



**HSRC**  
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# Reforming party finances

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# People, politics and policymaking

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### EDITORIAL ADVISOR

Professor Dan Ncayiyana

### EDITOR

Ina van der Linde

### CORRESPONDENCE

For feedback, questions or copies of reports, email [ivdlinde@hsrc.ac.za](mailto:ivdlinde@hsrc.ac.za). An electronic version is available on [www.hsrc.ac.za](http://www.hsrc.ac.za)

### Pretoria

Private Bag X41, Pretoria, South Africa 0001  
Tel: +27 12 302 2000, Fax: +27 12 302 2001

### Cape Town

Private Bag X9182, Cape Town, South Africa 8000  
Tel: +27 21 466 8000, Fax: +27 21 466 8001

### Durban

Private Bag X07, Dalbridge, South Africa 4014  
Tel: +27 31 242 5400, Fax: +27 31 242 5401

### PRODUCTION

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The public does not trust political parties. That we know from various surveys, including the HSRC's South African Social Attitudes Survey. We also know that currently, there are no restrictions on private and corporate donations to parties, or to declare those. This can lead to fraud, corruption and misuse of funds for purposes other than informing voters about policies.

With the municipal elections lurking on the horizon and party political silliness intensifying, Gary Pienaar and colleague Collette Shultz-Herzenberg, who contributed to a report on global political party financing, revisit the role of party financing in this edition of *HSRC Review*.

To decrease citizens' distrust in party politics, Brazil's Supreme Federal Court banned corporate funding in politics, declaring it unconstitutional as it calls into question politicians' commitment to the public interest.

But would this work in South Africa? The authors say a ban may reduce the financial dominance of larger parties in electoral contests, but, on the flip side, could encourage parties to explore other avenues to access resources, such as using state resources for electoral gain. So where does this leave us? In the article on pages 5 to 7, the authors suggest various options for South Africa.

In a study on women and land ownership of farm land, Tim Hart and colleagues make the encouraging observation that with respect to land ownership under the land reform programme, overwhelming male ownership might be changing. While slightly more than half of land distributed through the land reform process North West, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal had been transferred exclusively to men (54%), there was evidence of exclusive female ownership and co-ownership of land among 16.5% of the households in the survey sample.

Two other articles look at community participation: Selma Karuaihe et al. investigate community involvement in rural water schemes in Namibia and in South Africa, and how giving community leaders the responsibility of managing water points in Namibia could be a model for South Africa to emulate.

And in an article by Jaqueline Harvey and Cas Prinsloo, it seems that learning from members of your community may be very helpful in remedying critical components of the current crisis in schools relating to poorly-developed reading and writing skills. On pages 3 and 4, they explain the methods used by siyaJabula siyaKhula (sJsK), an NPO, in repairing gaps in learners' English literacy and language foundations, and improving the speed and accuracy in 'decoding' what they read.

Still on the subject of education, a day-long seminar, entitled *Bringing cognitive justice and restorative action into public policy making*, questioned the very foundation on which the current education system of knowledge and learning is based. Indian scholar, Shiv Visvanathan says the dominating Western science has had a destructive impact on developing countries and non-Western cultures. The seminar attempted to answer the big question of how to facilitate dialogue between the Western system of learning and the indigenous knowledge systems – a dialogue long overdue and that might be at the heart of our year of discontent and protests.

The Editor

# New@HSRC



**Dr Irma Booyens**, who previously worked at the HSRC's Centre for Science, Technology and Innovation Indicators (CeSTII), has rejoined the organisation as a senior research manager in the Economic Performance and Development (EPD) unit. She holds a PhD in Geography from the University of Johannesburg, and a master's degree in Development Studies from the University of the Free State. Before joining EPD, she held a National Research Foundation (NRF) Scarce Skills Scholarship while completing her PhD.



**Professor Charles Chasela** has been appointed a research director in the HSRC's HIV/AIDS, STIs and TB (HAST) research programme and heads the Epidemiology and Strategic Information (ESI) unit. Charles holds an MSc in Epidemiology from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and a PhD from University College Dublin, Ireland. Before joining the HSRC, Charles was an Associate Professor with the Epidemiology and Biostatistics Division, Faculty of Health Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand (Wits).



**Dr Zaynab Essack**, formerly a senior researcher for the Social Development Portfolio Committee at the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Legislature (Pietermaritzburg), has been appointed a senior research specialist in the Human and Social Development Programme. She holds an MSocSci in Research Psychology and a PhD in Psychology, both from the University of KwaZulu-Natal.



**Dr Firdous Khan**, a post-doctoral fellow, has been appointed a research specialist at CeSTII. She holds a PhD in Biotechnology and an MSc in Bioinformatics. Before joining the HSRC, Firdous held a number of contractual appointments, among them positions as a bioinformatics consultant at the Nanotechnology Innovation Centre (NIC) at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), and a tutor and practical demonstrator at the UWC's Biodiversity and Conservation Biology and Biotechnology departments.



**Mr Lwando Kondlo**, a statistician, has been appointed to the CeSTII unit. He holds an MSc in Statistics from the University of the Western Cape. Before joining the HSRC in January 2016, he worked as a statistician at Project Phidisa (South African Military Health Services) in Pretoria. He has also worked for organisations such as Statistics South Africa and the Medical Research Council as a survey statistician.



**Dr Tamsen Rochat**, who previously worked at the HSRC, has been appointed as a chief research specialist in the Human and Social Development programme. She holds a PhD in Psychology at Stellenbosch University, examining antenatal depression and HIV. Before re-joining the HSRC, she led research at the Africa Centre for Population Health (University of KwaZulu-Natal), as well as an NIH-funded clinical trial testing an intervention for HIV-positive mothers of primary school-aged children.

## BIG BOOST FOR STUDIES ON INNOVATION IN MUNICIPAL SERVICE DELIVERY

The Economic Performance and Development (EPD) programme recently received R3.2 million to expand a multi-year project investigating the effects of new service delivery technologies at demonstration sites in priority municipalities in South Africa. Combined with the initial research grant awarded to EPD in March 2015, it moves the total financial value of this project to R5.1 million. This is a significant investment by the Department of Science and Technology (DST) in action-based research for innovative solutions to deliver water, sanitation and energy services to rural communities. It is a noteworthy effort aimed at overcoming persistent crises in municipal service delivery.

Backlogs and frequent breakdowns in municipal services have caused widespread disruptions in localities across the country. For more than two decades since 1994, government departments and cash-strapped municipalities have struggled to tackle the country's service delivery crises. One recent initiative, known as the Innovation Partnership for Rural Development (IPRD), sets out to improve access to state-financed social services in hard-to-reach and poor municipalities.

How does the IPRD initiative plan to produce this outcome? It is designed to work through three interconnected sets of activities:

**Intergovernmental co-ordination:** The Department of Science and Technology (DST) is the lead agency steering the IPRD initiative in close co-operation with local municipalities, the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, and the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform.

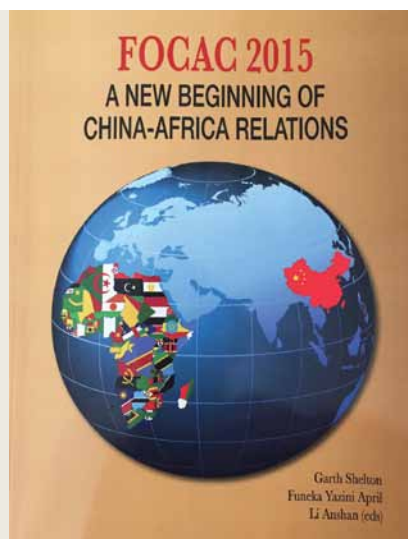
**Implement service delivery technologies at demonstrations sites:** DST has contracted two implementation agencies, the Water Research Commission (WRC) and the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), to showcase and test a suite of water, sanitation, micro-hydroelectric power and smart geyser technology solutions at municipal demonstration sites.

**Customised monitoring and evaluation:** DST has contracted the HSRC to construct and apply a fit-for-purpose framework to monitor and evaluate the effects of demonstrated innovations in publicly supplied social services. It is a complicated evaluation assignment for which no ready-made methodology exists. The first part of

the evaluation looks into whether the service delivery technologies were rolled-out at the demonstration sites as initially planned. The second part uses an Innovation Maturity Index (IMI) to assess the capabilities of municipalities to absorb and use innovative ideas, practices and technologies. The third component evaluates the improvements in rural communities as a result of their access to innovations in water, sanitation and smart geyser services.

This multifaceted evaluation of Science Technology and Innovation (STI) in municipal service delivery is a spin-off from a larger and longer-term project known as the Rural Innovation Assessment Toolbox (RIAT). Begun in 2012 and now in its third phase, RIAT has also benefited from a DST grant of R11.1 million awarded to EPD early last year. These rural innovation projects confirm the leadership of the HSRC in advancing knowledge about the social dynamics of innovation in economically and socially marginalised communities.

*EPD rural innovation research team: Peter Jacobs, Tim Hart, Alex Mhula-Links, Kgabo Ramoroka, Siyanda Jonas and Irma Booyens. Visit the webpage for more information: <http://bit.ly/1o6506i>*



The relationship between China and Africa is analysed in great detail in the new book ***A New Beginning of China-Africa Relations***. It was sponsored by the China Embassy and published by

## NEW BOOK ON CHINA-AFRICA RELATIONSHIP

AISA Publishing. The launch took place in Pretoria in December 2015, on the eve of the Forum on China-Africa Co-operation (FOCAC).


The book, edited by Professor Garth Shelton of the University of Witwatersrand, Ms Funeka Yazini April of the HSRC, and Professor Li Anshan of Peking University, touches on the future of co-operation between China and Africa within the context of the objectives of the African Union (AU) in 2063.

The book's authors are a balanced mix of Chinese and African scholars, including Dr Zhang Weijie, China Centre for Contemporary World Studies; Dr Zeng Aipeng, China Institute of International Studies; Dr Ke Yu, HSRC; Professor Chris Alden and Dr Laura Barber,

London School of Economics; Dr Xiao Hongyu, the Party School at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Ms Hannah Edinger and Ms Kira McDonald, Deloitte; Professor Marthinus Breitenbach and Dr Reyno Seymore, University of Pretoria; Professor Yang Lihua, China Academy of Social Sciences; and Mr Xu Liang, Harvard University.

The five main themes of the book engage the post-FOCAC 2015 agenda, namely geostrategic and geopolitical issues; security issues; China and Africa's mineral-energy complex; economic diplomacy; and Africa-China developmental and people-to-people relations.

*For more information, see <http://bit.ly/1PgvXxq>*



# Learning with a little help from some friends

If 'learning to read' is ineffective, it will prevent students from later developing the ability of 'reading to learn'. This has devastating consequences for their future literacy, general academic achievement and career prospects. *Jaqueline Harvey* and *Cas Prinsloo* reflect on seeking help from the community in remedying critical components of the current crisis in schools relating to poorly developed reading and writing skills.

