward economically in an ever-globalising world and trying to redress the issues of inequality and economic injustice of its apartheid past.

According to the Africa Governance Institute, capable developmental states act "with authority, credibility and legitimacy to meet the needs of their people in social justice, accountability, and job creation, and they promote human capacities, private investment and industrialisation".

In this regard, the 4IR brings opportunities and risks.

### Digital capitalism

Prof. Dan Schiller, a telecommunications historian at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, describes digital capitalism as "an ideologically invisible framework that is realised through technology." It is seen as a new form of capitalist exploitation by big firms, globally, through the development and use of technologies for huge capital gains and profits, at the expense of the poor.

With the emergence of the 4IR, digital capitalism has become more prominent. One of the great debates of the information age is whether or not it is leading to greater inequality in a general sense, and, more specifically, within South Africa.

### Platform capitalism

The Canadian writer Dr Nick Srnicek, a lecturer in digital economy at King's College in London, writes that with the decline in the manufacturing industry profits, capitalism has turned to the use of technology platforms, such as Uber, Google, Airbnb, Amazon and Facebook, as a way to maintain economic growth. He calls it platform capitalism, a way of doing business that involves recruiting large numbers of people who work for themselves using a

company's platform. The business model is premised upon bringing different groups together. Facebook and Google connect advertisers, businesses, and everyday users; Uber connects riders and drivers; and Amazon and Siemens are building and renting the platform infrastructures that underlie the contemporary economy.

### Risks and opportunities

The implications of digital capitalism for South Africa revolve mainly around its potential impact on employment and social inequalities.

For example, the introduction of the Uber platform has caused disruption in the traditional metered taxi industry, resulting in violent protests by the metered taxi drivers, who feel their livelihood is being taken away. On the other hand, the Uber platform has created opportunities for new entrants into the taxi industry in South Africa. This is in line with current literature, which suggests that platforms will grow substantially in emerging economies, creating new employment opportunities, particularly for those engaged in informal work, but disrupting current job opportunities.

Platforms enable new forms of mobility for the young, educated people in urban areas. However, regulation is needed, as the current system privileges platform owners at the expense of workers' wellbeing. Uber's headquarters are in the USA. So taxi drivers who use the platform here don't have workers' rights, are not part of a trade union, and can be easily exploited.

### Benefiting the north at the expense of south countries

The implication of digital capitalism is that institutions engage users and customers in an exploiting way, according to a paper entitled *Characterizing digital disruption in the general theory of disruptive innovation* that Assoc. Prof.

Louise Møller Haase from Aalborg University in Denmark and others

presented at the 2017 ISPIM Innovation Conference in Austria. The digital domain allows the use of technologies and big data as part of a disruptive strategy for huge capital gains and profits at the expense of the poor.

For example, actors in the global north do not invest in human capabilities in the south. Intangible assets such as ideas, brands and images, end up being monopolised to the benefit of the north only, yet the firms would have exploited labour in the south. Uber, to some extent, is a classic example of this.

A capable development state should protect its citizens from exploitation by large multinational firms and ensure that profits are shared in a more active way. Companies such as Uber should remit some of their large profits and pay taxes in the countries they operate.

### Way forward

The 4IR presents opportunities and risks that can be managed to benefit countries and their economies, provided that governments take proactive measures. To harness the potential benefits and opportunities of the 4IR in South Africa requires policy clarity, especially for preventing monopolies from emerging through digital or platform capitalism. Strict regulation is needed for platforms and new entrants, including Uber, to ensure tax regimes that benefit the local economy and support the creation of employment and labour conditions for these workers. South Africa also needs to implement changes in its education curriculum to include digital skills and literacy from a young age. Investment in the training of blue-collar and low-level workers is also needed, to equip them with skills for the digital age.

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The second day of protests at the University of Cape Town calling for student fees and debts to be lowered.  
Photo: Discott, Wikimedia Commons



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## Tweeting #FeesMustFall: The case of #UCTShutdown

Resistance against neoliberal higher education policies is a global student concern. In South Africa, the effect in the university sector has been a level of contentious student politics that is unprecedented in the post-apartheid era. This presentation by Assoc. [Prof. Thierry M Luescher](#) deals with [#FeesMustFall-related Twitter activism](#) by students at the University of Cape Town in [2015/2016](#).



Starting from Spring 2015, students across the country became engaged in the [#FeesMustFall campaign](#), participating in protest action and shutting down university campuses. The nation-wide student movement initially halted tuition fee increases for 2016 and eventually resulted in a new national policy of free higher education for poor and working-class students in 2018.

Digital media has proved highly effective during protest events. Examples of this are the Arab Spring and the Occupy movements, as described by Yannis Theocharis from Mannheim University in Germany and others in 2014, and the Spanish sociologist, Manuel Castells in 2015. During the [#FeesMustFall](#) movement in South Africa, student activists, sympathisers and others used various social media platforms prolifically, particularly Twitter, Facebook and WhatsApp. However, apart from a limited number of pioneering studies, there is no systematic evidence of the cyber life of the new South African student movement. Therefore, as part of the HSRC project, The New South African Student Movement: From [#RhodesMustFall](#) to [#FeesMustFall](#), we asked the question: *"How did student activists use social media to further their protest action as part of the Fees Must Fall campaign?"*



This conference presentation dealt with #FeesMustFall-related Twitter activism by students at the University of Cape Town (UCT). We analysed digital trace data from Twitter and interviews with UCT student activists to explore the way they used social media to further their protest action. This was based on the concept of ‘connective action’, i.e. the use of social media for the mobilisation of loose social movements, as conceptualised by Lance Bennett from the University of Washington and Alexandra Segerberg from Stockholm University in 2013. With the UCT campus-specific Fees Must Fall campaign, we identified the Twitter hashtag #UCTShutdown as the best proxy, compared to others like #UCTFees and #UCTFeesMustFall. The open-source platform Mecomify provided the tool for us to obtain 11,967 unique tweets, using the hashtag #UCTShutdown (98,065 including retweets) for 2015 and 2016. We conducted a social network analysis of this database, using the Mecomify tool, and the open-source social network analysis platform Kumu.

### Mobilising the media and protest cows

From interviews with nine UCT student activists we learnt that Twitter was used as the primary public relations tool to represent the student movement’s perspective of unfolding events. They would assign live-tweeters to cover the protest events and tweet directly to public media houses, thereby relaying ground-up reports from protest events into the mainstream media. A secondary use of the platform was to mobilise sympathisers to join protest events and swell the numbers, as so-called ‘protest cows’, a term used by activists. Quotes from activist interviews include: *“When something trends on Twitter, all media houses want to know what is happening and they want to get involved”* and *“Twitter is the best*

Table 1

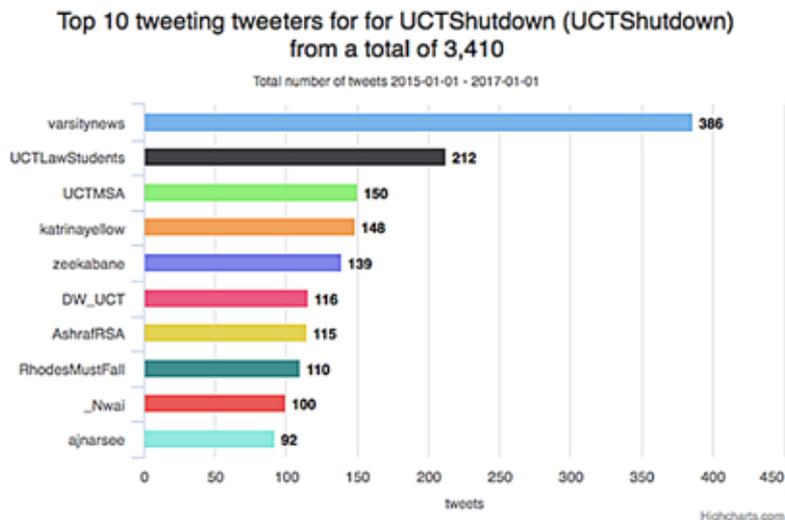
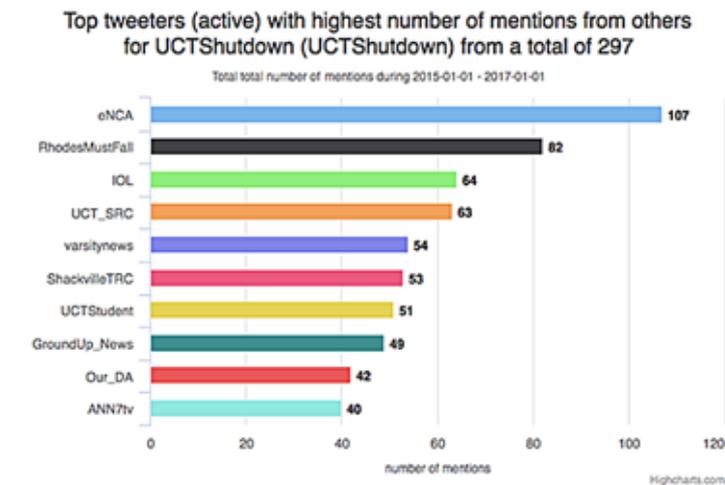


Table 2



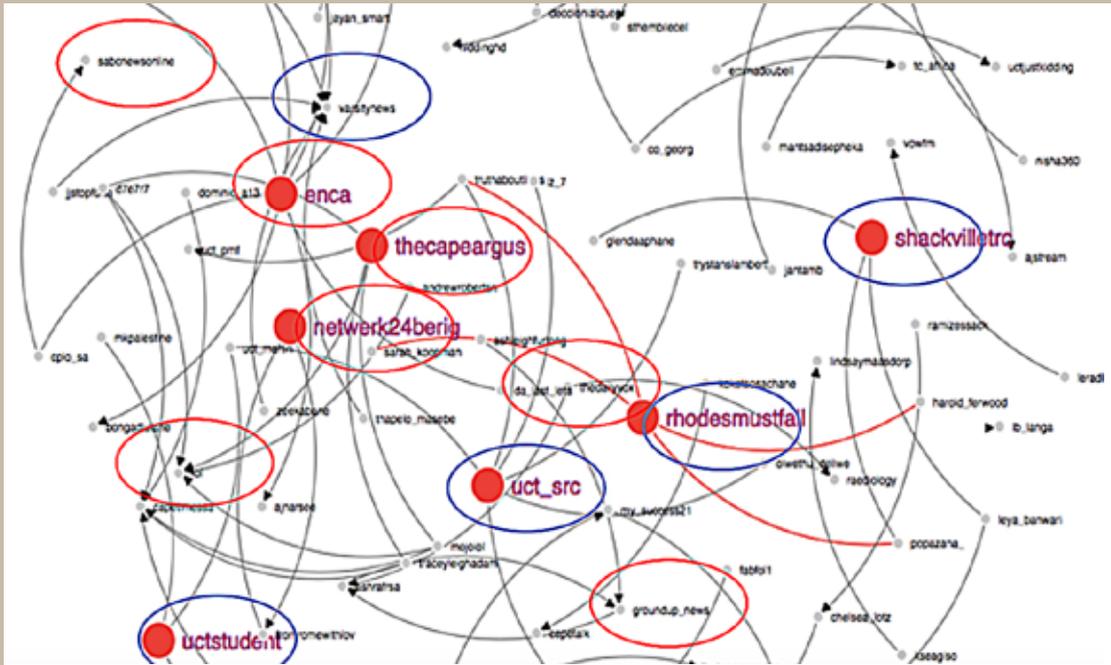
*mobilising tool [for] protest cows to come and herd and just be in the masses”.*

Our social network analysis of the hashtag #UCTShutdown corroborates the claims made by the activists. Table 1 shows that most of the top 10 tweeting tweeters for #UCTShutdown were UCT-campus based (e.g. @varsitynews, @UCTLawStudents, @UCTMSA, @zeekabane, @RhodesMustFall). However, Table 2 shows that the top 10 tweeters with the highest numbers of mentions from others for #UCTShutdown included several key South African media houses, including @eNCA, @IOL, @GroundUp\_News, and @ANN7tv.

### Visualising tweeter connections

Another way of illustrating this is by analysing the engagement links, or connectedness, between different tweeters, using replies and mentions, and by depicting these links with the Mecomify network visualisation tool. In Figure 1 we can clearly see the centrality of certain key players, including mainstream news organisations. These include @eNCA, @Netwerk24Berig, @TheCapeArgus, @SABCNewsOnline, @IOL, @thedailyvox, the UCT organisations @RhodesMustFall, @ShackvilleTRC, and @UCT\_SRC, as well as UCT’s student newspaper @varsitynews, the most connected and central

Figure 1



HSRC researchers used the Mecedify tool to visualise the connections between people who tweeted about the UCT Fees Must Fall events.

to information diffusion within the network.

