

Editorial

IFAS, a polyvalent tool at the service of all research communities

The two-day workshop around IFAS held in February was a successful rendezvous as it allowed us to evaluate the distance covered since 1995. The presence of South African as well as Namibian and Mozambican colleagues and the debates held revealed the expectations of our Southern African partners. One of the main challenges consists in articulating these expectations with the themes and know-how of French researchers wanting to do research work in Southern Africa. The South African side expressed general requests centred on, among others, a better knowledge of the contemporary problematics of European societies and, in particular, the European construction. Requests were made from French specialists for whom the African field constitutes research subjects that are still underexposed to comparatism with societies of the North. As such, we still have bridges to build and collaborations to structure.

These encounters and the expert mission carried out in May by Mr Darbon and Mr Antheaume were also an opportunity to wonder about our differences in terms of methodological approach. Should IFAS encourage a type of research more directly usable by decision-makers, in other words more oriented towards public policy recommendations, irrespective of the research domain concerned? Although it is not possible to give a definite answer to this caricatured issue, it appears obvious that our identity has been created from a confirmed multidisciplinary approach and a wide concept of Culture. This concept is based on the idea that the understanding of our societies cannot be built on a parochial vision of knowledge. On the contrary, the procedure followed by the designers of IFAS and its various representatives has been to knead together the clay that gives shape to academic knowledge as much as artistic creativity. Asserting our role as a service platform to French and European researchers evolving in Southern Africa and creating forums to debate ideas going from epistemological reflection to international politics, such is the mission given to IFAS and towards which the team of the Institute will continue to work.

This does not prevent us in any way from taking into consideration the structural difficulties of research in the countries of the South, the need for encouraging, through incentive measures, the training of young researchers from disadvantaged backgrounds, and aligning research programming with major current debates, such as the Millennium Development Goals. The possibilities given to us via co-ordination with major French research organisations (e.g. CNRS and

IRD), via networking with our counterpart institutes from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and through the quality of Southern African universities, will enable us to give another dimension to this endeavour.

Aurelia WA KABWE-SEGATTI
Research Director

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Contact

French Institute of South Africa
Research
PO Box 542
Newtown 2113
JOHANNESBURG
Tel.: +27 11 836 05 61/62/64
Fax: +27 11 836 58 50
Email: secretariatrecherche@ifas.org.za
www.ifas.org.za/research



Social History Through the Moppies, Calling for Research

by Denis-Constant MARTIN, CERI-Sciences Po

In January 1994, during the New Year's celebrations in Cape Town¹, one of the most heard songs as interpreted by the *Nagtroepe* (literally "the Night Bands", the name assumed on that occasion by the *Sangkore* or Malay Choirs) in the night of December 31 to January 1, was entitled "*Ons Hoor*" ("We can hear them"). Well scanned by the beat of the *ghoema* and supported by a lively melody with, towards the end, tones of *habanera*, the lyrics of this song composed by Adam Samodien and Rashaad Maliek are as follows²:

Here they come, and all of them are doing the toyi toyi
We hear them, we hear them, we hear them, they are doing the toyi toyi
There's unrest in Nyanga, Khayelitsha and Langa
All over South Africa, they're doing the toyi toyi
We read in the newspapers
Cape Town is on fire
We see on TV
The squatter camps are burning
The riot squad was there
To chase them away
Oh la la la, oh la la la la

Before, we did not worry because everything was tax free
Then came the GST and now it's the VAT
VAT on coffee, VAT on tea
There's VAT on meat and rice
But there's no VAT on reefers, no

The people stayed away from work for two days
COSATU said they will get their full salaries
One is walking in front with the flag in his hand
The others are behind
In the street on to the Parade they're all doing the toyi toyi
Come on people let's toyi toyi all together
Viva Madiba, viva Madiba, viva Madiba, viva South Africa
We all want to say we love you,
Madiba³

The success of "*Ons hoor*" is due to the fact that the authors managed to give in a few words a snapshot of South Africa as it had just come out of apartheid, waiting for the first democratic elections to take place. They managed to create laughter to make South Africans forget the fears born of change and the uncertainty of tomorrow. The song explains at first that event goers can be heard from far away as they *toyi toyi*; then that there is violence in the black townships and shantytowns of Cape Town, i.e. Nyanga, Khayelitsha, Langa, as seen in the newspapers and on TV. By contrast, subsequent verses evoke the switch from local rates to VAT, mocking the fact that dagga is not taxed. Back to the demonstrations as led by COSATU,

militants are still *toyi toying* until they reach the Parade, the central square of Cape Town. The last verses were added to the original version by the band called the Tulips and invite listeners to pay tribute to Nelson Mandela (Madiba).

Not only "*Ons Hoor*" is a particularly successful song of actuality, it also condenses, through music and lyrics, elements that make of the New Year's celebrations in Cape Town a real carnival (despite its calendar position), and one of the most obvious expressions of the Creole character of Cape Town society. The text is drafted with and for humour, it uses causticity that can deride the most serious events and, at the same time, help to defuse anxiety and tension as well as criticise reality and the establishment in a discreet manner. All the more so since humour is underlain by a rebellious spirit that respects laws very little. This song is part of a "tradition" or, more precisely, a practice that has been perpetuated and renewed continuously for one century at least, if taking only the New Year's celebrations into⁴ consideration. It testifies to a musical history inseparable from a cultural history that could not be any vaster. It is into this cultural history that this song records contemporary events, indicating the presence as well as the permanence, in Cape Town and South Africa, of those who sing "*Ons Hoor*" and the repertory to which it belongs, of those whom the apartheid regime classified as "Coloureds", "Cape Malays" or "Other Coloureds".

The most common stereotypes fabricated and disseminated by the racist authorities of South Africa, going against the "Coloureds", maintained indeed that this "racial group" did not have its own particular history or culture; that it had no other existence that was not granted by its "dependency" with respect to the whites.⁵ The *moppies* (comic songs), issued from the *ghoemalidjies* (picnic songs) that livened up picnics and encouraged people to dance in the streets in particular each time an opportunity presented itself, offer a symbolic contradiction to this denial of creation ability and participation to history: they are anchored in the past and evoke events that have marked or are marking history. It is for this reason that they have given Cape Town its most recognised musical symbol, the *ghoema beat*. The rhythm accompanying *moppies* and *ghoemalidjies*, once transcribed, does not stand out as very original. It is characterised by a structure whereby a semiquaver-quaver combination is played twice on a 4/4 timing. But the way the rhythm is delivered in order to support singers or orchestras, and the plasticity allowing it to adapt to the pace of vocalists and musicians parading in the streets, give it an undeniable specificity. This rhythm is omnipresent during the New Year's festivities and each time musicians want to show that they are from Cape Town, to depict and particularise the mother city, they use it. From jazzmen Abdullah Ibrahim and Robbie Jansen to rappers Brassie Vannie Kaap via banjoist Mr. Mac, the *ghoema beat* is a constant reminder of the Creole nature of Cape Town, highlighting the fact that Cape Town is home to original cultural practices and that the Coloured people are behind these.

As for any Creole culture, Cape Town culture is not only the result of a local invention process that would have developed in isolation to the rest of the world. On the contrary, *moppies* and *ghoema beat* underline the fact that foreign influences were constantly absorbed and worked on. The *ghoema* drum, already with its cask-like architecture, is reminiscent of other percussion instruments imagined in alcohol and wine producing regions, like the *gwo ka* of Guadeloupe. The uncertain etymology of this word could link it

¹ About the New Year's celebrations in Cape Town, see: Denis-Constant Martin, *Coon Carnival, New Year in Cape Town, Past and Present*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1999.

² "*Ons Hoor*" is found on a vinyl recorded by a Cape Town sangkoo, The Tulips: *Les ménestrels du Cap, chants des troupes de carnaval et des choeurs « malais » / The Cape Town Minstrels, Songs of Carnival Troupes and « Malay » Choirs*, Paris, Buda Music (distribution Universal).

³ English translation: Anwar Gambeno, Musical Director of the Tulips; French translation (based on the English translation): Denis-Constant Martin.

⁴ Christine Winberg, linking the *moppies* with the *ghoemalidjies* (literally "drum songs"), dates them back to 1707; see: Christine Winberg, « Satire, slavery and the *Ghoemalidjies* of the Cape Muslims », *New Contrast* 76, 1992: 78-96.

⁵ "Smuts repeatedly assured Coloureds that the UP recognised the "traditional special position of the Cape Coloured people as an appendage to the whites." ", Gavin Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall, A History of South African « Coloured » Politics*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1987: 210.

to Javanese, but one could not disregard its phonetic proximity with the *ngoma*, a pan-Bantu root connoting drum, dance and music⁶ in general. The repertoire of the *ghoemaliedjies* can be brought closer to that of the *pantuns* of Indonesia⁷. The attitude of solo singers, their gestures in particular, the role of the banjo in the orchestra accompanying the choir, the harmonic progressions underlying the melodies and the frequent interpolation of musical passages in *habanera*-style, show a sense of identification with the Americas (intermixed Americas in particular), one that transpires in the celebrations and music the *Coloured* people have been inventing and reinventing constantly in Cape Town, as if to mean global crossbreeding (the Khoikhoi were living there when Vasco de Gama landed in South Africa; the slaves came from Africa, Indonesia, India, Madagascar; deported convicts came from China; the sailors, fishermen and missionaries from the West Indies and the United States also ended up in the *Coloured* category) and, always remaining in contact with the world, they have always partaken of a world of modernity where the whites did not necessarily have the first role.

The permanence of *moppies* repertoire and its symbolic density were to make of it a privileged object of study for historians, linguists, anthropologists or musicologists. Just as it was possible to show the history of Trinidad or Brazil under a new light based on the study of calypsos⁸ and sambas⁹, one could write a new social history of Cape Town by analysing *moppies*. And yet, nothing or almost nothing has been undertaken in this domain, for several reasons: where dominating racism wanted to impose the idea that coloured cultural production and practice were devoid of any value, it was not conceivable to study them, except with the intention of creating instruments of manipulation to serve the cause of apartheid, as did I.D. Du Plessis. The fear, shared by many anti-apartheid militants, that any attention given to the specific cultural element of a community would feed apartheid ideologists, caused any research on the cultural practices of part of the coloured population, willingly suspected of alienation in respect of white power, to be excluded from the field of lawful inquiry. In addition to the texts of I.D. Du Plessis¹⁰ that ought to be used prudently, only the pioneering article of Christine Winberg, to my knowledge, showed the importance of studying *moppies* and *ghoemaliedjies*.

