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**A REPORT FROM THE PORTFOLIO
COMMITTEE ON WELFARE /
UNICEF WORKSHOP ON
CHILDREN AND DEVELOPMENT**

Cape Town: March 20, 1998

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1. INTRODUCTION

Honourable Cassiem Saloojee, MP chaired the workshop. He noted that the workshop was intended to provide an opportunity to assess several recent research studies related to children and development in South Africa.

People who had been invited included MPs, members of NGOs and CBOs and government officials. A list of participants is attached.

2. STATEMENT BY MINISTER FRASER-MOLEKETE

The Minister welcomed all participants to the workshop. She highlighted South Africa's ratification of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child [CRC]* and the development of the National Programme of Action for Children and associated structures. She emphasised the need to popularise the CRC and to ensure that it is widely understood.

She described the approach developed by the Welfare Department that integrated children's programmes with community involvement

3. WHY THE BEST INTEREST OF THE CHILD IS ALSO THE BEST INTEREST OF SOCIETY
Presentation by Professor Karl Eric Knutsson

Introduction

As an individual I feel deeply grateful and privileged to have been invited to the national home of democracy of South Africa. But I am also here as a representative of the many millions of people around the world who are indebted to you, because for so long you fought our struggle too - for freedom, for the fundamental principles laid down in the Charter of United Nations and in the International Instruments of Human Rights. In addition I come before you as a servant - and a rather over-ripe one at that - of the nation of children. With a population of over 2 billion it is the largest developing nation on earth. In 1989 the constitution of that nation was promulgated, *the Convention on the Rights of the Child*. A

cornerstone of that constitution is the principle of the best interest of the child. It is an important, complex and difficult principle that I have been asked to reflect upon.

Development for children has rarely, if ever, faced a situation - with all its problems and opportunities - such as the one in South Africa, where a country in a short time has risen from a dark period of massive oppression and widespread want into a democratic, human rights conscious nation, shedding the legacy of apartheid, re-writing its constitution and laws and charting a new course of political, social and economic development.

Apartheid was many things. Among the most revolting of its obscenities was the state based and state supported movement against children, whom international law expected the state to protect: a movement against children that culminated in a brutal offensive when they dared to claim the most elemental of rights. Why? Allow me to suggest that in a mentally twisted way the forces of apartheid had recognised the strong connection between the best interest of the child and the best interest of society. When children demanded respect for their own interest - reasonable freedom of assembly or the choice of the language of instruction - the state realised that these demands were identical with the best interest of the good society that the liberation movement fought for and that the children ultimately would be the constructors of the democratic and open society that would sweep apartheid away not only politically but socially and economically. Consequently the state hit back with all its force detaining, brutalising, starving and killing children.

The other day Isaac Mogase, the mayor of Greater Johannesburg, told me of the fate of those children that he met and tried to protect during his years of detainment. Lonely, hungry, beaten kids anonymously imprisoned as security risks by a state armoured in steel -- many of them losing their education, their emotional lifelines and their direction for life and some, it is true, seduced by the chaos of violence to turn it into their own destructive lifestyle: all of them in the end being punished several times over for asking the simple right to a decent childhood. But then hopefully, some of them have joined the Mayor in his commitment to move Johannesburg towards a more child friendly city.

He has drawn the same conclusion as so many others in South Africa. Because the children have been the victims of a movement against them, it is high time to support a strong and visionary movement for and with them.

A child centred development must begin - not necessarily by asking for more resources, although in the real world that is certainly crucial -- but for the change of knowledge, perceptions and mindsets and for drawing the logical, the ethical and the political conclusions of the value that we say we place on children, and draw these conclusions correctly. Only then can we hope to lay the basis for a just and prudent use of the increased resources needed. In South Africa the foundation has been laid and the commitment made. It is there at the centre of the Reconstruction and Development Document, which sets out the goals for the transformation. It is reflected in the economic planning documents and clearly restated in this year's Appropriation Bill and its supportive Mid Term Economic Framework. And most importantly it is witnessed by the ratification of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* and the inclusion of these rights into the Constitution of the Nation. These are important steps.

The challenge now is to use these foundations to begin in earnest to make the shift from noble commitments that most will agree on in farsighted speeches and on inspiring public occasions to the pragmatic day-to-day realisation of a new culture - a new social climate for children. Only then can we hope to make the implementation of their rights part of the normal routine in families, communities and nation rather than exceptional statements and acts. And only then can we hope to inspire children and young people in realising and contributing their own and reasonable responsibilities to the building of a decent and vital society on all levels.

There are many obstacles for such a transformation. We are all in some way involved in action. For some it may be strings of demanding political meetings that can turn us into running squirrels trapped in a wheel. For others it is the constant and hard work to make ends meet in a destitute rural area or in crowded settlements with rampant unemployment and the social epidemic of dysfunctional families. In such situations it is difficult to improve and nurse our learning capacity, personally and in our organisations. This is often so also for development workers pressured by often-regimented work. Hurrying to do what

managers and staff believe is unquestionably good we tend to limit the attention given to knowledge and the search for knowledge which can inform and guide the work.

Instead of pausing to ask such questions, we concentrate on the day-to-day immediate tasks, on technicalities and on organisational and other challenges. This leaves us all, politicians, development workers, government employees and voluntary activists ill-equipped when we need to plan, assess and justify what we are doing. In such situations it becomes tempting to dismiss important questions from supporters and critics alike with the emotional but rarely convincing responses "who can be against children?" However, in doing so the ability to advocate, mobilise and communicate is weakened and thereby eventually so is the case for children weakened.

To devote part of our analytical energy to some of the fundamental factors that may condition our mindsets, influence what we see and colour the glasses that we all carry, knowingly or not, is not merely a theoretical suggestion. It is a very practical proposition. Indeed we need not fear asking fundamental questions about what we are doing and about the nature of the perceptions and assumptions on which our strategies and action are built. What we must fear is not doing so. If we do not dare to do this we may ultimately end up with the dubious success of being, in Bertrand Russell's words, "rather brilliantly wrong".

