



Leseedi

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Editorial...

These two photographs of Newtown separated by 15 years of development, represent more than a mere game of spot-the-difference, Johannesburg-style: it gives us an opportunity not only to inform our network of researchers that IFAS has moved from Newtown to Braamfontein (cf. page 15), but also to remember how much the French Institute made a mark on the city. For the occasion, we can analyse the landscape on the photographs with a geographer's eye – a classic and privileged exercise since the days of French geographer Vidal de la Blache (although a fairly narrow one when using his vision which is focused on the micro-scale of the suburb): while the older photo shows a fairly raw landscape devoid of structures, further emphasised by the winter light and vegetation, and by the holes in the urban fabric, the street furniture and the structural layout, the recent photo offers a more ordered landscape, in all its different meanings: squatter camps are no longer visible next to the taxi rank in Bree Street (right hand side on the older photo), Newtown has become a respectable suburb and Braamfontein, with all its high-rise buildings on the immediate horizon, has, over the past two years, acquired the much desired status of Johannesburg's new cultural Eldorado. In the foreground of the recent photo, we can see the Brickfields Housing Project which was proudly advertised in the mid 2000s by the City of Johannesburg, as the first attempt to build quality social housing near the city centre since the end of apartheid. The Carr Street squatters who were evicted in 2010 and who turned to the Constitutional Court to be rehoused near the city centre, understand the strategic importance of this suburb as far as employment in the city centre is concerned. Another – yet absolutely respectable – icon is the Mandela Bridge, connecting Newtown to Braamfontein since 2003 and offering an incomparable view of the central city skyline and the railway lines leaving Park Station.

However, what these photos do not show are the ups and downs of the suburb between 1995 and 2010, testifying to the rapidity of urban transformation in South African cities today, alternating between gentrification/renewal and urban decline at speeds which would be unthinkable in European cities. The squatter camps which are situated exactly where the Brickfields Housing Project is, and which sprang between the end of the 1990s and 2003, are a good example of that. Finally, through this evocation of change in the middle term, the two photos represent much more in that, for most researchers who have been walking the corridors of IFAS-Research since 1995, they evoke eminently personal and detailed memories of transformations in the suburb. At this stage, I am thinking of the story told by the first IFAS-Research Director, Philippe Gervais-Lambony, explaining how he switched from private tours of the area to visiting ministerial officials, to the safety of panoramic descriptions on the roof of the building housing IFAS, when the suburb became, at the end of the 1990s, a



1995 : panorama taken from the brochure IFAS/MAE "Pourquoi l'Institut français à Newtown".
2010 : IFAS moves from Newtown to Braamfontein, last souvenir photo taken from the roof, in the same style.

high-risk spot in Johannesburg. I am also thinking of the winding route the third IFAS-Research Director, Philippe Guillaume, made me follow in 2003 when coming from Melville, through the wasteland and shacks surrounding the block, when the Mandela Bridge was not yet built. I also recall my first lunch with the fourth IFAS-Research Director, Aurelia Wa Kabwe-Segatti, in the mid 2000s, on the terrace of the Moyo restaurant situated at the Market Theatre, and which has since been closed, when we were amused by the reluctance of the waiters who, it was clear to us then, had rather be waiting in the more fancy and prestigious Moyo restaurants of the Northern Suburbs (but it might have been a side effect of the Pinotage). And finally, I am thinking of the roof of the building housing the French Institute, with its various developments in terms of furniture improvised over the years, and which was used as the venue for most farewell parties for all researchers, staff and colleagues from the CNRS and IRD alike.

Although the move into our definitive offices in Braamfontein is going to keep us busy in 2011, the show must go on and this issue of *Lesedi*, with a special supplement on the Yeoville Programme, is our way of keeping up with our work. And so we officially welcome you to Braamfontein!

Sophie Didier
IFAS-Research Director

The perceptions of students on democracy and issues of governance in the Democratic Republic of Congoⁱ

Yolanda Sadie

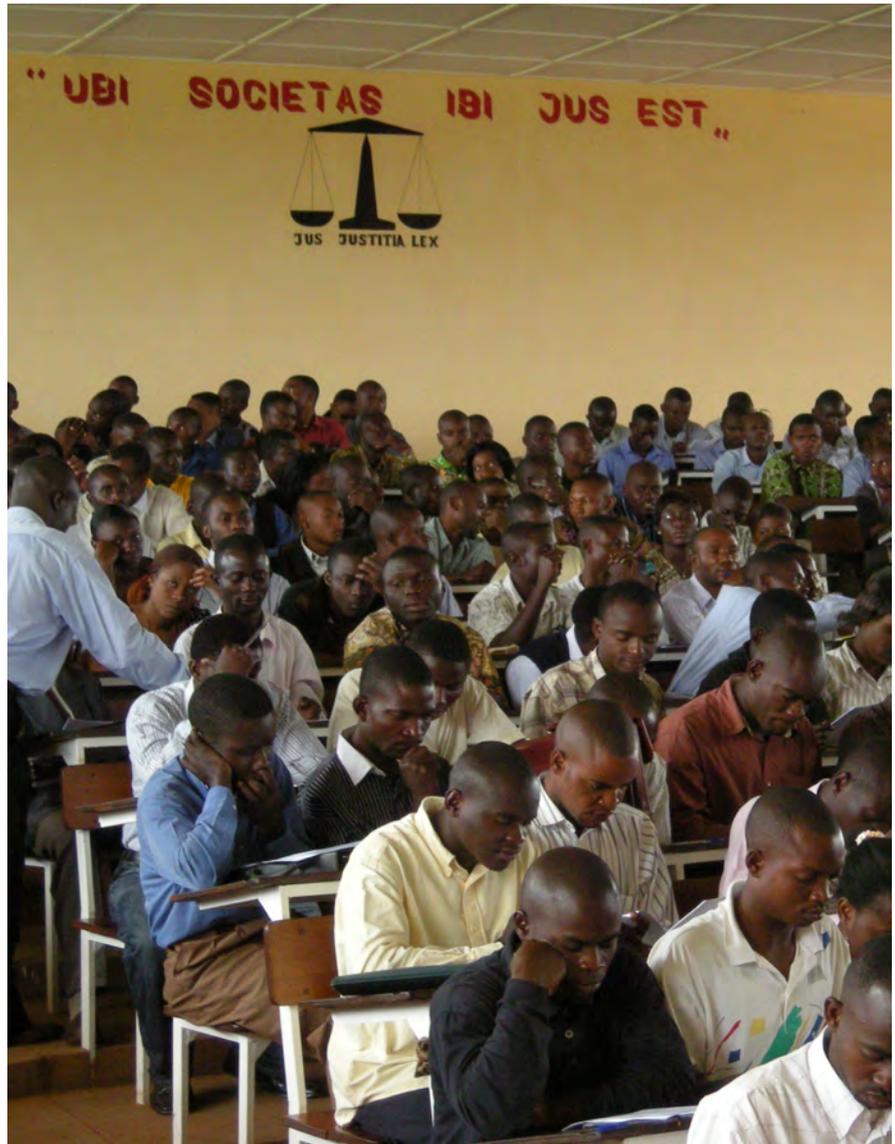
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African students have long engaged in political activism, responding to changing political, social and economic circumstances through protest that has at times exerted considerable influence on the national stage. In the Congo's long and protracted road to political freedom, the role of the student movement is described by Nzongola-Ntjalala (2002:179) as 'the single most important civil society organization to challenge the Mobutu regime at the height of its power, and make a positive contribution to the fight against the dictatorship and its reign of terror'.

