



HOUSING DELIVERY COMES AGROUND in the Free State

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OWING OUR OWN TIMBER

The availability of highly skilled scientific human capital is critical to any nation's scientific and economic advancement. Yet, in 2000 the situation looked rather bleak. Over a ten-year period, from 1990–2000, the total output of scientific articles by researchers in South Africa remained relatively constant, and while the percentage of scientific publications by authors over 50 years old increased from 20% to 47%, articles published by the 30–49 age group declined from 75% to 52%.



In addition, in the year 2000 the majority (92%) of scientific publications were authored by white authors, while black African, coloured and Indian researchers wrote only 2.6%, 1.1% and 4.4% of the articles respectively. If on top of this one reviewed the number of potential researchers coming out of university, it became clear that whereas the number of doctoral students increased from 799 to 819 from 1996–2000, this has not translated into increased scientific publications by scientists in the 30–49 age groups.

At the HSRC it was no different. To remedy the situation, the HSRC started an internship programme in 2003 and slowly the situation started improving. On 26 October 2007, a new researcher development programme was established, commemorating the international award-winning writer, quintessential teacher and tireless fighter for the revival of African consciousness by naming the programme the Es'kia Mphahlele internship programme.

The publication rate of black researchers in books and chapters improved considerably, to the level where in 2008, on average every researcher in the HSRC produced such an output. This did not happen by accident, but it required a concerted effort on the part of the HSRC to 'grow its own timber'.

The intention was to offer young scientists cutting-edge opportunities that are rarely available in similar organisations and to contribute to a broader transformation of the South African society by developing scientists who can take positions in the HSRC or in research organisations and assume leadership positions.

Inspiration to continue this task also came from the new Human Sciences Research Council Act, 2008 (Act No. 17 of 2008), which came into operation on 5 December 2008. It specifically provided for the organisation to help build research capacity and infrastructure for the human sciences. The financial support of the Department of Science and Technology for this initiative provided an impetus to increase the numbers of trainees and create a sustainable programme. The additional support of our development partners, who supported HSRC projects that developed young researchers, also contributed to increasing the numbers of trainees.

A further impetus to this ambition was provided by the Grand Challenge of Human and Social Dynamics, as presented in the Ten-Year Plan for Innovation by the Department of Science and Technology. It required the organisation to contribute to the Grand Challenge of Human Capital Development and Knowledge Generation.

Through its researcher trainee programme, the HSRC committed itself to offer support at various levels, including Master's degree, PhD and post-doctoral fellowships, and to bring new researchers into the science system. These strategic commitments cut across the work of the HSRC.

Agreements with the Department of Labour have provided specialised research capacity support for research interns, and higher education institutions provide for shared capacity development.

This work is now paying off. During the 2008/09 budget year, the HSRC had provided opportunities for 30 Master's and 30 PhD interns studying towards their degrees under the mentorship of our most senior researchers and research managers. The organisation also nurtured ten post-doctoral fellows from South Africa and other parts of Africa.

During the last financial year, research interns either authored or co-authored eight peer-reviewed articles in professional journals, and submitted another four for publication; authored or co-authored eight books or chapters in books, published four articles in non-peer reviewed journals (another two have been submitted), presented 20 conference papers, and contributed to ten research reports.

The HSRC is indeed pleased to be part of this noble task of cultivating and mentoring young researchers who, with their endeavours, contribute to a deepened social knowledge and the advancement of our country.

NEWSROUNDUP

Free & fair elections

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) contracted Socio-Economic Survey (CSES) in Knowledge Systems to conduct an exit poll on Election Day, 22 April 2009 to indicate voters' experiences during the election. The contract is an indication of the confidence the IEC has in the ability of the CSES to conduct such a mammoth project in one day and to deliver quality data, said Dr Mbithi wa Kivilu, CSES director. 'KS had the task to provide empirical evidence that the elections were 'free and fair'. This can only add value to the good work being done by the IEC in managing the elections.'

According to Wa Kivilu, the CSES deployed 400 fieldworkers, 36 sub-supervisors and ten supervisors over 400 voting stations countrywide. The training of the fieldworkers started on 16 April in Pretoria and then moved to the provinces from 17 to 21 April. CSES staff members were deployed in all the provinces to conduct the training and monitor the data-collection exercise on 22 April 2009. 'We had one fieldworker per voting station who was expected to interview 35 voters and six election observers,' he said.

The data collection exercise went smoothly despite a few problems that were sorted out in the morning session. Supervisors collected all the completed questionnaires from the fieldworkers. The data capturing of the 14 000 voter and 2 400 election observers had started on Saturday 25 April, and was completed on 30 April 2009. The CSES submitted a draft report on 2 July and is now incorporating the Commission's comments.



Dr Mbithi wa Kivilu (left), director, and Mr Yul Derek Davids, a research manager in Socio-Economic Surveys in the Knowledge Systems unit, present their findings at an IEC news conference.

Apartheid and colonialism alive and well in occupied Palestinian territories

An HSRC study indicates that Israel is practising both colonialism and apartheid in the occupied Palestinian territories (OPT). The 300-page draft, titled Occupation, Colonialism, Apartheid?: A re-assessment of Israel's practices in the occupied Palestinian territories under international law, represents 15 months of research and constitutes an exhaustive review of Israel's practices in the OPT according to definitions of colonialism and apartheid provided by international law.

The research team included scholars and international lawyers based at the HSRC, the School for Oriental and African Studies (London), the British Institute for International and Comparative Law, the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Durban), the Adalah/ Legal Centre for Arab Minority Rights in Israel and al-Haq/West Bank Affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists.



Dr Virginia Tilley, the project coordinator of the Middle East Project and chief research specialist in the Democracy and Governance research programme.

Consultation on the study's theory and method was provided by eminent jurists from South Africa, Israel and Europe. The project was suggested originally by the January 2007 report by respected South African jurist John Dugard, in his capacity as Special Rapporteur to the United Nations Human Rights Council, when he indicated that Israeli practices had assumed characteristics of colonialism and apartheid.

Regarding colonialism, the team found that Israel's policy and practices violate the prohibition on colonialism which the international community developed in the 1960s in response to the great decolonisation struggles in Africa and Asia. Israel's policy is demonstrably to fragment the West Bank and annex part of it permanently to Israel, which is the hallmark of colonialism. Israel has appropriated land and water in the OPT, merged the Palestinian economy with Israel's economy, and imposed a system of domination over Palestinians to ensure their subjugation to these measures. Through these measures, Israel has denied the indigenous population the right to self-determination and indicated clear intention to assume sovereignty over portions of its land and natural resources. Permanent annexation of territory in this fashion is the hallmark of colonialism.

Regarding apartheid, the team found that Israel's laws and policies in the OPT fit the definition of apartheid in the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Israeli law conveys privileges to Jewish settlers and disadvantages Palestinians in the same territory on the basis of their respective identities, which function as 'racialised identities' in the sense provided by international law. Israel's practices are corollary to five of the six 'inhuman acts' listed by the Convention. A policy of apartheid is especially indicated by Israel's demarcation of geographic 'reserves' in the West Bank, to which Palestinian residence is confined and which Palestinians cannot leave without a permit. The system is very similar to the policy of 'Grand Apartheid' in apartheid South Africa, in which black South Africans were confined to black Homelands delineated by the South African government, while white South Africans enjoyed freedom of movement and full civil rights in the rest of the country.

The draft study is available on www.hsrc.ac.za/DG.phtml.

NEWSROUNDUP

Reporting from Bergen, Norway

The HSRC had a prominent presence at the International Social Science Council's first World Social Science Forum that took place from 10–12 May in Bergen, Norway. The Forum under the theme One Planet – Worlds Apart?, brought together approximately 800 participants from 85 countries to demonstrate the global presence, impact and authority of the social sciences.

Several institutions and universities from South Africa took part, most notably the National Research Foundation of South Africa, Rhodes University and the Universities of Cape Town, the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg and the Western Cape.

The HSRC hosted two sessions: 'The science of science and innovation policy', sponsored by the HSRC and the European Cooperation in the Field of Scientific and Technical Research, and 'Rethinking social policies in light of the response to the financial crisis: How to turn crisis into opportunity for social development and policies?', sponsored by the HSRC and UNESCO's Management of Social Transformations (MOST) programme.

In both sessions speakers from various countries, ranging from India to Jordan, presented papers, resulting in rich discussion and debate.

The science of science and innovation policy

The mantra for modern knowledge economies is innovation. It is pursued through education policies designed to foster a flexible work force, but also through research policies that promote innovation and adaptability and flexibility. Speakers addressed questions such as: What is the social science evidence base for different innovation policies and regimes? How can policy-makers evaluate the investments made in science and research? What communities linking scientists, firms and policy-makers can be built to address the complex dynamics in today's global, high-tech society? What new institutional arrangements may be needed?

Rethinking social policies in light of the response to the financial crisis The world is trapped in the worst financial and economic crisis since the great depression of the 1930s, spreading fast and affecting all countries. The situation creates unemployment for millions of people, with subsequent increases in poverty, hunger, less remittances, etc., and



The HSRC exhibition table at the WSSF Conference.



Mr William Blankley, director of the Centre for Science, Technology and Innovation Indicators at the HSRC, and Dr Neo Molotja, a research specialist in the Knowledge Systems unit, HSRC chairs a session at the World Social Science Forum in Norway, in May.

threatens to seriously reverse progress towards international development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals. The situation is especially affecting the most vulnerable population groups.

Social policies were for long developed in the context of neoliberalism and the 'trickle down theory'. The crisis has shown the need to rethink social policies and for a real 'Global New Deal' and welfare states with a social contract in which social justice, solidarity and the enjoyment of human rights for all is promoted, especially for women, who are the backbones of the family. There is a need for cooperation between policy-makers, researchers, NGOs and the private sector, and that the world's developed countries respect the Monterrey Consensus to donate 0.7% of their gross national product (GNP) to the economic development of poor countries.

HIV SURVEY AMONG GAUTENG PROVINCIAL WORKERS

The Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS and Health programme (SAHA) has been awarded a contract to do an HIV incidence, prevalence and behavioural risk survey among employees of the Gauteng provincial government. The support of union leaders and other stakeholders will be obtained in the first phase of the study.

The research will be led by Professor Geoffrey Setswe, a director in SAHA. HIV/AIDS impact studies spell out the future risks of AIDS to the sustainability of government services in Gauteng. In 1998 the Gauteng government leadership initiated an internal workplace AIDS programme, but the need was felt to conduct an HIV survey to guide future planning for human



resources and the workplace response to HIV and AIDS for the period from 2004 to the year 2014. Union leaders support the survey.

Setswe said the study will determine the HIV prevalence among employees, to provide reliable projections of HIV and AIDS with cost implications for human resource management until 2014, and to identify interventions for groups of employees at high risk of contracting HIV. It will also involve the promotion of HIV prevention among managers, union leaders and employees, and education on survey methodology.

