

AFRICAN STUDIES CENTRE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD PRESENTS



1994 - 2014

20 Years of South African Democracy

24 - 26 APRIL 2014
ST. ANTONY'S COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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PARI Public Affairs Research Institute

THEAFRICAREPORT



GAUTENG LEGISLATURE
Your View — Our Vision

JAMES CURREY

1994-2014: 20 years of South African Democracy Programme Outline

Conference sponsored by the African Studies Centre and St Antony's College, University of Oxford

With the support of the Journal of Southern African Studies, African Studies Association UK (ASAUK), Public Affairs Research Institute (PARI), Sumaridge Estate Wines, The Africa Report, Brand South Africa (Brand SA), the Gauteng Provincial Legislature (GPL), Wits University Press, Ohio University Press and James Currey.

I'd like to welcome participants to the conference on behalf of the African Studies Centre and St Antony's College at the University of Oxford. The call for papers has produced an exciting response and we look forward to three days of intense discussion and debate. It is wonderful to have so many international participants and especially colleagues from South Africa. African Studies, and especially southern African Studies, has been an important focus at the university for many years; enhanced by the foundation of the African Studies Centre in 2002. Those of us who work here feel that this field should be even more significant in the university and events such as this help to build the ideas and networks for the expansion of southern African studies more generally.

The conference celebrates the transition in South Africa and twenty years of democracy. But we want to provide a forum for a critical exploration of both state and society in those years. How do we understand the changing nature of political power and democratic institutions? How should we analyse inequalities and how far do these remain rooted in South Africa's troubled history? How do we think about the routes of rapid social and cultural change that characterize South Africa society?

Thanks to all of you who have come to Oxford for the conference, to our co-sponsors, and to Jason Robinson for suggesting this meeting and for his extraordinary commitment and organizational acumen in seeing it through.

William Beinart, African Studies Centre and St Antony's College, University of Oxford

N.B.

Registration: Participants should register online. When you arrive at St Antony's please sign in and pick up the final programme and your name tag at the registration desk; this will be open between 18.00-20.00 on Thursday 24th April on the ground floor of the Hilda Besse Building (same building as the Dining Hall). It will be open again on the mornings of 25th and 26th April before panels begin. Please check that you receive the correct name tag.

Thursday 24th April 2014

09.00-18.00 Day-long **Roundtable Session on Provincial Government**¹ organised by the Gauteng Provincial Legislature (Core Business Division) & African Studies Centre, University of Oxford | Gateway Pavilion Seminar Room

Provisional timetable

Time	Activity	Responsibility	Venue
08h00 – 09h00	Registration	Participants	Hilda Besse Building, Ground Floor
OPENING SESSION			
09h00 – 09h05	Welcome and Introduction	Dr Nic Cheeseman: African Studies Centre	Gateway Pavilion Seminar Room
09h05 – 09h20	20 Year Review of the Performance of the Gauteng Legislature	Hon Lindiwe Maseko: Speaker: Gauteng Legislature	
SESSION I			
	THEME: THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE: PARLIAMENTARY OVERSIGHT	Moderator: Dr Nic Cheesema: African Studies Centre	Gateway Pavilion Seminar Room:
09h20 – 10h00	Nature of the state and models of public administration: Implications for parliamentary oversight in South Africa?	Prof Ivor Chipkin (Professor: University of Witwatersrand)	
10h00 – 10h40	Towards capable legislatures/ parliament: Innovations in parliamentary oversight.	Ms Hlengiwe Bhengu: Executive Director: Gauteng Legislature	
10h40 – 11h00	Discussions & Q&A		
11h00 – 11h15	TEA BREAK		
SESSION II			

¹ Those looking to attend this session are requested to e-mail Jason.robinson@sant.ox.ac.uk or JRobertson@gpl.gov.za as places are limited. The GPL will be covering lunch and dinner for participants.

