

HSRC review

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NO PROOF OF 'CHILD FARMING'
in awarding of Child Support Grants

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MESSAGE FROM THE CEO Dr Olive Shisana



I read the shocking incident of a young South African stowaway found dead inside the wheel cavity of a British Airways Boeing in Los Angeles on a flight from Cape Town. So many questions went through my mind: what causes such despair in a young man living in an economically vibrant country with so many opportunities? What should the nation do to avoid such despair? What opportunities are there for participating in the country's development?

It reminded me of the woman who asked Kahlil Gibran to speak on children. In his celebrated masterpiece, *The Prophet*, he said:

You may give them your love but not your thoughts

For they have their own thoughts.

You may house their bodies, but not their souls

*For their souls dwell in the house of tomorrow, which you cannot visit,
not even in your dreams*

You may strive to be like them, but seek not to make them like you

For life goes not backward nor tarries with yesterday

For our youth to believe they have a bright future in this country they need to gain knowledge and skills. It is our duty as a society to provide them with these. Two immediate interventions that could make a huge difference come to mind:

- A good quality education that would equip young people to think critically and to be solution-oriented in their approach to life
- A chance to grow up healthy, escape HIV and AIDS, and live to old age.

Most young people in South Africa are unlikely to matriculate and be eligible for university entrance. One reason for their failure is a lack of a solid primary school foundation that allows learners to grasp the basics of numeracy and literacy. It is incumbent upon us at the HSRC to team up with the Department of Education (DoE) to provide our youth with these skills, starting at a young age. The HSRC has also teamed up with key education groups and the DoE to try new approaches that might improve the quality of education in the areas of numeracy and literacy in public schools.

The other immediate intervention is to give young people accurate knowledge or tools to protect them from becoming infected with HIV. The HSRC, non-governmental partners and donor agencies, with the support of government, conduct research that tracks the knowledge levels, the incidence and prevalence of HIV, and access to preventive technologies among the youth. HSRC researchers are collaborating in various research projects to further these goals.

But we all must do more while always keeping in mind Khalil Gibran's words: 'You may give them your love but not your thoughts, for they have their own thoughts.'

For this reason the HSRC has launched a Youth Initiative that will focus on the many varied research activities on youth in the HSRC and the country, together with policy-makers, stakeholders in civil society and the implications for policy. Read more on the initiative on page 12 of this edition.

NewsRoundup

DUTCH GRANT TO IMPROVE EDUCATION QUALITY

Over the next five years, a consortium of top education specialists will investigate methods of how to improve the literacy and numeracy skills of primary school pupils, with a R69 million grant from the Netherlands Embassy.

The HSRC signed an agreement with the Netherlands Embassy on 23 January in Pretoria which will see the implementation of the project in four categories, namely knowledge advancement, strategic research capacity and institutional and community support.

The consortium, to be led by the HSRC's Dr Anil Kanjee, executive director of the National Education Quality Initiative, consists of leading experts in the field of literacy and numeracy research, namely JET Education Services (JET), the Education Policy Consortium (EPC) and the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA). The project is endorsed by the National Department of Education.

HSRC president and CEO, Dr Olive Shisana, said at the signing of the agreement that there was consensus among educators that one of the key challenges in South African education was its generally poor quality, and that one of the best ways of changing this was to find ways of improving literacy and numeracy at primary school level.

Shisana emphasised the importance of working with the Department of Education, who will implement the recommendations and change classroom practices.



Ambassador Frans Engering (left) of the Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria and Dr Olive Shisana, president and CEO of the HSRC, signs the agreement to set the ball rolling for the Literacy and Numeracy Research Project, with Mr Cornelius Hacking, first secretary education of the Embassy, looking on.

Kanjee said each of the research partners would look into aspects of the education system to determine which factors affected quality. Focus areas would include the development of an integrated national assessment system to provide timeous and relevant information to key decision-makers for use in improving learning; an analysis of the use of teaching and learning materials and electronic media in teaching numeracy and mathematics in grades 1–6; how teachers helped pupils in multigrade rural and farm schools to become literate and numerate; and how schools management and the teaching of literacy and numeracy could be assisted by education department officials and other outside communities.

Also present at the signing were Mr John Pampallis and Mr Enver Morala of EPC, Dr Nick Taylor of JET, Dr Neville Alexander of PRAESA and Mr Desmond Fillis of the Department of Education.

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MS VANESSA BAROLSKY has been appointed as a chief researcher in the Democracy and Governance (D&G) research programme. Before joining the HSRC she worked as an independent researcher, authoring, among other work, the 2003 Annual Aids Review for the University of Pretoria.



DR DARLENE MILLER has been appointed as a post-doctoral fellow in D&G on a joint appointment with the Rhodes Sociology Department. Before joining the HSRC she was a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand and director of the Institute for African Alternatives.



MS NOMVO DWADWA-HENDA, an intern in the Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS and Health (SAHA) research programme, has been appointed as a chief researcher in the same programme.



DR JAMES MUZONDIDYA has been appointed as a senior research specialist in D&G. Before joining the HSRC he was a policy analyst at the Zimbabwe Institute. He also taught at the University of Zimbabwe.



DR CAROL METCALF has been appointed as a chief research specialist in SAHA. Before joining the HSRC she was HIV Prevention programme director at the Aurum Institute for Health Research in Johannesburg and also worked as a senior epidemiologist in the Division of HIV and AIDS Prevention at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta, USA.



MR SUREN PILLAY, a senior lecturer in Political Studies at the University of the Western Cape, has been seconded to the HSRC as a senior research specialist in D&G.

NewsRoundup

BETWEEN THE UNIVERSITY AND THE VILLAGE



Traditional birth attendants in colourful dress.

CUSTODIANS OF BIRTH TRADITIONS HAS A ROLE IN HIV/AIDS PREVENTION

Traditional birth attendants, or *ababalekisi basekhaya*, could greatly contribute towards decreasing the high rates of obstetric complications, especially in rural villages, says Ms Nomvo Dwadwa-Henda, a chief researcher in the HSRC's Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS and Health research programme.