There are several reasons why it is especially important to reflect on and learn from the experiences of child centred development in South Africa. South Africa with its problems and prospects represents a microcosm of the larger global situation: a sophisticated and advanced technological system in the midst of a land that for its majority of citizens resembles more the conditions of many of the world's poor nations; enormous riches and great disparities at the same time; ethnically and culturally diverse but with an urgent need to work better together; radically different interests between stakeholders struggling to make a system of recently introduced political democracy work; an economic powerhouse intimately linked to and integrated in the global economy together with a vast majority of people with urgent and unmet needs and rights making their claims on resources jealously guarded by the "market".

I have already suggested that the first step both to improve the situation of children and to draw lessons from your experience is to begin to look at the knowledge and perceptions of children and childhood. I also suggested that it is important and necessary that we move away from the tendency of looking at children versus society and to strengthen instead our understanding of the commonality and complementarity between the two perspectives of the child and of the society.

Such a revitalised debate should aim to elaborate and demonstrate that aspirations and goals both from the perspective of the child in its own right and from the perspective of the wider society are converging and mutually supportive, theoretically, ethically, economically and politically. An exercise of this kind will reveal a striking similarity between the goals (which also imply rights) from a child's perspective and the perspective of the broader society.

But then what are these commonalities, indeed this identity between the two best interests? I can't go into details here, but let me give a few examples.

The *Convention on the Rights of the Child* contains several stipulations dealing with the child's right to recognition and respect. If this is not forthcoming the risks increase that the child will grow up into a non-confident, non-creative and impoverished individual. These are not only costs borne by the child but serious costs also in hard-nosed economic terms to the wider society.

Another group of provisions deals with the child's needs, claims and rights to protection and support. The society has to be involved and that may create cost. But it is equally obvious that lacking physical, mental and social health, the child cannot preserve its resourcefulness, dignity and well being. The cost to society of deficiencies in this regard will be dramatic creating drains on resources instead of contributions to growth.

If we move on to the many paragraphs of the convention that deal with rights to appropriate preparation of the child for a rewarding life we immediately realise the importance of the acquisition of relevant and adequate skills and competencies not only for the child itself but for the society in which it is both imbedded in and moving on to construct and reconstruct.

I have not taken upon myself to discuss specifically the right to an adequate share of society's resources. The honourable Chairperson of the Finance and Fiscal Committee and his team will cover this. But here again deficiencies in recognising, respecting and fulfilling the right of the child will lead to devastating reductions in the physical, intellectual and social growth of the child and ultimately to the child's ability to contribute to society.

The complementarity between the two perspectives that I have tried to telegraphically illustrate provides us with a powerful opportunity to change and strengthen advocacy on one important score. Instead of viewing children's rights and society's obligations mainly as a dialectic pair of opposites - instead of looking at children and their needs as a cost item in our econometric abstractions, we might suggest the possibility of looking at the obligations of adults and of society - not as burden - but as being something good, desirable and eventually very rewarding to do.

Because the goals for development for children and child rights are not only beneficial for children. In the longer-term perspective they also represent, in a very real sense, the best interest of the child's society. To understand why this is so and to communicate this understanding we must turn the debate around and try to envision betterment for children as actually being, not only children's rights, but in essence also as an important public good for the larger society around them. In fact many of society's utilitarian interests in children are well served by supporting the ethical principles of the Rights of the Child.

Once this communality between the best interest of the child and the best interest of society can be convincingly demonstrated and accepted, the basis for influencing the actual content of policies and the corresponding allocation of resources, can be similarly strengthened.

The myth of the "receiving" child
These examples, only telegraphically indicated, are convincing in themselves. But again to draw the correct conclusions of such insights we must again highlight the need to change knowledge and perceptions about children, childhood and their true roles for the larger society.

Although the public and sometimes official rhetoric is changing towards "children first" and Child

Rights this does not mean that there is now a new consensus that children are truly important. In reality the situation has not changed that much. The few steps taken on the road towards improved child rights cannot hide the fact that the advances made so far are small in comparison with the obligations that adult society places on children and in view of the widespread disregard and violation of even the most elementary rights of children. The question is often raised. How can children have rights when - as is commonly the assumption -- they do not have corresponding obligations similar to those of adults. However, this is in itself a false assumption. As a matter of fact children are brought into the world as a result of a series of expectations - indeed obligations -- that adult society and the working of the human reproductive system places on them in order to guarantee the continuation of mankind.

In addition children are expected to provide many things such as recognition and respect for their procreators, male and female. They are also expected to bring support and assistance to parents and other caregivers at least in the longer-term perspective. Herein lies another fundamental obligation - rather than a right -- placed on children from the beginning. Other sets of obligations are associated with the social and cultural reproduction of human society. These require that children perform duties related to learning, education and schooling. Adult society also sets the rules for children in managing their physical, biological, mental and social growth. The ultimate purpose of these obligations is to acquire the maturity and competencies - again defined by adult society - in order for children to be able to engage fully in the physical and mental sustenance and eventually in the biological reproduction of society.

Children not only have responsibilities, they also live up to and take charge of them. An example of the highest order is provided by South Africa's children who in a formidable way demonstrated their ability to take responsibility in Soweto when they protested and tried to change the oppressive educational system of the racist apartheid regime. Theirs was a dramatic statement of the fact that children are in a very real sense co-constructors of the societal and cultural forms that together make up our communities and societies. Although - in the normal course of social life - children's responsibilities may be enacted differently from those of adult citizens, their obligations and their

contributions make it imperative to recognise them not only as noble causes for charity but as worthy citizens of society. In this lies an important challenge for our advocacy and our efforts to mobilise society for the cause of children.

Many factors have contributed to condition the nature, the biases and the surprising limitations in our knowledge about children and childhood. The theoretical neglect of children is especially visible in economics. This is also for several reasons particularly harmful both to children and their rights and in the long run to society. There are many reasons for their exclusion so far. Economists have abstracted from reality what they judged essential for their explanatory purposes, and at the same time left out factors which did not fit. Children, women, minorities and even ordinary people in ordinary communities either did not matter in their calculations or did not fit into their models and were, consequently, neglected. But then the question must be raised, how can economic theory and planning be credible and trusted if children are excluded, who constitute 40 percent of the economic actors and actual co-constructors of society?

