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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#27** we report on:

- **20 Years of South African Democracy: So Where to Now?** a joint conference by the Mapungubwe Institute and the Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute at the University of South Africa to be held on 12-13 November 2014 at UNISA
- Oxfam and Civil Society Inequality Symposium addressed by MISTRA Executive Director, Joel Netshitenzhe
- The release of MISTRA's research findings on the 2014 elections, titled **Voting Trends Twenty Years Into Democracy: Analysis of South Africa's National and Provincial Elections**
- A range of media articles, including "The impact of SA policy on inequality" by Joel Netshitenzhe, "Let's get non-racialism right" by Yacoob Abba Omar, "Making a mockery of parliament" and "Repositioning A Troubled ANC" by Dr Mcebisi Ndletyana, and "Fixing soccer's wrong economics in Malawi" by Dr Betchani Tchereni
- Conferences and events attended by MISTRA staff, including the Inaugural Annual Lecture of the ANC Inland Branch presented by Yacoob Abba Omar, Director Operations, The 12th Globalics Conference in Addis Ababa attended by MISTRA senior researcher Radhika Perrot, and the 'Make a Plan' Design Policy Conference, attended by Dr Hester du Plessis, Head of Faculty of Humanity.

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 various ways of participating in any of the Institute's research projects.

# MISTRA STRATEGIC REFLECTIONS

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## 20 Years of South African Democracy: So Where to Now? International Conference

On the 12-13 November 2014 the Mapungubwe Institute and the Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute at the University of South Africa will jointly host a conference to mark the beginning of the third decade of democracy, under the theme **20 Years of South African Democracy: So Where to Now?**

**20 Years of South African Democracy: So Where to Now?** provides an opportunity for projective reflections into the next two decades of democracy, informed firstly, by historical moments in the build-up to the transition, and secondly, by the experiences of the last twenty years. The Conference aims primarily to deal with the theoretical perspectives underpinning the state of South Africa in two decades of democracy, and most importantly, prospects for the future.

The conference, which will take place at UNISA, will cover the following topics:

- Reflections on Historical Moments
- Global Economy and Africa's Positioning
- The South African Political Economy
- Values, Nation-formation and Social Compacting
- Innovation and Transdisciplinary Knowledge for Action
- Building a Capable Developmental State

The keynote address will be given by Deputy Chief Justice Dikgang Moseneke on 'Reflections on South Africa's Constitutional Democracy – Transition and Transformation'

Speakers include (among others):

- **Dr Frene Ginwala:** Speaker of the National Assembly of South Africa from 1994-2004
- **Mr Trevor Manuel:** Former South African Minister in the Presidency for the National Planning Commission
- **Judge Albie Sachs:** Former Constitutional Court Judge
- **Ms Pregs Govender:** Deputy Chairperson and Full time Commissioner of the Human Rights Commission
- **Mr Mazibuko Jara:** Senior Researcher at the University of Cape Town's Law, Race and Gender Research Unit
- **Mayor Parks Tau:** Mayor for the City of Johannesburg
- **Dr Sydney Mufamadi:** Director of the School of Leadership at the University of Johannesburg
- **Prof Patricia McFadden:** member of the International Advisory Committee of the Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute

[For more information on 20 Years of South African Democracy: So Where to Now? Click here](#)

[To view Conference Programme Click here](#)

Seats are **LIMITED** and RSVP is **ESSENTIAL**.

[To RSVP for the conference please click here.](#)

Unfortunately RSVPs via email cannot be accepted.



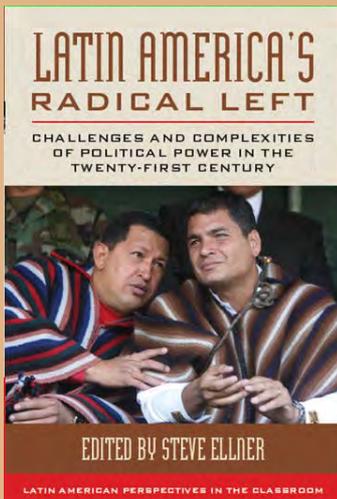
On the 29th & 30th October Oxfam South Africa convened a national symposium on Inequality in Midrand, Johannesburg. MISTRA Executive Director, **Joel Netshitenzhe**, gave the keynote address.

The objectives of the Inequality Symposium, were:

- To provide a platform for CSOs, think tanks, researchers and policy makers to engage on the nature/forms and causes of widening inequality in South Africa
- To provide a platform for multi-actor dialogue on the social, economic and political impact of growing inequality in South Africa
- To provide space for CSOs, policy makers, think tanks and other partners to share good practices and current strategies aimed at tackling inequality through public policy
- To provide space for engagement between civil society, the private sector and relevant state actors on the implementation of public policy towards the full realisation of socio-economic rights for the people of South Africa.
- To provide space for the formulation of a comprehensive national inequality research agenda.