The first democratic presidential elections in the country were eventually held in 2006. These first steps to democratisation like in newly democratised states elsewhere in Africa, resulted in mass political optimism and generated high expectations on the benefits of democracy. However, how satisfied are Congolese university students about the state of democracy in their country? Has the state of governance improved? What are the major issues of governance? Do students trust their political institutions? How do they view their performance? Do these incipient intellectual elite and future political leaders see a future for themselves in their countries or are they considering leaving their countries?

To provide answers to the above questions (and other issues) self-administered opinion surveys complemented by focus group discussions were conducted among university students in the Congo. The research is the first of its kind among university students in the country. The research was undertaken at the University of Kinshasa (Unikin) and the University of Lubumbashi at the beginning of 2008. The surveys covered 955 students from the University of Kinshasa and 926 of the University of Lubumbashi. Representativity within faculty as well as in terms of gender and seniority were sought to which the final biographic and demographic profile attest.

In addition to the quantitative side of the research, three focus group discussions consisting of about 15 students each were held at the respective universities. Two of the groups (a



A class of students at the University of Lubumbashi

separate male and female group) consisted of academic student leaders, while the third was a mixed group consisting of both male and female political leaders at the respective universities. These focus group discussions were used to obtain a more in-depth understanding of the views of students.

The questionnaire covered five broad themes: democracy and governanceⁱⁱ; political participation / behaviour; social / moral rights and values; freedom and reliability of the media; and perceptions on the Southern African Development

Community (SADC). This contribution discusses student perceptions on democracy and governance. It comprises: students' satisfaction with democracy and their support of a range of democratic principles; their trust in government institutions; their satisfaction with the performance of various government institutions, and, finally whether they see a future for themselves in the country.

It comes as no surprise that the majority of students (61%) are dissatisfied/very dissatisfied with the state of democracy in their country. The reasons provided for their dissatisfaction provides a good understanding of not only their expectations of a democracy, but also what to them constitutes a democracy.



Discussion group organised at the University of Lumbumbashi

The lack of freedoms, particularly freedom of expression and the press was given by a substantial majority as the major reason for their dissatisfaction with the state of democracy, this was closely followed by the statement 'no human rights'. A further large proportion of students criticises the legal system – such statements include: 'the law is not respected/no rule of law/judiciary not independent/judiciary corrupt and no justice'.

Equally contributing to their dissatisfaction with democracy in the country are 'corruption' and 'corrupt tendencies' closely followed by a lack of good governance (expressed as 'bad governance / lack of transparency / no consultation / bad management of public resources /no good governance'). Other reasons for dissatisfaction mentioned (however, by a substantial but comparatively smaller proportion of students) are (in descending order): 'injustices', no service delivery expressed in problems such as 'social and physical

insecurity/bad infrastructure/bad - lack of education/lack of development/poverty/no jobs'; violence including tribalism; no free and fair elections and that the country is still a 'dictatorship'. The five major issues to be addressed to improve democracy in the country are to: improve freedoms particularly of expression and the press; improve good governance and end corruption; improve the judicial system – which include 'apply justice, respect for law, rule of law and independence of the judiciary'; provide a variety of services including infrastructure, education and employment and protect human rights. Other issues to be addressed include the provision of security and the ending of tribalism; free and fair elections; and respect for people and equality.

Those students who were satisfied/very satisfied (34,7%) with the state of democracy obviously compared it with the situation under the previous regime. Most of these students said they had 'free and fair elections for the first time / multi-party democracy / enough ground for opposition parties / popular participation – fair representation of people in parliament / dictatorship is a thing of the past.', followed by the existence of more freedom of 'choice', 'expression', opinion' and 'more stability and peace'.

Trust in institutions

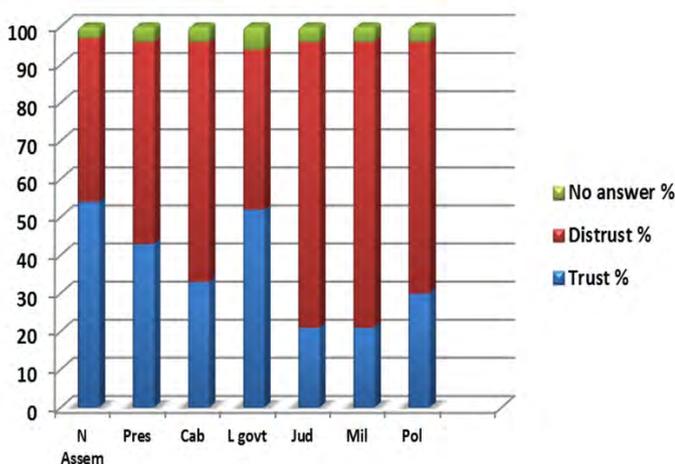
As indicated above, corruption, the lack of good governance and dissatisfaction with the judiciary has been stated as some of the biggest problems with democracy in the DRC. But how do students regard their state? Do students' perceptions of the problems with democracy also affect their trust in the country's political institutions? Trust in institutions is important for two reasons: Firstly, it is important for 'governance' – public officials need the co-operation of citizens to carry out government policies. It is easy to implement popular decisions, but leaders need the 'governance capital' that trust provides in order to carry out unpopular decisions. If institutions are distrusted, citizens may refuse to co-operate or ignore laws, thereby reducing the effectiveness of government (Bratton, 2005a et al.:61). As Rose (1994:20) puts it, "Without trust, and without genuine representation, the bargaining process of any democracy will collapse". Moreover, low levels of trust in institutions, especially in newly democratised states such as the Congo, may threaten or endanger the legitimacy of the political system (see Listhaug and Wiberg, 1995: 299).

There are many explanations, based on different theoretical rationales, as to why people trust/distrust their institutions. These explanations (Bratton et al. 2005: 67) which are not mutually exclusive include generational differences, economic differences – between those who see themselves or their country better or worse off - and political performance and efficiency. Trust is therefore something that does not come

naturally – it has to be earned. The close link between trust and performance was also evident in this survey. The absence of data over time does not make it possible to establish whether there has been a decline or not of institutional trust. However, after Joseph Kabila was sworn in as the first democratically elected president since Congolese independence, the International Crisis Group (9 January 2007) reported that 'The new government has weak and barely functioning institutions....'

We attempted, to survey the feelings of Congolese students in terms of trust in their political institutions on a scale of 'strongly distrust', 'distrust somewhat', 'trust somewhat', and 'trust fully'. The institutions are: parliament (National Assembly), the president, cabinet, local government, judiciary (courts), military and police.

Figure 1: Trust ("trust somewhat" and "trust fully" combined)



Of all the listed institutions, Parliament / National Assembly is the most trusted institution – it is trusted by more than half of the students (54.4%). The higher trust in the National Assembly may possibly be ascribed to the fact that, from the public's viewpoint, it seems to be a forum where open critical debate takes place – a situation to which the Congolese have not been accustomed to for many years^{iv}. Elections were also proclaimed as relatively free and fair. This is followed by the president (42,6%) and cabinet (32,6%). The judiciary (courts) and the military are the least trusted institutions – they are only trusted by just over a fifth of students (21,1% each).