The study will be completed before the middle of 2010.

Prof. Geoffrey Setswe, who leads the research project on HIV incidence, prevalence and behavioural risk among employees of the Gauteng provincial government.

Altered states:

When one partner is HIV positive

In a new study, LAETITIA RISPEL analyses the needs of HIV-discordant couples, were one partner is HIV positive and the other HIV negative, and concludes that policy and research pay insufficient attention to such couples.

The researchers conducted an exploratory study to assess sexual health, reproductive desires, strategies for preventing HIV transmission to the negative partner, and sexual and reproductive healthservice needs of HIV-discordant couples in long-term relationships. The research was commissioned by an advocacy organisation, Global Network of People Living with HIV (GNP+). It focused on discordant couples because many HIV infections occur between couples in established relationships, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, and their needs were inadequately addressed in intervention programmes.

FINDINGS IN THREE COUNTRIES

The study was conducted in South Africa and Tanzania, where HIV is transmitted mostly through heterosexual intercourse, and the Ukraine, where HIV is transmitted largely through injection drug use. The researchers recruited 51 couples, with one partner HIV positive and the other HIV negative, and who had been in a relationship for at least one year. They were recruited through healthcare providers and civil society organisations in South Africa (26 couples), Tanzania (10), and the Ukraine (15).

Brief self-administered questionnaires and indepth semi-structured individual and couple interviews were used to study health and wellness management, strategies for reducing the risk of transmitting HIV to the negative partner, parental status and reproductive intentions, and treatment, care and support needs.

The study found that just over half (51%) of the couples and almost half (47%) of the HIVpositive individuals in the study desired a child or children. Among individuals, almost three-quarters (74%) of those without children desired children, while just over one-third (36%) with children desired additional children. Three out of every five participants (61%) reported that intimacy had been affected by their discordant relationship, with changes in sexual relations due to the need for condom use as well as fears of infecting the negative partner, which often conflicted with the desire for children.

In South Africa and Tanzania combined, 43% of the HIV-positive participants reported having experienced some form of discrimination compared to 24% of the HIV-negative participants, with discrimination reported more frequently by the Tanzanian participants. Several Ukrainian participants reported discrimination from healthcare professionals.

Participants reported a shortage of information, educational materials and support services for discordant couples, with less than half (45%) participating in support groups in the past year.

Just over half (51%) of the couples and almost half (47%) of the HIV-positive individuals in the study desired a child or children

WHAT COULD BE DONE?

The researchers recommended that recognising HIV discordance and addressing the needs of discordant couples should form an integral part of global and



national responses to the HIV epidemic. The greater involvement of people living with HIV, a widely recognised key principle in the HIV response, should include involving discordant couples. Epidemiological information on discordant couples should be collected as part of routine HIV surveillance. Further research should focus on their reproductive, information and social-service needs.

The high proportion of HIV-positive individuals and discordant couples desiring children revealed a need for explicit HIV policies recognising the reproductive rights of people living with HIV, and respect for their choice to have children. Reported experiences revealed a need for interventions to address stigma and discrimination, and to educate and orientate healthcare professionals in this regard.

Policies and programmes should promote the health of both partners and address the challenges of discordant partnerships, as well as provide advice on: health education, information on healthy living, preventing HIV transmission, couples counselling, testing services and support groups.

Professor Laetitia Rispel is the former executive director of the Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS and Health at the HSRC and is now at the Centre for Health Policy at the University of the Witwatersrand.

EXPOSING a hidden HIV epidemic among MEN WHO HAVE SEX WITH MEN

One of the first studies among men who have sex with men (MSM) found a 'hidden epidemic' of HIV among MSM in South Africa in keeping with findings in other countries with generalised HIV epidemics. The results also suggest that South Africa may be experiencing parallel heterosexual and homosexual HIV epidemics with limited bridging between the two. CAROL METCALF and LAETITIA RISPEL, who presented these findings at the SA AIDS Conference in Durban in April, describe the study.

IV in South Africa was first recognised among gay men in the early 1980s. However, from the time that a generalised HIV epidemic emerged in the 1990s until recently, very little attention was paid to the ongoing HIV epidemic among MSM. The term 'MSM' includes all men who have sex with men, irrespective of their sexual orientation or gender identity.

The National Strategic Plan on HIV & AIDS and STIs, 2007–2011 (NSP) draws attention to the limited information on HIV among MSM in South Africa. This led to the Johannesburg/eThekwini's Men's Study (JEMS), which was conducted to provide preliminary information on the epidemiology of HIV among MSM in Johannesburg and eThekwini (Durban), and to describe the availability of programmes and services to MSM.

JEMS is one of three recent studies of HIV among MSM in South Africa released in April 2009 at the South African AIDS Conference in Durban. The two other studies are the Soweto Men's Study led by Tim Lane from the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF), and a Mother City Men's Health Project study in Cape Town led by Earl Burrell of the Desmond Tutu HIV Foundation at the University of Cape Town (UCT).

HOW THE STUDY WAS DONE

JEMS, which had approval from research ethics committees at the HSRC and Wits, used respondent-

driven sampling (RDS) to recruit 285 men from Johannesburg and Durban into a survey. RDS is a method of recruitment used to obtain representative samples of hidden, hard-to-reach populations. Most participants were black Africans, under 25 years of age, and identified as being homosexual/gay. The survey was complemented with qualitative interviews with 32 key informants and focus group discussions with approximately 150 men.

The men who agreed to participate, completed a questionnaire and provided finger-prick blood specimens for anonymous HIV testing in a laboratory. Participants who did not know their HIV status were offered free, on-site voluntary counselling and testing (VCT). All men in the survey had had sex with at least one other man in the past year.

Almost one in two participants reported having unprotected anal intercourse in the past year, with this being more than twice as common among HIV-positive participants than among HIV-negative participants

FINDINGS OF HIGH HIV AMONG SMS

Of the 266 men tested for HIV in the survey, 43.6% were HIV positive. After adjusting for the sampling

method, the estimated HIV prevalence was 38.3%. Even after this adjustment, the HIV prevalence among survey participants was more than double that of men in the general population. The finding of a high HIV prevalence among MSM is a cause for concern and suggests that there is a 'hidden epidemic' of HIV among MSM in South Africa in keeping with findings in many other countries with generalised HIV epidemics. The results also suggest that South Africa may be experiencing parallel heterosexual and homosexual HIV epidemics with limited bridging between the two.

FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO HIV RISK

High-risk sexual behaviour was widespread among JEMS participants. HIV-negative men reported an average of 5 partners in the past year, and HIV-positive men reported an average of 7.5 partners in the past year. Almost one in two participants reported having unprotected anal intercourse in the past year, with this being more than twice as common among HIV-positive participants than among HIV-negative participants. Condom unavailability, or slippage and breakage, were common and many participants reported using substances such as Vaseline that reduce the protective effect of condoms. The majority of participants reported having had sex while under the influence of alcohol.



AVAILABILITY OF HEALTH SERVICES AND HIV-PREVENTION PROGRAMMES

Over half the participants reported that they had used a government health service in the past year, and over two-thirds reported that they did not have medical aid. However, only less than one in ten participants reported that they would prefer to receive HIV-prevention services from a government health service, rather than from other proposed service providers. Many participants reported that health workers often display negative and judgemental attitudes towards MSM, or tailor their clinical management exclusively towards heterosexuals. This made some men reluctant to use healthcare services. Due to persisting stigmatisation of homosexuality, some MSM feared to disclose their sexual practices and sexual identity to health workers. Qualitative interviews found that health services and HIV-prevention, care and support programmes for MSM are provided mainly by lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) organisations. These programmes had limited capacity and resources, limited hours of operation, were available in only a few centres, and provided services to a very limited number of men.

USE OF VOLUNTARY HIV TESTING AND COUNSELLING (VCT) SERVICES

Both qualitative interviews and the survey found that many MSM are reluctant to be tested for HIV, and often

do not disclose their HIV status to their sexual partners. Over half the survey participants reported that they 'knew' their HIV status, but only two-thirds of those who knew their status had disclosed their status to a sexual partner in the past year. Although almost all survey participants knew where they could be tested for HIV, less than half had been tested for HIV in the past year and given the result, and only 25 of 285 participants chose to have VCT, offered as part of the survey.

The final JEMS results have not yet been released because further analyses are in progress using special methods developed for analysing RDS surveys.

Due to persisting stigmatisation of homosexuality, some MSM feared to disclose their sexual practices and sexual identity to health workers

FURTHER INITIATIVES

Building on the lessons learned from JEMS, HSRC researchers plan to do further work to expand

surveillance of HIV among MSM in South Africa. As a first step, a stakeholder meeting was held in Johannesburg on 21 May 2009 to share knowledge and expertise and to develop partnerships. The meeting was attended by a diverse range of stakeholders, including researchers, representatives of LGBT organisations, the National Department of Health, the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC).

HSRC researchers, led by Carol Metcalf and Geoff Setswe, are now in the process of planning a new study which will be funded by the US President's Fund for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) through the CDC. In order to provide a more complete picture of HIV among MSM in South Africa, this new study will include a wider diversity of MSM, including men other than black Africans, older men, men of higher socio-economic status, and men from geographic areas not yet studied. In the long run, it is hoped that by documenting and exposing the 'hidden epidemic', this work will help to promote improved HIV-prevention, treatment and care programmes and services for MSM in South Africa.

Professor Laetitia Rispel, who led the study, is from the Centre for Health Policy at the University of the Witwatersrand, and Dr Carol Metcalf is a chief research specialist in the Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS and Health programme, HSRC.

SUFFER THE CHILDREN Child MALTREATMENT in the Western Cape

Child neglect and abuse is often related to family circumstances, especially the social and economic situation of child carers, according to a study by MOKHANTŠO MAKOAE, CATHERINE WARD and ANDREW DAWES. The study, commissioned by the Provincial Department of Social Development in the Western Cape, investigated factors related to the statutory removal of children in four magisterial districts in the province.

The study reviewed children's court inquiries records and conducted interviews with professionals involved in childcare and protection services in five children's courts: Atlantis, Cape Town, Malmesbury, Mitchell's Plain and Wellington.

Only substantiated inquiries which were finalised in 2006 were included in the analysis, which explored the risks children face before being removed into statutory care in the selected children's courts. The findings are based on 102 substantiated inquiries into alleged abuse and neglect (Table 1), and on the perspectives of service providers in the sector.

AGE AND SEX OF CHILDREN REMOVED BECAUSE OF NEGLECT AND ABUSE

In Mitchell's Plain and Malmesbury, where a greater number of children were removed from their homes into statutory care, the majority of were under the age of four (Figure 1).