[To read "Role Of A Capable Developmental State In Addressing the Injustice Of Inequality" By Joel Netshitenzhe, click here](#)

## Skaftin with Professor Steve Ellner, editor of “Latin America’s Radical Left”



On 27 October 2014 MISTRA hosted **Professor Steve Ellner** in a skaftin titled *“Expression Of Latin American Unity In The 21st Century: The Bolivarian Alliance For The Peoples Of Our America (ALBA)”*

Steve Ellner is Professor in General Economic History at Universidad de Oriente (UDO), Puerto La Cruz, Venezuela. He is also editor of “Latin America’s Radical Left”, which explores the unique challenges facing the left in Latin America today.

In the skaftin Prof Ellner explored the developments of expressions of Latin American unity and a brief history of the forces that brought to power some of the current leftist regimes in Latin America, such as Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, and described some of the alliances that have developed with Caribbean states such as Cuba.

The skaftin also touched on the political and economic realities of Latin American countries and their relationships with the United States and Canada.



## Colloquium on the Green Economy

EARTH, WIND & FIRE: Unpacking the political, economic and security implications of the discourse on the Green Economy.

On the 8th October 2014 MISTRA hosted a colloquium titled "Earth, Wind and Fire" which sought to unpack the political, economic and security implications of the discourse on the Green Economy.

The research project on the Green Economy is intended to provide a framework and guidelines to aid policymakers develop a more integrated mix of policy instruments to promote sustainable development and innovation in South Africa. It analyses various topics, such as clean energy transportation, the water-energy nexus, sustainable low-income housing, recycling tyre industry, business model innovations, de-centralised energy options, trade and green growth in Southern Africa. These different but overlapping themes are being investigated by evaluating existing policy instruments and other measures, and fall under three themes:

- I. Co-evolutionary role of governments, civil societies and industries
- II. Transition to a Low Carbon Economy
- III. Regional Integration: Exploring Optimal Energy Strategies

To view a gallery of images from the colloquium please click on image below



## MISTRA IN THE NEWS

### The impact of SA policy on inequality

Although income poverty has declined since the advent of democracy, the country's rates of equality have not improved, writes **Joel Netshitenzhe**

What are the major trends with regard to income inequality in South Africa? First, income poverty has been declining since the advent of democracy.

Second, functional distribution of national income and with it, income inequality, has not improved. Interestingly, during the period of high growth (2003 – 2008), indications were that the rich were better able to take advantage of the benefits, including the wealth effect.

Third, the change in the share of national income has not favoured the “middle class”, despite the fact that their proportion of the population has increased, with the per capita expenditure growth incidence curve evincing a U shape.

Fourth, being employed does not, on its own, guarantee an escape from poverty and this has worsened anomie within the labour market and across society.

[To read more click here:](#)

*Originally published in The Sunday Independent on 1 November 2014*

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## Let`s get non-racialism right

Let`s get non-racialism right, then there`ll be no more minorities, writes **Yacoob Abba Omar**

IT IS important to see the debates on non-racialism as part of the rich history of discourse the ANC has been capable of. It`s a history of intellectual curiosity and contributes to international thought which, as we all know today we are losing touch with. Today`s South Africa has so many complex issues. In many ways, we are in uncharted territory. A tolerance to new ideas should continue. We can see how being in power has changed the ANC. Secretary-general Gwede Mantashe said: "The ANC must be bolder in its pronouncements on non-racialism."

Socialist and activist Trevor Ngwane made an interesting observation that the ANC is moving towards being the custodian of African nationalism, if only as a reaction to the DA, which is trying to become the custodian of non-racialism. There is no doubt ANC conferences are being attended by fewer members of "minority" communities. There is a certain tension at play - such cadres see themselves now as part of the democratic majority.

At the same time, their communities scan the TV screens in vain looking for comrades who were once active. As the ANC`s policy documents have noted, leadership is seen as a stepping stone to power and material reward. But what we are seeing is a retreat from the ANC by a large number of activists from the Indian, coloured and white communities and little or no new blood coming into the organisation. The leadership of the Lenasia branch is predominantly African. At the same time, we have to note the old schism in the Indian and coloured communities between those who wished to be in alliance with the African majority and those who sought their fortunes by collaborating with apartheid structures.

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

Originally published in The Star on 31st October 2014

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## MISTRA releases its research findings on the 2014 Elections: Voting Trends Twenty Years Into Democracy: Analysis of South Africa's National and Provincial Elections

Voting Trends Twenty Years Into Democracy: Analysis of South Africa's National and Provincial Elections. In this study the Mapungubwe Institute (MISTRA) seeks to develop a deeper understanding of the outcome of South Africa's 2014 national and provincial elections.