The low level of trust in the judiciary (courts) corresponds with students' views outlined above where the corrupt judiciary and inefficient legal system was provided as one of the strongest reasons for their dissatisfaction with democracy in the country. The negative views of students on the judiciary are not surprising to academics at Unikin. They confirmed that the problem mainly lies with the magistrates who are corrupt. The low salaries of magistrates are one of the major reasons for

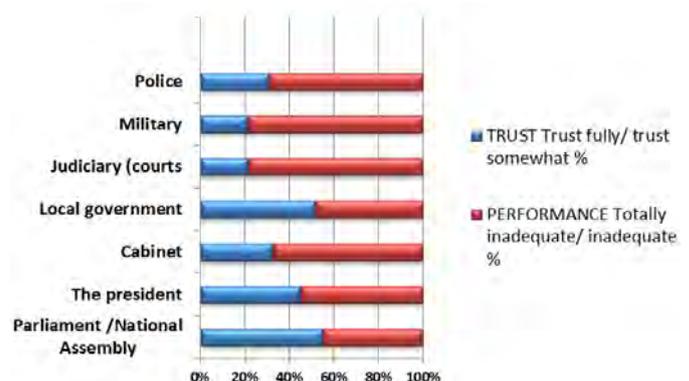
their corrupt practices which explain the practice of bribery that was also brought up in the focus group discussions. A number of studies have been undertaken at the university on the state of the judiciary in the country which specifically points to the problems with the magistrates – the level with which more people comes into contact with, and on which their perceptions are based^v.

The low level of trust in the military is not surprising considering its inability to secure peace in the eastern part of the Congo, particularly the Kivo region which is characterised with ongoing violence and massive human rights abuses against civilians by rebel groups who cannot be controlled by the Congolese army^{vi}. Furthermore, the presence of the large MONUC peacekeeping force in the country further underlines the inability of the military to secure peace on its own in the country (see for example, Human Rights Watch 2008).

Although trust in local government is also relatively high (51,7%), there is a significant difference in trust of local government between students from Kinshasa and Lubumbashi with only 32,6% of Kinshasa students trusting local government compared with an overwhelming 71,4% of Lubumbashi students. Various sources (including focus group discussions) acknowledged that local government in Lubumbashi has been performing much better than in Kinshasa. The president is also more trusted by Lubumbashi students (49,2%) than Kinshasa (36,2%) students – a slightly stronger support from Lubumbashi also apply to parliament / national Assembly and the cabinet. The two reasons (though not mutually exclusive) provided for these differences are that the president is from the Katanga province where he enjoys much stronger support – the other reason is that students from Kinshasa are in much closer proximity to these institutions, and are therefore better informed, and thus less trustful.

In a subsequent question students were asked to rate the performance of each of the listed institutions (they had to evaluate in terms of trust) using the scale: totally inadequate, inadequate, adequate, excellent, and don't know. As shown in Figure 2 hereunder, institutions least trusted by students are also those with a performance that impressed students the least.

Figure 2 : Perceptions of trust and performance



From the above figure, it is evident that the judiciary, military and police, which are the least trusted, are also the lowest rated in terms of performance.

A specific indicator of performance which Bratton, *et al.* (2005:232) regard as 'the overall predictor of institutional trust', is whether the population regard state officials as being corrupt. Popular perceptions of official corruption undermine trust in state institutions (see Bratton *et al.* 2005:232).

In order to gauge corruption in the DRC, students were asked to indicate the extent of agreement on statements regarding the involvement of officials in 'central government', 'local government', and the 'police'. Very alarming is the broad perception among students on the existence of corruption in the country. To a large majority of students (71,8%) the police was involved in corruption. Central government members were accused of corruption by 65,6% of the students, while local government was seen as the least corrupt (48%) which also corresponds with the higher levels of trust in local government. The significant difference in trust in local government between Lubumbashi and Kinshasa students was also reflected in their different perceptions of corruption at local government level (37% and 60% respectively). The perception of students on the high levels of corruption in the country, corresponds with the general public's perception on corruption as reflected in Amnesty International's Corruption Perception Index (2008) according to which the DRC falls within the ten most corrupt states in the world with a rating of 1.7 (with 1 being the worst rating and 10 the best). Although it is generally argued that it is very difficult to determine to what extent these opinions are reflective of reality, a substantial amount of evidence exists in the DRC which seems to support these opinions.

The type of corruption which was emphasised by students in relation to the judiciary (magistrates / security services in general) was the bribery involved to drop cases either at investigation level or when it reaches the magistrates. As a respondent from an Amnesty International (2007: 21) focus group discussion put it succinctly 'Insecurity is synonymous with a lack of money. Justice is synonymous with having money (own translation)'.

The causes for corruption in the DRC are seen to be three-fold – political, economic and psychosocial. Among the political causes are the exorbitant prerogatives of the President, the politicisation of the civil service and the defence force, and the lack of effective separation of powers. Economic causes include the very low salaries of public officials in all sectors, poverty, the weak economy, and a weak performance of the banking system, the absence of administrative control and the disorganised management of human resources. Some psychosocial causes are selfish leadership and an absence of the notion of public service, a social culture that does not correspond with the norms of a civil service, and a resistance to a culture of control (see Amnesty International, 2007(DRC): pp. 25-32).

It is therefore not surprising that the majority of students are

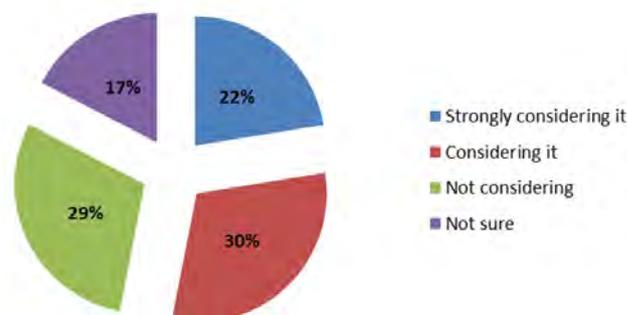
of the opinion that government leaders 'helped' themselves (55%), as well as their friends and their relatives (47%). Students were provided with a list of people and were asked 'Who do you think is **helped** by the government? They were requested to mark all applicable options ranging from 'government officials themselves' to 'civil servants' and 'ordinary people' (See table 1 below). Only 20% of the students perceived the government to be helping 'ordinary people'. These perceptions of students suggest the existence of neo-patrimonial tendencies among government leaders.

Table 1: Helped by Government

Government officials themselves	55%
The families and friends of government officials	47%
The business partners of government officials	39%
Members of the ethnic and language groups of government officials	38%
Members of government officials' own economic class	29%
Civil servants	24%
Ordinary people	20%

Given the fact that the majority of students have low levels of trust in most of their political institutions, regard the performance of their political leaders as unsatisfactory and, above all, perceive corruption of political and other government officials to be an important problem in the country; do they see a future for themselves in their country? In this regard, the following question was posed: 'To what extent are you considering settling in another country once you have completed your studies? Students had to indicate whether they were 'strongly considering it', 'considering it', 'not considering it', or 'not sure'.

Figure 3: Settling in another country



Five out of 10 students regarded themselves as potential emigrants. From the preceding discussion it is clear that students have a number of issues with the state of governance in their country. In the focus group discussions that were

conducted a number of these concerns were again emphasised and provided as reasons for a desire to leave their country. Push factors for Congolese students are mainly the lack of employment, the existing socio-economic conditions, and the low standard of education.