Closer social-network analysis using Kumu revealed that, while students mostly used mainstream news organisations to place issues on the public and policy agenda, the local campus newspaper, varsitynews, played a key role as an information bridge within the network. The latter emerged as one of four key communities in the network, informal self-organising groups of users that share a particular practice or interest in a specific area and represent informal knowledge flows. A community emerges when the nodes of the network can be easily grouped into (sometimes overlapping) sets of nodes, such that each set of nodes is densely connected internally. Our analysis revealed a diffuse network of user communities tweeting with #UCTShutdown. The four largest communities in the network (i.e. most connected users) centred on the following users: @Decolonialqueer (a UCT student activist), @RhodesMustFall (the Rhodes Must Fall movement's handle), @eNCA and @varsitynews. This highlights the emergence of, and

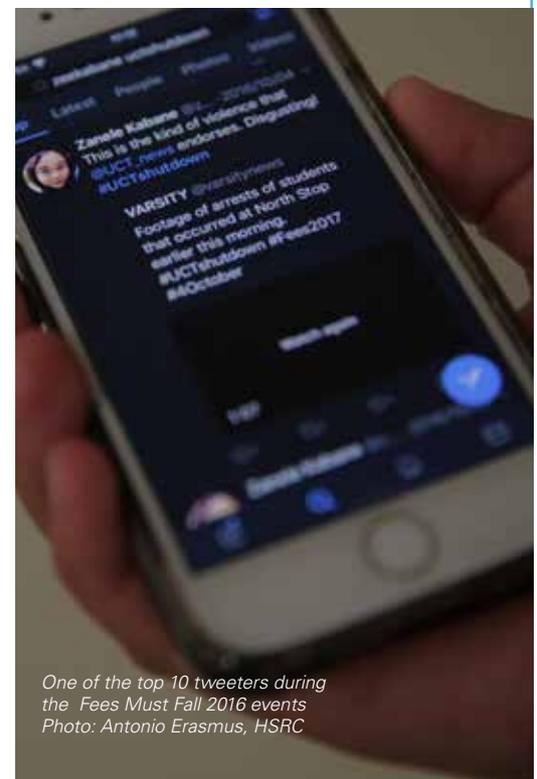
potential of, higher-level organisation in crowd-enabled networks, as described by Segerberg and colleagues in 2014.

### Conclusion

For our purposes, the social-network analysis of #UCTShutdown represents a pilot in the larger "From #RhodesMustFall to #FeesMustFall" project. As an initial analysis it shows how powerful social media analysis can be as a means to test a number of propositions. In this case, it corroborates student activists' claims about Twitter as a PR and crowd-mobilisation tool and therefore the importance of Twitter in Fees Must Fall-related protest action. In theoretical terms, our work gives a glimpse into the online life of an internet-age, networked student movement. It also provides preliminary evidence for a further analysis of the proposition that Fees Must Fall was indeed a case of a crowd-enabled network, whereby multiple individual users, user communities and networks become 'stitched' into a larger movement in which technology-enabled communication is organisation.

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One of the top 10 tweeters during the Fees Must Fall 2016 events  
Photo: Antonio Erasmus, HSRC

# SOCIAL INNOVATION:

## Making a case for participatory approaches



Increasing poverty and inequality, alongside technology, are indicative that technological innovation only benefits an elite few. We need to start disrupting traditional structures around what society needs and drive social innovation with the same vigour as technological innovation, writes *Nicole van Rheede*.

**M**odern science has made advances in technology that boggle the human mind, yet we struggle to effectively diagnose and remedy the livelihood issues that plague our society.

The draft of the Department of Science and Technology's new white paper defines social innovation as a sub-set of innovation that is context specific, underpinned by values and leads to social change. One of the key principles of social innovation is the empowerment of its beneficiaries through the resolution of social needs.

What defines social innovation is the extent to which it seeks to meet social needs in a novel way, by being critical of the way needs have been met historically. By definition, social innovation advocates a people-centred approach. Geoff Mulgan, one of the key theorists of social innovation, holds that "people are competent interpreters of their own lives and competent solvers of their own problems" and should therefore be at the centre of efforts to interpret those problems. This aligns very closely to a participatory approach of need identification, similarly supported in public policy discourse.

People-centred development theories are rooted in the proposition that local members of a community should inform and participate in what determines development. Participation makes provision for local knowledge and prioritises how people interpret their needs. This

approach enables social, economic, political and cultural components of social needs to be considered.

Using a participatory approach to social innovation enables an in-depth investigation into understanding social need deprivation and, in so doing, can inform sustainable, socially sensitive solutions. Yet, it is not established as fundamental to social innovation in practice. This research set out to investigate whether participatory approaches were used in social-innovation case studies. It looks at how social needs were determined by founders of socially innovative organisations and the motivators that led to the establishment of the organisations.

Participants were drawn from a database of international social-innovation case studies developed by the Bertha Centre for Social Innovation and Entrepreneurship, a special unit of the University of Cape Town's Graduate School of Business. Recipients of recognised social innovation awards were also contacted for participation. Thirty-seven case studies were identified, of which 10 were used in the research.

### **What motivated the founders?**

The top three motivators leading to the establishment of each founder's organisation were personal experience, community engagement and a desire to make a difference.

Some founders had personally experienced social-need deprivation, having lived in a particular community for several years. Others embarked on extensive community engagement processes establishing long-term relationships with the community to understand its social needs and dynamics. The third most prominent motivator was a desire to make a difference, whereby founders became aware of the social need through the media or being informed by someone they knew personally.

The research revealed that founders with personal experience or that had extensive community engagement, demonstrated meeting the social need directly. Those who did not use a participatory approach met the need in an indirect way.

Direct impact is distinguished by social impact being embedded in the core business model of the organisation. Indirect impact is when social impact is secondary to the organisation's objectives, for instance, organisations that created a trust or fund as a subsidiary for social investment.

### Direct social impact

The following case study is an example of how extensive community engagement created direct social impact.

**CASE STUDY 1:** A social enterprise established to reduce female unemployment through the production and sale of trinket boxes created from recycled plastic bottles in a low-income coastal community in the Western Cape.

The innovation was to create a local business that would draw its labour force from women in the local community, and develop skills related to craft, workmanship, management and finance. The innovation is profitable and now exports the boxes globally. The founder had previously worked in the community as a volunteer, had established relationships there, and was sensitive to the local social dynamics during the establishment of the organisation.

The founder helped to address the community's waste problem by using plastic bottles as the raw materials to manufacture the trinket boxes. Community members who cleaned and collected plastic bottles also received compensation for delivering them to the organisation.

### Indirect social impact

The following case study is an example of how little to no participation amounts to indirect social impact.

**CASE STUDY 2:** An enterprise development consultancy that established an impact investment arm to fund incubators for SMMEs as a poverty-alleviation strategy.

The innovation was to fund incubators that would aid start-ups and SMMEs, as the founder didn't have time to do it directly.

This for-profit business permitted its clients to donate to the separately established impact investment arm. Only high-level engagement took place with incubators to determine expenditure. There was no participatory review process, but feedback from beneficiaries was positive. The case study showed that the firm had expertise in enterprise development, which was beneficial, but not specific to the nature of SMMEs in the local community.

### Little or no impact

The following case study illustrates how the absence of participation amounts to indirect or no social impact. The founder displayed no social awareness in this extreme case.

**CASE STUDY 3:** A social enterprise piloted a stove powered by renewable energy to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in low-income areas, as a paraffin stove alternative.

The founder conducted no prior investigation into the needs of the community. The product was designed as a pursuit of personal interests. The prototype received nominations for social-innovation awards, but no sales were made. The product failed due to its purchase price, high running cost, maintenance and slow heating mechanism, and it was unsuitable for its low-income community target market.

### Conclusion

Social change requires technological and social advancement in how we problematise issues around poverty and inequality. It was evident that the identification and corresponding resolution of social needs for social innovation require an approach that places experiencers of the deprivation at the centre of the resolution. Public support, discussion, interest and funding need to be prioritised alongside technological innovation.

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# Who might engage in anti-immigrant violence?

## A quantitative analysis

On 17 October 2018, Leonard Hlathi, police spokesperson for Mpumalanga Province, urged foreign nationals in the town of Middelburg to move to safer places following anti-immigrant violence and vandalism in the area. The continuing incidents of anti-immigration aggression happen so often in South Africa that they no longer attract much attention from the media. *Dr Steven Gordon* shares the latest research results of the HSRC's ongoing Immigrant Related Attitudes and Behaviour (IRAB) project that looks at the drivers of this kind of violence.

Over the last few decades, sporadic eruptions of xenophobic violence in South Africa have claimed lives, destroyed businesses and displaced immigrants in several parts of the country. For years, researchers have been trying to identify and understand the drivers of this phenomenon. In 2008 a previous HSRC study identified intense competition for jobs, commodities and housing, as well as South Africans' feelings of superiority in relation to other Africans, as contributors to violent riots across the country. The International Organisation for Migration blamed township politics for those attacks and found that poor service delivery or an influx of foreigners may have contributed.

To contribute to the growing body of research on xenophobic behaviour, researchers from the HSRC's IRAB project used public-opinion data from nationally representative surveys to try and understand who participates in anti-immigrant aggression in South Africa. The project looks at a range of different behaviours such as boycotts and demonstrations targeted at immigrants.





### Participation in xenophobic behaviour

In one study, the IRAB project's researchers used data from the 2017 South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS). SASAS is an annually repeated, cross-sectional opinion survey of adults of 16 years and older living in private households. The sample size for the 2017 survey was 3,098. In the SASAS questionnaire, respondents were told they would be asked a few questions on people from other countries coming to live in South Africa. Respondents were then asked if they had taken part in the following acts to prevent immigrants from living or working in their neighbourhood:

- i. "asked foreigners to leave your neighbourhood" (verbal action)
- ii. "boycotted or refused to buy things from shops owned by foreigners" (boycotting)
- iii. "took part in a demonstration against foreigners" (demonstration)
- iv. "took part in violent action against foreigners" (violence).

Respondents may have been disinclined to disclose this type of potentially incriminating information during face-to-face interviews on this specific subject. Another consideration is that, while researchers have been able to undertake similar research with residents from South African townships without problems, this could have led to possible underreporting of anti-immigrant behaviour when reviewing the results of the survey.

*People marching against xenophobia outside Little Ethiopia in Jeppe street, Johannesburg. Despite such events being well attended, an HSRC survey showed that a significant percentage of people who had never taken part in violent action against foreign nationals, were prepared to do so.  
- Dyltong, Wikimedia Commons*

### One in 20 admitted participation

Only a minority of the South African adult population reported that they had participated in any form of anti-immigrant aggression (Table 1). Interestingly, most of those who had participated in xenophobic behaviour told fieldworkers they had done so in the last five years. Of the four different forms of aggression under discussion, the most common types were verbal actions and taking part in demonstrations. While 5% of respondents admitted to having engaged in these activities between 2012 and 2017, only 2.5% admitted to taking part in violent xenophobic action during the same period.

### A propensity for violence

One of the most troubling findings that emerged from this study concerned potential participation amongst non-participants of anti-immigrant aggression. More than 10% of respondents told fieldworkers that they had not taken part in violent action against foreign nationals but would be prepared to do so. This figure is disturbing given that people may be underreporting their propensity for violent behaviour.

The IRAB project study looked at how different anti-immigrant activities were interrelated. It found that if individuals have participated in a non-violent type of anti-immigrant behaviour, they are more likely to have taken part in more violent antagonistic types. This helps us understand how peaceful anti-immigrant activities such as demonstrations can escalate to violent riots. Therefore, policymakers must not ignore non-violent forms of anti-immigrant activity.

### Conclusion

The national government has committed itself to addressing the issue of anti-immigrant violence, but policymakers should not underestimate the problem. The results of the IRAB project study show that millions of ordinary South Africans are prepared to engage in anti-immigrant behaviour. It is vital therefore that the resources dedicated to combating xenophobia be equal to the size of the problem. The IRAB project is looking to partner with national and provincial policymakers to help address xenophobic behaviour in the country.

