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Cover photo:
When we were one – Jay Naidoo, founding general secretary of Cosatu at the launch of the South African Trade Unions, 1985 – Africa Media Online

THE CEO NOTES

In celebration of the HSRC'S rebirth and rejuvenation

The HSRC building in the middle of the old Pretoria is 25 years old this month and has become a landmark of good maintenance in a fairly dilapidated area.

My first impression of the HSRC building in 2000 was that it looked like a prison with its narrow dark corridors and unprepossessing location in front of the police station, with homeless people sleeping under the overhang of the building. I was thinking, 'What on earth is this pink and green building doing here next to other high rise buildings?'

Buildings, like organisations, have histories and it's not only about the exterior, but the interior – what happens inside that building. In 2000 the building carried some of the legacies of the previous decades, and was symbolic of what was happening with old pre-democratic institutions.

Enter Dr Mark Orkin, former CEO, who was determined to reimagine the HSRC. He renovated the building by creating open spaces for interaction, adding glass doors for light and air, and fencing to keep it clean. It now boasts a gym and an upmarket cafeteria.

We are reaching 25 years with a transformed HSRC building that houses some of the best social scientists in the country, with a hub of social science research activity extending to more than 190 countries. The HSRC building has been transformed into a research hub that serves not only the nation, but the continent and is also a global player.

Starting in 2000, the HSRC has been turned around to provide a sound organisational basis for 'social science that makes a difference', by:

- re-organising the research components and expanding their coverage, by means of multidisciplinary (New Priority Areas (NPAs)) focused on national development challenges;

- recruiting top-level research managers to improve research quality, staff representivity, and the capacity to increase income from contracts and grants; and

- undertaking retrenchments primarily of researchers in early 2000, and restructuring the administration in mid-2001 to improve organisational competitiveness and efficiency.

The benefits have been appreciable. Research-based earnings have risen from R6 million to R16 million, helping, with savings, to turn an accumulated deficit into an appreciable surplus. Staff incentives and study bursaries could be restored, further researcher recruitment undertaken, and infrastructure installed, contributing to future sustainability.

When the new CEO took over in 2006, we built on this strategy and can report today that the HSRC has focused much of its work on national priorities to contribute to social development of South Africa on health, education, job creation, HIV/AIDS, democracy, service delivery and economic development. The organisation has trained research interns and post-docs, the majority from previously disadvantaged communities, adding research capacity in the country and equipping them with the skills to be employed in research organisations, government or universities.

We started curating our data sets to allow others to analyse them and produce new information. On the international front, we have agreements with research, university, funding agencies and governments in many countries.

In 2015 we will host the World Social Science Forum. The CEO was elected to lead the International Social Science Council during its period of reform and many members of the HSRC serve on international organisations at a global and regional level. We now host the UNAIDS Collaborative Center on HIV/AIDS prevention and policy and in recognition of our success, the government has increased the allocation from R62 million in 2001 to R206 million in 2012, an increase of R144 million, and our research income from external sources has increased from R22 million in 2001, to R143 million in 2011/12.

Shisana

Dr Olive Shisana

HSRC hosts **UNAIDS Collaborating Centre** on HIV Prevention and Policy

The Human Sciences Research Council and the United Nations Joint Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) have signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) for the HSRC to become a UNAIDS Collaborating Centre on HIV Prevention Research and Policy.

According to the MoU, the Centre will conduct research, training and policy development in the area of HIV prevention and policy.

'We are pleased that the HSRC's credibility in HIV research is recognised in this manner and that we are able to make a contribution to this global effort. This is indeed a great honour and opportunity for the HSRC and we look forward to this collaboration,' said HSRC CEO, Dr Olive Shisana.

The proposed area of global collaboration with the UNAIDS is around strategic information, especially HSRC's flagship population survey with the possibility of building in some 'Know Your Epidemic, Know Your Response' questions into the survey.

UNAIDS is monitoring incidence and behavioural risk and is interested in developing and strengthening this capacity within countries. The use of strategic information in developing regional policies as well as training in writing of policy briefs, and joint convening or co-sponsoring of a regional conference will also form part of the collaboration. At country level, HSRC will work with the UNAIDS Country Office in South Africa to improve monitoring, evaluation and reporting of the epidemic particularly at provincial level.

Signing the MoU, Professor Sheila Tlou, director of the Regional Support Team (RST) for eastern and southern Africa viewed the partnership as a unique opportunity for UNAIDS to strengthen strategic information on the epidemic so that we are able to realise our common vision of zero new HIV infections, zero AIDS-related death and zero discrimination.

The relationship will be managed by the regional support team for eastern and southern Africa.

Signing ceremony – HSRC CEO Dr Olive Shisana (left) and Prof. Sheila Tlou, director of the Regional Support Team (RST) for Eastern and Southern Africa, UNAIDS sign the MoU

View the speeches delivered by Shisana and Tlou at the signing ceremony on http://www.youtube.com/HumanSciencesRCSA

BRICS and the city: key lessons for economic prosperity and social integration

Professor Ivan Turok

Vital lessons from the BRICS nations for urbanisation considered at a high-level meeting hosted by the HSRC in Pretoria on 5 – 6 December 2012.

Leading experts from BRICS countries and the United Nations met with South African policy-makers and researchers to discuss the findings of a major study that compared the experience of urbanisation and development in the five BRICS – Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

The meeting considered the appropriate role for government in relation to the persistent movement of people from the countryside into the towns and cities. For example, should there be an effort to resist and slow down the process, remain broadly neutral, or actively support urbanisation?

The research shows how each of the BRICS nations has encountered difficulties as they have urbanised, especially when they have tried to hold back the tidal shift of population, or when they have inadvertently steered people or enterprises to economically or environmentally unfavourable locations.

The research also provided many positive examples of how to seize the opportunities

BRICS and urban development

that urbanisation can present to lift people out of poverty by strengthening national economies through concentration, proximity and efficient infrastructure.

- *China* highlighted the benefits of taking urbanisation seriously in national strategies for development. Its radical shift from anti-urban policies in the 1960s and 1970s to the aggressive pursuit of urban growth in selected areas demonstrated the dramatic impact of urbanisation on economic growth and poverty reduction. Planners have been slower to take into account the environmental damage caused by unrestrained industrialisation. About a third of urban dwellers also lacked permanent residence rights to the cities and their amenities.

- *Brazil* tried in vain for several decades to resist urbanisation. The result is that social inequalities endure in divided cities, and poor communities are still under-served despite sustained economic growth. Yet, in recent years Brazil's cities have pioneered important social innovations that are improving livelihoods and security. A new approach to regularising and upgrading informal settlements is creating assets for poor households and improvements in education, health and well-being.

- *Russia* showed the importance of how and where urbanisation happens. The demise of the Soviet Union left Russia with poorly located cities that struggle to compete in the global economy, with half of them based on a single industry or employer. The government faces tough decisions about whether to manage their decline and concentrate investment on the obvious potential of Moscow's dynamism, or to radically restructure the industries and infrastructure of the lagging cities.

- *India* has not yet come to terms with its urbanisation. This ambivalence threatened its economic success, particularly for poor people who found it increasingly difficult to secure a place in the cities. But India was at the earliest stage of its urban transition, and could learn from the other BRICS' experiences. Urban development could help to alleviate rural poverty if more was done to accommodate migrants in thriving cities.

- *South Africa's* apartheid policy suppressed urbanisation for the black majority and forced them to live in dormitory settlements and labour reserves on the periphery. Nearly 20 years on, the cities remain starkly fragmented and polarised. Historical and cultural sensitivities complicate efforts to formulate an urbanisation policy. Yet national prosperity and cohesion depend on a more efficient and integrated approach to planning and managing urban development. Increased investment in urban land and infrastructure could unlock economic opportunities and improve the life chances of poor communities.

Concluded Turok: 'Most of the BRICS still bear heavy burdens from past failures to absorb urban growth pressures effectively. Their histories highlight the need for planning ahead rather than reacting after the event to proliferating shack settlements. Overcrowded and badly located informal areas have damaging social and environmental effects and reduce the functionality of their cities'.

The synthesis report and briefing papers are available on request from iturok@hsrc.ac.za

Eskom shifts goalposts in electricity pricing
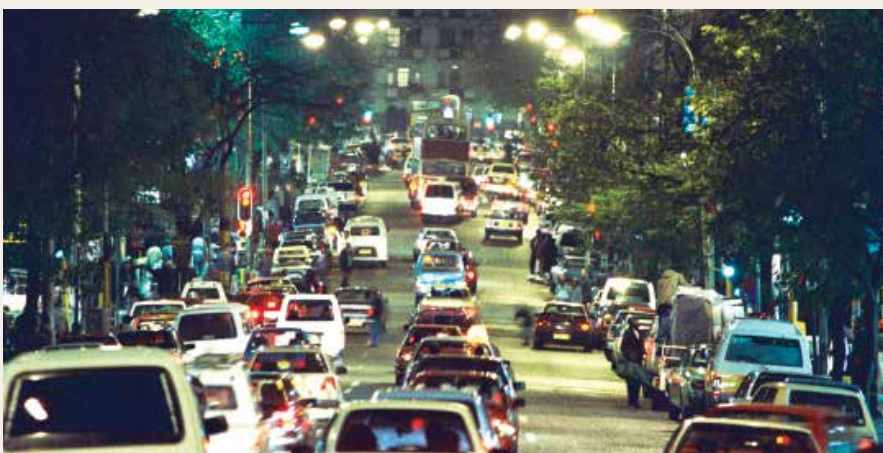
©Guy Stubbs

Eskom has proposed price increases in its application to the multi-year price determination (MYPD3) process that would raise the real electricity price by three to four times over the decade from 2008 – 2018. Dr Miriam Altman, prominent economist and distinguished research fellow at the HSRC, has submitted a response to that application, voicing her concern that in each application since 2008, Eskom has shifted the goalposts.

'The electricity price needs to become more cost-reflective to enable future investment.

Yet, the costs represented in its current application far exceed those in its last application,' Altman says.

The report argues that Eskom could achieve its financial goals, albeit over an extended period. Altman proposes that a target price for 2018 be set based on Eskom's last application, and that an approach be found to ensure this does not undermine Eskom. This would result in a nominal increase of 10% to 12% pa, instead of the 16%-20% per annum proposed by Eskom.

Altman is also concerned that municipalities have escalated their prices well above those proposed by NERSA, often at double the rate given to Eskom. 'This especially affects small and medium-sized firms. While there are policies to buffer the poor with free basic electricity and reduced rates, this report finds that many municipalities were not doing so. Continued uncertainty in energy policy and pricing could dramatically reduce potential growth and job creation.'

She said that while industry must adjust to a new energy saving reality, it is unlikely that

they can achieve the sort of savings needed to maintain their cost competitiveness over this short period. The pace of achieving financial sustainability in Eskom must be weighed against the competitiveness of the South African economy given its reliance on metals and minerals, which provide half of all exports and many jobs directly and in industries that depend on them.

Download and read Altman's response and supporting documents on http://www.hsrc.ac.za/Media_Release-446.phtml

New guidelines for counselling and testing children for HIV

A new set of guidelines and training tools dealing with the legal, ethical and counselling issues related to HIV testing of children is now available for HIV/AIDS practitioners working with children.

Dr Heidi van Rooyen, project team leader and research director at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), explains: 'These guidelines explore in simple and practical terms the psychosocial implications as well as the legal and policy obligations relating to HIV counselling and testing of children.

'The tools describe what practitioners can do to ensure that HIV testing of children takes place in a way that protects and promotes their rights and is conducted in their best interests.'

HIV Counselling and Testing (HCT) is the most important entry point for HIV-related treatment, care, support and prevention.

A significant number of children in South Africa live with HIV. According to figures provided by the Department of Health, an estimated 32 940 children under 15 years of age were living with HIV and AIDS but were not on treatment. These facts highlight that every effort must be made to facilitate HIV testing in this population within the framework of applicable legislation and policy. Once tested, children can be placed on treatment, and linked to care and support.

The HSRC, through the SA National AIDS Council (SANAC), was commissioned to provide technical support to the Department of Health to ensure implementation of the goals for voluntary counselling and testing (VCT) as set out in the 2006-2011 National Strategic Plan on HIV, STIs and TB (NSP). The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation provided the funding for this initiative.

Through an extensive consultative process with key staff from the Department of Health, the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), civil society, non-governmental organisations, academics, policy makers and practitioners working with children more generally and in HIV/AIDS specifically, the HSRC led the development of a series of implementation guidelines and training tools, dealing with the legal, ethical and counselling issues related to HIV testing of children.

This package of tools includes a trainers' manual, participants' manual, legal guidelines for implementers, and counselling and testing implementation guidelines. A CD containing all these resources is also being made available.