As a priority, they need to be collected. Sometimes, the texts of these songs are recorded on notebooks kept by their authors or on sheets given to choir members that are rarely kept after Carnival or Malay Choir competitions. Most of the time, the lyrics survive in parts or in full in the memory of interpreters. As to the melodies, they are always passed on orally: since their composer, for most, cannot write music, melodies are practically never written down. In this instance again, memory is the most fertile source. Since no systematic collection of *moppies* exists, one ought to compile such a collection by collecting the written records conserved and reviving those heard long enough to be recalled. A few scattered remains of texts could also be found in the press, taken down quickly and re-transcribed by journalists who, in any case, could not have hoped to see the most corrosive and anti-establishment verses printed.

Then it will be possible to analyse music and text, and even the recent performance styles by using the videos shot during the Malay Choir and Carnival Band competitions¹¹. After such an analysis, a whole section of the way in which racism, apartheid and forced displacement was endured by the Cape Townians should be revealed. Sticking to political attitudes, the New Year's celebrations (Coons Carnival, Malay Choir and Christmas Choir competitions) are often considered as a manifestation of escapism, an opportunity for oppressed and despised people to express, through excessive unusual behaviour, the tensions and feelings accumulated along the year; of course, these celebrations, in Cape Town as in anywhere else, fulfil such a function. But, by examining in detail the body language, the adornment of the costumes, the musical references, the lyrics and the play on words these afford in a particular dialect of Afrikaans, one finds hidden clues of protest, symbolical for most, that cannot be extracted from the open Cape Town demonstrations or revolts, nor excluded from the field of historical and political science research.

While the debate has been resumed concerning whether it is really necessary and moral to celebrate the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck in Cape Town, we can quote one of the most famous examples of *moppies* political humour. In 1952, four years after the National Party election victory, while the new regime was systematically implementing apartheid, it was decided that the three-hundredth anniversary of Van Riebeeck's landing would be the subject of a huge South African patriotic event, involving all population categories¹². Coons and Malay Choirs were thus invited to take part in the event and intense debates followed to decide whether this grand mass should be attended to celebrate white domination; certain bands accepted, the Cape Malay Choir Board resigned itself to doing it, not without some choirs seceding to form a *Zuid-Afrikaanse Koorraad* that refused to co-operate. A *moppie* was subsequently composed and, it seems, sung a lot. Many of those who lived during that period still remember it. Combining elements drawn from an advertisement for Vim detergent and from an American piece that was popular at the time (broadcast by Lionel Hampton in particular and based on onomatopoeias invented by Cab Calloway: "Hey baba rebop"), playing as always on words, his verse stated: "*Hey ba-ba-re-ba se ding is vim*" (Hey ba-ba-re-ba his thing [that of Van Riebeck] is impenitent). Another example: in the 1990s, a Coons Captain recalled with a certain pleasure a reworked interpretation of "It's now or never" sung by Elvis Presley (the song based on the Italian aria "O sole mio") that stated ingratiatingly: "It's now or never, Verwoerd is gonna die" ...

From "*Se ding is vim*" to "*Ons Hoor*", a real social history of Cape Town through *moppies* remains to be done. The research material available leads one to believe that such a study would make for an interesting MA or PhD.

⁶See: Jean Branford, William Branford, *A Dictionary of South African English*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1991: 105.

⁷Christine Winberg, *art. cit.*

⁸See, for example: Gordon Rohlehr, *Calypso and Society in Pre-Independence Trinidad*, Port of Spain, Gordon Rohlehr, 1990; Louis Regis, *The Political Calypso, True Opposition in Trinidad and Tobago, 1962-1987*, Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 1999.

⁹See for example: Carlos Sandroni, *Feitiço Decente, Transformações do Samba no Rio de Janeiro (1917-1933)*, Rio de Janeiro, Jorge Zahar/UFRJ, 2001; Hermano Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba, Popular Music and National Identity in Brazil*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

¹⁰In particular: I.D. du Plessis, *Die Bydrae van die Kaapse Maleier tot die Afrikaanse Volkslied*, Cape Town, Nasionale Pers, 1935.

¹¹The Cape Malay Choir Board has been recording them systematically in the past few years.

¹²Concerning the 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival, see: Ciraj Rassool, Leslie Witz, "The 1952 Jan Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival: constructing and contesting public national history in South Africa", *Journal of African History* 34, 1993; Leslie Witz, "n'Feers vir Dir Oog: Looking on the 1952 Jan Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival Fair in Cape Town", *South Africa Historical Journal* 19, 1993.

Privatisation of Security in Sub-Saharan African Cities: spatial recompositions and new forms of governance

The programme "Privatisation of Security in Sub-Saharan Cities: Spatial Recompositions and New Forms of Governance", launched in April 2003, involves 19 researchers from six countries who are doing a comparative study on enclosures and the privatisation of security means in Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa, Namibia and Mozambique. Co-directed by Elisabeth Peyroux (Laboratoire Gecko-Géotropiques Paris X Nanterre) and Delphine Sangodeyi (Institut Français d'Urbanisme), this programme is the result of a partnership between IFRA-Ibadan, IFRA-Nairobi and IFAS in Johannesburg.

The programme is currently in its final stage. The last research trips on site in South Africa were carried out during these last months or are expected to be carried out during the coming summer on thematic covering various aspects of the security issue: community policing implementation in the residential suburbs of Johannesburg (Claire Bénéit); urban regeneration projects with a security element in the centre and northern suburbs of Johannesburg (City Improvement Districts, Business Improvement Districts) (Elisabeth Peyroux); Residential CIDs in Cape Town (Marianne Morange and Sophie Didier); Public space evolution in Cape Town (Myriam Houssay-Holzschuch); Residential enclosure and inclusion and exclusion phenomena in Johannesburg and Saõ Paulo (Delphine Sangodeyi); Privatisation of security and territorialisation in Johannesburg and Durban (Laurent Fourchard). Under the impetus of Fabrice Folio, who went on two field trips in Maputo, our partners from Mozambique conducted research work on the relations between criminality and the privatisation of security in Maputo with financing from IFAS.

Moreover, Seyi Fabiyi, a Nigerian researcher of the programme and a GIS specialist, is presently on a post-doctoral trip at IFAS to carry out the phase of GIS comparison and modelling of Johannesburg, Ibadan and Nairobi jointly with Nathalie Paraliéu who is now Associate-Researcher with the Post Graduate School of Agriculture and Rural Development of the University of Pretoria.

The dissemination of research outcomes is ongoing through participation in conferences and publication in collective works or journals.

Repercussions of the Zimbabwean Crisis on the Land Reform Policies of Southern African Countries

This IFAS / London School of Economics (LSE) research programme, directed by specialist of international relations Chris Alden and co-organised by agro-economist Ward Anseeuw, is beginning to yield results. These are confirming the central thesis of this research programme that gives the nature of the regime in power as the major determinant in understanding the land policy elaboration process in Southern African States. The regime in power is then analysed compared with three main determinants: the national and regional (even international) economic policy, the construction of the pre- and post-colonial State and, finally, the construction of public policy frameworks.

Field trips have been finalised in Namibia (Ovamboland and Hereroland), in Botswana (Kweneng district) and in South Africa (North-West and Kwazulu-Natal). The case study in Mozambique (Catandica district) is ongoing.

After organising a first workshop on the 1st of December 2004 at the LSE that made it possible to show the first conclusions to various critics and to potentially reformulate problematics, an international conference to be held in Pretoria

on 28-29 November 2005 is being organised (cf. www.ifas.org.za/research). It will focus on the specific theme "Understanding Land Policy in Africa: African Regional Organisations and Crisis Management (Foreign Policy, Regional Standards and National Constitutions)". Around 80 paper proposals have been received, containing either more theoretical aspects or case studies covering all the regions of the African continent. Around twenty papers will be selected by an international research committee to be read at the conference and for future publication. Finally, to close the programme, a book presenting the research results has been scheduled for the beginning of 2006.

Khoesan Archives

Two field trips in January and April have brought numerous new elements to the programme (see IFAS-Research Activities). Two more trips will take place before the end of 2005. The arrival of François-Xavier Fauvelle-Aymar at IFAS will enable more structured collaborations with local partners around the results of this programme and a seminar on the year 1000 in Southern Africa is being scheduled for next year. Different publications have already come out in connection with this programme (see Recent Publications).

Dialogue and Intercultural Relations: The Role of Schools in the Construction of a Participatory and Multicultural Democratic Model in South Africa

Three field trips were carried out in South Africa in May 2004 (Vijé Franchi, 5 days), in October-November 2004 (Vijé Franchi and Jean-Paul Payet, 8 days) and in February-March 2005 (Vijé Franchi, 20 days and Jean-Paul Payet, 10 days). These field trips constitute the first phase of a French-South African research endeavour on the role of school in the transformation of social relations and the construction of a participatory and non racial democratic model in South Africa. More specifically, it is about studying the impact of the socio-political transformation of the legislative apparatus, the Constitution and public institutions on the structural desegregation and integration of schools in South Africa, and the role of the schools in the transformation and deracialisation process of social relations, interpersonal and intergroup relations and the subjectivities of citizens.

The field trips made it possible to:

- (1) Build an interdisciplinary research team by federating academics and education professionals in France, Switzerland and South Africa as well as their respective laboratories and institutions;
- (2) Choose schools representing school types in South Africa, with the prior approval and the collaboration of the Gauteng Department of Education (G.D.E.) represented by Albert Chanee and assisted by Mohammed Sujee, in relation with the French Institute of South Africa and the Education Technical Assistant with the French Embassy in South Africa, Mr Daniel Jeanne;
- (3) Present the research work in each of the four pilot schools selected; to carry out a scoping study of the field and problematics pointed out by the research work; and to test and negotiate with the administrative and teaching partners the conditions of their involvement in the project and the respective roles of each in the implementation of a participatory and comparative action research over four years;
- (4) Build the research epistemological, theoretical and methodological framework with IFAS, the Gauteng Department of Education and the academic teams concerned; to define the respective roles of the French and South African research directors as well as other research and institutional collaborators; to define a framework making it possible to integrate and accompany the participation of South African and French students registered for Honours and Masters

degrees as well as Doctorates.