Conclusion

Students' dissatisfaction with democracy in the Congo exists in terms of the lack of freedoms (particularly press freedom and freedom of expression, lack of human rights and the absence of rule of law). Their low levels of trust in important political institutions can seriously damage political legitimacy on which the Congo, as a new democracy, depends for its survival. One of the main challenges to institutions in the

country, based on students' perceptions, is that of corruption – a prime indicator of bad governance.

In view of the rather pessimistic perceptions regarding the manner in which problems are addressed, and which manifest in a lack of trust in institutions, it is therefore not surprising that the majority of students surveyed were considering emigrating once they had completed their studies. The likelihood of a continued 'brain drain' does not bode well for future developments in the country. Although African countries benefit substantially from remittances from emigrants, these merely sustain families and do not lead to sustainable growth and development, since there is no skills transfer in the long run.

- i. This study forms part of a larger project conducted by Prof. Yolanda Sadie, Dept of Politics at the University of Johannesburg and Prof. Maxi Schoeman, Dept. of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria, on the political behaviour and attitudes of university students in a number of countries in the SADC region which commenced at the beginning of 2007. However, with regard to the research in the DRC, it was a joint project between the mentioned researchers and Dr Aurelia Segatti of IFAS, previous IFAS-Research Director.
- ii. Students' understanding of democracy was established indirectly by asking them a standard question: 'How satisfied are you with the way democracy works in your country?' They were offered the options of 'very satisfied', 'satisfied', 'dissatisfied' and 'very dissatisfied'. In subsequent open-ended questions they were asked to provide their reasons for their satisfaction / dissatisfaction, as well as suggestions on what should be improved.
- iii. The government has stayed the same since 2006. The next presidential and legislative elections are due this year, however, there is uncertainty whether they will indeed take place.
- iv. This is a possible explanation put forward by Katelondi, (2009, interview)
- v. Also see Amnesty International (DRC, 2007:21) on corruption in the judiciary
- vi. This view was also strongly expressed in the focus group discussions

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South African public schools:

understanding student's school experience from the notion of school community

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Since the first democratic elections held in 1994, the South African school system has experienced deep transformations. During the following decade which was described as a transition period, the education system was reconfigured and the national curriculum redefined. The elaboration of this major school reform was based on the right to education and, above all, aimed at democratising access to education by reducing the inequalities inherited from the apartheid school systemⁱ. In practice, instead of breathing relatively random and complete multiculturalism into schools, dismantling the apartheid system led to a school population distribution following the old school hierarchy. Under the indirect effect of strategies implemented by schools, such as imposing high school fees by school governing bodies (SGB), racial redistribution reflected a distribution based on social class, benefiting mainly the middle and upper classesⁱⁱ. As a result, schools became increasingly competitive due to their entry on the school market, while the complete liberalisation of the school offer led to a reconfiguration of the school system, following a market logic in which all the schools became competitors. While some schools try to maintain their favourable position on the “quasi school

market” by asking for high school fees, others experience worsening teaching material conditions and increasing numbers of “low performance learners”ⁱⁱⁱ.

In the school contexts that concern us, the schools under study^{iv} benefit from an average to unfavourable school reputation in the hierarchy of schools in the district. While from a socio-economic and cultural viewpoint, schools contain relatively diversified populations, they differ through their political commitment at the end of the apartheid. This commitment, which is still very strong today, is reflected in the implementation of a strong school culture that aims to offer students a highly structuring institutional framework, and sometimes tends to go beyond the school boundaries strictly speaking. A school ethos has a lot of weight on students' school experience, considering teachers' educational and social investment in learners. While certain schools do not have significant weight on the new “school market”, they end up specialising in a specific segment of it and, in this way, attract fairly specific student profiles. Of all the schools part of



Students having a break, ex-coloured school, March 2010, P. Guinard

our field research, two main schools are of particular interest for the purpose of this article: the first school (School H) is situated in Hillbrow and teaches a school population made up mainly of immigrants' children. It was one of the first schools in central Johannesburg to open its doors to black students during the 1990s, while the white population of the suburb started to decrease. Today, only one third of the population of School H actually pays school fees in full. The second school (School S) is situated in a middle class suburb of Johannesburg South, close to Soweto. Almost 90% of the school population lives in Soweto and comes from the township's middle class (school fees come up to R5 000,00 for the year). Under apartheid, School S was classified as a Model C school, a status which, as part of the first incentive policies for racial desegregation within schools, granted former White, Indian or Coloured schools the right to register students from other "racial categories".

In the Johannesburg schools under study, everything happens as if the school experience of students is highly dependent on the school's engagement in the suburb, and on the type of relationship it maintains with the surrounding community (link between the school and the suburb/urban space). Our basic premise maintains that the manner in which a school positions itself in relation to the suburb will reflect the values and principles conveyed in the educational project of that school. Yet, the schools under study maintain a rather characteristic relationship with the external environment, a relationship that evolves in a *school community*. This concept refers to the fact that the definition of a school's education project and mission fit into a local environment^v, in other words a "contextualised register" determined spatially, culturally as well as socially. In order to study the various observable forms of school community, two dimensions need be taken into account: the first corresponds to the commitment of the school vis-à-vis the local environment, and the second to the participation of the local environment in the school vision.

Concerning the first dimension, the notion of school community refers to different identifiable local school contexts, leading the school to potentially either stand against or for the suburb in which it is situated. Standing *against* means that the school wishes to partly isolate itself from the local environment, so as to strive towards a more general conception of education in society. This isolation, in relation to the local environment, does not automatically refer to the socio-economic context in which the school is directly situated, but can also refer to the residential suburb of the school population it teaches. School S corresponds to the first scenario, considering the disjunction between the social and cultural characteristics of the school population (which comes mainly from Soweto and is mainly "black") and those of the teaching population that subscribes entirely to a school register still strongly underlain by formerly "white" school values and principles. This phenomenon is characteristic of multicultural schools that highly emphasise opening up to the various cultures considered equal and to be respected in the school. In this regard, the study of Dalamba and Vally (1999) shows that when a school happens to have very conservative

values and principles, registered non-White students are socialised on the basis of a certain number of social prejudices. While this type of school introduces itself as being consciously inclusive, the concealed intention is to hide the dominant cultural and normative model which corresponds to the assimilationist practices of the formerly 'white' school^{vi}. As a result, students who are schooled in this type of environment are compelled to adapt to school-specific requirements by denying their cultural particularities. *"I think that if people from other races want to come to our school, then they must adjust to the culture and norms of the school"*^{vii}.

The second case refers to schools that actively put a lot of effort into a social project involving the surrounding community, where the majority of the school population comes from. In order to facilitate the schooling process and to make of the school a socialising space that can fill the shortcomings or fragilities of the living environment of the students, the school blurs the boundaries with the surrounding suburb, thereby debunking the relation to the school^{viii}. This second scenario corresponds to the actions implemented by School H which is trying to keep student interaction going and to offer, within the school space, a structured, healthy and safe framework for students who are brought up in difficult and sometimes precarious social conditions.

