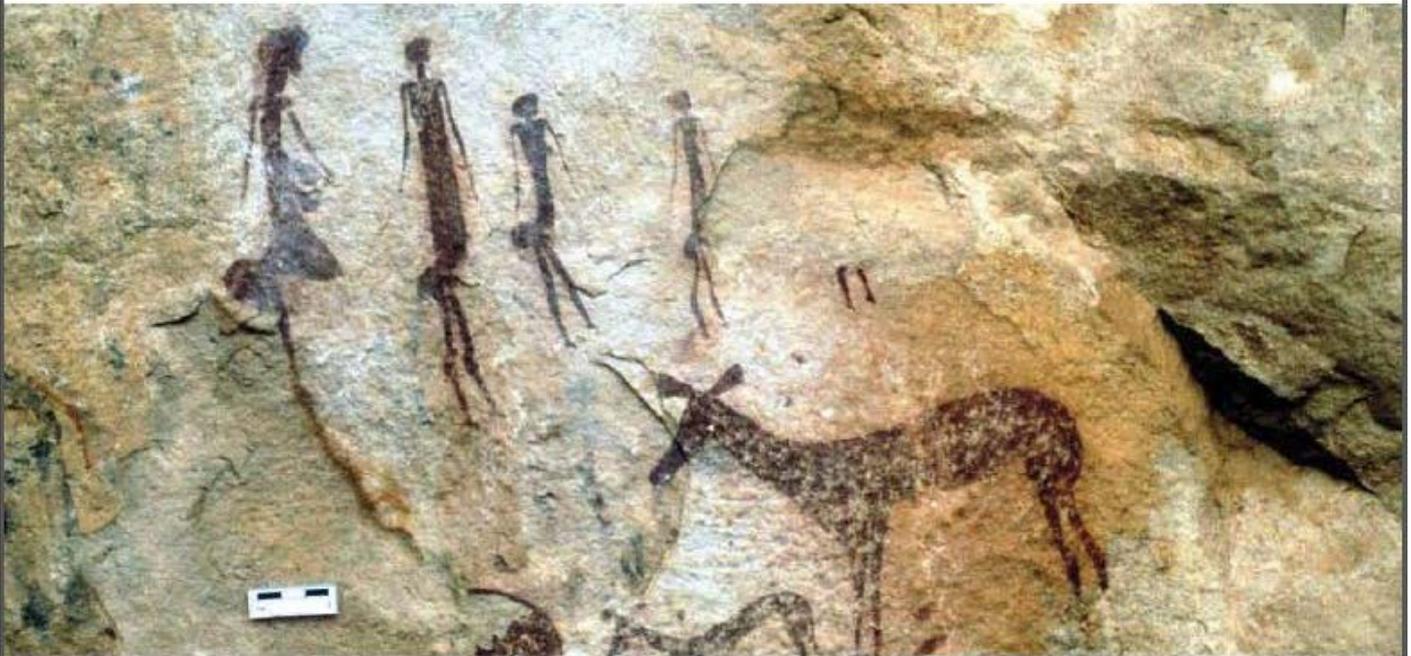




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MISTRA's Monthly Briefing is a newsletter from the Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection. It aims to inform MISTRA's partners about the Institute's research, strategic reflections, published papers, and other news relating to the network of people and organisations committed to MISTRA's strategic engagement with the issues facing South Africa. The briefing is issued monthly.

In issue **Number#21** we report on participation by **Ms Radhika Perrot** on "Innovation in Energy" on CNBC Africa Power Talk with Chris Bishop; a book talk by MISTRA Head of Political Economy, **Dr Mcebisi Ndletyana** on Patronage Politics at the University of the Western Cape as well as his participation at the 6th Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa (BRICS) Academic Forum in Brazil. We also report on participation by **Joel Netshitenzhe**, **Dr Mcebisi Ndletyana** and **David Maimela** in a learning exchange on youth unemployment hosted in partnership with MISTRA and Harambee. And we report on the participation by **Ayender Makhavela** in a discussion on 'Born-Frees in the May 2014 elections' on African Dialogues on Channel Africa. And we also report on a MISTRA skafitin on "The Evolution of Whiteness" by **Prof Melissa Steyn** from the Wits University Centre for Diversity Studies.