	THEME: BUDGETARY OVERSIGHT	Moderator: Mr Peter Skosana: Secretary to the Gauteng Legislature	Gateway Pavilion Seminar Room:
11h15 – 11h55	Towards Best Practices of Budgetary Oversight	Mr Thabo Mofokeng: Deputy Secretary: Free State Legislature	Gateway Pavilion Seminar Room:
11h55 – 12h35	Trends and Prospects of Effective Budgetary Oversight: South Africa Quo Vadis?	Hon Mandla Nkomfe: Member of the Executive Council (MEC): Finance and former Gauteng Legislature Office Bearer	Gateway Pavilion Seminar Room:
12h35 – 13h00	Discussions & Q&A		
13h00 – 14h30	LUNCH BREAK		
SESSION III			
	THEME: PUBLIC PARTICIPATION	Moderator: TBC	Gateway Pavilion Seminar Room:
14h30 – 15h45	The Gauteng City-Region today: challenges, successes and the future	Mr David Everatt: Gauteng City- Region Observatory	Gateway Pavilion Seminar Room:
15H45 -16h00	TEA BREAK		
16h00 – 17H15	International Comparisons: Impact of civic involvement in parliamentary processes	- TBC International perspective	Gateway Pavilion Seminar Room:
17h15 – 18h00	Discussions & Q&A		
18h00	Adjournment		
19h00	Dinner		

18.00-18.45 Launch of Hugh Macmillan's *The Lusaka Years* (Jacana) and Busani Ngcaweni *Liberation Diaries: Reflections on 20 Years of Democracy* (Jacana) | Buttery, Hilda Besse Building. Chair: William Beinart

18.45-19.45: Informal supper at St. Antony's canteen

20.00-22.00 Performance of Matthew Hahn's *Robben Island Bible* with reception hosted by Brand South Africa | Nissan Lecture Theatre & CCR

Friday 25th April 2014

8.30-9.00 Registration | Ground Floor, Hilda Besse Building, St. Antony's College.

9.00-10.30 Session I

History in Post-apartheid South Africa (Nissan Lecture Theatre):

William Beinart : The continuing significance of History from Below

Colin Bundy: The presence of the past in democratic South Africa

Saul Dubow:

John Saul : The Present as History

Chair: Shula Marks

Crime & Violence I (Gateway Pavilion Seminar Room)

Karl von Holdt: Violent Democracy

Steffen Jensen: Legitimacy and exchange – police violence in post-apartheid South Africa

Gary Kynoch: Apartheid's Afterlives: Crime and Violence in Democratic South Africa

Chair: Jonny Steinberg.

Public Policy I (Dahrendorf Room)

Mabutho Shangase: : “Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and the Limits of Problem-Solving Public Policy”

Ewan Sutherland: Governance of telecommunications markets in South Africa

William Attwell: City-driven Growth Solutions in the Post-recession Era: The Development of Cape Town's Economic Growth Strategy

Chair: Judith February

Culture (Deakin Room)

Laryssa Whittaker: Beyond “Mzansi's Golden Economy:” NGOs and the economics of music education in contemporary South Africa

Liz Gunner: Liberation Songs in the New Dispensation

Kai Easton: Travelling Light: Images (via Wicomb) from the Gifberg(e) to Glasgow

Chair: Kai Easton.

10.30-11.00 Coffee/Teas | Buttery

11.00-12.30 Session II

New South Africa Review 4 Panel (Nissan Lecture Theatre)

Xolela Mangcu: Race and politics

Prishani Naidoo: Parties, Power and Political Participation

Roger Southall: Public Policy and Social Practice

Chair: Ivor Chipkin

The Constitution & State Institutions (Gateway Pavilion Seminar Room)

Francois Venter: Constitutionalism Gained, Constitutionalism Challenged: the Fortunes of the South African Constitutional State

Richard Calland: The 1994 Constitutional Settlement: An Historical Gilding or a Robust Institutional Framework for the Future?

Judith February: The challenge of institution-building: South Africa 20 years on.