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A woman and child take part in a fan walk organised by Charly's Bakery in Cape Town to celebrate the 92nd birthday of Nelson Mandela and to create awareness of xenophobia in South Africa. Photo: Janah Hattingh, Wikimedia Commons

**Table 1: Number (000) of adults who reported participating in anti-immigrant aggression, 2017**

	Verbal	Boycott	Demonstration	Violence
Have done it in the past year	694 (1.8)	519 (1.3)	641 (1.6)	355 (0.9)
Have done it in the past five years	1,202 (3.0)	916 (2.3)	1,175 (3.0)	650 (1.6)
Have done it in the more distant past	905 (2.3)	1,259 (3.2)	974 (2.5)	1023 (2.6)
Have not done it but might do it	6,374 (16.1)	5,318 (13.5)	5,623 (14.3)	4,592 (11.6)
Have not done it and would never do it	2,9987 (75.9)	31,087 (78.8)	30,757 (78.0)	32,510 (82.4)
(Can't choose)	324 (0.8)	361 (0.9)	289 (0.7)	310 (0.8)

**Note: Percentage of total adult population in parenthesis**

The restriction on free movement of labour between countries and the disregard of deep-rooted migration systems and patterns have led to an increase in irregular migration, which perpetuated social problems, corruption, and human rights abuse of migrant labourers in South Africa. In this article, *Johan Viljoen* and *Marie Wentzel* look at the potential impact of proposed policy changes in the *2017 White Paper on International Migration*, specifically regarding low-skilled migration.



Migration from the SADC region to South Africa has existed since early colonial times and has benefited the country greatly. However, attempts by the South African government to contest regional trans-border legacies of low-skilled labour, porous borders and informal trade have caused defects in the management and regulation of low-skilled immigration. In a 2014 study, migration policy researcher Adrian Kitimbo noted that “the unintended consequence of restrictions on the free movement of labour between countries has been an increase in problems such as irregular migration, a phenomenon which has created enormous social, political and economic problems for SADC members.” Within this context, this article will discuss the proposed policy changes in the *2017 White Paper on International Migration*, specifically regarding low-skilled migration and the extent to which it may either succeed or fail to address irregular and low-skilled migration patterns in Southern Africa.

### Migration trends and policy

Since 1994 and specifically during the last decade, there has been a major change in the nature and patterns of immigration to South Africa, with immigrants from Asia joining the stream of African migrants. These changes were accompanied by a larger diversification of economic sectors in which migrants are employed, beyond the traditional mining and agriculture sectors.

The Department of Home Affairs implements the policy on international migration through the 2002 Immigration Act and the Refugees Act of 1998. The 2017 White Paper on International Migration accepts that migration cannot be stopped and is beneficial to the country. However, it argues that the country is exposed to various security risks while “strengthening colonial patterns of labour, production and trade” and enhancing irregular migration, accompanied by corruption and human rights abuses.

The white paper is drafted against the backdrop of the NDP (Vision 2030) and also the African Union Vision 2063, which provides a framework for national migration policies in Africa. Apart from proposed changes to immigration to South Africa in general, the white paper has attempted to address some of the most urgent gaps regarding irregular and low-skilled migration.

### Influx of low-skilled migrants

The latest amendments to the Immigration Act, in 2011, and the 2017 White Paper introduced a ‘securitisation of migrants’ objective, whereby migration is framed as a national threat. The aim was to tighten the process for refugee and asylum applicants due to a perceived abuse by ‘economic migrants’ who are not eligible to enter the country. Limited opportunities to regularise their stay in South Africa through the 2002 Immigration Act, resulted in many low-skilled migrants using the refugee dispensation offered by the 1998 Refugee Act to obtain legalised

status. This led to a flood of low-skilled migrants applying for asylum in this country.

### **Zimbabwe and Lesotho**

In 2010, the Department of Home Affairs introduced the Documentation of Zimbabweans Project, to regularise the undocumented Zimbabweans in South Africa. Undocumented migrants in this context implies immigrants who entered the country through irregular means or without legal travel documents or who overstayed and are either economic migrants or refugees. The purpose of the project was to relieve the pressure on the management system from the flood of those seeking asylum in the country due to the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe.

The Zimbabwean dispensation programme has been extended over the years albeit under different names and conditions. In January 2018, the new Zimbabwean Exemption Permit (ZEP) became operative and will expire in December 2021. Among others, the non-renewable ZEP permit allows the migrant to work/study and/or conduct business in South Africa for a maximum of four years. This subscribes to the new white paper's approach to addressing labour flows from the SADC region in an orderly manner, to curb irregular migration and to know who is in the country. The dispensation programme has been extended – until December 2019 – to undocumented Lesotho nationals who work or study or have run businesses in South Africa before 30 September 2015.

### **Economic migrants**

The 2017 White Paper notes that the management of economic migrants from SADC is “perhaps the most challenging policy area to address” due to the historical migration from the region to South Africa. This includes SADC migrants employed in the mining,

agriculture, hospitality, construction and domestic-work sectors, who are attracted by better economic opportunities. The high levels of irregular migration, specifically from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Lesotho are accompanied by the high cost of immigration-control measures. This highlights the need for a permanent solution for the documentation of SADC migrants with lower skills levels.

### **Proposed interventions**

The *2017 White Paper on International Migration* has attempted to address urgent gaps in irregular and low-skilled migration through three proposed policy interventions.

One is the regularisation of existing undocumented SADC migrants in South Africa, similar to the special permits for migrants from Zimbabwe and Lesotho and other past amnesties. However, applicants will have to meet requirements such as: hold a valid passport; prove that they have no criminal record; and have a valid reason for residing in South Africa such as employment, study, or business ownership.

Another intervention involves expanding the visa regime for some economic migration from neighbouring countries, to discourage irregular migration to South Africa. However, this would involve experimentation, incremental implementation, and monitoring and evaluation by government authorities. Three types of visas will be piloted as part of this intervention. The SADC special work visa will allow the holder to work in South Africa for a prescribed period of time, but cannot be used to obtain permanent residency. This visa will be quota-based and implemented through bilateral agreements with neighbouring countries. The second is a long-term, multiple-entry SADC trader's visa for cross-border traders who frequently visit the country. The

third is an SADC small-and-medium enterprise visa for self-employed people and small-business owners but may be subjected to SARS/company registration.

Finally, the white paper proposes support for targeted enforcement of immigration and labour laws with an emphasis on employers and not individual migrants, since the hiring practices of employers is regarded as an important pull factor of irregular migration.

### **Conclusion**

Empirically informed policies and laws to regulate low-skilled labour migration are required for South Africa to deal with irregular immigration challenges. Over time, low-skilled migration policy gaps have placed a financial burden on the state, due to the high cost of litigation and deportation.

The regional trans-border legacies of migration need to be addressed with long-term and viable solutions, due to persistent political, economic and social crises among South Africa's neighbours. While the 2017 White Paper promises to resolve some of the pressing problems of irregular migration, it is vague on measures that will affect new low-skilled migrants' ability to legally migrate to South Africa. Immigration will perpetuate as long as the sub-region serves as a labour source for South Africa. Stronger enforcement of immigration laws will not deter migrants but may drive them underground again, thereby increasing their vulnerability to xenophobic violence.

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# MIGRANTS IN CAPE TOWN

## - *settlement patterns*

Sixteen years ago, a study commissioned by the Western Cape provincial government revealed that a substantial proportion of migrants regarded Johannesburg as being over-saturated with people looking for economic opportunities. They started to settle in Cape Town, which was regarded as less competitive. *Dr Stephen Rule* and his colleagues looked at the 2011 Census data and other recent research, and conducted in-depth interviews with foreigners to explore the factors that guide their decisions about settlement destinations in the Western Cape.

**B**efore 1994, most foreign migrants to the Western Cape came from the UK and Europe, but in recent decades, new streams have arrived from Zimbabwe, the DRC, Nigeria, Somalia, Bangladesh, China, India and Pakistan. However, South Africa's migration policy has not kept pace with the changes. The *2017 White Paper on International Migration* for South Africa asserts that the country has a "sovereign right to determine the admission and residence conditions for foreign nationals, in line with its national interest." This is not fully aligned with the Global Compact for Migration (UN, July 2018), which undertakes to implement policy and legislation that factors

in "different national realities, policies, priorities and requirements for entry, residence and work, in accordance with international law" (clause 15). Our research used disaggregated data to inform the development of "evidence-based migration policies," as agreed in clause 17(j) of the UN compact.

The 2011 Census data showed that 260 952 Western Cape residents were born outside South Africa, representing 12% of all migrants living in the country and 3.5% of the population of Cape Town. Their main origins are shown in Table 1.

**Table 1: Country of birth of the population of Cape Town, 2011 Census**

Country of birth	Number	Percentage	Percentage of foreign born
Zimbabwe	44 772	1.27%	35.97%
UK and Europe	14 820	0.42%	11.91%
DRC	8 101	0.23%	6.51%
Namibia	7 549	0.21%	6.06%
Somalia	6 663	0.19%	5.35%
Mozambique	3 209	0.09%	2.58%
Nigeria	2 568	0.07%	2.06%
India	2 010	0.06%	1.61%
China	1 430	0.04%	1.15%
Lesotho	1 044	0.03%	0.84%
Ghana	623	0.02%	0.50%
Botswana	526	0.01%	0.42%
Swaziland	344	0.01%	0.28%
Bangladesh	797	0.02%	0.64%
Other*	30 014	0.85%	24.11%
South Africa	3 410 011	96.48%	—

Source: Statistics SA, 2015.

\* including Pakistan, Malawi, Botswana, Swaziland, Angola, Burundi, Rwanda, Cameroon, Congo-Brazzaville, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Chad, Sudan, Burkina Faso, Algeria.

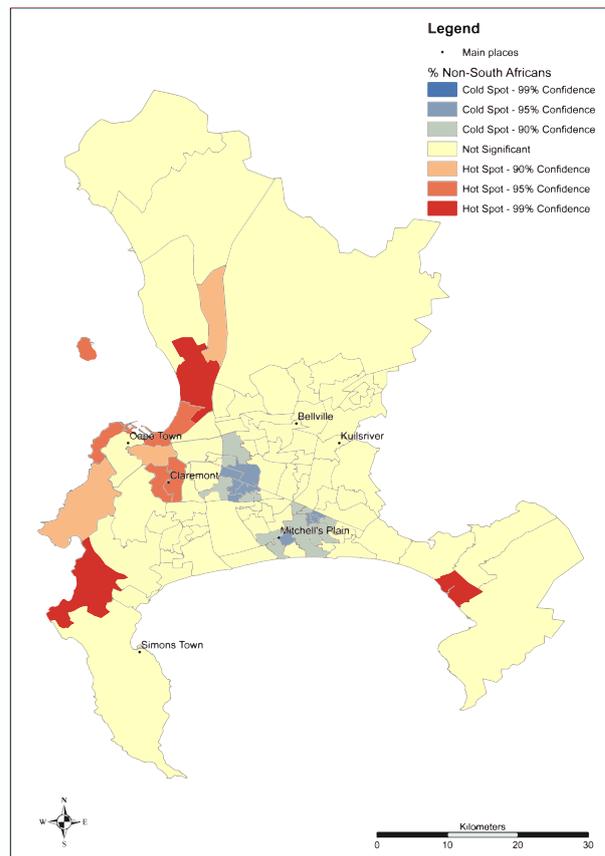
### Looking at wards

The disaggregation of the 2011 Census data to ward level in Cape Town revealed the extent to which migrants from different countries had clustered spatially across the metro. The data showed that certain neighbourhoods were the homes to statistically disproportionate concentrations of people of specific national origins.

The highest proportionate concentrations of non-South African born residents were enumerated in Sea Point, Masiphumelele, Claremont, Imizamo Yethu, Green Point, Woodstock, Table View and Joe Slovo Park. The Sea Point ward had the largest proportion (17.3%) of residents who were born outside South Africa, comprising mainly migrants from Europe and the UK, Zimbabwe, Namibia, the DRC, China and India. Two other wards, the high-income suburbs of Gardens and Hout Bay had more than 1 000 residents who were born in the UK or Europe. Eleven wards had more than 1 000 Zimbabwean-born residents. These included former white or coloured suburbs such as Brooklyn, and the more recently

established settlements of Steenberg, Masiphumelele, and Imizamo Yethu in the east; Asanda, Nomzamo and Lwandle in the north; and Marconi Beam and Dunoon in the south. Namibians were mostly concentrated in Marconi Beam and Dunoon. Overall, the numbers of Namibians, Congolese and Somalians were higher than in Johannesburg, Tshwane or eThekweni.