We also report on a range of media articles by MISTRA staff, including: MISTRA researcher, **David Maimela** on Nigeria's new positioning as Africa's largest economy; **Dr Mcebisi Ndletyana** on "Our History has reached turning point", and "ANC's Morality is on the line"; **Oupa Makhalemele** (researcher on MISTRA's Evolution of the State research project), on "South Africa in Africa and the World"; MISTRA Senior Researcher, **Dr Betchani Tchereni** on The Civil Obligation of Saving; **Nicola Viegi** and **Rachel Browne** on The Arithmetic of Savings, as well as an article by **Albert Pule** on the story of South Africa's path to democracy, in which he speaks to David Maimela about the meaning of 'freedom'.

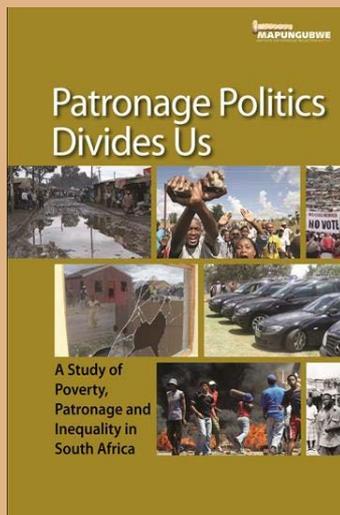
MISTRA is also proud to announce that Board member, **Lulu Callinicos** has been nominated as the first Reading Ambassador for the 2014 Jozi Book Fair. We introduce three new appointments: **Lorraine Pillay** as Financial Manager, **Magati Nindi** as Resource Mobilisation Officer and **Sedireng Lerakong** as Junior Researcher in the Faculty of Political Economy.

We hope you find our Monthly Briefings informative and invite you to visit our website, where you will find more information on our research, key papers, media on MISTRA, as well as an [Expression of Interest Form](#) if you are interested in participating in any of the Institute's research projects.

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MISTRA STRATEGIC REFLECTIONS

Book Talk with Mcebisi Ndletyana on Patronage Politics



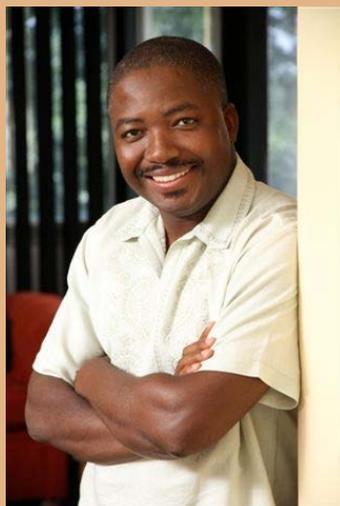
On the 25th March 2014, MISTRA head of Political Economy Faculty, **Dr Mcebisi Ndletyana**, was invited by the University of the Western Cape's Department of Political Studies and the Centre for Humanities Research to talk about MISTRA's latest research report titled *"Patronage Politics Divides Us: A Study of Poverty, Patronage and Inequality in South Africa."*

Mr Kenny Bafo, a lecturer at the political studies department, was a respondent.

"Patronage Politics Divides Us: A Study of Poverty, Patronage and Inequality in South Africa" is now available for purchase as an eBook on Kalahari.

[To purchase click here](#)

6th Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa (BRICS) Academic Forum



The BRICS Academic Forum is an annual event preceding the BRICS Summit in the host country. This year's Summit will take place in July in Fortaleza, Brazil. The BRICS Academic Forum is a two-day event, where scholars and experts from Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa meet and engage with three objectives:

- to deepen collaboration in respect of research of mutual interest;
- to establish networks between such communities; and
- to provide the BRICS leaders with a research resource in respect of issues under discussion at the Summit.

The overall aim is therefore to encourage academic exchange, strengthen dialogue with civil society, as well as provide policy advice.

MISTRA's **Dr Mcebisi Ndletyana** presented a paper titled *"Middle-Class In South Africa: Significance, Role And Impact"*.

Middle-Class In South Africa: Significance, Role And Impact

Reflections on the middle-class dominate global discourse on the emerging socio-economic trends and their implications for political life in the various countries. South Africa has not been untouched by such discourse. It is a regular feature in the country's public discourse.