The tool kit is available on www.hsrc.ac.za. For hard copies, contact nmaharaj@hsrc.ac.za

Legal, ethical and counselling issues related to HIV testing of children

HIV counselling and testing of children: Implementation guidelines

Legal, ethical and counselling issues related to HIV testing of children

HIV testing of children: Legal guidelines for implementers
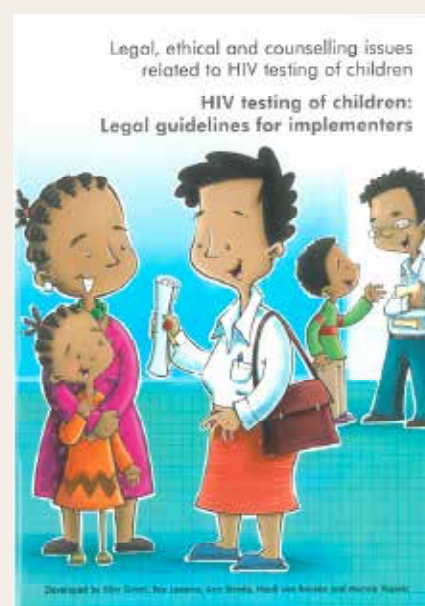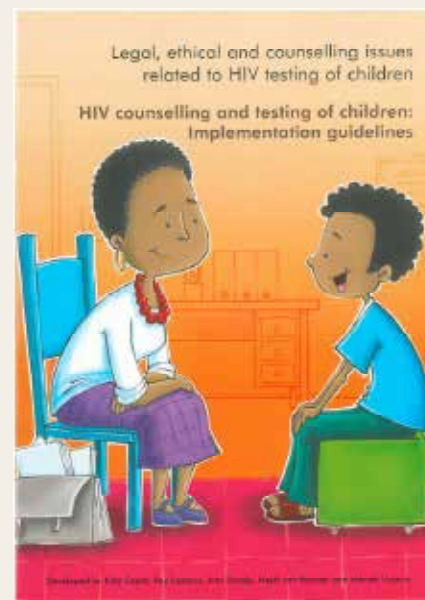
TIMMS 2011 in a nutshell

Mathematics and science levels improve, but still low

The results of an independent international assessment study of the mathematics and science knowledge of grade 9 learners, released by the HSRC on 11 December 2012, showed some improvement for the first time since 1995 in the national average mathematics score of grade 9 learners in public schools.

This finding forms part of the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). In 2011 TIMSS was conducted in 45 countries. Of these, 42 countries participated at the grade 8 level, and three countries, namely Botswana, South Africa and Honduras, participated at the grade 9 level. These three countries were at the lowest level in both mathematics and science.

Key findings of TIMSS 2010, South Africa

- The best performing South African learners approached the average performance of the top performing countries of Singapore, Chinese Taipei, the Republic of Korea, Japan, Finland, Slovenia and the Russian Federation.

- When it comes to the quantity and quality of performance at the top level, South Africa is not globally competitive. On average all independent, former House of Assembly and Quintile* five schools performed below the middle score of 500 (also called 'centre point'), with 24% of learners scoring above 400 points.

- A total of 256 public schools and 27 independent schools and 12 000 grade 9 learners participated in the study. Comparison with TIMSS 1995, 1999 and 2002 shows that the national average score remained static over the years 1995, 1999 and 2002, but improved in both mathematics and science from 2002 to 2011. This improvement is equivalent to

raising the standard by one and half (1.5) grade levels.

- The distribution range of the scores between the highest and the lowest decreased between 2002 and 2011, which reflects the wide disparities in society and schools and with scores of learners at the lowest end showing an increase.

- The three top performing provinces in both mathematics and science were the Western Cape, Gauteng and Northern Cape and the three lowest performers were KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo and the Eastern Cape.

- The greatest improvement was among learners who can be described as 'the most disadvantaged', coinciding with learners and schools that received the highest number of interventions aimed at improving the quality of education, from both public and private sector providers. The results suggest the value of the continued investment in low-income households and in less-resourced schools.

- The South African curriculum compared favourably with international curricula. The Revised National Curriculum Statements that guided instruction and learning of mathematics and science at schools during 2002 and 2011 covered more than 90% of the TIMSS assessment framework on which the learners were tested.

- There is growing evidence that the school environment plays an important part in learners' performance. The self-reported data indicates that 41% of learners attended schools where the principals rated the school discipline and safety as a 'moderate' problem, while 21% of learners attended schools where their mathematic teachers rated the schools as 'safe' in comparison with the international standard of 45%.

- The study found that globally there is evidence that bullying in schools is on the

rise. This has a negative impact on learners' educational achievement. In South Africa, 75% of learners indicated that they had experienced some form of bullying, which is far above the international average of 41%.

All South African public ordinary schools are categorised into five groups, called quintiles. The grouping is according to the poverty of the surrounding community. Quintile one is the poorest quintile, and Quintile five the most affluent.

No laughing matter – Dr Vijay Reddy, the principal investigator of TIMSS 2011 South Africa announcing the results

Attentive listening – Deputy Minister Enver Surtay and Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga, at the announcement of TIMSS 2011, South Africa

RELATIONSHIPS DRIVE SUCCESS
in the land redistribution process

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The land redistribution process remains one of South Africa's key socio-economic processes aimed at economic transformation.

Research conducted in northern KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) municipal districts regarding land redistribution cases involving sugarcane farms, indicated that when stakeholders in redistribution cases were party to some medium- to long-term agreements or relationships, and cooperated within some legally binding framework, the redistribution process resulted in relatively greater levels of success, writes *Nhlanhla Mbatha*.

Land redistribution and the Act

Current remedial land policies and programmes historically owe their significance to the Native Land Act (27) of 1913, which created some of the country's most striking forms of inequality. For example, because of the Act, 87% of the country's land resources were owned by white South Africans, who constituted only 20% of the total population by 1994.

This means that the land redistribution process remains one of South Africa's key socio-economic processes aimed at economic transformation. Nevertheless, it has now been widely acknowledged that current policies and their implementation processes are struggling to achieve their own objectives within projected timeframes.

These struggles are documented in popular and scientific media in different locations

of the country and for different economic sectors. While formal policy targeted the year 2014 as the time by which 30% of land resources would have been transferred to black South Africans, very few transfers have taken place, while the 2014 target remains far out of sight. Of the transfer projects that have taken place, more than 50% have failed to transfer the envisioned benefits to new land recipients.

>> RELATIONSHIPS DRIVE SUCCESS in the land redistribution process (continued)

> Once the benefits are spelled out explicitly and in legally binding contracts [are concluded], previous owners of land do recognise the business benefits they stand to gain through cooperation with interested parties.

In earlier research a study by Mbatha et al. (2010) reported that in many land-redistribution projects the state had lost most of its buyer's bargaining power mainly because of the long drawn out nature of the transfer processes and flawed land valuation processes. The high transaction costs were borne by government agencies and other stakeholders, including new land recipients.

How stakeholder relationships benefit the process

In this recent study, conducted in northern KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) municipal districts regarding land redistribution cases involving sugarcane farms, there is further evidence indicating that in selected redistribution cases of sugarcane farms in the same KZN districts, lower price premiums were paid by state agencies in cases where long-term relationships among stakeholders were in place.

The relationships were formed between previous land owners, redistribution beneficiaries and government agencies. In cases where relationships were not in place and new owners were left without mentoring support from previous owners especially, state agencies paid higher prices to acquire the land and the transfers were less successful, particularly in terms of declining production levels. The productivity rates began declining during the periods of land valuations and transfers and the decline continued well after new owners had taken over the farms.

The study found that between 2002 and 2006, 32 sugarcane farms were redistributed in iLembe and uThungulu districts. In both districts government paid on average a premium of 40%[1] above market value for a single farm.

The opposite was found in seven cases of land transfers where some binding contract was in place between government agencies and previous owners[2] to support land beneficiaries with regard to the production of cane and its marketing. These farms cost the state on average 4% less than the average market value. A saving of around R550 000 was made by the state per case.

On farms where no agreements were in force and that were relatively more expensive, productivity rates declined by more than 12% after takeover. In some instances the declines were close to 70%. On cheaper farms the average productivity rates, during and after the takeover periods, increased by more than 10% compared to levels three years prior to the actual takeover.

The two contrasting pictures present a message of hope for the future of the land redistribution process. From a game theoretical perspective long-term cooperation among stakeholders is expected to improve collective benefits. This is a case also argued by political economist Elinor Ostrom in the management and use of natural resources. The cooperation does not happen in a vacuum or by chance but through legally binding contracts, especially where trust levels among stakeholders are low.

The willingness of players to be party to such agreements also relies on expected future benefits. Often these are the economic incentives. For government agencies and taxpayers the benefits are clear in terms of lower-than-market prices paid to acquire land for redistribution purposes. High productivity rates by land beneficiaries also mean higher potential profits.

The economic benefits to previous land owners in agreements where their responsibilities include mentoring newcomers are not so readily recognisable. This is true especially in times of social tension, which to a degree still characterises South Africa's political landscape with regard to land reform. But once the benefits are spelled out explicitly and legally binding contracts are concluded with government agencies, previous owners of land do recognise the business benefits they stand to gain through cooperation with interested parties.

A recommendation for policy making and state agencies is a simple one, namely to approach the land redistribution process from a cooperative framework of medium- to long-term binding contracts among players. The agreements should be clear on legal responsibilities and economic rewards for all parties involved, and they must be forward looking. This means that the length of such collective contracts would take on board sound mechanisms and length of time that would be required to transfer production and marketing skills to new owners. The specifics would obviously differ for different crops and be adaptable to different geographical and social contexts.

Author: Dr Nhlanhla Mbatha, chief research manager, Education and Skills Development, HSRC

> In cases where relationships were not in place and new owners were left without mentoring support from previous owners the transfers were less successful.

1   *44,0% and 37,9% in iLembe and uThungulu respectively. This translated into around R700 000 per farm transfer*

2   *These were mostly major milling companies, some listed on the stock exchange*

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THE STATE OF THE UNION?
Attitudes to South African trade unions

The South African organised labour movement is one of the most powerful and disciplined on the African continent. One of the central actors of the democratic struggle, South African trade unions, continue to play a key role in the post-apartheid period. *Steven Gordon, Benjamin Roberts* and *Jarè Struwig* examine attitudes to trade unions, investigating how much confidence South Africans have in this important element of our civil society.

Trade unions in South Africa, many established during the political struggle for democracy, have long claimed to represent the entire working class and not just their own members. The organised labour movement, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) in particular, has participated in a number of campaigns that challenge the government over issues including economic inequality, inadequate social welfare and food and energy prices.

The labour movement has become one of the most important civil society institutions in post-apartheid South Africa, with the largest modern trade unions - Cosatu, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and the Federation of Unions of South Africa (Fedusa) - representing millions of workers across the country. In our democracy, the voice of trade-union federations can be loud, and when it comes to the political arena even louder than that

of political opposition parties. It is therefore essential that we monitor and understand the dynamics of trust in the nation's trade unions.

Events in the past year have led political commentators to ask whether trust in South African trade unions is dwindling, signalling a decline of the traditional post-apartheid trade-union movement. During illegal strikes in the mining sector last year, many workers

>> THE STATE OF THE UNION? Attitudes to South African trade unions (continued)

voiced dissatisfaction with their trade union leaders, accusing them of being too close to management and too willing to compromise on workers' demands. Recent violent strike action by farm workers in the Western Cape was also seen to bypass trade union structures.

Data

In order to measure whether there has been a decline in public confidence in trade unions, attitudinal data from the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) was analysed for the period 2011 to 2012. Nationally representative samples (3 057 in 2011, 2 520 in 2012) of the nation's adult population were surveyed in November/December of each year. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they trusted or distrusted 13 of the nation's institutions, including national and local government, churches or religious organisations, the national broadcaster (South African Broadcasting Corporation) and trade unions.

In trade unions we distrust?

Levels of trust in South African trade unions must be placed in context with other key institutions. Figure 1 shows trust in seven key institutions between 2011 and 2012. The majority of our adult population expressed great confidence in religious institutions

(such as churches), which is a typical pattern found across sub-Saharan Africa, but a lower level of trust in other institutions including traditional leaders, local government, politicians and trade unions.

Between 2011 and 2012, public confidence in certain key institutions declined slightly, with trust in national government dropping from 51% to 46%, for instance. Trade unions, however, stood out among the other institutions, showing a far more significant fall in confidence. In 2011 43% of South Africans indicated that they trusted trade unions, falling to 29% in 2012, with 40% reporting that they distrusted trade unions and 31% remaining neutral.

Race, class associations and trust in trade unions

The ideological foundation of the South African trade union movement is an adherence to non-racialism and a commitment to defending the interests of the entire working class. The reality, however, is that racial differences exist when analysing trust in South African trade unions.

Figure 2 reveals that distrust is significantly lower among black Africans than among the coloured, Indian or white population groups. At the same time, the results of SASAS 2012 show that distrust of trade unions has grown from 21% to 35% among black Africans and to 53% among the coloured population.
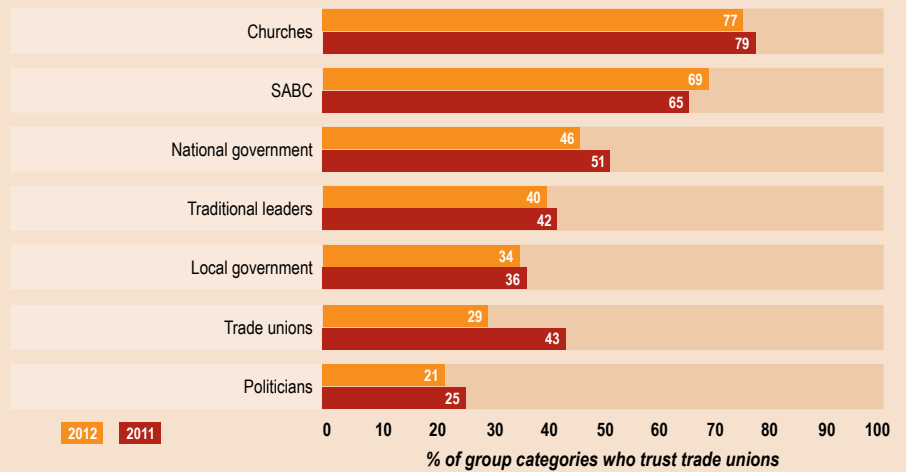
> The voice of trade-union federations can be loud, and when it comes to the political arena even louder than that of political opposition parties. It is therefore essential that we monitor and understand the dynamics of trust in the nation's trade unions.