The Citizen Child

A major factor behind this fallacy and the consequent invisibility of children in politics and policy-making stems from the fact that they are not recognised as full and worthy members of society. If they are not simply neglected or ignored they are at best regarded as noble causes and as possible objects for charity. However if we want - as we must to - create a new mind set and a new culture for children as the first step in our efforts to respect their rights the issue of full and worthy membership of the child in society has to be dealt with unambiguously. There are three major arguments that must be recognised and forcefully stated.

Firstly there is a moral argument for ensuring that children are provided for in accordance with a basic standard, or a standard for a family with children which is in par with that of couples without children. This means that the technological, social, economic, political and knowledge standards required for a family to attain basic security in all these dimensions should not be allowed to be lower than those for other members of society by the circumstance that the family has additional responsibilities for children.

Secondly, there is an achievement argument. It is based on the fact, already alluded to, that children are contributing to the very reproduction of society itself biologically, organisationally and culturally. They therefore have a legitimate and indisputable claim on relevant and adequate resources within all the different dimensions of social and cultural life.

Then there is a utilitarian argument for moving children and childhood into the centre of social, economic and political considerations. This should not be interpreted as a plea for the legitimisation of child labour or the placing of other adult duties and tasks on children but as an argument for the recognition, for instance, of "school-labour, which cannot be separated from labour in society at large" as "these activities are integrally interwoven with processes in the big labour market".

The failure to recognise these facts and to act accordingly has transformed the basic human right to live and grow and to be recognised and respected into a casualty instead of an achievement. This is dangerous, since isolation and marginalisation breed many of society's ills. It is also unrealistic and ineffective and therefore bad politics.

Indeed it is a crucial challenge for the democratic system of governance to find ways of recognising, respecting and responding to the needs and rights of their child populations that for many valid reasons can not articulate nor defend many of their fundamental interests and, for equally valid reasons cannot be granted voting or other political powers held by their fellow adult citizens.

The State, the market and children's rights

The future of the South African Child can not be discussed outside of the environments of the contexts of the many poverties, be they economic, social, emotional or informational, in which vast numbers of children and their childhood are surrounded by and imbedded in. Therefore we can never avoid exploring what are commonly regarded as the "big" issues if we want to change the lives of "small" children. They must from now on never be divorced from the major agendas in your Parliament or in your constituencies.

It is fairly clear from the ongoing debate on the relative role of the State and the market in the development process, that both are essential but that neither can be the prime mover in the betterment of the human condition. In the case of

the poor, they themselves have to be enabled to be the engine of change, with country and community support from redefined functions of the State and of what may be called the "social market". For this the role of the State needs to be reoriented and made more effective, not weakened or eliminated and such discipline and efficiency as the market can bring should be prudently applied.

Without a revitalised and resourceful State and the political commitment of its elected representatives and its government, human development goals like health for all, education for all and the abolition of discrimination against women and girls will remain utopian. Such efforts must be combined with policies of meaningful decentralisation of planning and decision-making to the levels where the problems exist and to the people who face them. Thus, real power and material resources must devolve to local governments without delay. Only in this way can local governments transform themselves into democratic institutions, raise cost-effectiveness and strengthen accountability. In the process, it should also be possible to achieve tremendous savings if and when the need for inadequate or ineffective bureaucratic structures is reduced. Voluntary non-government organisations with a local presence and a credible track record will have a crucial role to play in mediating and supporting a genuine community, government and professional partnership by mobilising resources, raising awareness, providing inspiration and leadership and building capacity.

The democratic transfer of real power to communities through a functioning representative system of local governance is a key issue. Only representative local government can truly assist the marginalised and the excluded, so that they can organise and become informed, so that they, through relevant and effective forms of participation, can plan and manage socio-economic programmes which are meaningful to them and their children. The way we choose to achieve social and child-related goals is not simply a choice of strategy or tactic. It is a goal in itself.

A special opportunity for South Africa

The massive and successful political mobilisation against the evils of apartheid into a constructive, effective and lasting mobilisation for development and peace must now be transformed to genuinely incorporate children (and similarly women and the poor). As we have already argued such mobilisation will require work to change knowledge

and mindsets as well as politics and policies. The families, the rural communities and the cities are as we all know neither well informed about the conditions of childhood, nor necessarily child friendly in attitudes and practice. Unfortunately the opposite is often true. We are all taken aback by the amount of child abuse and violence against children although many of the historical causes are there for all to see. To turn this situation around will require a second wave of massive social, moral and political mobilisation. It also calls for a thorough analysis of the differences - so often ignored - between mobilising against some specific and concrete evil and the mobilisation for something, in this case towards the broader and more long term goals of a good society. There is an important and often dramatic difference between the rather concrete task of mobilisation during an acute situation of an ongoing struggle and the much more nebulous and somehow less glamorous task of mobilising for peace, rights, human decency and development. Precisely because of this, it is important to compare, learn from and create linkages between the two types of mobilisation, as we will no doubt learn from Vivienne Taylor this afternoon.

And in a paradoxical way, some of the very problems of South Africa offer a rare opportunity for the country to focus social policy and development planning on children. I do not think that I exaggerate if I say that the political and economic situation in present day South Africa is one of great diversity, with many different stakeholders of sharply varying, competing or conflicting interests. Proposals and ambitions from one group are met with what sometimes amount to fear by another. Values, aspirations and their supportive knowledge many times seem light years apart.

In a situation of such divergent views on social and economic policies, or more precisely because of it, there might be a realistic possibility that children, childhood and development for children can be forcefully launched as a platform for unity of vision, commitment and purpose for a social, economic and cultural development of a long term and inter-generational nature. Indeed it is worth repeating, there might, because of the fragmented situation and all its many problems, be a very special opportunity here.