The HSRC conducted a study to identify the barriers to effective implementation of preventing mother-to-child transmission (PMTCT) programmes in the Flagstaff area in the Eastern Cape. The study also looked at groups that could have an effect on PMTCT, including traditional birth attendants. This aspect of the study involved interviews with 30 traditional birth attendants (TBAs) among the amaMpondo.

The HSRC team, assisted by the Department of Health in the province, provided some training in hygienic practices, early recognition of obstetric emergency care, issues of unsafe traditional practices and the prevention of HIV transmission from mother to child.

The study concluded that TBAs should be integrated into the healthcare system in the region and recommended training in hygienic practices and basic obstetric care to improve the 'immense shortage' of healthcare in rural settings, Dwadwa-Henda says.

Universities can be at the forefront of the battle against poverty, says Professor Mokubung Nkomo, editor of a study entitled *The Realm of Possibilities: From disadvantage to development at the University of Fort Hare and the University of the North*.

A situational analysis conducted by the HSRC at the universities of Fort Hare and the North (now Limpopo) argues that universities, especially rural-based universities, can and should play a vanguard role in poverty reduction.

Rural universities in South Africa are characterised by the anaemic conditions of the second economy, Nkomo says. They are predominantly black, underdeveloped and surrounded by poverty and high unemployment. The two universities analysed are strategically positioned to play a crucial role in releasing the rural sector from its traditional marginal status.

'If they take advantage of the existing opportunities and if there is commitment from government and development agencies, they can become the long sought-after hope for the millions in rural communities and a ladder to leapfrog into the first economy,' he says.

The situational analysis, accompanied by reflective essays, points to the need for a concerted effort to critically engage rural peoples day-to-day life experiences. Such an approach seeks to bridge the gap between the university and the village through the application of appropriate research and technologies.

Extracts from an article by Professor Mokubung Nkomo – a former executive director of the HSRC and now Professor of Education at the University of Pretoria – in Business Day (8 December 2006). 'Within the Realm of Possibility: From disadvantage to development at the University of Fort Hare and the University of the North' is available from the HSRC Press (2006).



Professor Mokubung Nkomo

SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY NETWORK PROMOTES GOOD GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

Government and civil society leaders from across Africa met in December in Pretoria to launch the Affiliated Network for Social Accountability (ANSA)-Africa, an innovative new mechanism to support social accountability initiatives on the African continent. The launch was hosted by the HSRC, in partnership with the World Bank.

ANSA-Africa is a new network designed to become the leading African institution for supporting citizen involvement in governance initiatives in the delivery of service on the continent. By building on existing African expertise, ANSA supports the engagement of citizens and civil society in building more effective states through social accountability approaches.

With an initial endowment for three years from the World Bank's

Development Grant Facility, ANSA-Africa will link with partners across the continent who in turn will forge their own regional and local associations to support social accountability initiatives. The network will transmit information about effective tools and approaches and serve as an incubator for innovative new approaches, both nationally and regionally.

The network will work to improve current methodologies – such as citizen report cards, participatory budgeting and participatory public expenditure tracking surveys, among others – that ensure greater transparency in the use of public resources and responsiveness to citizen demand.

For more information, go to <http://www.ansa-africa.org.za>.

END OF FIVE-YEAR PROJECT ON ORPHANS AND VULNERABLE CHILDREN

A five-year intervention project on orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) came to an end in December 2006, with two closing workshops, an Advisory Board meeting and a dinner in Pretoria in February.

The two workshops consisted of a scientific writing workshop and a good practice OVC interventions workshop. Several papers and joint authorships were finalised at these workshops.

The HSRC, together with its partners – the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund, the Masiela Trust Fund in Botswana and the Family AIDS Caring Trust in Zimbabwe, were commissioned by the WK Kellogg Foundation in 2002 to develop and implement the project, worth \$5 million (about R50 million), as part of the Foundation's 75th anniversary in 2002.

The overall philosophy behind the project, says Professor Geoffrey Setswe, chief research specialist in the Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS and Health research programme, was to empower communities to develop, implement and evaluate some existing and new OVC intervention programmes.

These programmes address home-based, child-centred health, development, education and support; family and household support; the strengthening of community-support systems; and building HIV/AIDS awareness, advocacy and policy to benefit OVCs.

Setswe says that although the project has come to an official end, new, smaller collaborations between partner organisations will ensure sustainability of the momentum created by the project.

More than 14 reports emanated from this project and can be ordered or downloaded from www.hsrbpress.ac.za.



Ms Yolandi Shean, coordinator of the closing workshops and dinner, and Professor Geoffrey Setswe, OVC project coordinator.



Professor Leickness Simbayi, research director and OVC project leader, at the dinner in Pretoria.



The sun set over the Victoria Lake in Kisumu, Kenya, where the 4th SAHARA Conference will take place from 29 April – 2 May.

4TH SAHARA CONFERENCE AIMS TO DEVELOP HOME-GROWN INTERVENTIONS FOR HIV/AIDS

The Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS Research Alliance (SAHARA) is expecting more than 400 delegates to descend on Kisumu, Kenya, from 29 April to 2 May to deliberate on Innovations in Access to Prevention, Treatment and Care in HIV/AIDS.

The SAHARA Conference is a networking instrument, which intends to share information, best practices and innovations in the field of the social and behavioural aspects of HIV and AIDS. In the process it hopes to find a range of robust, home-grown African interventions in prevention and care that can be scaled up to other communities according to their specific circumstances and needs, says Dr Dan Kaseje, coordinator of SAHARA in East Africa.

For more information, go to <http://www.sahara.org.za>.

IDENTITY AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The causes of conflict most often relate to struggles for power and unequal access to resources. Diverse ethnic and cultural identities are often used to mobilise supporters from civil society. In these processes, passive cultural diversity – characterised by peaceful coexistence and tolerance – undergoes a dramatic change and imposes differences on communities, fuelling conflict and civil war.