- (5) Develop an international programme of research collaboration (PICS) between researchers affiliated with CNRS laboratories in France and academic partners in South Africa, with the aim of replying to CNRS NRF invitations to tender.

IFAS-Research Events

2-3 February: IFAS housed the launching seminar for the International Research Group "Governing African Cities and Establishing Law and Order: Policy, Practice and Local Institutions and Identities Since 1945", co-organised by the Centre d'Etudes d'Afrique Noire (CEAN) of Bordeaux and the Sociology Department of Stellenbosch University.

This seminar, co-ordinated by Laurent Fourchard (CEAN) and Simon Bekker (Stellenbosch University), gathered 12 researchers from Bordeaux, Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban around three discussion panels (African cities in a historical perspective; Governing African cities and Establishing law and order). The last part of the seminar was dedicated to the institutional aspects of International Research Group in presence of the representative of the CNRS for Sub-Saharan Africa and the Indian Ocean, William Mourey.

4-5 February: IFAS-Research workshop on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Institute on the theme: "South Africa and France, Ten Years of Research in Human and Social Sciences, Achievements and Perspectives"

This workshop was held at the Wits Graduate School Policy and Development Management (University of the Witwatersrand) in Johannesburg and gathered around 70 participants in plenary session and around fifty participants during the following round tables. The following people and institutions attended the workshop:

- 12 French research institutions (institutes and universities) including CNRS, IRD, CIRAD, Cemagref;
- the main French agencies present in South Africa (Embassy, AFD, Economic Department of the French Embassy);
- representatives from the Research Council Africa Section of the research institutes of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
- IFRA Nairobi ;
- 15 South African research institutions (national research institutes, independent institutes and universities)
- 5 Southern African research institutions (Namibia, Mozambique and OSSREA- Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern Africa).

The plenary sessions gave participants from various partner institutions the occasion to specify the framework of the workshop. Professors Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch (University of Paris 7) and Adam Habib (Executive Director of the programme *Democracy and Governance* of the Human Sciences Research Council) read papers on "French Research in Human and Social Sciences" and "Southern Africa and South African Research Expectations from Research Communities of the North" respectively. Offering a historical perspective on the collaborations created between France and Southern Africa before the actual creation of the Institute and taking stock of present day challenges to be taken up as much in structural as in thematic terms, the papers raised many questions and reactions and served to define the main orientations of the debates during the two days of discussion.



Three round tables were then organised on the following themes:

1. "Evaluating Ten Years of Exchange in Human and Social Sciences between France and Southern Africa: the Role of the Institute, Definition of its Research Policy and Regional Mandate."
2. Analysing decision-making and transformations of public action in Southern Africa: Policies, Actors and Interest Communities."
3. The African Continent, Southern Africa and Europe: Role and Capacity of the States and Organisations of Regional Integration in Crisis-Management."

IFAS would like to thank Prof. Alan Mabin of P&DM in particular for his invaluable assistance in organising this workshop.

To view the minutes of the debates and paper abstracts, please visit www.ifas.org.za/research.

28 February - 3 March: International Symposium at the CSIR of Pretoria: "Territory, Control and Enclosure: Ecology of Urban Fragmentation"

Four researchers and four students working around the programme "Privatisation of Security in Cities of Sub-Saharan Africa, Urban Dynamics and New Forms of Governance" took part in this international conference that gathered more than fifty participants from 20 different countries and various disciplines (geography, sociology, town planning and anthropology).

Elisabeth Peyroux read a paper entitled "Residential Enclosure and the Changing of Norms of Social Control: Examples from Johannesburg and Windhoek" and Claire Bénit, Marianne Morange et Sophie Didier read a joint paper on the theme "Towards the Privatisation of Security? Emerging Forms of Governance and Urban Fragmentation in Cape Town and Johannesburg".

A bilingual and detailed report of the conference is available on the IFAS website (www.ifas.org.za/research) and will soon be published. The various papers will also be published in *Urban Affairs Review*. For more information, visit the site of the conference: www.gatedcomsa.co.za/conference/home.html





9 & 11 March: Lectures by Prof. Olivier Wieviorka, Historian and Lecturer at the ENS Cachan, on "The Nature of the Resistance. Comparison between France and South Africa" at the Wits Institute for Economic and Social Research (WISER) and the History Workshop of the University of the Witwatersrand

These two lectures each gathered a dozen participants around a reflection on conflicts and armed resistance. Olivier Wieviorka, being an expert on the French Resistance, covered various aspects of resistance: Resistance as a minority-led phenomenon; Violence as a disloyal means of action that is never used only for its efficiency; and, finally, Resistance as a myth enabling Vichy to be let off.

The second lecture gave an opportunity for Raymond Suttner of UNISA to confront Olivier Wieviorka on the comparison between the French and South African resistances.

17 March: 1st conference of the D'Alembert Funds seminar series *Africa and Globalisation* around the theme "Globalisation and the Effects of ICTs on African Societies: Emancipation or Technological Alienation?"



This seminar series open to the general public aims to explore the different facets of the phenomena relating to what is commonly called "globalisation" and their differentiated consequences on contemporary African societies. This cycle is co-financed by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs within the framework of the D'Alembert Funds and is co-organised by IFAS (Culture and Research) and the Dibuka Information Centre on Contemporary France. The six seminars will take place throughout 2005 in partnership with local universities and institutes.

Leader of the continent and bearer of unprecedented hopes as crystallised particularly in the African Renaissance rhetoric of President Mbeki, South Africa is today the crossroad of many intellectual exchanges benefiting from an academic fabric unequalled on the continent and from its own historical and geo-strategic position. As the last country liberated from the colonial yoke, leader of the non-aligned, heir to multiple academic traditions, the country is, ten years after the end of apartheid, the hosting place for the continent's intelligentsia at the crossing of academic and intellectual influences of the South and the North. It is in particular the ideal place where French and European stands on issues related to globalisation phenomena can be put into perspective.

The themes tackled will be articulated around:

1. Globalisation and the effect of the new communication technologies on African societies: emancipation or technological alienation? (March 2005)
2. Policies of Forgiveness in Africa and elsewhere... Forgiveness policies in post-crisis societies: Is there a South African model? (September 2005)
3. The future of the continent: What place for Afro-realism? (October 2005)
4. Historic trajectories of globalisation: What place for Africa between neo-liberal and anti-globalisation discourses? (November 2005)
5. Cultural diversity as a political challenge for globalisation: European multiculturalism and African Renaissance. (November 2005)
6. African economies and globalisation: is a regulated integration to the globalised economy possible? (December 2005)

The first seminar of this series was held on the 17th of March 2005 at the CSIR in Pretoria on the theme of ICTs. Three major participants led the discussions:

- Annie Cheneau-Loquay, Senior Researcher, CEAN- C N R S , France: Africa in the world of telecommunications and public access to ICTs on the continent.
- Mihoub Mezouaghi, Researcher at IRMC of Tunis: Institutional Power Issues in the Regulation of Telecommunications (North African Example).
- Pierre Dandjinou, Regional Policies Adviser, ICTs and Development at PNUD, Senegal: Africa in the Global Governance of Internet.

Two participants put these matters into perspective:

- Nhlanhla Mabaso, Director of the Meraka Centre, C S I R , South Africa
- David Barnard, Executive Director, Sangonet, South Africa.

A public of around thirty persons attended this conference and took an active part in the debate that followed.

12 April: IFAS doctoral students seminar - presentation and progress report

Five IFAS doctoral and post-doctoral researchers met during the seminar to discuss their research:

- Dr. Gaële Goastellec, Sociology of Education (Lavoisier post-doctoral bursary): "Associations of Vice-Chancellors: Between Higher Education National Policies and Regional Integration Agenda".
- Denver van Schalkwyk (South African doctoral student of the University of Johannesburg financed by the French Embassy): "Taxi Industry Recapitalisation in South Africa".
- Vincent Darracq, Doctoral student from the CEAN of Bordeaux, IFAS French Ministry of Foreign Affairs research bursary holder: "Citizenship in Movement: Between Nation, Ethnicity and Autochtony. Comparison of Cases between South Africa and Côte d'Ivoire".
- Nicolas Pons-Vignon, Doctoral student from the EHESS in Paris, IFAS French Ministry of Foreign Affairs research bursary holder: "Does the Invisible Hand also Cut Trees? Economic and Social Implications of Labour Casualisation in the Forestry Sector in Kwazulu-Natal".
- Nicolas Péjout, Doctoral student from the EHESS in Paris, IFAS French Ministry of Foreign Affairs research bursary holder: "The New ICTs as Tools to Question Power Structures and Relations. Critical Sociological Assessment of Policies and ICT Appropriation Modes in Post-Apartheid South Africa".

Aurelia Wa Kabwe-Segatti (Doctor in Political Science and Director of IFAS-Research) and Claire Bénit (Doctor in Geography and Researcher at the University of the Witwatersrand) took part in the seminar.

20-21 June: Symposium on "France-South Africa: What partnerships for Peace and Development?"

Organised by the French Embassy in South Africa, the French Institute of South Africa, Dibuka Information Centre on Contemporary France, and the Institute for Security Studies, in Pretoria, a few months away from the 60th session of the UN General Assembly during which is expected a report on the Millenium Declaration, this symposium adopted a mixed approach (conceptual and operational) to tackle issues concerning the globalisation process: Promotion of Peace and Security; Development and Fight against Poverty; Environmental Protection; Human Rights Protection; Promotion of Democracy and Good Governance; Protection of Minorities.

As an extension of the symposium, French and South African officials met within the framework of the Franco-South African Political Dialogue Forum.

IFAS-Research Activities

"Privatisation of Security in African Cities: Urban Dynamics and New Forms of Governance" Programme

Claire BENIT, Senior Lecturer, University of Provence,

Research field trip financed by a post-doctoral bursary of the University of the Witwatersrand (February-August 2005)

This extended field trip enabled Claire Bénit to investigate the implementation of community policing in the residential suburbs of Johannesburg and to interview various actors (residents, domestic workers, members of the Police, security companies, Community Policing Forum) in various suburbs (Atholl, Parkview and Soweto among others).