- An opportunity to agree on one field for mobilisation, planning and action, where values are shared and interests complementary;

- An opportunity to achieve fundamental agreements across the board on the importance of one development arena and one set of developmental goals which are justified and attractive without posing any "threats" to major groups of stakeholders or to some delicate macro economic balances;
- An opportunity to demonstrate that the area of child centred development is not one primarily of demand and children perceived as cost items for the tax payers but an area for long term investment opportunities for the country's survival in an increasingly competitive world;
- A political opportunity for reducing the distances between voters and their elected representatives and to bridge the canyons between the local, the provincial and the national levels on the basis of shared values and interests that are tangible and meaningful to all;
- An opportunity for a win-win strategy whereby doing what is ethically right, at the same time becomes, and is seen to be, developmentally effective, economically necessary and politically rewarding for all of its supporters and which probably in the present situation offer the best platform for a long-term transformation and nation building.

For these reasons and others there is a responsibility to articulate and pursue the best interests of the child as the best interests of society.

It is not only a responsibility, it represents a real possibility and at the same time a rare opportunity. To seize this opportunity in a pragmatic and compelling way, without weakening the strength of the ethical aspects of the task, presents a fundamental challenge to all involved. Indeed, there are good reasons to make this a centrepiece of national politics in South Africa and thereby also to set a model - yet another one - for the world.

Unfortunately as with all ambitious proposals there are dangers. Let me just mention one. It is quite likely that those with power and influence, who fail to see and seize these opportunities will in the long run be not only lesser servants of democracy, but also smaller as persons and leaders generally.

Overall challenges

In conclusion, my brief from the Nation of Children is the following;

First, the time has come to make greater efforts to create, deepen and spread the understanding that

children, apart from being around forty percent of the population of your country, are at the very centre of what development should be all about.

Second, the time has come to seize every opportunity to highlight the issue of children, their rights and the condition of their childhood both on the private and public level, combining the compassion of the private concern with the responsibility and the resources in the public domain.

Third, the time has come to involve the intellectual community to devote energy and inspiration to the problems facing children. The appalling absence of data both in rich and poor countries, relevant to children and their lives - apart from some crude statistics - is a severe indictment of neglect and lack of responsibility both of governments and the scientific community.

Fourth, the time has come for politicians who seek public office, to understand that they must not only be faithful to the constitution of their respective countries, but also to the globally endorsed *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, and to the solemn commitments embodied in the *National Programme of Action for Children*, including the reallocation of resources - intellectual, human and financial - that this entails: Stipulations that South Africa has boldly and exceptionally among nations inscribed in its constitution.

The time has finally come for us to recognise that out there is a tremendous resource of moral and intellectual energy in young people in search of a meaning, in search of a purpose. If we can together with children reach into this rich lode we may be able to rebuild again the solidarity between people without which we will all perish. Only then can we hope to overcome the ugliness of ethnicity or false religiosity which are again threatening to make it acceptable to divide the world into the "us" and the "them". "Them" whom "we" don't need to care for and "their" lives and environment that "we" feel free to destroy.

The same solidarity with the child is one of the few bridges left which still have the strength to connect the North and the South and to help us to prevent the divisions of inequality and injustice in our own societies from leading to the terrible prospect of creating not only two worlds but two planets.

Then, maybe, this country and this world can unite, step by step, into a real movement not against something, but for something. A popular, professional and political movement for the child, with the child and around the child and the society that she is both part of and migrating towards; a movement that future historians will look upon as a major achievement in the moral history of mankind. Then ultimately it might be the powerless child that will have the power to make this earth a safer and better planet for life in all its forms. That prospect is surely sufficient for recognising at long last the Citizen Child and the fact that in the final analysis the best interest of the Child is also the best interest of Society.

Plenary Discussion

Family Life

In South Africa, family life before 1994 was undermined because of the migrant labour and single sex hostel system; thus family issues must now be seriously addressed.

Allocation of Resources

Early childhood development is in crisis – from the perspective of NGOs working on the ground, nothing is happening and there is no recognition or support from government. Activists need to meet their colleagues so they don't feel isolated and to be able to put their demands forward.

Mobilisation

Ministers must take cognisance of children and NGOs' need to advocate children's needs. Local committees could monitor rights of children and give feedback to parliamentarians.

It is necessary to change the mindset and so increase the awareness amongst officials and communities about children's rights. Often officials are too overworked to buy into a child's rights process – signing the CRC is one thing but changing structures is different.

It is important to learn from the struggle against apartheid and feed into the struggle for transformation/ development so that work can more effectively be done.

4. *PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON BASIC SOCIAL SERVICES IN SOUTH AFRICA*

Presentation by Murphy Morobe,
Chairperson Financial and Fiscal
Commission

Governments attending the *1995 World Summit on Social Development* in Copenhagen committed themselves to allocating 20% of their budgets towards basic social services. The Financial and Fiscal Commission reviewed the current situation in South Africa by preparing a study with financial and technical support from UNICEF and UNDP. A summary of the main highlights was presented.

Basic Social Services (BSS)

- Education (pre-primary, primary)
- Health (environmental health; health education; immunisations; family planning; maternal and child health services; services provided at clinics, community health centres, community nursing services, and by district surgeons)

Other services considered to be part of BSS in South Africa

- Water and sanitation
- Nutrition
- Social welfare
- Public works programmes

Economic and Social Trends

- Overall South Africa displays considerable divergence between its GNP per capita and its HDI [Human Development Index]
- GNP per capita (\$3 160) rates us a middle income country like Malaysia, Croatia
- HDI ranks us with countries with much lower GNP per capita e.g. Sri Lanka (\$ 700)

Provincial GDP per capita (1996 US\$) and HDI (1994)

Province	GDP Per Capita	HDI
Western Cape	4 096	0.826
Eastern Cape	1 550	0.507
Northern Cape	3 368	0.698
Kwazulu/Natal	2 323	0.602
Free State	3 003	0.657
North West	2 202	0.543
Gauteng	6 290	0.818
Mpumalanga	3 662	0.694
Northern Province	1 072	0.470
South Africa	3 160	0.677

Source: GDP Per capita - Calculated HDI - CSS, 1994
(An HDI for each province is not available for 1996 so the 1994 provincial HDI is used here.)