Figure 1: Public trust in select South African institutions

Institution	2012	2011
Churches	77	79
SABC	69	65
National government	46	51
Traditional leaders	40	42
Local government	34	36
Trade unions	29	43
Politicians	21	25

% of group categories who trust trade unions

Figure 2: Public distrust in trade unions by race group and subjective class position

Race group

Group	2012	2011
Black/African	35	21
Coloured	53	37
Indian or Asian	41	41
White	60	50

Class group

Group	2012	2011
Lower	40	22
Working	37	21
Middle	44	33
Upper	37	35
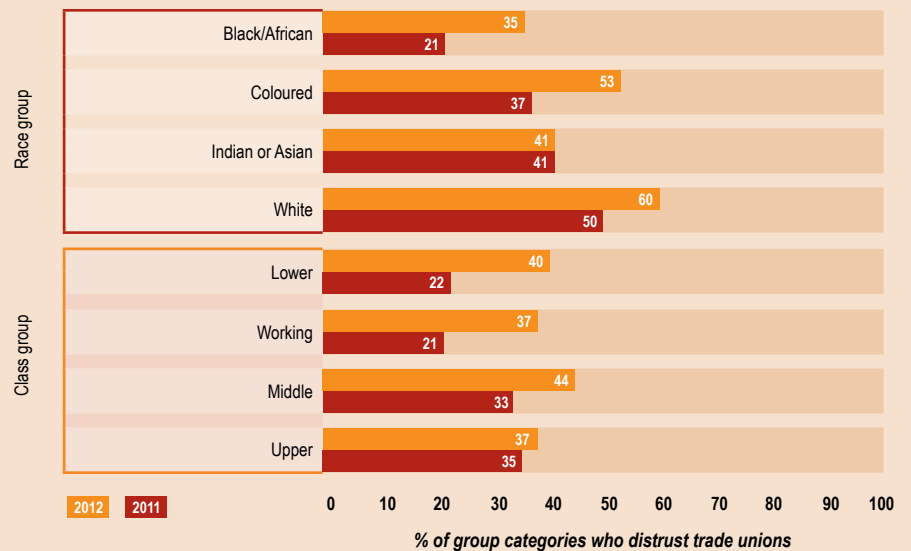
% of group categories who distrust trade unions

Trust in trade unions has declined overall, also among those groups historically most supportive of the nation's organised labour movement.

Figure 3: Public confidence in trade unions by age and work status

% of group categories who trust trade unions
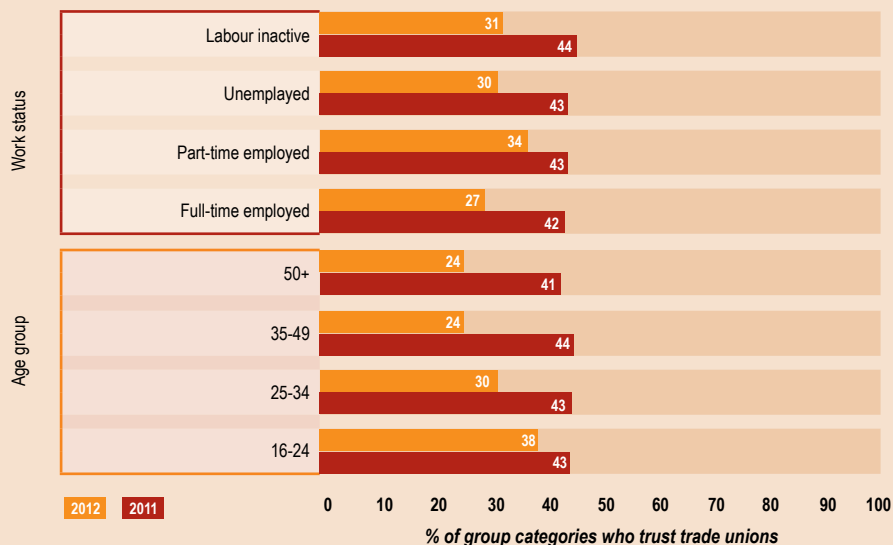
Racial disparities noted above may reflect socio-economic divides in a nation where race and class associations converge. In the SASAS 2011 and 2012 rounds respondents were asked whether they identified themselves with the lower, the working, the middle, or the upper class. Previous SASAS studies have found that such subjective class scales largely align with other indicators of economic status, such as income and education. Worryingly, there are clear indications that distrust among the lower class has expanded significantly, from 22% in 2011 to 40% in 2012, as well as among the working class, with distrust increasing from 21% in 2011 to 37% in 2012.

The young and the restless

Young workers are more likely to be in informal, contract and part-time employment and therefore outside of traditional trade union structures. Despite this trend, our results reveal that the youth are not less trusting of the trade union movement than other South Africans.

Those aged 16-24 years, in fact, displayed slightly more trust on average than those who were 50 years and older. In addition, although the trade union movement may have failed

to bring significant numbers of contract and part-time workers inside union organisations, these groups compared favourably with full-time workers in terms of trust.

Confidence in trade unions among the unemployed was also not appreciably lower when compared to full-time workers. All groups experienced a decline in trust between 2011 and 2012, particularly older South Africans and those in full-time employment.

Conclusion

The results of our analysis clearly show that trust in trade unions has declined overall, also among those groups historically most supportive of the nation's organised labour movement - full-time workers, the working and lower classes, and black and coloured South Africans. Given that building a working class consciousness was one of the central themes of the South African trade union movement, the growth of active distrust among these groups should be a cause of deep concern for the labour movement.

Do our results reflect a temporary loss of faith or a more long-term decline? What

drives the waning of public confidence in post-apartheid trade unions? These questions are important and need to be addressed.

The findings presented in this article show that trade unions need to intensify their engagement with working class communities in order to build greater levels of public confidence. Without such confidence it is unlikely that the organised labour movement will be able to achieve its mandate of working class prosperity and greater economic equality.

Authors: Steven Gordon, PhD intern, Democracy, Governance & Service Delivery programme, HSRC; Benjamin Roberts and Jarè Struwig, coordinators of the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS), HSRC.

Figure 1: Public trust in select South African institutions. Source: South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) 2011, 2012

Figure 2: Public distrust in trade unions by race group and subjective class position. Source: South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) 2011, 2012

Figure 3: Public confidence in trade unions by age and work status. Source: South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) 2011, 2012

Trade unions need to intensify their engagement with working class communities in order to build greater levels of public confidence.

THE NATION states...

With an ambitious set of priorities planned by national government ahead of the 2014 general election, *Benjamin Roberts, Jarè Struwig* and *Steven Gordon* have pulled together key headline findings from the November-December 2012 round of the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS), giving a broad picture of the most important issues that preoccupy the nation.

SASAS is a nationally representative survey of the adult population (16 years and older), conducted by the HSRC on an annual basis since 2003. The survey series allows researchers to capture the opinions of the people on key social and economic issues in democratic South Africa. The highlighted results showcased here will cover several important topics that are likely to be discussed in the addresses.

National priorities

- Unemployment continues to rank as the most important challenge facing the country, mentioned by 76% of all adult South Africans (figure 1).

- The second most cited challenge is crime and safety, identified by nearly half (48%) of the population.

- Other top priorities mentioned by the public were poverty (33%), HIV/AIDS (31%) and corruption (28%).

Pride and prejudice

- 88% of South Africans feel that they would rather be a citizen of South Africa than any other country, with 73% stating that South Africa is generally a better country than most others.

- Although 68% believe that race relations have improved since 1994, 41% feel that they are sometimes or frequently personally racially discriminated against and 56% believe that people of different race groups will never really trust or like each other.

Economic satisfaction

- Evaluations of the current state of the economy are not especially favourable. Only 30% of the adult public reported that they were satisfied with the current economic situation in South Africa, 17% reported a neutral response and 51% expressed dissatisfaction.

- Considering the performance of the economy in recent years, it is interesting to note that 42% of the public indicated that life had improved for people like them in the last five years. 32% reported that life had stayed the same while 25% reported that life had become worse.

Future outlook

- Many South Africans remain positive about their future. Almost half (47%) of the population thought that life would improve for people like them in the next five years. Only 26% felt that life would become worse and 21% stated that life would remain the same.

- Young South Africans (aged 16-19 years) appear especially optimistic relative to older generations, with 66% believing that life will improve for them in coming years (Figure 2). While this is encouraging, it also places a responsibility on the state to ensure that the aspirations of the youth are effectively realised as they make the transition into adulthood.

- More disconcerting is the fact that 57% of the country believes that, generally speaking, things in the country are going in the wrong direction, with 37% believing that the country is heading in the right direction.

Poverty and inequality

- Highlighting the severity of poverty in our nation, 28% of adult South Africans consider themselves as "poor" or "very poor". In addition, 26% stated that the amount of food their household had over the past month was less than adequate for their needs, with 23% reporting that the clothing the household possessed was inadequate for their needs.

- In relation to household service delivery, 32% of the adult public indicated that their household's access to housing was not adequate for their needs. A quarter thought that their household's access to healthcare was inadequate and 28% reported that their household's access to transport was inadequate.

- Given the importance of education to previous national budgets in South Africa,

Figure 1: Top ranked national priorities (2012).
Source: HSRC South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) 2012
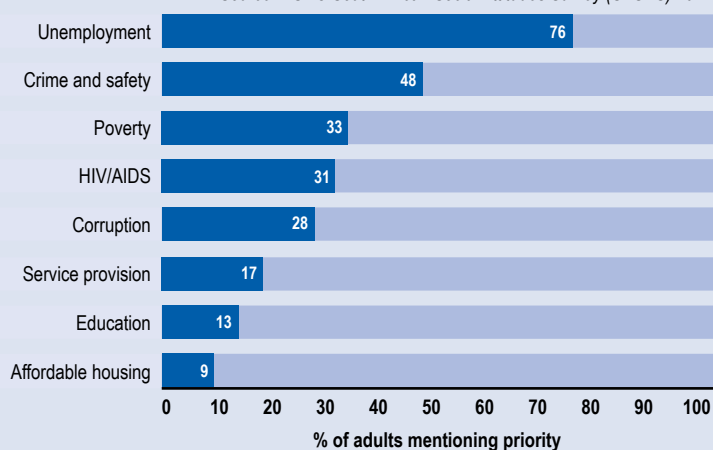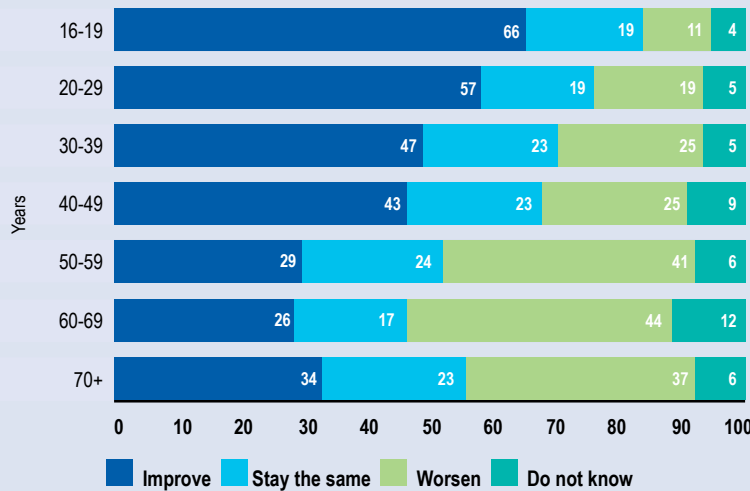
Priority	%
Unemployment	76
Crime and safety	48
Poverty	33
HIV/AIDS	31
Corruption	28
Service provision	17
Education	13
Affordable housing	9

% of adults mentioning priority

Figure 2: Expected life improvements in next five years by age group (2012)
Source: HSRC South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) 2012

of the adult population expressed the view that school-leavers are not as well qualified when compared with a decade ago while 42% thought that school-leavers were better qualified today.

Crime and punishment

- 51% believe that crime has increased in their neighbourhood in the last year, with 29% saying it has increased substantially.

- 72% would feel unsafe if they had to walk alone in their area after dark, and 32% feel afraid of walking alone in their place of residence in the day time.

- There is a strong preference for sterner sentencing for criminals. 75% believe that people who break the law should be given much harsher sentences than is presently the case, while 76% of South Africans believe court sentences are too light in cases of rape.

The fight against corruption

- South Africans are very concerned about corruption in the country. 95% of the population agreed that corruption is a major national problem.

- There seem to be grave concerns about the manner in which the South African government is combating corruption; only one in ten South Africans were satisfied with the way the government is handling the fight against corruption in their area.

- The public seems particularly intolerant of corruption among the political elite. 90% of the nation agreed that politicians found guilty of bribery or corruption should resign from public office immediately.

Authors: Benjamin Roberts and Jarè Struwig, coordinators of the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS); Steven Gordon, PhD intern, Democracy, Governance & Service Delivery programme, HSRC.

it is pleasing to note that 80% of South Africans with school-going children in their households believed that their access to schooling was either adequate or more than adequate for their needs.

- The overwhelming majority of South Africans (91%) are concerned that income differences in our nation are too high.

Support for state intervention

- There seems to be significant support for the government to take an active role in reducing inequality. Two-thirds of all adult South Africans believed that it is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes.

- Even greater backing was found for active state support of the poor and disenfranchised with 81% of the nation believing that the government should provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed.

- 60% of South African adults support race-based affirmative action in the workplace.

- Support for pro-poor social benefits was considerable. 72% of the adult population was satisfied with government's handling of social grants in their area. 58% disagreed that government should spend less on benefits for the poor.

- Most South Africans are dissatisfied with the way that local governments are handling efforts to create jobs.

Only 7% of the country was satisfied with government job creation in their neighbourhood with 84% expressing dissatisfaction.

- There is majority support for the redistribution of land in the country, with 64% of the adult population agreeing that the government should pursue this form of redress. However, only 23% expressed satisfaction with the way the government was handling land reform.