**R**eading is a crucially important building block for future learning. Early intervention when learning is not happening is paramount for the development and future of learners in South Africa.

The authors reflect on some of the lessons derived from a two-year intervention by siyaJabula siyaKhula (sJsK), a non-profit organisation (NPO) that supports processes of education on behalf of learners, schools and departments. sJsK used a unique learner-regeneration approach incorporating various elements, including community participation.

## **Reading and writing: the first years**

Learner literacy in South Africa is in dire need of improvement. Literacy is developed in the first years of formal education in a hierarchical and cumulative process. Therefore, the period from Grades 1 to 7 represents a crucial time during which children should be in a position to master languages.

Developing language proficiency becomes a toolkit that could unlock future academic competence and cognitive development. Currently, ineffective 'learning to read' prevents students from later developing the ability of 'reading to learn'.

This has devastating consequences for their future literacy, general academic achievement and career prospects.

The sJsK intervention aimed to repair critical gaps in learners' English literacy and language foundations, and improve the speed and accuracy in 'decoding' what they read. This can only be attained through repetition and practice.

The first step was to analyse the challenges experienced by a school, as understood from teachers', learners' and curriculum perspectives. The intervention was designed to provide an effective interim learning experience that would elevate learners' abilities to the level where they could effectively engage with the curriculum with minimal impact on the routine curriculum delivery, and with minimal effort on the part of the teacher.

The intervention included teacher training, training community members as classroom intervention facilitators, and administering materials and activities tailored to the needs of the learners. Given sJsK's focus on learner regeneration, the holistic aim of the intervention was to assist schools to align all new learning contents with learners' existing conceptual structures.

## What did the evaluation cover?

In partnership with sJsK, the Education and Skills Development (ESD) programme at the HSRC evaluated the impact the intervention had on learners in the Mhinga villages and surrounding areas in Limpopo. A key feature was to explore how such local operations could be refined and expanded to broader regional, provincial and national scales.

The evaluation work covered aspects such as establishing reference points for participating project and control schools in order to compare schools with similar backgrounds and compare the relative achievement gains among learners from the two groups.

Test instruments consisted of self-report background questionnaires completed by school principals, teachers and parents/caregivers, as well as a range of language assessment instruments administered to the learners. The differences in achievement gains over time between learners from project and control schools were used for evaluating the success of the intervention.

Two groups of learners who had either Xitsonga or Tshivenda as their home language, and came from villages with high levels of deprivation, participated in the study. The first cohort was initially assessed during 2013 and consisted of Grade 1, 4 and 7 learners from 11 project and five control schools. The first cohort of learners from Grades 1 and 4 were again assessed over the second and third years during 2014/2015. The second cohort consisted of Grade 1, 4 and 7 learners from an additional 16 project and four control schools, assessed during 2014/2015.

Currently, ineffective 'learning to read' prevents students from later developing the ability of 'reading to learn'

## Gathering the evidence

Following two full years of implementing the intervention activities, the findings confirmed that there were consistent improvements in learner achievement.

The foundational literacy skills, more directly the target of sJsK's interventions, showed greater improvement in intervention schools compared to control schools. Derived proficiencies such as comprehension, which are developed following confirmation of the foundational skills, took a longer time to show improvement and also revealed smaller improvements among learners from intervention schools compared to learners from control schools.

For the two higher grades, Grades 4 and 7, the overall gains were smaller as they had to catch up on several years of illiteracy. Although these learners increased their reading age by more than a year, they remained two or three years behind what should have been their reading age. It seems that once learners fall behind, their reading ages drop as their grade levels increase, as this affects their ability to learn effectively and keep up with all subsequent curriculum requirements.

Once learners fall behind, their reading ages drop as their grade levels increase

The success of scaling up the intervention hinges on recruiting, training and involving community facilitators in a very structured way, and engaging in all necessary communication activities to maintain continuity and control over time.

## Threats to success

Another lesson learnt from this process was that political factionalism and insufficient service delivery easily resulted in community upheavals, posing serious threats to effective learning. It was also clear that schools had to adhere to holistic and integrated notions of language acquisition.

Finally, system capacity plays a key role in very disadvantaged and remote school communities because minimum levels of school and classroom functionality are required to ensure intervention quality, continuity and management. As a result, systemic (structural and operational) and conceptual (technical-academic) features compete for attention during intervention roll-out. Put differently, sound linguistic foundations and practices can be derailed and sacrificed by societal unrest and service delivery protests.

## Conclusions and recommendations

Both the initial analysis performed by sJsK into the school challenges in South Africa as well as the impact of the intervention raised important points for the public and policymakers. These included the effects of policy and implementation instability, curriculum design, textbook production, teacher training, multiple language resource use, and community unrest and service delivery protests.

The authors recommend that future interventions address system capacity before approaching learners and teachers. The deep-seated nature of foundational and conceptual language teaching and learning backlogs has to be acknowledged and prioritised. This is particularly important when administering interventions at higher grade levels, as the negative effects on academic achievement from poor literacy and language development are accumulative.

The design of the intervention should use and safeguard the resource of experienced community facilitators. Key success factors are associated with successful and efficient teaching and learning: structured process and material at the correct level; human support; and a supportive structured environment. The initiative also conducted a thorough analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the South African classroom dispensation.

From the perspective of learners, the authenticity, freedom and joy of the learning experience should be rediscovered and fostered. Sound intervention and evaluation practices in relation to sampling, data collection and data analysis should be pursued to assure that day-to-day classroom teaching and learning consistently improve. ■

*Authors: Jaqueline Harvey, junior researcher, Education and Skills Development (ESD) programme, HSRC; Dr Cas Prinsloo, chief research specialist, ESD, HSRC.*

# Reforming party finance in South Africa: exploring the options



*ANC Siyanqoba 2014 – The final rally that took place at Soccer City in Johannesburg to get supporters' votes for the upcoming elections.*

Money plays a fundamental role in a democracy. Political parties need to reach their constituencies and inform them of their policies. Not disclosing private donations can lead to corruption, cronyism and policy capture, but would disclosing donations necessarily increase public trust? *Collette Schulz-Herzenberg* and *Gary Pienaar* pick up on this crucial debate.

While South African political parties receive funding from the state and are obliged to account for their expenditure of these funds, there are no restrictions on private donations to parties. Political parties do not have to disclose their sources of private funds, nor are they subject to limits on donations or spending caps. South Africa is not alone in this regard. A recent *Global Integrity Money, Politics and Transparency (MPT)* report comparing political finance in more than 50 countries found that about half of political parties failed to regulate cash donations.

MPT is a joint initiative between the Sunlight Foundation, Global Integrity and the Electoral Integrity Project, created to foster a network of national-level reformers by providing resources, such as in-depth research, analysis and global principles, on political finance. The MPT report, to which the authors of this article contributed, is a result of consensus reached within the reform community on a set of global principles to guide fair, accountable and transparent political finance systems.

Annually, millions of rands from undisclosed private donors flow into the coffers of South Africa's larger parties

Money is essential to democracy. Democratic politics is expensive, and parties need money to reach their electorates and inform policy. However, abuse of money in politics increases corruption, cronyism and policy capture. Regulatory deficits render politics opaque, obscuring the influence of private interests on public policy choices. Annually, millions of rands from undisclosed private donors flow into the coffers of South Africa's larger parties, raising the question of the extent to which citizens really shape politics.

The MPT report also found that political financing reforms usually resulted from pressures emanating from

political scandals, or supportive judicial decisions and interpretations, and declining levels of public trust in political parties. If so, South Africa is ripe for reform, as these conditions are both present and compelling, with numerous political funding scandals affecting both governing and opposition parties.

## Numerous public opinion surveys show a clear decline in trust in South African political parties

### How to make 'My Vote Count'?

A recent constitutional court case brought by My Vote Counts (MVC) to compel parliament to pass promised legislation to regulate private funding of political parties was unsuccessful.<sup>1</sup> However, a substantial minority judgment held that MVC's arguments were persuasive, finding that information about private sources of political party funding was required for the informed exercise of the right to vote. Furthermore, numerous public opinion surveys show a clear decline in trust in South African political parties over time. Political parties are among the least trusted institutions, eclipsing even the police, an institution widely regarded by South Africans as corrupt, inefficient and ineffective (Reconciliation Barometer; Afrobarometer).

Which reforms best suit South Africa? The MPT report found no single approach or policy instrument to be ideal. Instead, it recommended a mix of policy options that complemented a country's particular sociopolitical context. It emphasised the need for state capacity to enforce its chosen system, and perhaps most importantly, warned that reforms could have unanticipated negative effects on the broader body politic.

Proponents of reform in South Africa have long called for greater transparency through disclosure laws to oblige political parties to publicly list the details of their private donors, and the larger amounts they receive. Would transparency suffice in the fight for more accountable, transparent and inclusive politics? A Brazilian case is instructive for South African policymakers.

Analysts of Brazilian politics conclude that disclosed donations continue to undermine public trust. While disclosure laws have allowed intense scrutiny of corporate donations, greater transparency has inadvertently increased citizen dissatisfaction. Brazen financial ties between Brazilian politicians and the private sector and a series of scandals called into question politicians' commitment to the public interest.

In September 2015, Brazil's Supreme Federal Court responded with a landmark judgment banning corporate funding in politics when it declared null and void a clause in

the country's electoral act that allowed corporate donations to political parties and candidates. The court found that corporate donations were unconstitutional because they undermined the rights of citizens to elect their government.

### Unintended consequences of barring private funding

Removing the root of the problem in its entirety is tempting. Nonetheless, an outright ban on third-party donations could have unintended and even perverse effects on party politics. Currently, the governing African National Congress (ANC), by virtue of incumbency, receives the vast bulk of private donations, with much smaller amounts going to even the largest opposition parties. A ban would therefore encourage a more equitable environment for smaller parties by ensuring the largest parties had less to spend on campaign activities and advertising.

## A ban could undermine the growth of more competitive electoral politics, a key weakness in South African democracy

However, a ban could also undermine the growth of more competitive electoral politics, commonly identified as a key weakness in South African democracy. The larger opposition parties that do attract some private funds and are able to wage competitive campaigns would see such a ban diminish their ability to penetrate new constituencies and grow their support, while the smallest political parties would remain largely unaffected.

In a dominant party system like South Africa, where one party repeatedly secures the vast majority of votes, larger opposition parties arguably require access to private donations to enable them to reach new voters with a coherent and convincing message. Removing the revenue stream that allows them to effectively challenge the ANC may inadvertently entrench ANC dominance in a political environment where greater accountability and competition are sorely needed.

A ban could reduce the financial dominance of larger parties in electoral contests, but could also encourage parties to explore other avenues to access campaign resources, such as the use of state resources for electoral gain – an activity found to be prevalent in 94% of the countries studied in the MPT report. The ANC already stands accused of extensive targeting of state resources, including spending on public infrastructure, budgets and state goods to support its 2014 campaign, creating an undue advantage.