Education indicators

- Spending has averaged 22,6% of total government expenditure and 6,5% of GDP from 1987/88 to 1997/98
- Spending on White pupils was more than 4 times that of African pupils in 1991/92
- Disparities also within former African departments e.g. Qwaqwa spent nearly 3 times as much as that of Transkei in 1991/92
- Overall adult literacy level is 63%
 - Whites (99%)
 - Indians (82%)
 - Coloureds (58%)
 - Africans (54%)
- Gender disparities greatest amongst Indians and Africans

Health indicators

- Infant mortality rate (IMR) has declined since 1980 but racial disparities in IMR have widened
- IMR for Africans 5.3 times that of Whites in 1980, but 7.4 times in 1994
- Life expectancy has increased for all race groups

Income inequality and poverty RACIAL INCOMES, 1993

RACE	Pop.Share %	Income Share %	Per capita income R p.a.	Disparity ratio; White to other
African	76.2	29.3	2717	11.8
Coloured	8.3	7.4	6278	5.1

Indian	2.6	4.8	12963	2.5
White	12.9	58.5	32076	1
Total	100.0	100.0	7062	4.5

Source: Pillay, 1996

Analysis of budget expenditure 1983 -1995

- Social services increased from 10% GDP and 34% of budget to 15% and 39% respectively
- Interest payments 12.9% of budget to 13.6% over the same period
- Defence decreased from 14.2% of budget to 6.7%

Economic Classification of Expenditure 1980-1996

- Current expenditure increased from 78% to 90% of total expenditure
- This was driven by increases in goods & services, particularly interest which rose from 8.9% to 17% of total expenditure
- Capital expenditure fell from 21.7% to 9.7% of total expenditure

Government revenue (1996)

- Personal income tax (39%),VAT (24%), company tax (12%), excise duties (12%), fuel levy (7%) & customs duties (4%)
- Over time, more reliance on PIT & VAT and less so on mine and company tax
- PIT less progressive at higher levels
- VAT more regressive, but not all transactions are captured in the system
- Limit tax level or widen the tax base

Budget deficit and government debt as a percentage of GDP

Year	Budget Deficit	Debt
1980	0.9	31.6
1985	3.3	32.8
1990	3.2	37.2
1995	5.7	56.0
1996	5.4	55.3

Source: Budget Review, 1997

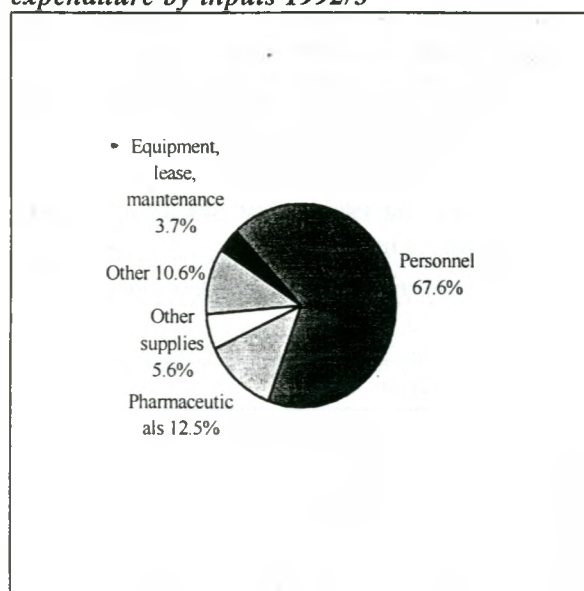
- On average government expenditure grew at 3.2% from 1980 -1997
- Revenue grew 2.6% on average over the same period
- Govt. debt has remained above 30% since 1980, reached highest at 55.8% in 1994 with the inclusion of the debt of TBVCs

South Africa: Composition of Public Spending on Education

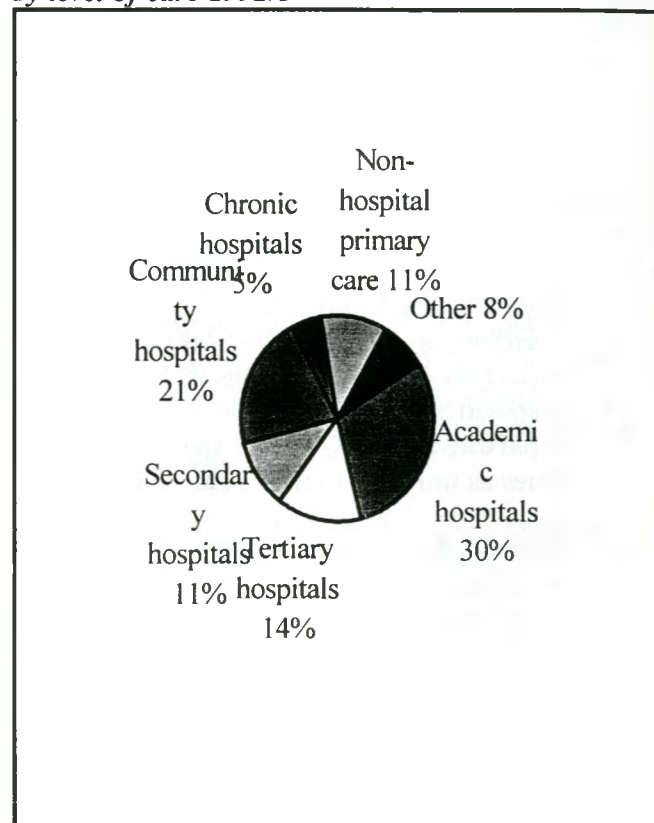
Level of Schooling	1987/88	1991/92	1995/96
Pre-primary	0.7	0.4	0.7
Primary	38.1	43.0	46.0
Secondary	30.4	31.0	33.0
Subtotal	69.2	74.4	79.7
Tertiary	15.5	12.4	13.0
- University	13.0	10.0	9.5
- Technikon	2.5	2.4	3.5
Other	10.6	13.1	7.3

Sources: Buckland & Fielden, 1994, Dept. Of Education, 1996 & 1997, Provincial Education Budgets, 1995/96

Distribution of recurrent public sector health expenditure by inputs 1992/3



Distribution of public sector health care expenditure by level of care 1992/3



Recurrent and Development Expenditure on Basic Education, 1995 and 1996

Level	Year	Recurrent		Development		Total (Rm)
		Total (Rm)	%	Total (Rm)	%	
Pre-Primary	1995	211 338	99.2	1 773	0.8	213 111
	1996	216 450	98.7	2 764	1.3	219 214
Primary	1995	13 681 312	95.7	610 298	4.3	14 291 610
	1996	16 322 624	93.9	1 062 794	6.1	17 385 418

Source: Department of Education, 1997.