Children who were cared for at home were at risk of neglect and abuse and this had implications for their early learning and development. Also, most of the children were removed into statutory care before the age of ten, and thus deprived of parental care at an early age. There were more boys than girls who were subject to statutory removals, with the highest number of cases in Cape Town.

SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PRIMARY CARERS

The primary carers of the children, who constituted more than 60% of carers in Mitchell's Plain and Malmesbury, were their biological mothers; and the mothers were also the main perpetrators of child neglect and physical abuse. Except for the Cape Town children's court, where the marital status of primary carers was captured inadequately in the records, the majority of the mothers were single.

Age, education, occupation and incomes were not captured consistently to permit meaningful analysis. In cases where an occupation was mentioned, it was low-paying and in some cases social grants were identified as the main source of household income.

NEGLECT

The most common form of child maltreatment that led to statutory removals was neglect. Neglect manifested in child abandonment, failure to provide for the basic needs of the child (food and medical care), and leaving children for long periods without adequate arrangements for supervision.

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RISK FACTORS

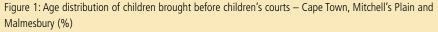
Children were removed from parental care because of the following risk factors at home: parents' failure to provide for children, abandonment, quality of relationships within the home, and substance abuse.

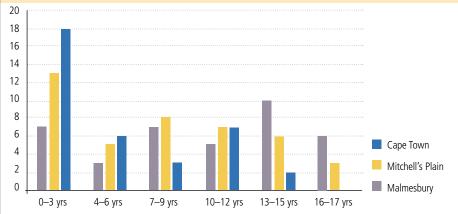
The following extracts from the social workers' files illustrate the interplay of risks which affected children:

A mother constantly abandoned children and went to stay with the drug warlord that she had an affair with. Both parents were abusing substances; when mother abandoned children, father followed suit and did the same, thus children left alone. Children were constantly exposed to

Table 1: Number of child cases brought to and appearing before children's court, 2006							
Children's court	Reported for suspected	Appeared before children's	Number of cases				
	maltreatment	court and substantiated	analysed				
Cape Town	297	230	30				
Atlantis	83	17	9				
Malmesbury	48	27	27				
Wellington	51	7	7				
Mitchell's Plain	227	200	29				







domestic violence between parents and physical neglect, verbal and emotional abuse by parents was reported. Parents were employed part-time but chose to spend money on substances. (Child 1, Mitchell's Plain)

Mother abuses alcohol and tik [crystal methamphetamine]...Live with friends in a house where they abuse and sell alcohol and tik. Children neglected and exposed to danger. (Child 4, Malmesbury)

LACK OF SUPPORT TO SINGLE MOTHERS, AND POVERTY

Most mothers were single and did not receive economic support from fathers. For example, of the 29 records reviewed in Mitchell's Plain, 18 (68%) of the mothers were single; and in Malmesbury, this was so in 50% of the cases. Lack of co-parenting support due to the absent father and poverty could be an important factor for child maltreatment.

In cases where the mother's socio-economic information was provided, data showed that the mothers were mostly young, below 20 years; had little

education; were not economically independent (they received social grants), and were in low-paying jobs.

There were also cases of children who were abandoned by their mothers regularly, or permanently. Most incidents of this form of neglect occurred due to the mothers' inability to access alternative childcare when they went to work, or for other social activities.

ALCOHOL AND DRUG ABUSE

Qualitative analysis of social workers' investigation reports identified alcohol abuse and illicit drug use as key factors in child abuse and neglect. Persistent abuse of alcohol exposed children to neglect, sexual, physical and emotional abuse. As a consequence, many children in the statutory care system were exposed to negative circumstances, leading to child maltreatment. Mothers left children without making adequate supervision arrangements or took their young children to shebeens where they could not attend to their nutritional and hygienic needs. Substance abuse, including the use of 'tik', was identified as being primarily responsible for the neglect of children's medical needs, including failing to adhere to treatment in instances where mothers had infectious diseases.

Children also suffered emotional distress through domestic violence. Some mothers encouraged their children to beg from strangers, and part of the money was used to purchase alcohol and drugs. Other children did not attend school regularly.

These circumstances led to social workers removing children from parental care and recommending out-ofhome placement to children's courts.

INSUFFICIENT PREVENTION AND EARLY INTERVENTION

Children who were reported to childcare services because of suspected maltreatment would in most cases be removed into statutory care (foster care and residential care). Different childcare professionals reported that most removals were implemented without providing the affected families with early intervention services. In fact, emergency placement was the most commonly used intervention, while interim family-support services were poorly rendered during investigation, mainly due to the high case loads of childcare services.

Other factors included parents who could not be traced and an unsupportive home environment, especially due to extreme poverty, unavailability of alternative caregivers and alcohol abuse.

The inability of childcare services to keep children under protective and nurturing parental care through programmes such as parenting education is a concern. In the long run, the country's policy goal to strengthen families is inadvertently undermined by the lack of child maltreatment prevention and effective early intervention strategies. To protect children, statutory care becomes the only practical option.

This article is based on the findings from a recent study, *The situation analysis* of children affected by violence and maltreatment in the Western Cape (Dawes, Long, Alexander & Ward, 2006). The study is available for free download on www.hsrc.ac.za.

Dr Mokhantšo Makoae is a research specialist in the Child, Youth, Family and Social Development (CYFSD) programme, Dr Catherine Ward is a senior lecturer, Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town (UCT), and Professor Andrew Dawes is associate professor emeritus, UCT.

Breaking NEW GROUND in the FREE STATE

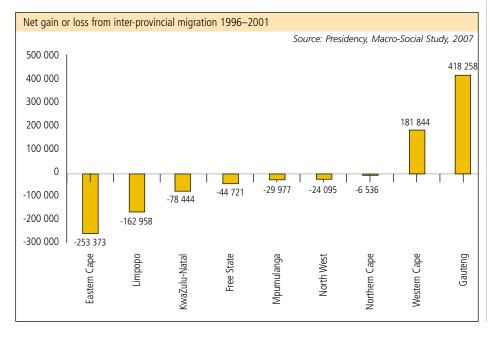
'Breaking New Ground', the national government's plan for housing delivery has come aground in the Free State. The reasons are worth dwelling on for they raise important questions about service delivery and citizenship in South Africa, reflects IVOR CHIPKIN.

The housing challenge in the Free State must be viewed in the context of very considerable demographic changes. The Presidency's Macrosocial Report found that between 1996 and 2001, the Free State lost 44 721 people to other provinces, one reason being the economic decline of the Free State Goldfields. As a whole the population of the Goldfields area dropped from 703 425 in 1996 to 657 013 in 2002. This amounts to a decline of almost 7% in eight years. The other is the decline of the white population – from almost 400 000 in 1991 to 239 060 in 2001, amounting to a loss of slightly more than 160 000 people in ten years – an average decrease of 4.3% per annum.

INFLUX OF TRADERS AND MIGRANTS

These figures, however, are offset by migration into the province especially of work-seekers from Lesotho as well as traders from South-East Asia, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in particular. In many cases these are undocumented migrants for which reliable figures are unavailable. These population movements are not insignificant.

Whilst there is considerable movement in and out of the province there is also much flux among the existing Free State population. Unemployed mine workers are not only leaving the province, they are resettling in large informal settlements around the large urban nodes of Welkom and Bloemfontein. There they



are being joined by former homeland residents from QwaQwa and Botshabelo. Since 1991, for example, the population figure in QwaQwa seems to have declined by more than 40 000 people by 2001 (assuming that the 1991 figure is reliable). The slowing down of the population growth in Botshabelo is also significant in view of the fact that, during the mid-1980s, Botshabelo was considered the fastest-growing urban area in South Africa' (Lochner and Pelser, 2008: 10).

Related to these changes, urban areas in the Free State have grown by 2.8% per annum between 1991 and 1996 and by 1.5% per annum between 1996 and 2001. In real terms, this represents a growth of nearly 400 000 people in the ten years from 1991 to 2001. 'This growth,' write Lochner and Pelser', was the main contributing factor to the growth of the urban population in the Free State – from 63.7% in 1991 to 70.5% in 1996 and 75.7% in 2001'. Most dramatic has been the decline of the rural population. It decreased by nearly 150 000 people during the period 1991 to 1996, and by a further 140 000 between 1996 and 2001. The largest decrease was that of nearly 230 000 people on commercial farms between 1991 and 2001.

NEW KINDS OF COMMUNITIES

Taken together, important economic changes in the Free State as well as the fortunes of neighbouring countries (Lesotho) and provinces (especially the Eastern Cape) are producing a second wave of urbanisation and in the process generating new kinds of community in the Free State, with several things to note.

In the first place, growing informal settlements around larger urban areas are more linguistically and



ethnically diverse than before. Hostel populations have declined as mines either close down or reduce their operations.

Rather than return either to the Eastern Cape or to Lesotho, where economic opportunities are fewer, Xhosa-speaking migrant workers and Sotho-speakers from neighbouring Lesotho are settling in the urban areas around Welkom and/or moving to the periphery of Bloemfontein. There they have been met by farm workers leaving the rural areas, Bangladeshi and Pakistani immigrants seeking business opportunities in these new areas, and established coloured and African township communities. There are commuter communities either travelling between former homeland areas on a daily basis or working and staying in the larger towns and cities during the week and returning on the weekend.

Unemployed farm workers and their families, mine workers and their Free State families or partners, commuters, migrants from Lesotho and women seeking independence from difficult home environments are congregated in newly emerging communities on urban peripheries, which are increasingly cosmopolitan, besides increasingly diverse.

COMPLICATIONS IN HOUSING DELIVERY

Leaving aside planning, logistical and financial questions, an important political barrier hampers housing delivery.

According to the national department, the delay of housing projects in some of the Presidential nodes in the Free State is related to a conflict between two contradictory imperatives, the first social and the second legal. In the first place, many local municipalities, cognisant of the heterogeneous character of many communities and reluctant or fearful of disturbing them, are allocating housing on the basis of who lives in the area, rather than on the basis of who has a right to housing (interview with Monty Narsoo). In many cases, local municipalities are issuing 'letters of occupation' to residents irrespective of whether they are South African citizens or permanent residents or not. Yet this presents difficulties for provincial departments responsible for the processing of subsidy applications. Subsidies are intended for South African citizens or permanent residents only. What, then, is the status of a 'letter of occupation'?

As long as the intrinsically political character of service delivery is not addressed, it is difficult to fully comprehend why there are delays to its rolling out or the terms of the conflicts that it generates

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DILEMMAS

Apart from the strictly legal difficulty that this situation presents, it also creates a difficult social

and/or political dilemma. If the provincial government excludes non-South African citizens or permanent residents from receiving subsidies, it risks severely disrupting community life. If it does not, it effectively extends citizenship to people simply on the basis of their presence in the Republic. While some, including this author, may welcome such a situation, the shocking xenophobic killings of 2008 make clear that many South African citizens do not. As long as the intrinsically political character of service delivery is not addressed, it is difficult to fully comprehend why there are delays to its rolling out or the terms of the conflicts that it generates.