<sup>1</sup> *My Vote Counts NPC v Speaker of the National Assembly and Others [2015] ZACC 31 (30 September 2015).*



DA drummers at an election rally in Protea South, Soweto, during the campaign ahead of the South African election in 2014



## Bans tend to make determined donors more creative and devious in their efforts to influence people in powerful positions

While a ban could reduce opportunities for improper influence by private interests, there is no guarantee that it would completely erase the risk. In fact, bans tend to make determined donors more creative and devious in their efforts to influence people in powerful positions, which, in turn, make oversight and monitoring far more complex. The Open Society Foundation's Money and Politics Project found that foreign regulatory oversight had caused listed South African companies to end official donations. However, growing political party receipts suggest that donations could continue via individual directors and unlisted companies.

A key concern therefore is whether, realistically, a regulatory ban can be effectively implemented and what mechanisms are available to detect any illegal donations.

### **Mixture of regulations for greater transparency and fairness**

A ban on private donations cannot occur in isolation from other remedial efforts. To compensate for bans, and to ensure political parties can cover escalating campaign costs (like advertising), public funding reform should focus on reassessing the current

parliamentary allocation of funds. Currently, 90% of allocated election funds are provided according to each party's share of seats, while the remaining 10% is equitably allocated between all parties. This disproportionately benefits larger parties. There is also a need to increase public funding. This would certainly be consistent with global trends. The MPT report found inequitable public funding to be widespread, but also found increased public subsidies to be among the most popular recent reforms.

South Africa may prefer a mix of regulatory policies for greater transparency through donor disclosure laws, with a limit on campaign spending and an expansion of public funds. Disclosure permits additional funds to be made available beyond the cash-strapped public purse, but importantly, assists the detection of undue influence of donations by enabling monitoring of how the actions of political parties might benefit donors. Capping campaign expenditure on advertising and related activities to level the playing field has proved effective in the UK, according to the MPT report.

### **Tighter regulations to curb abuse**

Any restrictions on contributions or spending must extend beyond political parties to their individual members, effectively closing loopholes for individuals to receive donations or spend to the benefit of their parties. Tighter regulations to curb the abuse of state resources will certainly be required. Information pertaining to larger donations and related spending must be made publicly available in a timely manner, in order to meaningfully uphold the constitutional principle to access to information. Finally, oversight bodies must be non-partisan, merit-based and independent (the IEC, for example, performed well in MPT's comparative study).

## Restrictions on contributions must extend beyond political parties to their individual members, closing loopholes for individuals to receive donations

Proponents of reforms should moderate their expectations. While these measures should help to create a more transparent and equitable political environment, the MPT research found little evidence to suggest a direct causal link between reforms and heightened public satisfaction or greater electoral participation. The full benefits of clean politics tend to show themselves long after reforms have taken place. ■

View the 2015 Money, Politics and Transparency report at [www.moneypoliticstransparency.com](http://www.moneypoliticstransparency.com)

Authors: Advocate Gary Pienaar, Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery Programme, HSRC was the South Africa country researcher on the study; Dr Collette Schulz-Herzenberg, an independent research consultant, was the peer-reviewer.

# Allocating farmland to rural women – new insights



Land reform in South Africa intends to redress racial imbalances with regard to ownership and access to land. On the surface, the various strategy documents also talk to transferring land to black women, the youth and the disabled. *Tim Hart, Margaret Chandia and Peter Jacobs* reason that some interesting patterns are emerging with respect to gender relations and land ownership driven by land reform.

One example of a land reform strategy is the Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) programme (now outdated) that includes a target of transferring at least one-third of the land to black women. But do such policy intentions materialise in practice: do rural women benefit from the land reform process at all and, if so, how?

Based on the analysis of survey research data from 248 participating households in the North West, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal during 2012, participants stressed that future land reform policy research should increase its gender lens by focusing more on teasing out the effects of land reform on household gender relations, in particular the gender relations in land ownership.

The participants, who were all recipients under the redistribution or restitution component of land reform, suggested that follow-up research questions should

include why exclusive female farmland ownership generally remained low; and what were the roles, responsibilities and opportunities for women in emerging co-ownership patterns/relationships.

## **Gender and land ownership**

Due to the historical, largely patriarchal structure of many of South Africa's ethnic groups, men are traditionally viewed as exclusive owners of land in rural areas, particularly agricultural land. However, regular analyses of the labour force survey and the general household survey indicate that household farming in rural South Africa is largely undertaken by women.

A challenge to their farming activities is that women do so under conditions of insecure traditional land tenure. In practice, they often rely on male household members for permission to use land and to gain access to the household resources required for agricultural production and investment.

Table 1: Gender of land reform landowners by province

Gender of landowner	Share in Western Cape	Share in KwaZulu-Natal	Share in North West	Share of total respondent households
Exclusively female	18 29.03%	19 15.7%	4 6.15%	41 16.53%
Exclusively male	29 46.77%	84 69.42%	22 33.85%	135 54.44%
Jointly female and male	15 24.19%	18 14.88%	39 60%	72 29.03%
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>248</b>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note: N = 248, number of valid cases

Source: HSRC, 2012

## With respect to land ownership under the land reform programme, overwhelming male ownership might be changing

Table 1 suggests that, at least with respect to land ownership under the land reform programme, overwhelming male ownership might be changing. While slightly more than half of land distributed through the land reform process in the sampled households in these three provinces had been transferred exclusively to men (54%), there was evidence of exclusive female ownership and co-ownership of land among land reform recipient households.

The minority of surveyed households (16.5%) had exclusive female landowners. This was just less than half of the 33.3% targeted in strategy documents such as LRAD. In slightly less than one-third (29%) of the households, females co-owned land with their male counterparts (husbands, fathers, brothers, sons).

## Households in which females exclusively owned land reform farmland was highest in the Western Cape

The share of households in which females exclusively owned land reform farmland was highest in the Western Cape (29%) and lowest in the North West (6%). In the Western Cape it seemed there was a movement towards the policy target, but in the other provinces this was way below the proposed figure. In KwaZulu-Natal, almost 70% of the land transferred was to male household members.

An interesting pattern emerged with respect to co-ownership. This type of land tenure practice of land reform was highest in the North West (60%) and lowest in KwaZulu-Natal (15%). This evidence suggested that in some provinces, land reform could be influencing and transforming traditional gender patterns of exclusive male agricultural land ownership.

## The land reform process seems to have introduced the category of co-ownership

A tentative reason for these patterns of ownership is a combination of features that emerges from the land reform process. Men traditionally owned land and controlled the bulk of household resources, including those used for farming. In at least two of the three provinces the focus has been predominantly on transferring land to men. However, the land reform process seems to have introduced the category of co-ownership and not simply ownership through the household head alone.

Historical analyses and early missionary reports noted small numbers of exclusively female landowners, however, there is little mention of co-owned agricultural land. As the various land redistribution programmes have changed over the past 15 years, it is possible that these may have influenced ownership patterns and tended to include females in land ownership agreements alongside men. Similarly, women may have included men as partners because they were traditionally the household spokesperson, custodian of land and other resources.

Under the Settlement Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG), many males and females were jointly included in land ownership agreements. This was especially true for the communal property associations and trusts initiated as part of the land transfer process. In 2001, the LRAD sub-programme replaced SLAG.

The evidence from this study indicates that women have not fared as well as we would have hoped, especially in terms of increasing the extent of exclusive female ownership of farmland. However, land reform seems to have unintentionally brought men and women together as joint owners of land...

The requirements of this sub-programme were very different to those of SLAG. It placed demands on would-be beneficiaries for a large share of own contribution in the form of finances, capital and labour as opposed to simply earning below a certain income. According to some of those respondents participating in qualitative discussions and interviews, the implication, in many cases, was for less wealthy applicants to include household and family members in the agreements so that resources could be pooled to meet the application requirements.

When the Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS) replaced LRAD several years later, similar demands were placed on would-be applicants, who used similar strategies to ensure acceptance of their application. While not specifically addressing gender imbalances with regard to land ownership, these redistribution programmes have definitely resulted in co-ownership arrangements. Co-ownership might simply be a strategy to overcome the contractual requirements of the land reform sub-programmes, but it does give female partners legal standing with regard to the ownership of property.

### Conclusion

The evidence from this study indicates that women have not fared as well as we would have hoped, especially in terms of increasing the extent of exclusive female ownership of farmland. However, land reform seems to have unintentionally brought men and women together as joint owners of land, thereby enabling women to have a legal share in the ownership of farmland.

Future research should look at why the transformation towards exclusively female-owned farms remains slight, especially in North West and KwaZulu-Natal. Research should investigate the stories behind the need for co-ownership and the implications of co-ownership. ■

*Authors: Tim Hart, senior research manager, Economic Performance and Development (EPD), HSRC; Margaret Chandia, master's intern, EPD, HSRC; Dr Peter Jacobs, chief research specialist, EPD, HSRC.*

# Our dry land: alternative models for water schemes in remote rural areas

## Lessons from Namibia and South Africa

The severe drought experienced in southern Africa is a wake-up call for governments to rethink rural water schemes in remote areas.

*Selma Karuaihe* et al. studied rural water access and management approaches in Namibia and South Africa and suggest greater involvement of communities in water schemes.

**W**ater scarcity is a major problem for Namibia and South Africa, as both countries are classified as 'water stressed' based on their per capita water availability, which is below the threshold of 1 000-1 666 m<sup>3</sup> per person per year.

Water provision in these countries has traditionally relied on specific approaches to water supply, limiting the potential for expansion. This makes efforts towards managing water demand more necessary and critical. This is aggravated by the fact that water demand outstrips supply, which is currently a challenge in both countries.

Valuable lessons are emerging from an ongoing study by the HSRC and the University of Namibia on access to, and the management of, rural water in South Africa and Namibia.

Water scarcity remains one of the main challenges to socio-economic development in these countries. Rural communities carry the brunt of limited reliable water



sources, worsened by a lack of both infrastructural maintenance and efficient management at local authorities and community levels.

## Water scarcity remains one of the main challenges to socio-economic development

As a result, both countries have prioritised water provision in the face of backlogs – a priority that forms part of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) targets on water.

## The rural situation needs government intervention through the introduction of targeted pro-poor rural water policies and regulations

Progress towards the MDG targets on water access in both countries shows that while more than 90% of the urban population had improved access to water by 2013, the situation remains very different for rural communities. The

rural situation needs government intervention through the review and introduction of relevant and targeted pro-poor rural water policies and regulations.

### **Water institutional arrangements in South Africa**

The Department of Water and Sanitation is the custodian of water resources and responsible for infrastructure development and maintenance, while the respective district and/or local municipalities are responsible for water provision in rural communities in South Africa.

In the past, community-based management (CBM) models have been operating in various parts of the country, especially in rural areas. These common models include full municipal provision; community based provision; local municipal-owned utilities; water boards; integrated regional water utilities; and private sector involvement.

A review of these models shows that CBM programmes were, and continue to be, effective in addressing access to water, even where district or local municipalities are responsible for water provision. Currently, some municipalities allow community involvement through water portfolio committees or water forums, where community needs can be identified and addressed.