The second dimension refers to commitments and current participation possibilities between students' parents and other potential institutional partners of the school. One of the main points of the transformation dynamics of the South African school system, is the link developed between the school and the community. While, during apartheid, the notion of community referred to a racialised conception of social relations, and to the fact that the school community necessarily invoked a particular racial school system, today paradoxically, this notion constitutes an "operator for the system's democratisation"^{ix}, and symbolises the restitution of democratic power to citizens, irrespective of race. *"Today the community represents a means to empower people, which was denied to them before – more or less according to social groups – by an authoritarian regime"*^x. Indeed, to stimulate the enforcement of education reforms, the State counted highly on partnerships with communities. One of the tools implemented to remedy apartheid-produced inequalities was the creation of the school governing body^{xi} (SGB), aiming at involving parents in the affairs of the school attended by their children. Since the State could not cover all the costs related to the expansion of the school offer and refinancing of disadvantaged schools, the reduction in education expenses counted partly on the collaboration of the parents who are acknowledged as having the right and competence to take decisions in the management of the school. "Parents [have been] given responsibilities all the more since, by taking part [in the management of the school] and by enabling the State to reach its objectives of education access, equity and quality, they [became] in turn guarantors of the right to education"^{xii}.

Back to our scenarios, while the parents of School S are almost forced to become involved in the schooling of their

child(ren) (particularly concerning school regulations and activities), the management and teaching staff of School H complain about the fact that the students' parents show little interest in the education project of the school, or in following-up on their children at home. This reality is reflected in the creation of the SGB and in the efficiency of its functioning at the decision-making level. In School S, being a member of the SGB is a real issue in that the close collaboration between the body and the Management of the school, gives the SGB significant weight in decision-making. Conversely, School H struggles to mobilise parents and recruit them as SGB members. While an SGB might succeed in meeting the required number of parents to make a quorum, these might not automatically have the required knowledge or skills to take this type of responsibilities (knowledge of operating rules and procedures imposed by law, decision-making capacities, illiteracy etc.), which creates more work for the school Management.

From the students' viewpoint, the notion of school community sheds light on the link – in terms of subjective schooling experiences – between the school environment and the family environment. In other words, an examination of the relation established between the school and the student's family on the one hand, and the school and its local environment on the other, brings out the specific characteristics of the school experience, and clarifies the significance of the school in the adolescents' life. In the school contexts under study, a school could be perceived either as a refuge, as a forced passage due to the fact that schooling is compulsory or, still, as an opportunity to succeed in life. Our analytical assumption suggests first of all that, depending on the relation established with the school institution, a student will (if at all) become involved in the school in various ways (whether at the social relations or school work level); and secondly, that the result of the school and social investment will have an impact on the construction of the school's identity.

As explained above, the school and a student's



Dilapidated state of a building in a disadvantaged school, November 2010, M. Jacobs

family/suburb represent two either continuous or discontinuous periods of socialisation, which will have an impact on the student's schooling experience. In the continuity scenario, the practices and regulations of living together between the family/suburb and the school, lead to a functional experience since socialisation norms are close between these two periods. On the other hand, in the discontinuity scenario, the experience is "normalising" when the socialisation norms fail on the family side (in which case the school fulfils an educational role which normally falls to the parents). "At first I

was a type of person who was ignorant and didn't get along with any of my parents. Home for me felt like a danger box because everyday I'd do something wrong. So I always knew as soon as I get home, there will be a fight and I used to just walk away from it and go into my room. By that time I was still a smoker so I always had a cigarette to smoke before sleeping when angry. And there was a message during the school assembly which was about giving thanks and talking to God. So I asked myself why are people of my age forever happy and free to go home unlike me? I started praying God to help me make peace at home and asked him to help me quit cigarettes" (Grade 11 learner from the School H)". When street practices and rules take over the school environment, a student's relation to that school can lead to deviant behaviour and the voluntary infringement of school regulations.

At the school experience level, the discontinuity of practices could be experienced and engaged differently: either as an experience of subjective elaboration^{xiii} (in which case the school can constitute a refuge for the student or an opportunity for social climbing), or as an experience of subjective

disadjustment^{xiv} (in which case the student no longer learns at school but goes there to make friends or have love affairs, or still to oppose the school by regularly infringing norms or taking the juvenile delinquency road).

In conclusion, by resorting to the notion of school community to examine the school experience of students, we take into account various analytical dimensions intervening in the students' schooling development. Furthermore, by taking an interest first in the environmental context of schools, secondly in the possibilities open to parents to participate in the educational project and, thirdly, in their potential involvement in school matters, we need to widen the way in which to study students' school experience, by avoiding to analyse schools independently from the community and the urban environment. Studying public schools in South Africa requires taking an interest in the characteristics of a social environment with consequences and realities going beyond the physical boundaries of the school, and significantly marking the school experience of students.

* Marie Jacobs (Catholic University of Louvain) was hosted by IFAS in 2009 within the framework of her doctorate.

i. VALLY S., Citoyenneté et éducation: une perspective sud-africaine, *Revue Internationale d'éducation* Sèvres, No 44, April 2007, pp 67-78.

ii. VALLY S., DALAMBA Y., Racism, Racial Integration and Desegregation in South Africa Public Secondary School, A Report on a Study by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), Johannesburg, 1999.

iii. SOUDIEN C., Constituting the class: an analysis of the process of integration in South African schools, in L. Chisholm (ed.), *Changing Class. Education and Social Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, HSCR, Cape Town, 2004, pp 89-114.

iv. The research field concerns two contrasting schools (situated in Hillbrow and in an administrative district near Soweto). The schools were selected on the basis of three criteria: the school's position on the quasi school market, the school structure[1] (the culturally heterogeneous character of the school populations) and the environmental context of the school (the type of neighbouring urban district and its effects on school life).

v. "A local environment is made up of specific individuals who are linked through their specific expectations, experiences, constraints and resources", in J.-P. PAYET, L'Afrique du Sud éclaire la France ? Une perspective comparative, *Colloque "Le particulier, le commun, l'universel. La question de la diversité culturelle à l'école"*, INRP, Lyon, 22-23 mai 2008.

vi. SOUDIEN C., Constituting the class: an analysis of the process of integration in South African schools, in L. Chisholm (ed.), *Changing Class. Education and Social Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, HSCR, Cape Town, 2004, pp 89-114.

vii. VALLY S., DALAMBA Y., Racism, Racial Integration and Desegregation in South Africa Public Secondary School, A Report on a Study by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), Johannesburg, 1999.

viii. PAYET J.-P., Les mondes scolaires sans qualités. *La matière et l'esprit*, 2, 2005.

ix. PAYET J.-P., L'Afrique du Sud éclaire la France ? Une perspective comparative, *Colloque "Le particulier, le commun, l'universel. La question de la diversité culturelle à l'école"*, INRP, Lyon, 22-23 mai 2008.

x. *ibidem*

xi. The school governing body is a decisional entity created by the State at the school level, and is composed of elected members (mainly parents, teachers and administrative personnel), as well as students and coopted members of the school community.

xii. BAMBERG I., Education et démocratisation en Afrique du Sud: le nouveau système éducatif et décentralisé face à la reproduction des inégalités, in M.-F. LANGE, *Des écoles pour le Sud*, *Autrepart*, 17, 2001, pp 91-110.

xiii. MARTUCCELLI D., *Grammaires de l'individu*, Paris, Gallimard, 2002.

xiv. *ibidem*

Programmes...