Service delivery is always related to questions of citizenship, which in turn is related to broader questions of the society that South Africa wants to be.

Concluding on a research note, research that makes a difference cannot be chiefly concerned with policy research and/or policy design. It may well be that 'applied' research in the South African context needs equally to be ethnographic and analytical to be able to explain why initiatives fail and/or succeed, rather than simply observe that they do, to establish causal links between variables and to go some way to contextualising particular findings in larger processes of change or becoming.

Professor Ivor Chipkin is a chief research specialist in the Democracy and Governance research programme. The full report is available on request at media@hsrc.ac.za.

The HSRC's 2010 Research Project

The contribution of the 2010 FIFA World Cup for South Africa in terms of economic development, including tourism, job creation and poverty mitigation, has been overstated, UDESH PILLAY concludes in considering the findings of a five-year research project on the 2010 legacy.



ajor international sporting events have an extraordinary capacity to generate powerfully emotional, shared experiences. Sport has historically been employed as a means to enhance nation building, and constitutes striking moments of intense identity formation, projection and patriotism, often transcending entrenched social cleavages and providing politicians and other elites with opportunities to build and project common political identities.

These large events are positively associated with processes of political liberalisation, democratisation

and human rights – with enhancing the prospects for, and quality of, democratic life. People feel empowered by the successful staging of sporting mega-events and by succeeding in the eyes of the world.

GAINS IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

However, it is the economic and social development benefits that draw most attention. The anticipated economic legacy of a sporting mega-event includes short- and medium-term job creation, international investment and dramatic increases in tourism, ideally sustained over time. These events are thus seen as having direct revenue potential and able to unlock vast public and private investments for physical and social infrastructure as governments invest heavily in urban renewal, which causes a surge in local construction activity.

Urban rejuvenation and infrastructure upgrades, including property revitalisation and the targeting of new areas for urban development are seen as key social-development goals, as are opportunities for sport development in terms of the legacy of worldclass facilities for training and competition.



In a context where the demands of globalisation bear heavily on nation states, sporting mega-events have become highly sought-after commodities as developed countries, and increasingly some leading developing countries, move towards event-driven economies as symbolic representations of prestige and power.

FINDINGS OF THE HSRC 2010 RESEARCH PROJECT

The HSRC 2010 Research Project, currently in its fifth year but now drawing to a close with the publication of the book *Development and Dreams*, has interrogated some of the key assumptions mentioned above in relation to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. In the process, the project unravelled the complex interplay of relationships between these objectives as they relate to the potential to foster urban and economic development in particular. It has asked some difficult questions along the way.

The wider urban development benefits are also likely to be rather circumscribed, with little evidence of infrastructural, service and facilities provision beyond the lifespan of the event

The overall conclusion, based on sound, rigorous impact assessment research, is that the contribution of the event to economic development, including tourism, job creation and poverty mitigation, has almost certainly been overstated. For example, while there have been low- and intermediate-skilled job creation opportunities in the construction and built environment sectors in the run-up to 2010, these have been mostly short-term and/or temporary employment opportunities involving finite numbers. The wider urban development benefits are also likely to be rather circumscribed, with little evidence of infrastructural, service and facilities provision beyond the lifespan of the event.

The event's contribution to GDP is also being questioned in recent modelling exercises. Furthermore, in a country like South Africa where disparities among the rich and poor are among the highest in the world, inequality may even be exacerbated as a result of what many consider to be a failure to prioritise expenditure in a developing economy.

On the other hand, if one takes into account the distinction between capital investment in the stadiums and associated infrastructure, and capital investment that was already planned but fast-tracked for the 2010 World Cup, then the host cities and the economy generally may benefit considerably from investment in transport and information and communication technology.

With respect to the former, the 2010 World Cup will no doubt contribute to the design and implementation of an integrated public transport system in our major urban conurbations. An efficient public transport system is a critical national and public good – a development that has suffered historically through the imperatives of separate planning and development, and the spatial anomalies and distortions under apartheid. Getting our public transport infrastructure up to speed therefore augurs well, not only for the event itself, but for all South Africans. This could well turn out to be the event's biggest material legacy.

Similarly, the 2010 World Cup does provide an opportunity to aid identity formation and instil a sense of patriotism. While identities are multiple and identity formation itself can be a polarising and marginalising experience, sport does promote political nation building. In a country like South Africa, where 'social capital' is strong and the citizenry is empowered and well informed, this is a possibility.

RETHINKING AFRICAN CULTURE, GENDER AND IDENTITY

It is important to keep sight of the notion that the 2010 World Cup also presents an opportunity to rethink how African culture, gender and identity are experienced and represented. For Africa, the measure of success will lie not only in being seen to manage the 2010 World Cup to world-class standards, but also

in the ability to assert and embrace a contemporary African culture and identity both at home and on a global stage. A reinvigorated continental image may well be an important spin-off, although an intangible and indeterminate one.

On the other hand... the host cities and the economy generally may benefit considerably from investment in transport and information and communication technology

THE CONTRIBUTION OF RESEARCH TO 2010

Given that the 2010 project represents a scholarly endeavour, it begs the question how relevant research is to the 2010 World Cup. Our research shows that despite the technical planning imperatives associated with delivering the World Cup, it is critical that research informing aspects of the event – as this project has tried to achieve – needs to be taken seriously. The value of informed scholarly analysis and rigorous impact-assessment research cannot be overestimated in its articulation of the legacy the event is likely – or needs – to leave behind.

Finally, the 2010 World Cup has allowed us to speak to each other as a nation, especially at a time of some political uncertainty and social stress. Rooted in the reality that in June 2010 the event will definitely kick off, and that no manner of public opinion and scholarly analysis will impair preparation, South Africans have been eager – using the event as a lens – to exchange opinions, trade solutions and articulate positions on issues of national interest. If our policy-makers have been listening carefully, it should provide telling insights on some of our major developmental challenges as a new democracy and emerging economy.

It is not always the case that dreams are realised through development, but if the articulation between the two in a developing economy context is well formulated and then scrupulously applied, the prospects of a better life for all are that much more easily realisable, and social justice so much more attainable. The 2010 FIFA World Cup will, unfortunately, fall short of these objectives.

The book, *Development and Dreams*, is available on the HSRC Press website. www.hsrcpress.ac.za.

Dr Udesh Pillay is the executive director of the Centre for Service Delivery.

public NUrsing training IN NEGLECT

South Africa's public health system is overworked and understaffed. There are severe shortages of doctors, dentists and allied health professionals such as pharmacists. Nurses, also in short supply, are nonetheless the largest single category of professional in the health sector, and are bearing the brunt of public healthcare, particularly in rural areas. Yet the training of nurses in the public sector has been neglected. MIGNONNE BREIER, ANGELIQUE WILDSCHUT and THANDO MGQOLOZANA report.





new HSRC monograph on nursing shows that public nursing training has declined substantially in recent years, due mainly to cuts in provincial budgets and the restructuring of the higher education system

The cuts put a halt to many public hospital training programmes while the restructuring led to the closing or merger of public nursing colleges and the increasing emphasis on the university nursing degree rather than the four-year college diploma. College output has dropped while university output has increased slowly, and from a low base.

Today the private sector is playing a very large – and often lucrative – role in the production of nurses. The major hospital groups, in response to their own severe shortage of nurses and accusations that they poach from the public sector, expanded their own training programmes, producing increasing numbers of nurses to meet their own specific needs. At the same time, small private colleges have mushroomed.

CONCERNS ABOUT TRAINING IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

The rapid growth of the private sector and decline of the public sector are cause for concern, for various reasons.

At this stage no private training school has been able to meet the requirements to offer a four-year degree or diploma, which must include midwifery, community and psychiatric nursing as well as general nursing. In private hospitals, babies are generally delivered by doctors, not nurses, and the hospitals do not have facilities for community and chronic psychiatric care. They can produce professional nurses (PNs) through a two-year bridging programme which upgrades enrolled nurses (ENs) but trains only for general nursing. Most of the private sector courses are for enrolled nurses and enrolled nurse auxiliaries. The private hospital academies also offer post-basic and other specialised courses that are geared to their specific needs.

...no private training school has been able to meet the requirements to offer a fouryear degree or diploma, which must include midwifery, community and psychiatric nursing as well as general nursing

While some of the training, by the major hospital groups in particular, is of very high standard, the quality of nursing training in some of the small independent colleges is a matter of concern. They have difficulty securing adequate clinical placements (often sending students to old age homes for practical



experience) and some require students to undergo expensive, unapproved 'home-care', 'health worker' or 'pre-nursing' programmes before being admitted to a regular course in nursing.

Furthermore, training in a private hospital setting, no matter how high the quality, is not necessarily a good preparation for a public, particularly primary, healthcare setting and few nurses who have experienced the relative opulence of private hospitals will want to switch to the spartan conditions of the public sector.

DECLINE IN QUALIFIED PROFESSIONAL NURSES

Between 1997 and 2007, the annual production of professional nurses overall increased by 19% due to the doubling of the output from bridging programmes (from 1 033 to 2 093 over the period). At the same time the output of professional nurses through fouryear college and university courses fell 13% – from 2 682 in 1997 to 2 342 in 2007.

Most of the bridging training has occurred in the public sector but the numbers declined from 1 381 in 1998 to 1 261 in 2007, while private sector output increased more than fivefold, from 158 to 832.

Proportionally, the contribution of public colleges to the production of professional nurses declined from 62% to 37% of the total output, while university output rose from 10% to 16% and output from the bridging programme increased from 28% to 47%.

TRAINING OF SUB-PROFESSIONAL NURSES

The importance of sub-professional nurses (ENs and enrolled nurse auxiliaries or ENAs combined) in the healthcare system is underscored in several research and policy documents, some of which have proposed a ratio of three sub-professional nurses to each professional nurse. Yet the ratio in 2007 was roughly one to one – despite a dramatic increase in the production of ENs and ENAs in the previous decade.

While the output of professional nurses overall increased by less than one-fifth between 1997 and 2007, the output of sub-professional nurses more than tripled. However, from 2000, the increase occurred mainly in the private sector. Private-sector output increased more than ten-fold, whereas public-sector output increased by only 28%, and dropped substantially in 2000 and 2001.

EROSION OF THE NURSING PROFESSION

With the increases in output from nursing training institutions in general, one could expect that the profession has grown proportionally. This is not the case. A major concern is the gap between the numbers of nurses who qualify in a given year and

the increases in registration for the years in which they should register. Between 1997 and 2006, the South African Nursing Council (SANC) register of professional nurses grew by only 35% of the numbers produced in the relevant years (1996 to 2005). This amounts to an attrition rate of 65%. The attrition rates for ENs and ENAs were even higher – 72 % and 84% respectively.