The curiosity goes beyond the spectacle occasioned by the newness, especially, of the black middle-class, in a country that has just come out of more than 400 years of white supremacist rule. Rather, the interest is also fanned by what this phenomenon portends for South Africa's political, economic and social lives. This is the focus of our paper.

Specifically, the chapter accounts for the growth of the middle-class since South Africa's democratization in 1994. Albeit largely focused on recent history, the preceding years will also receive mention in order to account for why the middle-class has only grown in the last 20 years, and not earlier. The purpose is to answer three, related questions: What does the possibility of social mobility, of blacks into the ranks of the middle-class, implies for the country's potential to bridge inequality; whether or not the gradual, yet notable, de-racialisation of inequalities promises to consolidate South African democracy; and what is the role of the middle-class in South Africa's political life.

[To read full paper, click here](#)

Harambee Learning Exchange on Youth Unemployment

On the 25 and 26 March 2014, the Mapungubwe Institute (MISTRA) in partnership with the **Harambee** hosted a Learning Exchange on youth unemployment in Stellenbosch.

An initiative of Yellowwoods Investments (a member of Business Leadership South Africa) and its investee businesses; Hollard, Nando's and others, Harambee is as an independent not-for-profit company.

HOW TO GET SOUTH AFRICA'S YOUTH WORKING

Why this evidence-based learning exchange is crucial for improved youth employment

THE YOUTH EMPLOYMENT CRISIS

Youth unemployment is one of South Africa's most critical and urgent challenges. While this is a growing problem globally, South Africa has one of the highest youth unemployment rates in the world, which is consistent with the country's general employment problem. About 3,6m young South Africans between the ages 15-29 have no work, accounting for 71% of the unemployed population. Critically, the majority of people in this age group have never had a job. Many who are trapped in multi-generational cycles of poverty and exclusion, compounded by poor education, have neither the social networks, access, funds or functional competence, to find and keep first jobs.

On the other side of the equation, employers struggle to access a sufficient pool of work-ready youngsters even for entry-level roles. Harambee focuses on addressing this demand-supply mismatch thereby propelling youth employment and inclusive growth.



Harambee partners with employers across the private and public sector to facilitate the placement of young work-seekers from poor households, into sustained employment. Harambee sources and selects young people who exhibit demonstrated potential but who have gaps in work readiness, and puts them through an intensive bridging programme that helps them cultivate the skills and personal development needed for success in the workplace. They are then "matched" and placed in preselected, permanent, and formal sector jobs. Harambee has achieved admirable success. To date, Harambee has placed almost 5 000 young people into jobs, with retention rates that beat industry benchmarks.

The Learning Exchange brought together key players, researchers and policymakers to share evidence based findings on what is working and what is needed to build on solutions that promote the key partnerships and interventions necessary to accelerate youth employment and ensure success and progression once employed.

MISTRA executive director, **Joel Netshitenzhe**, made a presentation on the macrosocial implications of youth marginalization and policies required to mitigate the scourge. In the second session, which was facilitated by the Faculty Head: Political Economy, **Dr Mcebisi Ndletyana**, **David Maimela**, MISTRA political economy researcher, presented on youth attitudes, practices and experiences around job hunting and towards work.

[To learn more about Harambee and the Learning Exchange, click here.](#)

Skaftin on the Evolution of Whiteness



On the 26th March 2014, MISTRA hosted **Prof Melissa Steyn** from the Wits University Centre for Diversity Studies in a discussion on her book, *"Whiteness just isn't what is used to be: White identity in a changing South Africa"*. Her book interrogates issues surrounding whiteness and white identity in post-apartheid South Africa.

Prof Steyn is an NRF-rated Research Chair in Diversity Studies dedicated to the study of organisations, work, and livelihoods in South Africa. She has been developing Diversity Studies as a field in Higher Education since founding INCUDISA (Intercultural and Diversity Studies of Southern Africa) at UCT in 2001.

MISTRA IN THE NEWS

Panel discussion on 'Born-Frees in the May 2014 elections' on African Dialogues on Channel Africa.



On 23 April MISTRA researcher **Ayender Makhavela** participated in a panel discussion on 'Born-Frees in the May 2014 elections' on the programme "African Dialogues" on Channel Africa.