This was highlighted in country studies presented at a workshop attended by 17 researchers from Africa, Europe and the USA to discuss the relationship between identity, cultural diversity, democratisation and conflict resolution in Africa. The workshop was coordinated by Dr Gerard Hagg, senior research specialist in the Society, Culture and Identity (SCI) research programme.

Papers were delivered on the situation in Burundi, Cameroon, DRC, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan and Zimbabwe. Additional papers were read on the work of the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) and the Observatory of Cultural Policies in Africa (OCPA).

Hagg says discussions focused on the nature of the African state and nation building, institutional and economic fragmentation in states and regions, and the role of cultural diversity and identity politics in conflict resolution, peace-making and democratisation processes. Issues of culture and identity included language, shared values and commonalities, the use of the media for manipulation of civil-society perceptions, and the need for a holistic approach to conflict resolution and transformation.

Hagg says the workshop illustrated the need for research on these issues within the African Renaissance context, linking policies developed by the African Union, regional organisations and NEPAD.

The full report is available on <http://www.hsrbpress.ac.za>.

SOME PROGRESS **BUT** **ROLE OF WOMEN** IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

INTERNATIONALLY, decentralisation has become part of the standard policy recipe for good governance. Decentralisation advocates argue that it fosters participatory democracy and results in more responsive service delivery, and that it benefits women since local government, which is more accessible to them, deals with issues of central importance to women. Critics, however, argue that decentralisation can undermine rights won at national level by giving power to local elites hostile to gender equality.

Some form of decentralisation is occurring in South Africa. Since 1994, local government has become a more important player with a wider mandate than before. Yet local government is required to give effect to national policies and guidelines, and to link with other spheres of government in the context of cooperative governance.

Integrated Development Plans (IDPs), produced as a statutory requirement by all municipalities, play a key role in this context. IDPs are local planning processes that are intended to give strategic direction to the work of municipalities (their programmes, budgets and projects) and to activities undertaken by provincial and national government departments operating in their areas. Increasingly, they are being seen as a forum for achieving links between spheres of government and facilitating coordinated planning, budgeting and implementation.

The South African Constitution is one of the most progressive in the world with regard to gender equality and women's rights. These constitutional commitments are taken up in several government policies, and are expected to be carried through in local government as well. The key question is what happens to women's rights and entitlements, as defined at national level, in this context. Are national gender policy directives and guidelines adhered to within local government, in IDP processes and outcomes, and in implementation?

OFTEN MARGINAL

National guidelines and targets are helping to ensure that women benefit from local projects even where local politics and governance processes marginalise women's voices, ALISON TODES, PEARL SITHOLE and AMANDA WILLIAMSON found during a research project that formed part of an international initiative by the International Development and Research Centre, Canada (IDRC).

These research questions were addressed through analysing national and provincial (KwaZulu-Natal) support to local government on gender and integrated development

planning, and through three case studies of municipalities of different sizes, capacities and local politics (Msinga, Hibiscus Coast and eThekweni).



The local research examined the place of gender in local government (in terms of representation and special structures), gender in the IDP and its linked participatory processes, and the extent to which projects and implementation reflect national gender policies, and whether they benefit women. Overall, some 70 interviews and 51 focus groups were conducted. The results of the research were presented and debated in workshops, funded by the European Union, at local, provincial and national level.

The research found that although some attention was paid to gender at the national level (in IDP support documents), in practice this emphasis was not sustained. For a few years after local government was amalgamated in 2000, the focus was on the 'basics' of getting local government to work, and 'cross-cutting' issues were marginalised.

Within local government, the focus has been limited mainly to the representation of women as councillors and within management, rather than on informing and transforming the work of municipalities. Nevertheless, even getting a more equitable representation of women and men in councils has not been easy. The recent local government elections were strongly contested, and there was resistance in some quarters to the idea of specifically promoting women as candidates.

Within local government, the focus has been limited mainly to the representation of women as councillors and within management, rather than on informing and transforming the work of municipalities



Even when women are represented in a council or are part of the management, they do not necessarily take gender issues forward. Structures to deal with the needs of vulnerable groups, including women, have been established in some local governments, but for the most part they are marginal and have little impact.

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), many of which take up issues of key concern to women, feel isolated from IDP participatory processes. IDP processes are also inaccessible to the many small organisations that provide important local services to women, and are often run by women. Even where fairly extensive participatory processes occur, these are often divorced from IDP resource allocation and implementation processes.

In the IDP documents themselves, gender remains a side issue, and the national guidelines produced on gender and IDPs are generally not followed. The specific needs raised by women in participatory processes and by NGOs taking up women's issues are neglected. On the positive side, many everyday needs of women may be addressed through IDP priorities, particularly the emphasis on service delivery. Still, they are considered in a gender-blind manner, and attention is needed to ensure that they are implemented in a gender-aware way. Most IDPs include an emphasis on economic development, but the differential effects for men and women of various strategies are not considered.

Despite the limitations of IDPs, women are very involved in municipal projects concerning poverty alleviation, basic service delivery, development of community facilities and infrastructural development. This is partly the effect of national guidelines that insist on women benefiting. Project managers, councillors and communities now see women's involvement as normal and even desirable.

Although quotas and the like are blunt instruments, they help to ensure that women are represented on committees and that they benefit from the work generated by projects. Women's increased involvement is also because many projects relate to what are seen as women's responsibilities, an extension of their 'normal' roles as carers and homemakers. In some cases, the income from working on these projects is too low to entice men.

Although there is evidence of progress, the role of women is frequently marginal or

tokenistic. In the larger flagship projects, women and small contractors are hardly present, which is a worrying pattern, given South Africa's emphasis on large-scale infrastructure-led growth for the next few years.

Most projects associated with women's traditional roles or designed to facilitate their economic empowerment have displayed disappointing results. Nevertheless, they do contribute in some way to reducing the vulnerability of poor households and improving quality of life at a basic level.

The research suggests that decentralisation that is beneficial to women also depends on a strong centre that emphasises women's rights. It shows that the existence of national guidelines and criteria that insist that women benefit from projects, and are included as workers and contractors, is making a difference, even if it is not perfect.