Chair: Nic Cheeseman

South African Foreign Policy (Fellows Dining Room)

Matthew Graham: The transition, the ANC, and the search for a foreign policy direction

David Bargueno: South Africa in the World, and the World in South Africa

John Siko: Academia's Impact on Foreign Policymaking, Past and Present

Chairperson: Dr. Ricardo Soares de Oliveira

HIV/AIDS & Citizenship (Dahrendorf Room)

Rebekah Lee: A new gospel of the self?: The living and dying workshop and refashioning citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa

Hayley MacGregor: Registers of rights and responsibilities: 'Lay' HIV counsellors as brokers in state HIV treatment programmes in South Africa

Elizabeth Mills: Embodied Topologies: Women's Sense-Making of HIV through Memory and Space in South Africa

Chair: Jonny Steinberg

12.30-13.30 Lunch | St. Antony's College Dining Hall

13.40-15.10

Keynote Address by Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, Kgalema Motlanthe
Nissan Lecture theatre w/video link to Fellows Dining Room.

Introduction by Jason Robinson. Moderated by Colin Bundy

Panel Respondents: Anthony Butler, Xolela Mangcu, Ruth Hall

Questions & Answers.

15.20 – 16.50 Session III

Public Opinion & Political Parties (Nissan Lecture Theatre)

David Everatt: Politics, polling and social change in South Africa: The fight for Gauteng in Election 2014

Collette Schulz-Herzenberg: The Implications of Social Context Partisan Homogeneity for Voting Behaviour

Discussant: Alexander Beresford

Chair: Shane Mac Giollaí.

Law, Nation-Building and Transformation (Gateway Pavilion)

John Daniel (in absentia) & Catherine Jenkins: TRC

Roger Southall: The Presidency

Theunis Roux: Constitutionalism in RSA and the Constitutional Court

Chair: Catherine Jenkins.

Environmental Policy (Fellows Dining Room)

Carl Death: Development and environment policy in South Africa since 1994

Maano Ramutsindela: Progress and stagnation: two decades of shifting environmental policies in South Africa's protected areas

Discussant: TBC

Chair: David Simon.

South Africa 20 Year Review (Dahrendorf Room)

Busani Ngcaweni: Social Transformation with specific focus on Youth

Joy Rathebe: Safety and Security and International Relations

Nolwazi Gasa: Economic Transformation & Sustainable Development

Chair: TBC

16.50-17.10 Tea/Coffee break | Buttery

17.10-18.40 Session IV

Constitutional Court (Nissan Lecture Theatre).

Hayley Lucas: Beyond race and poverty: procedural fairness, institutional trust and the legitimacy of the courts in South Africa

Theunis Roux: The Constitutional Court and Democratic Consolidation in South Africa: Past Lessons and Future Possibilities

Hugh Corder: Judicial Accountability and the independence of the Courts

Chair Richard Calland

ANC as Organisation II (South Africa and Africa) (Gateway Pavilion Seminar Room)

Olutayo Adesina: Echoes of South African Democracy: The ‘Mandela Option’ and Nigeria’s Fourth Republic

Alexander Beresford: Jacob Zuma and the Spectres of Populism and Patronage

Ian Cooper: Mangaung and After: the State of ANC Factionalism

Chair: Roger Southall

Homelands & Traditional Authorities I (Fellows Dining Room)

Jason Hickel: Democracy and its Discontents: Anti-Liberal Politics in KwaZulu-Natal

Michelle Hay: Agriculture in the former homelands during and after the transition period: the decline and rise?