A major concern is the gap between the numbers of nurses who qualify in a given year and the increases in the registration for the years in which they should register

The SANC has listed retirement, morbidity, mortality and migration to other professions, or out of the country, as possible reasons for the very high rates of attrition. The figures indicate that more nurses are leaving the profession – and actually de-registering – than entering. As many nurses who leave the country still maintain their registration, emigration might be less of a factor in attrition than is sometimes presumed. This puts greater weight on other factors, including retirement and death.

Surveys showing a high prevalence rate among health workers suggest that HIV/AIDS might be taking a

continued from page 13

significant toll. It is also possible that many use nursing qualifications, particularly at the lower levels, as stepping stones to other training programmes or careers.

...the output of professional nurses through four-year college and university courses fell 13% – from 2 682 in 1997 to 2 342 in 2007.

HSRC qualitative research suggests there might also be large-scale dropping out immediately after completion of training. Interviews and focus groups with nursing students revealed that many did not really want to become nurses but had been attracted to studying nursing by the bursaries or salaries paid while studying. For many, nursing was a second career choice at best. Often, they had not been able to meet the entrance criteria for another first choice programme, usually medicine.

But this is not uncommon, as many of the older nursing professionals and academics said in interviews that nursing had also not been their first choice, but rather one of the few options available for women at the time. Nonetheless, they had grown to love the work and were happy that they had remained in the profession. The difference, it seems, lies with the quality of clinical experience compared with former times.

FEAR OF CONTRACTING HIV AND TB

The research suggests that many nurses in training are distressed by the extent of HIV/AIDS and TB, afraid of contracting the diseases themselves and believe that they are often not sufficiently protected (for example, through shortages of gloves).

Academics said those who are already HIV positive are particularly vulnerable, both emotionally (particularly when treating AIDS patients) and physically (in that they are more likely to contract contagious infections). Nursing students also complained to researchers about:

- Poor communication and interpersonal relations between doctors and nurses, and verbal abuse by nurses towards other nurses, nursing students and patients;
- Incidents of physical abuse of patients by nurses, which they had observed;
- Their own experiences of being physically assaulted or verbally abused by patients.

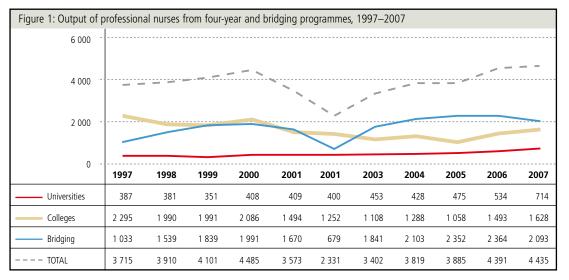
THE WAY FORWARD

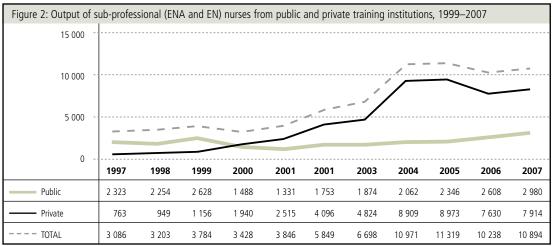
The study urges the government to play a greater role in the training of nurses at all levels. It suggests that the new emphasis on a professional nursing degree as the qualification of choice should not be at the cost of deterring young people who would make excellent professional nurses but do not meet the academic criteria for university study, or who see the university degree as too theoretical. It also urges the profession to pay attention to students' perceptions of clinical practice and address their concerns and fears, to ensure they remain in the profession.

The authors found there were widespread perceptions that standards and conditions in nursing had declined, leading to loss of status and poor public image. The very low salaries traditionally paid to nurses and the fact that there are many other career opportunities for talented women have contributed to the state of the profession.

The increases in nurses' salaries, which were implemented in the course of the HSRC research, should help to retain and regain nurses in the public sector but it remains to be seen whether they will have any impact on the overall standards and status of nursing.

Some of the students who were interviewed after the increases did not seem particularly impressed. It appeared that salaries would continue to be an issue, given the ongoing increases in the cost of living and the much higher salaries paid in other professions with four year's training.





Dr Mignonne Breier is a chief research specialist in the Education, Science and Skills Development programme, and Angelique Wildschut and Thando Mgqolozana are both interns in the same programme. Nursing in a New Era: The profession and education of nurses in South Africa, by Breier M, Wildschut A and Mgqolozana T (2009), Cape Town: HSRC Press, is available on www. hsrcpress.co.za.

GOOD times BAD times

Survey of economic perceptions and political attitudes

66ABS

As the effects of the global economic crisis began to be felt by South Africans between late 2007 and 2008, the public's attitude of the national economy worsened substantially, with a year-on-year percentage decline in satisfaction of 37%. BEN ROBERTS and JARÈ STRUWIG, analyse the survey.

> n many countries economic discontent by voters often leads to a switching of allegiances from the ruling party to an opposition party; in the South African elections in 2009, this did not happen.

> Of particular importance is the finding that the effects of the majority of survey participant's assessments of the economic conditions did not influence their voting preferences. The perception of economic conditions does however substantially influence other aspects that were measured in the survey, namely confidence in national government, satisfaction with democracy, feelings of well-being, and hopes for the future. ►



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Since 2007, the HSRC's South African Social Attitude Survey (SASAS) has asked respondents aged 16 years and older to rate their level of satisfaction with current national economic conditions. The sample size in 2007 was 3 164 and 3 321 in 2008.

The specific question posed was: 'How satisfied are you with the general economic situation in South Africa at present', with answers captured on a five-point scale ranging from very satisfied to very dissatisfied.

The percentage of South Africans aged 16 years and older satisfied with national economic performance in 2007 decreased from 43% to 27% in 2008, while those that were dissatisfied increased from 36% to 52%.

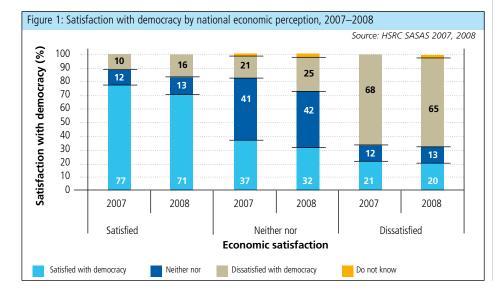
The 2008 national results for economic satisfaction were disaggregated by a range of socio-economic characteristics. There was not a large difference in economic satisfaction by age group, ranging from 25% among 30–44 year-olds and those older than 60

years, to 29% among 45–59 year-olds. Dissatisfaction exceeded 50% in the case of the 16–29 and 30–44 age groups. Male respondents were moderately more satisfied with economic conditions (30%) than female respondents (25%), with at least half of both groups again voicing dissatisfaction.

With respect to population group differences, Indian South Africans expressed the highest level of economic dissatisfaction (60%), followed closely by white and black South Africans (both 53%). While Coloured respondents were somewhat more upbeat, 43% remained dissatisfied with the economic situation. Examining perceptions by living standards, we found that people with a low Living Standards Measure (LSM) score were significantly more dissatisfied with the general economic situation than those with medium and high living standards.

SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRACY

The 2008 survey results show a strong gradient in



the level of satisfaction with democracy based on reported economic perception (Figure 1). Those that were satisfied with the state of the national economy were demonstrably more satisfied with the democratic system in the country (71%) compared to those expressing either a neutral or dissatisfied perspective on the economy (32% and 20% respectively).

In many countries economic discontent by voters often leads to a switching of allegiances from the ruling party to an opposition party; in the South African elections in 2009, this did not happen

High inflation, unemployment and the economic downturn recorded in the country in late 2007 and 2008 brought on some change in the percentage of respondents satisfied with democracy, based upon their views of the economy. For those that were satisfied or ambivalent about economic performance, satisfaction with democracy declined moderately (around 5%, Figure 1), with little percentage change evident among the economically dissatisfied.

CONFIDENCE IN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Those who provided a more negative economic performance evaluation in 2008 reported a notably lower level of confidence in national government compared to those who were satisfied with economic conditions. About half (49%) of the economically dissatisfied stated that they trusted national government, whereas two-thirds (67%) of those who were satisfied with economic conditions also expressed confidence in national government.

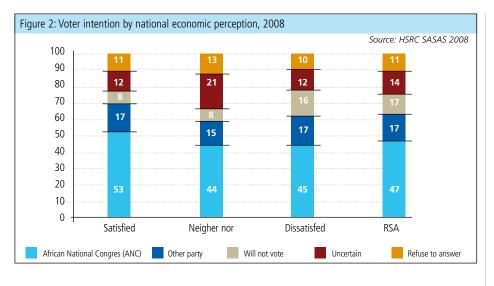


 Table 1: Retrospective, current and prospective assessments of personal wellbeing by national economic perception, 2008
 Source: HSRC SASAS 2008

	Economic satisfaction			
	%	%	%	%
	Satisfied	Neither nor	Dissatisfied	South Africa
Current life satisfaction	60	41	40	46
Life improved in the past five years	62	39	31	41
Life will improve in the next five years	63	44	40	47

ECONOMIC PERCEPTIONS AND ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR

International evidence suggests that national economic perceptions exert a significant influence on voting decisions in democracies. In South Africa, examining voter intentions among the voting age public six months prior to the general elections, we find that, relative to the economically satisfied, those who were discontent with national economic performance did not appear to have shifted loyalties away from the ANC and realign themselves politically towards opposition parties (Figure 2). Instead, they indicated that they were inclined to abstain from voting. Nonetheless, close to half of the economically dissatisfied voting-age population still stated that they would vote for the ruling ANC.

SUBJECTIVE WELLBEING: PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

Economic satisfaction demonstrates a positive association with subjective well-being, as measured using a conventional five-point satisfaction with life-as-a-whole scale (Table 1). Therefore, the more dissatisfied one is with present national economic conditions, the greater the likelihood of reporting lower life satisfaction. In 2008, three-fifths (60%) of South Africans that were satisfied with economic conditions expressed satisfaction with life. By comparison, life satisfaction among the economically discontent was on average 20 percentage-points lower (40%).

A similar pattern is found in relation to retrospective evaluations of recent life improvements, with 62% of the economically satisfied proclaiming that their life had improved over the last five years. This figure is double that of those dissatisfied with national economic conditions (31%).

Those who provided a more negative economic performance evaluation in 2008 reported a notably lower level of confidence in national government compared to those who were satisfied with economic conditions

Following the 2009 election, attention has quickly shifted to delivering on the ANC's election manifesto. Economic matters have featured prominently in postelection statements of intent, especially with regard to minimising the potential impact of the global economic crisis. Yet, in spite of this government resolve, expectations of life improvements over the next five years are being moderated by economic perceptions, as well as by past and current assessments of individual well-being.