Other more recent research corroborates and updates these patterns, as do recent confidential data pertaining to the clientele of an NGO that assists migrants and refugees. More than half (53%) of its clientele were Zimbabwean and 28% were from the DRC. The Zimbabwean clientele was spread across the inner city (Woodstock, Sea Point, CBD), the north-west coast (Table View, Milnerton), the Voortrekker Road zone (Kraaifontein, Bellville, Parow, Maitland, Goodwood), the Cape Flats (Philippi, Gugulethu, Delft, Athlone, Langa, Mitchell's Plain, Khayelitsha), and the south peninsula (Hout Bay). Those from the DRC have settled in a similar configuration, but excluding Khayelitsha, and with an additional cluster in the southern suburbs (Wynberg).



**Major migrant settlement clusters in Cape Town, 2011 Census**

Source: Rule & Weir-Smith, 2018.



Cape Town has become an attractive destination for migrants seeking new opportunities. Photo: Antonio Erasmus, HSRC

Dr Gina Weir-Smith, head of the HSRC's geospatial analytics section in the eResearch Knowledge Centre, conducted a hotspot analysis of the 2011 data with ESRI's geographic information system (GIS) software. She identified statistically significant (99% confidence interval) spatial clustering of migrants in the south peninsula areas of Masiphumelele and Imizamo Yethu; the north-western areas of Dunoon and Milnerton; and the eastern settlements in Strand and Lwandle. Conversely, areas of statistically low concentrations occurred around the airport and Cape Flats townships.

### Highly mobile

In his paper, *Dwelling Discreetly: Undocumented Migrants in Cape Town*, Dr James Williams of Zayed University in Dubai wrote about the high residential mobility in Cape Town of migrants as a strategy to evade xenophobia and law enforcement. Researchers have also found that migrants' settlement patterns are the consequence of multiple individual and household decisions related to their networks of interpersonal relations. On arrival in any foreign destination, migrants seek the comfort and safety of a residential location characterised by a cultural, ethnic, linguistic or aspirationally socio-economic affinity. Many hope to penetrate the boundaries of a precariat status, a life that is materially and psychologically unpredictable and insecure.

### Xenophobia and access to transport

In Cape Town, migrants from traditional sources (Lesotho, Mozambique, UK, Europe) tend generally to be settled in established townships and suburbs and inner-city localities. However, the new migrant streams from African and Asian countries have tended to avoid settling in the established black-majority townships, where much of the xenophobic confrontation has occurred. Concentrations of Zimbabwean, Congolese, Malawian, Nigerian and Somali migrants are thus most common along major intra-suburban transport routes or in newly established peripheral settlements. The suburban arterial routes offer relatively affordable accommodation opportunities and public transport services (minibus taxis, buses, trains) and the peripheral low-income townships and informal settlements offer cheap accommodation but poor access to the economic mainstream. The two most popular major transport routes for migrants in

Cape Town are the west-east Voortrekker Road and the north-south Main Road. Although both routes have the advantage of proximity to the rail transport system, the nationally operated Metrorail is notoriously inefficient and unreliable owing to technical-capacity constraints, ageing infrastructure and rolling stock, copper cable theft and vandalism. This places greater reliance on public or private road transport options.

### Looking for support

Themes that emerged from in-depth interviews with five migrant residents during 2018 were their circumstances of political and economic precarity, which served as push factors from their origins in Zimbabwe, the DRC and Burundi. Most were employed in low-paid occupations or subsistence entrepreneurial activity, and had limited or zero contact with their places of origin. Their settlement location decisions had been guided by an attraction to contexts of social or aspirational affinity, with the prospect of contiguous kinship or ethnic support systems, and anecdotal evidence of lower exposure to xenophobic sentiment. A striking story was told by a Burundian respondent who had served in an armed resistance movement, which became abusive and from which he ultimately escaped. He was pursued across five countries before reaching South Africa. Had he been caught by his army colleagues, it would have been normal practice for them to slice off his ear for not having listened to them. He spent seven years in Durban before moving to Cape Town. All five respondents had developed networks with compatriots in churches or mutual help associations or groups with common interests. These forms of migrant networking in Cape Town are a means of engaging with, and serving as, a social-capital cushion in the context of a new, diverse, strange space or place. More explicit local government acknowledgement and accommodation of these realities would be conducive to enhancing the social and economic integration of migrants. The city would likely, in turn, reap the benefits of local economic growth and employment creation that are likely to accrue to the city. It is incumbent on politicians and urban planners to facilitate inclusive development for newcomers to the city, regardless of their origins.

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# URBAN LAND OCCUPATIONS NEED PURPOSEFUL ACTION RATHER THAN OPPORTUNISM

The land question has been reduced to a debate between safeguarding property rights and expropriation. The preoccupation of both standpoints with the issue of ownership has diverted attention from the crucial matter of the use and development of land. *Prof. Ivan Turok* believes broadening the debate is vital, to make sense of the current predicament facing cities, which now accommodate two-thirds of South Africa's population.

A recent spike in urban land invasions has put considerable strain on city authorities and surrounding communities. Tens of thousands of people who were living in squalid and overcrowded conditions have lost faith in government housing policy and public consultation mechanisms. Opportunists have supported their actions by staking out empty parcels of land and renting out small plots for people to erect their own shacks.

The illegality of this should not obscure the underlying hardships and frustrations that have driven people to occupy land. The swelling urban population has been denied their basic constitutional rights by failures across the human settlements system, including the formal housing market and state policy. In addition, scant progress has been made with tackling the legacy of racial segregation, forced removals and dormitory townships.

## **Hazards and disputes**

The land occupations serve a purpose in releasing unused land for entry-level housing. Bypassing established procedures is the only way many poor households believe they can gain a stake in the city. Land invasions also force the issues of spatial transformation and redress onto the table.

However, seizing land in this way is disruptive and more likely to destroy value than to create it. Land grabs are no way to build a city that functions well. People end up living on hazardous sites, liable to flooding or subsidence, or occupying strategic land earmarked for industrial purposes, schools or other public facilities. Property owners are antagonised and municipal resources get diverted from delivering services to fending off invasions, demolishing structures and being embroiled in legal disputes.

## **State-owned land**

Several provinces and municipalities have decided to repurpose surplus state-owned land to provide serviced sites for people to construct their own homes. This could provide a useful safety valve to relieve pressure in cities where there is a reasonable

*The morning rush hour in the City of Cape Town where thousands of people who live in the more affordable outskirts need to travel for hours to get to and from work. Photo: Pixabay*

stock of such land, especially if the land is not remote from jobs and amenities. However, a lasting solution requires more to be done.

There will never be enough land in cities to accommodate everyone on their own plot. The supply of land is finite, while demand is rising relentlessly with urbanisation. Shifting the policy focus to the larger supply of greenfield land beyond the urban edge exacerbates the inefficient structure of cities, amplifies social inequalities and threatens water sources and other sensitive ecosystems.

The system for releasing and developing land needs to be revamped to provide a fairer and more sustainable answer to the urban land question. There is no need to reinvent the wheel, since much can be learnt from local experience and from other countries that are vigorously engaged in building productive and inclusive cities.

At least two overarching principles are important, in relation to the substance and process of land use and development.

### Raising density

Firstly, a concerted effort is required to make more efficient use of well-located land by raising building densities in central locations and along public-transport corridors. A more compact urban form with housing and jobs closer together will improve productivity, limit public infrastructure costs and reduce daily commutes.

In several cities a start has been made with transit-oriented development around new rapid bus systems. But a wider commitment across government and the property-development sector is required to make this viable.

Secondly, more transparency and public trust in the procedures governing urban planning and development are needed to reduce popular doubt, discourage land grabs

and increase confidence in the future. The current system is tilted towards the interests of privileged individuals rather than the public good. This constrains and delays efforts to meet the needs of the poor and create cities for all.

The system of governing land and human settlements needs to be invigorated and bolstered in ways that have been neglected in recent years. The legal powers, including expropriation, already exist in most cases. There remain bigger challenges of political will and institutional capacity.

### The need for an audit

Firstly, the apparatus of urban planning needs to focus more on making unused and under-utilised land and property available for the purpose of building integrated human settlements. Every city urgently needs a comprehensive audit to identify suitable land for its development pipeline, followed by deliberate acquisitions of strategic sites in anticipation of future growth. Better alignment of spatial plans with investments in public infrastructure can further speed up development.

### Simpler procedures and partnerships

Secondly, cities need to streamline and simplify their regulatory procedures and bylaws, to reduce unnecessary obstacles to property development and renewal. For example, rules insisting on off-street car parking and generous space standards are inappropriate for affordable housing. Cities have also been slow to put in place mechanisms to take advantage of the increase in land values that accompanies urban growth. This could generate some of the resources required to reinvest in infrastructure, land banking – the practice of investing in undeveloped land – and affordable housing.

Thirdly, cities need to create action-oriented partnerships with the private

sector, NGOs, community builders and other stakeholders to mobilise additional funding and expertise. Such initiatives can strengthen capabilities and reduce some of the risk and uncertainty that accompany urban development. Improving access to bank finance for housing producers and households is also vital, because this has deteriorated in recent years as banks have pulled back on their lending.

### Building upwards

Finally, serious consideration needs to be given to different ways of promoting more productive use of scarce urban land through densification and concentration. This will require innovative urban design and improved public awareness. Building upwards will release land for circulation and public amenities, and create more vibrant communities. This means encouraging the redevelopment of low-rise housing with three or four-storey buildings.

There are instances of good practice emerging in several cities, which need to be replicated on a large scale. For example, a project is currently underway on a hitherto neglected site in Dido Valley, near Simon's Town, involving the construction of 600 homes to accommodate a diverse group of beneficiaries.

These include the victims of forced removals to Ocean View and Gugulethu, who have been living in backyard shacks. Other beneficiaries include the residents of Red Hill informal settlement. The area is close to a railway station and will have its own clinic, two parks, a crèche and a business site. This is a good example of how purposeful planning can unlock valuable land and lift people out of poverty.

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The Kgaswane Mountain Reserve, Rustenburg, South Africa  
Photo: Marco Schmidt, Wikimedia Commons

# THE *love-hate* TRIANGLE

## between rural municipalities, traditional leaders and traditional councils and its impact on local communities

South African municipalities that include traditional communities are characterised by ‘wicked problems’, complex interdependent problems that are almost impossible to resolve. *Dr Gerard Hagg and Prof. Modimowabarwa Kanyane* write about the relationship between the Rustenburg Local Municipality, the Bafokeng Traditional Council and the Royal Bafokeng Nation in North West province.

**W**icked problems refer to the difficulty of resolving institutional relationships between a local municipality, traditional leaders and the traditional council. Traditional structures appear to be the weakest link.

What makes these relationships wicked are conflicting world views, lack of implementation of constitutional mandates, and an inability to strengthen governance institutions and hold them accountable. These issues lead to power struggles, divided loyalties, legitimacy challenges by communities and civil society organisations, lack of trust and poor service delivery. Ultimately this further entrenches poverty and inequality and stifles progressive realisation of socio-economic rights.

### The governance mandate

Constitutionally and legally, the governance mandate for the Bafokeng community lies with the Rustenburg Local Municipality. The municipality is responsible for service delivery and development, with a broader provincial and national legislative framework. In line with Chapter 12 of the Constitution, the Bafokeng leadership is responsible for cultural and identity issues, and may be allocated responsibilities for certain services. Though a ward councillor and ward committees exist, they also fall under the village leadership and are of a lower status than the village *makgotla* (meetings). The Bafokeng leadership interprets cultural and identity issues as including development, and, to some extent, service delivery. The traditional council was established in terms of the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act

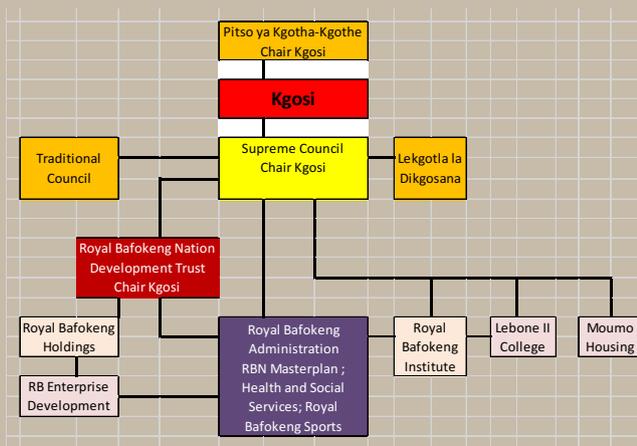
(41 of 2003), and the *kgosi* (chief) ensures proper ratios of male-female membership. However, the traditional council functions under significant limitations as its members are of a lower status than the *dikgosana* (headmen). In reality, the traditional council has been absorbed by the Bafokeng leadership.