Seyi FABIYI, Senior Lecturer, University of Ibadan, Nigeria

Post-doctoral research field trip financed by the IFRA of Ibadan and Nairobi and by IFAS (May-September 2005).

The objective of Seyi Fabiyi is to assess the most pregnant factors underlying enclosure culture and the privatisation of security means. The resulting statistical model will be integrated into the geo-statistical analysis of the programme's GIS. It will be utilised to explain the enclosure culture prevalent in the three case studies. The objective of this research is thus to define a GIS able to represent the forms and spatial processes of enclosures from a choice of correlates. The study will also try to develop a spatial variation model of access and interconnection differentials of the zones under study.

"Khoesan Archives" Programme

François-Xavier FAUVELLE-AYMAR, University of Provence, François BON, University of Toulouse, Karim SADR, University of the Witwatersrand, Field trip in the Western Cape (April)

The objective was to find remnants of a khoekhoe (Hottentot) concession. A 16th century village close to Paternoster on the West Coast, potentially a former Khoekhoe encampment, has been mapped during the first week. During the second week, François Bon and François-Xavier Fauvelle-Aymar were able to locate the probable site of an encampment in the Berg River valley to which traveller Peter Kolbe makes reference in his 18th century journals.

The results indicate that it is useful to combine different sources (archaeological and historical archives) to obtain a better understanding of historical evolutions in Southern Africa. The prospect of finding other encampments dating back to the period of the first contacts with Europeans is important in that it proves that archaeological remnants testify indeed to the presence of Khoekhoe pastoralists, contrary to what had been postulated by certain specialists. In return, it also suggests that if Khoekhoe pastoralists came to the Western Cape two thousand years ago, as indicated today by most history books, their archaeological sites should already have been identified. The fact that after decades of investigations we still have not found a khoekhoe encampment as old could indicate that the Khoekhoe were in fact more recent migrants in this region.

Two other field trips will take place in September 2005 and October 2005 (see calendar).

"Dialogue and Intercultural Relations: the Role of Schools in the Construction of a Participatory and Multidisciplinary Democratic Model in South Africa" Programme

Vijé FRANCHI, Laboratoire URMIS, Jean-Paul PAYET, University of Lyon 2

Three field trips have been carried out in South Africa in May 2004 (Vijé Franchi, 5 days), in October-November 2004 (Vijé Franchi and Jean-Paul Payet, 8 days) and in February-March 2005 (Vijé Franchi, 20 days and Jean-Paul Payet, 10 days).

Two new field trips will be undertaken in August 2005 in November 2005 with a first restitution workshop.

"Repercussions of the Zimbabwean Crisis on the Land Reform Policies of Southern Africa" Programme

Ward ANSEEUW, IFAS post-doctoral researcher
Field trip in Kwazulu-Natal (11-16 April 2005) and in Durban (11-16 March 2005)

This research field trip was to enable Dr Anseeuw to confirm the results obtained in the Nord-West Province and, in particular, the stand of rural inhabitants compared with traditional authorities. The KwaZulu-Natal case has been selected to confirm these results since traditional culture is very much alive in that province. The two days spent in Durban enabled Dr Anseeuw to discuss these issues with research groups from the University of KwaZulu-Natal and to make contacts at local level.

Chris ALDEN, London School of Economics Researcher

Field trip in Mozambique (17-23 March 2005)

This field trip enabled Alden to set up the field survey and to contact various interlocutors at governmental and university levels and among NGOs working on land issues.

Doctoral Researchers

Nicolas PÉJOUT

Seminars

"Comparative Policy" group of the French Association of Political Science (AFSP): "Changing Policies: Change and Reforms in Public Management confronted with Comparative Analysis" co-ordinated by Olivier Dabène and Dominique Darbon.

14 January 2005, Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Bordeaux, 14 June 2005, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI).

PEJOUT, Nicolas, "Comparative analysis of public policy change in the context of democratic transition The example of the South African public policy of electronic government (1970 2005).

For more information, please visit: <http://www.afsp.msh-paris.fr/activite/groupe/polcomp/polcomp.html>.

PEJOUT, Nicolas, "Networking State: Governance of Electronic Government. The Example of Post-Apartheid South Africa", Third doctoral seminars of the CNRS research group on ICTs and Society, 27-28 June 2005, Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Télécommunications (Sup' Télécoms), Paris.

PEJOUT, Nicolas, "Batho Pele? A Critical Look at Electronic Government in Post-Apartheid South Africa", Panel n°10: Electronic Governance in Africa, Real Hope or Real Hype?, European Conference of African Studies, Africa-Europe Group for Interdisciplinary Studies (AEGIS), 29 June - 2 July 2005, School of African and Oriental Studies (SOAS) & Institute of Commonwealth Studies (ICS), London.

Publications

"Les modes d'appropriation des NTIC en Afrique du Sud: au-delà de l'impact, le système socio-technique", in GABAS, J.-C. (Dir.), 2005, *Société Numérique et Développement en Afrique Usages et Politiques Publiques*, Paris, GEMDEV Karthala, p.203-228.

(Mr Péjout took part in the book launch on 27 May 2005 at the Malher Centre).

"Hypercapitalism in a Developing Country. The "New Economy" of South Africa: Economic Performance, Time and Social Sustainability", *Etudes et Recherches*, n°1, 2005.

Available on <<http://www.tic.ird.fr>>, website supported by IRD.

Nicolas PONS-VIGNON

Seminar in Novo Hamburgo (Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, 23-25 January)

This seminar on *Unions, Globalisation and Development Reinforcing Workers' Rights and Capacities* has been organised by the Global Union Research Network (GURN) and the International Labour Office (ILO). The objective was to identify the most important research themes for the GURN. Mr Pons-Vignon read an article on "Poverty and Development: Why is Labour Left Out of the Debate?" and had an opportunity to hold discussions with researchers and practitioners from diverse institutions and countries. One of the main conclusions of the seminar was that unions, in the countries of the South in particular, should reinforce their ability to formulate alternative development strategies in order to negotiate better with governments and international financial institutions.

Other Field Trips

Renaud Lapeyre, Economist, doctoral student at the University Versailles-Saint Quentin, is in Southern Africa from the 10 March to 13 August 2005 to conduct a field study within the framework of his research on "Appropriation modes of Shared Renewable Natural Resources: Land Secularisation, Participatory Management of Resources and Biodiversity Development in Namibia and Southern Africa."

Rodolphe Estimé Lekogo, doctoral student at the University of Stellenbosch, conducted field surveys in Johannesburg from 7 March to 7 April 2005 within the framework of his research on "The dynamics of Francophone African Migration to Cape Town" in Johannesburg.

Paulina Berumen, political scientist, doctoral student at the CEAN of Bordeaux, is in South Africa from 20 April to 21 September 2005 to conduct a field study within the framework of her research on "Food Security and Land Policies in Southern Africa: A Comparative Study between Zimbabwe and South Africa."

Aurelia Wa Kabwe - Segatti, Director of IFAS-Research, was in Gaborone, Botswana, from 24 to 25 May 2005, to explore the possibilities for research collaboration with the University of Botswana and independent research institutes.

Denis-Constant Martin, ethnomusicologist and political scientist of CERI / FNSP, will be in South Africa from 15 June to 12 July 2005 to take part in the colloquium "Mixing Races / Mixing Cultures" organised by the Sociology Department of the University of Cape Town, to attend on 29 June a colloquium entitled "Hybridity, Liminality and Boundaries" organised by the University of Potchefstroom and to work with Prof. Rehana Vally, Anthropology Department of the University of the Witwatersrand, on the project "Body Images in TV

advertisements in South Africa".

Françoise Vergès, Historian and Lecturer at Goldsmith College, University of London, gave the opening address at the conference on "Mixing Races / Mixing Cultures" on the 17 June organised by the Sociology Department of the University of Cape Town (UCT).

Michel Lafon, Linguist from the Laboratoire LLACAN, is in South Africa from 1 June to 31 October 2005 to continue with his field work on isiZulu and take part in a colloquium in Pretoria on "Modernisation of languages".

Roland Marchal from CERI, Paris, and Jean-Pierre Cling, GIE DIAL, Paris, presented papers at the 20-21 June Symposium on France - South Africa : what partnerships for peace and development ?, on "African Conflicts, States and Societies in the post-Cold War period, an overview" and "Growth, poverty and inequalities, the importance of trade" respectively.

Dominique Vidal, Sociologist, Senior Lecturer at the University of Lille 3, will be in South Africa (Johannesburg and Durban) and in Mozambique from 24 July to 4 September 2005 to carry out a field study for his research project on "Mozambican Migrants in the South African Republic".

Judith Hayem, Anthropologist, will be in South Africa from 1 August to 10 September to conduct surveys on HIV/Aids management conditions in Mpumalanga mines and types of thinking of miners, unions and employers on these initiatives.

Arrivals and Departures

Nicolas Péjout, IFAS bursary holder since October 2002, has been recruited by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs as chargé de mission on the digital divide issue by the ICTs Office of the Ministry. Mr Péjout will still be defending his thesis at the end of 2005. We wish him good luck in his first post and for the end of his thesis. He can be contacted at: nicolas.pejout@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Gaële Goastellec, Lavoisier post-doctoral bursary holder, has been recruited as Head of the Research Unit on Higher Education Policies and Organisations by the Centre for Science, Politics and Society of the University of Lausanne. We wish her good luck in her first post.

Ward Anseeuw, former IFAS post-doctoral bursary holder and actual co-ordinator of the programme on the Repercussions of the Zimbabwean Crisis on Land Reform Policies in Southern Africa, has joined since January 2005, as CIRAD-Terra researcher, the Post-Graduate School for Agriculture and Rural Development of the University of Pretoria (UP) (thanks to a joint financing from CIRAD - UP-IFAS). While continuing to work on the land policies project of IFAS/LSE, he will work in depth particularly on the post-land reform development strategies in South Africa and the negotiations of African agricultural policies within NEPAD. We wish him good luck in his first post.