The value of education

- In general South Africans are satisfied with the way that the government is handling education in their place of residence. 61% of all adult South Africans registered satisfaction with the government's management of education and only 27% indicated that they were dissatisfied with the state's performance. This does nonetheless represent a 10% drop in satisfaction over the last two years.

- Secondary education seems to earn a vote of confidence from most South Africans. Three-fifths of the public believed that public secondary schools in South Africa currently prepare young people for work. Three-quarters stated that secondary schools perform well in teaching young people basic skills such as reading, writing and maths.

- South Africans seem divided on the quality of present-day education in the country, with some feeling that it may have declined since the early post-apartheid period. 39%

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS
of science and technology

In the international context, South Africa has a unique 'fingerprint' of public attitudes towards science, characterised by a complex and shifting balance between positive and negative attitudes towards different aspects of science. Reporting on the results of a module of questionnaire items on the public understanding of science and technology, included in the HSRC's 2010 South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS), *Andrea Juan* concludes that demographics, age and educational attainment strongly impact on attitudes towards science.

South Africans display a complex and shifting balance between positive and negative attitudes towards different aspects of science.

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Research on science communication and public engagement with science is well-developed internationally. Countries like the USA, India, China and many European countries have employed dedicated science surveys on a regular basis to assess these issues. Similar research is rather limited in South Africa.

The South African government has made a concerted effort to promote science and technology in the public domain. It is important from both an academic and policy point of view to examine the attitudes of the South African public towards science and technology. On this basis a special module was developed for the 2010 South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS), conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council. An index of seven items that measured positive (scientific promise) and negative attitudes (scientific reservation) was included in this module. This was the most recent nationally representative and internationally comparable survey.

From the available data we were able to: determine the general attitudes of South Africans to science and technology; look at how these attitudes have changed since 1999 (using data from the 1999 Evaluation of Public Opinion Survey); and compare the attitudes of South Africans to those of other countries.

What are South African attitudes to science and technology?

South Africans express rather ambivalent attitudes towards science (Figure 1). For example, 81% felt that science and technology makes their lives easier, healthier and more comfortable; while 73% felt that

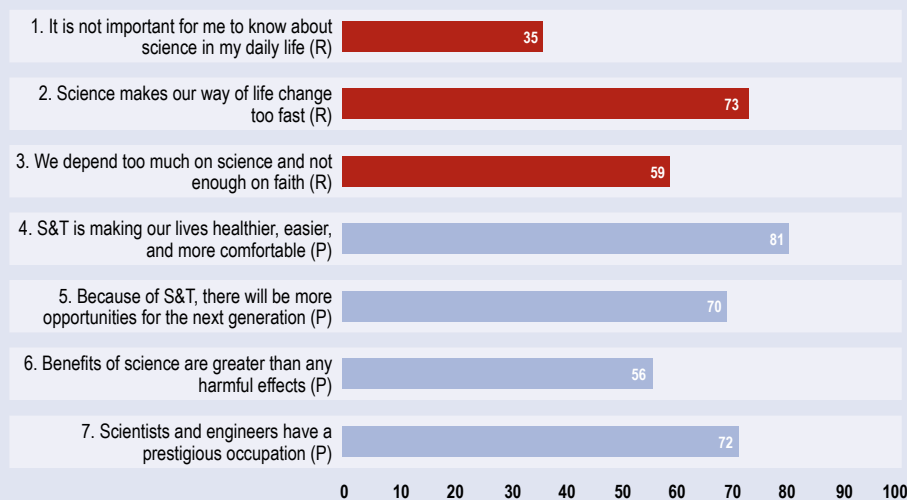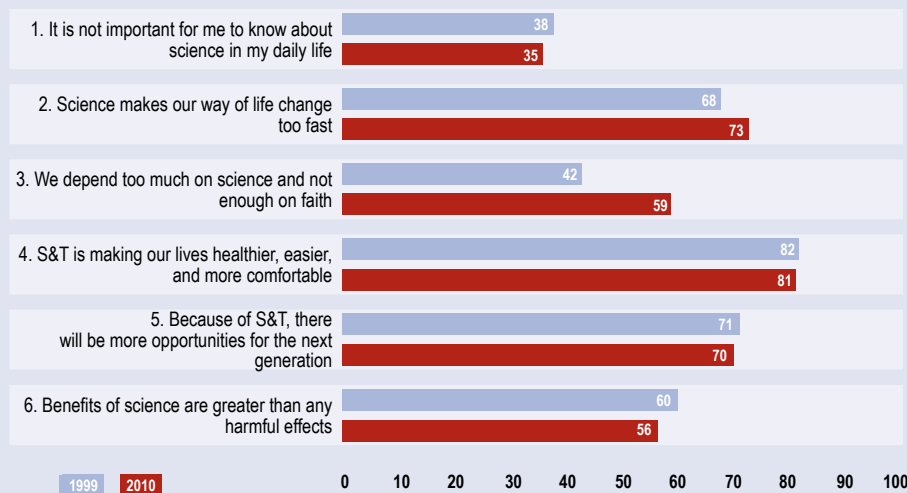**Figure 1: Scores on promise and reservation items**
Source: Reddy et al. (2013)

Figure 2: Change in attitudes from 1999 to 2010
Source: Reddy et al. (2013)

everyday life. At the same time there are larger increases to the other two 'reservation' items (questions 2 and 3). This has resulted in an increase in the average reservation scores from 49 in 1999 to 56 in 2010. The statement 'science makes our way of life change too fast' recorded an increase of five percentage points, suggesting that coping with scientific and technological change has become increasingly difficult for the average South African.

Where do South African attitudes on S&T fit onto the global canvas?

We compared South African attitudes towards science to attitudes in Europe, the United States of America and India. The findings show that South African attitudes were closer to European attitudes on four items ('not important for me to know about science in my daily life'; 'S&T is making our lives healthier, easier, and more comfortable'; 'because of S&T, there will be more opportunities for the next generation'; and 'benefits of science are greater than any harmful effects'); closer to India on two items ('science makes our way of life change too fast'; and 'S&T is making our lives healthier, easier, and more comfortable') and similar to US on one item ('we depend too much on science and not enough on faith').

This points to the unique 'fingerprint' of public attitudes towards science that South Africans have, characterised by a complex and shifting balance between positive and negative attitudes towards different aspects of science.

This article represents a start to survey research in the area of the South African public and its relationship to science and we would like to develop a dedicated instrument, to be administered periodically, to track the attitudes of the public to science.

Author: Andrea Juan, PhD intern, Education and Skills Development research programme, HSRC.

science is making their way of life change too fast. We found that younger and more educated South Africans have stronger positive attitudes towards science, while the older and less educated have weaker positive attitudes.

Participants who had reservations about science and technology were unevenly distributed. Neither age nor educational attainment had a clear relationship with reservation attitudes towards science. These findings highlight that South Africa's highly stratified society includes many 'publics' with different sets of attitudes towards science and South Africa has a unique fingerprint of attitudes to science.

How have these attitudes changed over time?

The general attitudes to science have changed significantly from 1999 to 2010 and revealed some interesting patterns. There was a slight weakening of promise attitudes and strengthening of reservation ones over this period. The three 'promise' items that included both 1999 and 2010 data (questions 4-6) showed a decrease. This is reflected in a drop in the average promise scores from 73 in 1999 to 70 in 2010.

The first 'reservation' item (question 1) shows a small decline (5%), indicating that South Africans are more likely to think that some science knowledge is important in

Where 'whole language' literacy and 'communicative' language **TEACHING FAIL**

Research data of learners in 'less' developed countries indicate that few students meet desired outcomes when the whole language and communicative approaches dominate. The data also shows that it is necessary to reconfigure how teaching happens in countries where English is not the most widely spoken language, *Kathleen Heugh* **argued at an HSRC seminar.**

Whole language **is a method of teaching reading and writing that emphasises learning whole words and phrases by encountering them in meaningful contexts rather than by phonics exercises.**

Phonics **is a method of teaching reading by correlating sounds with symbols in an alphabetic writing system.**

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Whole language versus phonics

For the last 20-30 years, the 'communicative' approach to language teaching and the 'whole language' approach to literacy have dominated the educational curricula of the UK, USA and Australia., abandoning the earlier phonics approach to the teaching of reading and writing because it was regarded as outdated and restricted critical thinking and creativity.

The industry of English as a second language (ESL) was driven by powerful universities in these countries, as well as the British Council, and so the theory and implementation of ESL in classroom practices emerged from countries where English is the most widely used language. ESL learners in these countries were in the minority, but living in an environment in which English is used for almost every socio-economic purpose.

Where established methodologies fail

What the ESL scholars and literacy specialists did not sufficiently understand was that theory and methodologies developed in English-dominant societies might not translate successfully to developing countries where English is not the home language of the majority of citizens.

Such approaches might also not meet the demands of the rapidly changing contexts of Europe and North America as armed conflict and political upheaval in the global south and Middle East resulted in the escalation of migration to the global north over the last 20 years.

More recent research in cognitive neuroscience suggests that poor children, whether in the global south or north, are unlikely to develop strong reading and writing

literacy or strong second language learning skills within constructivist, outcomes-based curricula. Constructivist theory is based on how the human mind constructs knowledge when it comes into contact with existing knowledge and experience. Since whole language literacy and communicative language teaching inform and underpin contemporary constructivist syllabuses, there is a need to scrutinise these approaches.

HSRC studies on the language and mathematics achievement of Grade 8 students in the Western Cape, an evaluation of literacy in the primary schools of Limpopo, and various studies in Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Eritrea, Zambia and Malawi, indicate that neither approach has success in the south.

More recently, the data from comparatively well-resourced Australia also indicate that

these approaches are not successful among working class urban school communities and even less so with remote Indigenous Australian communities, with 25% of all students failing to meet minimum reading levels in primary school.

The gap between the achievement of Indigenous Australian children obliged to learn to read and write in (standard Australian) English, and those from predominantly English-speaking communities, is enormous. Only 8.6% of grade 5 Indigenous students, compared with 94% of non-Indigenous students in very remote Australia, met minimum reading standards in the 2012 national literacy assessment, despite significant funding directed towards this objective.

How is this possible? The first reason, identified by several authors, is that educational change, whether curriculum or pedagogical or both, is seldom followed through with the kind of carefully time-framed and detailed implementation stages which an education system requires. Then, the kind of expertise required to support teachers, schools and district authorities to effect change is usually underestimated. Provincial, regional and district officials almost never have the kind of expertise to support meaningful school change.

The second reason is that while communicative language teaching is often identified in curriculum documentation, hardly anyone in the system understands what it entails, or how it ought to be used by teachers in the classroom. Instead, the approach is misunderstood to mean that the focus of language teaching is on spoken competence rather than on reading and writing. This misunderstanding releases teachers from the obligation to ensure daily extended and meaningful reading and writing tasks, and makes large-class teaching more manageable.

The third reason is that whole language literacy was conceived of in a setting where children come from well-resourced, English-speaking societies, where parents regularly read stories to their children and homes are well-stocked with books and other printed materials. It is assumed that children will attend early-childcare/pre-school classes, where early, pre-reading skills will be further developed in the home language of most students.

The approach was never developed in contexts where students come from poor homes with limited literacy practices and which are linguistically diverse, such as in most of the countries of the global south.

Whole language literacy makes no allowances for children from homes with limited literary practices.

Emily Visser©

If it has not been successful in Australia among Indigenous communities, despite the considerable resources directed towards it, the chances of its success in South Asia, South-East Asia and Africa are slim. Whole language literacy makes no allowances for children from homes with limited literary practices.

The chances are slimmer still where teachers do not understand what this approach means. In the HSRC's study in Limpopo researchers found that foundation phase teachers had become so disempowered by the name, 'whole language', that they believed that whatever they did in their teaching of reading and writing in the past was bad and they should discontinue those practices. Yet, they had no idea what to do to comply with the new approach and were effectively paralysed, passing their dilemma on to teachers in grade 4, at which point the language through which reading and writing would occur would be English. In other words, literacy development in the home language could not proceed simply because teachers had little guidance in how to teach literacy alongside curriculum change.

Among the challenges

The message of the diverse contexts of countries of the south is slowly seeping through to the north: large-scale evaluations conducted in African countries – more broadly in developing countries – and among remote pastoralist or nomadic communities, are informing the educational quandary in Europe and North America. In summary, the lessons learnt from the south and are now priorities, are:

- The oral tradition is a powerful educational resource and underutilised by systems too heavily influenced by the global north.

- Reading and writing opportunities in the students' repertoire of languages (both/all languages - including new urban varieties) can be maximised with simple classroom practices.

- Countries of the global north now borrow code-mixing and code-switching practices of the south and validate these as classroom practices which, when used systematically, can provide the scaffolding and bridges between what the students know and what they need to know.

- Reading and writing, facilitated through placing inexpensively produced books in the hands of each student (as is the case in Ethiopia and India) rather than locking up expensive books in cupboards (as in South Africa), and ensuring awareness of multiple genres of text, exponentially increases academic literacy.

- Localisation of education authority and greater participation of communities and teachers (i.e. giving back the dignity of teachers and valuing what they know and can do well) enhances quality education.

Author: Associate Professor Kathleen Heugh, School of Communication, International Studies and Languages at the University of South Australia. She is also extraordinary associate professor of Linguistics at the University of the Western Cape, and honorary research fellow at the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa.

RELINQUISHING RESPONSIBILITY:
No rehabilitation for sex offenders in prison

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Social justice relating to rape and sexual violence requires that governments should hold sex offenders to account for their deeds. *Benita Moolman* **observed and interviewed sex offenders in three South African prisons and shows the gaps between community needs, policy and existing treatment programmes in this report.**

Sex offenders and recidivism

According to the Department of Correctional Services there are currently 19 531 sex offenders in prison, of which 26 are female. A 2005 doctoral dissertation by Annette van der Merwe notes that sentences in rape cases varied between 12 and 25 years. This represents longer and stricter imprisonment than has been the case in the past, and is the result of concerted advocacy initiatives, mainly by feminist organisations, to punish sex offenders for the crimes they have committed.