The analysis probes, among others, the following variables:

- Ideological trends
- Electoral participation
- Race
- Income/Class status
- Rural/Urban Divide
- Local community protests

To download report click on image below.

## RESEARCH REPORT

### Voting Trends Twenty Years Into Democracy

Analysis of South Africa's  
National and Provincial Elections



by

Mcebisi Ndletyana, Betschari Tchereni, David Maimela and Seditang Lerakong

Edited by Joel Ntshenzhe

September 2014

The election data reveals quite an instructive analysis on each variable. For instance:

- **On Ideological Trends:** Policies that embrace state intervention and welfare measures resonate more with the electorate. Even parties that previously embraced neo-liberal economic approaches, have had to shift leftwards somewhat on some policy issues in order to find electoral resonance.
- **On Electoral Participation:** After the 20 years of democracy, electoral participation remains amongst the highest in the world.
- **On Race:** Electoral preference of some racial groups, especially urban-based Coloured and Indian voters, is shifting away from the African National Congress to the Democratic Alliance; whilst the latter remains an overwhelming favourite amongst white voters.
- **On Rural/Urban Divide:** There's a discernible difference in the electoral choices of the rural and urban-based voters. And this cuts across race. The ANC, for instance, regained support amongst rural voters in the Western Cape and Eastern Cape, and also performed well among Coloured voters in the Northern Cape.
- **On Income/Class Status:** In most of the Metros, at least, there was discernible pre-occupation among the 'black middle class' with issues other than service delivery, including corruption and the Gauteng e-tolls. Further, whilst predominantly popular amongst the poor and the working class, especially in informal settlements, the Economic Freedom Fighters has also attracted noticeable support from predominantly black middle-class communities across provinces. This is evident in neighbourhoods like Leondale in Johannesburg and KwaMagxaki in Port Elizabeth.
- **On Local Community:** Outbreak of (violent) protests doesn't suggest a rejection of the incumbent, or a loss of trust in the efficacy of the democratic system. Turn-out was relatively impressive in most areas affected by such protests and the incumbent received similarly healthy levels of support.

[To download report click on report click here.](#)

## Making a mockery of parliament

We are facing a challenge to restore integrity to the corridors of power, writes  
**Mcebisi Ndletyana.**

Characteristic of an unusually turbulent beginning, the fifth Parliament is running multiple, parallel probes. We are told that the outcome of one investigation will restore integrity to Parliament.

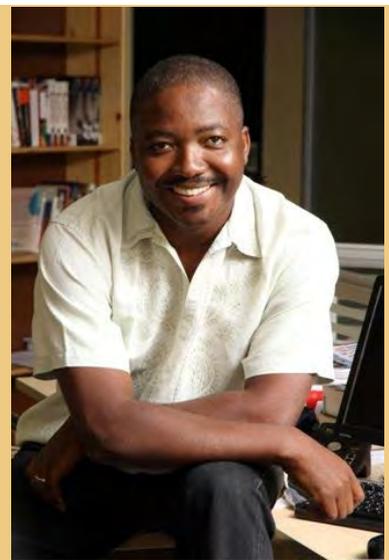
However, the proceedings in the other two committees promise outcomes that threaten to undermine the supposed attempts at regaining integrity.

Frankly, the three outcomes combined may even yield a facade that is likely to conceal the real problem, leaving it to persist unresolved.

The inquiries in question relate to the recent parliamentary fracas that involved a trio of Economic Freedom Fighters, President Jacob Zuma, and the Speaker of the National Assembly, Baleka Mbete, and is conducted by the rules and privileges committee; inappropriate expenditure of public money on Zuma's private home, Nkandla which is done by an ad hoc committee; and to the chairwoman of the SABC board, Ellen Tshabalala, led by the portfolio committee on communications.

*Originally published in The Sunday Independent on 26 Oct 2014*

[To read full article click here](#)



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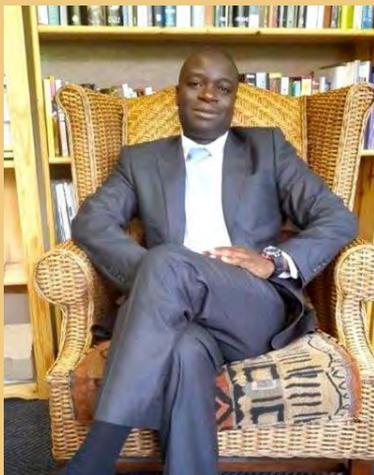
## Experts Exchange Design Policy Thinking

"There is a good story to tell about South Africa's continual journey of transformation from its colonial past to a full democracy. The journey might be long and slow but is always steadily focussed on one goal – to create a better society for all. With the arts playing such an important developmental role in this process, it is advisable that South Africans give attention to formal policy support for art and design ... design drives the world. Neglecting to include design into our policy system is therefore inexcusable." Dr Hester du Plessis

[To read more click here](#)

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## Fixing soccer's wrong economics in Malawi by Betchani Tchereni



The Flames, as the Malawi national Soccer team is fondly called, has had its ups and downs.