Andrew Ainslie (& Thembela Kepe): Traditional Leaders during the Twenty Years of Democracy in South Africa: Impact on Gender, Land and Development Interventions in the Eastern Cape

Chair: Andrew Manson

Youth (Deakin Room)

Anne Heffernan: The ANC Youth League Reconstituted and Resurgent: Youth Politics in the New South Africa, 1991 – 1999

Anthea Garman: Simply surviving or just doing small things: South African youth 20 years into democracy

Aghogho Akpome: Youth Politics and the Crisis of Ideology in Post-apartheid South Africa

Chair: Busani Ngcaweni

18.50-20.00 Conference Dinner | St. Antony's College Dining Hall

20.10- 21.45 Plenary Session Adam Habib, Tony Leon, Xolela Mangcu. Chair: Jonny Steinberg. | Nissan Lecture Theatre

Saturday 26th April 2014

8.30-9.00 Registration

9.00-10.30 Session I

ANC as Organisation I (Nissan Lecture Theatre)

Anthony Butler: The idea of “organisational renewal” in the ANC

Mathijs Bogaards: From Interparty to Intraparty Consociationalism in South Africa?

Shane Mac Giollaí: What type of party is the ANC? Does it matter?

Chair: Merle Lipton.

Crime & Violence II (Gateway Pavilion Seminar Room)

Sarah Mathis: The Lasting Political and Social Effects of Transition Violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A Case Study from Rural Umbumbulu, KwaZulu-Natal

Richard Matzopolous: Firearm and non-firearm homicide in five South African cities: a retrospective population based study

Chair: Sarah Jane Cooper-Knock

Minorities & Transition (Fellows Dining Room)

Daniel Conway & Professor Pauline Leonard: The Intersections of the British, Britishness and Whiteness in Contemporary South Africa

Danelle van Zyl-Hermann: White workers, reform, and South Africa's democratic transition, 1979-2002

William Attwell & Chris Saunders: Liberal influences on the Transition, 1990-1994

Chair: Jason Robinson

Gender & Citizenship (Deakin Room)

Rachel Johnson: Everyday Institutional Life in South Africa's Constitutional Court and Parliament

Allison Goebel: Gendered Citizenship in South Africa post-1994: Welfare and Rights as Justice for Women?

Ylva Rodny-Gumede: Race, class and gender and the transformation of the SA news media

Chair: Rebekah Lee

10.30-11.00. Coffee/Tea & Biscuits | Buttery

11.00-12.30 Session II

ANC in office: Economic Policy (Nissan Lecture Theatre)

William Gumede : The Economic Traditions/Influences of /on the African National Congress

Bill. Johnson : The Crisis of the ANC State.

Discussant: Ian Goldin.

Chair: Shane Mac Giollabhuí.

Public Policy II (Gateway Pavilion Seminar Room)

Rebecca Hodes: How the Choice Act was Chosen: The Legalisation of Abortion during South Africa's Democratic Transition

Xolela Mangcu: On the Concept of Authority: Reflections on the Decline of Intellectual and Political Authority In Democratic South Africa:

Busani Ngcaweni, Lawrence Matemba and Lerato Lenstoane: 20 years of youth development in South Africa: A rapid appraisal

Chair: TBC

Homelands & Traditional Authorities II (Dahrendorf Room)

Tim Gibbs: From poll taxes to pension payments: Taxation and political authority in the former Bantustans

Andrew Manson: Marginalisation and Competition: Traditional Communities and Mining in South Africa's 'Platinum Belt' post-1994

Olaf Zenker: Politics by Other Means Revisited: Legal Activism and Land Reform in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Chair: William Beinart

Non-Racialism (Fellows Dining Room)

David Everatt: The end of the rainbow: non-racialism in South Africa today

Irina Filatova: Which Colour is the South African Rainbow?

Matthew Kustenbauder: The Struggle to Build a Common Society: Citizenship and Racial Populism in 'Non-Racial' South Africa

Chair: Matthijs Bogaards

13.00-14.00 Lunch | St. Antony's College Dining Hall

14.00-15.30 Session III

Community Life & Popular Protest (Nissan Lecture Theatre)

Idah Makukule (PARI): Social networks in the creation of land ownership in informal settlements: a case study of Zandspruit, South Africa

Shauna Mottiar & Tom Lodge: Attitudes of Protest in South Africa

Franziska Rueedi: Popular protest and the struggle over the past: the Vaal Triangle, 1984-2014

Chair: Tim Gibbs

ANC and Consolidation of Democracy (Gateway Pavilion Seminar Room)

Philip Bonner: Matthew Phosa as Premier of Mpumalanga 1994-2002

Stephen Hurt: What's left of 'the left' in Post-Apartheid South Africa?