XenAfPol

New research programme on xenophobic forms of exclusion in Africa

Coordinators

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The 1st of January 2011 marked the beginning of a new research programme financed by the Agence Nationale de la Recherche, entitled XenAfPol. Coordinated by Laurent Fourchard (LAM, Les Afriques dans le Monde) and Aurelia

Segatti (ACMS, African Centre For Migration and Society – Wits University), XenAfPol associates researchers from the Universities of Lagos, Nairobi, Kinshasa, Cambridge, Oxford, Ibadan and Jos. It focuses on the politics of xenophobic exclusion in Africa and large regional centres in particular. In addition to producing scholarly knowledge that intends to fill out some of the existing gaps in the understanding of xenophobic exclusion in Africa, the project also aims at producing policy-relevant research to inform decision-makers' understanding of societal trends in contexts of increasing social, cultural, linguistic and economic heterogeneity.

The programme XenAfPol will focus on four countries: South Africa, Kenya, Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo. IFAS-Research, which is to organise the field research in South Africa and DRC, has already offered a Master's bursary in this regard. The programme will gather an international and multidisciplinary team of researchers, including Aurelia Segatti (former IFAS-Research Director), Laurent Fourchard (former IFAS resident researcher), Lydie Cabanes (doctoral student financed by IFAS) and Jacques Tshibwabwa-Kuditshini (University of Kinshasa, currently Fellow at the RFIEA of Nantes and associated since 2008 with IFAS' research work on migration).

The seminar for the launch of the programme took place in Johannesburg from the 8th to the 10th of March 2011.



Cleveland Police Station during the Xenophobic riots in 2008
© Loren Landau

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New research programme in sociolinguistics

Coordinators

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A new programme in sociolinguistics involving the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) as well as the Universities of Pretoria and Limpopo, was launched this year thanks to the financial backup of the National Research Foundation of South Africa.

The programme focuses on the paradigms of the reading and writing acquisition phase in the African languages as well as in English, in South African schools at the level of the first four years of schooling (*Foundation Phase or grades 1 to 4*). The objective of the research is to assess the efficiency of the

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policy and practices, as far as the languages implemented in the South African schools are concerned. Such practices consist in promoting pupils' use of African mother tongues during the initial schooling phase, as well as promoting teaching English as a subject, before English becomes the main teaching language.

In this regard, the partnership with the University of Limpopo is particularly enriching insofar as this university is, since 2003, the only one in South Africa to have implemented a bilingual academic programme (BA level) integrating an African language (Northern Sotho) as teaching medium.

The new programme will occur over a three-year period, focusing on township schools in the Province of Gauteng and on rural schools in the Province of Limpopo. The programme will be managed by the HSRC, while the research work in Gauteng will be partly co-ordinated by IFAS resident researcher and linguist Michel Lafon.

Urban Protected Areas network (UPA) Biodivercities conference organised in Paris

Coordinator
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The conference on "Biodivercities" was held in Paris from the 6th to the 8th of September 2010. It was organised by the Urban Protected Area (UPA) network (IFAS-Research being a partner-member of the UPA), and hosted by the Master of Public Affairs Unit, Sciences-Po. Apart from celebrating the international year of biodiversity, the conference also explored sustainable management and governance issues as regards protected areas in urban environments, through four case studies on the national parks of Tijuca (in Rio, Brazil), Table Mountain (in Cape Town, South Africa), Sanjay Ghandi (Bombay, in India) and Nairobi (in Kenya).

The conference, which gathered over sixty participants from twenty different countries, helped to consolidate the UPA network initially created in 2009. The network aims at bringing together researchers, managers of nature parks in urban environments, local actors and civil society leaders around specific and complex issues, concerning the management and conservation of urban protected areas.

Acknowledging UPAs as exceptions, due to the paradoxical concept of 'nature in town' and the ambiguity of national parks rooted in urban space, conference contributors highlighted the importance of the role such parks play in the fight for environmental causes and conservation policies, where the world population – which lives mainly in cities today – is concerned. Conference contributors also put forward the eminently political dimension of urban protected area management that, because of the multiplicity of actors, representations and diverging interests at play in urban contexts, requires the implementation of negotiated and creative strategies.

Although the conference proceedings are under publication, other research projects are planned to succeed the conference. In support of a new research programme on national parks located in the metropolises of emerging countries, an application for funds was lodged in January 2011 with the French National Research Agency (ANR) under the White Programme, by the Laboratoire GECKO (Géographies comparées des Suds et des Nords) in partnership with IFAS-Research, IFRA Nairobi and the Libertas Institute. In parallel, IFAS is going to finance two Master student bursaries in 2011 for field research on the Table Mountain National Park in Cape Town, focusing on governance relations between the National Park and the Municipality.

For more information on Biodivercities, relevant Powerpoint presentations and contributions to the conference, visit <http://biodivercities.net/> as well as the UPA website: <http://upa-network.org/>.



A group of participants of the biodivercities conference during their field trip in the Fontainebleau forest near Paris, 8 September 2010

Yeoville Studio Overview of a full first year

Coordinators

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Yeoville Stories:

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With eighteen research workshops organised with the suburb's residents, and three exhibitions reconstructing the results of the various projects for the benefit of the public, the first year of the programme entitled **Yeoville Studio**, a joint initiative of the School of Architecture and Planning (Wits University), the Yeoville Stakeholders' Forum, the Yeoville-Bellevue Community Development and IFAS-Research, has been positive and rich with activities. 2011 will be just as busy with a number of projects being organised around Yeoville Studio.

In addition to the many classes and research activities linked to *Yeoville Studio* and involving more than 220 students from Wits, the programme led to the production of several documents meant to introduce the Yeoville community to outsiders. Printed brochures are thus offering to guide visitors through thematic walks in the suburb (music, art, culture, history and politics). Others boast the diversity and extent of the foods offered by the many African restaurants in the suburb. In-depth publications on the results of *Yeoville Studio* are also planned for 2011.

Thanks to the important number of activities and projects initiated within the framework of *Yeoville Studio*, other actors showed interest in joining the programme (the City of Johannesburg and the Goethe Institute in particular, as well as other schools and faculties from the University of the Witwaterstrand). IFAS-Research will keep supporting the programme, particularly by financing the bursary of a French student doing a Master's degree on representations and memory in the suburb, within the framework of *Yeoville Stories*.

Moreover, in September 2011, IFAS-Research will organise an international conference on the theme of memory and the city. To this end, IFAS obtained the financial support of the Fonds d'Alembert, and is counting on the partnerships of the Universities of the Witwaterstrand (Wits) and Johannesburg (UJ). This scientific event will seek to examine the issue of urban memories and how these fit into the heritage notion, relying particularly on the research results of *Yeoville Stories*.



The exhibition Yeoville Stories (stories, trajectories and representations of Yeoville residents) organised at the Yeoville Recreation Centre on 20 November 2010, presented the results of the research works conducted together with the residents.



The guides of the Yeoville Stories together with a selection of the research work results is available online:

www.ifas.org.za/research

IFAS moves from Newtown to Braamfontein



On the 7th and 8th of December 2010, after spending 15 years in the precinct of Newtown in Johannesburg central where it rented offices from the National Arts Council across from the Market Theatre, the French Institute of South Africa (IFAS) moved to Braamfontein. The Institute is now situated on the other side of the Nelson Mandela Bridge, on Juta Street which is in full urban renovation.

The Newtown renewal running out of steam

Created on the 12th of May 1995, soon after the advent of democratic South Africa, IFAS decided to settle in the precinct of Newtown in central Johannesburg which, at the time, had already been widely abandoned by the white population and businesses. As the name indicates, Newtown led up to predict the renaissance of the city centre, in the image of the new South Africa. During the last fifteen years, thanks to the City's voluntarist policy, Newtown progressively became one of the centres of artistic life in the metropolis, after being a centre of anti-apartheid contestation. IFAS, at the time the only foreign institute settled near the town centre, is proud to have contributed to this renewal.