However, research has shown that imprisonment is only one aspect of the management of sex offenders, since it does not necessarily result in rehabilitation, a reduction in the likelihood of reoffending, or in connecting offenders to treatment. So, for example, research by Dennis Doren from the Mendota Mental Health Institute in Wisconsin, USA, shows reoffending rates of 52% among sex offenders.

There are currently no comparable rates of recidivism (reoffending) of sex offenders in South Africa, but we can assume they are also high. Marcel Londt from the University of the Western Cape says there is much for us to learn about sex offenders in South Africa, including how they view their victims and their modus operandi in entrapping those they assault. Van der Merwe also notes that there is a dearth of research and policy directives on sex offenders in South Africa.

The Sexual Offences Amendment Act (2007) has made a start in addressing sex offending, but in a limited way as it provides no direct interventions for the treatment of sex offenders within a restorative justice framework.

> There is a dearth of research and policy directives on sex offenders in South Africa.

The policy framework

The Act stipulates the need for treatment of sex offenders and identifies the national register for sex offenders as one of two new interventions in the management and monitoring of sex offenders.

The second intervention is the compulsory testing of alleged sexual offenders for HIV/AIDS. The National Register for Sex Offenders was introduced in light of global interventions, particularly from countries in the North. Countries such as the United States of America and Europe have spearheaded registration and community notification legislation as a means of monitoring sex offenders and preventing recidivism.

In South Africa, the Act allows for a National Register for Sex Offenders and defines the purpose of the register as the 'Prohibition on certain types of employment by certain persons who have committed sexual offences against children and persons who are mentally disabled'. The national register is very specific about who has access to information on sex offenders in order to protect the privacy of sex offenders while simultaneously aiming to protect children and persons with mental disability.

A central critique of this legislation is that it does not address the need to prevent the recurrence of primary sexual violations by incarcerated sex offenders upon their release. Without specific legislation, supervision and monitoring of sex offenders is diluted and they are managed only as part of the general criminal population. While the merits of a national sex offender register can be debated, it cannot be (along with imprisonment) the primary form of intervention in the management and treatment of sex offenders.

Similarly, the National Policy Framework for the Act has two primary aims: first, to collectively guide government departments and other roleplayers in the coordinated implementation, enforcement and administration of the Act; and second, to enhance efficient service delivery for victims. As important as this latter aim is the protection of victims cannot be addressed in isolation of treatment services to offenders. A key conclusion from my study of sex offenders is that a focus on services to sex offenders will contribute to the safety of women and children.

> There is an urgent need for the state to acknowledge that the absence of treatment programmes for sex offenders will result in more danger for communities, and particularly for women and children.

Methods used

The study involved 24 focus group discussions and 15 individual interviews over a period of six months. These included 72 diverse incarcerated male sex offenders in three South African prisons in the age group 15-70. The participants comprised all race groups (black, coloured, Indian and white), and were from a range of religions (Christian, Muslim and Hindu) and cultures (Xhosa, Zulu, Pedi and Venda).

I also spent time inside the prisons and spoke with social workers about current treatment programmes. The study also included an analysis of current policies.

The reality on the ground

In visiting the prisons across the provinces it was clear that treatment approaches differed from prison to prison, and were *ad hoc* and fragmented. There was no clear vision or strategic plan for the management and treatment of sex offenders, and hence each province was left to implement its own treatment programmes (or not), depending on the availability of personnel, skills and programme guidelines. Both policies and legislation pertaining to sex offenders were limited in both content and direction.

As a result it seemed that criminal justice personnel responsible for its implementation were uncertain and restricted in what could be done. There was a lack of personnel to attend to sex offenders within the social work and psychology units. An example was provided by a group of young sex offenders who assumed that I was a social worker when they met me for my research. Many within this group of sex offenders had been in prison for

> Treatment approaches differed from prison to prison, and were *ad hoc* and fragmented.

five years, and during all this time never had contact with a case worker.

Research demonstrates that sex offenders only realise and understand their behaviour as harmful through cognitive behavioural group therapy by skilled clinicians.

Another example of the lack of personnel was that in one province, there was only one psychologist appointed to service all offenders. This was confirmed by social workers who described the limited resources available to monitor and intervene through treatment.

The lack of resources and limited policy interventions provides a fertile ground for sex offenders to reoffend. There is an urgent need for the state to acknowledge that the absence of treatment programmes for sex offenders will result in more danger for communities, and particularly for women and children.

Conclusion

Treatment programmes for sex offenders have to form a central component in the management of sexual offences. In light of our constitution and our focus on restorative justice as an ethical approach to punishment and discipline, we have to examine restorative justice approaches in the management of sex offenders.

Treatment programmes afford us the opportunity to do this. Through treatment programmes, society provides sex offenders opportunities to come to terms with their own behaviour, and to take responsibility for their own actions. It also allows an opportunity for case workers to learn from sex offenders about their motivations and modus operandi in committing these acts of violence. Failure to do this results in government relinquishing its responsibility to hold sex offenders accountable.

Author: Dr Benita Moolman, research specialist and post-doctoral fellow, Human and Social Development research programme, HSRC.

IN SEARCH OF
a new party-funding model

The intersection of money and politics does not necessarily result in corruption, writes *Judith February,* but transparency regarding the sources of funding remains crucial for policy-making to be open and principled. The time has come for a re-think of the current system of party funding.

Party funding and accountability

A strong democracy requires healthy political parties. In turn, political parties require resources to sustain and operate a basic party structure sufficient to represent people, develop the capacity to contest elections and contribute creatively to policy debate.

Yet, how parties raise money and how transparent they are regarding the sources of funding remains crucial if policy-making is to be open and principled. Given the high levels of inequality in South Africa, those who are able to buy influence through political donations are more likely to do so, thereby drowning out the voices of the poor and marginalised.

This is the danger of the lack of accountability within the current *laissez-faire* position.

Given the multi-faceted nature of the challenge, it requires a creative and urgent response from civil society and from within political parties themselves (not only the ANC) as to how we can arrive at some form of regulation which will at the very least result in greater accountability and perhaps in the longer term a change in the political culture as regards party funding.

The case for and against increased public party funding

There is already substantial public funding of political parties, and has been ever since the 1997 Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act was passed - around R70 million in the current financial year. There have been muted calls for an increase in this figure from across the political spectrum. Some believe that this will result in less dependence on either corporate or dodgy donors. Minority parties hope that it will increase the overall amount available and therefore enhance their ability to compete.

While there is a respectable case for increasing public funding as a result of the various scandals related to the funding of political parties, it is hard to imagine that the taxpayer would have much appetite for increased public funding in the continued absence of a broader framework of regulation and governance.

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In 2007, the ANC resolved to 'champion the introduction of a comprehensive system of public funding of representative political parties… as part of strengthening the tenets of our new democracy. This should include putting in place an effective regulatory architecture for private funding of political parties… The incoming NEC must urgently develop guidelines and policy on public and private funding, including how to regulate investment vehicles'.

The way forward

So what then might be the way forward?

International experience has shown that there is no panacea for the influence of money on the political system. In the US, the UK and Germany, regulation has helped create greater transparency, yet scandals still occur. It therefore seems as if the 'missing ingredient' is the demand from citizens themselves that those in power be held to account for the way in which policy is made and who influences the outcome of decisions which affect their lives - whether that applies to 'fracking' in the Karoo or a bid for power-stations by Chancellor House.

Citizens need to be in a position to join the dots between decisions made as a result of undue influence by companies or other secret private donors and the fact that this may well lead to poor delivery of basic public services.

The time has clearly come for concrete options to be put on the table and for all sectors of society (namely business, civil society or political parties) to be engaged in the process of advocating for legislative reform. A quick comparative glance at the complex system in the United States probably indicates that the simpler one keeps legislation, the better. In the Netherlands, the regulatory framework remains relatively lax, with the majority of donations to political parties coming from membership dues as well as public subsidies. The 'autonomy' option favoured by Sweden has its roots in that country's traditions of openness.

The German system, interestingly enough, suggested publicly by Mathews Phosa a few months ago, might provide a way forward. As a 'transparency option,' it is noteworthy for its comprehensive regulations and controls in both the public and private realms and its emphasis on 'the right of the people to know' and 'the quest for transparency achieved by rules enshrined in national legislation.'

Under the assumption that a ban on private funding of political parties would constrain the rights of both the donor and the party, such donations are permitted so long as they are disclosed to voters.

Given these various options, what is the best way forward for South Africa? A middle option that balances tight regulations with a *laissez faire* system might include:

Public funding

- Funding restricted to parties taking into account the PR electoral system

- Funding for electoral and/or operational costs, depending on resource availability and priorities

- Creative and extensive use of indirect public funding opportunities

- Allocations must be open and transparent through a system of extensive public disclosure, including expenditure

- A proper distribution formula in place for allocations

- Principles of proportionality and equity taken into account with allocations (e.g. taking into account last election count, membership fees, private donations)

- A weighing formula to benefit smaller parties

- Maintaining ratio between public and private support and reduction in parties' reliance on private sources to a tolerable level

- Taking into account the cost burden on the state

Private funding

- Both foreign and local funding allowed

- However, there should be limitations on the sources and type of funding (possibilities include in-kind contributions and shares as a means to source funds)

- Foreign funding limited to governments or parliamentary groups, registered expatriate voters and endowment funds

- Foreign funding should be to the benefit of all parties and the principle of proportionality and equity should be achieved

- Funders should be identified at all times, as well as the type/amount of funding

- Funding of operational costs of parties by local private donors should be outlawed

- Certain donors should be excluded, e.g. anonymous donors (above certain fairly low levels) and those that infringe the Constitution

> The time has come for us to exercise our minds urgently on the question of party-funding reform. As always, the devil will be in the detail.

Another option for South Africa is for party donations, both public and private, to be channelled into a National Democracy Fund and managed by an independent body according to guidelines and regulations. This would mean that corporate organisations that donated funds as part of their social responsibilities would pledge their financial support to this fund without directly funding a particular political party.

The structure of public funding regimes and private funding regulations for political parties is contingent upon the country's political context and electoral history.

Author: Judith February, executive director, Democracy Governance and Service Delivery (DGSD), HSRC

Some implications for education of Census 2011

The South African National Census of 2011, published on 30 October 2012, is a comprehensive census performed by Statistics South Africa, the latest in a series conducted once every ten years. At the request of the Human Resource Development Council of South Africa (HRDCSA), chaired by deputy president Kgalema Motlanthe, the HSRC undertook an initial analysis of the implications of the Census 2011 for the education and skills development agenda for the country, reflected in the following three articles.

WHAT CENSUS 2011 TAUGHT US
about the state of education

The formulation of targeted policies and plans is dependent on accurate, up-to-date information to enable policy makers and other interested parties to monitor the effectiveness of current policies and plans. When *Vijay Reddy* and *Andrea Juan* did a statistical analysis of key results of Census 2011, they found some positive changes in participation rates in education and in levels of education. But they also found an alarming decline in schooling in the higher grades and in post-school education.

Figure 1: Participation rates by age from 1996 to 2011
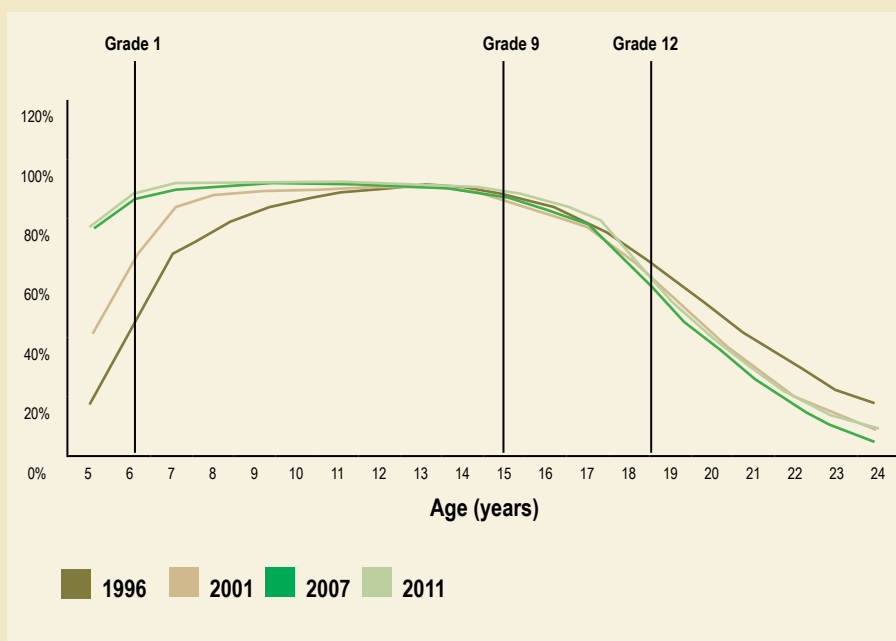*Source: Statistics South Africa (2012)*

Participation in education has improved since 1996 (Figure 1). Across the time periods, over 80% of eight to 17 year olds have participated in formal education institutions.

A trend analysis of census data from 1996 to 2011 shows an increase in participation levels for children between five and 10 years old. Participation for five-year olds has increased significantly from 23% in 1996 to 81% in 2011.

This is a welcome finding as research suggests that early participation in educational institutions contributes to improved cognitive development and can thus improve future academic performance. This increase may be attributed to the attention that early childhood development has received since 2001. The Department of Basic Education has set a goal of universal access to the reception year of schooling (grade R) by 2010. Evidently this goal has not been met; however the progress made cannot be discounted.