### Traditional leadership taking over

Substantive revenue generation from platinum mining has enabled the leadership of the Bafokeng traditional community, near Rustenburg Local Municipality, to take over development and service provision for Bafokeng. An important part of the strategy was to combine the Bafokeng identity as a traditional community with its modern future visions. To this end, the leadership established an extensive institutional structure to manage the take-over of service delivery and development and established the name Royal Bafokeng Nation. Examples of traditional institutions are the *kgosi*, the Lekgotla la Dikgosana (council of headmen) and the Pitso ya Kgotha-Kgothe (main community meeting). Modern business organisations that were established to manage mining relationships and revenue, were named Royal Bafokeng Holdings Company and the Royal Bafokeng Development Trust. This organisational complexity is supported by a quasi-municipal administration (Bafokeng Administration). Figure 1 shows this organisational conglomeration.

### Competitive cooperation

Until 2015, this organisational structure (Figure 1) and abundant revenue allowed the Bafokeng leadership to



successfully exclude the Rustenburg Local Municipality from service delivery and community development. The traditional council, which reports to the North West provincial government and the Bafokeng community, has largely lost its independence due to its functional absorption into the supreme council. Although a memorandum of understanding exists between the Royal Bafokeng Nation and Rustenburg Local Municipality, cooperation was largely competitive. As the Royal Bafokeng Nation's land is private – in the past, the Bafokeng bought most of the farms – the municipality cannot act or deliver services without their permission.

### The community's divided loyalty

From the 2011 and 2016 Population and Use of Land Audits, it is clear that the community supports both the municipality and the Bafokeng leadership. Community attitudes are largely determined by the ability of these parties to deliver. Disappointments among the Bafokeng include the inability of the Bafokeng-funded prestige Lebone II College to serve all of Bafokeng, as well as water and sanitation supply constraints. In addition, some 22 families have established the Bafokeng Land Buyers Association, to challenge the attempt of the leadership to register title deeds for all land in the community in the name of Kgosi Molotlegi. The families' argument was that their ancestors bought the land and were later forced by apartheid legislation to join the Bafokeng tribe.

### Not delivering on promises

The power struggle has long been skewed towards the Bafokeng leadership, but it has changed significantly over the last few years as a result of a drop in platinum prices and the increased influx of non-Bafokeng mineworkers. The platinum price substantially dropped after 2009 and through a five-month strike in other platinum mines in 2012. The combination of increased overhead costs and lack of sustainable revenue, undermined the ability of the Bafokeng leadership to deliver on their promises. This led to dissatisfaction among the Bafokeng. After 2010, non-Bafokeng mineworkers moved out of hostels

into backyard dwellings of Bafokeng residents putting pressure on the Bafokeng administration's ability to deliver services, especially for water and electricity. In addition, some non-Bafokeng mineworkers married Bafokeng women, thus affected Bafokeng identity formation of the leadership. Lastly, the Bafokeng Land Buyers' Association successfully challenged the leadership in court, on the grounds that the latter had not adequately consulted with its community.

### Challenges

The Bafokeng leadership therefore experienced at least four challenges to its dominant position. Although a municipality can obtain additional grants from the national government, such resources are not available to traditional leaders. Lower revenues compelled the Bafokeng leaders to revisit their memorandum of understanding with the Rustenburg Local Municipality and provincial departments to sustain service delivery. This could strengthen the position of the municipality and the ward councillor, if the municipality increases its service delivery. The second challenge is the need to strengthen the role of the traditional council, as it is the only recognised governance structure among the *kgosi*. This could create tensions within the supreme council and at village level, and result in a less functional traditional council. As this council is partly responsible for decisions on service delivery, its lack of real power may result in a deterioration of service delivery. The third challenge is that of the Bafokeng Land Buyers Association, which may secede from the traditional community in order to obtain its own share of the platinum revenue. Combined with contestations by non-Bafokeng villages in the area to the authority of the traditional leadership, such activities may decrease trust in the leadership in general. Lastly, the combination of customary values with modernity may ultimately be replaced by new identity formations among younger generations. Social media and communication technology tend to instil a global identity among the youth, with association and solidarity becoming based on general modern South African values. These include the primacy of individual rights rather than customary communality and identity, and a focus on modern material wellbeing rather than customs. The combination of these challenges may ultimately undo a lot of the development initiatives of the leadership, and increase the navigation patterns of the Bafokeng between municipal and traditional institutions, to satisfy their needs.

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A burnt block of classrooms at a secondary school in Vuwani, Limpopo  
Photo: HSRC

# The social cost of VIOLENT AND DESTRUCTIVE SERVICE-DELIVERY PROTESTS in South Africa

South Africa has experienced a rapid increase in violent and destructive service-delivery protests. Poor and marginalised communities are increasingly disgruntled, due to the lack of access to services, growing corruption, and the unresponsiveness of the government to the needs of communities. Looking at two case studies, *Isaac Khambule, Amarone Nomdo and Babalwa Siswana* considered the potential social cost of protests, where essential public infrastructure is destroyed.

**T**he South African government recently celebrated 24 years of its democratic dispensation. While the celebrations signify great strides in the realisation of democratic values, the majority of the country's citizens are still living in poverty (55%) with 27% unemployed (Statistics South Africa, 2017).

In 2015, the Presidency revealed that approximately 80% of municipalities had failed to perform their mandatory duties, including the delivery of basic services.

Service-delivery protests have been rife from 2008, but particularly violent and destructive towards public infrastructure since 2013. This is indicative of the country's failure to create inclusive economic development and its inability to deliver basic services to its constituents.

This article argues that service-delivery protests, during which protesters destroy public infrastructure essential to development, might undermine the future capabilities of people in those communities.

## Destroying what we need

There is a growing body of evidence that links the positive effect of access to service delivery to better socio-economic conditions and opportunities. Researchers describe capabilities as an individual's and a community's capacity to cope or recover from setbacks and to function in challenging times. People develop skills and knowledge through access to public services and education infrastructure that help them to transition out of poverty, and to social security that protects them against vulnerabilities. For example, the education that they receive at schools and libraries gives them access to job opportunities, and the counselling they receive at clinics might help them to seek medical assistance timeously. Violent and destructive protests such as the burning and destruction of public infrastructure can therefore diminish their future capabilities. Yet, people burn or destroy public infrastructure when they feel excluded or have inadequate access to services.

## Burning factories in Mandeni in 2016

Mandeni is traditionally known as a manufacturing hub on the North Coast of KwaZulu-Natal. The town was rocked by protests related to the election of a ward councillor and the inability of local authorities to heed the community's demands. The protests turned violent and led to the burning down of factories in the region, leaving more than 2 000 people out of work. As a result of the destructive protest, local residents lost sources of income and capital needed to send their children to school, access services and purchase food, which led to monetary deprivation.

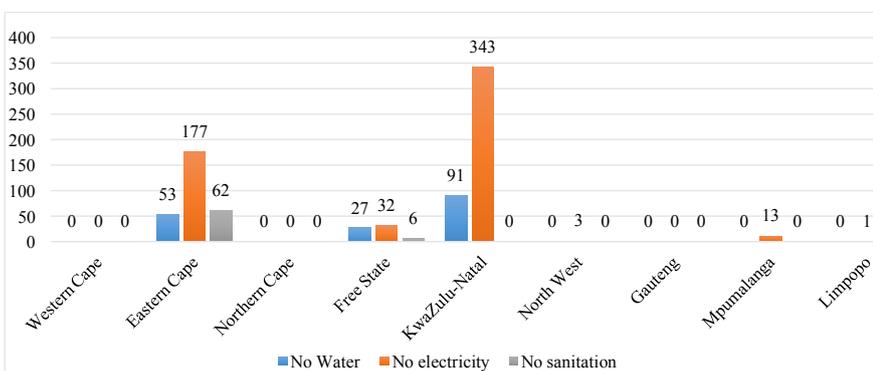
Without income, access to services that are essential to improving capabilities are undermined. Results from the 2011 Youth Risk Behaviour Survey revealed that KwaZulu-Natal had the highest rate of learners with unemployed parents. In addition, it had a high rate of students who did not get pocket money, which is a good indicator of household financial capacity. The violent protests would

**Figure 1: Matric pass rates by province**



Source: Adapted from the Department of Education Report (2016)

**Figure 2: Infrastructure backlogs in schools in 2016 (by count)**



Source: National Education Infrastructure Management System (2016)

have also affected the learners' access to education and their ability to cope at school.

**The case of Vuwani**

The motive behind the torching of public schools in Vuwani in 2016 was dissatisfaction about the Municipal Demarcation Board's demarcation of a new jurisdiction that led to Vuwani falling under the Vhembe District. It was reported that Vuwani residents had depended on the previous parent municipality for jobs, and were doubtful of employment prospects and the provision of adequate services by the new municipality.

The damage to schools and the resultant shutdown affected more than 2 000 matric students, compromising their access to education and preparation for exams.

To make sense of the social cost of such widespread destructive

protests, we need to consider their impact on the existing infrastructure backlogs and connection between infrastructure and school performance in South Africa.

There is a strong link between provinces with infrastructure backlogs and poor pass rates (KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape) and between provinces with the necessary infrastructure and high pass rates, with Gauteng and Western Cape having more than an 80% pass rate from 2013 to 2016, as evident in Figure 1 and 2.

Limpopo had a 9.3% drop in pass rate from 2013 to 2016. This indicates that the destruction of public schools in Limpopo might have had a long-term effect on the province's pass rate, the future capabilities of school learners and the ability of schools here to attract good teachers. The destruction of existing infrastructure

undermines the ability of government to improve access to public services and the social and economic opportunities of affected areas.

**Breaking the vicious cycle**

The destruction of public infrastructure should be viewed as burning the bridge that needs to be crossed to reach a better life. The pervasive argument forwarded in the heat of violent and destructive protests is that government values property more than the lives of ordinary people who are striking for improved service delivery and as a means to be heard. At the heart of this problem is the failure of government to engage in dialogue on the impact destroying public infrastructure has on human development.

It is only through promoting such a dialogues that a sense of local ownership and valuing of infrastructure that communities might shy away from violent and destructive service-delivery protests. This can be achieved through better civic education, as well as through strengthened public-participation spaces at a local level – the direct line of contact for residents.

Government also needs to move away from being reactive and implement proactive strategies to address these issues. Further research is needed on communities' perception of public infrastructure.

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*This article is based on a presentation and comprehensive draft paper currently pending publication.*

# LIFTING YOUNG PEOPLE OUT OF POVERTY:

Factors that influence the transition



Local and international evidence confirms that poverty is 'sticky'. It can be transmitted from one generation to another, and the social, psychological, and physiological factors associated with such poverty create further obstacles. Based on data from a national longitudinal study, *Dr Ian Edelman* writes about the factors that may help young people to transition out of poverty.

*A girl child's education determines not only her own prospect of finding employment, but also those of her future children.  
Photo: Miriã Lopes da Cruz, Pixabay*

Despite the inequality of opportunities in South Africa, some young people do overcome the odds and transition out of income poverty. That said, there is limited research that seeks to explain the factors associated with these transitions. A 2016 analysis of data from the National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS), by Arden Finn, Murray Leibbrandt and Vimal Ranchhod of the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research unit at the University of Cape Town found that education among both parents and children accounted for as much as 40% intergenerational earnings

elasticity. The latter is the tendency for children's earnings to resemble those of their parents. However, this analysis was unable to clearly delineate the pathways through which a small percentage of youth overcome backgrounds of economic poverty and low parental education. Such evidence on pathways to economic stability could inform policy innovation that will improve the traction to enable climbing out of poverty.

This new study asks who those young people are that independently transition out of poverty, and what distinguishes them from their counterparts who have not landed

jobs that free them from the poverty bind. It also asks which antecedents may correlate with such transitions.

The NIDS study, conducted in five waves from 2008 to 2017, provides data on income, education, consumption, and material assets, based on a nationally representative sample. Through this data, we can understand which young people (with backgrounds of economic poverty based on previous waves) now earn wages that place them comfortably out of poverty. Through multivariate longitudinal analysis, we can also examine background factors (such as parents' education),

intermediary outcomes (such as the child's education), and later outcomes (such as wage earnings in the final two waves of data) that emerge to delineate pathways out of poverty.

