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— Table of Contents... —

Editorial	2
Focus...	
Beyond Racial Dynamics in the South African Political Space, The Constrained Ambition of the Democratic Alliance by Victor Magnani	3
L'ANCYL after the Midrand Conference: Towards Political Change in the 'ANC ? by Raphaël Botiveau	8
Daveyton's post-Apartheid Generations Faced with their own Representations by Judith Hayhem	11
Programmes...	15
Paradigms and Practices of Teaching and Learning Languages	
Institutions, Gouvernance and Long-term Growth	
Final Exhibition - Yeoville Studio	
Sterility and use of Assisted Reproductive Technology in a Globalisation Context	
APORDE 2011	
News...	
In brief	19
Memory and City	20
The Meaning of Heritage	21

Editorial...

This new issue of *Lesedi* gives us an opportunity to look back on last year's events and happenings which kept IFAS rather busy, particularly with the last renovation works and the move into our final premises at 62 Juta Street in October. This move, which is finalising and perpetuating IFAS' presence in Braamfontein, saw the arrival of new staff members. Indeed, in August 2011, Mr Dostin Lakika took up his post as IFAS-Research Secretary, while in September 2011 Mr Denis Charles Courdent took his as Director of IFAS, thereby replacing

former Director Laurent Clavel. In parallel, we kept running programmes and organising conferences with our regional partners. As such, the research teams of the ANR XenafPol began their field work in South Africa and DRC, following the inaugural meeting in March; the AFD programme on emergence was launched; the Yeoville Studio programme was closed with an exhibition in Yeoville; the Master 2 students gave feedback on their work as part of the Urban Protected Areas programme, and as a prelude to the inauguration of the ANR UNPEC in 2012; and finally an international conference on Memories and Cities was held in partnership with the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Johannesburg.

As testified by the three in-depth articles published in this issue, the year was also rich in political events: the municipal elections which saw the consolidation of the DA's territories, a timid form of questioning of ANC hegemony by the new born-free generation, and the stir created by the Malema affair, all inspired the authors of these articles. Whether they are political scientists or anthropologists, young or experienced researchers, all somehow studied the end of the South African state of grace with the entry of political parties, major figures as well as ordinary people into the daily political arena. Field work, which relies on the long immersion of researchers in political and union meetings as well as township life, are indispensable to understand the finer points of situations on the political evolution of the country which, too often, are simply outlined.

Hoping that 2012 will be as rich and conducive to research development in the Social and Human Sciences on Southern Africa as it was in 2011, we, at IFAS-Research, wish you a good year and hope you will enjoy this issue.

Sophie Didier

IFAS-Research Director



The new IFAS premises located on the 1st and 2nd floors of 62 Juta Street, Braamfontein. © IFAS

Beyond Racial Dynamics in the South African Political Space, The Constrained Ambition of the Democratic Alliance



Victor Magnani

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Since 1994 and the first democratic elections, the ANC has been dominating the South African political scene, although this should not hide the existence of a sizeable opposition among political parties and civil society. The country has indeed been marked for a few years already by protest and industrial action, in reaction to long-lasting economic and social inequalities. Opposition parties try to re-appropriate these protests to de-legitimize the party in power and to come across as alternatives. In this regard, the local elections of May 2011 were a test to measure the real strength of the ANC in the face of its opponents. Paradoxically, we can say that these elections mark the continuity of the ANC's domination as well as the crystallisation of a serious and durable opposition. While the Inkhata Freedom Party (IFP) confirmed its decline, and while the Congress of the People (COPE) is far from the results obtained during the general elections of 2009 and the hopes raised by its creation in 2008, the Democratic Alliance (DA) confirmed and reinforced its position as first opposition party.

Indeed, the DA has been constantly gaining ground on the electoral front since its arrival on the South African political scene in 2000, following an alliance between Tony Leon's Democratic Party (DP) and Marthinus Van Schalkwyk's New National Party (NNP), later joined by Louis Luyt's Federal Alliance (FA). This union was the fruit of a parliamentary strategy aimed at forming a larger opposition group, benefiting from a sizeable White and Coloured electoral base. The fact that these parties originate from the apartheid era explains why their managing and militant structures are essentially White. Furthermore, since this alliance was not based on real former relations, it gathered parties with divergent histories, ideologies and opposition styles. After a certain amount of tension, the NNP withdrew from the alliance to join the ANC. Today, the DA gathers several political movements, ranging from centre-leftists to conservatives and claims to represent the interests of all South Africans by holding a clearly multiracial discourse. We can mention in this regard certain unequivocal passages from the Party's federal constitution: "South Africans can and must overcome the historic divisions

of race and ethnicity, and unite in [their] diversity around a shared South African identity". During the last elections, the basic point of the party's objectives was reached. This was done first of all by reinforcing and consolidating its status as first opposition party, and secondly by keeping major or symbolic municipalities such as Cape Town and Midvaal. By taking 24,08% of the votes in the general elections of 2011, compared to 16,7% in 2009, the DA can pride itself on having the support of almost one in four voters. It is important to note that the major part of the votes was acquired in the Western Cape Province, which constitutes a real stronghold for the Party.

Despite (or due to) these successes, the DA still raises a number of questions, controversies and debates, and occupies a unique position in the South African political space. While most former and current DA Party leaders are White, the Party is still perceived as the party of minorities, particularly the White minority which was dominant and behind the segregation during apartheid. This perception is reinforced by the fact that the Party is rooted in the Western Cape Provinceⁱⁱⁱ and has a wide following in White suburbs and among the Coloured community of the Cape. In this light, DA opponents have in fact no hesitation in entertaining the idea that the DA is a racial party, i.e. that its objective is to defend only minority interests, and those of the Whites in particular.

Confronted with this controversy and certain facts such as the low racial diversity of the Party's leadership or the Provincial Government, DA Party leader Helen Zille keeps reasserting that the Party's ambition is to become a party fit for government. For this, the Party will need the support of a large section of the Black population in addition to the White and Coloured minorities. Yet, from an electoral viewpoint, if the Party has been progressing considerably since its creation, we find that it has not yet managed to transcend racial divisions. After the last elections this year, the Party estimates that it obtained around 6% of the Black votes, which is clearly insufficient to envisage electoral success in the future on a national scale.

Aware of the situation and in order to show her voluntarism,

Helen Zille tasked her Party during the Federal Congress of 2010 to “cross the racial barrier”. Today, this represents the Party’s greatest challenge. Beyond the slogans and declarations of intent, we will try to present the actions implemented by the Party to transform its image and convince a new electorate. We will also illustrate constraints inherent to the South African political space, which have been burdening the ambition of the DA.

Promoting Internal Diversity

The DA clearly suffers from an image deficit on the South African political scene, related mainly to the fact that its main leaders are White. With the DA’s new challenge, the Party needs to bring about some change as far as internal diversity is concerned, so as to display a multiracial public image matching the discourse and type of society promoted by the Party.

The Party is very much aware of this problem and has made it one of its major strategic issues for a few years now. In 2006, shortly before the second last Federal Congress of the DA, Ryan Coetzee, one of the Party’s main strategists, published an internal report entitled *Becoming a Party for All The People: a New Approach for The DA*^{iv}. In it, he shared his thoughts on the Party’s shortcomings in terms of internal diversity, and advocated the adoption of a new orientation. This document laid the foundations for what could be qualified as the “Coetzee Doctrine” which to date still influences the Party’s strategic positioning. Ryan Coetzee was then encouraging Party members to think deeply and critically about the reasons explaining the absence of support from Black voters. It showed that if the Party wanted to be the party of all South Africans by forging a clearly multiracial identity, the diversity observed within the internal structures should reflect South African diversity.