Even when women are represented in a council or are part of the management, they do not necessarily take gender issues forward

Since women's rights and entitlements are best established at national level, and women's position in local politics is contested, further decentralisation needs to proceed with caution. Variations between municipalities in terms of capacity and local politics also mean that the consequences of decentralisation will be uneven across space. The government, however, is starting to pay greater attention to gender and local government, and the increase in numbers of women represented in local government after the 2006 elections may make a difference.

Professor Alison Todes is a research director in the Urban Rural and Economic Development research programme and Dr Pearl Sithole is a research specialist in the Democracy and Governance research programme, both at the HSRC. Ms Amanda Williamson is a senior lecturer at the School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand.

No proof of 'child farming' in awarding of Child Support Grants

Contrary to widespread public perception, arising largely from moral and cultural concerns, there is no evidence that provision of the Child Support Grant (CSG) is a cause of increased youth fertility, conclude MONDE MAKIWANE and ERIC UDJO in a report prepared for the Department of Social Development.

A SCHOOL OF THOUGHT has developed in South Africa which claims that the CSG has some perverse incentives, one of which is to encourage women, especially teenagers, to have more children.

It is widely acknowledged in South Africa that teenage fertility is high. About half of all young people between 15 and 19 years of age, slightly more men than women, report having had sex. By age 19, close to 80% of South African women have had sex, and about 37% have been pregnant.

We analysed existing national datasets to examine whether there was a relationship between the CSG and teenage fertility, namely the 1995 and 1998 October Household Surveys, the 1998 South African Demographic and Health Survey, and the 2001 Census. Data from the Social Pension Fund Grant System, available since 1999, were also used.

The widespread belief that young women are having children specifically so they can have access to the grant is unfounded. What we did find, firstly, was that the upsurge in teenage fertility (for young women aged 15–19 years) predates the introduction of the CSG, and is now declining. If anything, the upsurge coincides with the major political changes that were taking place in South Africa, and may be similar to a post-war boom.

In the second place, throughout the eight-year existence of the CSG, teenage direct beneficiaries of the grant are fewer than 3% of the total number of beneficiaries, yet teen mothering comprises 15% of all fertility.

If young women were bearing children to benefit from the grant one would expect a higher proportion of teenagers to take advantage of the money. In line with older women taking on the care of younger women, the data show that persons of 35 years and older, whose fertility has been declining, are more likely to be direct beneficiaries of the CSG.

Finally, the increase in youthful fertility has occurred across the board, including among sections of society that do not qualify for the means-tested CSG.

The HSRC report says there are possible alternative explanations for the high rates of youthful fertility. The rising proportion of births to young women is visible in most countries of the world. The general trend, worldwide, is that where fertility rates are lower, the share of births to young women is among the highest. In line with this trend, as the general rate of fertility in South Africa declines, so the rate of fertility among young women is increasing.

Figure 1 shows that teenage fertility declined rapidly from 1980 until 1996, when a dramatic upsurge occurred. After that time, teenage fertility appears to level off. The exact pattern of teenage fertility from early 2000 is not known with any accuracy because of the lack of recent reliable data. Unadjusted fertility data from the Demographic and Health Survey 2003 (not yet publicly available) suggest that no further increase in teenage fertility was experienced for the few years after the 2001 census.

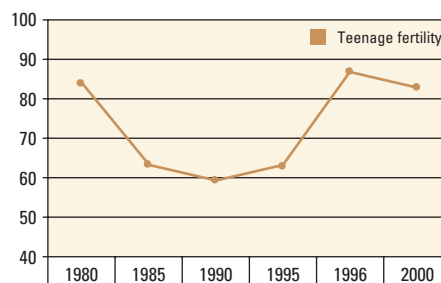


Figure 1: Trends in teenage fertility, 1980–2000

Although overall fertility levels of the African population group have been higher than those of other population groups, it has recently experienced the highest rate of decline. It is against this background that the fertility rates of different population groups are examined in Table 1, which shows the estimated trends in total fertility rate (TFR)



Table 1: TFR and ASFR 15–19 years, by race, 1995 and 2000

	1995		2000	
	ASFR 15–19 years	TFR	ASFR 15–19 years	TFR
African	45	3.6	65	3.01
Coloured	54	2.8	56	2.54
Indian	28	2.49	27	2.4
White	6	1.99	20	1.8

Table 2: Percentage of children receiving the CSG, by province, 1999 and 2005

Province	Percentage, March 1999	Percentage, March 2005
Eastern Cape	0.30	52.08
Northern Cape	0.82	60.66
Western Cape	0.27	30.80
Mpumalanga	0.08	50.86
Gauteng	0.12	34.63
KwaZulu-Natal	0.26	46.65
North West	0.18	43.70
Free State	0.28	43.06
Limpopo	0.82	52.24
Total	0.27	44.86

Table 3: Estimated age distribution of CSG beneficiaries, March 1999 and March 2005

Age group	Percentage, March 1999	Percentage, March 2005	Percentage fertility contribution 2001
15–19	1.64	2.69	15
20–24	14.86	16.61	28
25–29	21.90	21.62	23
30–34	19.24	19.35	17
35–39	18.43	15.11	10
40–44	11.90	10.66	4
45–49	5.87	5.82	0.5
50–54	2.29	3.13	–
55–60	1.93	2.01	–
60+		2.95	–

and age-specific fertility rate (ASFR) for teenagers, by race, in 1995 and 2000.

Total fertility rates in South Africa have been declining over the past few decades, as illustrated in Table 1. Eric Udjo estimates that the total fertility rate in South Africa declined from about 4.9 in 1970 to about 3.2 in 1998. In contrast, teenage fertility has increased in all race groups except Indians, suggesting that overall fertility has been accompanied by a shift in childbearing towards younger women.

Table 2 shows the estimated proportion of children who received grants in each province in 1999 and 2005. The proportion was compiled by dividing the number of children who received the grant in March 1999 by projections from Statistics South Africa of

the number of children in the age group 0–7 at mid-year 1999; and, for the 2005 estimates, the number of recipients was divided by the number of children in the age group 0–14.