**Education Expenditure by Category (R 000's)
1995/96**

	Primary	% Share	Secondary	% Share
Educator salaries	12 091 315	84.6%	8 423 077	81.7%
Non educator salaries	672 506	4.7%	473 870	4.6%
School books	339 583	2.4%	383 659	3.7%
Stationery	136 731	1.0%	115 703	1.1%
Other*	441 178	1.0%	115 703	1.1%
Land	1 467	0.0%	820	0.0%
New Buildings	439 705	3.1%	375 984	3.6%
Maintenance	73 111	0.5%	73 846	0.7%
Equipment	69 017	0.5%	52 480	0.5%
Media collections	16 510	0.1%	47 673	0.5%
Other**	10 489	0.1%	896	0.0%
TOTAL	14 291 612	10 313 406		

Source : Department of Education, 1997

- includes transport costs, professional consulting services, bursaries and scholarships, marking of exams

** includes museum and art collections, and livestock

Who benefits from Education expenditure?

Incidence of Public Expenditures in Education, 1993 (% shares of total expenditure)

	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	All Levels
Poor (53% of Population)	47.5	36.3	23.9	39.6
Richest (12% of Population)	18.9	25.3	32.2	23.4

Source: Castro-Leal, 1996.

**Country comparisons of the incidence of
Education spending**

Education spending benefiting:			
Country	Year	the poorest 20% of the population (%)	the richest 20% of the population (%)
AFRICA			
Cote d'Ivoire	1993	14	35
Ghana	1992	16	21
Kenya	1992/3	17	21
Madagascar	1993	8	41
Malawi	1994/5	16	25
South Africa	1993	14	35
Tanzania	1993	13	23
LATIN AMERICA			
Chile	1986	25	17
Colombia	1992	23	14
Mexico	1992	14	27
Uruguay	1989	33	15

Source: Castro-Leal, 1996

Recent trends in the distribution of public sector budgets/expenditure between BHS and other health services

	Budget (97/98) R,m	Budget (96/97) R,m	Budget (95/96) R 000's	% 97/98	% 96/97	% 95/96	
Overheads	1795	670	598	9	9	10	10
Basic health services	4146	3496	3236	21	20	20	12
District hospitals	3411	2777	3598	17	16	22	19
Other hospitals	9005	8365	7424	46	48	45	57
Emergency medical services	611	565	476	3	3	3	2
Facility development and maintenance	715	644	--	4	4		
TOTAL	19 683	17 518	16 332	100	100	100	100

* These figures are slightly different to HER figures quoted elsewhere (which only include recurrent expenditure on health service provision and administration) - the HER data presented here include capital and training expenditure.

What resources can be diverted from the security sector?

Changes in the Security Sector budgets 1990/91 - 1997/98

As % of Total Budgeted Expenditure

Defence	13.7	10.8	9.1	8.1	8.7	7.4	6.7	5.7
Police	5.6	6.4	6.2	6.7	6.7	5.9	6.4	6.9
Prisons	1.7	1.8	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.8	2
Courts of Law	0.9	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Total	21.8	19.9	17.9	17.6	18.1	16.0	15.9	15.7

As Percentage of Gross Domestic Product

Defence	4	3.3	3.1	2.7	2.7	2.3	2.1	1.7
Police	1.6	1.9	2.1	2.2	2.1	1.9	2.0	2.1
Prisons	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6
Courts of Law	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Total	6.4	6.0	6.1	5.8	5.7	5.0	5.0	4.8

Source: Budget Review, 1995, 1996, 1997

Real changes in provincial education expenditure 1996/7 - 1997/8

Resources for capital expenditure in Education 1996/7 & 1997/8

Province	% Change
Western Cape	-3.9
Northern Cape	0.5
Eastern Cape	0.5
Kwazulu-Natal	-3.7
Free State	-3.6
North West	9.9
Gauteng	2.9
Mpumalanga	-24.0
Northern Province	-11.8

Source: Provincial Budgets, 1997.

Budgeted Allocations to Capital Expenditure (R, millions)

Province	1996/97	1997/98
Western Cape	44	5
Northern Cape	18	6
Eastern Cape	356	109
Kwazulu-Natal	561	128
Free State	52	0
North West	102	87
Gauteng	232	200
Mpumalanga	165	35
Northern Province	239	322
Total	1 769	692

Source: Provincial Budgets, 1997.

How good are the educational outcomes in South Africa?