Nigeria's GDP: Changing economic balances in Africa? By David Maimela

The much anticipated results of Nigeria's rebased Gross Domestic Product (GDP) have come to pass. As was expected, the news that Nigeria is now the biggest economy in Africa has elicited a lively debate in the public domain. A quick glance of South African public discourse so far, indicates that already the race to draw parallels between Nigeria and South Africa has begun. As a consequence, opinions have ranged from narrow nationalistic self-interest to circumspection and downright disbelief. Sadly, such a discourse lends itself to a debilitating beauty contest of sorts and defocuses us from the real issues.

A responsible discourse would take as its point of departure the changing nature of Africa's political, economic and social terrain. It would critically engage the 'Africa rising' narrative, the changing geopolitics of our times, the strategic objective of unity and integration of the continent – all of which contribute to the rebirth of Africa.



[To read more click here.](#)

"Innovation in Energy" on CNBC Africa Power Talk with Chris Bishop

MISTRA Senior Researcher, **Ms Radhika Perrot** was part of a panel discussion on CNBC Africa Power Talk with Chris Bishop. The topic of discussion was "*Innovation in Energy*".

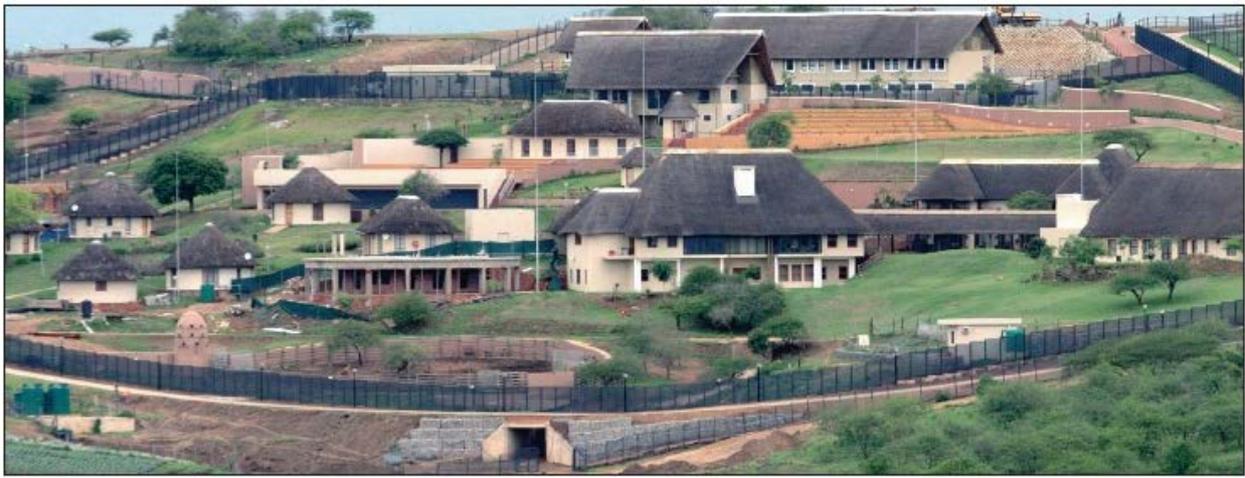


Other panelists included Dr Steven Lennon Group Executive for Sustainability at Eskom, Dr Kelvin Kemm CEO of Stratek and Andre Otto technical advisor for Renewable Energy at SANEDI.

[To view the video of the discussion click here](#)

Our History has reached a turning point By Mcebisi Ndletyana

As I sought to make meaning of Thuli Madonsela's report on improper expenditure at President Jacob Zuma's private residence, I was reminded of a speech Abraham Lincoln made on January 27, 1838. Then an aspirant politician, who later became the 16th president of the US, Lincoln was addressing a gathering of the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois. He titled his talk, "The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions". At the time of that address, America had been a democracy for more than 50 years. But, that considerable duration of time, Lincoln warned in his talk, did not guarantee American democracy permanency. Not that Lincoln doubted the depth of American democracy.



WHOSE NKANDLA IS IT ANYWAY? President Jacob Zuma's home in Nkandla showing parts of the 20-unit luxury homestead built as part of the R246 million in security upgrades. The writer opines that the scandal around Nkandla shows a complete lack of accountability in relation to state spending. PICTURE: DOCTOR NGCOBO

Our history has reached a turning point

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At the time of that address, America had been a democracy for more than 50 years.

But, that considerable duration of time, Lincoln warned in his talk, did not guarantee American democracy permanence. Not that Lincoln doubted the depth of American democracy.