It is estimated that about 45% of all children in South Africa received the child grant in March 2005, from a low of 0.27% in 1999.

These findings concur with another research report commissioned by the Department of Social Development, released in January 2007, of a quantitative analysis of the data on the social pensions system (Socpen). That report found that in October 2005, teenagers (women younger than 20 years) represent only 5% of all CSG recipients, which is considerably lower than the proportion of teenage mothers (13%) in the South African population.

Debates about perverse effects of welfare, and proposals for punitive exclusion and withdrawal, have occurred in other countries, also with respect to teen motherhood. The issue attracts strong personal, moral and cultural opinions. Based on the data we have analysed, we conclude that there are no grounds to believe that young South African girls are deliberately having children in order to access welfare benefits. However, the issue can only be settled conclusively by a specially designed study.

Dr Monde Makiwane is a chief research specialist in the Child, Youth, Family and Social Development research programme and Dr Eric Udjo is a research director in the Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS and Health (SAHA) research programme. For a copy of the report, e-mail media@hsr.ac.za.



External partners are still needed in post-election DRC to assist in the country's recovery from the devastating civil war. However, the greatest threat to peace remains competition for the DRC's vast natural resources, warns PETER KAGWANJA.

AFRICAN NEIGHBOURS AND OUTSIDE POWERS, for once, backed to the hilt the delicate transition process and the historic multi-party elections in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). This culminated in the installation on 6 December 2006 of Joseph Kabila as the first democratically elected leader of the country in over 40 years. Despite this, politics in post-election DRC is still brittle.

External partners must remain engaged in the peace-building process to avert the risk of the DRC relapsing into war. The role of external partners in post-election Congo was the subject of a high-level round-table meeting in Pretoria on 30 January 2007. With the theme, 'Post-Election Republic of Congo: Towards Partnerships for Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development', the meeting was convened by the Democracy and Governance programme of the Human Sciences Research Council in collaboration with the Policy Research and Analysis Unit of South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs.

Paradoxically, the role of outside powers and African states in the DRC since independence from Belgium in 1960 has both a silver lining and a sinister ring to it.

In his widely read book, *The Murder of Lumumba* (2001), the Belgian historian Ludo de Witte documents the connivance of external powers and segments of the Congolese elite in the cruel assassination of Congo's first elected prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, in January 1961. Western powers blessed and bankrolled Mobutu Sese Seko's kleptocracy for 32 years.

Congo's African neighbours took the plunge after the West (Belgium, Britain, France and the United States) left the stage when anti-Mobutu rebels invaded in October 1996. Nigeria's bid to reconcile Mobutu and rebel leader Laurent Kabila backfired. Nelson

Mandela's mediation on board the battleship *Outeniqua* also fell through. Kabila, backed by Rwanda and Uganda, swept to power in Kinshasa in May 1997.

Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe joined the fray in 1998, sending in troops to answer Kabila's cry for help in heading off a rebel invasion propped up by his erstwhile allies, Rwanda and Uganda. This triggered what has been dubbed 'Africa's First World War', as part of Congo's 1998–2003 civil war, which killed nearly 4 million people.

The Global and Inclusive Agreement on transition in the DRC, hammered out in Pretoria in 2002, paved the way for the withdrawal of foreign troops and the installation of a government of national unity. The transitional arrangement was a spectacular balancing of local power relations. President Joseph Kabila agreed to a power-sharing deal with four of his opponents serving as vice-presidents.

After 1999, the UN peacekeeping mission in the DRC (MONUC) became the public face of the international partnership for Congo's transition. With 17 500 troops and an annual budget of just over \$1 billion, MONUC is by far the largest UN peacekeeping mission in the world. Nevertheless, MONUC is still too small to pacify a country of 2.345 million km² (the size of Western Europe).

The Kinshasa-based International Committee for Supporting the Transition (CIAT) emerged as a broad-based partnership that kept the transition on an even keel. Support for the transition also came from the EU, which contributed some €33 million towards training a 38 000-strong police force in 2005–06. The EU also deployed 400–450 soldiers in Kinshasa (with 800–1 000 on the standby in nearby Gabon) to secure the 2006 elections.

In 2004, the United States created the Joint Verification Commission (JVC) and a Tripartite Commission to enhance co-operation in intelligence gathering between Congolese, Burundian, Rwandan and Ugandan armies in order to defuse tensions.

On the African front, apart from its role as mediator, South Africa deployed 1 268 troops in the DRC. In January 2004, Pretoria and the DRC signed a Joint Bilateral Commission (JBC) worth \$10 billion. The agreement facilitated the training of some 300 police officers at a price tag of \$5 million and (together with Belgium) the training of the Third Brigade of the Congolese national army. A difficult issue, however, is the potential impact of corporate South Africa on Congo's reconstruction.

Similarly, Angola trained 3 800 police officers, 80 members of an anti-crime brigade and 40 police trainers. It also trained Congo's Second Integrated Brigade and a battalion of commando troops at a total cost of \$50 million.

Lasting peace and democracy in the DRC remains a work in progress. Ironically, while expanding democratic space, the electoral process has also opened up new fault lines of insecurity. The fierce battle for the presidency between Joseph Kabila and Jean-Pierre Bemba has polarised politics into pro-Kabila 'Swahiliphone' and pro-Bemba 'Lingalaphone' zones, with far-reaching implications for citizenship.

Flare-ups of violence have dimmed the post-election rays of optimism significantly. Clashes after the gubernatorial elections in January 2007 killed some 77 people in the Bas Congo province. Pockets of fighting linger on in the eastern regions of Ituri, North Kivu and South Kivu.

Largely ill-trained and underpaid troops of the national army (FARDC), accused of



plunder, brutality and rape, remain a serious threat to peace. Also posing a serious security risk is the presence of some 80 000–90 000 Rwandese and Ugandan rebels in the DRC. Some 1.1 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) and 430 625 refugees must be resettled, and 204 341 refugees within Congo must be fed and sheltered. Landmines are hampering economic activity, with 285 people killed by mines during 2003–04.