### Factors that influenced transition

The fourth wave of NIDS was completed in 2014/2015. Of the 26 819 adult respondents, 23% were 18-25 years old. During the first wave in 2008, they would have been 12-19 years old and still eligible to be in school. Looking back, 4 664 (75%) of the 18-25-year-olds, reported household income per person per month (pp/pm) that was below the upper-bound poverty line in either wave 1 (R682 pp/pm), wave 2 (R756 pp/pm), or wave 3 (R834 pp/pm) of the study. Therefore, this group represented a sample of young adults who had experienced some form of childhood economic poverty. Across this group of 4 664, there were only 77 respondents (1.7%) who reported monthly wages of R5 600 or more in the fourth wave, an income which, in 2008, was suggestive of an entry-level middle-class occupation. This group of 77 was slightly older, predominantly male (77% vs. 48% in the larger group); had relatively fewer household residents across waves and subsequently higher household incomes per person. By the fourth wave, they were more likely to have moved homes, were more urbanised, had completed more schooling, reported more computer literacy, were more likely to possess a driver's licence, and reported higher levels of reading and writing ability in English. They were more likely to have had an HIV test and were more likely to be covered by a medical aid. This group also reported more schooling among their parents and had parents who were more likely to have been resident in their household in wave 1.

### Impact of mothers and fathers

In a longitudinal analysis of the 4 664 young people between 18-25 years, the mother's total years of

schooling was a significant predictor of the child's total years of schooling and of the child's future wages, all other things being equal. Gender effects appeared pronounced on both schooling and on wages: young men reported significantly fewer years of schooling than young women, but the wages for the young male adults were significantly higher than female adults (among those who reported any employment income). The father's schooling did not exhibit significant effects on a child's schooling or future wages in this full model. In separate gender analyses, the effects of a mother's schooling were more pronounced for girls than for boys, both on the child's schooling and on the child's future wages.

A father resident in the household in the first wave of the study did not result in significant effects of the father's schooling on the child's schooling, nor on the child's future wages. However, the youth with a non-resident father showed significant effects of the father's schooling on both children's schooling and on their future wages. This may be the result of a modelling effect among non-resident (and more educated) working fathers or exposure to their father's broader employment networks.

### Conclusions and recommendations

Conventional wisdom holds that education is the primary pathway out of poverty. Evidence emerging from this analysis suggests that, among youth from backgrounds of poverty, increased parents' schooling has a positive effect on their children's schooling and on their future wages and the likelihood of potentially stable employment. This appears to be the case regardless of whether the mother or father is resident in the household. Girl children seem to benefit most from their mothers' level of schooling, potentially through educational support in the home. Additional support to keep girls in school, healthy, nourished, able to

focus on their schoolwork, capable of family planning and avoiding negative peer influences could result in mothers who can better support their children's development and achievement in the next generation.

The study shows that boys may benefit more from a father who is working, through modelling employment and creating access to networks, even if the father is non-resident. Evidence-based positive parenting programmes, shown to reduce family stress levels and corporal punishment, may also deepen paternal involvement and enhance such modelling and networking effects.

### Way forward

Further longitudinal analysis will be conducted with the data to explore additional background variables and intermediary pathways that delineate youth poverty transitions. The HSRC is also exploring partnerships with youth employment training and placement programmes to better understand the critical success factors for young people from backgrounds of poverty to secure stable employment and be successful in the workplace.

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*A mother's total years of schooling was a significant predictor of the child's total years of schooling and of the child's future wages.  
Photo: Odwarific, Pixabay*

# “Sho’t Left”

## - Youth going nowhere slowly: Enhancing labour-market outcomes for youth in the tourism industry

A tourist guide standing at an exhibition depicting the life of Nelson Mandela on Robben Island, a world heritage site located off the coast of Bloubergstrand, Cape Town. Photo: Adrega, Pixabay



The adoption by the National Department of Tourism in 2017 of a Tourism Human Resource Development Strategy (THRDS) for South Africa 2017 – 2027 promises to herald significant changes to the training landscape for students, employees, and entrepreneurs in the tourism industry. The strategy emerged from a review conducted by the HSRC on behalf of the National Department of Tourism and Culture, Art, Tourism, Hospitality, and Sport Sector Education and Training Authority (CATHSETA). *Shirin Motala and Stewart Ngandu report.*

**T**ourism is a service industry, and workers in the industry are required to possess a range of skills to deal with situations as they arise. These include technical skills in the use of digital communication and soft skills such as communication, teamwork, leadership, conflict resolution, time management, planning, and the ability to work under pressure.

A review conducted by the HSRC found that basic and higher education does not respond adequately to the skills requirements of the tourism industry. Underinvestment in basic education and schooling has resulted in the majority of learners and workers in the tourism industry not being equipped with basic numeracy and literacy skills. An absence of career guidance also prevents meaningful transition from school to work. These factors affect the employability of the youth in the tourism industry

due to perceived skills deficits by the industry. It also affects the quality of employment that the youth are able to obtain.

### **The research approach**

The HSRC-led review process was implemented over a period of 18 months and included a multidimensional approach. It was participatory, with widespread stakeholder consultation and included a skills audit and a review of the 2008 Tourism Human Resource Development Strategy. The aim was to understand the human resource development skills needs and the gaps and barriers to upskilling in the industry.

The key findings revealed challenges with adult literacy, poor quality career guidance, a lack of soft skills and low graduation levels, with students being insufficiently equipped for the workplace.

## Adult literacy

Low levels of formal education were found with 15 189 (7%) of employees who had less than grade 9 education and 45 800 workers who had completed grade 10 or less (below NQF level 2). This may also account for the lack of progression of most employees in the sector, some of whom were found to have stayed for 10 years in one position. Furthermore, CATHSSETA records revealed that during the same period, only 336 learners received adult literacy and numeracy training, representing only 2.4% of those who needed it.

## Career guidance

The quality of career guidance available to school learners and higher education students is generally low. The study found that the factors motivating the choice of tourism courses in secondary education and in institutions of higher learning were often based on the perception that tourism courses were easy to pass and that entry requirements were low. Over the previous five years, enrolment in basic tourism and hospitality courses increased exponentially, with approximately one in five (20%) of all matriculants taking one or more of these courses. There is evidence that this was motivated by the need to pass matric as most of the growth was found in provinces with the lowest matric pass rates. As such, tourism served as a dumping ground for academically weak students.

## Soft skills

According to the HSRC-led review, an estimated 38 427 (23%) of all employees in the tourism industry lack computer training, including elementary computer literacy, technical computer literacy (usually requiring competence in using specific software such as Amadeus) and advanced computer literacy. Soft-skills deficits included leadership, networking, problem solving, critical thinking and communication skills.

## SMME and graduate self-employment

A defining feature of South Africa's tourism industry is that 90% of the role players in the sector are small businesses. Global research on small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs) suggests that entrepreneurship education contributes directly to the increased formation of new ventures, and the likelihood of self-employment, development of new products, and self-employed graduates owning high-technology businesses. It also shows that the more experienced SMMEs in this sector have enhanced survival capabilities.

A development needs assessment of over 100 SMMEs undertaken by the Tourism Enterprise Partnership revealed that the top five most needed skills across all SMMEs were customer service skills (77%), leadership skills (74%), communication skills (74%), generic management skills (72%) and financial management skills (72%).

## Poor throughput (graduation) rates

The graduation rates at technical and vocational education and training institutions are low, with only 41% of learners reporting that they were able to access compulsory work-integrated learning placements with industry service providers. At least 20% of graduates had never secured employment since graduation. Industry stakeholders reported that graduates' training did not equip

them with the skills to meet industry requirements.

## Implications for implementation

Based on its study, the HSRC recommends that government should actively promote adult basic education and training among tourism industry workers, to reduce the number of those below NQF level 1 over the next 10 years. Investment in tourism career guidance at secondary and tertiary level is also essential. Educators, training providers, curriculum developers, accreditation institutions, and employers need to integrate soft skills and general business skills into their training and workplace mentorship programmes.

Furthermore, these programmes should address the needs of entrepreneurs to ensure the sustainability of enterprises operating in the tourism industry. There is also a need to improve support and access to work-integrated learning opportunities for tourism learners, to increase the possibility of job placement.

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*This article draws on work undertaken by a team of researchers, including Shirin Motala, Stewart Ngandu and Dr Irma Booysens.*



Receptionists welcoming guests at a hotel in the Sun City Resort in North West  
Photo: Hannelie Coetzee, Brand South Africa

# NAVIGATING THE ACADEMY:

*The perspectives of black women academics as narrated in journal articles*

Inequalities of race, gender and class continue to shape the trajectories of many South African lives post 1994. This is the case with black female researchers working in the areas of science, technology and innovation. *Ncamisile Zulu and Prof. Heidi van Rooyen* reviewed published articles written by black female academics to document their perspectives on navigating a career in the academic environment.



*For many black female academics, getting a post-graduate degree is but the start of many challenges they still face at tertiary academic institutions.  
Photo: Jonathan Daniels, Unsplash*

In the past two decades, the Department of Science and Technology (DST) and the National Research Foundation (NRF) have implemented various interventions to address gender and race disparities in the academic environment. Recent initiatives include the Thuthuka funding instrument, which focused on improving the capacities of younger researchers from disadvantaged groups and the South African Research Chairs Initiative, which has awarded 42 chairs to women researchers. Since 2011/2012, just over R2bn has been invested in these kinds of strategic instruments, the NRF reported.

### More, but not senior

As a result, South Africa has made some progress in gender representation in the academy. HSRC data reflects a gradual increase in

female representation from 40.8% in the 2009/2010 financial year to 44.0% in 2013/2014. However, the majority of researchers in 2013/2014 were white (46.3%). Researchers from the other population groups combined (Africans, coloureds and Indians) increased in proportion in 2013/2014 to 53.7%. However, African female academics were the least well represented at senior levels, according to the Council on Higher Education. In 2012, they constituted 9% of the total number of female professors (662), and only 2% of all professors (2 190).

### Academic experiences of black women

Literature on black women academics from South African higher education institutions was systematically searched from 1994 until June 2018 using Google Scholar. This

literature was predominantly written by black women themselves, on their experiences in the academic environment.

### Feeling disempowered

The analysis revealed that black women academics continued to encounter racial discrimination and gender bias in the academic space. A major challenge that appeared in 8 of the 11 papers, published between 2005 and 2018, was that of feeling disempowered. A paper written by three black women academics stated: *“We experienced feelings of disempowerment rather than feelings of empowerment in the academy, despite the institutional restructuring and development agendas. The diversities of academic roles and the complexity of the workplace was disempowering, and this was further exacerbated by*

Author	Title	Year	Design of study	Data analysis	Framework
Schulze, S.	The job satisfaction of black female academics.	2005	Qualitative phenomenological method	Narrative research approach	Self-efficacy theory
Naicker, L.	The journey of South African women academics with a particular focus on women academics in theological education.	2013	Qualitative	Historiography (literature review)	-
Mokhele, M.	Reflections of Black women academics at South African Universities: A narrative case study.	2013	Qualitative	Narrative analysis	Black feminist theories
Zulu, C.	Women academics' research productivity at one university campus: An analysis of dominant discourses.	2013	Qualitative	Thematic/discourse analysis	Critical theory and the feminist approach
Dlamini, E. T., & Adams, J. D.	Patriarchy: A case of women in institutions of higher education.	2014	Qualitative study	Thematically analysed	Theory of gender and power
Msimanga, A.	Too late to come back? The paradox of being a 50-year-old 'early career' black female academic.	2014	Qualitative auto-ethnographic	Narrative analysis	-
Divala, J. J.	Black women academics in higher education: In search of inclusive equal voice and justice .	2014	Qualitative	Narratives	-
Maodzwa-Taruvunga, M., & Divala, J. J.	Experiences of black women teacher educators in the South African higher education system.	2014	Qualitative	Narrative analysis	-
Mohope, S. S.	Becoming a new kind of professional: a black woman academic caught in a transition.	2014	Qualitative auto-ethnographic	Narrative analysis	-
Ndlovu, N. S.	Turning adversity into opportunity: a black woman's journey into academia .	2014	Qualitative	Auto-ethnographic	-
Mahabeer, P., Nzimande, N., & Shoba, M.	Academics of colour: Experiences of emerging Black women academics in Curriculum Studies at a university in South Africa.	2018	Qualitative	Narrative inquiry	Black feminist theory, intersectionality

*the imbalance between work and care-giving responsibilities.” Black women spoke about how they had to navigate maleness in the academic environment “... If you want to be in good books of these males, you must ensure that you remain less qualified than them.”*

### **Workloads and isolation**

Five articles cited heavy teaching loads as a problem, and one noted how this created a huge barrier for women’s progression in the academy... “Vuyo recalled how she started her doctorate in 2008 ‘with enthusiasm’ and thought that she would complete her studies quickly, but a teaching load of eight modules prevented this.” This issue left little time for other components of their jobs such as research and community service, and this was one of the reasons why some black women academics did not qualify for promotions.