Nicola de Jager (& Dr. Dr Cindy-Lee Steenekamp): Moving away from the values of its founders: An analysis of the political culture of the ANC

Chair: Shane Mac Giollaí.

PARI: New Perspectives on the South Africa State (Dahrendorf Room)

I. Chipkin: Post-bureaucracy. An intellectual history of the transition from the Apartheid bureaucracy to the modern public service

Sarah Meny-Gibert: Forging the post-apartheid public service

Njogu Morgan: South African State and the Water Sector

Ryan Brunette & Gumani Tshimomola: The Deformed Contract State and its Implications

Chair: Saul Dubow

Land & Land Reform (Fellows Dining Room, Panel in memory of Colin Murray)

W. Beinart: Why have South African smallholders largely withdrawn from arable production and what are the implications for land reform?

Ruth Hall: Does bringing the state back in help? Bureaucratically-mediated and market-based land redistribution and the return to state leasing

K. Moguerane: From the Land Act to Displaced urbanisation? Reflections on Colin Murray's understanding of rural change and its implications for segregation and desegregation of SA's countryside

Chair: TBC

15.30-16.00 Coffee/Tea & Biscuits | Buttery

16.00-17.30 Session IV

South Africa's forthcoming 2014 election (Nissan Lecture Theatre)

Roger Southall: Context of the 2014 election

Collette Schulz-Herzenberg: Trends in participation and party support since 1994

Anthony Butler: The ANC's campaign in 2014

Jason Robinson: The Red Beret Election: Julius Malema and the EFF

Chair: Jeremy Seekings

Parliament & Institutions (Gateway Pavilion Seminar Room)

Lawrence Matemba: Discrepancies in the Development of Institutions in Post Apartheid South Africa: A Practitioner's Perspectives

Vuyo Njokweni: 20 years of institution building and democratic consolidation: a critical look at the performance of the South African National Assembly

Kayum Ahmed: Strengthening Constitutional Democracy in South Africa: An Analysis of the Role and Effectiveness of Chapter 9 Institutions

Chair: TBC

The State, Civil Society & Urban Life (Fellows Dining Room)

Sholto Cross: Characterizing the South African State: Evidence from the Relationship between State and Civil Society

Aidan Mosselson: Urban Regeneration, Low-Income Housing and Social Transformation in Inner-City Johannesburg

Discussant: TBC

Chair: Colin Bundy

Homelands & Traditional Authorities III (Dahrendorf Room)

Dineo Skosana: Why is traditional governance recognised in South Africa's new democracy? Issues of legitimacy and contestation in local politics: A case study of chiefly and local government in Vaaltyn

Eddy Mavungu: Territorial Reforms and Conflicts in the Post-Apartheid Era

Laura Phillips (PARI): school governing bodies, local chiefs and district education offices in the former bantustans

Chair: TBC

17.30-18.30 Tim Gibbs *Mandela's Kinsmen* & John S. Saul (& P. Bond) **South Africa: The Present as History** James Currey; Roger Southall et al. *New South Africa Review 4* & Adam Habib's *South Africa's Suspended Revolution* WITS University Press/Ohio University Press | Book Launches | Chaired by Nic Cheeseman | Nissan Lecture Theatre

18.45-19.45 Reception (drinks & finger buffet) | Combined Common Room (CCR)

20.00-21.45 Closing Session

The ANC, Capital & Labour (Nissan Lecture Theatre) Professor Adam Habib, Professor Jeremy Seekings, Colin Coleman. Chair: William Beinart.

21.45 Close of Conference