High-level corruption is still endemic. A July 2005 report by a UN panel stated that 60–80 per cent of customs revenue was embezzled. The DRC ranked 156 in Transparency International's 2006 list of the most corrupt countries. Reversing corruption and ensuring public accountability demands

the strengthening of the judicial system.

In mid-February, the UN Security Council extended MONUC's mandate until 15 April 2007. MONUC must now clarify its exit strategy and timetable while radically redefining its role in post-election Congo to focus on such urgent issues as the training of the national army, the disarming of armed combatants, and the resettling of the displaced.

The expiry of CIAT's mandate after the election has created a vacuum. An alternative body is urgently required to mediate post-election conflicts. The EU is perhaps one of the most important partners in Congo's reconstruction, with its Strategy for Africa (2005) assisting the continent to meet the

Millennium Development Goals by 2015. The strategy should have peace-building in the DRC as a central strand.

Finally, the African Union adopted its post-reconstruction strategy in July 2006. The body must now step up its campaign to mobilise resources to rebuild countries emerging from war like the DRC.

When all is said and done, the ultimate risk to stability in the DRC is the competing economic interests of various actors. If not channelled properly, these partisan interests could plunge the country back into chaos and anarchy.

Dr Peter Kagwanja is African Fellow and director in the Democracy and Governance research programme.

CLOUD

OVER THE RAINBOW NATION:

'Corrective rape' and other hate crimes against black lesbians



Violence against black lesbians has no place in our democracy and, along with other forms of discriminatory violence, requires dedicated public education and stronger condemnation by policy-makers and civil society in order to be eradicated, write VASU REDDY, CHERYLANN POTGIETER and NONHLANHLA MKHIZE.

SOUTH AFRICA HAS TAKEN A SOLID STANCE on the issue of gender-based violence against women and children. As a nation, we participate in campaigns like the 16 Days of Activism Against Violence. We celebrate Women's Day each year. The media, government and business sectors are all instrumental in putting these issues in the public forum.

Yet there is one women's issue that remains hidden from the public eye, even though it is destroying not only individual lives but also our solidarity as a rainbow community. This is the issue of violence against black lesbians. Like data on other forms of violence against women, many incidents of violence against black lesbians go unreported and unnoticed, and therefore remain outside the public consciousness.

However, some examples of violence against lesbians have made it into the public domain. Zoliswa Nkonyana died in February 2006, after she was stoned, beaten and stabbed in front of her house by a gang of men in Cape Town – for being a lesbian. In September 2005, another young lesbian nearly bled to death during the Johannesburg Pride parade, after being hit by a thrown bottle. In December 2004, a 22-year-old lesbian was raped in Meadowlands, Soweto; in the same month, another teenage lesbian was raped in Mohlakeng. Two other rapes of lesbians were reported earlier that year. But these cases are only the tip of the iceberg.

Even without physical violence, black lesbians generally are marginalised by their families and communities for their sexual identity. They are told they are unAfrican if they are not living a heterosexual lifestyle. But beyond this prejudice, they are often singled out and targeted by men who use rape as a twisted form of 'therapy'. The term 'corrective rape' has been coined to describe this particular type of hate crime, because the rapists claim that they are acting in the lesbian's interest, by 'teaching her to behave like a woman'.

The result, of course, is always the opposite: a rape survivor may learn to hide her sexual identity but she has not changed it. Instead, she is even more isolated from her own community, while the rapists – and family members who may even have encouraged the rape – are more firmly entrenched in their violent hatred towards homosexuals.

Physical violence against black lesbians provides us with contemporary examples of

how stigma, machismo and masculine power combine with heterosexism to suggest that violence is somehow normalised in our communities.

Isolation is only part of what the 'corrective rape' victim suffers. Anecdotal evidence indicates that this crime frequently involves a gang of men attacking a single woman, often with knives or other weapons. Afterwards, the woman needs hospitalisation, if she survives the ordeal – many do not. Those who do survive may find that the rape has left them pregnant or infected with HIV or another sexually transmitted disease.

These women carry the scars of their emotional and psychological violation long after their physical scars have healed. As one rape survivor said at a seminar co-hosted by the HSRC in December 2006: 'Rape causes anger. It destroys and wrecks lives. It causes divisions and it damages an innocent soul... Is this the freedom that we were fighting for as South Africans?'

We have noble legal instruments that offer protection, but as a society we live in the face of heightened stigma against homosexuality”

Another rape survivor told the seminar how she had been attacked more than once by different groups of men: 'They told me that "I think today you will shut up", but I'll never do that, I'll never shut up...Really they want to silence me. Then I have two options: it's either to shut up or to continue to tell [myself] that they've done nothing. I will continue in what I believe in. So I survived again.'

The December seminar on Gender-based Violence, Black Lesbians, Hate Speech and Homophobia was hosted in Pretoria by the Gender and Development Unit of the HSRC and the Durban Lesbian & Gay Community & Health Centre, to bring 'corrective rape' and other forms of violence against black lesbians into the public eye. In solidarity as researchers, human and gender rights activists and legal experts, we highlighted what should be an obvious fact: that violence against black lesbians is as unacceptable as violence against any other women or children.

The recent publication of *I Stories* by the Genderlinks opinion and commentary service for the 16 Days of Activism campaign gives a voice to South African women and children, including black lesbians. In one narrative, Marco Ndlovu, a 39-year-old black lesbian from Pietermaritzburg, says: 'As a lesbian, hate, violence and misogyny follow me wherever I go. I became pregnant as a result of being raped by a man I believed to be a friend. I have been beaten almost to pulp because of my sexual orientation, at the instigation of none other than my mother.'

To be black and lesbian in South Africa seems to be a burden riddled with much anxiety. Ten years after the formal adoption of a remarkable constitution, we are celebrating the legalisation of same-sex unions. A damper on these hard-won rights is that the majority of our citizens – women – continue to struggle against cultural attitudes that deny them the right to live with their identities.