While, for a few years now, the political will of the City seems to be at a standstill, the City of Johannesburg has been progressively selling whatever space is still available in Newtown to private property developers (banks, luxury stores, fast-food etc.). Faced with this new dynamic, several cultural actors moved to other suburbs, on the outskirts of the City Centre.

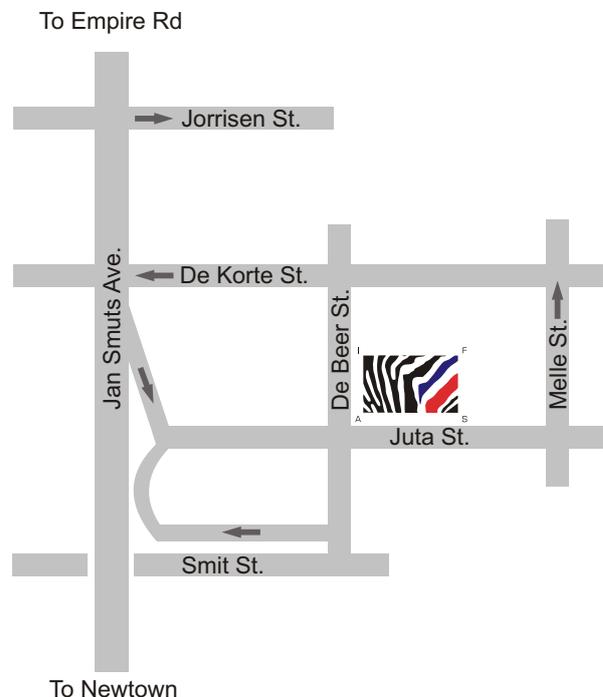
Braamfontein: established and in full swing

Braamfontein is part of the city centre and contains many flat and office blocks. It is also where the University of the Witwatersrand (an important partner of the Institute), the Municipal Offices and the Constitutional Court are situated. Although in the 1990s Braamfontein suffered from insecurity and loss of residents, as did many other suburbs close to the city centre, this tendency was reversed with the inauguration, in 2003, of the Nelson Mandela Bridge. Braamfontein, at the

junction of the CBD and Northern suburbs, is slowly being re-conquered by artists and investors alike. It is in full swing today and epitomises an urban landscape at the crossroad of the business, arts, administration and academic worlds.

IFAS is once more looking forward to be part of another urban renewal process and to represent a major actor in the scientific and cultural landscape of Johannesburg.

IFAS will be housed temporarily at Pheny House, 73 Juta Street, before moving in permanently at 62 Juta Street.



See also the photomaps taken from the student projects coordinated by Garth Klein in the framework of the Masters module in cartography at the Wits School of Architecture and Planning being taught by Claire Bénit-Gbaffou (SoA&P), Sophie Didier (IFAS) and Garth Klein (SoA&P).
www.ifas.org.za/research/pdf/2011braamfontein-photomaps.pdf

Constitutions and the Rule of Law in Africa since Independence: an African dialogue

Conference-debate-projection at Constitution Hill, 28 to 29 Octobre 2010

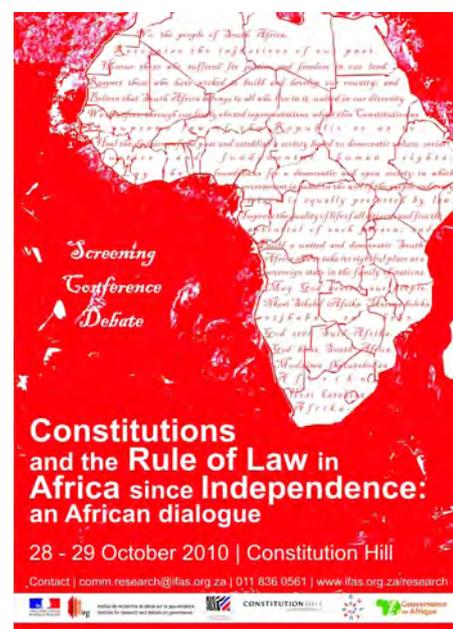
On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of African Independences in 2010, IFAS organised a scientific event meant to provoke a Pan-African dialogue on the history of constitutions in Africa, and on their role in the assertion of the rule of law on the continent today. The conference-debate took place from the 28th to 29th of October 2010 at the highly symbolic Constitution Hill (former prison and current seat of the constitutional court), and included the projection of a documentary by Jihan El-Tahri, on Cuba's involvement in post-independence revolutionary struggles in Africa (*Cuba, une odyssée africaine*, 2006).

The event, which was organised with the support of the Fonds d'Alembert, aimed at comparing Western and Southern African experiences, as regards the legitimacy of governments stemming directly or over time from the various struggles for independence and emancipation in the two regions. In this light, the conference gathered various participants (researchers, civil society representatives, artists and diplomats) from Africa and France, with a view to examining all issues transversally. Relying on history, compared politics, constitutional law and sociology, contributors were able to compare the implementation of the first constitutions by African States, and the progressive appropriation of these tools by civil societies in Francophone and Anglophone Africa. The conference also made it possible to open avenues of reflection on the conditions for good governance and the efficient consolidation of the rule of law in Africa, by examining the role former colonial powers, such as France, and new powers, such as South Africa, can play in this process.

Beyond its commemorative dimension, the conference-debate was also a continuation of the debates held during the international conference on governance in Africa, initiated in June 2008 in Polokwane by the Institute for Research and Debate on Governance (IRG), with the financial and logistic support of the French Embassy and IFAS-Research respectively. The conference-debate was also an opportunity to review all reflection initiated in 2009 by the IRG and the Alliance pour Refonder la Gouvernance en Afrique (ARGA), on constitutions in Southern Africa.

The conference participants were: Séverine Bellina (political analyst, IRG, France), Annie Chikwahna (jurist, Institute for Security Studies, South Africa/Ethiopia), Dominique Darbon (political analyst, Centre d'Etude d'Afrique Noire, France), Steven Gruzd (political analyst, South African Institute of International Affairs, South Africa), Assane Mbaye (jurist, ARGA, Senegal), Djo Munga (film-maker, Democratic Republic of Congo), Mundjozi Muntandiri (activist, National

Constitutional Assembly, Zimbabwe), Philippe Orliange (Deputy Head of Mission, French Embassy in South Africa), Roger Southall (sociologist, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa) and Yarik Turianskyi (political analyst, South African Institute of International Affairs, South Africa).



Jacques Lapouge (French Ambassador), Derek Pietersen (Constitution Hill Director) et Sophie Didier (IFAS-Research Director) at the conference opening

Workshop on GIS in archaeology (Wits, 6-9 Decembre 2011)

A four-day workshop on Geographic Information System (GIS) in archaeology was organised by Prof. Karim Sadr from the 6th to the 9th of December 2011 at the School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies (SGAES), University of the Witwaterstrand, in partnership with IFAS-Research and the Fulbright Programme.