The 2008 SASAS data indicate that 63% of South Africans that were positive about national economic conditions anticipated that their life will improve during the 2009-2014 term of office. By comparison, only 40% among the economically dissatisfied envisaged improvements in their quality of life over the coming five years, with 23% believing that the status guo will persist and 30% expecting reversals. This less optimistic future outlook among the economically dissatisfied is influenced strongly by assessments of life improvements during the last term of office. Of this group, 79% of those that perceived improvements in their lives believed that life will continue to improve in the next five years, while 61% of those who felt life had worsened in the last term are of the opinion that life will continue to worsen for them in the coming period, and a further 15% feel it will remain unchanged.

Although economic dissatisfaction rose significantly since late 2007, the public continues to vest their hopes in the ruling party's ability to fulfil their economic expectations and other basic needs

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

The study findings are important in that they show that the effects of public assessments of economic conditions extend beyond their impact on electoral behaviour to have a discernible influence on confidence in national government, satisfaction with democracy, expectations of life improvements and hopes for the future.

While to some these findings may be disconcerting, from an accountability perspective they offer a notable opportunity. Although economic dissatisfaction rose significantly since late 2007, the public continues to vest their hopes in the ruling party's ability to fulfil their economic expectations and other basic needs. The implication for the new administration is to ensure that the needs of all constituencies are met in delivering on its electoral mandate, especially those of the impoverished and marginalised. The results suggest that a failure to do so is likely to bear negatively on a number of salient political and social attitudes.

Ben Roberts is a research specialist in the Child, Youth, Family and Social Development programme, and Jarè Struwig, senior research manager in Knowledge Systems.

RELIGION POLITICS Never the twain should meet

South Africans tend to oppose political intervention by religious leaders in relation to swaying voting decisions during times of elections and broader state decision-making. The latest round of the annual South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS), conducted nationally in November and early December 2008, included a detailed module on religious beliefs and practice, report JARÉ STRUWIG and BEN ROBERTS.

s the country approached the 2009 general elections there was increasing debate about the extent to which politicians were using religion as a platform for securing support. Similarly, there have been instances where concern has been raised about the role of religious leaders in the political realm. What is missing from such discussion is the voice of South Africans on the role of religion in politics. Does the public want religion to have an impact on political decisions or not?

THE NATIONAL CONSENSUS

The latest round of the SASAS included a detailed module on religious beliefs and practice. The sample is nationally representative and includes 3 173 respondents aged 18 years and older (age eligible to vote in 2009).

Although the religion module in the SASAS covered many diverse issues, two statements in particular relate to the role of religion in politics, say HSRC researchers Jaré Struwig and Benjamin Roberts. Using a five-point scale, respondents were asked to state their level of agreement or disagreement with the statements 'religious leaders should not try to influence how people vote in elections' and 'religious leaders should not try to influence government decisions'.

They found that most South Africans (Figure 1) were not in favour of political involvement by religious leaders in relation to electioneering and government decision-making. A considerable majority (72%) stated that religious leaders should not try and influence votes during elections, while two-thirds of South Africans

stated that they were opposed to religious leaders influencing government decisions. This shows that the issue of religion is not an especially divisive one in South Africa, with a broad consensus around supporting the idea of separating religion from politics.

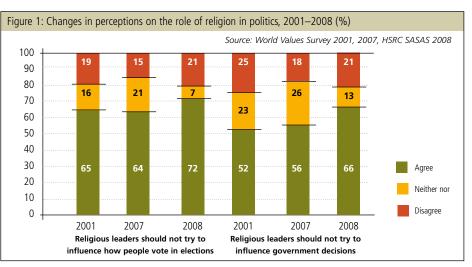
It also seems that this orientation among South Africans may have gained some momentum since 2001. The absence of significant diversity in opinion across political and religious affiliation, as well as many other socio-demographic variables, is notable.

Where differences do exist, in most instances the size of the attitudinal gap on this issue is not particularly large. One notable exception is among those with higher living standards, who appear more tolerant towards religious leaders attempting to affect political decisions than those with lower living standards.

Struwig and Roberts say the findings should not be interpreted as a negation of the important societal and community roles that religious institutions and their leaders continue to perform as our democracy matures.

'South Africa is a deeply religious society, with approximately 85% declaring a religious affiliation. In the 2008 SASAS survey, the vast majority of South Africans (83%) expressed high levels of confidence or trust in religious institutions, especially relative to politicians and political parties, the latter receiving a mere 29%.

'As such, they would probably expect these



Note: For analytical purposes, the categories 'strongly agree' or 'agree' have been combined, as have the 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' responses.



institutions and affiliated leaders, as part of their role in the spiritual and moral welfare of the people, to make statements about important social and political concerns and raise their voices in related debates. Despite this, the inescapable fact is that there remained a strong preference for non-intervention of the church directly in relation to electioneering and governance.'

A considerable majority (72%) stated that religious leaders should not try and influence votes during elections, while two-thirds of South Africans stated that they were opposed to religious leaders influencing government decisions

RECENT DYNAMICS: A SECULAR OR SACRED TURN?

Since the fourth and fifth waves of the World Values Survey (WVS) (undertaken in 2001 and 2007 in South Africa) included religion and politics, it is of interest to compare these results with the SASAS 2008 findings. Between 2001 and 2007, the percentage who agreed with the statement saying that religious leaders should not influence voting decisions remained virtually unchanged, though there does appear to have been a slight increase between 2007 and 2008 from 64% in 2001 to 72% (Figure 1).

This observed difference is statistically significant, say Struwig and Roberts, but they emphasise that the increasing level of agreement is likely to be partly attributable to methodological differences between the surveys as well as real value change shaped by contextual events.

Nonetheless, the results do seem to indicate that South Africans have remained fairly entrenched in their view that religious leaders should not try to influence electoral outcomes through the pulpit.

A similar trend is evident when considering the pattern of responses to the statement about religious leaders and their influence on government decisions. Between 2001 and 2007 there was a modest rise in support for less involvement by religious leaders in government decisions, with a further consolidation of this viewpoint between 2007 and 2008.

ATTRIBUTES OF SUPPORT FOR RELIGION IN POLITICS

When analysing the 2008 SASAS data by demographic characteristics, the results showed that no significant differences were found between males and females when support for religion in politics was determined. In terms of age, young people aged 25–29 years were less inclined than the other age groups to want to separate the role of religion in politics. The largest gradient of difference is between 25–29 year-olds and those older than 60 years, with the latter group expressing the most resistance to a religious influence on politics.

Surprisingly, the political party that people support does not have a bearing on whether they want more or less involvement of religion in politics

When the statements were analysed by socioeconomic characteristics, including the Living Standard Measure (LSM) and educational attainment, it emerges that higher LSM groups tend to prefer greater involvement of religious leaders in matters of political interest.

Surprisingly, the political party that people support does not have a bearing on whether they want more or less involvement of religion in politics, as the observed difference in attitude between party supporters is not statistically different.

'We arrive at a similar conclusion with regard to religious affiliation. Irrespective of whether one belongs to no religion or declares belonging to a specific religious denomination – whether Protestant, Catholic, Zionist/Shembe, Hindu, Muslim or other faith. There was a commonly held viewpoint that there should not be a religious influence on political decisions,' Struwig and Roberts said.

Jarè Struwig is a senior research manager in the Knowledge Systems (KS) research programme and Ben Roberts is a research specialist in the Child, Youth, Family and Social (CYFSD) research programme.

HEALING The fever abates in South Africa

Surveys on the use and practice of traditional/complementary/alternative medicine over the past decade suggest that, although traditional medicine still plays an important role among South Africans, traditional or faith healers seem to be visited less often than before, writes KARL PELTZER.



and alternative medicine is becoming more popular

systematic review of recent published and unpublished work on the prevalence of traditional/complementary/alternative medicine offers varied and often contradictory evidence.

It seems that traditional or faith healers seem to be less often consulted than before by the general population in South Africa. On the other hand, traditional medicine remains widespread in other developing countries and complementary or alternative medicine is becoming increasingly popular in developed countries.

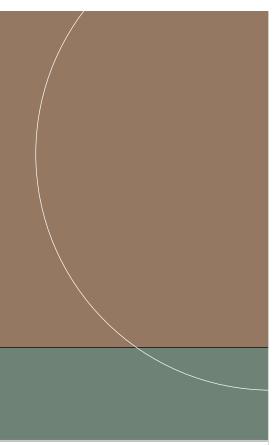
Traditional medicine and probably complementary or alternative medicine is used by substantial proportions of the general population, but differences in study design and limitations in how the surveys were done make it difficult to compare prevalence estimates.

The mass of data, however, indicates that (the use of traditional and/or faith healers seems to have decreased over the past 13 years from a range of between 3.6% and 12.6% to 0.1% in South Africa.

The prevalence of traditional male circumcision was found to be 24.8% generally and 31.9% among black Africans.

The use of alternative and complementary medicine ranged from 0% to 2.2%. Illnesses treated ranged from chronic to acute conditions, with problems varying from those of a supernatural or psychosocial nature to mental illness, generalised pain and specific diseases, including HIV and other sexually transmitted infections.

Surveys of local use of traditional and complementary or alternative medicine for the last illness episode or in the past year showed a variation of 6.1% and 38.5%.



The World Health Organization (WHO) defines traditional medicine (TM) as including diverse health practices, approaches, knowledge and beliefs incorporating plant, animal, and/or mineral based medicines, spiritual therapies, manual techniques and exercises applied singularly or in combination to maintain well-being, as well as to treat, diagnose or prevent illness.

In Africa, up to 80% of the population uses traditional medicine for healthcare

Traditional medicine is a comprehensive term used to refer both to systems such as traditional Chinese medicine, Indian *ayurveda* and Arabic *unani* medicine, and to various forms of indigenous medicine. Traditional therapies include medication – the use of herbal medicines, animal parts and/or minerals – and non-medication therapies – carried out mostly without the use of medication, as in the case of acupuncture, manual and spiritual therapies.

In countries where the dominant healthcare system is based on allopathic medicine (the treatment of disease by conventional methods, using drugs) or where traditional methods have not been incorporated into the national healthcare system, traditional medicine is often termed 'complementary', 'alternative' or 'non-conventional' medicine.

The term complementary and alternative medicine (CAM) often refers to a broad set of healthcare

practices that are not part of a country's own tradition and are not integrated into the dominant healthcare system. Other terms sometimes used to describe these healthcare practices include 'natural medicine', 'nonconventional medicine' and 'holistic medicine'.