One way to fight homophobia and violence against homosexuals is through the media. At the seminar in December, Donna Smith of the Forum for the Empowerment of Women raised the point that media representatives rarely showed up at functions that educate on issues like gender-based violence against lesbians. She said that when a lesbian support organisation approached a local television production company about its negative presentation of homosexuals in a drama series, the producers turned down any possibility of discussion with the organisation. News media also tended to be insensitive to the need for lesbian rape survivors to protect their identity, to avoid attracting more attacks.

Socio-cultural causes of violence remain a serious challenge for us as we negotiate a society free from violence. We require sustained public education, including stronger and more vocal partnerships between policy-makers and civil society to confront and curb such violence. Like gender-based violence, homophobia cannot be allowed to persist in our democracy.

The Gender-based Violence, Black Lesbians, Hate Speech and Homophobia seminar was sponsored by the Foundation for Human Rights.

Professors Vasu Reddy and Cheryl-Ann Potgieter work in the Gender and Development Unit of the HSRC and Nonhlanhla Mkhize is Director of the Durban Lesbian & Gay Community & Health Centre.

Youth initiative

hopes to solve youth development questions

IN LINE WITH ITS MANDATE to host priority policy-development initiatives and to provide policy-related services to the research programmes in the HSRC, the Policy Analysis Unit (PAU) of the HSRC launched a Youth Initiative on 31 January 2007. The project will run for a three-year period.

The launch coincided with the presentation of the *World Development Report 2007: Development and the next generation* by the World Bank's South Africa office. Dr Emmanuel Y. Jimenez, who led the core team that prepared the report, gave a presentation at the launch of the initiative.

During 2007 the initiative will primarily consist of a series of round-table meetings, convened jointly in 2007 by PAU and the Child, Youth, Family and Social Development programme and in collaboration with relevant groups in the Presidency, the Department of Social Development, the Youth Commission, the Umsobomvu Youth Fund, the South African Youth Council, the World Bank, research community and others.

Experts from the policy, programme and research environments will come together to consolidate the state of the science, the demands for action, and interrogate key questions on youth development.

The debates will attempt to move the youth development agenda beyond acknowledging the extent of the challenges, to proposing viable policy and programmatic directions that can be undertaken in an integrated manner.

The exact topics for these round-table meetings will take shape during consultative meetings and will include polling young people.

The Youth Initiative will tap into the rich history and traditions of youth activism in our country. This will be done through the use of interactive technologies to both conduct research (polling via sponsored mobile telephone calls) and ensure the active participation of youth in the policy dialogues.

The Policy Analysis Unit (PAU), established in 2006 with dedicated funding from the National Department of Science and Technology, serves as a think tank and a forum for the deliberation and analysis of public policy on the most critical issues affecting the lives of ordinary people. It is a cross-cutting programme that pulls together pertinent resources from all the research programmes at the HSRC.

Some personal history?

My three brothers and I went into exile with my parents in 1961 (when I was four years old), and I lived in both Kenya and the USA for a total of 32 years. The greatest formative intellectual influences on me were Franz Fanon's book *The Wretched of the Earth* and James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time*. A key defining moment was living through the failed military coup in Kenya of August 1982, which I witnessed from up close as a trainee journalist at the University of Nairobi.

Who had the biggest influence in your life, and what did you learn from them?

From my father, in the context of a prolonged exile, the beacon of 'home' and the necessity of a return to one's ancestral roots. From my mother, the strength that comes from an unending devotion to one's family; and, from my late wife, that cultural borders and other divides were invented to be crossed and bridged.

What would you regard as the highlight of your career thus far?

Serving as the special adviser to the Minister of Social Development in the government of a democratic South Africa.



profile: Dr Temba Sipho B Masilela



**Executive Director,
Policy Analysis Unit**

BORN: Orlando West in Soweto on 18 August 1957.

QUALIFICATIONS: PhD in development support communication from the University of Iowa, USA.

PREVIOUS JOB: Full-time Special Adviser to the Minister of Social Development.

MARRIED TO: Renu Masilela (née Thanomsak), a jewellery designer and manufacturer from Thailand.

CHILDREN: One son, Thongchai Magija (13), and one daughter, Dulnimit Noyeli (10).

CURRENT BEDTIME READING: *Season of hope: Economic reform under Mandela and Mbeki* by Alan Hirsch.

What are the most challenging aspects of your job and what would you most like to achieve?

The great challenge is achieving greater utilisation of research evidence in policy formulation, review and implementation in the areas of poverty reduction, quality education, employment creation, improved service delivery and a reduced impact of HIV and AIDS.

This is a wide field that covers different aspects of the research done in other HSRC research programmes. How do you envision working with them?

We will be working as project team members in various time-bound policy initiatives that pull together existing research, that engage in dialogue with key stakeholders, and that construct viable policy options that are summarised in readable policy briefs.

Is there an academic theory on policy development that can guide you, or is this a brand new field? And how do you go about developing policy; what are the important factors that you have to take into account?

We see 'policy' both as a course of action or plan (a set of political purposes) and as a narrative. In terms of the policy cycle, our emphasis is on enhancing the efficacy of

implementation. This is why the unit's pay-off line is 'creative solutions for policy implementation'. There are various traditions, theories, evaluation methodologies and analytical techniques in policy analysis and, similarly, various conceptions of how social science research influences public policy. Research evidence is just one of many factors – ideological orientation, values, vested interests (economic, social, cultural and bureaucratic), power, political ascendancy and media saliency – that influence policy development. What could be better than being a 'policy junkie' tasked with working in the nexus of research and policy during 'interesting times'?

Is this not a potentially tension-filled minefield as the government has its own policy research mechanisms and ways of developing policy? How would you go about navigating this terrain?

One has to be simultaneously a credible researcher or interpreter of policy research, a trusted adviser, a critical policy activist and an honest broker. Maintaining close trust relationships with all key stakeholders is vital and this requires good interpersonal skills, open-mindedness and good judgement. Keeping Amilcar Cabral's injunction to 'tell no lies and claim no easy victories' at the

forefront of one's mind at all times is useful in navigating through the minefields in any policy development arena.