On the contrary, Lincoln extolled it: "In the great journal of things happening under the sun, we, the American People, find our constant running under the date of the 19th century of the Christian era. We find ourselves under the

The unmitigated efforts to silence Public Protector Thuli Madonsela and discredit her findings will undoubtedly have major consequences for our democracy, warns Mcebisi Ndletyana



“
SO INCREDIBLE HAS THIS EPISODE BEEN THAT PRIESTS RESEMBLE WITCHES
”

sign, had lured her into the eddies of the most progressive societies in the world.

Its founders were hailed as perfect exemplars of the best that mankind has to offer.

The founders derived gratification not only from the distinction and eminence of South Africa's political institutions.

But, what was a mark of our distinction – political institutions – now lay low and unrespected.

We're in the midst of yet another dark episode in our democratic

Madonsela was investigating, a lunch party was unobserved upon her. Rather than point out flaws in Madonsela's reports, they simply denounced her as a charlatan.

The main conflict he brushed with facts. For looking on as part in the appointment of a chief operating officer of the public broadcaster, Madonsela was vilified.

Characteristic of a man, Madonsela's detractors discarded reason and logic, and insisted that we uphold mediocrity.

So incredible has this dark episode been, that even mediocri-

There's no record of him objecting to the wastage of public resources, but that he was a glutton and impatient beneficiary.

The same includes building his neighbours houses worth millions as replacement for their rickshaws, erecting a semi-controlled level of, of course, the swimming pool diagnosed as a "fire-pool".

And, the case that approached some cases to Zuma's personal account

doesn't seem to have been any intention to make the president pay for his personal conduct.

The president of the republic didn't protect the public purse, but drained it.

Once he instructed hiring of consultants and contractors without a bidding process, Zuma effectively issued a license to loot.

Hiring a lorry for the selection of the most cost-effective service providers, while lack of competitive bids removes any inclination to restrain costs.

Then the cost of fuel, and the cost

On the contrary, Lincoln extolled it: "In the great journal of things happening under the sun, we, the American People, find our account running under the date of the 19th century of the Christian era... We find ourselves under the government of a system of political institutions, conducting more essentially to the ends of civil and religious liberty, than any of which the history of former times tells us." Though rare, Lincoln didn't find the establishment of American democracy bewildering. He considered it a fitting testimony to the calibre of its founders. Lincoln put it as follows: "Then, all that sought celebrity and fame, and distinction; (we) expected to find them in the success of that experiment. Their all was staked upon it: their destiny was inseparably linked with it. Their ambition aspired to display before an admiring world, a practical demonstration of the truth of a proposition, which had hitherto been considered, at best no better, than problematical: namely the capability of a people to govern themselves."

*Originally published in the Sunday Independent

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ANC's Morality is on the line By Mcebisi Ndletyana

I would never have guessed that Fikile Mbalula's middle name was April. You don't associate a fiery foot soldier of the Battle of Polokwane and a Razzmatazz man with the name April. It's so pussycat, so uncool. But just when I thought the names on the ANC election list couldn't get any funnier, they became downright hilarious. Collins Chabane also goes by the name Ohm and Thulas Nxesi is Walter made. Just so he wasn't left out, Zizi Kodwa had to reveal that he's also known as Good enough. It's like a contest for the funniest name award. I suppose some parents have a sense of humour. Or is it a penchant for the exotic?

On reading the rest of the ANC lists, I began to suspect that the initial line-up of names was a ploy to use humour to detract from the substance, the meaning of the lists. This is

not just a compilation of names of prospective MPs and MPLs. It is the face of the organisation. You can tell a lot about an organisation from what it chooses to tell you about itself. The lists yield multiple meanings and insights, from reassuring to self-contradictory and downright unflattering.

Mbalula's placing at position six on the national list augurs well for the party. The man is energetic and has immense mobilisation skills. The ANC's impressive 2009 campaign was largely due to his creativity and vigour. How Comrade April will perform this time around, against his former prodigy, Julius Malema, is something else.