While there was a relatively high rate of participation for the compulsory years of schooling from grades 1 to 9, there is a sharp decline in participation thereafter. This has been a trend from 1996 to 2011 - with slight improvements in 2011. This trend continued for participation in educational institutions for 18 to 24 year olds, raising alarms regarding the provision of post-schooling education. Only 4% of the population aged below 24 years are attending colleges

Early participation in educational institutions contributes to improved cognitive development and can thus improve future academic performance.

or universities. Census 2011 found that 3 726 110 (20%) of five to 24-year olds were not in education, employment or training.

Increased education levels of the population

A long-term goal of the South African government is to develop a more skilled and capable workforce with a view to being categorised as a knowledge society and a knowledge economy. The education levels of the population allow us to make a rough estimate of the potential human capital of the country. Figure 2 represents the trends in education levels of the population 20 years and older.

Trends in education

Three noteworthy trends emerge from the Census 2011 results. The first is the decrease in the percentage of adults with a primary school education and below. However there are 6 456 000 people who have no education, or some primary education, pointing to the need to facilitate adult basic education and training (ABET) opportunities.

The second trend is the increase in the percentage of the population who have completed grade 12 and those who have gone on to complete post-schooling qualifications. This implies improved levels of education of the adult population that could contribute to improved education and training skills sets, as well as the improved education levels in the household.

Parental education is found to be the best predictor of educational performance of children. This increased educational level of the household will contribute to higher educational achievement of the children. A third trend is the large percentage of the adult population who have not completed secondary school education. A total 59% of the population fall into this category with

Figure 2: Highest level of education of persons aged 20 years and older 1996-2011
Source: Statistics South Africa (2012)
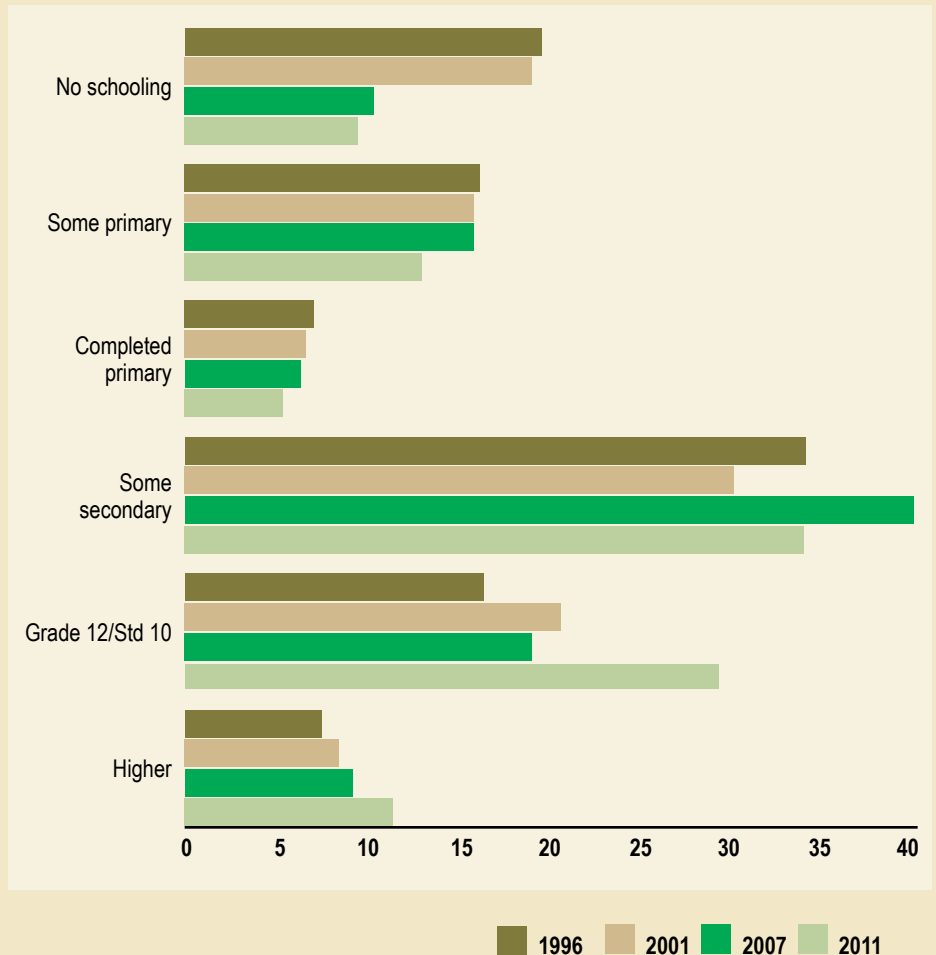
34% of the population having incomplete secondary education. Research shows that the employment opportunities for those with incomplete secondary education are limited and the policy challenge is to create further training opportunities.

Conclusion

While the Census 2011 key findings point to advances made in raising the education levels

of the country's citizens, there is still further progress to be made. This is critical in light of the economic and development trajectory that the South African society hopes to achieve.

Authors: Dr Vijay Reddy, executive director, Education and Skills Development programme, HSRC; Andrea Juan, PhD intern in the same programme.

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HUMAN CAPITAL FORMATION
and the labour market

Skills shortages in the South African economy have long meant that those with higher levels of educational attainment generally have better odds of finding work and, when employed, earn higher wages. Investment in human capital – health and education – is therefore attractive to households as a means of improving their economic lot. *Morné Oosthuizen* looks at what the results from Census 2011 say about service provision by the government and participation in education.

Greater equality in human capital endowments underpins greater equality in labour market outcomes.

> While the proportion of Africans with higher education has more than doubled over the 15 years, racial patterns of disadvantage persist.

Investment in human capital is also an important policy objective as greater equality in human capital endowments underpins greater equality in labour market outcomes and the prevention of the transmission of poverty across generations.

The government has had significant successes in improving the environment for human capital accumulation through the provision of services. Census 2011 shows that the share of households in formal dwellings has increased from 65% in 1996 to 78% in 2011, with similar improvements in access to piped water in the dwelling and access to weekly refuse removal.

The use of electricity for lighting has increased by 26 percentage points over the period (85% in 2011), while access to flush toilets now stands at 57%. Such improvements to households' environments free up their expenditure and time, allowing them to prioritise other needs, including food, education and health. They also allow household members to derive greater benefits from this spending, potentially improving school performance for example. Importantly, young people may remain in education longer due to reduced pressure to support the household.

Participation in education

The census does reveal greater participation in education. Participation rates have increased particularly for those under 13 years of age, although all cohorts under 18 years saw some improvement.

For seven-year olds (grade 1), the participation rate increased from 73% to 96% between 1996 and 2011, while for five-year olds the difference was 58 percentage points (81% in 2011), the latter attributable to the growing importance of grade R/0 within the education system.

Improvement in education levels among adult population

For those aged 18 years or older, participation rates have declined over the period. This is particularly true after the age of 20, and is the result of the efforts to reduce the number of over-aged individuals within the schooling system.

Greater participation in education has led to improvements in the profile of educational attainment among South Africa's adult population (Figure 1). The past 15 years have seen the share of the adult population without any secondary education fall to 25.5% in 2011, from 43.1% in 1996.

At the same time, the shares with matric certificates (grade 12) and higher education qualifications increased by 12 percentage points and nearly five percentage points respectively. The differences are even starker when comparing age cohorts: less than 10% of 20-24 year olds do not have at least some secondary education, compared to 25% of 40-44 year olds. While the proportion of Africans with higher education has more than doubled over the 15 years, racial patterns of disadvantage persist.

Hope for gradual improvement in skills base

These shifts in educational attainment mean that the skills base from which the South African economy is drawing may be gradually improving. However, the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) data shows that, despite a superior profile of educational attainment relative to older cohorts, young people continue to struggle to find employment.

This is true even among those with identical educational attainment, resulting in higher youth unemployment rates within each educational category. As a result, the educational profile of the unemployed is steadily rising, while returns to education – in terms of employment probability and, arguably, remuneration – are under increasing pressure, reducing the incentives for young people to prioritise their education. Improved profiles of educational attainment are, therefore, not a sufficient condition for unemployment reduction; other issues such as educational quality and the employment intensity of economic growth need to be addressed.

Author: Morné Oosthuizen, deputy director, Development Policy Research Unit, School of Economics, University of Cape Town.

Figure 1: Educational attainment of the adult population (20 years and older)
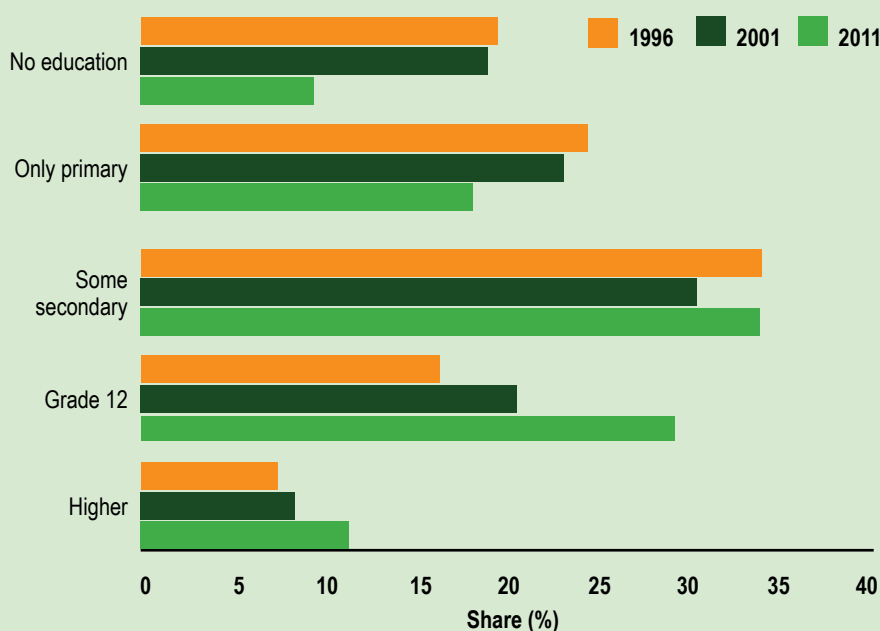
HOME TRUTH:
Post-school institutions need to expand Internet access for students

Regular and easy access to the Internet is an increasingly important tool to assist students to seek information and learn to write and do research. *Lizzy Mabotja* and *Andrew Paterson* analysed findings from the 2011 Census and found disturbing evidence that the overwhelming majority of black African students are highly disadvantaged in this regard.

Importance of Internet access

Without access to the Internet students will have fewer knowledge resources at their disposal, be less experienced in how to deal with an oversupply of information, and possibly fall behind with their course requirements. They will also be underprepared for making the move from the education system to the workplace. In the current economic climate, computer-based skills (beyond keyboard literacy) are vital for graduate employability in the labour market. With this in mind, we addressed the following questions: How do post-school students from black African households access the Internet; Through what medium; and How are these patterns of access conducive to learning?

We assume that access to the Internet at household level includes access for all members of the household, including the post-school students on whom we are focusing.

Finding answers

According to the 2011 Census, African students are highly disadvantaged in terms of Internet access, with 70.6% of African headed households having no access at all. Only 3.9% of African headed households have Internet service on a home computer.

In a relatively high percentage of African homes (16.4%) Internet access is via a mobile phone. Mobile phones are convenient, portable, and provide instant access to the Internet; and are especially useful in meeting personal information needs. This technology can, for example, be used by post-school students for communicating with their faculty and, importantly, for job searches.

Figure 1: Household access to the Internet by population group of head of household[1]
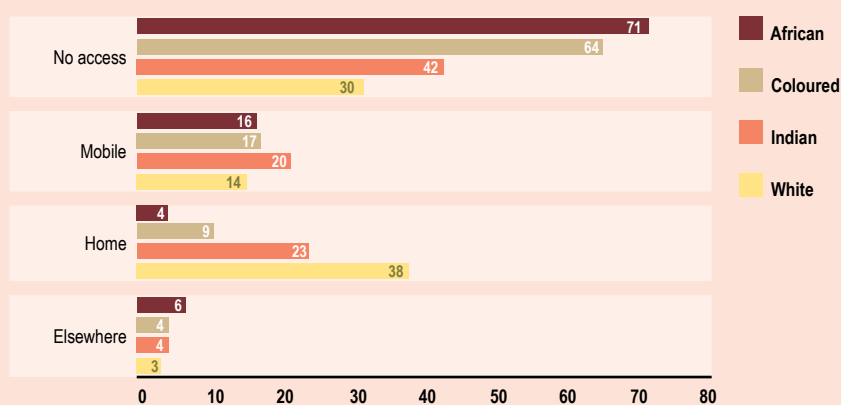
The mobile phone screen, however, is restrictive when compared to the screen of a desktop computer or laptop, thus limiting its utility for extended periods of online browsing, search, reading text, interactive learning and research purposes. Mobile phones are thus not the most practical mode of Internet access for educational purposes.

It may be argued that the tendency to resort to mobile phones, despite their limitations, is not reflective of free choice as it can be partly ascribed to poor servicing of African residential communities by land-line service providers.

African-headed households make proportionally the greatest use of a mix of external Internet facilities, including Internet cafes, public libraries, kiosks, post/telecommunications service providers (e.g. Postnet) and educational institutions. Access from these facilities involves costs including travel, time, and Internet service charges. Moreover they are available only at specified times and even then may not have free workstations.

Responsibility for providing post-school Internet access

Ideally, post-school students should have good quality, convenient, and affordable access to the Internet for learning purposes. Therefore, sufficient Internet access to support students in extracting full value from their post-school course of study would be either at home, or at their educational institution. But the data presents a dismal picture: fewer than four in every 100 African-headed households have a computer with Internet access.