### **Water institutional arrangements in Namibia**

In Namibia, the Directorate of Rural Water Supply (DRWS) in the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development (MAWRD) is responsible for water provision to rural communities. In 1997, the government introduced institutional reforms through a CBM programme, giving communities responsibilities to manage rural water points while government was responsible for major repairs.



Findings from community-managed programmes show potential benefits in terms of improved access, social cohesion, capacity building and sense of ownership

In terms of institutional arrangements, all rural communities are required to establish water point associations (WPA). A water point committee (WPC) is elected, consisting of the chair, secretary, treasurer, water point caretakers and two additional members.

These local structures are recognised at all government levels and form part of the regional water boards that operate through the DRWS. The two main sources of rural water supply in Namibia are boreholes and a water pipeline scheme. In both systems, rural communities are responsible for managing the water points through the WPA, where they make financial contributions to access the water points.

## Findings from the study

### **Limitations of the supply-side approach in the face of water scarcity**

Limitations of the supply-side approach of water provision, combined with infrastructure maintenance at the local and regional authority levels in both countries, call for increased participation of communities in the management of their water services. This sometimes leads to water shortages, aggravated by excess demand for water and socio-economic challenges of poverty and high unemployment rates, which affect the sustainability of the current water provisions in both countries. This requires a closer look and further research to unpack the challenges.

In Namibia, although communities are still responsible for rural water management, monetary contributions for water access is a challenge that threatens the effectiveness and efficiency of the CBM programme. This is aggravated by socio-economic factors of low income, high unemployment and poverty rates in rural communities. As a result, the Namibian government is reconsidering the introduction of water subsidies for water operations in future.

### **Issues of cost recovery**

Despite the positive results from the reform on water management, the issue of cost recovery of rural water supply places a high burden on municipalities and water users. Therefore, the micro impact of rural water supply on rural livelihoods needs to be carefully assessed. Experiences from case studies have shown some benefits through partnership between a bulk water provider, the local municipality and communities.

### **Potential benefits of community involvement in rural water management**

Although there are mixed experiences from community management of rural water schemes in both countries, the benefits from CBM programmes outweigh the costs associated with them. This is true in situations where communities have taken initiatives to manage their own water resources, and are willing to contribute financially and otherwise towards the success of their schemes despite the prevailing challenges. Findings from community-managed programmes show potential benefits in terms of improved access, social cohesion, capacity building and sense of ownership. Since the water legislations allow for such arrangements, partnerships between communities, governments and bulk water providers should be encouraged to ease the burden of rural water provision in both countries.

### **Suggestions for going forward**

The authors recommend that existing water policies and regulations be updated to make provision for rural water issues. Both countries therefore need to design rural water policies and frameworks that are aligned to the needs of communities and national priorities to ensure effective implementation at community level.

There should be careful consideration of whether communities can afford to pay for water provision for sustainable access to water; it is important to identify the main challenges affecting water provision in both countries and to use the lessons learnt to design best practice models in consultation with communities.

Encouragement and support for those communities involved in water projects is an ongoing requirement. To that end, constrained local authorities should form and develop partnerships with respective stakeholders and communities. ■

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*For further reading, go to <http://bit.ly/1PJn7cX>.*

*Authors: Dr Selma Karuaihe, senior research manager, Economic Performance and Development (EPD), HSRC; Maria Molokomme, master's intern, EPD, HSRC; Jabulani Mathebula, former master's intern, EPD, HSRC; and Lineo Sakoane, PhD intern, EPD, HSRC.*

# Re-aligning the development trajectory in Madagascar through local voices



The political history of post-independence Madagascar is similar to that of other former French colonies on the continent, which have been characterised by a strong presidency, weak state institutions and complete absence of the state around the periphery. The 2009 uprising in Madagascar necessitated rethinking fundamental questions of how states were formed in Africa and of findings new ways of community consultation and development, says *Olivia Lwabukuna* et al.

**M**adagascar's instability peaked in 2009 when tensions between Madagascar's former president, Marc Ravalomanana, and Antananarivo's former mayor, Andry Rajoelina, culminated in the forcible removal of Ravalomanana from office. This was preceded by a week of violent protests, followed by the military declaring Rajoelina president. After several rounds of failed negotiations, presidential elections were eventually held in December 2013, with Hery Rajaonarimampianina claiming victory through a run-off. He took office on 25 January 2014.

The violent nature of the 2009 uprising and the fact that mutinous military and large crowds of protesters supported the move, suggested weaknesses in the social structures in the country, which could be interpreted as remnants of the country's colonial past.

The roots of the crisis in Madagascar can be traced back to the difficult transition from a French colony to democracy and failure to consolidate democratic processes and structures in the early 1990s, from which Madagascar is still recovering.

## **Understanding the scope of the crisis**

Research was undertaken at the end of 2015 in Antananarivo, Madagascar. It gathered information on the role of local voices in various circumstances, and included evaluating and gathering information on the survival and resilience mechanisms employed by communities and civil society responses, as well as government's role in resolving issues underlying the crisis.

Research and field study questions took into account that the Madagascar situation was akin to many African scenarios where historical factors combined with bad governance had resulted in political crises that the larger population had to endure. Additionally, such crises had to be resolved by external actors, questioning the involvement of local populations in decisions of governance after the passing of the crises, and if so, their expectations of the future.

The researchers conducted semi-structured interviews with individuals and developmental community-based organisations (CBOs). Interview questions included: Is the absence of local voices the reason for the stagnated development in Madagascar and Africa in general? Where are the local actors

in the drive towards African solutions to African developmental challenges or when the military intervenes on the continent? Where are the voices of women and youth groups? Could the outcome of these interventions have been different if local communities were consulted? What is the impact of these crises and interventions on the vulnerable in African societies?

The research gathered information on contributions and impacts of the social and political history of Madagascar on the current state of affairs; inter-community discourses on the new path to development in Madagascar; the role of legal and policy mechanisms in the creation and resolution of the Madagascan crisis; implications of the crisis on vulnerable communities; and the role of external actors, including neighbouring and regional actors such as South Africa, Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union (AU).

## The country lacked an inclusive participatory approach to development prior to the 2009 political upheavals

### Preliminary findings

- The country lacked an inclusive participatory approach to development prior to the 2009 political upheavals. Its governance structures had not responded to local realities in building peace and confidence among local communities.
- Local peace building and development frameworks such as Dynaby and Fiavarna had collapsed, paving the way for a protracted and knee-jerk approach to peace and nation building initiatives.
- The crisis had an excessive impact on women and children, significantly increasing orphaned and street children due to unemployment and land loss for women, broken family structures, maternal deaths and prostitution.
- Challenges and opportunities had been created by the conflict, including a need for investment to reconstruct and develop the country. South Africa could lead this process, given its SADC hegemonic position and experience in home-grown peace-building processes.

The results indicated the Madagascar crisis was political, social and historical, resulting in a constitutional disorder. Contrary to popular belief and contrary to our hypotheses, the roles played by SADC, the AU and South Africa received little recognition. In fact, Madagascar was more inclined to relate to and rely on Indian Ocean Islands and regional Francophone organisations than on SADC or the AU. French socio-economic and political influences call for France's incremental role in peace-building, though mindful of Malagasy voices.

Additionally, the legal system in Madagascar is in disorder, not trusted and used mostly as a tool of power and political manoeuvre. Corruption, which is highly embedded in Madagascan structures, has negated any presumption of legal impartiality, or trust that justice will prevail or be a tool of social transformation tool. Investments of any sort in Madagascar must take cognisance of institutional corruption as a risk factor.

## The Madagascan crisis was caused by lack of an inclusive participatory approach to development thinking

### Strengthening a fragile peace

The Madagascan crisis was caused by lack of an inclusive participatory approach to development thinking, which was exacerbated by elitist SADC regional responses and lack of intervention support and mechanisms at domestic level adopted to localise SADC protocols.

Weaknesses in, or lack of, appropriate social policies tailored to address the impact of the violent conflict on the vulnerable, also contributed immensely to the current narrative. As a result of the crisis, the international community, including the AU and SADC, intervened and pushed for negotiations that led to the installation of a new constitutional order, while the former president was relegated to exile in South Africa.

The peace in Madagascar is fragile. Its institutions are critically underfunded, lowly staffed and highly in need of strong management and governance. Additionally, as a country in transition, Madagascar is still highly reliant on international donor aid and has for a long time been classified as a humanitarian-aid receiving state.

This has contributed to gaps in institutional governance and accountability, including failure to account for funds, the politicising and personalising of public institutions and loss of confidence in public institutions and the government. This, in turn, has diminished calls for accountability and transparency.

The large presence of donor and humanitarian support has to a large extent shifted responsibility for services from government to international agencies, and this is not good for accountability.

Lastly, the Malagasy psyche has been demoralised by continuous cycles of low intensity instability, economic and environmental crises, cultural and educational barriers and political impunity, resulting in apathy.

### Lessons learnt

Lack of inclusive participatory approaches to development processes and political impunity, with total disregard for accountability, can breed democratic decay and the stagnation of development projects.

Madagascar presents lessons for other African states, namely that citizen engagement sustains post-colonial states as a vehicle for development. Madagascar proves there can be no democratic development if citizenship and civic engagement are discouraged. It is the perfect example of apathy, fatigue and political dysfunction in post-colonial Africa, but it also presents an opportunity for reconstruction of the state if local voices are consulted. ■

*Authors: Dr Olivia Lwabukuna, research specialist, African Institute of South Africa (AISA), HSRC; Dr Nicasius Check Achu, research specialist, AISA, HSRC; Dr Palesa Sekhejane, research specialist AISA, HSRC; Mr Frank Lekaba, junior researcher, AISA, HSRC.*



# Movement to restore indigenous knowledge in policy and practice

How can tacit knowledge unique to a certain culture and not described in academic books – termed indigenous knowledge – be brought onto an equal footing with current dominant Westernised systems of knowledge? And how can ‘cognitive justice’ and ‘restorative action’ be brought to bear on policymaking in the public sphere? *Ina van der Linde* highlights aspects of this fundamental shift in thinking about development.



*Professors Shiv Visvanathan and Odora Hoppers.*



*Professor Babuuzibwa Mukase Luutu.*

To transform the education system ‘we have to rethink thinking itself’, says Professor Odora Hoppers, South African Research Chair (SACHi) in Development Education at the University of South Africa and UNESCO education expert. ‘Indigenous knowledge has to be included in the dialogues of knowledge without having to fit into the structures and standards of Western knowledge. We are changing the rules of the game,’ says Hoppers.

She was the driving force behind a seminar on *Bringing cognitive justice and restorative action into public policy making* that took place in Pretoria on 29 November 2015. The seminar was the eighth of its kind to be hosted to date.

Hoppers has called together a group of community elders and indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) practitioners; the

international IKS Advisory Faculty; postgraduate students; vice-chancellors of different universities and 40 professors from all over the world to think deeply about how IKS can be brought into various disciplines, from quantum physics, law, economics and science to theoretical physics.