*Originally published in the Sunday Independent

[To download full article, please click below](#)

South Africa in Africa and the World

By Oupa Makhalemele*

President Jacob Zuma's recent state visit to Ghana conjured up an image of two bookends to the African continent's struggle against colonial and imperial domination by the West. That great African leader, founder and first president of independent Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, together with Tanzania's Julius Nyerere inspired the nationalist movements that fought colonial rule across the African continent, and, more importantly, the impetus to find its own solutions to its developmental challenges that would extricate Africa from the snare of neo-colonialism.

South Africa, a former pariah in the African and international arenas, has within a very short space of time transformed its image from that of a regional bully state notorious for destabilising the Southern African region. Within the two decades since democracy in 1994 South Africa has asserted itself as a legitimate leader in the region. During the dark days of apartheid and colonialism in the region, African countries in the region forged solidarity with each other in order to drive these twin scourges out of the region. Both responded by adopting his strategy of 'total onslaught', establishing a national security management system that in effect created a security state in which military personnel held executive powers. Thus Pretoria proceeded its campaign of destabilising the economies of the region (which were already weaker relative to the South African colossus), supported rebel armies in the region and engaged in numerous deadly and brutal raids in countries such as Lesotho, Botswana and Mozambique.

The demise of the apartheid regime in the early 1990s was therefore much welcomed in the region. Perhaps what rang music to the ears of the people of the region was the ANC government's immediate declaration of its foreign policy stance, which eschewed unilateralism. The ANC declared in 1994: 'The construction of a new regional order will be a collective endeavour of all the free peoples of Southern Africa and cannot be imposed either by extra-regional forces or any self-appointed "regional power."'

* **Oupa Makhalemele is a contributor to MISTRA's publication "The Evolution of the Post-1994 South African State"**

[To read full article, click here](#)

The Arithmetic of Savings

By Nicola Viegi and Rachel Browne

South Africa's recent GDP figures brought out by StatsSA, once again remind us how critical it is that that ways be found to break through the current growth impasse. The weeks just prior to Christmas, the annual period when consumption traditionally peaks, the twin functions of increased consumption and stagnant growth will be ringing alarm bells, rather than jingle bells.

In its analysis of sustained growth experiences of countries in Europe in the post-war period, the multinational Commission on Growth and Development in 2008 argues that a primary component of successful growth is high rates of saving and investment, not least public investment in infrastructure. All the successful economies, the commission noted, were what it termed future-oriented: forgoing consumption in the present, in pursuit of higher levels of future income.

After twenty years of democracy, South Africa does not show a strong future orientation.

The domestic saving rate over time has experienced a long downward trend (it was at more than 35% in 1980) and is significantly lower than any other country at the same stage of development and with the same economic growth ambitions.

[To read article, click here](#)

The Civil Obligation of Saving

By Betchani Tchereni

Many stories of progress have one thing in common: sacrifice. Some measure of sacrifice is unavoidable if one is to create a better future. Sacrifices must be made by one generation for citizens of the future to live a better life. An important and civil obligation of one generation to the next is the culture of saving.



A culture of saving should form part of the process of nation formation and social cohesion because its key function – internally funded economic growth – is what contributes to the development of a more prosperous society. South Africa's present culture of low savings must be seen as a critical obstacle to the country's development, and the reasons underpinning this impediment to growth need to be scrutinised.

The South African economy is under immense strain. The unemployment rate is alarming. Experts from a myriad of backgrounds all agree that the economy has a potential to grow, but at present, the 'heating' it is experiencing is artificial. An important question that one really has to ask is, what is responsible for this overheating? Why is the economy failing to grow at the desired growth rates? The answers to such a broad question are plenty. Let us attempt to address one aspect, that of being a responsible generation that plans for the future: savings.

[To read full article, please click here.](#)

Inequality lets populism flourish

By Mcebisi Ndletyana

VISUALS are invaluable in politics. They create "reality". Control over what people see and hear in the media helps shape their views. People form perceptions based on what they know. Control of information is key to shaping popular perceptions. That is why control over media outlets is highly contested. Whoever controls the dominant media has a greater chance of shaping popular perceptions.

This explains the constant bickering over management and content at the public broadcaster. You may think back to early 2008 how bitterly the newly elected ANC leadership protested against Thabo Mbeki appointing a new board at the SABC. Mbeki had just lost the ANC presidency to Jacob Zuma, but was still president of the republic. They feared Mbeki would use the public broadcaster, through the appointment of sympathisers, to fight back. And images of the newly formed Cope gave the Polokwane victors even more cause for concern. News broadcasts were filled with reports about senior ANC leaders possibly defecting to Cope.