The US National Institutes of Health has grouped them into five somewhat overlapping domains:

- Biologically based practices. These include use of a vast array of vitamins and mineral supplements, natural products such as chondroitin sulfate, which is derived from bovine or shark cartilage; herbals, such as ginkgo biloba and echinacea; and unconventional diets.
- Manipulative and body-based approaches. These, including massage, have been used throughout history. In the 19th century, additional formal manipulative disciplines emerged in the United States: chiropractic medicine and osteopathic medicine.
- Mind-body medicine. Many ancient cultures assumed that the mind exerts powerful influences on bodily functions and vice versa. This array of approaches incorporates spiritual, meditative, and relaxation techniques.
- Alternative medical systems. Whereas the ancient Greeks postulated that health requires a balance of vital humours, Asian cultures considered that health depends on the balance and flow of vital energies through the body. This theory underlies the practice of acupuncture, for example.
- Energy medicine. This approach uses therapies that involve the use of energy – either biofield- or bioelectromagnetic-based interventions. An example of the former is reiki therapy.

Traditional medicine remains widespread in developing countries and is of growing health system and economic importance. In Africa, up to 80% of the population uses TM to help meet their healthcare needs. In Asia and Latin America, populations continue to use TM as a result of historical circumstances and cultural beliefs. In China, TM accounts for around 40% of all healthcare delivered. In Ghana, Mali, Nigeria and Zambia, the first line of treatment for 60% of children with high fever resulting from malaria is the use of herbal medicines at home. WHO estimates that in several African countries, traditional birth attendants assist in the majority of births.

Meanwhile, in many developed countries, complementary and alternative medicine is becoming more and more popular. In Europe, North America and other industrialised regions, more than 50% of the population have used complementary or alternative medicine at least once. In San Francisco and London, 75% of people living with HIV/Aids use TM/CAM. In the United States, 158 million adults use complementary medicines.

Towards the end of the 1990s, the total number of traditional healers in South Africa was estimated to be around 350 000 and an estimated 70% to 80% of South Africans consulted traditional healers.

In South Africa, the use of traditional healers seems to have decreased in the past 13 years

The Traditional Health Practitioners Act classifies traditional healers in South Africa as: diviners (*izangoma/amagqirha*), herbalists (*izinyanga/ amaxhwele*), prophets/faith healers (*abaprofeti/ abathandazeli*), traditional surgeons (*iingcibi*), and traditional birth attendants (*ababelethisi/abazalisi*).

In 2007, the number of registered allied health professionals, interns and students in South Africa included 399 for practitioners in therapies such as *ayurveda* and Chinese medicine; 541 for chiropractic and osteopathy; 669 for homoeopathy, naturopathy and phytotherapy and 2 013 for therapeutic aromatherapy, therapeutic massage therapy and therapeutic reflexology.

In a nationally representative population-based survey in 2002, the prevalence of traditional male circumcision was found to be 24.8% (more than medical male circumcision, at 13.2%). Traditional male circumcision was mainly practised among the African black group (31.9%). Yet, there were stark differences among different African ethnic groups in traditional male circumcision rates, ranging from 71.1% among Venda; 60.5% Northern Sotho; 57.3% Xhosa; 57% Ndebele to 2.4% among Swati and 10.7% among Zulu peoples. The age of traditional male circumcision is mainly 18 and above (58.2%), followed by 12 to 17 years (33.1%) and 0 to 11 years (8.8%) over all ethnic groups, while there are differences, for example, among the Xhosa, Southern Sotho, and Tswana, the age of traditional male circumcision is mainly 18 and over and for the Swati, Northern Sotho and Tsonga it is mainly 12 to 17. Among the Venda, it appears the age of traditional male circumcision is below 12 years old.

Generally, population-based and health facility based surveys seem to indicate that TM use still plays an important role in healthcare delivery in South Africa, covering a wide range of conditions. Other studies in South Africa have also indicated the general importance of traditional health practitioners despite the seeming decline in actual practice.

Karl Peltzer is research director of the Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS and Health research programme, and professor of the Department of Psychology, University of the Free State.

In sub-Saharan Africa

Unlike the centuries-old tradition of the autonomous pursuit of knowledge and science, universities are now expected to be more accountable to society, the state and the market. The HSRC and its partners organised a series of roundtable discussions, held in Uganda, Nigeria, and South Africa, on the changing role of universities in these countries, and specifically, the contribution of university–firm interaction to economic growth and social development. GLENDA KRUSS and IL-HAAM PETERSEN report.

eaders in higher education, science and technology, and business were invited to these roundtables to discuss the implications of research conducted over the past few years on the contribution universities in sub-Saharan Africa can make to national development goals through their growing emphasis on interaction with firms. The research, funded by the Canadian International Development Research Centre (IDRC), was part of an international investigation into the changing role of the 'developmental university' in the South.

ROUNDTABLE PARTICIPANTS

The variety of participants signals the nature of the national system of innovation in each country. In



Nigeria, the roundtable was hosted by the Nigerian Institute of Economic and Social Research; participants were drawn from universities and public research institutes, reflecting the very recent policy interest in science, technology and innovation for development.

The Ugandan roundtable, hosted by the Markus Garvey Pan Afrikan Institute, had a wider range of participants drawn from universities, research institutes, a small, medium and micro enterprises (SMME) association and a farmers' cooperative, reflecting the agricultural base of the economy.

The South African roundtable, co-hosted by the HSRC and Higher Education South Africa (HESA), reflected greater networking and complexity in the system of innovation, with particular interest from universities of technology, government departments and intermediary associations, such as innovation incubators and higher education associations, as well as public research institutes and representatives from industry.

THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF INTERACTION

Globally, a range of new forms of interaction emerge: academics rely increasingly on consultancies or undertake contract research for enterprises to fund their own research activities; some universities enter into cutting-edge collaborative research networks with firms, and a few create their own spin-off firms



and commercial ventures. A common starting point for deliberations in all three countries was that the models of university–firm linkages promoted in developed nations should not be adopted uncritically in sub-Saharan African contexts.

Uganda, with its agriculture-based economy is strongly reliant on donor support, and is classified as one of the successful 'least developed countries'. It differs from advanced economies – and from South Africa, with its relatively diversified economy, the strongest in Africa. The history and current conditions of universities differ, as do the government policy and regulatory frameworks in each context.

As emphasised at the South African roundtable, in

sub-Saharan Africa exports are mainly commodity-based, the informal economy is large, and markets are not akin to those of the advanced economies, making linkages complex. While it was widely agreed that universities should form linkages, there was a strong emphasis that interaction should not be limited to firms.

The Ugandan team, led by Dani Nabudere, was particularly vocal in stressing the role of the community – small farmers, small producers, cooperatives and clusters – in learning and in innovation in collaboration with universities. The discussion focused specifically on the challenges of working with the traditional knowledge of peasant farmers and smallscale producers to promote innovation in a mutually beneficial and non-exploitative manner.

Cases of university–community–enterprise initiatives were described to highlight the potential and pitfalls of linkages between universities and community farmers centred on codifying traditional knowledge and innovating to create a new exportoriented industry. Interaction between universities and firms tends to be informal, taking the form of student placements, consultancies to individual benefit, or testing of seeds and materials. Major constraints are the lack of government funding and support, and university dependence on donor funding, which shapes their research agendas and impacts on the sustainability of initiatives.

In Nigeria, John Adeoti highlighted the main constraints to university–firm interaction: poor research infrastructure, the absence of policy, the absence of intermediary organisations or government support, and the reluctance of firms and universities to collaborate. The Nigerian study drew attention to significant research and technology development that could impact on the livelihoods of small-scale farmers and producers, but that remain 'locked' in the university laboratories and publications.

DIFFERENT STRATEGIES FOR DIFFERENT UNIVERSITIES

The roundtable discussions in the three countries raised the importance of developing strategies for a differentiated university system, with different types of universities fulfilling specific roles influenced by their historical trajectories. In Uganda and Nigeria, universities generally lack policies, structures and mechanisms that can promote interaction with firms or farmers in a way that benefit the institution. The same applies to historically disadvantaged universities in South Africa, which are largely under-developed and under-resourced, and collaboration is often initiated by individual researchers to supplement their salaries. The roundtable discussions in the three countries raised the importance of developing strategies for a differentiated university system, with different types of universities fulfilling specific roles influenced by their historical trajectories

A shared conclusion was that a narrow focus on commercialisation and entrepreneurialism is not a solution for African universities. There were, however, distinct differences in the future vision of the university in the three countries.

The South African project leader, Glenda Kruss, proposed the notion of a 'responsive university' that can act on the demands of industry, and meet broader societal needs. In Nigeria, John Adeoti resolved that an attitudinal shift towards a more entrepreneurial mindset on the part of academics was required, but here too it was stressed that universities should turn their resources to the benefit of society. Dani Nabudere developed a nuanced vision of a people-oriented, bottom-up approach to link the university and the community (including farmers and small enterprises). Knowledge in the community is key to research and to incremental learning for innovation in Uganda.

TANGIBLE OUTCOMES

The South African research succeeded in identifying the sectors in which innovation and interaction with universities do exist, which is important for understanding where interaction would work better. Recognising that the university system itself is diverse is also important to develop a differentiated and textured strategy in future.

The Nigerian roundtable drafted a memorandum that called for national policy and the establishment of a mediating structure to promote collaboration, as well as attitudinal change within universities, to stimulate research that is demand-driven and socially responsive.

The Ugandan roundtable resolved to establish a Forum for Interaction to intensify and promote the current base of informal relationships between universities, firms, communities and small enterprises. Representatives of Gulu University, Kyambogo University, the Uganda Small-scale Industries Association and the Markus Garvey Pan Afrikan Institute were mandated to establish a Forum on Interactive Learning that could link universities, small-scale industries, farming and animal husbandry communities in the conflict-ridden Northern region of Uganda.

Dr Glenda Kruss is a chief research specialist in the Education, Science and Skills Development programme and Ms II-haam Petersen is a research intern in the same programme.

Xenophobic attitudes, gender and sexuality

'Foreigners are stealing our women', was one of the justifications provided for the xenophobic attacks on foreigners in South Africa last year. A small pilot study revealed strong xenophobic hostility towards foreigners and uncovered disturbing patterns in male thinking about gender and human rights. NADIA SANGER reports.

The pilot study was conducted in Du Noon informal settlement in Cape Town late last year. It involved four focus-group interviews, two consisting of 13 local women and 11 local men, respectively, and two consisting of 13 migrant men and 7 migrant women. The study took into account that violence is often perpetrated by men – whether sexual violence against women and children, or violence against other men. It investigated how 'male power' operates within a patriarchal society and the role that gender and sexuality play in xenophobic attitudes.

The focus-group interviews concentrated on the connection between xenophobic attitudes and actions associated with gender, particularly ideas about masculinity, femininity and the relationships between migrant and South African women and men. The preliminary findings highlight some of the themes that emerged from the interviews.

'DIFFERENT IN MIND'

The South African women who were part of the pilot study overwhelmingly articulated that foreign men were more respectful of women, and were willing to take on the responsibility of South African women's children, grandmothers and families, and the maintenance of their houses: 'Even if they are boarding they take care of the broken things like doors; they fix those things.'