Maude Angot, Political Science trainee student from the IEP of Toulouse, in charge of the external communication of IFAS-Research since August 2004, has finished her training period. Ms Angot will be returning to France at the end of June to begin her last year of study at the IEP. IFAS would like to thank her for her excellent work and to wish her all the best in her studies.

Seyi Fabiyi, of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, joined IFAS in May for four months (see above).

François-Xavier Fauvelle, Historian, CNRS Researcher of the Institut d'Etudes Africaines d'Aix-Marseille, is being put at the disposal of IFAS-Research by the CNRS and has joined IFAS on 12 June. Dr Fauvelle-Aymar will be based at the Institute for a period of one year renewable once. We wish him a warm welcome at the Institute and in South Africa.

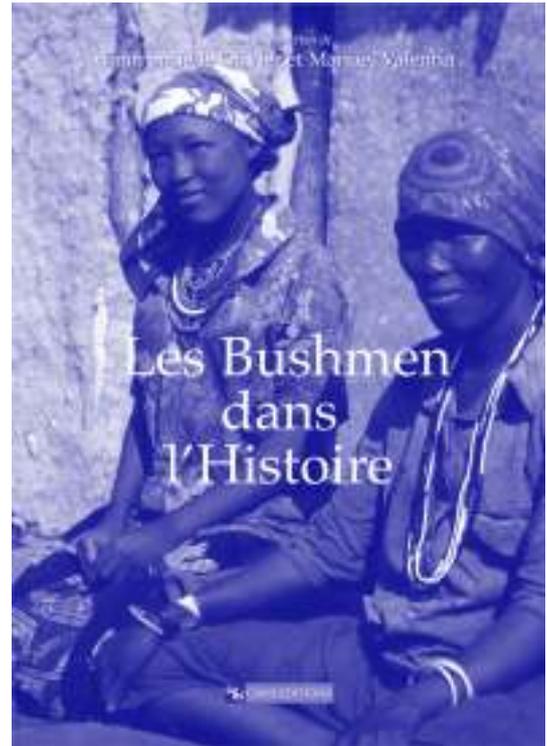
Recent Publications

OLIVIER Emmanuelle, VALENTIN, Manuel, 2005, *Les Bushmen dans l'Histoire*, Editions du CNRS.

The publication of this book has been co-financed by CNRS, IFAS and the SUR/RSA division of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

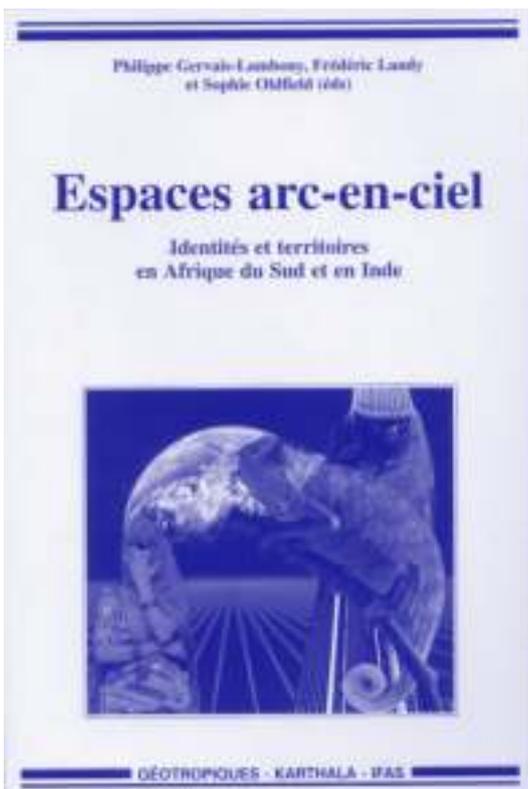
Who are the Bushmen? In post-apartheid Southern Africa, discourses are being adjusted and clichés are becoming blurred. Bushmen are neither "these atemporal men from the bush", isolated in the Kalahari desert, nor "these living witnesses of Prehistory" who would reproduce, in an eternal genesis, the same gestures, rites and myths. Bushmen have a history. This book, through the analysis of past and present practices, is retracing that history. Objects, wall paintings, rituals, oral literature and music are understood as the many tools partaking of the dynamic and plurality of Bushmen societies that are actors as well as spectators of their own history.

On looking critically at the distorting, even caricaturing views on the Bushmen, *Les Bushmen dans l'Histoire* is proposing a reflection on their own historical consciousness. By looking at the way they conceive and build time, for themselves and in their relations to others, the aim is to show how Bushmen are and have always been our contemporary.



GERVAIS-LAMBONY Philippe, LANDY Frédéric et OLDFIELD Sophie (éds), 2005, *Espaces Arc-en-ciel, Identités et Territoires en Afrique du Sud et en Inde*, Manohar, (in print).

The Human Sciences Centre of New Delhi is about to publish a translation of the book "Rainbow Spaces" in English with Manohar Publishers. This work was first co-published in French by IFAS and Karthala in 2003. Distribution will be organised in Southern Africa.



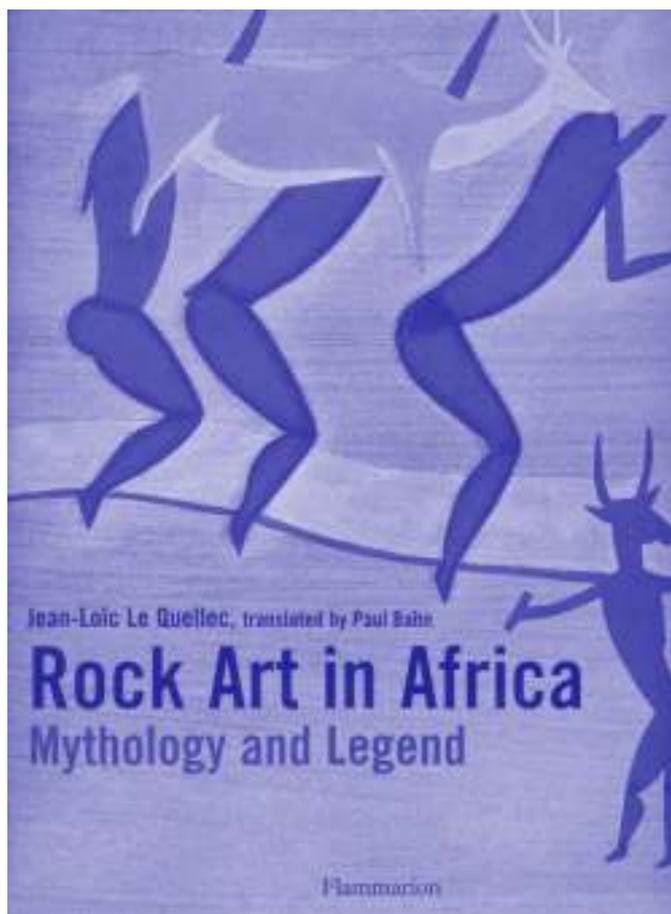
FAUVELLE-AYMAR, F-X, 2004, "Between the first herders and the last herders: are the Khoekhoe descendants of the Neolithic 'hunters-with-sheep'?" in *Before Farming* [online version], 2004/4, Article 5.

Recent publications have led us to re-assess the issue of the introduction of food-production in Southern Africa. While some researchers have proposed new models for the spread of domestic stock and ceramics throughout the sub-continent, Karim Sadr suggests that we should re-introduce the concept of Neolithic to describe the appearance of low-intensity herding groups in the context of the Later Stone Age around 2000 BP. Following the path whereby Sadr disconnects the material culture associated with Neolithic herders from his historically-known Khoekhoe, one might ask again: where did the latter come from? Starting from ethnographic comparisons of the two Khoekhoe husbandry techniques, it appears that the Khoekhoe can be seen as 'true pastoralists' possessing a complete 'pastoralist package' of cultural practices that are not readily visible in the archaeological record. This brings us to reconsider the possibility of a separate and late migration of the Khoekhoe in South Africa.

LE QUELLEC Jean-Loïc, 2004, *Rock Arts in*

Travelers to Africa who discover its rock paintings and engravings are fascinated by their aesthetic appeal, and never fail to wonder about their meaning. This work provides a panorama of the great parietal assemblages of the whole continent, which the author divides into four major geographical zones: The Sahara, the intertropical zone of central Africa, Aziana, and southern Africa. They are characterised by a variety of stylistic choices, ranging from accentuated realism to an almost abstract symbolism. The photographs, tracings, and drawings that illustrate *Rock Art in Africa* bear witness to the originality of the art.

The author places the works in the context of their discovery by the great explorers, and then deciphers their hidden meanings, discarding erroneous traditional readings that have often been too easily adopted, and proposing new interpretations. He evokes tales and legends, which make it possible to achieve a partial elucidation of these prehistoric images and to reconstruct the mythology of the remote, or not so remote, past; he also analyses the myths that these works of art in their turn have aroused within Western culture.



Not to be missed in Southern Africa

" **Southern Africa and the World: the Local, the Regional and the Global in Historical Perspective**, South African Historical Society Biennial Conference, University of Cape Town, **26-29 June, 2005**.

For more information, please visit:

<http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/history/sahs/conferences.htm>

" **12th Congress of Pan African Association for Archaeology And Related Studies**, Gaborone, University of Botswana, **3-10 July 2005**.

For more information, please visit:

<http://www.paleoanthro.org/pdfs/Pan%20African%20Congress%20announcement.pdf>

" **Zambia: Independence and after . Towards a Historiography**, conference organised in Lusaka from **11 to 14 August 2005** under the auspices of the historical research network in Zambia.

Contact: David Gordon, dg165@umail.umd.edu

" **Call for papers for issue on The Future of Political Science**, Revue THEORIA, **31 August 2005**

For more information, please visit:

<http://www.theoria.unp.ac.za/CFPfuture.htm>

" **Sixth Biennial South African Geography Conference, 6-10 September 2005**, Cape Town, South Africa

Website: <http://www.uwc.ac.za/arts/geography/SSAG2005.htm>

Contact: Felicity de Wet / E-mail: ssag2005@uwc.ac.za

Organised by: Society of South African Geographers

Deadline for proposals: 18 April 2005

" **Mentoring and Instrument for Transformation** in Johannesburg on **11 and 12 October 2005**. The FOTIM et GAELIC conference committees are organising the first conference on supervisory bodies in higher education in South Africa.