Feelings of isolation within the academic space was narrated by four of the articles. This concern was noted mostly by younger black women academics who experienced a sense of isolation, due to the limited number of older black women academics who they could use as role models and who could help them navigate their institutions. For example, “Jeannie was not only a young black academic but rose to become a senior scholar (professor) a position that deepened the isolation. As a senior professor, not only was it difficult to interact with other colleagues in the department, but also some of the young black scholars kept a safe distance for fear of treading too closely to the Dean.”

### **Lack of mentoring and networks**

Four of the papers mentioned lack of supportive networks as

“ AS A SENIOR PROFESSOR, NOT ONLY WAS IT DIFFICULT TO INTERACT WITH OTHER COLLEAGUES IN THE DEPARTMENT, BUT ALSO SOME OF THE YOUNG BLACK SCHOLARS KEPT A SAFE DISTANCE FOR FEAR OF TREADING TOO CLOSELY TO THE DEAN ”

another barrier they encountered. This included a dearth of mentors and supportive and understanding leaders, especially in relation to career advancement opportunities and family responsibilities. One said, ‘Lack of professional mentoring to enhance black female academics’ confidence in research and writing for scholarly journals was a major stumbling block’. She added that, ‘A lot of women feel they have nobody to help them’ and “those who seem knowledgeable are enemies to male leaders.” Black women academics from 2005 and even in recent years also described their dissatisfaction in terms of opportunities such as funding. They also told stories of inconsistency and lack of transparency in promotion systems: “You can meet the promotion criteria, but if you pose a threat to males you will never be promoted, instead they will ensure that they use all strategies they have at their disposal to frustrate you.”

### **Resilient women**

Despite these challenges, some narratives of strength and success also emerged from the literature. A key characteristic of black women academics who succeeded in this

environment was resilience. One black women academic recounted, “there were times when I felt isolated as a woman and as an academic, like an outsider looking in, filled with feelings of unworthiness and despair. It was within this inner space of feeling disempowered that I decided I had to establish my own agentic space for self-efficacy; challenge my fears and find my own motivations to achieve my goals, create my own support network and relationships, and balance my demanding work of managing my family, institutional and academic responsibilities.” When black women academics did succeed, strong mentors played a significant role in grooming them and helping them survive and eventually thrive in higher education.

South Africa is moving in the right direction in terms of its support of various policy instruments and interventions to address gender transformation in the academic environment. However, more in-depth, qualitative research is required to understand the barriers black women academics continue to experience. As our review shows, these challenges are experienced on many levels, from the culture, norms and values that support male advancement over that of women, to the deeply entrenched institutional practices and policies that uphold a gender bias in our academic environment.

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# DEPRESSION

## SYMPTOMS IN SOUTH AFRICA:

### *The link to subjective social status*

Some people suffer a disproportionate burden of depression, which affects their quality of life, economic productivity and physical wellbeing. Researchers from the HSRC and University of the Witwatersrand found a statistically significant relationship between the subjective social status and the prevalence and severity of depression symptoms reported by respondents to a South African survey. *Chipo Mutyambizi* reports.

According to the World Health Organization, depression is one of the most common mental disorders, which affected more than 4% of the global population in 2015. It is the single largest contributor to global disability, accounting for 7.5% of years of life lived with disability. Research has also shown that depression is unequally distributed

within society, being influenced by various social, political and economic factors. In South Africa, studies based on objective measures of socio-economic status have shown that depression is more concentrated among the poor, but literature also suggests that a person's subjective social status is an equally important predictor of health.

*How it feels sometimes. A man in the streets of Kempton Park, Gauteng*  
Photo: Karabo Diseko, Unsplash

## The South African context

In South Africa, huge socio-economic inequalities, crime, violence against women, perceived racism and victimisation may place people at an increased risk of depression.

These factors are important underlying determinants of a person's subjective social status, which is why this HSRC study sought to estimate the role of subjective social status-related inequalities in the prevalence and severity of depression in the country. The researchers also examined the factors that contribute to such inequalities.

## Subjective social status

To measure their subjective social status, participants in the cross-sectional 2014 South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) were asked to position themselves on a social hierarchy that ran from 1 (bottom) to 10 (top). Respondents were also asked to rate their depression symptoms on the 8-item Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression scale (CES-D 8) shown in Table 1.

**Table 1: Depression symptoms CES-D 8 scale**

I will now read out a list of the ways you might have felt or behaved during the past week. Please tell me how much of the time during the past week...READ OUT...					
	None or almost none of the time	Some of the time	Most of the time	All or almost all of the time	(Do not know)
...you felt depressed?	0	1	2	3	8
...you felt that everything you did was an effort?	0	1	2	3	8
...your sleep was restless?	0	1	2	3	8
...you were happy?	0	1	2	3	8
...you felt lonely?	0	1	2	3	8
...you enjoyed life?	0	1	2	3	8
...you felt sad?	0	1	2	3	8
...you could not get going?	0	1	2	3	8

## Prevalence and severity of depression symptoms

As shown in Table 2, more than 26% of the study sample reported having severe depression symptoms (95% confidence interval 24.9 – 28.1) and the overall mean score

on the CES-D 8 (severity of depression) was 7.4 (95% confidence interval 7.2 – 7.5). The prevalence and severity of depression symptoms was higher for females than for males.

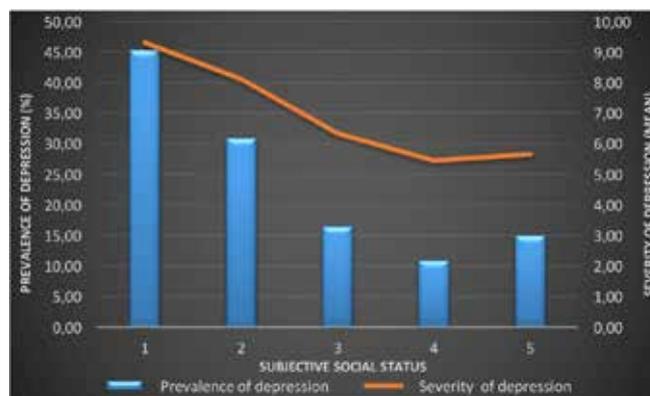
**Table 2: Summary statistics of depression prevalence and severity**

Variable	Male	Female	Total	P-value	Sample (n)
<b>Health outcome</b>					
Prevalence of depression (%)	24.38	28.46	26.49	0.0111	3 021
Severity of depression (mean)	7.03	7.71	7.38	0.0000	3 021

## Subjective social status and depression symptoms

The study showed that there was a statistically significant relationship between subjective social status and the prevalence and severity of depression symptoms. Figure 1 shows that the prevalence and severity of depression symptoms was highest in the first quintile, representing those who saw themselves lowest on the social hierarchy scale. Those who rated themselves in the fourth quintile, recorded the lowest prevalence and severity of depression.

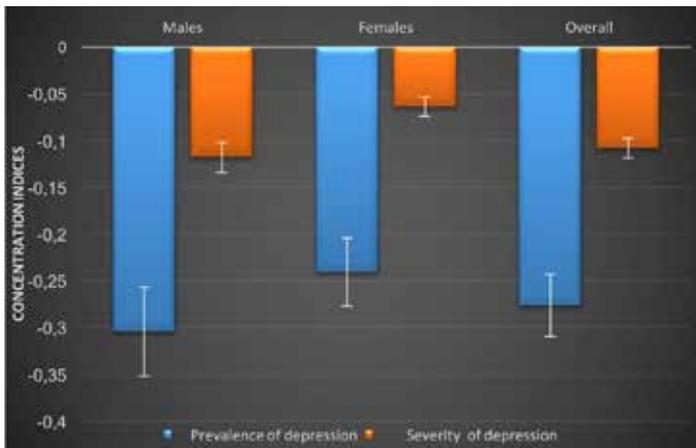
**Figure 1: Depression symptoms by subjective social status**



## Subjective social status-related inequalities in depression symptoms

The study used Concentration Indices (CI) as a measure of inequality. The CI takes on a negative value when the outcome variable (in this case depression) is concentrated among the poor, a positive value when concentrated among the rich and a value of zero when there are no inequalities. Figure 2 shows the CIs for the prevalence and severity of depression symptoms. These were -0.276 and -0.108, respectively, indicating that depression symptoms were more concentrated among those with lower subjective social status.

**Figure 2: Subjective social status-related inequalities in depression symptoms**



### Contributors to inequality

As shown in Table 3, subjective social status was the most important contributor to the prevalence and severity of depression symptoms, at 61% and 54% respectively. Other variables that made significant contributions to the prevalence and severity of depression symptoms were race (13% and 16%) and childhood conflict (11% and 12%).

### Recommendations

Economic and social development is critical to reducing the inequalities that are related to the prevalence and severity of depressive symptoms. Mental health programmes for the diagnosis and treatment of depression should be expanded to target those of lower social status. Social protection and social welfare policies should be used to uplift those at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Our findings also suggest that interventions that target a reduction in childhood adversities are crucial to reducing depression. School-based interventions to screen for adverse childhood conditions such as conflict in the home should target affected children with appropriate mental health care and social welfare support.

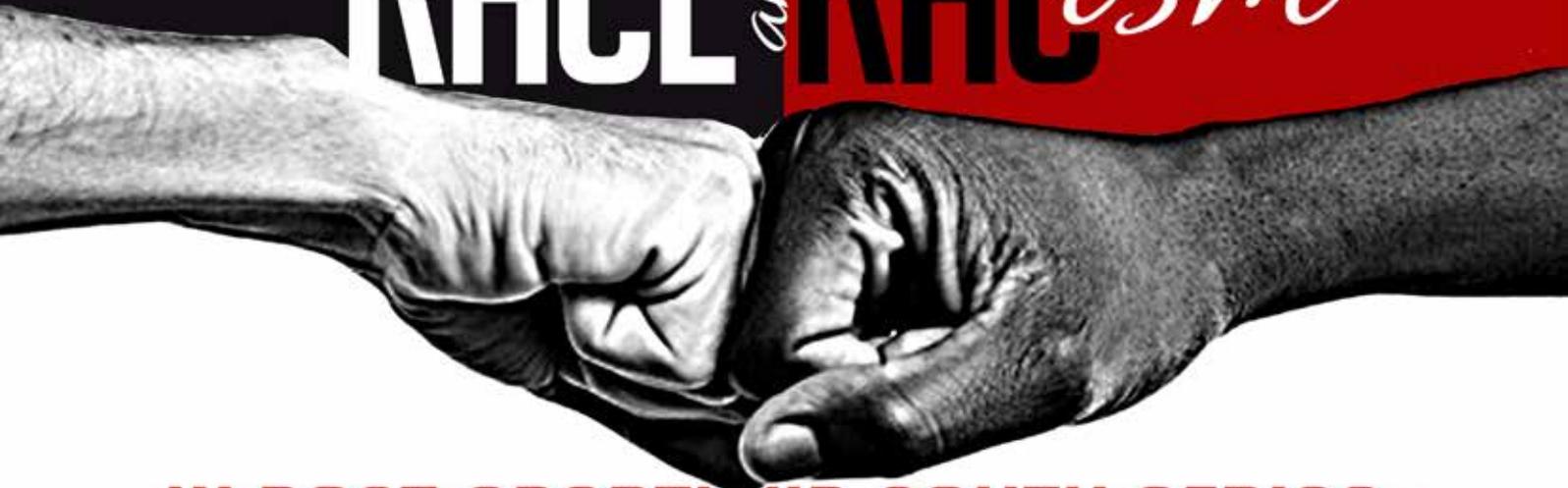
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**Table 3: Decomposition of inequalities in depression**

Variables	Depression prevalence			Depression severity		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Sex			1.25			1.86
Race	26.95	6.78	13.24	22.46	11.43	16.13
Age	1.53	0.43	1.17	1.49	0.82	0.98
Marital status	8.38	1.28	3.14	6.47	1.01	2.84
Residence	-1.15	-1.96	-1.32	-1.03	-0.29	-1.06
Subjective social status	43.71	81.94	60.53	37.97	76.44	54.14
Financial difficulties	2.37	3.23	3.74	2.30	5.02	4.36
Childhood conflict	3.98	16.64	11.04	9.55	13.43	11.70
Employment	2.20	-2.18	0.64	2.60	-1.35	1.02
Education	4.87	-2.26	2.01	7.23	-3.31	2.64
Fruits	-1.94	10.85	3.95	-0.36	5.79	2.48
Vegetables	0.41	-6.04	-1.96	-0.16	-2.03	-0.82
Physical activity	0.00	2.98	0.98	0.00	0.59	0.32
Smoking	0.48	-6.49	-0.03	0.38	-3.57	-0.02
Alcohol	0.06	-0.97	-0.19	0.76	0.10	0.33

# RACE *and* RACISM



## IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA: *A book project*

The continuing salience of race and persistence of racism after more than 24 years of democracy prompted the HSRC to host a series of racism dialogues during 2016. Flowing from those discussions, HSRC researchers and academics from several universities are collaborating to publish a book on race and racism in post-apartheid South Africa. *Dr Gregory Houston, Dr Yul Derek Davids and Prof. Modimowabarwa Kanyane* report on the progress made with this project.