Helen Zille who was elected at the head of the Party in May 2007, has been using the conclusions of Coetzee’s report and, as such, encouraging members to think about the Party’s ideological and strategic positioning. This led to the new era of the Party which was “re-launched” on 10 November 2008 in Johannesburg, with the firm intention of changing the Party’s image by increasing its internal diversity and attracting people

who, historically, were not DA supporters.

Five years after the publication of Ryan Coetzee’s report and three years after the Party’s “re-launch”, one cannot deny the difficulties experienced by the Party to accomplish a deep structural transformation. Among these difficulties, it appears that, in the short term, the Party found it hard to undergo a transformation without renouncing its values. Indeed, the Party promotes the idea of a post-racial society, devoid of any form of discrimination and, in parallel, tries to favour the emergence of a specific fringe of the population. This leads to a contradiction between the vision, the displayed discourse and the symbolic as well as electoral requirements of the Party. Moreover, the DA promotes excellence when it asserts that the best candidate to a position must be recruited without any discrimination. As such, when the party establishes electoral lists or nominates its leaders, the merit-based criterion must be applied first. Within this framework, the Party pays attention to the diplomas and universities mentioned on candidates’ CVs. Yet, South Africa was marked by decades of segregation which affected access to education in particular.



DA leader Helen Zille campaigning during the 2009 general elections, which led to her becoming Premier of the Western Cape province. © DA

Almost twenty years after the end of that system, a generation of individuals which was discriminated against under apartheid, is old enough to occupy important functions within South African society, but do not benefit from the required qualifications. Making a choice by searching for excellence while promoting diversity is not just necessary, it becomes very difficult.

We can add that the voluntarism of the Party's main leaders is not so obvious at all levels of the Party. Ambitious candidates from the minorities can show a certain amount of scepticism when asked to stand down in favour of candidates deemed less competent. Also, the Party's militant structure is still for the majority White, which can act as a brake on the deep modification of the Party's leading elites. This was observed during the 2010 Federal Congress of the Party. The delegates gathered on that day had once more decided to entrust the leadership to mainly White national leaders.

In order to reach the Party's ambitions as far as the renewal of its leading executives is concerned, it can be said that the DA is backing a long term strategy. In this regard, the Young Leaders Programme is fully in line with this framework. It takes place every year since 2007 and aims at training a group of young South Africans who share DA values, have the required public affairs management skills and who, as such, would be able to take on future executive functions within the Party. This Programme targets the youth, the generation that did not undergo the traumatic experience of apartheid. Selected candidates must come from historically disadvantaged backgrounds as a priority, although not exclusively. Thus, the programme is clearly thought of as an internal transformation tool in that it must be able to promote diversity while respecting the merit values which the Party intends to spread.

Only a few years after its creation, the programme has already made it possible to renew certain Party executives while introducing more diversity. We could suggest that during the years to come, the matrix of the Young Leaders Programme could have a strong influence on the Party's future.

Penetrating ANC territories

While the ANC managed to establish a highly developed territorial network in Black townships or isolated rural areas, the DA on the other hand has had a very limited presence and influence in these constituencies. Unlike the ANC, the DA cannot be considered a mass party⁹. Yet, beyond its diversified leadership image, it is undeniable that the Party needs to increase its presence in the field, in order to become more close to the desired electorate, and to spread its message. The territories which the DA intends to conquer are all ANC strongholds benefiting from an undisputable historical legitimacy.

In order to ensure its presence in the field, the DA has been multiplying its political events and ensuring that Party leaders visit townships as well as permanent informal settlements.

Helen Zille regularly visits black townships and encourages other Party members to repeat this type of initiative. The Party has also been trying to organise many meetings and punctual events in the townships. These visits and events benefit from important media coverage which is much needed for the Party's visibility. However, this is not enough to demonstrate the Party's daily interest for the electorate. For this, the Party has been betting on the creation of permanent structures. Among these, local branches, like those set up by the ANC, are of crucial importance. The Party intends to multiply them in

each constituency as they serve as first relay in the field. Not only do they reinforce the Party's visibility, but they also make it possible to recruit new members and spread the Party's message.

In order to reinforce its presence in formerly abandoned territories, the Party also decided to set up the LEAD programme which mainly aims at offering legal and administrative assistance to local populations. This programme makes it possible to establish direct contact where the DA only benefits from very limited support, but also to prepare electoral campaigns and ensure their continuity once these end, thereby avoiding sending an image according to which the DA is only present in times of elections.

DA speeches made in the Black townships appear largely purged from ideologies, and are in phase with the aspirations of the targeted populations who generally live in highly precarious conditions, and only benefited from limited education in the past. In this light, the message sent is often simplified and focuses on material issues. DA speeches refer mainly to the fact that the ANC is enduring many failures as far as public service delivery and inequality reduction are concerned, and to the fact that the government's practices could constitute a threat for the future of South African democracy. In this light, the idea is that the DA represents an alternative.

Moreover, the Party did not hesitate to appropriate a number of national freedom symbols, such as when the DA decided to launch its 2009 election campaign in the Sowetan suburb of Kliptown, a highly symbolic venue, since this is where the Freedom Charter – the founding document of the fight against apartheid – was adopted in 1955. Another national freedom symbol mobilised is the figure of Nelson Mandela. Among the arguments proposed by Party members, references to the first democratically elected president are widely supported. This denotes the Party's will to position itself on the side of those who oppose apartheid, and to confer an iconoclastic status to Nelson Mandela, while indicating that his heritage could be betrayed by the ANC.

Showing Capacity for Alternativeness

In order to improve its image as well as its electoral results, the DA does not simply present itself as the opposition party, it also refers to itself as a party fit for government, particularly in the Province of the Western Cape and in the city of Cape Town. Managing the province and the city constitutes an important opportunity for the DA to stand as an alternative. Indeed, the idea is to show that beyond criticisms vis-à-vis the ANC, the Party is an effective entity for all the citizens it is responsible to, and not just for minorities. In order to assert itself as a credible alternative, the DA intends to affect directly the most disadvantaged populations in order to improve their material conditions. This concerns efficiency in terms of public service delivery, all the more since failures in this domain constitute the main criticism addressed to the ANC.

A first balance sheet of DA action as regards public service delivery brings to light a number of positive points. In October 2009, economic rating agency Empowerdex developed a service delivery index to evaluate the quality of public services

in various municipalities, and to classify these. According to the agency, the city of Cape Town is classified number one from among all South African metropolitan municipalities. Cape Town was as such rewarded for the quality of its water, the supply of electricity and its housing projects, as well as its initiatives in terms of renewable energy. In 2008, Cape Town invested 3,2 billion Rands to develop its infrastructure, whereas, between 2002 and 2006, when it was under ANC administration, these investments only came to 1 billion Rands on average.



Militants and supporters of the DA at a political campaign meeting during the 2009 general elections. © DA

The DA also intends to establish a new housing access model in the Western Cape Province. Instead of promising the construction of housing for all, the provincial government intends to give residents access to plots connected to water and electricity. Residents would then be responsible for building their own dwellings. While this could undoubtedly lead to an increase in informal settlements, it will offer better access to water and electricity. The provincial government wishes to make 31 000 such sites available by 2014^{vi}.

Also worth mentioning is the case of the Midvaal Municipality in the Gauteng Province, which has been governed by the DA since 2000. Enclosed within an ANC-run province, the Midvaal Municipality represented an important challenge for the DA which made a sizeable investment to ensure that it would be more efficient than ANC-administered localities. In 2008, 8 billion Rands were spent in housing development, with 18 000 houses built as a result.