Contact: Jenny Taylor. jenny@fotim.ac.za

For more information, please visit:

<http://www.fotim.ac.za/conference.html>

" **International colloquium Du Bambara aux Négropolitains : créations transculturelles dans les littératures africaines post-coloniales** », **3-5 November 2005**, French Department, University of Johannesburg.

Website : www.rau.ac.za/french Contact: dkwk@rau.ac.za

" **International colloquium The Changing Politics of Land in Africa: Domestic Policies, Crisis Management and Regional Norms**, **28-29 November 2005**, University of Pretoria, South Africa

Website: <http://www.ifas.org.za>

Contact: Ward ANSEEUW E-mail: land.conference@ifas.co.za

The objective of this colloquium which is, by definition, a comparative colloquium, is to have a better understanding of the nature of the elaboration process of land policies, not only at national level but also at the level of African States. Organised by the French Institute of South Africa. Deadline for proposals: 31 April 2005.

Focus on... "Research on Education transformation"

Transformation, (de)racialisation and (de)ethnicisation of Social Dynamics. The Role of Schools in the Construction of Participatory and Pluralistic Models of Democracy in South Africa and France
by *Vijé FRANCHI*, *Laboratoire URMIS and Institut de Psychologie, University of Lyon 2* and *Jean-Paul PAYET*, *University of Geneva*

Contact: vije.franchi@wanadoo.fr & payet@pse.unige.ch

This international and interdisciplinary research is the result of a collaboration between researchers in sociology, psychology and the educational sciences affiliated to the URMIS, University of Paris 7 and the GRS University of Lyon 2 in France, and to the University of Johannesburg, the University of the Witwatersrand, the Gauteng Department of Education, the University of the Western Cape and the Human Sciences Research Council. The programme is financed by URMIS, the GRS, the University of Geneva, IFAS and other funds have been requested from the CNRS and the NRF.

Research Context and Objectives

In France, for the past fifteen years, we have observed the changes that have impacted upon schools in impoverished urban spaces of large French agglomerations, the majority of which host a juvenile population of immigrant origins born in France. Three themes have been investigated in depth:

- *the rising increase of segregation within schools* produced, in the first place, by a wider segregative movement based on the residential composition of large agglomerations and later reinforced by the strategies of users. This is especially the case of middle class families and upper crust fractions of the working classes, motivated by an increased investment in the benefits afforded by their children's schooling. This increase in the challenges of education in a context of economic and social uncertainty has been activated by the liberalisation and merchandisation of schools. While such phenomena are particularly prevalent in contexts where public service education has come up against growing competition, France has not escaped such phenomena through the development of a "rampant" schooling market. These different processes have translated into the exodus of French families and the more mobile fraction (a minority) of immigrant families from inner-city schools situated in working class urban spaces. In an endeavour to react to this phenomenon of flight and its segregative effects, schools have felt constrained to reproduce internal forms of segregation (by fabricating different streams of classes) which appeal to the strategies of distinction embarked upon by that proportion of families with a consumerist approach to schooling. In this context, segregation of schooling takes on a double socio-ethnic dimension.

- *the ethnicisation of representations, discourses, social dynamics and relations within schools*. At first, schools generally managed to resist the xenophobic ideologies at play in the political sphere. However, the worsening of a concentration of difficulties in a minority of schools and the phenomena of insecurity and violence that these generated became the focus of a media campaign that served to progressively undermine the image of "inner-city neighbourhood schools" in the dominant social mindset. As a mirror effect, but also as a result of the deterioration of working conditions, *burn out* among educators also increased and less and less subtle censored manifestations of ethnicisation of schooling populations developed. A progressive increase in religious claims on the part of a portion of the Muslim community, coupled with the international context of a

radicalisation of ethnic and religious identities, interacted with the ethnical and professional crisis of educators, and took on the form of a self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton, 1965). In addition, ethnicisation becomes a mode of defence of wounded identities both for professionals and for schooling publics.

- *the crisis of the Republican model*, of which the school has historically been the primary pillar in France. The phenomena of segregation and violence described above only precipitate the crisis of Republican schooling insofar as they form part of a wider movement of massification of education. In the absence of a critical rethinking of the traditional function of selection through schooling, this translates into a widening of the gap between quantitative and qualitative democratisation, the production of exclusion from schools which, in the long term, stigmatises those youngsters who are its victims, and the increasing disinvestment of more generalised patterns of schooling competition by certain schools and their learners. The crisis in the Republican schooling system is attributed to questioning of its legitimacy and capacity to transmit a common culture, maintain social linkages, and produce citizenship and national belonging. Its universalistic definition of citizenship, founded on an indifference to difference, is today perceived and experienced as a form of disdain by some learners and families. A possible re-enchantment with the Republican model or the invention of a new, pluralistic alternative for education is not yet visible on the national horizon.

In South Africa, the specificity resides in the central place that 'race' occupied both in the construction and maintenance of apartheid, as well as the long-term structural effects at the levels of social and psychological structures and dynamics. Since 1994, the nation has been actively engaged in a two-pronged movement of profound structural transformation: democratisation and deracialisation. For the new "rainbow nation", universalism is defined through respect of the plurality of cultures. A study of the negotiation of identity during this period of transition highlights the issues at stake for individuals struggling to define and locate themselves.

Despite the official dismantling of the apartheid legislative machine and the political intentions of the democratic governments, economic and institutional changes have been very slow and difficult in their implementation and it remains doubtful whether the majority of South Africans perceive radical changes in their life material conditions. The historical interpenetration and the mutual reinforcement of racist domination and capitalist exploitation in the development of the political economy in South Africa continue to exercise a socio-economic and psychological influence on the lives of the majority of the Blacks. As a testimony to this, important social asymmetries persist and continue to organise privilege and precariousness along racialised demarcation lines. Also, although the mission of the TRC was to "facilitate a process to discover the truth with a view to allow the population of South Africa to reconcile with its past", testimonies being restricted to political acts alone has blocked the actual apartheid system being judged. The actual definition of the TRC mandate helped to legitimise and anchor socio-economic and political compromises of this transition process.

Formal and informal education plays an important role here it represents the possibility for articulating the transmission of a plurality of family and community values of the past with the transmission of shared values and ideals for the future, as incarnated by the new democratic and non-racial constitution. In the national education of South Africa, the dismantling of apartheid has been accompanied by a movement of students categorised in the apartheid nomenclature as 'African' or 'Black' towards schools historically reserved for student classified as 'Indian', 'Coloured' and 'White'. Beyond the important developments and the many benefits brought about, recent research works testify to the difficulties encountered by the host schools, particularly in dealing with the socio-cultural and economic characteristics introduced by these "new" students. Moreover, desegregation

led primarily to mobility along previously chartered racial hierarchies rather than in a randomised fashion necessary to significantly dismantle the intersection of race and class oppression. More importantly, the racial distribution of learners in schools became rapidly articulated with distribution in terms of social class, in such a way that middle class families were those who benefited the most from the liberalisation of the choice among schools.

As is the case within other national contexts, today, schooling in South African represents a central stake for social classification among families, all the more so given the period of uncertainty and restructuring of positions and identities. The school is also a space of tensions and contradictions, where learners and educators work through conflicts and compromises, experience resistance and new forms of relating and interacting in society, and all this, in a context that remains fluid and imminently uncertain.

The interest of a comparison between two contexts, put into perspective in an original and productive manner, resides in a possibility for theoretical and methodological decentring. This comparative dimension will make it possible to analyse the impact of educational policies for integration, socio-cultural diversity management, desegregation and fight against discrimination on the restructuring and reorganisation of educational spaces and practices, and the reconfiguration of personal and social identities as well as the emergence of new occurrences of violence and reactions resulting from it.

This work enables South African and French researchers to question their respective educational systems from a double perspective, both internal and external; with particular reference to the changes that have characterised South Africa and its schools, on the one hand, and in comparison with the French situation and its schools, on the other hand. The problematisation of the reception of learners of so-called "immigrant origins", integration and social mixity, pluralism and the teaching of French as a foreign language, and more recently, the increase in ethnicisation and discrimination in French schools, represent some of the research areas in which comparison may be possible. At a time when South Africa has voluntarily embarked on a process of refashioning its educational system, the French example on the conditions and impacts of different policies implemented can be very informative. From the French perspective, a comparative detour may prove beneficial and necessary to better tackle the limitations currently encountered by these policies, including the progressive ethnicisation of social and schooling dynamics. The study on the desegregation of social and schooling dynamics will focus more specifically on the impact of the transformation of the legislation, the constitution, educational policies and curriculum levels in South Africa on:

(i) the structuring, organisation, functioning, experiences and representations of historically segregated schools. This includes the educational practices of professionals, social dynamics within schools, educational relations (between educators and learners, educators and parents, educators among themselves), the definition of the socio-educational project and policy in the school and the role of each in the transformation of South African society

(ii) the co-production of new resources and identity narratives (discourses) by school actors and their uptake in identity dynamics and interactions ;

(iii) forms and manifestations of violence experienced or perceived by members of the school community, its impact and the strategies developed locally to face up to it.

The need for French-South African co-operation has afforded us the opportunity to refine our mutual

understanding of the contexts studied as well as the research problems. In addition, the experienced methodology requires intensive work with our South African partners. Indeed, we are considering carrying out the study by associating schools as per a "participatory action research design". The advantage of this method is that it involves school actors in producing research data and, symmetrically, it brings researchers to test the validity of their interpretations with the objective and subjective experiences of actors.

South African Higher Education at the
Crossroad of Territories by *Gaële*
GOASTELLEC (Post-Doctoral Researcher,
Lavoisier Bursary Holder, IFAS-Research /
P&DM, University of the Witwatersrand)
Contact: goastellec_gaele@yahoo.fr

While the disappearance of apartheid meant an increase in exchanges and reforms, higher education has been one of the major sectors affected by such transformations. These have been carried out by a dynamic intrinsic to South African society as well as the involvement of the international community in its search for solutions.