The aim of this workshop was to present lectures, discussions and practical sessions on GIS in archaeology and assist Southern African researchers to integrate GIS into their archaeological research and report writing. The workshop therefore combined theoretical lectures with practical field trips (such as a GPS positioning session in the Melville Koppies followed by integration into ArcGIS) and hands-on exercises. At the end of the workshop, a Google group was created to allow the participants to keep in touch and prepare posters and presentations for the next ASAPA conference (The Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists).



Some 25 participants took part in this GIS workshop presented by Prof Scott Madry (University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, USA) and Dr Xavier Rodier (Laboratoire Archéologie et Territoires, CNRS, University of Tours, France). Jean-Löic Le Quellec (CNRS, CEMAF, France), former resident researcher at IFAS in archaeology, was also invited to give a lecture at the workshop. It gave IFAS the opportunity to work with him and Wits University Press, towards the South African publication of his latest book *Cattle Theft at Cristol Cave – Critical History of a South African Rock Painting* (see Lesedi #10 for more details on the French version of the publication).

APORDE Unprecedented appeal for APORDE's 5th edition

While the African Programme on Rethinking Development Economics (APORDE) is entering its fifth year in 2011, its success has not dwindled in any way: applications sent from all over the world have hit the record number of 350. Only thirty applicants will be chosen to take part in this high-level seminar led by internationally renowned economists. This year, APORDE should be able to count once more on the presence of Ha-Joon Chang (Cambridge University), Alice Amsden (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) and Ben Fine (School of Oriental and African Studies, - University of London).

The 5th edition of APORDE will take place in Johannesburg from the 5th to the 19th of May 2011. This programme, implemented by the French Institute of South Africa, is a joint initiative of the Department of Trade and Industry, the Agence Française de Développement and the French Embassy.

For more information, please visit www.aporde.org.za



Class presented by Ha-Joon Chang during the last edition of APORDE - Durban, May 2010

Publications...

Written Culture in a Colonial Context Africa and the Americas 1500-1900

Adrien Delmas et Nigel Penn (eds.)
2011
UCT Press
ISBN: 978-1-91989-526-0
364 pages

Written Culture in a Colonial Context – Africa and the Americas 1500-1900, co-edited by Adrien Delmas and Nigel Penn, is the publication of the papers read at the conference on the relationship between written culture and European expansion during the Modern Era, organised by the University of Cape Town in December 2008, in partnership with IFAS. The book was launched in Cape Town on the 9th of February 2011.

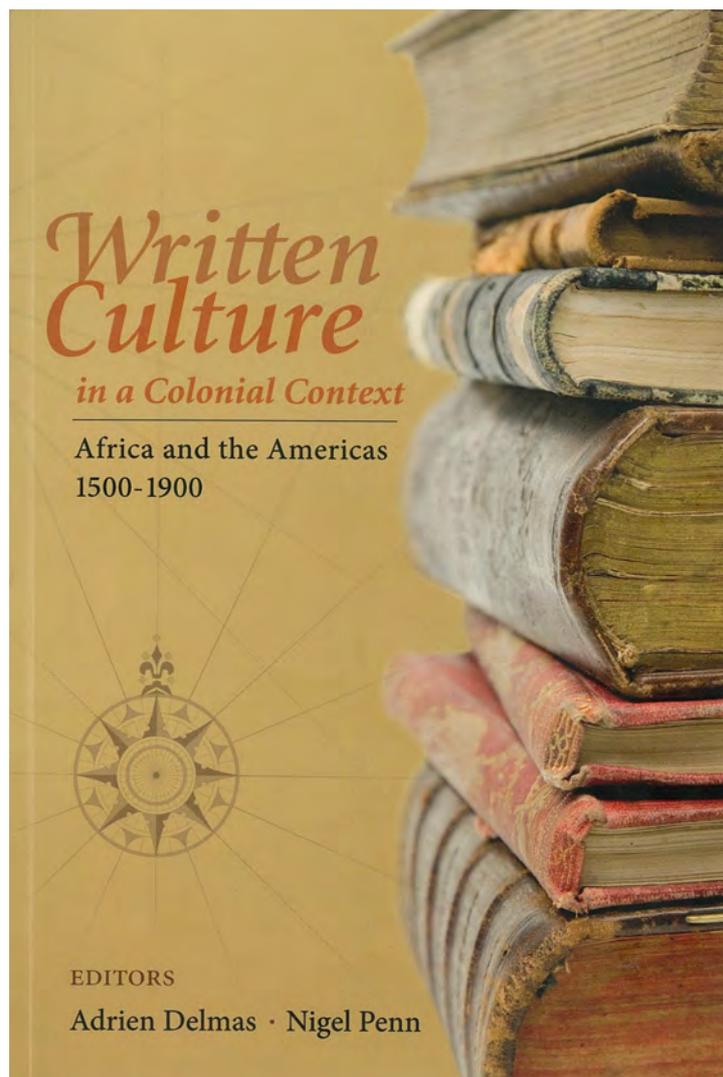
Back page of the book :

Ships, soldiers, missionaries and settlers drove the process of European expansion from the 16th to the 19th centuries. In doing so, they set in motion the circulation of images, manuscripts and books between different continents. The Portuguese Estado da India, the Spanish Carrera de Indias, the Dutch, English and French East-Indian Companies, as well as the Society of Jesus, all imaginatively fixed and inscribed the details of their travels and their discourses in letters, logs, diaries and histories. They also regulated the circulation of this material through the construction of archives, censorship, control of publications and secrecy. In addition, they introduced alphabetic writing into societies without alphabets, which was a major factor in changing the very function and meaning of written culture.

There is very little in modern literature on the history of written culture which describes specific practices related to writing that were anchored in the colonial context. This book explores the extent to which the types of written information that resulted during colonial expansion shaped the numerous and complex processes of cultural exchange from the 16th century onwards. Focusing on writing in colonial Africa and the Americas, it ranges from rock art and proto-writing in Africa to the alphabetisation of Mexican scribes (tlahcuilos), from the missionary writing of Ethiopian Jesuits in the 17th century to travel writing and other forms of popular literature in the 19th century and official documents of various kinds.

Adrien Delmas holds a PhD in History (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris), and teaches history at Sciences-Po, Paris. He has published several essays on the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and travel writing in early modern Europe.

Prof. Nigel Penn is Associate Professor in the Department of Historical Studies at the University of Cape Town. His research interests are the Northern frontier of the Cape in the 18th century, Khoisan history and early Dutch and British colonial history. He is also the author of *Rogues, Rebels and Runaways* (1999), Cape Town: David Philip and *The Forgotten Frontier: Colonist and Khoisan on the Cape's Northern Frontier in the 18th Century* (2006), Cape Town: Double Storey.



About us...

The French Institute of South Africa was created in 1995 in Johannesburg. Dependant on the French Department of Foreign Affairs, it is responsible for the French cultural presence in South Africa and to stimulate and support French academic research on South and Southern Africa.

IFAS-Research (Umifre 25) is a joint CNRS (French National Centre for Scientific Research) - French Foreign Affairs Research Unit, and part of USR 3336 "Africa south of the Sahara". Under the authority of its scientific council, IFAS-Research takes part in the elaboration and management of research programmes in the social and human sciences, in partnership with academic institutions and research organisations.

The Institute offers an academic base for students, interns and visiting researchers, assists with the publication of research outcomes and organises colloquiums, conferences, seminars and workshops.

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www.ifas.org.za/research

Lesedi: Sesotho word meaning "knowledge"

The views and opinions expressed in this publication remain the sole responsibility of the authors.