Through these examples among others, we find that the DA

is very active in demarcating itself from the action of the ANC as far as governmental management is concerned. However, as an opposition party in Government, the difficulties encountered by the DA are exploited to its detriment and, in case of failure, the Party is subjected to severe criticisms. This was the case at the beginning of 2011 after an issue was raised concerning the supply of toilets by the Municipality of Cape Town in the suburb of Makhaza, in the township of Khayelitsha. Wishing to exceed the standards established by the National Housing Code which indicates that each

municipality is to ensure a minimum of one toilet unit for five dwellings, the Cape Town Municipality concluded an agreement in 2007 with the residents of Makhaza, to supply them at the rate of one toilet unit per dwelling. According to this agreement, the Municipality was to ensure the construction of the toilet units while the residents were to build their own enclosures around each toilet.

At the end of 2009, while 1 316 toilet units had indeed been built as per the agreement, 51 resident owners had failed to enclose their own toilets, thereby leaving 51 toilets in full sight. In January 2010, photographs of these toilets were published in the press which questioned the DA's acceptance of the situation. DA opponents

such as the ANC Youth League, saw an opportunity in this and decided to exploit it. The ANCYL felt that the situation revealed the lack of dignity with which the DA treated Black people, and asked the South African Human Rights Commission to publish a report on the matter. This report pointed out certain responsibilities of the DA, and contributed to reinforcing the idea that the municipality of Cape Town could have imposed inhuman conditions on certain residents of Makhaza.

As a result, the fate of 51 families received a lot of coverage in the media which was exploited extensively by the opposition. This shows that, by taking on governmental responsibilities, DA actions which are perceived as a failure by political opponents can expose the Party to criticisms using the race card. Between the encouraging general results of the elections and the specific character of the Makhaza situation, it is difficult to know how Black voters will react. What is certain is that, in the coming years, the DA will need to show vigilance to prevent the rise of similar situations which could have

negative repercussions on the work already carried out successfully in other places.

The last elections show that the DA is progressing in constituencies populated mainly by Black voters^{vii}. This change in the attitude of certain voters is an encouraging sign for the Party's future development. However, we cannot overestimate certain observations and need to deconstruct the discourse advanced by the Party. On the one hand, success is still limited as far as the Black electorate is concerned, and on the other hand, the majority of DA voters live in the Western Cape Province. While this confirms the Party's hold on the Province and could be a direct result of the efficiency of the DA-run Provincial Government, it could also testify to the Party's difficulty in finding popularity outside its original stronghold.

Today, from a national viewpoint, the DA appears to be forsaken in the opposition and still has a long way to go before it can constitute a real threat to ANC domination. During the re-launch of the DA in November 2008, Helen Zille indicated that the Party should be able to challenge the domination of the majority party during the general elections of 2014. Less optimistically, DA Federal Chairperson Wilmot James indicated more recently that, rather, his party could seek to win the 2019 elections. This shows that the DA is increasingly becoming aware of the heavy tendencies underlying the South African political space which will be difficult to overcome. Until then, ANC domination will have to be viewed as a middle term reality and it's only a matter of time before we obtain answers on the evolution of the South African political scene, and the development of the DA in this constrained space.

- i. The NNP originates from the National Party (NP) that dominated the South African political scene from 1948 to 1994. During the same period, the DP represented the White leftist opposition in Parliament.
- ii. DAFederal Constitution, 1.2
- iii. The Western Cape Province and the city of Cape Town are demographic exceptions in South Africa due to the fact that their populations are for the majority Coloured.
- iv. Ryan Coetzee, "Becoming a Party for All The People: a New Approach for The DA", Internal document, 2006, 10p
- v. During his research, Vincent Darracq insisted that the ANC was a mass party. While the Party's structure cannot prevent internal fights, it still makes it possible for the Party to exert an extraordinary hold on society. See Vincent Darracq, "Dans le parti, dans le quartier : les branches locales de l'African National Congress (ANC)", *Revue Tiers Monde*, n° 196, April 2008 or Vincent Darracq, "The African National Congress (ANC) Organization at the Grassroots", *African Affairs*, Vol. 107,

- October 2008.
- vi. Many researchers have examined urban issues relating to housing, water and electricity access in Cape Town, as did Alain Dubresson and Sylvie Jaglin, *Le Cap après l'apartheid : gouvernance métropolitaine et changement urbain*, Karthala, Paris, 2008, as well as Sophie Oldfield, "Local State Restructuring and Urban Transformation in Post-apartheid Cape Town", *GeoJournal*, Vol. 57, N°1-2, May 2002
- vii. During the last elections, the DA clearly consolidated its Coloured constituency, and sometimes even showed progress in some of the ANC's historical constituencies, but generally remains far from being able to increase considerably its strong presence in mainly Black communities. However, the DA announced widely that it managed to obtain a majority vote for the first time in exclusively Black constituencies such as that of Vrsgewagdt, which is situated in the Municipality of Tswaing, in the North-West Province.

L'ANCYL after the Midrand Conference: Towards Political Change in the 'ANC ?



Raphaël Botiveau

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The African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) has been coming back to the front of the South African political scene on a regular basis. Founded in 1944 around Anton Lembede, this youth political organisation disappeared during the long years of exile, before being finally revived in 1990 after the unbanning of its mother body, the ANC. While the pre-1990 ANCYL is well-known to historians in that its destiny was closely linked to the Tambo, Mandela and Sisulu generation, the post-1990 ANCYL has been neglected by researchers, despite a notable renewal of interest for political parties in Africaⁱ. This lack of interest is all the more surprising since, while political sciences have often considered youth organisations as simple training schools and as the site of a "political moratoriums"ⁱⁱ on youth, South Africa partly seems to contradict this vision as the political commitment of the youth has led the ANCYL to become influentialⁱⁱⁱ. Its capacity to influence political agendas and internal ANC power struggles is reminiscent of the major role played by the youth in the fight against apartheid and, although eras and organisations are different, it questions at least the so-called depoliticisation of the born-free generation^{iv}.

The ANCYL recently held its 24th National Congress in Midrand (Gauteng), from the 16th to the 20th of June 2011. This congress which was given a lot of media coverage, gathered around 5 000 delegates from more than 1 300 local branches, and was to adopt the programme of the organisation for the next three years as well as elect a new leadership. This congress was closely followed for at least two reasons: first because after having supported Jacob Zuma successfully in his dual against Thabo Mbeki in 2008, certain differences of opinions have begun to show between Youth League and ANC leaders. In this regard, the Youth League has already announced that it will support the candidature of former ANCYL president and current Minister of Sports and Recreation, Fikile Mbalula, for the post of ANC Secretary General, against outgoing Secretary General Gwede Mantashe. This stance already sounds like a warning to the current President of the ANC and South Africa. Beyond its

usual role in designating ANC leaders and therefore the country's leaders, which it intends to play during the forthcoming 53rd National ANC Conference in 2012, the Youth League has also taken notable programming decisions foreseeing an important debate of ideas for the Congress and the future of the country.

The congress held in Midrand was indeed focused on the theme of "Youth Action for Economic Freedom in our Lifetime". The declaration adopted at the end of the conference announced that "the National Congress re-affirms the centrality of the Freedom Charter as the strategic goal of the African National Congress and the entire national liberation movement (...). We therefore commit to ensure that the 53rd National Conference of the ANC in 2012 re-asserts the



© Raphaël Botiveau

Freedom Charter and makes of it a concrete programme for the ANC beyond its centenary celebrations". Asserting their commitment to "radicalise" and "re-energise" the ANC, the young delegates have adopted the "action programme for economic freedom in our lifetime" and "in particular [the objective] of nationalising the mines and expropriating without compensation"^v. This stand is not surprising since the ANCYL and its president Julius Malema have been vocally advocating for nationalisation in the past years. It nonetheless confirms and hardens the position of the youth organisation, by emphasising the absence of compensation, when other scenarios – such as public-private partnerships – had been considered until then. Julius Malema came out of the Midrand conference even stronger where, despite many attempts by the ANC to destabilise him, he was re-elected without opposition as ANCYL president.