Similarly, male migrants stated unequivocally that, unlike local men, they treated women respectfully, and took 'care of them': 'Foreigners don't beat women. We are caring. We look after you like an egg'; 'We buy you clothes to make you nice because you are a queen.'

Both South African and migrant women appeared to agree with these sentiments, the former stating that local men 'are very jealous – they will beat you if you are even talking to men, whether he is local or a foreigner'. Female migrants echoed this statement, claiming that they had witnessed local men beating and kicking local women, sometimes 'with a bottle of beer'.

FOREIGNERS AND THE USE OF 'MAGIC'

But South African men had the opposite view. They asserted that male migrants treat local women with disrespect, physically abuse them; 'use them as strippers'; 'employ them to sell drugs in clubs'; 'get involved in sexual relationships with young small girls'; 'use [local] girls as slaves'; and 'use [their] girls as prostitutes at the age of 14 to 16 years'.

Male migrants use 'magic' to 'boost their manhood' and to protect themselves from being caught by the police

And male migrants use 'magic' to 'boost their manhood' and to protect themselves from being caught by the police when using local women as drug dealers, strippers and prostitutes. The local men seemed to lament this 'magical' control migrant men appeared to have over the local women, claiming that migrant men were 'taking over [our] women and now there is no respect from [our] local sisters and children'.

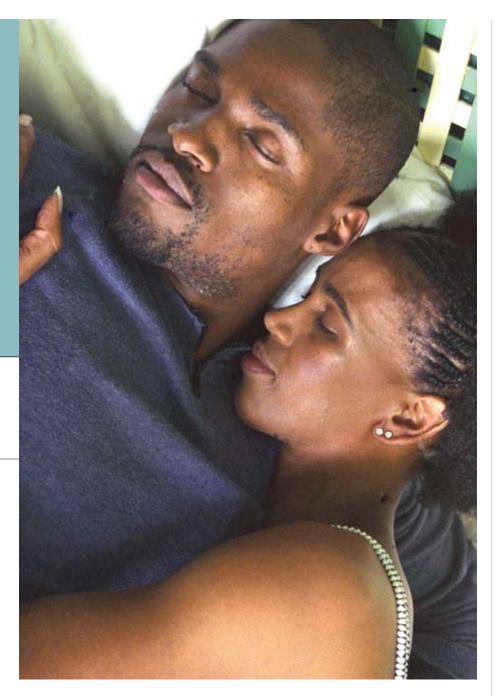
And they complained that male migrants were leaving women with kids with no support, and linked the loss of 'their women' to the influx of 'foreigners' who were being employed, resulting in the apparent loss of jobs for South African men.

To them, the consequent inability to financially provide for 'their' women meant that they were 'no longer providers to [their] families – our dignity is gone'. Essentially, then, South African men felt that their 'daughters, wives and children are having relationships with foreign men because they have money and provide'.

South African males felt that they were undermined by male migrants who 'treat them like animals'; use English as a means to demoralise them, and 'never listen and obey [the] rules [they] set as a community so that [they] can find ways of working together'. One male participant unequivocally stated that 'we really do not like them and trust them'.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS 'EMASCULATE' ALL MEN

Local men narrated how they felt emasculated due to an apparent espousal of women's rights in South Africa, claiming that the government was 'oppressing men's rights'. Consequently, they complained of a lack of respect by their wives and girlfriends, who were believed to have more rights than they have, which affected how they were able to 'discipline' them: 'In



the past I used to sort my family – whether I was beating her, it's the way I solve my house problem.'

This was exacerbated by government 'interference' in family life through the setting up of constitutional courts, hampering the ways in which men could control their wives and families; control they felt was an entitlement built through *lobola* processes and negotiations.

Male migrants stated unequivocally that, unlike local men, they treated women respectfully and 'took care of them'

These kinds of beliefs were not restricted to South African men. Male migrants similarly believed that South African women were 'allowed' too much equality. They spoke of local women's independence, autonomy, lack of respect for men and revengeful tactics. According to female migrants: 'In my country, my dad can beat my mum, but she won't go to the police. Here, in South Africa, it's 50/50, women will call the police.'

While male migrants articulated that they found Xhosa women desirable, they found them to be 'disobedient', a feeling shared by local men. Hence, migrant men would have sex with these women, but would not be willing to marry them, echoing notions of the virgin/whore dichotomy, which feminists have been discussing for decades: only virgins are viewed as desirable and worthy of heterosexual marriage. If no longer virgins, women are viewed as 'dirty', 'abhorrent', 'used goods' and not worthy of heterosexual marriage.

'OTHERING' AND HETEROSEXUAL FEMININITY

Male migrants also articulated stereotypical notions of local femininity, which were linked to ideas around the 'dirty vagina': 'Local women don't shower or bath; [they are] not clean. [Girls must be taught] to clean the sex.'

And despite male migrant's sexual desire for local women, they simultaneously articulated that South African women were promiscuous: 'Too many South African women have HIV, so I'm scared.'

But when South African men were asked if they would have an intimate relationship with 'foreign' women, they had a similar response: 'They do not wash. As a man, I can only wash once, but a woman should wash twice. The foreigner women do not like water – they smell.'

These kinds of utterances by both local men and immigrants echo popular (heterosexist) beliefs that men are rough, and women are clean and pure. So, while foreigners are regarded with hostility, there are particular ways both groups regard black femininity and heterosexuality.

MONEY AND BELONGING: TRANSACTIONAL RELATIONS

There appeared to be some rationale for relationships between local women and migrant men, from both sides. For reasons related to survival, access to money appeared to be central to women's choice in a male partner, with a South African woman stating that migrant men 'know that we need money – they bribe us with money'.

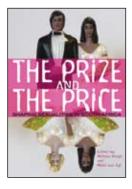
But it also became clear that male migrants exchanged women's apparent desire for money for a sense of belonging in Du Noon, and in South Africa more broadly, and this played a significant role in developing intimate relationships. Consider one male migrant's view: 'To know the country, I have to get a woman here, to become a citizen. For security, protection and guidance from local women. She will defend me.'

There is clearly a need for more research extending beyond Du Noon, Cape Town, to the rest of South Africa, and perhaps the rest of Africa. But this study showed that notions of masculinity and femininity underlie perceptions that contribute to xenophobic fear and hostility. Identifying some of these perceptions will help to shape the kinds of research and preventative strategies we need to put in place when dealing with xenophobic attitudes.

Dr Nadia Sanger is a chief researcher in the programme on Democracy and Governance.

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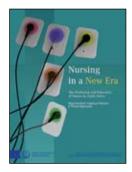
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THE PRIZE AND THE PRICE: SHAPING SEXUALITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA Edited by Melissa Steyn & Mikki van Zyl

What is the *Prize*, and who pays the *Price*? This powerful volume examines the historical continuities and interruptions of heteronormativity in South African society and extends beyond the well researched areas of sexuality to less discussed areas, such as childhood sexuality, sexuality in later life, sex tourism and disability. The multiplicity of issues raised have relevance for a range of readers interested in the fledgling field of Sexualities Studies, and in its significance the

scholarship extends well beyond the borders of South Africa. Soft cover, 432pp, ISBN 978-07969-2239-7, R 290.00, May 2009



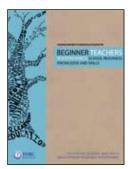
NURSING IN A NEW ERA: THE PROFESSION AND EDUCATION OF NURSES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mignonne Breier, Angelique Wildschut & Thando Mgqolozana

Nurses are often said to be the backbone of health services, but in South Africa their profession itself is in need of care. This monograph considers the profile, image and status of nursing today and the nature and role of nursing education. A major concern is the decline in the role of the public sector in the training

of nurses. These are among the concerns which managers and policy-makers in the health sector must address if South Africa's public health sector is to address the serious challenges it faces.

Soft cover, 152pp, ISBN 978-07969-2274-8, R 150.00, May 2009



BEGINNER TEACHERS IN SOUTH AFRICA: SCHOOL READINESS, KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS

Fabian Arends & Makhola Phurutse

Beginner Teachers in South Africa is the first widescale study of teachers in the first three years of their careers and offers substantive evidence suggesting the need for interventions to support them. Based on research undertaken in five South African provinces, selected because of their relatively high absorption of beginner teachers, the study highlights the critical

and supportive role the Department of Education needs to play, the importance of a multi-sectoral approach in improving conditions in schools, and the need for continued investigation into effective teaching.

Soft cover, 64pp, ISBN 978-07969-2242-7, R 125.00, May 2009

Pretoria

Private Bag X41, Pretoria, South Africa 0001,

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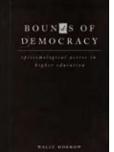
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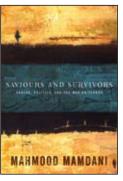


BOUNDS OF DEMOCRACY: EPISTEMOLOGICAL ACCESS IN HIGHER EDUCATION Wally Morrow

Spanning pivotal years in the historic democratisation of South Africa, this essays collection provides a trenchant reflection on Higher Education in transition. Arguably South Africa's foremost philosopher of education, Wally Morrow grapples with very real concerns in higher education policy-making and practice.

This publication is published in memory of Professor Morrow's colossal contribution to education in South Africa.

Soft cover, 184pp, ISBN 978-07969-2271-7, R 180.00, May 2009



SAVIOURS AND SURVIVORS: DARFUR, POLITICS AND THE WAR ON TERROR Mahmood Mamdani

From the author of the acclaimed *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim*, this is the first analysis of the crisis in Darfur to consider the events of the last few years within the context of Sudan's history, and to critically examine the efficacy of the world's response to the crisis. Illuminating the deeply rooted causes of the current conflict, Mamdani explains how colonialism, civil war and the effects of the Cold War have impacted on Darfur; and how more recent conflicts have come about.

Incisively and authoritatively, Mamdani cautions against drawing simple caricatures of conflict in Africa and encourages readers to look more deeply into the causes of conflict in order to be able to address it effectively.

Soft cover, 416pp, ISBN: 978-07969-2252-6, R 210.00, June 2009



AN ENCUMBERED REGIONAL POWER: THE CAPACITY GAP IN SOUTH AFRICA'S PEACE DIPLOMACY IN AFRICA

The main focus of this occasional paper is the link between South Africa's grand pan-African ambitions, especially in the area of peace, security and governance, and its own capacity to pursue these objectives. Specifically, the paper examines Pretoria's involvement in Africa, and internal capacity to support its mediation, peacekeeping and strengthening the abilities of African institutions for peacemaking. Further, it examines the challenges posed

by tension between its pan-African and economic interests as well as power rivalry at the continental level.

Soft cover, 40pp, ISBN 978-07969-2236-6, R 65.00, May 2009

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CORRESPONDENCE

Ina van der Linde Corporate Communicatons Private Bag X41 Email: media@hsrc.ac.za Fax: +27 12 302 2028

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