Who is the person you would most like to meet and what would you discuss with him/her?

Definitely President Thabo Mbeki. The subject for discussion – What do you see as the missed opportunities in our first decade of freedom, the critical policy challenges facing South Africa over the next 10 years and what do you hope will be your legacy?

How do you relax and recharge your batteries?

Given the battering my knees took during a long rugby-playing career and my love of the wilderness, nothing beats taking my dogs for very long walks in the Groenkloof Nature Reserve. Getting angry about social injustice and inept management also helps to recharge my batteries. Evidence that calculated collective action leads in the direction of desired results should keep everyone going. But, at the end of the day, I have to say that there is nothing more rewarding than the smile of a child.



Advertising in the News: Paid-for content and the South African print media

Adrian Hadland, Lesley Cowling & Bate Felix Tabi Tabé

This monograph, which derives from original recent research conducted by the HSRC and the University of the Witwatersrand's Media Observatory, looks at the range of strategies employed in the print sector to develop paid-for content. It notes the problems and practices that may arise from such strategies and the potential consequences for editorial content, journalistic practice and for readers. The publication provides important insights into issues of editorial integrity, profitability, media ethics, trust and the consolidation of democracy.

2007 / 76pp / 978-0-7969-2183-3 / R90.00 / Softcover

Going for Broke: The fate of farmworkers in arid South Africa

Doreen Atkinson

South African agriculture has always been ideologically contested, because of its relationship with controversial land ownership issues. This book takes the question of farmworkers' fortunes beyond the land debate to consider their current and future livelihoods. The author argues that the question of farmworkers needs to be understood as part of a broader spectrum of economic and social questions. A valuable study of past policy failures and future policy options, *Going for Broke* promotes new approaches, synergies and partnerships amongst stakeholders, including government, commercial farmers, agricultural cooperatives, municipalities, training agencies, and farmworker trade unions.

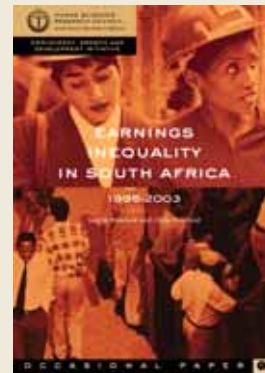
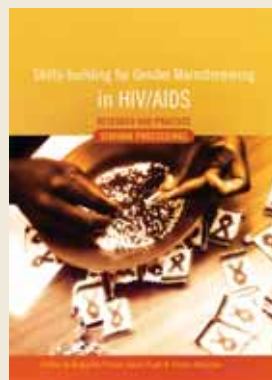
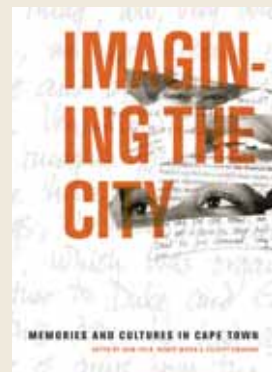
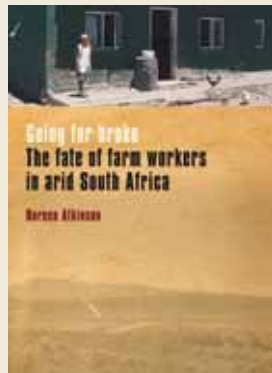
2007 / 320pp / 978-0-7969-2176-5 / R260.00 / Softcover

Earnings inequality in South Africa: 1995–2003

Ingrid Woolard & Chris Woolard

It is generally accepted that the gap between the earnings of unskilled and semi-skilled workers on the one hand, and skilled and highly skilled workers on the other, narrowed in South Africa during the 1970s and 1980s. This paper investigates whether the gap between the real earnings of highly skilled and low-skilled workers in the formal sector of the South African economy continued to narrow after this country's transition to democracy.

2007 / 44pp / 978-0-7969-2173-4 / R80.00 / Softcover



Imagining the City: Memories and Cultures in Cape Town

Edited by Sean Field, Renate Meyer & Felicity Swanson

Cities are not only made of buildings and roads, they are also constructed through popular imagination and spaces of representation. *Imagining the City* presents an array of oral and visual histories drawn from people who live, work and creatively express themselves in the city. It makes an important contribution to public discourse about a vision for, and ownership of the city by affirming the memory of its inhabitants, and by hinting at the work that can, and should still be done in foregrounding memory and culture in the re-imagination of Cape Town as a city.

2007 / 248pp / 978-0-7969-2179-6 / R180.00 / Softcover

Skills-building for Gender Mainstreaming in HIV/AIDS Research and Practice: Seminar proceedings

Edited by Bridgette Prince, Sarah Pugh & Sharon Kleintjes

The impact of gender in fuelling HIV/AIDS has become a fundamental aspect of addressing the pandemic. It is clear that gender plays a pivotal role in how women and men respond to counselling, testing, treatment, care and prevention programmes. This report contains the presentations delivered at the gender and HIV/AIDS-themed sessions held during the 3rd African Conference of the Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS Research Alliance (SAHARA), held in Dakar in October 2005.

2007 / 88pp / 978-0-7969-2167-3 / R70.00 / Softcover

Women in South African History: Basus'iimbokodo, Bawel'imilambo / They remove boulders and cross rivers

Edited by Nomboniso Gasa

In this fascinating collection, full of different textures, narratives and nuances, sixteen authors have begun to tackle the task of writing South Africa's history from an overtly feminist perspective, giving readers an opportunity to understand and reflect on debates about real women's power in completely new and fresh ways.

Contributors include Jennifer Weir, Pumla Dineo Gqola, Helen Bradford, Elizabeth van Heyningen, Nomboniso Gasa, Luli Callinicos, Iris Berger, Raymond Suttner, Jacklyn Cock, Janet Cherry, Pat Gibbs, Sheila Meintjes, Nthabiseng Motsemme, Caroline Wanjiku Kihato and Yvette Abrahams.

2007 / 536pp / 978-0-7969-2174-8 / R190.00 / Softcover