This return to apartheid struggle "values" by referring to the Freedom Charter has been continually increased since 2008. While economic transformation was one of several issues tackled in the resolutions adopted during previous ANCYL conferences in 2001 and 2004, in which the Freedom Charter was not even referred to, the conference of 2008 declared, at the end of the Mbeki era, that "with the balance of forces shifting in favour of the forces of change, the ANC should re-assert itself in the programme to realise Freedom Charter aspirations." The resolutions also indicated that the State was to take control of strategic sectors of the economy and envisage expropriations without compensations^{vi}. After focusing on supporting Jacob Zuma under the presidency of Fikile Mbalula, and after predecessor Malusi Gigaba made it fall in tune at the service of Thabo Mbeki, the Youth League of Julius Malema has been doing more than simply backing up

the leaders of its choice: its strong stands in the economic sphere indicate its will to re-politicise the South African debate.

This will is also that of Julius Malema who is probably the most controversial public figure in South Africa today. Defining himself as an "economic freedom fighter", criticised for his lavish lifestyle^{vii}, this former ANCYL executive from the Limpopo Province is a skilled communicator as well as an instrument in the hands of the media that keep fuelling fears, starting with the spectre of a Zimbabwean scenario. These representations are in turn fuelled by Malema who has been re-introducing race as a pertinent argument. For example, he recently refused to speak to the young spokeswoman of the Democratic Alliance (DA), Lindiwe Mazibuko, explaining that he does not talk with the "tea girl" of "Madame" (in reference to DA leader Helen Zille)^{viii}. His resort to the anti-apartheid struggle semiology goes beyond the usual "*Amandla!*" and other slogans chanted during public gatherings. Malema indeed stood trial and was condemned for having revived the "*Kill the farmer, kill the Boer*" song, which had been popularised by former ANCYL leader Peter Mokaba, following Chris Hani's assassination in 1993. In so doing, Malema embodies a change of political generation in the ANC: while Gwede Mantashe – current ANC Secretary General, Communist Party Executive and former leader of the National Union of Mineworkers – defended the use of the controversial song as part of the historical heritage of the struggle against apartheid, Malema's discourse does not relate it to any particular ideology (whether Lembede's Africanism, Robert Sobukwe's Pan-Africanist Congress or Steve Biko's Black Consciousness Movement). Far from deconstructing it, he refers to identity more as a primordial quality and a political tool.

The issue of generations, the gap^{ix} separating them and their succession within the party, is an old problem that goes back to the confrontation between the young members of the Youth League of the 1940s and the aging leaders of the ANC^x or, still, to the young activists of the Black Consciousness Movement freshly arrived in Robben Island during the 1970s, where their revolt clashed with the actions of middle-aged ANC leaders. The strength of the ANC, which also explains its longevity as an organisation, consists in successfully channelling these tensions by integrating newcomers despite notable scissions. The generational transition already begun within the ANC apparatus and it should continue in 2012. The move of young ANCYL leaders into the executive structures of the Congress will probably result in them closing ranks, as is the case for the unionist and communists who



Participants of the ANCYL "Economic Freedom March" pass through Johannesburg CBD on 27 October 2011. © Raphaël Botiveau

follow the same path. One should also not forget that the ANCYL is also an instrument in the hands of the ANC: while allowing the latter to retain some of its militant identity, it is also a political school and a pool from which the mother body draws its disciplined cadres. The outcome of the disciplinary procedure against Julius Malema, which is under way in an ANC structure, illustrates the willingness of Jacob Zuma and Gwede Mantashe to get rid of the turbulent young leader, be it internally or through looking more closely into the sources of his enrichment. Yet Malema still enjoys significant support among cadres of the movement and his destiny is not sealed.

The debate on economic transformation and mine nationalisation must not necessarily be understood as announcing future large-scale political decision. Indeed, the ANC and the Government have been earning time through creating the nucleus of a future State mining company in February 2010, the African Mining Exploration and Finance Company (AEMFC) which gathers the State's scattered interests in the sector. Nonetheless, the ANCYL already managed to impose what will be a central theme at the next ANC meeting. The return of the Freedom Charter and the issue of nationalisation, which had been buried with the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1996

when South Africa rallied with the neoliberal consensus, bring to light contradictions between the ANC and its allies from the Tripartite Alliance. Although the latter is solid, certain underlying issues concerning the enrichment of an ANC-related elite through Black Economic Empowerment related contracts, or concerning corruption, are increasingly being put forward. Beyond the ANC, the economic transformation ideas expressed by Malema's ANCYL also represent a central issue for the South African youth, irrespective of what it actually thinks of him or his call for nationalisation.

The study of political youth organisations is therefore necessary in trying to better understand the functioning of the structures these organisations come from. Are they a tool to contain the youth and their longing for change or to carry out organisational and political renovation? This illustration through the case of the ANCYL shows the usefulness of approaching an organisation as complex as the ANC through its "peripherals", whether the youth, the unions or even through its opposition, (i.e. the DA or the Congress of the People - COPE). A lot remains to be discovered still as far as these organisations are concerned, and in this regard, localised research is much needed, at branch level in particular^{xi}.

- i. See the special issue of *Politique Africaine*: "Partis politiques d'Afrique. Retours sur un objet délaissé", N°104, December 2006. In francophone research on South Africa, let us mention the recent thesis of Vincent Darracq, *La question raciale à l'African National Congress (ANC) post-apartheid : production de discours, régulation et changement dans un parti politique*, for his Doctorate in Political Science, supervised by René Otaeyek of the Institut d'Études politiques de Bordeaux, 2010 (411p.); see also Marianne Séverin's thesis on *Les réseaux ANC (1910-2004) : histoire politique de la constitution du leadership de la nouvelle Afrique du Sud*, for her Doctorate in Political Science, supervised by Dominique Darbon of the Institut d'Études politiques de Bordeaux, 2006 (1086p.).
- ii. Anne Muxel, *L'expérience politique des jeunes*, Paris, Presses de la FNSP, 2001.
- iii. For a detailed study of the ANCYL, its history, organisational functioning and relation to the ANC, see R. Botiveau, *The A.N.C. Youth League or the Invention of a South African Youth Political Organisation*, IFAS Working Papers, N°10, Johannesburg, IFAS, 2007 (72p.).
- iv. In this regard, we can mention Judith Hayem's current research work which was introduced in a panel on « Post apartheid Generations », during the 4th European Conference on African Studies, held in Uppsala (Sweden) on 15-18 June 2011.
- v. ANCYL, "Declaration of the 24th National Congress," 19 April 2011
- vi. ANC Youth League, *23rd National Congress – Resolutions*, Nasrec, Gauteng, June 27-29, 2008.
- vii. See for example R. Botiveau, « Le travail de sape au grand jour de Julius Malema », Blog GIRAF 'L'actualité africaine décryptée', *Alternatives Internationales*, 2 April 2010. (<http://alternatives-economiques.fr/blogs/giraf/2010/04/02/afrique-du-sud-%E2%80%93le-travail-de-sape-au-grand-jour-de-julius-malema/>)
- viii. Yadhana Jadoo, "Malema dubs DA's Mazibuko a 'tea girl'," *Cape Times*, May 20, 2011.
- ix. Margaret Mead, *Culture and Commitment. A Study of the Generation Gap*, New York, Natural History Press, 1970 (xvii, 113p.).
- x. Edward Feit, "Generational Conflict and African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress, 1949-1959," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 5, no.2, 1972, p.181-202.
- xi. The conference entitled "One Hundred Years of the ANC: Debating Liberation Histories and Democracy Today," which was held on 20-24 September 2011 at the University of the Witwatersrand was to explore this local dimension. We can also mention recent works on local democracy in post-apartheid South Africa, conducted within the framework of the CORUS programme run by the Institut de recherche pour le développement. See *Tiers Monde* (N°196, April 2008), co-ordinated by Claire Bénit-Gbaffou, on the "Forms of local democracy in the South African Cities".