Yet, ten years after their beginning, the complexity and amplitude of these reforms make their analysis difficult. The reform concerning admission to higher education in particular is not without its problems and contradictions. To understand these transformations and their consequences, the present research, financed by a post-doctoral bursary of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, looks at the way in which responsibilities are being shared in the higher education admission process. Based on a quantitative analysis of students admitted into higher education between 1986 and 2003, and a qualitative analysis (interviews, participant observation, analysis of basic documentation) conducted with admission officials from very different universities, this study will try to make sense of the reconfigurations of actors, the evolution of constraint systems pressing on their actions and, *in fine*, the logics behind the new university situation. As such, our intention at this stage is to give an overview of ongoing reforms and synthesise the first results of the study.

1. The slow racial desegregation of a socially elitist system

Nearly ten years after the legal desegregation of the school system, the South African landscape is undergoing a metamorphosis. The reform process, as initiated in 1996 by Nelson Mandela via the National Committee on Higher Education (NCHE), has resulted at first in a strong increase in the number of students accessing higher education¹. This increase, that does not change the very elitist dimension of the system accepting less than 15% of the school-leaving age group in strongly differentiated institutions, has affected universities differently: historically advantaged (White) institutions admit twice as many students in 2003 compared to 1986, while historically disadvantaged (Black) universities increase their student numbers by half.

The history of these educational institutions, a reflection of apartheid history, took a new turn when they became open to students from different social and racial groups. Yet, strong inequalities remain as far as admission is concerned, with historically advantaged institutions (white universities) admitting a number of students from the non-indigenous minority far higher than their ratio² within the population, while historically black universities register almost none. The differences of selectivity between faculties reinforce these inequalities with the creation of streams, with the most

¹ Student numbers multiplied by 2,4 between 1986 and 2003, going from 277 000 to 675 000, Department of Education, 2004

² In 2003, English-medium universities are still registering 33% of white students against 66% in 1986, and "Afrikaans" universities 68% against 98% in 1986. In 2003, the white population represents 9,1% of the total South African population.

economically and socially profitable streams being monopolised by the white community. More so, while the increasing number of students has increased the number and ratio of black students accessing higher education, the number of white student admissions has not been reduced for all that: more often from socially advantaged categories, white students are still as numerous (around 182 000), while the size of their group remains unchanged (around 4 million, Bulletin of Statistics, December 2003).

2. Reforming: Compensating of Historical Disadvantages and Developing Strategies of Excellence

In order to manage the tensions resulting from the encounter of a dual university system and an increase in the demand for university access, the Department of Education (DoE), after much consultation, launched two major procedures.

The first one was the amalgamation of higher education establishments, which is still taking place. By reducing the number of establishments from 36 to 21, the amalgamation aims to eradicate their ethno-racial identities. The incorporation of the Soweto Campus, in January 2005, to the Rand Afrikaans University, renamed University of Johannesburg, is a good example of this. A reduction in the number of institutions must also enable a reduction in the operating costs. But it raises a contradiction: the government declared publicly that its objective was to increase the number of student admissions in higher education. Isn't this contradictory with the reduction in the number of establishments that are already overburdened? Admission officials agreed that this was the case.

As a result, the second major reform was to reorganise access to higher education. In a university system of British influence, where the autonomy of establishments has always been recognised, restructuring meant harsh negotiations between universities (via the South African Universities Vice-Chancellors' Association or SAUVCA), Faculties, Schools, Departments (that were then autonomous as regards admission) and the Government that, through the reform, is looking to increasing its responsibility in organising higher education admission. Until then, each institution was free to choose students, according to its own criteria, who passed Matric with sufficient marks. While such a process enabled only 6% of the Matric-leaving age group to qualify (SAUVCA, 2001), i.e. half the number of matriculants, it did not make it possible to assess the ability of students in following higher studies. The Department of Education then proposed to replace Matric with a new exam at the end of high school as well as to centralise registration procedures. High school students must today apply separately for each institution in which they wish to study. The diversity of admission criteria and procedures and the diversity of agendas make these procedures complex. The idea is then to reduce individual procedures (and costs for the students at the same time), by creating an organisation responsible for centralising information and unifying the procedure. For the government, this also equates to increasing the transparency of the organisation of the admission process and, undoubtedly, to appropriate it even more.

Confronted with such a proposal, institutions remain suspicious. For almost twenty years, admission actors at local level, often university lecturers, have invested time in inventing a second recruitment channel compensating for racial and local inequalities (at provincial level which they view as the relevant action ground) for accessing higher education (dossiers, tests invented locally, interviews etc.). While the problem has shifted progressively towards a specific approach in terms of social inequalities (due in particular to the emergence of a black middle class), they see today their work being threatened by the national reorganisation of higher education. Higher education financing is undergoing important transformations in that institutions receive from now on subsidies from the State not only in terms of the number of students registered but also

in terms of the number of students receiving a diploma. Yet, the training costs of students recruited via a second recruitment channel (assessment of the school capacities compared with their schooling, cultural and social handicaps) is higher than the costs of "risk-free" students: they benefit from support courses in small groups and their training is organised over a greater number of years, without for all that guarantying better rates of student numbers receiving diplomas.

Thus we find a tension internal to institutions, where innovators, who work "at root level", by inventing admission procedures and curricula adapted to socially disadvantaged students (previously schooled in schools with very little means), see their work of a lifetime being questioned by the new financial and organisational constraints. While they are working towards greater social justice, they are confronted by new governmental and institutional strategies that target excellence at first.

3. Excellence: Exposure Strategy of the South African Education System on the International Stage

Observing the strategies of the government and institutions reveals that excellence has been emphasised. The aim of the reform is not just to endow the rainbow nation with a national-based university system. The ambition is also to organise a higher education system which is attractive at international level and, more particularly, at the neo-regional level of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The territorial extent of the South African university policy reflects the creation of a university policy common to the neo-region with the official launch of the Southern African Regional Universities' Association (SARUA), on the 20th of February 2005 during the conference of the association for African universities in Cape Town. Called on by the Protocol on Education and Training of the SADC (1997) signed by the Education Ministers of the countries of the region, this association is also the fruit of the research and consultation work led by the SAUVCA on behalf of the 46 universities of the region. Gathering from now on all the vice-chancellors of Southern African universities, organising this association testifies to the role played by South Africa: SAUVCA is its administrative centre and its Executive Committee, as led by the Chief Executive Officer, must ensure its management.

Regional co-ordination is not the only tool used by South Africa to impose itself as a regional university centre. The Protocol on Education and Training was calling for the facilitation of student mobility in the region by keeping 5% of places available in national establishments for SADC students. South Africa doubled the objective. Combined with the opening of the borders made easier through a reduced administrative procedure and with an adjustment of the registration fees for all these students, such encouragement has borne fruits. Since South Africa offers the most complete higher education in the region and since it benefits from an international media aura, it increasingly attracts these students. More so, the most elitist South African universities are already reaching this objective. The mother university of South African education, the University of Cape Town (UCT), has already gone beyond this objective by registering around 11% of SADC students who, taking into account the elitism of this institution, represent the best students from neighbouring countries. This specificity raises two aspects: first, the possible formation, at national level, of a regional elite and the potential identity transformation of individuals committed to this process. What does this mean for the future of the region, with certain countries denouncing the "imperialism" of this "African Dragon" (Darbon, 1998)?

Finally, the massive integration of SADC students questions the way these institutions tackle the problem of historical inequality compensation. Until this year, UCT statistics did not make it possible to differentiate black students on their national origin. Thus while SADC students increase the number of black students within the institution, they are also guarantying the racial diversification of the campus.

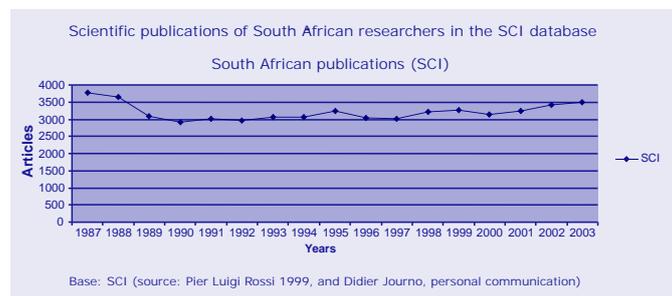
This ambiguity illustrates the main tension found in

South African higher education, between the necessary compensation of social inequalities and the search for excellence. The conciliation of these two poles seems to depend on the ability of local actors to make their voice heard and to take part in the reform process.

Stagnation of South African Research. Unavoidable Decline or Reconversion Crisis?, by Philippe LOSEGO (University of Bordeaux 2) (2nd level of title)

Contact: philippe.losego@lapsac.u-bordeaux2.fr

During the 1991-2001 period, bibliometrics indicators showed that South African research was stagnating (Khan 2004). This stagnation represented in fact a kind of decrease within an international context of general increase in research production (Grossetti, Losego 2003). The only countries in the world experiencing a decrease in their research production are the former socialist countries. Most African countries (small producers) have increased their publication volume during the last decade of the 20th century (Waast 2002).



1. Refutation of Current Hypotheses

What explanations can be given concerning this stagnation? Let us examine the most common theses. The "academic boycott" organised at international level against South African researchers before the country's democratisation would have lasting effects on the research apparatus (Harricombe, Lancaster, 1995). In fact, one needs to put the impact of this isolation into perspective. Between 1987 and 1990, around 14% of articles (i.e. around 470 per year) were published jointly with foreign researchers (according to Rossi 1999). Isolation impacted rather on the newcomers. The most recognised researchers who had personal networks overseas at their disposal did not really suffer from the boycott. Furthermore, the number of international collaborations involving South African researchers increased rapidly (i.e. an increase of 98% from 1990 to 1997). International collaborations represented, as early as 1997, 30% of the total scientific production. We cannot say that the boycott has lasting effects.

Another thesis is that of the brain drain. The government commissioned several investigations in the matter (HSRC 2004). The outcome is that the brain drain phenomenon is quite real and that it has even been underestimated by official statistics. Concerning the case of researchers, we only know the extent of the problem through the departure of governmental organisation personnel (science councils). These organisations were the subject of a vigorous affirmative action since, in 1994, the most disadvantaged ethnic groups (Indians, Coloureds and Blacks) represented 7,4% of the research personnel, when in 2001 they represented already 45,7% (HSRC 2004) thereof. 18% of the researchers who left their job emigrated. However, the drain overseas does not seem to be the main problem. Indeed, when considering that a non negligible 44% leave their job to take non scientific jobs within South Africa, we can rather speak of brain drain towards the private sector or the administrations. This brain drain evokes a reconversion of the innovation system instead of a decline of South Africa. These former researchers no longer fill scientific posts but feed the scientific culture of the new organisations for

which they work, and these need it, considering the general scientific level of the South African population (DST, NRF, SAIP 2004).