The first challenge is where to start when thinking about rethinking the rules of the game. At the beginning, says Indian scholar, Shiv Visvanathan, who coined the term ‘cognitive justice’.

‘The concept of cognitive justice is based on the recognition that there are various knowledges, equally valid,’ he explains. ‘The dominating Western science has had a destructive impact on developing countries and non-Western cultures, and there should be recognition of alternative sciences or non-Western forms of knowledge.’

*Indigenous knowledge (IK) describes the local knowledge that is unique to a given culture or society. IK contrasts with the international knowledge system generated by universities, research institutions and private firms. It is the basis for local-level decision-making in agriculture, healthcare, food preparation, education, natural resource management, and a host of other activities in rural communities. (Warren 1991)*



The concept of cognitive justice is based on the recognition that there are various knowledges, equally valid

### **Tapping into living traditions**

Different knowledges are connected to different livelihoods and lifestyles and should therefore be treated equally, says Visvanathan. These are often not in books but in people's

cultural traditions, experiences and memories. The term 'tacit knowledge' comes to mind: knowledge people have without realising they have it.

To illustrate the point, Visvanathan relates an observation by art historian Ananda Coomaraswamy, who argued against the spread of using red synthetic dye for making Indian pots. Coomaraswamy said the organic red dye used for pot-making was a different kind of red from the English red.

'English red walks in uniform. Our red dances to the visions of a different hue, as each village produced its own dialect of red, which synthetic chemistry could destroy. It is a sense of the varieties of colour as a diversity of traditions. Here, craft is a process that keeps that diversity alive by keeping the traditions of redness.'

## Traditions lying in the past are not forgotten but are indeed living traditions

But restorative action is not an attempt to retrieve culture, or a nostalgia to go back to traditions that have been overcome by modernity associated with the Western cultural model; with primitivism and close-mindedness. 'No,' says Professor Babuuzibwa Mukase Luutu, vice-chancellor at the Marcus Garvey Pan-African University and executive director of the Marcus Garvey Pan-African Research Institute in Uganda, 'we are far from that.'

Those traditions lying in the past are not forgotten but are indeed living traditions.

'Those of us who have been formed by Western culture traditions, every time we are in trouble as individuals, as families, as institutions, as states, that's when we proclaim from the rooftops something about African culture. We remember it at that moment. So it means there is a template somewhere, but we use it very instrumentally, very manipulatively, and sometimes to very devastating effect,' says Luutu.

## Restorative action is not leaping out of modernity to something we left long ago

'We need to be very clear,' Luutu adds, 'restorative action is not leaping out of modernity to something we left long ago. It is to come to terms with our hearts, with our personalities. There is a reason why some of us keep that template hidden. It doesn't open many doors in our careers. It doesn't bring the kind of middle class respectability that so many of us crave.'

As HSRC CEO, Professor Crain Soudien, puts it: 'Restorative transformation it is not just about inclusion, or a multicultural game of assimilation. It is about empowerment and requires a kind of participation that restores the full dignity of groups excluded from the dialogue in the past.'

But the big question, asks Soudien, is how to facilitate dialogue? 'It is a perplexing question because the knowledge forms that have shaped me are characterised by particular procedures, which assume that there is a right way to come to an understanding of what truth is all about. And that procedure, which very many enlightenment scientists say is the gift that we are making in the world, is a powerful procedure for coming to understand what a fact is, and the power of fact.'

This knowledge form is intolerant, says Soudien. It is unable to shift gears and engage with other claims for truth making. He links the recent 'fees must fall' student uprising to the current debate, saying that in some way this is what students are asking for, namely a dialogue and engagement, which this forum can provide.

### **Understanding the true worth of restorative justice**

The follow-up question then is how to take the dialogue further into the venerated chambers of policymakers?

Says Luutu, the South African government has committed certain resources to restorative justice and had a degree of success, but restorative action is narrowly understood in terms of affirmative action.

'The restoration that we are talking about is restoring a relationship that has been severed over a long period of time; our relationship to nature, relationships among ourselves, through institutions, families, clans and generations.'

## The restoration that we are talking about is restoring a relationship that has been severed over a long period of time; our relationship to nature, relationships among ourselves, through institutions, families, clans and generations

So, what is the way out of this? 'If we looked very closely at those sites of resistance,' says Luutu, 'there is the possibility that the sites of struggle [protests, resistance, e.g. the student uprising] provide very useful knowledge and understanding. The task of the policymaker should be to bring this knowledge, particularly the indigenous knowledge, into the dialogue. In my experience, the first act is one of intellectual humility, admitting that there are people out there with knowledge that can complement what policymakers are doing.'

The last word goes to Hoppers: 'Leaving the academy and entering into the policymaking realm is a risky thing, but we cannot help it, as we are all travelling in the same leaking boat.' ■

*Author: Ina van der Linde, adjunct director and acting head of Science Communication Practice, HSRC.*

*Also see the next article on policy initiatives on IKS on pages 18 and 19.*

*This article is based on a joint seminar or 'retreat' titled Bringing cognitive justice and restorative action into public policymaking, furthering an agreement between the Department of Science and Technology (DST), the HSRC and the South African Research Chair Initiative (SARChI) in Development Education at the University of South Africa. The purpose of the agreement is to upscale these discussions from an inter-institutional level to a national platform.*

*The seminar was funded by DST and forms part of the Human and Social Dynamic in Development Grand Challenge (HSDD GC) Science Plan of the DST. The views and opinions expressed therein as well as findings and statements do not necessarily represent the views of DST.*

*For further reading: NRF Indigenous Knowledge Systems Knowledge Fields Development (Kfd) Framework Document – <http://tinyurl.com/zqej7u3go>*



# Indigenous knowledge systems: the successes and the polemics

Policy initiatives on indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) have come a long way, but implementation remains problematic and answers are not straightforward, writes *Ina van der Linde*, reporting on a recent seminar on the topic of *Bringing cognitive justice and restorative action into public policymaking*.

**W**here to start implementing IKS policies? Professor Narend Baijnath, CEO of the Council on Higher Education, believes the national education strategy is the most logical way of nurturing indigenous knowledge. In the development of the new curriculum statements, there has been a strong drive towards recognising and affirming the critical role of indigenous knowledge, especially with respect to science and technology education.

'After two decades of policy development, we have carefully crafted legislation and we have ambitiously conceptualised policies, but all of these fall flat at the level of implementation,' says Baijnath. One of the reasons is that all the carefully crafted legislation and policy comes out of the dominant paradigm of how knowledge is produced and recognised.

'There is a major disconnection at the level of implementation. There is disengagement, even aloofness and obliviousness, to the social, cultural and linguistic processes that shape understanding and meaning, and ultimately how communities respond to policies and implementation,' Baijnath explains.

We have carefully crafted legislation and ambitiously conceptualised policies, but all of these fall flat at the level of implementation

DST had two broad areas of interests in IKS, namely research into and for indigenous knowledge, and the promotion and growth of indigenous knowledge and indigenous knowledge systems in the country

Bajnath was one of the speakers at the joint seminar on cognitive justice and restorative action hosted by the Department of Science and Technology (DST), the HSRC and the South African Research Chair Initiative (SARChI) in Development Education at the University of South Africa (Unisa), Professor Odora Hoppers (also see previous article).

DST had two broad areas of interests in IKS, DST deputy director-general, Thomas auf der Heyde, explained, namely research into and for indigenous knowledge, and the promotion and growth of indigenous knowledge and indigenous knowledge systems in the country.

The department had provided IK holders and practitioners with an opportunity to record their knowledge so that their interests would be protected and taken into consideration by the public, policymakers, researchers and other stakeholders in socio-economic development.

Professor Yonah Seleti, acting deputy-general of Human Capital and Knowledge Systems at DST, brought some soberness into the conversation. Expressing his frustration with participants in IKS who have vested interests and aspirations, he asked: 'What is it that drives you when you are involved in IKS?', highlighting the issue of individual rights versus collective rights.

'A lot of us mentally, and probably spiritually, are committed to the concept of cognitive justice or a democracy of knowledges, to put it differently. Yet, in meetings, I keep on coming up against claims by traditional healers who believe "this is my knowledge and therefore I must register it as my personal property".'

'Indigenous knowledge is defined as having passed from generation to generation and inter-generation, so how do you, at this moment, claim that this is yours?' asked Seleti.

Western knowledge doesn't have one philosophy, but many philosophies. It's important in addressing IKS issues that 'competing forces' are recognised

He also warned against the 'reductive approach' towards Western knowledge. Western knowledge does not have one philosophy, there are many philosophies. So it is important that in addressing issues of IKS, the 'competing forces' are recognised.

Then there is the tension between how academics view investigative methods into IKS, namely that IKS practitioners and scholars need to provide a mass of evidence of their claims to the sceptics of IKS. To this purpose a Bachelor in IKS has been introduced at some universities, such as the University of KwaZulu-Natal, University of Venda and North-West University.

'We take barefoot professors, organic professors, for them to participate in shaping the minds of those young people with their world views and creating a new basis, a new foundation, of that epistemology [theory of knowledge],' Seleti said.

IK practitioners held discussions to determine for themselves what competencies should be incorporated into a Bachelor in IK. This was followed by a discussion with the South African Qualification Authority (SAQA), setting down criteria for qualifications. These will soon be going into legislation to be discussed in parliament. The proposed IKS Act will include collective intellectual property rights, but not individual rights.

Auf der Heyde emphasised that the department would continue to look at what it could do in terms of strengthening the frameworks, the policies, the platforms and the institutions, which was its primary role. But, he said, the department's primary role was not to act as activists within the community and to run community-based organisations (CBOs). That was the role of the IKS community and academics.

And we are on it, declared Professor Odora Hoppers, the convenor and driver behind this initiative. ■



# Through the looking glass: the NHI and human rights



The release of the long-anticipated White Paper on National Health Insurance (NHI) by the Department of Health on 10 December 2015 was followed by a flurry of comments. One argument is that the Bill of Rights guarantees every person the ‘right to freedom of association’, and that the NHI would unfairly and unduly limit one’s right to decide with whom to associate. *Narnia Bohler-Muller* looks at this argument from a socio-economic rights perspective.

The white paper outlines the background and justification for South Africa’s move to join other countries like Brazil, the United Kingdom, France, Estonia, South Korea and Thailand in introducing universal healthcare coverage for its population. The aim is to establish an NHI Fund that pools resources to ensure that all South Africans have equal access to quality healthcare services.

The white paper also outlines the fact that healthcare in South Africa comprises a two-tiered system divided along socio-economic lines. The private medical aid sector consists of 83 medical aid schemes that fund healthcare services for about 16% of the population.

Statistics South Africa says between 2009 and 2013, healthcare inflation surpassed headline CPI (general inflation) by a yearly average of 4.3%. And where health insurance made up 3.4% of a household’s expenditure between 2006 and 2007, that amount rose to 7.2% between 2010 and 2011. The 2013 General Household Survey Report stated that ‘nearly seven in every 10 (69.9%) households reported that they went to public clinics and hospitals as their first point of access. By comparison a quarter (24.2%) of households indicated that they would go to private doctors’.