Daveyton's post-Apartheid Generations Faced with their own Representations Issues, Lessons and Perspectives from a Feedback Session



Judith Hayem

Judith Hayem is a senior lecturer in Anthropology at the University Lille 1 and a member of the Laboratoire Clersé-CNRS (Centre lillois d'études et de recherches sociologiques et économiques). Her research focuses on contemporary political subjectivities. She has conducted many studies over the years on labour forms of thinking and mobilisation in South Africa and France, and in this regard published *La figure ouvrière en Afrique du Sud* with IFAS-Karthala Publishers in 2008. Her research in the industrial environment also brought her to work on access to ARVs in the mines of Mpumalanga in the 2000s. Since 2010, she has been investigating forms of thinking, awareness and commitment among post-apartheid generations in South Africa.

On the 2nd of June 2011, on the eve of going back to France after a 3-month research period among the youth of Daveyton (a township located in Ekurhuleni Metro, East of Johannesburg), I¹ organised a first feedback session with interviewees, on the provisional results and analyses based on my research conducted from March to June 2011 and in November 2010, and to hear their reactions, comments and potential criticisms.

Feedback sessions are even more fruitful when accurate data analyses have been carried out; but this lengthy process usually means that results are revealed—quite a while after the initial meeting between interviewees and researchers. To ensure feedback, I organised a feedback session for all involved, enabling me in the process to check reactions and expectations. At this stage, a few words must be said about the actual research.

It deals with the subjectivity, forms of thinking and engagement of young people in Daveyton, aged between 18 and 35. Young adults in their twenties and thirties today qualify as 'youth', along official criteria, and are often labelled depreciatively by the media as the "born free generation", supposedly without historical knowledge or political consciousness. But are they really depoliticized? What drives them to attend NGOs, forums, political parties or carry out daily commitments? What do they aspire to for the future and what do they think of the society they belong to? Are their forms of thinking organised through the history of apartheid and the supposedly new subsequent political era, or did they forge their own categories of thinking to apprehend reality and prescribe their own future? These are some of the questions underlying my research. To answer them, I combined individual semi-directive interviews (involving 26 young adults, with half being men and the other half women), with collective interviews (involving Grade 12 learners and ANCYL members), as well as daily observations of and/or participation in

township life and weekly participant observations in four different places: the local youth forum, a local branch of the ANC, a group of closed friends and a group of informal street vendors running a spaza shop. In addition, I have had many informal discussions with the youth and older residents of the township.

Around one third of the interviewees (i.e. 10 people) replied positively to my invitation and came to the feedback session. While quite a few attendees were ANCYL members who influenced the meeting all the more since they knew each other well, others were closer to the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO) or not affiliated at all. As it happens and for whatever reason, none of the more conservative interviewees, those who felt closer to the Democratic Alliance (DA), after the elections of May 2011 in particular, were present. Of course, for the sake of confidentiality, feedback results were not nominative but sought to indicate findings common to all interviewees. The event took place in one of Daveyton's schools where several interviews had been conducted, which was perceived as a neutral place, and fairly close to the various sections of the township where the youth came from. When everybody around the table had introduced themselves, I delivered my findings, pausing regularly to give my audience a chance to comment, question, criticize or complement whenever they felt the need. After a while, the session turned into a political debate. The exercise which ended around drinks and biscuits lasted altogether more than two and a half hours.

Three different types of findings were delivered: first, common needs and expectations as clearly expressed by the youth of Daveyton which seemed worth mentioning since these were shared by many; secondly, common ideas shared or agreed upon by the youth; and lastly, controversial notions debated by the youth during

interviews which will require further analysis for fuller elaboration.

The first type of results was characterised by three things:

- 1- Interviewees felt that Daveyton needs to be put on the map and to be given as much importance as Alexandra or Soweto, and expressed a Daveytonian identity separate from that of the other townships in Gauteng.
- 2- Interviewees also felt that information does not circulate in Daveyton and were concerned by the need to use new modes of communication inside the township, such as a local radio (its finalisation having been confirmed during the feedback session). Lack of information was seen by the youth as hampering possibilities and self-realisation. They saw it as a lack of means which, although a basic means, may not be accessible to the poorest (i.e. lack of internet access, lack of airtime to raise and circulate information, expensive transportation costs to go to a job interview or check a job offer¹). They feel that such situations not only restrain new projects, but might also interrupt existing ones. Their concern on the matter is not only individual and self-centred but collective: what is the way forward in order for the Daveyton youth, as a whole, to be opened to the world and make a better use of potential opportunities?
- 3- Many youth who are often unemployed or poorly paid as volunteers in various organisations, wish to see their work acknowledged by the State or the municipality, not only legally but also financially, since not only do they offer their services as volunteers but are actually competent. Many are aware of the fact that they play an important social role when they fight HIV/AIDS, organise job forums for the youth or do homework remedial courses. They rise up against those who say that it is only "a way to keep the youth



Picture of a map underlining the distance that separates the township of Daveyton (in red) from the city of Benoni (in yellow). © Judith Hayem

busy until they find a proper job". They think it would be more coherent to perpetuate these jobs by making them sustainable.

Interviewees reacted by confirming the accuracy and pertinence of the above themes, saying that "*they were happy to have been heard on the matter*". They felt all the more legitimised in presenting their requests to the relevant authorities since "*many of them had formulated such requests*".

I then presented common ideas shared or agreed upon by the youth, such as the fact that young adults pay attention to their appearance but cannot allocate much of their budget to it. Interviewees often associated their appearance to a form of self-esteem and linked it to the work of black consciousness hero Steve Biko. However, although black consciousness is a relevant notion for interviewees, I fail to see, beyond the iconic reference, how this rhetoric works.

Others common ideas concerned unemployment as the first recurrent theme during interviews (i.e. the fact that very few people have a proper salary or job), followed by the HIV/AIDS epidemic, alcohol and drug abuse and teenage pregnancy. In this regard, young adults do not simply

complain about these problems, they also volunteer in organisations to try to resolve them. More generally, they mention many ideas which could “*help the community*” in this regard.

Another significant and common feeling was the need to master English in order to look for a job and be able to speak to everybody in South Africa. This conviction seems to go hand in hand with the ambivalent stigmatisation of Black people who speak “very good” English and who are often called “coconut” (a metaphor for the fruit, “Black on the outside but White inside”). This notion translates what seems to be a class and status division among Black people. When I asked interviewees to explain what the “coconut” metaphor referred to, many gave complex and variable definitions. However, a first analysis of the data collected shows that the word coconut describes the distant way in which outsiders relate to township dwellers. And according to interviewees, speaking very good and refined English is precisely a way to show that distance.

The most interesting and dynamic debates, to the detriment of all other themes, were the result of an idea which is altogether absent from the interviews conducted. Despite unemployment and difficult access to work being a leitmotiv during interviews, interviewees never questioned the spatial organisation of Daveyton, which, resulting from apartheid geography, is still very pregnant today. As a result of this organisation, there are no factories or workplaces in the township apart from municipal jobs, the informal sector or self-employment. Moreover, Daveyton is located further away than other surrounding townships from active industrial centres.