The last of the most recent theses explaining research stagnation is that referring to the decrease in financing. Thus, Khan (2004) expresses expenditure in R&D as a percentage of the GDP and remarks that it went from 1,04% in 1991/1992 to 0,69% in 1998 and increased to 0,76 en 2001/2002.

This decrease seems drastic, but it refers especially to the fact that the GDP in 1991 was quite weak, and that it has mostly increased since, which explains why the expenditure, expressed as a percentage of the GDP, is decreasing.

As an absolute value, the R&D expenditure has been increasing continuously. In constant Rand, the R&D budget of universities has increased by 80% between 1987 and 1997 (NACI 2002). As to the R&D budgets of firms, they have increased by 10% between 1983 and 1997. Of course, essential changes have taken place in the budget distribution modes but, in this regard, one will speak of reconversion of the system rather than decrease.

2. System Reconversion

In fact, the South African research system is changing. We are shifting from an old dual research system (research organisations vs. universities) for the benefit of an "innovation system" that refers to what Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (1997) called the "Triple Helix". The role of research organisations is marginalised; universities are placed at the centre of the system but their vocation is changing. Research no longer consists in publishing but in establishing links with other entities (organisations, firms etc.) and in training scientific cadres. Generally, research themes are changing and are moving typically from a "mode 1" research (disciplinary and fundamental), towards a type of research that is not automatically "mode 2" (multidisciplinary and applied) but strategic, i.e. overseen by political priorities. These priorities are diverse: applied research, need for self-financing linked to a rationalisation of universities and competitiveness (possibility of conducting fundamental research subject to being competitive).

While financial means are not being reduced, time is becoming a rare commodity. Indeed, educational costs and time dedicated to research management are increasing, decreasing mechanically the time dedicated to research. Finally, the need to train doctoral researchers, which comes across as a banality is in fact a challenge. Traditionally, in the scientifically most brilliant universities, doctoral training was elitist. Today it faces an essential political challenge, that of inserting previously discriminated populations that are still not well prepared scientifically. While the number of students registered for a doctorate is increasing, the number of students passing degrees is stagnating. In short, the "doctoral efficiency" of universities is decreasing. Yet, stagnation is statistically linked to the difficulty of inserting young researchers into research activities. Older researchers keep on publishing at the same rate as they did 20 years ago. Young researchers do not manage to publish.

When putting South African universities into perspective, we find cohabitation between three research systems corresponding to three types of universities separated by the former apartheid regime:

1. Historically black universities must assume the political heritage that forbid them in practice to conduct scientific research and do not manage to adapt to the new financial model of South African research. This model supposes a stability of the number of students (yet historically black universities see their enrolled students fluctuating dangerously for their finances) and a capacity to attract large funding (there is a concentration of the budgets). More modest and widely distributed financings would certainly favour these universities.
2. English-medium universities keep on functioning according to an elitist-individualistic scientific system that benefited them well during the 1980s but that is reaching its limits today. The need to integrate weak doctoral researchers and to adapt to a research model in a multidisciplinary network clashes with their tradition.

3. Afrikaans-medium universities follow a more "strategic" model of research that seems better adapted to the new research conditions: their scientific research work sharing model is better suited to integrate intellectually less independent doctoral researchers and a form of "Afrikaans collectivism-patriotism" offers them the ideal cultural matrix to network on a national scale.

Conclusion:

When all is said and done, this research poses the problem of "proof by bibliometrics databases". When referring to the SCI international database, English-medium universities are dominant by far; Afrikaans-medium universities show a strong progression but remain far behind; while black universities are practically invisible.

When referring to the South African database (SAPSE), Afrikaans universities have overtaken English universities since 1997, and black universities display a progression that is quite honourable. Therefore, there may be not three but two research models only: a fundamental and international research (through which English-medium universities keep on excelling) and a strategic research of national extent into which black and Afrikaans-medium universities can fit.

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IFAS, History and Mission of the Institute

The French Institute of South Africa, founded in 1995 in Johannesburg, promotes French cultural presence in South Africa. The Institute, under the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is also a centre of research in Social and Human Sciences aiming to stimulate and support French and European academic and scientific research on South and Southern Africa.

Under the authority of a Scientific Council, IFAS elaborates and runs research programmes in partnership with academic institutions or other research organisations in the various fields of Social and Human Sciences. The Institute also helps researchers working on the region to obtain research bursaries and grants, and supports scientific exchange with South African partners. It runs a specialised library, helps with the publication of research results and organises colloquiums and conferences.

IFAS-Research Team

Research Director: Dr Aurelia Wa Kabwe-Segatti

Research Personnel

- CNRS Researcher: Dr François-Xavier Fauvelle-Aymar, Historian, Institut d'Etudes Africaines of the University of Provence.
- Post-Doctoral Researcher: Dr Seyi Fabiyi, Geographer, University of Ibadan
- Doctoral Students (Bursary Holder): Nicolas Péjout (EHESS, Paris); Nicolas Pons-Vignon (EHESS, Paris) Vincent Darracq (CEAN, Bordeaux)

Administration Personnel

- Webmaster/Librarian: Werner Prinsloo
- Translator: Laurent Chauvet
- Secretary: Mathy Bafaya-Bombutsi

Communication intern: Maude Angot

The CNRS is the largest European research institution with 26 000 employees among which 12 000 researchers and 14 000 engineers, technicians and administrative staff.

Eight departments run research programmes in the following fields: Nuclear and Particle Physics and the National Institute of Nuclear and Particle Physics (IN2P3) [www.institut.in2p3.fr], Physics and Mathematics (SPM) [www.spm.cnrs-dir.fr], Communication and Information Science and Technology (STIC) [www.cnrs.fr/STIC], Engineering Sciences (SPI) [www.spi.cnrs-dir.fr], Chemical Sciences (SC) [www.cnrs.fr/Chimie], Sciences of the Universe (SDU) and the National Institute of Sciences of the Universe (INSU) [www.insu.cnrs-dir.fr], Life Sciences (SDV) [www.cnrs.fr/SDV] and Humanities and Social Sciences (SHS) [www.cnrs.fr/SHS].

Since 1996 the CNRS office is working to the reinforcement of relations with African scientists.

In 2002 the office moved to the French Institute of South Africa (IFAS) in Johannesburg and became a regional office in contact with CNRS headquarters in Paris and our partners in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Indian Ocean.

While South Africa is the main partner of CNRS in Africa, our office benefits from many links with almost every one of the 45 countries of the region.

The idea of using CNRS as a link between South Africa and Francophone Africa is a key feature of future collaboration.

For the future, in association with our South African partners, five priority programmes have been selected:

- Water
- Synchrotron Technology
- Global Change and Biodiversity
- Natural Substances
- Archaeology and Palaeontology

Future Events:

- June 20-24: Mission in Madagascar of a CNRS delegation on natural substances
- July 4-8: Congress on African Archaeology, in Gaborone (Botswana)
- August 25-27: Biodiversity and Natural Substances Workshop in Gauteng
- September 12-15: Colloquium on Aquaculture, Port Elisabeth
- September 28-30: Field trip on International Relations Management in Botswana (subject to confirmation)
- October 29 to November 4: "Physics and Sustainable Development", in Durban. Strong CNRS participation (one of the sponsors) followed by the signature of a MoU with the University of Namibia.

IRD (<http://www.ird.fr>) is a French State-owned science and technology research agency under the joint authority of the French ministries in charge of research and co-operation. Its specific purpose is to contribute to research for sustainable development in the countries of the South, in partnership with local institutions.

IRD has three basic missions: Research, Training and Consultancy.

Activities take place within 97 research or service units of which many are mixed units that include teams from IRD as well as Universities and other public research organisations. Domains covered by IRD range from Science of the Universe, Environmental Sciences and Biological Science to Health Sciences and Human and Social Sciences.

The annual budget of the Institute amounts to 200 millions Euro. IRD employs 700 researchers, 790 Engineers, Technicians and Administrative staff as well as 550 locally recruited permanent staff. It has at its disposal 34 centres and representations worldwide. IRD is represented in South Africa with an office at IFAS in Johannesburg.

IRD has been represented officially in South Africa since 1995 (irdafsud@iafrica.com) and has been conducting research and training programmes in partnership with local universities and research institutions. The principal ongoing research domains concern Oceanography, Sugar Cane Pest, Urban Geography and Sociology.

Perspectives...

France and South Africa will be reinforcing their collaboration as regards Water Science and Technology.

To this end, under the umbrella of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Department of Sciences and Technologies (DST) of the Republic of South Africa, the new network called *South African French Centre for Water Sciences and Technologies* (SAFeWater) will be launched during a workshop to be held in Johannesburg on 30 and 31 May and 1 June 2005.

The co-ordinator will be, for the South African side, the Water Research Commission (WRC) and, for the French side, the Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD).

A dozen French researchers from major water research centres (Cirad, Cemagref, CNRS, IRD, Universities) and several South African researchers will gather in a brain-storming session to prepare research collaboration projects on 3 themes identified for this first network meeting, i.e. hydrometeorology, salinity and purification.

The meeting will be opened by a DST representative, the French Ambassador in South Africa, the CEO of WRC and the IRD President.

Contact

Dr. William Mourey
Resident CNRS Representative for Sub-Saharan Africa and
the Indian Ocean
P.O. Box 542, 2113 Newtown, South Africa
66 Wolhuter Street, Newtown
Tel: +27 (0)11 836 0561 Fax: +27 (0)11 836 5850
Email cnrs@ifas.org.za

Contact

Dr. Jean-Marie Fritsch
IRD Representative for South Africa
C/O IFAS, PO Box 542
Newtown, 2113 Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel.: 27 (0)11 836 05 61 / 05 64
Fax: 27 (0)11 836 58 50
Email: irdafsud@iafrica.com