They built a narrative of a strong, surging splinter movement, while the ruling party seemed in disarray. The ANC had no counter-narrative to the excitement generated by Cope. And journalists insisted Cope was news. It was the first splinter group since 1994. Unable to generate interesting news of their own, Luthuli House used its incumbency to muscle Cope out of news circulation.

Originally published in the Sunday Independent

[To download full article, please click here](#)

SA's Democratic story an inspiration

By Albert Pule

For decades the country was divided along racial lines, ruled by a government that oppressed the majority of its people and was a place where all citizens did not enjoy the same rights. Yet despite this past, 20 years ago the country became a beacon of hope for the rest of the world, emerging united after the first democratic elections in 1994.

This year is one of celebration of all South Africans as the country marks 20 Years of Freedom. To some people, freedom might mean the ability to do certain things that they were not allowed to do under the apartheid regime, such as moving freely in their country of birth. Others might point to the democracy and freedom achieved in 1994 when all South Africans, irrespective of skin colour, voted in the country's first democratic elections.

To others, freedom might mean the ability to associate with anyone they feel comfortable with, while some might highlight important issues like freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of the media. To David Maimela, researcher at Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (MISTRA), freedom means being fully human.

*Originally published in Vuk'uzenzele

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MISTRA PEOPLE

MISTRA Board Member Luli Callinicos becomes Jozi Book Fair's first Reading Ambassador.



The Jozi Book Fair 2014 has chosen Luli Callinicos, a member of MISTRA's Board, as its first Reading Ambassador. This is a first for the Book Fair, a move the organisers say is "consistent with the JBF's approach to purposefully intervene in the building of a reader's movement."

The aim of a reading ambassador is to "promote reading and writing as fundamental to human development, the production of knowledge and critical thinking."

Since then the JBF is working to ensure that there are reading ambassadors in many languages and in many communities. The reading ambassador is a role model, positioned to promote reading and writing widely, in both urban and rural areas, and all sectors, including schools, libraries, stokvels, churches and workplaces."

[To read more click here.](#)

Ms Lorraine Pillay appointed as Financial Manager

Ms Lorraine Pillay has joined MISTRA as Financial Manager. Lorraine completed her B Com in Accounting at the University of South Africa, and thereafter continued to further her studies at the Chartered Institute of Management Accounts where she completed her Topcima.

Prior to joining MISTRA, she worked at MOSCON OPTICS (PTY) Ltd



where she started as Junior Credit Controller in 1992 and progressed to be a Financial Manager. In her role as Financial Manager, she also drove the financial functions for other companies within the MOSCON group such as Moscon Medical and Moscon Properties.

Ms Magati Nindi joins MISTRA team as Resource Mobilisation officer

Ms Magati Nindi was born in Dar-es Salaam, Tanzania. She holds a Master's degree in International Relations majoring in peace studies and conflict resolution from the University of the North West. Her interest lies in Africa's foreign direct investment post-independence and fundraising.

Before being appointed as a Resource Mobilisation Officer at MISTRA, Magati worked as a Fund Developer at Jo'burg Child Welfare and the Legal Resources Centre. She also worked at the University of the North West Politics Department.



Appointment of Sedireng Lerakong as Junior Researcher: Political Economy

MISTRA is pleased to announce the appointment of Ms Sedireng Lerakong as a Junior Researcher: in the Faculty of Political Economy.

Sedireng holds a Bachelor's Degree in Development Studies from the University of Johannesburg (2010), majoring in Economics and Development Studies. She also has an Honours in Economics, majoring in Economic Issues in Developing countries and Advanced Monetary theory and policy.

She also completed a course with the University of Johannesburg in Cross cultural communication and Basic Numeracy for Humanities.

In 2010, Sedireng was on the Dean's List of Top achievers and was also the Golden Key International Honor Society Member. She was selected as the Group Leader for the Advanced Microeconomics Project 2011. In 2012 she completed modules in Financial Economics and Mathematics 1.

Sedireng joined MISTRA as an intern in March 2013. Prior to joining MISTRA Sedireng was a finance project coordinator at Pretoria Portland Cement.

Sedireng is currently enrolled at the University of Witwatersrand for an Mcom in Economics.



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