“We were born in Daveyton and we are so used to the way things are that we don’t even pay attention to it anymore!” exclaimed one of the youth. “And yet, of course, we know that it is a consequence of apartheid!”...

“This shows that the question is whether we are really fighting against a system or against people”, added one of the youth. From then on, the conversation took a militant tone. For those present, the point was not to see if the research findings were true to their ideas but to decide what they could do based on what they had learned from them.

“Judith showed us that we share many common ideas and today that feedback session gave us a chance to meet, what are we going to do on that basis?” summed up one of the most charismatic orators.

The conversation was then continued and concerned ways to have their common demands met and to develop their shared ideas. “How can we unite?”, wondered the youth. “How can residents from various wards meet more

often, like we did for this feedback session, when ward structure [on which youth and militant structures are organised] tends to keep us apart? Do we need to create a new organisation in order to voice our demands following our debates today?”, pleaded those closer to civil society, who were careful not to be exploited by existing structures and parties, “or shall we use existing structures so as not to waste time organising new ones?”, as suggested by the ANCYL which has more experience in entryism. “Regarding the creation of local jobs, how can we make sure that successful businessmen and political leaders who are born in Daveyton, invest in our community?, for *they must give back to the community!*” argued one youth, insisting on one of the major research findingsⁱⁱⁱ: being obliged to give back to the community, to invest back in it when one is successful, either financially or through ideas, initiatives or investments, is a very common idea among interviewees, although they also note that wealthy people seldom comply with it.

This was followed by a long debate and a promise to see one another again and continue collective work. By that stage, the youth chose a meeting date and venue and even proposed a name for the new organisation: “The Concerned Youth of Daveyton”.

I then asked the shyest youth what they thought of the feedback session.

“I really liked it”, said one of the young girls, “especially the debate we had afterwards”.

“You taught us a lot about ourselves and you pushed us to define ourselves and wonder who we were when we are doing something”, commented a young man about the feedback session and the research at large.

What does this feedback session tell us and what more does it bring to this research? As expected, it enabled me to validate rather than contradict outlined analytical leads. It also showed that the youth did not know one another well; it made them realise that parliamentary mechanisms such as ward structure, tend to divide rather than unite them. The practice of militant investigation – in order to know what fellow political activists or target publics think – also appears unusual, even among the most politicised youth. In this light, it took an anthropological research session for the youth to realise that they share ideas.

Moreover, the feedback session brought to light the fact that people are so isolated in the township that they confessed to be no longer aware of it. The issue of apartheid and any reference to that ‘system’ are not at all or seldom mentioned in an articulate manner in the research, although it could suddenly come out as a non related aspect of the current situation (during the interviews, apartheid was generally identified as a historical period as with “apartheid times”, and as facts, with “arrests”, “police”,

"dompass", "Soweto uprising" etc., but rarely as a given political system). Apartheid does not consciously structure the youth's commitment in Daveyton, even if older adults are perfectly able to historicise the analysis of their environment when the weight of apartheid suddenly comes up or is pointed out to them. Nevertheless, and this is what further data analysis will need to clarify, the youth of Daveyton are far from indifferent to the fate of their "community" and their country. They are willing to commit themselves to make a contribution. What guides them is the perception they have of their daily life and environment, rather than a reference to a bygone political era.

While the enthusiasm raised during the feedback session is a positive feature, it should certainly not be the only catalyst for people to meet and speak to one another. Is nothing happening at all in Daveyton as far as socio-political structures are concerned? On the contrary, thanks to my fieldwork experience, I can contend that people make many attempts to do something about their situation, although these often end up being aborted; there is a true, yet clumsy and fickle will to create new structures among

the youth. Even if opposing options and strategies were being put forward during the feedback session (such as exploiting an existing organisation or creating a new and independent one), the attending youth were excited at the prospect of inventing something new *"together"* and *"in unity"*, something more appropriate and efficient than the existing structures in order to fight for what they stand for. In any case, such an initiative is probably very much needed, but at this stage it is only a beginning, in Daveyton at least.

In the end, the feedback session somehow incited the youth present to give 'me' regular feedback in the long term, which is another way for them to keep questioning the meaning of their actions. Since my return to France, and waiting to go back on site for more feedback and new studies, I have been receiving emails from the most active among them on a regular basis. They tell me about their attempts, failures and successes. My feedback session ended up being a way of keeping in touch with the field, of strengthening the confidence established with my interlocutors, and it will hopefully help my future research work, despite temporary interruptions.

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- i. Judith Hayem is an anthropologist, a senior lecturer at Lille 1 University and a member of Clersé-CNRS. The research discussed here was conducted during a 6-month sabbatical offered by the CNRS and was financially supported by IFAS and Lille 1 University.
 - ii. These problems are common to every township, but in Daveyton they are worsened by the fact that the Benoni city centre is particularly far from Daveyton. The partitioning of this "model township", built in the 1950s and which urban planning did not change much, is still strong. Cf. Chapter 4 of Noor Nieftagodien PhD, 2001, *The implementation of urban apartheid on the East Rand 1948-1973. The role of local government and local resistance*, directed by P. Bonner, University of the Witwatersrand.
 - iii. On that issue, see the paper I read at the 4th ECAS congress in Uppsala (Sweden): "When you're successful you must give back to the community!" *Successful, rich, and poor, 3 key notions for understanding generation*. It can be downloaded from the following website address: <http://www.nai.uu.se/ecas-4/panels/101-120/panel-107/>

Programmes...

Paradigms and Practices of Teaching and Learning Languages in FOUNDATION PHASE Classrooms in Gauteng and Limpopo Provinces

First Year Evaluation of the new Programme in Linguistics

This project, which links three institutions - the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), the University of Limpopo and the University of Pretoria under a consortium led by the HSRC with funding from National Research Foundation (NRF) and the French Institute of South Africa (IFAS) – aims at assessing the language policy implemented in schools to see how well learners' linguistic skills have been developed in both home language and English by Grade 3 and 4.

After an initial workshop in March 2011, five themes, to be explored across schools in the provinces of Limpopo and Gauteng, were defined and allocated to the main researchers:

- the development of literacy in home languages and in English as a first additional language (FAL) or at Home Language (HL) level;
- the training and practice of Foundation Phase (FP) teachers, particularly regarding the language issue;
- the development of learners' linguistic skills in both home languages and English (as a FAL);
- language-in-education policy development and practice in FP classrooms.

In terms of methodology, most first hand data relating to teaching events is derived from class observations. Classes are video-recorded after permissions were obtained from the Limpopo and Gauteng Departments of Education, the teachers and the parents. Video-recordings were thus conducted in two schools in Mamelodi after the October break and lessons from the recordings were presented at a workshop at the University of Limpopo in November (29-30).

As part of the research project, a number of bursaries were allocated to BA and MA students with funding from the NRF and IFAS and a new call to apply for bursaries has recently been issued.

New AFD-IFAS Research Programme

Institutions, Gouvernance and Long-term Growth

Launched since 2009 by the research department of the French Development Agency (AFD), the programme "Institutions, Governance and Long Term Growth" launched in July 2011 its new South African research component which will be coordinated by IFAS Research. The aim of this programme is to rethink the criteria of "good governance" and institutional quality, by focusing on their effectiveness in economic development processes. The programme is based on the detailed analysis of institutional determinants of growth in countries that have experienced economic take-offs over several decades. It aims at developing a new country-based diagnostic tool combining both institutional and economic analysis in the elaboration of development strategies.

Assuming that "good governance" is not that universal and effective recipe which can be applied in every country, as the Bretton Woods institutions would have us believe, this research programme supposes that developing countries should rather focus on acquiring governance capacities identified by the literature as characteristic of emerging and developed countries.