This two-tiered system has led to fragmented funding and risk pools in healthcare. An NHI Fund would improve healthcare equity by combining fragmented private and public health funding pools and eliminating out-of-pocket payments at points of service.

The minister of health has indicated that the NHI would be phased in over a period of 14 years, with the first phase (five years) focused on improving service delivery in the public sector.

## An NHI Fund would improve healthcare equity by combining fragmented private and public health funding pools

Some negative responses in the media to the white paper relate to the fact that the NHI would be expensive and place an unrealistic burden on the middle class tax base; that it infringes upon the right of the affluent to unfettered access to private health facilities; that it would infringe upon the rights of the provinces to deliver healthcare services, allowing them to access revenue from the national fiscus in the form of an equitable share; and that it would infringe upon the rights of medical schemes to do business.

Why should healthcare be regarded a constitutional right?

Firstly, the preamble to the constitution provides for ‘the need to improve the quality of life of all citizens and to free the potential of each person’. Read together with the preamble, section 7(1) states that the bill of rights is a ‘cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. It enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom’. Section 7(2) provides that the state must ‘respect, protect, promote and fulfil’ the rights in the bill of rights.

In addition, the rights to equality, dignity and bodily and psychological integrity are entrenched in sections 9, 10 and 12(2) of the constitution respectively.

Most importantly, the bill of rights includes *justiciable socio-economic* rights that include the right to healthcare for all. Section 27(1)(a) of the constitution says that everyone has the right to have access to healthcare services, including reproductive healthcare. In terms of section 27(2), the state must take 'reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation' of the right of access to healthcare services; and in terms of section 27(3) of the constitution, no one may be refused emergency medical treatment.

When it comes to the rights of the child, section 28(l)(c) is also quite clear. The constitution provides that every child has the right to basic healthcare services, which is a right that is not subject to any limitations. Section 35(2)(e) provides that people detained by the state are entitled (without limitation) 'to conditions of detention that are consistent with human dignity, including... medical treatment'.

The purpose of particular provisions, such as the right to healthcare, must be understood with reference to this context and these underlying values of the constitution.

The NHI is the best mechanism as it would uphold the values of a supreme constitution, ensure equity across the country and improve delivery

The central question is, how does the state best ensure the fulfilment of these human rights, in this context of (equal) access to healthcare for all? It is submitted that the NHI is the best mechanism as it would uphold the values of a supreme constitution, ensure equity across the country and improve delivery.

In terms of policy, the National Development Plan (2011) (NDP) envisages a phased approach to NHI. By 2030 there should have been a significant shift in *equity, efficiency, effectiveness and quality* of healthcare provision and universal coverage should be available. Goal 8 of the NDP provides that:

***Everyone must have access to an equal standard of care, regardless of their income. A common fund should enable equitable access to healthcare, regardless of what people can afford or how frequently they need to use a service. (p. 334)***

In addition, NHI contributes directly to achieving the government outcome that calls for 'a long and healthy life for all South Africans' (Outcome 2). Output 4 of this outcome requires 'strengthening health system effectiveness'. One of the ways of doing this is to improve the financing of healthcare and hence the desirability of the fund as a centralised pool (one purchaser, one payer).

Furthermore, Goal 3 of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (2015) aims to 'ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages'. Target 3.8 specifically aims to 'achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection,

access to quality essential healthcare services and access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all'.

The right to health was first expressed as a fundamental human right in 1948 in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Article 25 provides for the right in a very broad sense that includes food, clothing, housing, medical care and necessary social services.

In addition, South Africa ratified the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) on 18 January 2015. The ICESCR's right to health emphasises *equal access* to healthcare and *minimum guarantees of healthcare*.

The ICESCR has defined the normative content of the right to healthcare as equal access, based on the principle of non-discrimination, to healthcare facilities, goods and services. These should be available in sufficient quantity; must be physically and economically accessible to everyone; must be ethically and culturally acceptable; and must be of a medically appropriate quality.

The primary regional instrument for South Africa relevant to economic, social and cultural rights is the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. South Africa became a party to the African Charter in 1996. The African Charter includes the 'right to enjoy the best attainable state of physical and mental health' in Article 16.

Both the Protocol to the African Charter on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003) (African Women's Protocol) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990) (African Children's Charter) oblige state parties to provide adequate, affordable and accessible health services and to ensure the provision of necessary medical assistance and healthcare to women and children.

The implementation of NHI is required to transform our society into one that does not... perpetuate apartheid in healthcare service provision

Based on these constitutional, policy, international and regional considerations, the implementation of NHI as outlined in the White Paper is required in order to transform our society into one that does not exclude the majority of the population from access to quality healthcare, and does not perpetuate apartheid in healthcare service provision. When balancing human rights, one must take into account that our constitution is *transformational* and that civil and political rights do not trump the rights related to advancing social justice. The pros clearly outweigh the cons. ■

*Author: Professor Narnia Bohler-Muller, executive director of the African Institute, HSRC. She has been appointed by the Minister of Health, Aaron Motsoaledi, to the NHI working group on developing legislation to provide a framework for NHI within the context of the constitution.*



# One man's meat is another man's poison: street food in Cape Town

Street food is a major source of income for many vendors and their families. Indeed, strong evidence suggests that street food vending is one of the main livelihoods of those in the informal sector of South Africa. *Zandile Mchiza* et al. investigate what people buy on the streets of Cape Town and surrounding areas.

Until recently, there has been little or no information on the business and nutritional value of food sold on the streets of South Africa, despite the fact that these foods have an important socio-economic role in the country.

## Street food provides a good livelihood for poorer and unemployed South Africans

Street food provides a good livelihood for poorer and unemployed South Africans. It also represents a significant part of the food which millions of poorer South Africans eat since it is relatively inexpensive. Previous research revealed that 54.7% of black South Africans frequently ate street food as opposed to white and Indian South Africans – the population groups with the majority of affluent people.

This research also highlighted differences between provinces in how often their inhabitants ate street food. Limpopo reported the highest amount of street food consumers (20.6%) followed by the North West (19.9%) and Gauteng (18.9%).

The first South African National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (SANHANES-1, 2012) corroborated these results by showing that almost half (48.0%) of South Africans, 15 years and older, ate outside their homes, with the majority doing so monthly (28.7%) and weekly (28.3%). The highest percentage of South Africans (52.8%) who ate outside their homes seemed to be among the younger age group (15-24 years). This practice seemed to also be higher in urban formal settings (57.3%) than in rural formal settings (36.4%).

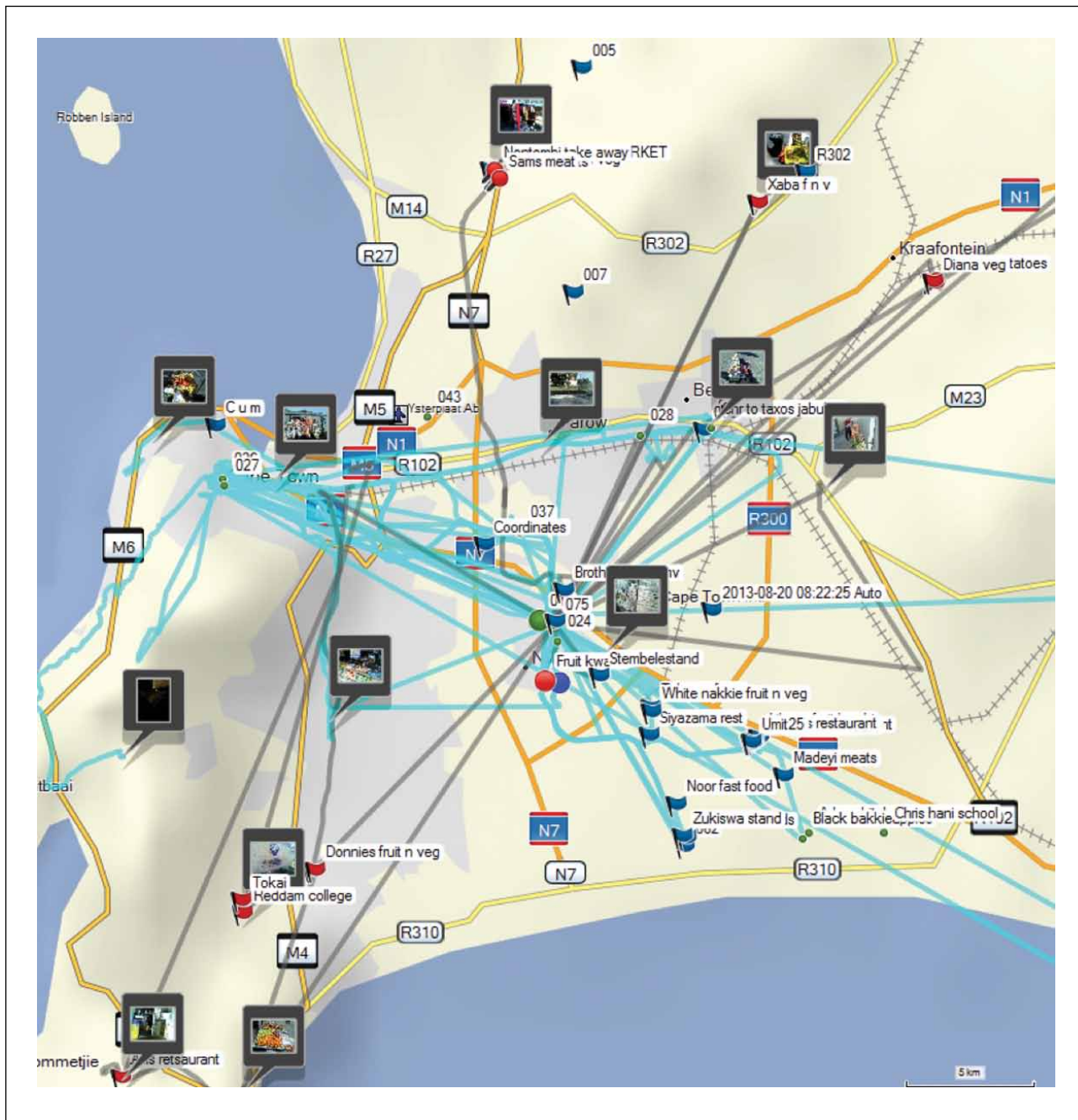
Of concern is that many types of South African street foods appear to be unhealthy since they are high in saturated fats, trans fats, salt and sugar. Furthermore, street food is energy dense, meaning it is rich in calories and may contribute to the high prevalence of obesity and related diseases, such as diabetes and cardiovascular diseases.



Many types of South African street foods appear to be unhealthy since they are high in saturated fats, trans fats, salt and sugar

Hence, the current research focused on a situational analysis regarding the type and nutritional content of street food, and the hygienic conditions under which this food was sold on the streets of Cape Town and surrounding areas. In this regard, in 2013, all locations where vendors sold street food in these areas were mapped using a geographic information system (Figure 1).