Measured on the world scale as produced by the World Football governing body, FIFA, the team has not tested a position above 50 in the world and the same ranking has been observed at the level of Africa. All we see and hear is that the team played well but just didn't win. In many insignificant and FIFA unsanctioned competitions, the team seem to perform well.

For example, the East and Central African Challenge cup, the flames do well. But look, against what type of opposition? Many of us are emotionally affected by the happenings in football. Many of my friends, many of whom are successful professionals in their respective areas of specialisation, do sympathise with at least one team locally and abroad. They watch soccer to release some of the stresses of the workplace; others do so as a status measure, yet others do so just accidentally.

[Read full article](#)

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## Repositioning a troubled ANC by Mcebisi Ndletyana

A MONTH ago Gauteng members of the ANC held their provincial conference as usual every fourth year, but there was nothing usual about the 12th conference.

Elections didn't follow the normal course nor were policy discussions characteristic of a

provincial conference. Nor were the conference resolutions – these promise to redefine not only intergovernmental relations, but also the ruling party's election strategy.

For the first time in recent history all five top positions were uncontested. Paul Mashatile, for instance, who had to endure bruising contests previously for the position of chairman, didn't even break a sweat this time around. The long-time serving former secretary and current Gauteng Premier, David Makhura, declined the nomination to contest Mashatile, but settled for the deputy post instead.

*Originally published in Daily Dispatch on 25 Oct 2014*

[To read full article click here](#)

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## Is our Heritage at Risk?

Mcebisi Ndletyana, Head of Political Economy Faculty and Sonwabile Mancotywa, author of *Critical Conversations about Heritage*, discuss heritage.

[Click here to view video of Sonwabile Mancotywa and Mcebisi Ndletyana in discussion](#)

# MISTRA PEOPLE

## Inaugural Annual Lecture of the ANC Inland Branch



Yacoob Abba Omar, MISTRA's Director Operations, presented the Inaugural Annual Lecture of the ANC Inland Branch at the Boksburg Centre on 29th October 2014.

*Non-Racialism and Social Cohesion: Is ANC Failing in its Vision of a National Democratic Society?*

By Yacoob Abba Omar

The topic I have been asked to speak to is one very close to my heart. In my talk I will start by addressing the three closely related concepts in the topic for today: nation-formation in South Africa of which non-racialism and social cohesion are key components. I will then spend the second half of my talk focusing on the way forward and milestones for the future.

And unlike other speakers who give the answer to the question right at the end, I will answer the question now: No I do not believe the ANC is failing in its vision of a national democratic society but we are going through some challenging moments which can be addressed by the ANC playing a leading role in conducting open and critical dialogue on the issues of non-racialism and social cohesion.

This is not the official line from MISTRA or Luthuli House. It is my personal views as a cadre of the movement and I intend being provocative and controversial in some parts.

[To download PDF of lecture](#)

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## The 12th Globelics Conference - Addis Ababa 2014

From the 29th-31st October 2014, MISTRA senior researcher Radhika Perrot attended the 12th Globelics Conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The theme of the conference was "Partnerships for innovation-based development" and it was organised in collaboration between Addis Ababa University and the Globelics Secretariat at Aalborg University, Denmark.



The conference brought together scholars from different disciplines to enhance the quality of innovation studies in relation to development and growth in the context of globalisation and accelerating pace of change.

## Make a Plan' Design Policy Conference



The 'Make a Plan' Design Policy Conference, which took place on 17 and 18 October 2014 at the Cape Town Stadium, provided an opportunity for South African, African and global policymakers (or influencers of policy) and stakeholders (business, education, NGO's, the design community) to discover 'what design can do', and explore the policies needed to realise its full potential.

Dr Hester du Plessis, MISTRA's Head of Faculty of Humanity, presented a paper entitled "South Africa's journey of transformation through design". The conference sought to introduce 'best practice' examples of how design has played a vital role in the development of economies, societies and cultures worldwide. The conference also aimed at highlighting the importance of having a design policy at local and national government levels.

[Click here for more on Dr Du Plessis at the 'Make a Plan' Design Policy Conference.](#)

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