One component of this research programme consists in examining countries as case studies, including South Africa, India, China, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Turkey, Kenya, Burkina Faso and Madagascar. The South African case study will be co-ordinated by Nicolas Pons-Vignon (Corporate Strategy and Industrial Development - CSID) and Aurelia Segatti (African Centre for Migration & Society – ACMS / IFAS). A first working meeting in this regard was organised at Wits on the 19th of October 2011 with Nicolas Meisel who is in charge of the AFD-Research programme.

For more information on this research programme:

<http://www.afd.fr/lang/fr/home/recherche/themes-recherches/institutions-gouvernance-croissance>



Final Exhibition - Yeoville Studio
(26 November – 2 December 2011)

The programme entitled Yeoville Studio, a joint initiative of the School of Architecture and Planning (University of the Witwatersrand), the Yeoville Stakeholders' Forum, the Yeoville-Bellevue Community Development Trust and IFAS-Research, with the support of the Goethe Institute, will end at the end of this year. This participative city-planning project has, for the past two years, involved close to 330 students and around 20 lecturers from Wits University, through around 30 courses organised on research issues defined in partnership with Yeoville-based associations.

A final exhibition was organised in Yeoville from the 26th of November to the 2nd of December with a view to giving feedback to local residents, by presenting the results of all the research conducted on various themes such as public space and informal trading, housing and African diversity in the suburb. All the research was on display mainly at the Yeoville Recreation Centre and in various venues in the suburb.

Two different yet complementary publications based on the research and results of the Yeoville Studio are programmed for 2012. One will be intended for academics while the other will be for the general public.



The story of Happy Dhlame as told in the "Yeoville Stories" exhibited at the Yeoville Recreation Centre from 26 November to 2 December 2011

Sterility and use of Assisted Reproductive Technology in a Globalisation Context (Ouagadougou, Paris, Pretoria)

“ANR Les Suds” Research Programme - 2011 - 2013

Since 2011, IFAS has been running the Southern African part of a research programme on issues of sterility and assisted reproductive technology (ART) in a globalisation context. Financed by the ANR within the framework of the research programme entitled “Les Suds aujourd’hui (II)”, this programme is managed by Doris Bonnet (Population and Development Centre) and co-ordinated by Frédéric Le Marcis (Research Centre “Les Afriques dans le Monde”) for the South African part, and intends to study the appropriation of ART medical innovation in Sub-Saharan Africa, by examining cases in Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) and Pretoria (South Africa).

In an increasing number of African cities, middle class and fairly well-off sterile couples have decided to resort to ART in private clinics locally, in other countries of the South and in Western countries. This programme looks at the phenomenon of medical mobility in a context of globalisation, and at the importance of reproduction within this phenomenon. IFAS is witnessing the implementation of these research works in the South African research field (Pretoria).

For more information on this programme, visit: <http://ceped.org/?AMP-Sterilite-et-recours-a-l>

African Programme on Rethinking Development Economics APORDE 2011 - 5th édition

The 5th Edition of the APORDE seminar - African Programme on Rethinking Development Economics - (a joint initiative of the South African Department of Trade and Industry, the French Development Agency and the Embassy of France implemented by IFAS) held from 5 to 19 May in Johannesburg was once again a big success. As this year's edition saw a record number of 350 applications, the 28 selected participants coming mostly from African countries proved to be particularly competent and talented. They attended two intensive weeks of training lectures given out by world-renowned professors in development economics (such as Ha-Joon Chang from the University of Cambridge, Alice Amsden from the MIT and Michel Aglietta from the University of Nanterre). The lectures tackled some of the most pressing socio-economic issues faced by emerging and developing countries and aimed at engaging critically with what could be called the "clichés of African economics" in dire need of being challenged.

For the first time, the seminar was held in Johannesburg which facilitated the organisation of several side events. While closed parallel workshops were organised with the Department of Public Enterprise (DPE) and the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), a series of public conferences were hosted by local partners from the

APORDE is a two-week high-level training programme in development economics, public policymaking, and development strategies aimed at building capacity in the South, particularly in Africa. It brings together talented academics, policymakers, NGO workers, and trade unionists, giving them a unique opportunity to receive high-level training in the course of their professional life, interact with some of the best development economists in the world and with other participants from Africa and beyond. The participants are selected through a call for application.

To receive the call for application, send an email to :

aporde@ifas.org.za

or visit the Aporde website:

www.aporde.org.za

institutional and academic world as well as civil society. Public events were thus organised at the main two universities of Johannesburg (University of Wits and University of Johannesburg), at NUMSA (National Union of Metal Workers in South Africa) and with the NGO Action Aid. They were attended by more than 300 people overall.



Lecture by Carlos Oya (SOAS, University of London) during APORDE 2011. © IFAS

Ben Fine's public lecture on the Developmental State (an APORDE – NUMSA event), 5th May 2011.

On the 5th of May 2011, opening day of the Aporde seminar, Professor Ben Fine was invited to give a public lecture entitled "Beyond the Developmental State" at the headquarters of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) in Newtown. A Professor of Economics at the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London), having worked extensively on the subject, Prof. Ben Fine was asked to unpack the concept of the Developmental State and to see whether it provided a relevant framework to analyse the nature and potential of the South African economy.

In the first part of his lecture, Prof. Ben Fine thoroughly explored the history of the Developmental State Paradigm, DSP. He explained how it was conceptualised in the specific context of East and South-East Asian economies of the 1960s to describe a development model in which nation-states had a lot of autonomy, regulating power and control over the economy. While it was widely embraced by experts in the fields of academia and policy-making, in the 1980s it also became an ideological argument brandished to discredit the Washington Consensus and its neoliberal dogma. Over time the DSP has experienced mixed fortunes, in the doldrums after the Asian crisis of 1997/98 but currently benefitting from a limited revival. Nowadays, though, it remains a low-profile buzzword, a framework too often casually attached to any form of successful state intervention in the economy, ranging from China through particular sectors down to individual investment projects.

Prof. Ben Fine then went on to describe the strengths and weaknesses of the DSP and, in the second part of his lecture, he elaborated on the way in which the South African case departs from, rather than conforms with, its requirements and characteristics. In light of the deep recent financialization of the South African economy and its historical reliance on the minerals-energy complex (MEC), Prof. Ben Fine pointed to the low levels of domestic investment and high levels of capital flight to explain how these phenomena precluded the possibility of the state building upon domestically generated resources to attain development goals.

He concluded that "the developmental state can serve as a stepping stone for radical and progressive reform but, equally, it could prove a potential pitfall for progressive policies. The decisive issue will be who defines the development state, and how".

people. The full talk is available on the Aporde website (www.aporde.org.za) and will be published in the next issue of *The African Communist* journal. A fuller account of the developmental state is to be found in Ben Fine, Jyoti Saraswati and Daniela Tavasci (editors) *Beyond the Developmental State: Industrial Policy into the 21st Century*, London: Pluto Press, forthcoming.



Prof. Ben Fine giving his lecture in front of a full house (150 persons).
© IFAS

The conference was attended by more than 150

New staff at IFAS

Since august 2011, the new secretary of IFAS-Research is Mr Dostin Lakika. Before joining IFAS-Research, Mr Lakika was Assistant at the African Centre for Migration and Society (University of the Witwatersrand) where he worked on Trauma Care for Migrants in South Africa. He is replacing Ms Marie-Eve Kayova who is currently Assistant to the Dean of Unisa's Law Faculty.

Moreover, in September 2011, Mr Denis Charles Courdent was appointed as the new Cultural Attaché and Director of the French Institute of South Africa. Before his appointment, Mr Courdent was Director of the Alliance Française of Addis-Ababa in Ethiopia. He took over from M. Laurent Clavel who is currently occupying the function of Curator of the French-South African Seasons.