Post-school institutions therefore have an important responsibility to provide sufficient access to computers linked to the Internet, for all students irrespective of their place of residence.

Note 1: Totals do not add up to 100 because head of household's access to internet at her/his workplace is not considered.

Authors: Ms Lizzy Mabotja, junior researcher, Education and Skills Development; Dr Andrew Paterson, research director, Education and Skills Development.

PUTTING GENDER ON THE AGENDA FOR BRICS

Gender equality is not written or spoken about much within the context of international multilateral groupings, such as BRICS. The fact that development will not be sustainable if women continue to suffer socio-economic oppression is not a topic for discussion at high-level meetings, or even at 'lower level' academic forums.

The gendered nature of poverty and inequality across the globe barely gets a mention in the mostly male corridors of power and it appears that gender does not matter. This lack has become even more evident, and urgent, due to the intense international outrage sparked by the brutal gang rape and murder of a young physiotherapy student in India that led to nation-wide protests within India itself and to heated debate about the status of women generally.

In South Africa, where the scourge of violent rape is a daily occurrence, the cruel gang rape and murder of a teenage girl in the small town of Bredasdorp led to a media campaign fuelled by the anger of activists and previous rape victims.

Ironically, globalisation has brought to the world's attention the risk of increased violence when women break with traditional norms that contribute to their subordination. In India, for instance, the majority of women (52%) believe that it is acceptable

In South Africa, where the scourge of violent rape is a daily occurrence, the cruel gang rape and murder of a teenage girl in the small town of Bredasdorp led to a media campaign fuelled by the anger of activists and previous rape victims.

for a man to beat his wife, and women who dare to break the mould by asserting their independence publicly – as the unnamed Indian victim had by travelling with her boyfriend – are perceived by the majority of both men and women to be morally 'loose'.

In preparation for South Africa's hosting of the BRICS group in Durban in March 2013, there is much debate about how effective BRICS is and how it can become more effective in future in order to attain the lofty ideals of 'peace, security and development in a multi-polar, inter-dependent and increasingly complex globalising world… on the basis of universally recognised norms of international law and multilateral decision-making'.

Thus far, the two areas where BRICS cooperation has been most fruitful are trade and development finance. The 2012 Delhi Declaration highlights agreements within BRICS to seek the reform of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations Security Council, and members are in the process of exploring the creation of a BRICS development bank.

Since South Africa joined the group in December 2010, many questions have been raised by scholars and commentators around the effectiveness of BRICS and whether differing national ideologies, norms and values will lead to the eventual decline of this new group that is meant to counter the hegemony of the West and the North.

The flavour of the day is BRICS, especially in light of the fact that South Africa is hosting the academic forum and leadership summit for the first time in March this year. It is interesting to note, however, that gender does not feature on the agenda for the upcoming events, which is problematic as South Africa claims to pride itself on its advanced and progressive post-apartheid constitution with non-racism and non-sexism at its core, a constitution underlined by the values of dignity, equality and freedom that are meant to guide and inform the state in all its dealings, including in the global arena.

At the very least, South Africa as hosts should make a concerted effort to place gender on the agenda without fear of offending their more powerful partners, and should work towards mainstreaming women's issues, now more than ever against the backdrop of the mass protests caused by the rape and murder of the student in New Delhi.

This crisis, which is certainly not peculiar to India, places the spotlight on the fact that it makes no sense whatsoever to continue sidelining gender issues in the international arena and within the BRICS discourse. In fact, silence around issues that affect women disproportionately - including maternal mortality, unemployment and, worst of all, rampant violence against women – could be construed as carrying a conservative agenda of its own. It is of serious concern to any proponent of substantive equality and social justice that the gender question has not received the attention it deserves from emerging powers.

Even if it is argued, as it so often tediously is, that 'economics' is at the core of everything, women across the globe are confined to the bottom of the ladder when it comes to socio-economic power, and cultural essentialism is keeping them there. A central reason for the endurance of world poverty has been the exclusion of women from socio-economic development. Currently 60 per cent of the poorest and most vulnerable people in the world are women, with only 20 per cent possessing land rights in the developing world, including the powerful BRICS nations. This lack of economic freedom and access to land seriously hampers women's ability to make decisions over the allocation of resources and renders them dependent on men for their survival, which in turn ensures the continued subordination of more than half the world's population.

It has become clear that the empowerment of women and girls is a fundamental pre-requisite to a sustainable future for our planet. However, if we are to realise the true potential of sustainable development, investment must be accompanied by a radical change in the status of women in the world. The empowerment of women is crucial to address poverty and prevent gender-based and sexual violence, but there is a disturbing lack of valid scientific information on the status of women in the BRICS countries.

A 2012 survey conducted by London-based TrustLaw provides some information on the status of women in the G20 countries. Unsurprisingly, India is the worst country for women to live in, and South Africa doesn't fare much better at 16. None of the BRICS are in the top 10, with Brazil ranking highest at 11. Russia ranks 13th and China 14th. The list is topped by Canada as the most gender equal G20 country.

As women's rights become of increasing concern, and women themselves are beginning to insist on their own liberation, there is also a growing backlash, with rape and sexual violence being used as a tool to put – and keep – women 'in their place', as is evidenced especially in India and South Africa. Thus, if pundits and scholars continue to avoid these difficult questions, international relations will continue to be the domain of men and the furthering of masculine interests.

Rather, urgent transformation is needed in order to mainstream women's voices. If this doesn't happen, then we are not creating conditions for a better life for all, and if the democracies of the South don't push this agenda, who will? Taking into account the dismal status of women in the developing world, a failure to mainstream gender in the BRICS agenda at the upcoming events in Durban would be a monumental international relations failure for South Africa as the host country.

Author: Professor Narnia Bohler-Muller, deputy executive director, Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery, HSRC; adjunct professor, Nelson Mandela School of Law, Fort Hare.

Lending a hand: state-owned enterprises can assist small business development

There is an overall lack of information on the interaction between state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and small and medium enterprises (SME) that provide services to SOEs, with the exception of larger SOEs, such as Eskom, Telkom, Transnet and the Post Office. *Johan Viljoen* looked at the question of the role SOEs can play in the development of SMEs.

Background

In his inaugural State of the Nation Address in June 2009, President Jacob Zuma reflected on the New Growth Path (NGP) and highlighted the need for support to promote small business and entrepreneurship and the elimination of unnecessary red tape which South Africa has imposed on a relatively weak small and micro enterprise sector.

The NGP also aims to enhance growth, employment creation and equity by reducing the dependencies of South African industries on imports, and promoting the development of skills and capabilities that are in short supply within the country. It identifies strategies that will enable South Africa to grow in a more equitable and inclusive manner and promotes the development of new industries to attain South Africa's developmental agenda.

Building on the principles of the NGP, the ruling ANC's state-owned enterprises (SOE) policy calls for support of the developmental state through the effective utilisation of the strength of SOEs and development finance institutions (DFI), support and direct private sector investments to productive sectors of the economy to stimulate manufacturing as well as the promotion of entrepreneurship development programmes that will enhance the levels of existing deracialisation.

Small business development losing ground

Statistics released by Adcorp support the above perspectives, revealing that 440 000 small businesses in South Africa shut up shop between 2005 and 2010. Another notable trend is the fact that in 2001, about 250 000 people were involved in starting their own businesses while in 2011, only 58 000 people were trying to do so - a decline that started in 2007. These figures provide a worrying scenario of regress in what has been achieved by small business development in South Africa.

In the face of the Presidential review of the country's SOEs, many have been paying

President Jacob Zuma reflected on the New Growth Path (NGP) and highlighted the need for support to promote small business and entrepreneurship and the elimination of unnecessary red tape which South Africa has imposed on a relatively weak small and micro enterprise sector.

closer attention to their own role in assisting the government in achieving its small business development agenda. SOEs have also attempted to align their objectives closer to that of the government and to play a more pronounced role in developing local skills and capabilities. Accepting that SOEs represent huge resources and a considerable slice of the South African economy, it goes without saying that the potential for assisting SME development is of particular significance. Their huge resources and significant share of the South African economy underline the potential of SOEs for assisting SME development

SME development at large enterprises

The role of Schedule 2 SOEs (Eskom, Telkom, Transnet and others) in their contribution to SME development reveals a number of interesting facts and figures. As a general rule, larger infrastructure intensive Schedule 2 SOEs had procurement rules in place which benefited SMEs. Other more specialised SOEs, such as the Air Traffic and Navigation Services, have experienced difficulty in procuring locally and from SMEs due to their need for sourcing high-technology aviation navigation components that were only available internationally.

Eskom reported, for instance, that they would allocate between 6.34% and 8.85% of local content commitments to SMME companies for large projects, such as the construction of the new Medupi and Kusile power stations. This amounted to more than R5 billion – a significant boost to SMMEs in the construction and engineering sector.

Eskom also hosts an annual opportunities and franchise expo for SMEs. This expo is potentially of great value in linking small businesses and large corporations that need to expand their procurement databases.

Also worth mentioning is that these large SOEs have all introduced supplier skills-development programmes to identify SME suppliers and provide them with coaching and assistance.

Notably, the contribution of SOEs to SME development goes beyond procurement and skills development programmes. The Independent Development Corporation (IDC) reported on making a significant contribution to SME support in South Africa. The IDC provided financial support to SMEs to the value of R2 103 million in 2010 and reported on increased support to entrepreneurial development for start-up and expansionary enterprises in poorer provinces and areas of depressed industrial activity across earmarked priority sectors. They also reported on a programme where SMEs with approved government blue-chip tenders be paid within 21 days of the submission of their application.

Late payments and other limitations

A number of limitations and challenges remain in the support that SMEs receive from SOEs. A survey by the South African Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Sacci) has, for instance, found that late payments to SMEs doing business with government impacted severely on the financial health of small businesses due to cash flow constraints. There are indications that payments later than 30 days resulted in cash-flow constraints of 60% of the businesses in the survey.

Although the Sacci survey focused on SMEs doing business with government, it clearly demonstrates the impact of late payments on small businesses that rely solely on supplying goods and services to a limited number of institutions, such as government or SOEs.

Despite the promise by SOEs of coaching and supplier development programmes in assisting SMME suppliers, this study identified the need for more targeted programmes of support, with a specific emphasis on providing assistance to young entrepreneurs, as is indicated by the Post Office. Current programmes of support mostly deal with BEE compliance requirements and therefore exclude a number of challenges facing new and start-up SMEs. There is a need for more support programmes targeting specifically young entrepreneurs

Conclusion and recommendations

This study concludes that there is an overall lack of information on the interaction between SOEs and SME service providers. The only exceptions are larger SOEs which include Eskom, Telkom, Transnet and the Post Office, which generally have more capacity to report on their dealings with SMEs. Despite the administrative burden of current reporting measures in place at SOEs in terms of BEE and general financial compliance, a strong argument can be made for extending these reporting measures to the procurement and programmes of assistance to SMEs. This will offer a much clearer picture of the role of SOEs in developing SMEs.

A particularly innovative scheme and good example of best practice worthy of more attention by SOEs is that of Telkom, that has developed a scorecard method which reflects procurement spent on SMMEs. This scorecard is used to guide performance on a number of indicators which focus, among others, on SME and B-BEEE preferential procurement and proves to be particularly useful in measuring the impact and contribution of the organisation to SME development.

Author: Johan Viljoen, senior researcher, Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery programme, HSRC.

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SEX IN THE ARCHIVES:
same-sex relationships in pre-colonial times

What kinds of same-sex relationships existed in southern Africa prior to colonialism; how and why did these change over time; and where did today's overt homophobia come from? To these questions, critical to policy formulation of public health interventions, *Marc Epprecht* found some interesting answers hidden away in archives.

Introduction

When I first started research into the history of same-sex sexuality in Zimbabwe in the mid-1990s, several colleagues at the university there questioned the feasibility of the project. I suspected they were right. A two-page article by a famous anthropologist claimed that the extreme rarity of homosexuality among the Shona proved their healthy socialisation. Two footnotes in two scholarly books mentioned a handful of cases of male-male sexual crimes among Africans from mid-colonial times. Otherwise I had no idea of where to look for evidence, which had to be from before or from the very beginning of the colonial period to be of use to me.

The search for a sexual taboo

Colleagues were not that helpful. Everyone said that homosexuality was a taboo topic, a sexual secret. Such relationships, if they existed at all, would have been fleeting, and of so little meaning that they would have been quickly forgotten even by the people who engaged in them. There would be no record of them.

I asked someone who knew the archives like the back of his hand if he had ever come across references or knew places in the archives where I could look for clues to this hidden secret. He sent me to the diary of a colonial official in charge of the administration of law and order in a certain Shona chiefdom in the 1890s. At last, I thought, I am on the way! But after days of poring over hundreds of pages of scarcely legible hand-written notes dealing with all kinds of marital, witchcraft and cattle disputes, I went back to the colleague to express my frustration. 'Nothing,' I said. 'Exactly,' he replied.

Eventually I did manage to find numerous other sources with abundant evidence that shed light on my main questions.

My sources included transcripts of criminal court cases dating from the very first year of colonial jurisprudence, government enquiries, press reports, health documents, Bushman cave paintings, private letters and more. Another colleague in South Africa found graffiti on prison walls which spoke of male-male sex. This was especially interesting to me, not for new information on the sex itself, but because his research assistant tried to hide the evidence from him.

Virtually none of this material was catalogued or indexed, so the search involved a lot of time, luck, and intuition. Often it was a boring and frustrating slog. But it was a thrill when I stumbled upon a hidden gem – documented proof of the first known use of the word *nkotshane* more than 100 years ago (from which today's word for homosexuality in chiShona derives), and transcripts of trials where African men speak to us from generations past to tell of their love for each other, among many examples.

> The first known use of the word *nkotshane* was documented more than 100 years ago.