Figure 1: A sub-section of vendor mapping: superimposed sites of vendors on the map of Cape Town.



Blue, green and red flags and dots indicate the street food vending sites. Big squares indicate superimposed photographs of vendor stalls on the Cape Town map. Source: Mchiza, Hill and Steyn (2014)

In total, 1 159 street food vendors were captured at the time of the survey. These vendors operated around the community centres, market areas, major streets, train and bus stations, and taxi ranks. Trained fieldworkers interviewed

the 820 vendors who agreed to take part in the survey. Questions were focused on their business operation and the type of food they sold. The survey included observational checklists about the hygiene and the condition of their stalls.

The majority of the street foods were classified as unhealthy, and prepared and sold under poor hygienic conditions

### Findings in brief

The survey showed that the majority of street food vendors had more than one food item for sale, with some specialising in popular cultural dishes – meat cuisines, staple foods like samp and beans, and vetkoek (Figures 2a-c).

Food items most commonly sold were snacks, such as crisps, candy bars and biscuits (45%); cooked foods (28%); fruits and vegetables (26%); sweetened beverages or flavoured water (6%); raw foods (4%); and tea and coffee (1%).

With the exception of fruit and vegetables, the majority of the street foods were classified as being unhealthy (i.e. energy dense), and prepared and sold under poor hygienic conditions with a lack of adequate sanitation facilities, poor storage facilities, and inadequate serving procedures.

The majority of vendors depended on their businesses for survival. While 75% of the vendors made an average income less than R1 000 each week, 25% created an income that ranged between R1 000 and R30 000 a week. Those vendors who operated around the transport interchange areas generated more income. Moreover, the type and number of food items sold determined the revenue generated by the vendors.

The value of this study lies, among others, in providing a reasonable way to address the challenge of unemployment, and to change the food environment to improve the nutritional status and health of poorer South Africans.

Figure 2a. An example of a high-fat meal sold on the streets of Cape Town. The full plate costs R25.00.



Source: Mchiza, Hill and Steyn (2014)

Figure 2b. An example of vetkoek (plain doughnut / fatcake) with filling sold on the streets of Cape Town. It costs R9.00.



Source: Mchiza, Hill and Steyn (2014)

Figure 2c. Pan-fried sheep liver sold on the streets of Cape Town. It costs R10.



Source: Mchiza, Hill and Steyn (2014)

### Talking policy

It is recommended that the government intensifies its food environmental guidelines directed at improving conditions under which street food is prepared and sold, strengthening food quality control capabilities of the local authorities to improve overall quality of both the raw material and the processed food.

Further research on the following aspects of the street food sector has merit: the socio-economic impact; legislative framework; hygienic and nutritional improvements; and improving vendors' knowledge about sanitation, food hygiene and nutritional value of street food through education and training. ■

Authors: Dr Zandile Mchiza, senior research specialist, Population Health, Health System and Innovation (PHHSI) programme, HSRC; Jillian Hill, Chronic Diseases of Lifestyle Unit, Medical Research Council; Professor Demetre Labadarios, executive director, PHHSI, HSRC.



# Thoughts on sexual orientation and gender identity

South Africa stands apart from the criminalisation of homosexuality in Africa, but without surveys we still don't know the public's opinion. *Carla Sutherland* contributes to the open GlobalRights debate on public opinion and human rights.

**T**here is an increasingly polarised global debate about the place of 'gay rights' within international human rights law. On the one hand, many countries, particularly in the Global North, have approved legal reforms repealing discriminatory legislation and granting equal rights – most recently including the recognition of same sex marriage. On the other hand, there are a number of countries, particularly former British colonies, that criminalise consensual sexual relations between people of the same sex. Attempts to change these laws have met with intense opposition on the grounds of tradition, culture and religion.

Nowhere is this debate more visible than in Africa, where 34 countries (out of a total of 52) criminalise consensual same-sex relations – five with the death penalty. NGOs

working with gay rights issues face a number of hurdles in trying to challenge these laws, ranging from refusals to register lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender/transsexual and intersexed (LGBTI) groups and ridicule in the press, to open police harassment and the arrest of activists.

South Africa stands apart from this trend, being the first country in the world – and the only country in Africa – to enshrine constitutional protection to all persons regardless of sexual orientation. However, nearly 20 years after the adoption of the constitution, homophobic attitudes and violence remain widespread.

## **Bridging the information gap**

In many parts of the world, surveys on attitudes towards sexuality are commonplace, and have been widely

used by human rights activists to press their case for decriminalisation and equal rights. Similar surveys in Africa are far rarer. As a result, we know very little about what the public thinks about securing and protecting the rights of sexual minorities across the continent.

## We know very little about what the public thinks about securing and protecting the rights of sexual minorities across the continent

The Other Foundation is supporting groundbreaking work in South Africa to begin to address this gap in knowledge as part of ongoing work to strengthen advocacy efforts in the southern African region.

How we frame LGBTI issues is critical to winning public support, but choosing the right frame means we need to know our audience.

Our foundation's purpose is to expand available resources to defend and advance the rights, well-being and social inclusion of LGBTI people in the southern African region. To this end, The Other Foundation has entered into a working partnership with the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) to ground LGBTI advocacy in a stronger empirical base.

### Understanding attitudes and beliefs around sexual orientation

Since 2003, the HSRC has undertaken an annual South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) to explore and analyse the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of South Africans. As a nationally representative survey that has been administered for more than a decade, it provides critical information to monitor the way in which public values have changed (or not) since the end of apartheid. In addition to the core module of demographic, behavioural and attitudinal variables, each year rotating modules on specific themes are also included, with a view to providing detailed attitudinal evidence to inform policy and academic debate.

In October 2015, SASAS was administered in eight official languages and included a 32-question module exploring South Africans' knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours around sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI). The module was developed by the HSRC and The Other Foundation, along with a reference group made up of diverse academics and researchers who are the leading scholars in this field in South Africa.

The 32 questions in the module were arranged across eight sections: moral frame; knowledge and understanding; contact; attitudes; behavioural responses; experiences; attitudes to legislation and policy interventions; and personal experiences/expressions of sexual orientation and gender identity.

## We felt it important to move beyond measuring attitudes towards homosexuality

The questions themselves were drawn from a range of internationally recognised surveys, and adapted to make sense in the South African context. In particular, this meant paying attention to the implications of translating the survey from the design language (English) into seven African languages (including Afrikaans, Zulu, Sotho, Xhosa, Venda, Tswana and Ndebele). Many of these languages do not have translatable equivalents of concepts used in some of the most prominent homosexuality attitude surveys. For example, a question like, 'Male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in men' proved both inaccessible to many English speakers, and not translatable to other languages used in the SASAS. Hence, a simplified version was used in the module that read, 'For some men, having sex with another man is natural'. This worked well in the pilot phase across all languages.

We felt it important to move beyond measuring attitudes towards homosexuality, as much of the reported violence (including bullying in schools) in South Africa, while described as 'homophobic', was felt by our reference group to have more to do with transgressing gender norms and boundaries. We also adapted previous SASAS questions around xenophobia and domestic partner violence to explore respondents' own acts of harassment and violence towards non-conforming SOGI persons. But the bulk of the questions in the module were newly developed and as such, regarded as experimental, making the module itself a pilot that we hope will be refined and improved over time.

## Until we know what the public really thinks, we won't have the tools to help us win those rights in other African countries

While the initial results of the 2015 SASAS will soon be available, they will be embargoed for a period to ensure that South African researchers are able to write and publish the seminal analyses. The Other Foundation intends to facilitate a process with civil society to use the results and analyses to develop more effective advocacy strategies, including high-level engagement with government officials across the region.

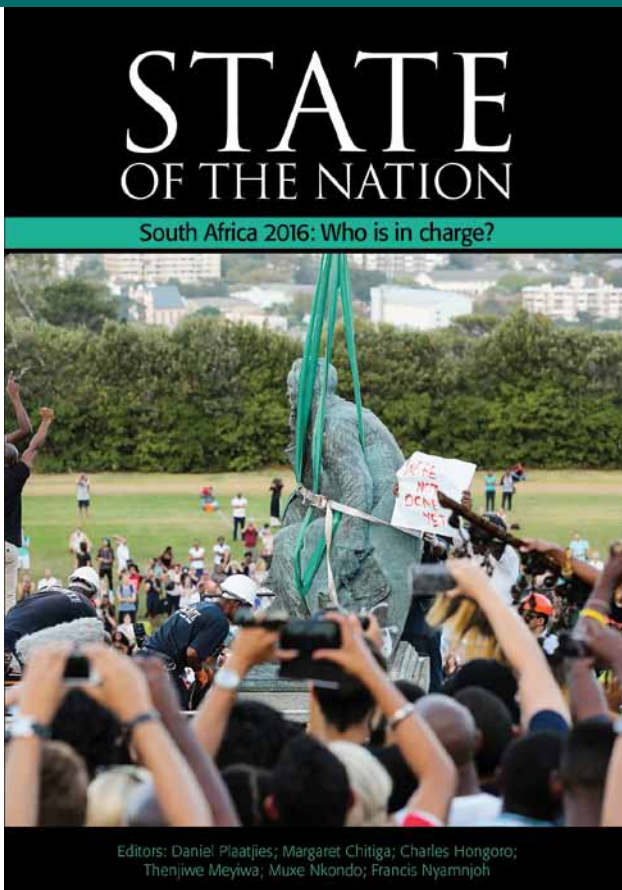
Right now, South Africa is a leader on the continent in LGBTI issues. But until we know what the public really thinks, we won't have the tools to help us win those rights in other African countries. ■

*Author: Carla Sutherland, head of programmes at The Other Foundation. This article is placed with permission from [www.opendemocracy.net](http://www.opendemocracy.net)*

# Sir Cecil John Rhodes: The *makwerekwere* with a missionary zeal

By Francis B Nyamnjoh

Extract from the forthcoming State of the Nation 2016. The groundbreaking State of the Nation 2016 will be available in April 2016. Place your orders here: **Blue Weaver – admin@blueweaver.co.za**



## Introduction

In his novel *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* (Mpe 2001), Phaswane Mpe gives us an elaborate idea of what black South Africans mean when they refer to someone as *makwerekwere*, a mostly derogatory term for a perceived stranger who is usually incapable of articulating local

languages that epitomise the feeling of being at home and in charge. The construction of the *makwerekwere* and of boundaries between South Africans as 'deserving citizens' and *amakwerekwere* as 'undeserving outsiders' is skilfully recounted by Mpe. His novel focuses on migrants from Africa north of the Limpopo, which does not imply that only such people qualify to be termed *amakwerekwere*, as South Africans sometimes mistake one another for *makwerekwere*, or use terminology to refer to one another with an intention of difference that is not dissimilar to that implied when *makwerekwere* is used. In this essay, I draw inspiration from Mpe's novel and related studies to argue that Sir Cecil John Rhodes is best understood as *makwerekwere*, with much in common with black African migrants who are currently targeted by xenophobic violence (Adam and Moodley 2015; Landau 2011; Mangezvo 2014; Mano 2015; Neocosmos 2010; Nyamnjoh and Shoro 2014; Owen 2015; Powell 2014) occasioned by narrow nationalism (Fanon 1967).