Flow of Pupils Through School System (1983-94)

	AFRICAN	WHITE	COLOUR EDS	INDIANS
GRADE 1 (1983)	1 025 162	83 865	100 888	20 319
GRADE 10 (1992)	444 062	76 074	47 316	20 114
GRADE 12 (1994)	437 817	65 961	26 707	15 671
GRADE 12 PASSES (1994)	190 340	60 821	22 201	13 981

	AFRICAN	WHITE	COLOUR EDS	INDIANS
GRADE 1 (1983)	100%	100%	100%	100%
GRADE 10 (1992)	43%	91%	47%	99%
GRADE 12 (1994)	43%	79%	26%	77%
GRADE 12 PASSES (1994)	19%	73%	22%	69%

Source:RIEP,1995

Problems with Education Financing

- Financial base narrow, highly dependent on general government revenues
- No incentive structure - no link between funding and school performance
- Educational subsidies tend to favour the middle and upper income families

How to strengthen financing of basic education

- Increase resources for education and giving basic education a higher priority within that budget
- Improve cost efficiency and effectiveness of education expenditure
- Improve the incidence of education expenditure

Strategies to increase resources to BE

- BE has the highest social rate of return of all levels of education
- Increased spending on education not likely - what about backlogs?
- Burden increasingly to fall on private households, especially those with the ability to pay
- Schools Act enables governing bodies to charge fees - may increase inequity
- Earmarked funding for a national textbook fund/ a community fund for BE - current climate not good
- Local financing - existing system of local taxes and services provided, problematic

Improving the efficiency of Education expenditure

- Reduce repetition rates
- Teachers salaries constitute too high a proportion of education expenditure
- Inadequate facilities at schools
 - 24% - no water within walking distance
 - 57% - no electricity
 - classroom shortage : 57 499
- Inadequate managerial capacity

Improving the incidence of education spending

- FFC formula attempts to reduce inter - provincial inequality - has no effect at present on intra-provincial inequity
- Targeting the poor
 - cost of administering
 - optimal mix of targeting and universal programmes

Intra-Sectoral Restructuring : Health

- Strategies to increase resources for the public health sector and hence for BHS;
- Strategies to improve efficiency within the health sector, which can also increase the resources available for BHS; and
- Strategies to improve the incidence of public expenditure on BHS.

Strategies to Increase Resources for Basic Health Services

- Reducing existing subsidies or tax expenditures on non-basic services;
- User fees; and
- Social Health Insurance.
- Reducing subsidies on non-basic services
- Government subsidises discretionary clinical services to medical schemes (tax expenditures)
 - Amounts to between R1.5 and R2.6 billion (about 15% of health budget)
- Subsidies for health personnel training
- Use of a flat rate tax credit linked to the costs of a core package of services?
- Monitoring the size and the incidence of the tax expenditures

User Fees for Public Health Services

- User fees generate little revenue
 - 6% of recurrent expenditure
- Mostly at hospitals from private patients.
- Costs of collection are high.
- Little scope for increasing user fees without expanding insurance cover.
- Need for direct negotiation between public hospitals and medical schemes.
- Improve the incentives for revenue collection by allowing revenue retention.

The Introduction of Social Health Insurance

- SHI for the costs of public sector hospital services for formal sector employees and dependants.
- To cover costs of a portion of the population who use public sector hospitals and could be insured.
- Revenue impact for public health of between R2.1 and R4.3 billion.

Feasibility of revenue retention within health and of redistribution towards BHS

- Is it possible to maintain additional revenue within health?
 - Can the sector retain the revenue, can the treasury adjust the funds?
 - Are there incentives for collection?
- Is it possible to shift expenditure for the delivery of BHS?
 - Can additional revenue be used for BHS?
 - Requires a sharing mechanism between the provincial health department and hospitals
 - Revenue equalisation?

Improved Efficiency of Health Expenditure

- Enhance the cost efficiency of BHS : may require additional resources in the short term.
- Allocative Efficiency
- Technical Efficiency
- Improved Management and Financial Capacity
- Improved Budget Process

Allocative Efficiency

- Universal Access to Primary Care
- Free Primary Care
- Reprioritisation through the budget to BHS
- Development of Primary Care Infrastructure
- Staffing levels and training
- Enhanced immunisation coverage
- TB and HIV/AIDS interventions
- Improved Integration
 - Family Planning
 - Nutrition
 - Welfare
 - Water and Sanitation

Technical Efficiency

- Pharmaceutical Prices
- Improved Control of Procurement, Utilisation and Distribution of Medicine
- Essential Drugs List
- Staffing Levels and Skills Mix
- Need to Review Salary Levels of Health Workers
- Changes to Public - Private Mix

Managerial Efficiency

- Decentralisation, improved management and financial accountability

- Developing the District System, obstacles include:
 - Changing local boundaries
 - Confusion over governance and link to local government
 - Legal and regulatory framework
 - The appointment of managers
 - Organisational processes and systems
 - Potential danger of increased inequality
- Hospital Strategy Project, proceeding slowly.

Budgetary Efficiency

- The incentives and expertise for effective budgeting;
- The relationship between capital and recurrent expenditure;
- The relationship between planning and budgeting; and
- The link between budgets and physical resource planning.

Improving the Incidence of Health Spending

- The need to improve the incidence of expenditure within health by shifting resources towards BHS;
- The urgent need to improve the equity of the geographic (both inter-provincial and intra-provincial) distribution of resources; and
- Mechanisms for targeting resources to the poorest and least well resourced communities should be explored.

Improving Incidence Through Targeting

- Targeting involves the shifting of benefits towards the poor.
- Need to avoid errors of including or excluding the wrong people.
- A number of approaches:
 - Individual Assessment
 - Group / Geographic
 - Self-targeting
 - Differential use of services
- Recent evidence warns against assuming achievable benefits from targeting:
 - Information Constraints
 - Administrative / Managerial Constraints
 - Adverse Incentives
 - Political Considerations
- Simple targeting is required while management and information improves.

Social Welfare and Public Works

- The 20/20 study uses a narrow definition of

BSS, are there other items which should be included?

- Social welfare services
- Social security
 - non-contributory grants
- National public works programme

Donor Funding

- No consolidated monitoring of donor funding - making it very difficult to quantify and evaluate
- Many different organisations are funded
- No clarity whether national development initiatives and priorities are being supported
- There is a temptation for donors to support capital projects, since capital spending has fallen over the last year.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Expenditure on Basic Social Services as a Percentage of Total Budget and GDP, 1996/97

Basic Social Services	Expenditure (R,m)	% of Total Budget	% of GDP
Basic Education	17604	10	3.2
Basic Health	3496	2	0.7
Total	21100	12	3.9
Water, Sanitation (1)	880	0.5	0.1
District Hospitals (2)	2777	1.5	0.5
Total	24757	14	4.5
Social Welfare (3)	14898	8.5	2.4
Total	39655	22.5	6.9

- Less than the 20% level is spent on BSS.
 - requires a shift in spending towards BSS.
 - greater scope for increased BSS in health.
 - more spending on water and sanitation and on an integrated, pre-school nutrition programme is required.
- The narrow definition of BSS ignores social welfare, water and sanitation and public works programmes.
 - Extending the definition to include these functions suggests that over 20% of the budget is being spent on BSS.
 - Expanding the definition may require a revisiting of the 20% target.
- The wider definition of BSS requires clarity over the relationship between cash and in-kind benefits.
- Both are essential components of an adequate BSS programme, but the levels of each and co-

ordination thereof is required.