Marc Epprecht

> The so-called greatest taboo is not impossible to breach in research terms.

Bringing same-sex sexuality in Africa into the debate

Many other researchers have since engaged the project of making same-sex sexuality and gender variance in Africa visible and hence inserting them into the complex debates over reproductive and sexual rights/health. The last couple of years have seen some extremely impressive contributions - and 2013 promises to provide a further bumper crop. New studies from Mali, the Gambia, Uganda, Nigeria, Ethiopia, hardscrabble townships in South Africa and more, show clearly that the so-called greatest taboo is not impossible to breach in research terms.

Some of these recent interventions have been very powerful and may lead to policy, legal and perhaps even attitudinal changes. A recent World Bank (WB) report on men who have sex with men (MSM) is an important example. It uses public health and economistic measurements to argue in favour of sexual minority rights. Yet, in some ways such studies also create new problems for those of us who hope that research will support transformation towards both an entrenched culture of human rights and social justice in Africa, *as well as* a political economy that supports such a culture. Let me give a few examples.

The role of historical documents in policy formulation

The aforementioned WB report presents the existence of MSM and homophobia as given, constant problems that are costing Africa thousands of lives and many millions of dollars per year. In effect it establishes a new historical narrative: there is no history. According to this view we do not need to know where today's MSM or gay sub-cultures came from, how sexual stereotypes about racial, ethnic or religious groups developed (and how such stereotypes play out in contemporary politics), why Africans (all of them?) are so homophobic, why MSM were not included in previous public health interventions going back over the last 25 years, or what was the role of the WB in creating the very conditions that it now blames Africans for.

To be fair, the WB is a bank, not a history channel. The authors of this report depended primarily on biomedical and sociological studies conducted by others. These, in turn, draw largely upon personal histories typically collected through "sample-driven surveys". Personal testimony gives rich insights into the struggles and stresses of life under homophobic and structural adjustment regimes. It puts a human face on the tragedies (and triumphs) of people

who do not conform to the expectations of dominant culture. Yet, looking closely, we can see that informants in these surveys are overwhelmingly young people. This means they can hardly say anything pertinent to the discussion from personal experience that is older than the 1990s. In some cases, when informants told their interviewers about local traditions, they were actually repeating what they had read or heard about European anthropologists. I once encountered a study that quoted someone (mis)quoting me, a phenomenon known as "paraliterate feedback".

People everywhere also tend to overstate or oversimplify their arguments, or generalise from their own experiences, sometimes coloured by nostalgia or self-interest. There may be self-interest involved, for example, in exaggerating the horrors of life under homophobic political leaders in order to garner international sympathy and donor funds.

Taking the time to check contemporary sources against evidence preserved in historical documents is thus, in my view, critically important to policy formulation. It can help to ensure that the discussions are informed by awareness of different ways of looking at issues than might be assumed based on current stereotypes, secrets, or taken-for-granted assumptions.

Marc Epprecht is the author of Hungochani: The History of a Dissident Sexuality in Southern Africa, and professor in the Departments of History and Global Development Studies at Queen's University, Canada. He was recently a visiting scholar in the Human and Social Development programme at the HSRC (Pretoria). This article is based upon a seminar which formed part of the HSRC's Distinguished Lecture Series in the Humanities.

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Inequality and sustainable development:
Hearing the voices of ordinary people

How do people in poor communities understand their needs when it comes to sustainability?
Charles Nhemachena **and** *Diana Sanchez Betancourt* **were involved in a study that attempts to understand community needs and perceptions around issues of social, economic and environmental sustainability in marginalised communities in urban areas, where the provision of basic services to an increasingly growing population is limited.**

Background to the study

In the lead-up to the Rio+20 Summit of the United Nations, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon launched a global conversation on issues of sustainability and the future we want. This global conversation became an opportunity to look ahead to the world we would like to live in and to share ideas on better ways of doing things. Several organisations and movements around the globe joined hands to be part of this conversation and inform the debate with voices from the ground on this complex and sometimes abstract issue.

The HSRC joined one of these movements, the Initiative for Equality, in their efforts to coordinate equity and sustainability field hearings to ensure that diverse individuals and communities around the world were able to have their voices heard at the Rio+20 summit. As Deborah Rogers, coordinator of this initiative, noted, 'understanding what people need and want is the most basic prerequisite to intelligent collaborations, interventions, and assistance and it is relatively easy to discover. Yet so often this step is skipped, as governments impose their agendas, international agencies carry out their mandates, businesses look for profitable relationships, and NGOs rush in to help'.

The project, A Global Dialogue on Sustainable Development: Rio+20 Earth Summit, attempts to do just that: to close the gap in the approach to understanding community needs by asking ordinary people what they need and would like to have in

> African immigrants felt their voices were not heard and will never be heard since as foreigners they usually felt like second-class citizens.

> Overall, the wishes articulated by most members were simple and basic. They want stable income and a secure future. They want improved and better access to economic opportunities for a secure and sustainable future. They want more responsive and accountable governments that work to create opportunities for all, regardless of ethnicity or economic class. They want to have access to opportunities. They are waiting to be heard.

order to improve their wellbeing and access to basic services. With the financial support of the Open Society Initiative of Southern Africa (OSISA) and collaborating with social and environmental justice activists, the HSRC embarked on a preliminary study to learn what people in currently disempowered communities are thinking, so that we can contribute to advising development of more effective and collaborative grassroots strategies for moving towards greater equity, equality and sustainability.

Hearing the voices of the disempowered

These voices of South Africans and African immigrants were gathered through seven focus groups (average of eight persons each) and 82 individual interviews in different urban locations in the Western Cape (Khayelitsha, Cape Town CBD, Knysna township and Suurbraak municipality) and Gauteng province (Diepsloot, Mamelodi and Soweto). These field hearings contributed towards establishing an understanding of what currently disempowered communities need, want and think and provided a glimpse into some of their adaptation strategies.

In the field hearings participants were prompted with a list of potential areas to be addressed and were asked to identify the changes they thought were needed in order to move their community towards sustainability. Common themes which were identified include:

- Meeting basic needs, such as food, health care, education and training

- Access to land for local people to engage in own activities such as food gardens

- Better socio-economic services and improvements in infrastructure (such as

roads, electricity, water, sanitation etc) and investments to promote local economic development and employment

- Improved access to decision-making processes

- Social integration, through better relationships between men and women, between community members, and between groups in society to allow people to work together to solve problems.

Preliminary findings show that despite notable improvements in some areas, such as the position of women compared to the past and improved access to health and education, some of the problems (lack of employment, increasing socio-economic inequality and social problems like crime) are worsening in these areas and there is a string of challenges that require government attention and for all relevant parties to play a role.

African immigrants (from the DRC, Rwanda, Congo Brazzaville, Zimbabwe, Angola, Cameroon, Ethiopia and Somalia) expressed similar concerns but these were exacerbated by their experiences of isolation and disempowerment in South Africa. While in their view South Africa offered better access to services such as water, electricity and health than their home countries, they experience difficulty in accessing these resources due to their disadvantaged position in the society. In their view, they have little access to decent jobs and little possibilities to become part of the broader South African community, or move beyond their own individual community or personal networks. They felt their voices were not heard and will never be heard since as foreigners they usually felt like second-class citizens.

Towards a sustainable lifestyle

The findings of the equity and sustainability fiel.d hearings are preliminary and a more comprehensive effort needs to be put into place before firm conclusions can be drawn on the circumstances and views of common people across the country. This is seen as the first step in a larger effort to address underlying causes of the difficult circumstances afflicting poor, disempowered, marginalised, and common people across the country.

Overall, the wishes articulated by most members were simple and basic. They want stable income and a secure future. They want improved and better access to economic opportunities for a secure and sustainable future. They want more responsive and accountable governments that work to create opportunities for all, regardless of ethnicity or economic class. They want to have access to opportunities. They are waiting to be heard.

As part of the project outputs, some of these voices were compiled in a short video which was shared at various events at the Rio+20 Summit in Rio de Janeiro in June 2012. The final short video *Sustainable Development; Hearing the African Voices* debated at an HSRC public seminar in Pretoria, Durban and Cape Town in February 2013 also portrayed the adaptation strategies of communities that are taking on the challenge to create a more sustainable lifestyle.

Authors: Dr Charles Nhemachena, Economic Performance and Development, HSRC (e-mail: cnhemachena@hsrc.ac.za); Diana Sanchez Betancourt, Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery, HSRC (e-mail: dsanchez@hsrc.ac.za).

The development of competition law and economics in South Africa

Author:
Kasturi Moodaliyar and Simon Roberts

Publishing date:
November 2012

ISBN (soft cover):
978-0-7969-2404-9

Format:
235 x 168 mm

Extent:
256 pages

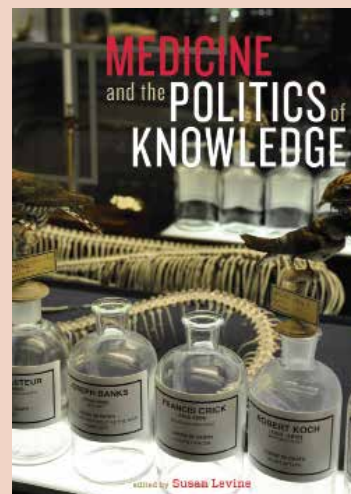**Soft cover price:**
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This is an important and timely contribution to the rapidly growing field of competition law in South Africa. While the South African competition authorities have established an enviable local and international profile for their work, there is a need for critical evaluation of the developments in this field since the Competition Act came into force in 1999. This book meets this need.

The Development of competition law and economics in South Africa is an important source for students and practitioners of competition law and economics, as well as for those with an interest in the crucial questions of competition enforcement.

South Africa's corporate leniency policy: A five year review – Chantal Lavoie

The wrong side of the tracks: What are the empirical differences between collusion, parallelism and competition? – Patrick D. Smith

Medicine and the politics of knowledge

Author:
Susan Levine

Publishing date:
November 2012

ISBN (soft cover):
978-0-7969-2392-9

Format:
235 x 168 mm

Extent:
208 pages

Soft cover price:
R240.00

Rights:
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Medicine and the Politics of Knowledge situates South Africa — including its history of stances and political formations around HIV/AIDS—in the broader context of questions relating to science, medicine, human experimentation, and structural violence, all of which shape the cases in the book. Putting South Africa in the context of other cases of contention and contestation about science and medicine in India, Latin America and China helps us to understand the particular history of the South African case itself.

Conceived in response to the urgency of bioethical debates in medical anthropology, this ethnographic collection touches the borders of anthropology, philosophy, and public health. At a time in world history where medicine and medical practice is deeply contested in the everyday as well as in juridical terms, this book makes an essential contribution to global debates about tradition, about science, and about the politics of knowledge production.

About the Editor
Susan Levine is a senior lecturer in the School of Gender and African Studies, Anthropology and Linguistics at the University of Cape Town. She has written extensively on the political economy of children's work in South Africa's wine industry. Her current research focuses on children's subjective experiences of living with infectious illness in sub-Saharan Africa. The recipient of a Distinguished Teacher's Award in 2011, Dr Levine is renowned for her experimental pedagogy in teaching medical anthropology.

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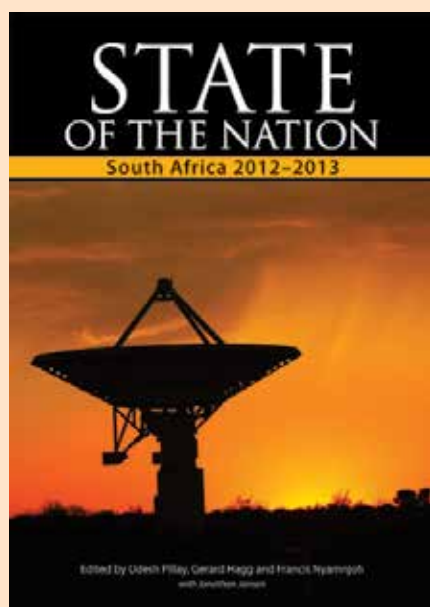
State of the Nation: South Africa 2012–2013
Addressing Inequality and Poverty

Author:
Edited by Udesh Pillay, Gerard Hagg, Francis Nyamnjoh with Jonathan Jansen

Publishing date:
April 2013

ISBN (soft cover):
978-0-7969-2422-

Format:
240 x 168 mm

Extent:
736 pages

Soft cover price:
R295.00

Rights:
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EBook:
Interactive Ebook available

This is the sixth in the *State of the Nation* series from the HSRC Press. In each volume the themes tell the story of a nation grappling with its identity as a new democracy. The first issue focused on ten years of democracy, the second on president Mbeki's term of office, the third on the extent to which South Africa could be considered a developmental state, the fourth on the functional and developmental issues of the ANC, and the fifth on the issue of uncertain democracy.

Each edition was designed to be relevant and have lasting value.

Across the world, many scholars, academics, policymakers and general readers still look to these editions as frames of reference for South African current affairs and the pathways forward.

The sixth volume in this internationally acclaimed series is devoted to the theme of inequality and its link to poverty. As with the earlier volumes, this edition resonates with a wealth of valuable research grounded in the contemporary landscape, and an emerging picture that shows the need to accelerate the pace of poverty eradication and to change the developmental trajectory of South Africa.

State of the Nation: South Africa 2012–2013 offers diverse angles on inequality and poverty in contemporary South Africa in one compelling and comprehensive collection. The five sections in the book are introduced by quotes from leading scholars and poets such as Mamphela Ramphele, Antjie Krog, Oswald Mbuyeseni Mtshali, Mongane Wally Serote and Ben Okri. Each section focuses on a particular theme – politics, economics, society, health and environment and the global context – through the lenses of chapters which analyse burning issues, highlight trends and focus on policies and practice.

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