I focus on the momentum generated by the Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) student protest movement at the University of Cape Town (UCT) to ask critical questions about belonging and citizenship in Africa...

I focus on the momentum generated by the Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) student protest movement at the University of Cape Town (UCT) to ask critical questions about belonging and citizenship in Africa, where, like everywhere else, aspirations for and claims of purity, authenticity, and primary and often parochial identities coexist with notions of the nation state and its logic of large-scale, exclusive communities. This would suggest that citizenship is necessarily bringing the parochial and the cosmopolitan into conversation aimed at providing for and encouraging a citizenry that negotiate and navigate conviviality from the intersection of myriad identity margins. Yet, everywhere in the world, we are all familiar with the question, 'Where do you come from originally?' which seems ready for no answer short of the land of one's birth, or the birth of one's father. Here is an exchange that reportedly took place between an English woman and a black British girl:

*English woman: Where were you born?*

*Black girl: Manchester.*

*English woman: I mean before that. Similarly, when people I meet for the first time seem to think they know where I come from, as revealed by questions such as, 'Are you from X?' – X standing for the village, town, city or country of their guesswork – I usually leave them perplexed when I answer, 'Not yet'.*

It is not enough to carry official documentation of belonging and wave the national flag of a given country; one must be seen to belong by hard-core or bona fide blood-and-umbilical cord insiders who arrogate to themselves the prerogative of ultimate legitimisers of belonging

Within the framework of hierarchies among nationals as insiders and between nationals and non-nationals in Africa, even where citizenship is granted to mobile outsiders, the emphasis in official documentation on 'original country of birth' means that naturalised citizens are always haunted by the potential inferiority of 'legal citizenship' to 'citizenship by birth'. After all, claims of authentic belonging as 'sons and daughters' of the 'native' soil – autochthons – can always be invoked to exclude those who belong only by force of the law. We have seen manifestations of this almost everywhere in Africa – ranging from 'Ghana Must Go' in Nigeria and 'Cam No Go' in Cameroon, to 'Makwerekwere' in Botswana and

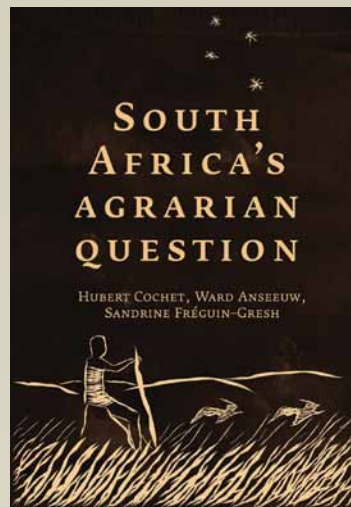
South Africa, through 'Nyak' in Senegal and 'Ivoirité' in Côte d'Ivoire. In this sense, the law facilitates violence against those seen not to be lawful or official rights-bearers. To make a case about who belongs, states do not hesitate to explore and embrace the distinction between 'hand-held' and 'heartfelt' citizenship and indicators of belonging. It is not enough to carry official documentation of belonging and wave the national flag of a given country; one must be seen to belong by hard-core or bona fide blood-and-umbilical cord insiders who arrogate to themselves the prerogative of ultimate legitimisers of belonging. This is the framework within which I examine Rhodes' credentials as *makwerekwere* and seek to understand the RMF movement.

He was a very powerful *makwerekwere*. He came uninvited, indulged unauthorised and conquered unprovoked

#### **Sir Cecil John Rhodes was *makwerekwere***

If a *makwerekwere* is an outsider or a perfect stranger who nimbly-footedly crosses borders (often uninvited and without seeking consent from those who regard themselves as bona fide sons and daughters of the native soil or homeland); has little mastery of local cultures; tends to stutter in local languages or to speak in foreign tongues few master locally; has an unmistakable nose for a quick fortune at all costs; and is usually perceived to be ruthless and greedy in his or her pursuit of self-interest, then Sir Cecil John Rhodes, who lived from 1853 to 1902, was an exemplary *makwerekwere*.

In this regard, he had a lot in common with all other sweet-footed *amakwerekwere*, be they Europeans, Asians, Americans or Africans. But Rhodes was unlike most *amakwerekwere* from Africa north of the Limpopo, whose mobility seems reduced to push and pull factors and tends to be confined effortlessly when it ventures across borders. He was a very powerful *makwerekwere*. He came uninvited, indulged unauthorised and conquered unprovoked. Instead of being defined and confined by the locals of the host communities of his encounters (the way most *amakwerekwere* are nowadays), Rhodes defined and confined those he encountered in his hunter-gatherer endeavours. Call it a quest for greener pastures if you like. Armed with the powerful technologies of dominance inherited from his forebears and perfected in the course of his own adventures, Rhodes was able to penetrate, conquer and tame at will, and at first contact, the powerful of the strange and distant lands of the Heart of Darkness that Africa represented to the civilised savagery of his native England. He took over, ruled, developed and exploited for his personal profit the lands of those he conquered, turning them into *makwerekwere* on their own native soil, their homeland. ■



## SOUTH AFRICA'S AGRARIAN QUESTION

<b>Authors:</b>	Hubert Cochet, Ward Anseeuw, Sandrine Fréguin –Gresh
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<b>Soft cover or hard cover:</b>	Soft
<b>Price:</b>	R290

### About the book

Based on an in-depth analysis of several contrasting agricultural regions, this book aims to assess South Africa's ongoing agrarian reform and the country's agrarian dynamics.

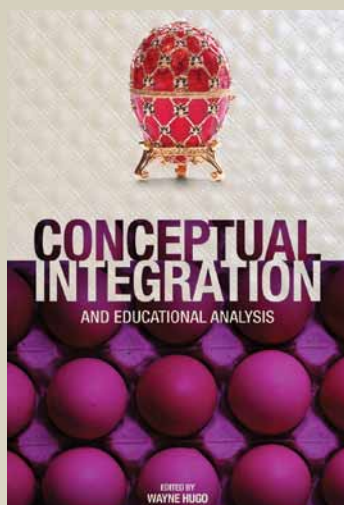
The conclusion is without doubt: 20 years after the first democratic elections, the country's land pattern remains almost unchanged, and primary agriculture and its broader value-chains are more concentrated than ever. Without fundamentally questioning the highly specialised, fossil energy and synthetic input dependent, oligopolistic entrepreneurial agricultural production model, which is presently structuring the sector and is guiding the reforms, a more equitable redistribution of resources and value-addition will by no means be possible.

This book examines and contributes to the structural questions that underpin the current stagnation of South Africa's agrarian reform. Presenting fresh approaches in analysing agrarian issues and tools to assess farming systems and agricultural development, this incisive study will be an important resource to policymakers, academics and those with an interest in agrarian reform.

### Endorsement

What does it mean to reverse decades of racial injustice in access to land and productive resources, and to deal with a legacy of concentration and inequality? Can South Africa, which presents itself as the 'development state par excellence', succeed in the transition to more sustainable types of farming and to more localised food systems? The answers provided in this book will be of interest not only to all those interested in the South African experiment, but also to those who, in all regions, are questioning the mainstream agrifood regime and asking how it can be transformed.

Olivier De Schutter  
Former UN Special Rapporteur on the right to food (2008–2014)  
Co-Chair, International Panel of Experts on Sustainable Food Systems  
Member of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights



## CONCEPTUAL INTEGRATION AND EDUCATIONAL ANALYSIS

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<b>Final extent:</b>	160
<b>Soft cover or hard cover:</b>	Soft cover
<b>Price:</b>	R230

### About the book

Conceptual Integration is a key operating principle in education and a powerful skill for any teacher. Two different concepts are brought together in a way that recognises what is similar and different in them. This allows for an imaginative synthesis that can illuminate a complex process, such as when the heart is compared to a pump. Good teachers do this intuitively, but the act of conceptual integration is poorly understood and insufficiently researched.

*Conceptual integration and educational analysis* provides a clear model that explains how conceptual integration works as well as numerous practical examples that enable the reader to grasp the process theoretically and apply it in practice.

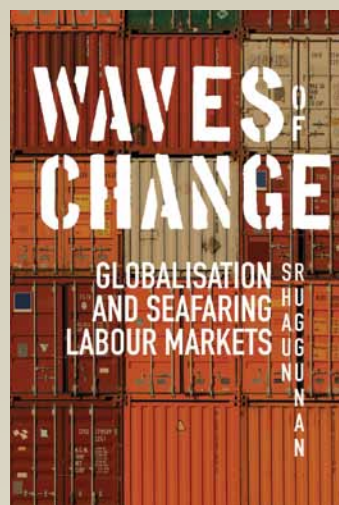
### Endorsements

'It is not often that educational researchers and classroom practitioners can see each other in one common narrative. Hugo and his team do it systematically and accessibly. The chapters in this book build a novel practice language which draws on the sciences ('cognitive linguistics') and stretches on to the insides of the pedagogical process, prisms it open and excavates its inner workings. In this book pedagogues can recognise the conceptual process they take to elaborate, compress, infer and blend ideas.'

Yael Shalem – Wits School of Education, University of the Witwatersrand

'Through a detailed set of cases, the book provides a fascinating account of the working of a particular aspect of pedagogy that lies at the heart of educational transmission – the shift from the experiential knowledge of the student to a specialized understanding of a discipline.'

Ursula Hoadley – School of Education, University of Cape Town



## WAVES OF CHANGE: GLOBALIZATION AND SEAFARING LABOUR MARKETS

<b>Author:</b>	Shaun Ruggunan
<b>Publication type:</b>	HSRC Press book
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<b>Soft cover or hard cover:</b>	Soft cover
<b>Price:</b>	R180

### About the book

Over 90% of the goods we use – from our smartphones to the fuel in our cars – are transported by ships. The cargo shipping industry is the most globalised industry in the world, yet we know very little about the context in which these ships operate or the ways in which seafaring labour is organised. Drawing on evidence from South Africa and the Philippines, *Waves of Change* provides an account of globalisation, seafaring labour markets and the state that allows us to understand how processes of globalisation unfold in this industry. Scholars, policymakers, students and those with a general interest in globalisation and labour will find *Waves of Change* a revelatory account of an industry about which little is generally known.

### Endorsement

'*Waves of Change* highlights the complex, often poorly understood world of the global shipping industry and the seafarers who carry more than 90% of the world's trade by volume. As one of the oldest global industries, the book challenges the simplistic capitalistic and neoclassical ideals that subsequently argue for nation states to leave the commercial fate of any domestic shipping industry to global market forces. Instead the author asks many critical questions. Most profound being if nations rely on shipping so heavily and global markets are so turbulent and equilibrium so elusive, why have so many governments abandoned shipping industry reform?'

Dr Marcus Bowles, Director of the Institute for Working Futures and Professor at the Australian Maritime College, University of Tasmania