**A**partheid serves as a clear illustration that race is a social construct without biological meaning. The Population Registration Act defined a 'white person' as "a person who in appearance obviously is, or who is generally accepted as a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a coloured person." However, apartheid has led to the racialisation of certain groups that are culturally, socially and historically constituted. Therefore, while the idea of race has been under erasure, rejected and scorned, it has also been imposed, embraced and internalised.

We use certain racial labels in this article, because the focus in the planned book is on the consequences of the use of these labels.

A total of 26 contributors are involved in the book project, and 18 abstracts have been approved for inclusion in the book. Topics include race and racial privilege during the apartheid era; gender, race and inequality in post-apartheid South Africa; persistence of racial capitalism; racism in higher education; racism in cricket; racialised heritage; self-reported racial discrimination; racial attitudes and behaviour; the experiences of mixed race Indian/white South

Africans; #Feesmustfall; xenophobia; and decoloniality. Several research methods were used, including qualitative and quantitative methods and a combination of both. This is also an interdisciplinary project, drawing in researchers from a wide variety of disciplines. The following sections focus on the core arguments.

### *Where we come from*

The most important thing that we need to understand about race is that it is used to dominate, and to justify, the disproportionate enjoyment by some people, of society's political, social and economic benefits. In South Africa, race has been used to justify

the exclusion of some people from political and economic power and the creation of a racial hierarchy. This racial hierarchy was entrenched in legislation and government programmes that denied access to land to some; restricted higher-paying professions to others; and ensured that some were paid more than others for the same work. It provided more funding per capita for education, health, housing, and social assistance for some people than others; and ensured that some were marginalised from certain opportunities and confined to lives of poverty.

Access to opportunities was based on race, giving rise to racial privilege, where an individual's position in the hierarchy determined what privileges he or she enjoyed or was denied. The centrality of race and discriminatory laws and programmes gave rise to racial stereotypes, and the consequent racism that most people of colour experienced during the apartheid era. Racism, and the experiences of racial discrimination and racism, have resulted, among others, in extremely negative notions of the 'other' in the racialised society.

### *Where we are*

For many, the anti-apartheid struggle was premised on the notion that the goal was a non-racist society. From the outset, non-racism was defined in many different ways: by some as equality of opportunity for all, and by others as the elimination of race from every aspect of our society. However, almost all the chapters in the book illustrate the salience of race and persistence of racism in post-apartheid South Africa. For instance, Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment has not changed the racial character of the economy, but has instead resulted in the co-optation of a small black elite into the wealthy white capitalist elite, inherited from the apartheid era.

A chapter on race and class perceptions of poverty and trust illustrates how significant race,

compared with class is as a variable in determining public perceptions on these issues. Another chapter, on language of instruction at universities, draws attention to how imposed languages of instruction perpetuate racial inequalities. It is also demonstrated that there is a continuing presence of racism, racial privileges and exclusions in the higher education sector, especially at universities. Another chapter illustrates the impact of the continued use of racial classifications in official documents in post-apartheid South Africa on people of mixed Indian/white ancestry. Another chapter that makes use of data from public opinion surveys discusses xenophobia as related to racist perceptions among South Africans of who is welcome in the country.

The book will illustrate that in post-apartheid South Africa, racism persists alongside sexism and results in unequal outcomes for women in South Africa, and that race still plays a role in the production of heritage. Similarly, the persistence of racism is illustrated in chapters that use data from public opinion surveys on experiences of racial discrimination and on continuing racial behaviour and attitudes. The chapter on racism in South African cricket demonstrates how issues of racism and racial representation continue to haunt the game, as it does in many other sports. Based on qualitative and quantitative data, another chapter concludes that white and black university students have contrasting experiences of a lack of inclusiveness in a democratic context vis-à-vis continued apartheid oppression in a post-apartheid South Africa, under the banner of privilege.

### *Where we want to be*

The book will deal with race as an important concept to use to achieve social justice, but also to demonstrate its irrelevance and therefore promote its erasure. Important suggestions include the need to develop economic strategies that are targeted towards

redistributive justice for the wellbeing of all those previously disenfranchised. There is also a need for a new way of presenting and narrating the country's history that takes into account the historical imbalances and racialised configuration of the heritage landscape of post-apartheid South Africa. We need to consider ways in which African languages could be used as the medium of instruction at universities; use hate crime legislation to reduce racial discrimination; and create greater awareness of the racist nature of xenophobia.

Striving towards reconciliation among the country's youth, South African students will need to listen to one another's views on their experiences as the 'born free' beneficiaries of the dream of a better life. Also, the social exclusion of the millennial generation in post-apartheid South Africa encourages deeper concern with racial identities than previous generations and we need policies to remedy this.

We also need to unlock cages of ascribed racial identities and free people to define themselves. This should include the elimination of all processes that require people to classify themselves by race, for example in surveys or official and unofficial documents.

Finally, we need to promote decoloniality – with its emphasis on African ideas and systems – as a solution to the continued salience of race and persistence of racism in post-apartheid South Africa.

**Authors:** *Dr Gregory Houston and Dr Yul Derek Davids, chief research specialists, and Prof. Modimowabarwa Kanyane, research director in the HSRC's Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery research programme*

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Price **R295,00**

## Partnerships in Action:

University-school-community

Volume editors:	Patti Silbert, Roshan Galvaan and Jonathan Clark
Pub month and year:	October 2018
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ISBN (pdf):	978-0-7969-2466-7
Format:	NC (240 x 168)
Extent:	272
Cover designed by:	Carmen Schaefer

### About the book

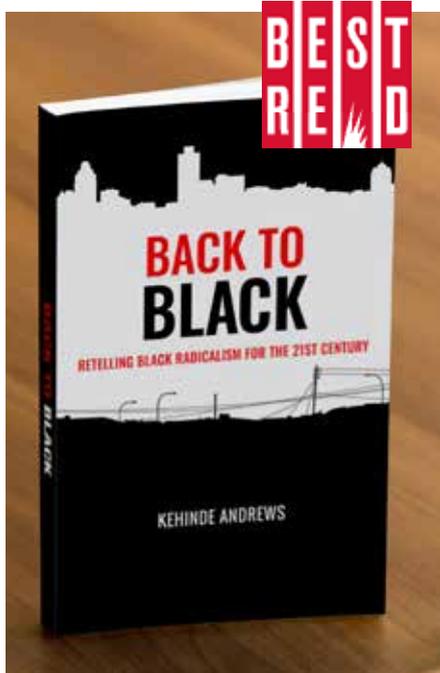
*Partnerships in Action* explores, at multiple levels, a university–school–community partnership in action. The chapters provide rich and dynamic accounts of the activities that make up this partnership, within a context of extreme social inequality. The contributors share an enduring commitment to whole-school improvement. They describe how, through interdisciplinary collaboration, they negotiate the multiple political, social and structural complexities that arise in the coming together of the partners.

The book combines practical implementation with sound theoretical scholarship from a range of disciplines. It offers new insights to all students, stakeholders, academic staff and social researchers, in universities, education departments and NGOs, and stimulates an interest in building social justice.

### Endorsements

“Compelling and thought-provoking, this book makes an enormous contribution to the literature on community-engaged scholarship and school–university partnerships. In particular, their collaborative approach to engaged scholarship is one I have seldom seen articulated so clearly and with such authenticity.” - *Janice McMillan, Director: UCT Global Citizenship programme*

“The reflections on the interdisciplinary collaboration between the students from different disciplinary backgrounds, and between the students and the school communities offer significant new theoretical and practical insights into collaborative community development practice.” - *Judy Favish, Director: UCT Institutional Planning (2003–2016)*



Price **R295.00**

## Back to Black:

Retelling Black Radicalism for the 21st Century

Author:	Kehinde Andrews
Pub month and year:	September 2018
ISBN soft cover:	978-1-928246-24-4
Publisher:	BestRed
Format:	216 x 135
Extent:	360
Rights:	World Rights

### About the book

*Back to Black* traces the long and eminent history of black radical politics. Born out of resistance to slavery and colonialism, its rich past encompasses figures such as Marcus Garvey, Angela Davis, the Black Panthers and the Black Lives Matter activists of today. At its core it argues that racism is inexorably embedded in the fabric of society, and that it can never be overcome unless by enacting change outside this suffocating system. This is an appeal to reclaim black radicalism, a movement that has been diluted and moderated over time, willfully misrepresented and caricatured by others, and divested of its potency and potential for global change.

Kehinde Andrews explores the roots of this tradition, and connects the dots to today’s struggles by showing what renewed politics of black radicalism might look like in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

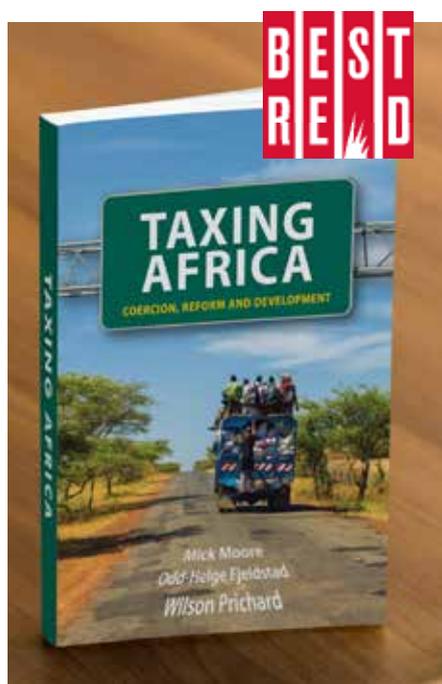
### Endorsements

"A fiery, in-depth investigation of black radicalism and a call for a more revolutionary, liberated society across the globe." - *Foreword Reviews*

"For debates about global inequality and injustice to progress, we need writers like Kehinde Andrews. . . . We can only hope *Back to Black* will inspire many more radical thinkers." - *New Statesman*

"Andrews takes the concepts that underpin so much of our woolly, contemporary talk about blackness, structural racism, pan-Africanism and – most of all – radicalism, and does the hard, essential work of re-inserting meaning and critique into the debate. An unflinching and authentic contribution." - *Afua Hirsch, author of Brit(ish): On Race, Identity and Belonging*

"Andrews pulls no punches. His concept of black radicalism is raw and powerful. This book is sure to provoke, and will gain him adversaries – both black and white – because of the home truths it exposes." - *Femi Nylander, activist and an organiser of Rhodes Must Fall*



## Taxing Africa:

### Coercion, Reform and Development

Authors:	Mick Moore, Wilson Prichard and Odd-Helge Fjeldstad
Pub month and year:	October 2018
ISBN soft cover:	978-1-928246-21-3
Publisher:	BestRed
Format:	155.6 x 236mm (B-Format)
Extent:	288
Rights:	World Rights

#### About the book

It has long been debated whether Africa's lack of growth is best explained by the continent's exploitation in the global system, or by the failures of domestic political leadership. International campaigns highlight the ways in which the global economic system undermines Africa's tax collection through tax havens and evasion by multinational firms and wealthy individuals. Meanwhile, other research has focused on domestic barriers to effective taxation, rooted in corruption and the unwillingness or inability of political leaders to take necessary action.

Written by leading international experts, *Taxing Africa* moves beyond this polarising debate. The authors argue that substantial cultural and political change must come from within African countries themselves. From tackling the collusion of elites with international corporations to enhancing local democratic governance, the book examines the potential for reform and how it may become a springboard for broader development gains.

Price **R270.00**

### Endorsements

"The authors apply their extensive practical experience and analytical acumen to provide a level-headed and accessible account of the key tax challenges (and opportunities) that the continent faces – as well as suggesting ways ahead." - *Michael Keen, Deputy Director of the IMF's Fiscal Affairs Department*

"An accessible and comprehensive introduction to the historical, political and economic context of taxation in African countries. It will help launch any student or professional venturing into the field of tax systems in these developing and emerging economies." - *Graham Glenday, Duke Center for International Development, Duke University*

"This incisive book, by well-known tax and development experts, reveals the successes and failures, challenges and opportunities of taxation in Africa. Recommended reading for every finance and treasury official in Africa and beyond." - *Ngozi Okonjo Iweala, former Managing Director of the World Bank*