Finally, the recruitment procedure for the post of IFAS-Research Director was launched within the framework of the 2012 Transparency Campaign of the French Department of Foreign and European Affairs. The post is to be filled in September 2012 and the deadline for applications is the 30th of November 2011.

For more information, please consult www.ifas.org.za/research.

Newsletter of the French Research Institutes Overseas (IFRE)

The IFRE network gathers 27 French research centres established on all five continents and dealing with all human and social sciences, in contact with local and French research institutions.

To receive information on the network, subscribe to the newsletter by contacting Mr Nicolas de Lavergne: delavergne@msh-paris.fr

Archaeological visit in Sterkfontein

The Alliance Française of Johannesburg and IFAS Research organised on 21 May 2011 an exceptional visit of the Sterkfontein and Cooper's caves (the latter being usually closed to the public). The visit was guided by Christine Steiniger (paleoanthropologist and project director of Cooper's caves), Aurore Val (researcher in archaeology at the Universities of Wits and Bordeaux) and permit co-holder of Sterkfontein Caves Dominique Stattford.

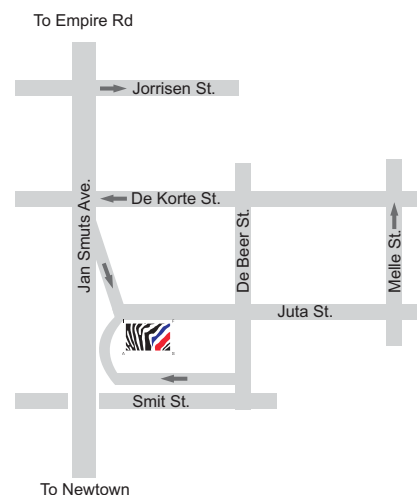


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Another archaeological excursion was organised on **Sunday 27 November 2011** with guided visits of Bolt's Farm, Goldsmith and Swartkrans sites.

IFAS moved into its permanent offices

After relocating from Newtown to Braamfontein in December 2010 (see Lesedi #12), the French Institute of South Africa moved to its permanent offices at 62 Juta Street in Braamfontein (1st and 2nd floors). The new offices were inaugurated on the 10th of November 2011 by French Minister of Foreign and European Affairs Alain Juppé during his visit to South Africa and Executive Mayor of Johannesburg Mpho Parks Tau.



Memory and City

International Conference - Johannesburg, 13-16 September 2011

From the 13th to the 16th of September 2011, IFAS-Research, with the support of the Fonds d'Alembert (Institut Français) and in partnership with the Universities of Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand as well as the Audiovisual Co-operation Service in Pretoria, organised an international conference on "Memory and the City". This event which explored the notion of urban heritage in Africa through memories, was also in line with the celebrations of Heritage Month in South Africa (which take place in September), by focusing on the South African case where memorial efforts since the democratic transition have mainly focused on the evocation of the (mostly urban) battlegrounds of the struggle, while leaving very little space for ordinary memories and their role in the making of territorial identities.

Bringing together more than 20 researchers from around the world who were short-listed after responding to a call for papers launched in February 2011, the conference offered participants two days of fruitful academic exchange. It also led to an exhibition of works from the Yeoville Studio, the open-air projection of Jacques Tati's *Mon oncle*, as well as site visits organised in partnership with resident associations in some emblematic neighbourhoods of Johannesburg as far as the subject of urban memory is concerned (Yeoville, Sophiatown and Vilakazi Street in Soweto).

Four sessions were organised at the University of the Witwatersrand on the first day and at the University of Johannesburg on the second day (Soweto campus).

- The first session explored the implications of elaborating on urban memories by taking into account the post-colonial context (the cases of Kisumu in Kenya, Durban in South Africa, Harare in Zimbabwe, Port Louis in Mauritius and Cairo in Egypt);
- The second session looked at the migration issue and its relation to the creation of urban memories (the cases of Paris in France, Johannesburg in South Africa, Kano in Nigeria and Gujarat in India);
- The third session examined the complex relation that exists between urban and political memory (the cases of Nanterre in France, Lalibela in Ethiopia, Johannesburg in South Africa and Le Port in Reunion Island);
- The fourth session concluded on the practices of memory in town (the cases of Cape Town in South Africa, Kampala in Uganda, Nairobi in Kenya and Benoni in South Africa).

Moreover, during the plenary sessions, three papers were read by Prof. Philippe Gervais Lambony (Senior

Lecturer in Geography at the University of Paris-Ouest Nanterre La Défense in France) on the memories of Comet in Boksburg (Gauteng), by Prof. Annie Fourcaut (Senior Lecturer in Contemporary History at the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne in France) on the use of the memory of the 1860 annexation of Parisian suburbs in today's political negotiations for a Greater Paris, and by Prof. Cynthia Kros (Senior Lecturer in History at the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa) who recapitulated the debates held during the two day-sessions, from a South African perspective.



Keynote speech given by Philippe Gervais-Lambony (University Paris-Ouest Nanterre La Défense) during the Memory and City international conference.
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The Meaning of Heritage

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The word “heritage” is a slippery term that incorporates a vast range of contradictory meanings. South Africans celebrate 24 September as Heritage Day, but it is unclear exactly what the public holiday is intended to celebrate. September has become the month of choice for various arts, culture, public history, and nation-building activities, using the opportunity to capitalize on “heritage month”. We need to recognise, though, that our ideas of what heritage is, and what purpose it serves, are inevitably selective; heritage always serves a deliberate purpose in the present, whether tourism, social cohesion, or political grandstanding.

So what do we include and exclude from the “heritage”

histories of their own, made up of the memories and experiences of those who live or have lived in them, of shifting architectural landscapes. Urban life and cities are central to the construction of heritage.

In South Africa, an alternative understanding of heritage to that centred on culture often is located in anti-apartheid struggles and their remembrance, prominently located in urban histories. The last 15 years have seen a burgeoning of apartheid-related memorial sites: in Johannesburg, the Apartheid Museum and the Hector Pieterse Museum, in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town the Red Location and the District Six Museum. These projects proliferate, although the era of massive, spectacular state-driven post-apartheid memorial projects is over.

If heritage is something which is created, rather than something which is found, then it follows that heritage changes. Events are written out of our favoured narratives of history, “hidden heroes” are brought to light in new accounts, new stories are spun and old ones are laid to rest. In an urban context, heritage may include past events but also, less tangibly, neighbourhood identities and histories with resonance in the present. These identities fly below the radar of national importance, and are often quite “ordinary”. Do we count the experiences of a young Zimbabwean artist living in a church room in Yeoville as urban heritage? Likewise the story of an Afrikaans family who moved into a brand-new three-bedroomed house in Triomf/Sophiatown in 1965? There is a need to broaden our thinking to incorporate people’s lived experiences and memories more explicitly into the way we envision our city heritage, and not just heritage in the city.

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umbrella? Heritage encompasses many things: objects, practices and; collective memories of past events; public history. Often, the idea of African heritage (a sweeping generalisation) is located firmly in rural identities or in ‘cultural landscapes’, for instance Great Zimbabwe. But urban histories and memories form a gap in our thinking about African heritage. This is surprising considering that the African continent is experiencing rapid and unprecedented urbanisation. Urbanisation and migration are central facets of national identities and histories – particularly true of South Africa. For many, the city is an immensely powerful locus of memory, nostalgia, and notions of home. Cities have lives and



Pauline Guinard (PhD student, University Paris-Ouest Nanterre La Défense) guides a tour of Vilakazi Street in Soweto, a state-driven post-apartheid memorial site, during the Memory and City international conference (13–16 septembre 2011). © IFAS

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Lesedi: Sesotho word meaning "knowledge"

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