- Limited scope for more revenue for BSS from other functions.
- Political support is required to redirect spending to BSS.
- Constraints to efficient delivery must be removed.
- Additional private funds can be raised if government can improve the quality of service provision.
- The middle class are shifting to the private sector for BSS, which decreases the burden on the state.
- The sequencing and speed of the macro economic programme (not the targets) should be revised.
- Additional spending may be needed in the short to medium term.
 - Aimed at training, additional posts and systems for developing greater financial and management capacity.
- There is a need to refine the link between the macro-programme and planning through the MTEF.
- The greatest scope for improved outcomes from BSS spending is not through increased spending.
- Significant scope exists for efficiency improvements in all aspects of BSS expenditure.
- The incidence and cost effectiveness of spending should be improved.
- This must be achieved through spatial reorganisation, the use of targeting and greater emphasis on preventative and integrated programmes.
- To achieve these efficiency improvements and to target effectively, a number of constraints have to be overcome:
 - Management and financial capacity;
 - Management, geographic and socio-economic information systems are needed.
 - Institutional constraints must be resolved.
 - Addressing the need for increased capital spending.
- Cost cutting through retrenchments of personnel and through the use of targeting is not a panacea.
- Without proper management and the ability to ensure efficiency gains, retrenchment will merely result in lower levels of service delivery.

What is the Role for Government?

- It is recognised that post 1994, there has been extensive transformation of the public sector.
- Policies have been revised and new government structures put in place.
- The aim of the exercise is to ensure more efficient, equitable and effective government services, especially to the poor.
- There is a commitment by government to ensure that this process occurs within reasonable macro-economic constraints.
- The difficulty of achieving these laudable goals in the absence of sufficient accountability, management, financial control, information and monitoring is increasingly apparent
- In order to secure more spending on BSS, there is a need to address these problems.

Action Required

1. Recommit to BSS through the MTEF process (prioritising expenditure) and the commitment to develop the capacity to deliver the services efficiently, especially to the poor.
2. Not resolved through simple panaceas (such as macro targets or retrenchments), but on restructuring which is difficult to achieve and which requires realistic time frames.
3. Additional funds may be needed in the short to medium-term.
4. Some specific actions can be identified:
 - Enhanced preventative services.
 - Reorganise the procedures for new policy development.
 - Testing, piloting, management requirements, training and financial management, prior to the commencement of a programme.
 - Sub-national agencies must be capable, properly informed and have budgeted for such programmes.
 - Additional resources for critical posts and system development.
 - Emphasise and rationalise information and monitoring.

What Role for Donors?

- The "second 20%" of the 20/20 refers to the spending of donor funds.
- There is relatively little donor funding for South Africa.
- Donor funding has not been well monitored.
- This should be rectified through the creation of a central register.
- Donors should consider support for training and system development as an urgent priority.
- Spending should not concentrate on meeting the 20% goal per se, as system development is difficult to classify as BSS.
- Limit capital spending, as the ability to manage these projects and ensure efficient utilisation of facilities is in doubt.
- The emphasis should be on support to government to improve the efficiency of expenditure.

Plenary Discussion

Government – Civil Society Role

There is an important role for NGOs but the funding relationship between government and CBOs/NGOs must be clear and transparent. The tax laws need to be changed so that donations to NGOs are tax deductible.

Budgetary Process

There needs to be a significant debate about the actual budget process and to identify at what points input could be made by civil society. People need to be more creative about how to challenge budget committees and how to give quality input.

Tendering Process

Currently, the profit-motivated private sector wins most tenders. Some felt that it would be more effective to use non-profit NGOs/CBOs to provide services because it would also create employment. The RDP creates a useful framework and the public works tendering process provides much scope for involving CBOs. Concern was raised about whether community organisations could provide efficient delivery mechanisms.

Tertiary Education

It is essential to focus on basic education [given high dropout rates of Black pupils up to standard 10] but tertiary education should not be ignored because delivery and performance are

constrained by technical capacity of people.

Access to the Report

Many more copies of the report are needed so that it can be widely distributed. There is also need for a simplified version to make it more accessible. Limited copies were printed due to budget constraints. People should feel free to duplicate and distribute the report and to adapt it to specific constituencies. UNICEF and UNDP should investigate financing a reprint.

National Debt

21% of national budget payment goes to paying off debt. Some thought that the debt should be cancelled; Mr. Morobe pointed out that 96% of the debt is domestic and if the local banks were not repaid, there would be a negative effect on the economy.

Other Points

The power of the media needs to be understood – many people believe that the present government is responsible for all corruption.

Budget allocations need to be analysed: 90% of education budget is spent on salaries, which includes hidden expenditure [e.g. housing].

Intersectoral issues need to be understood: it has taken two years for some communities to get land and this delays development activities.

5. CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR IMPROVED CHILD NUTRITION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Presentation by Dr. Ingrid Le Roux, Philani Nutrition Centre

The Nutrition Situation for Children in South Africa

The South Africa Vitamin A Consultative Group, formed in 1993 with the aim of assessing the anthropometric, vitamin A and iron status of children, conducted a national survey in 1995 which gives a most comprehensive picture of the nutritional status of children in this country. Their findings show that one in four children in South Africa suffers from chronic malnutrition measured as height for age and described as stunting, one in ten is underweight, and 3-5% are wasted, i.e. suffering from severe acute malnutrition. One in three children has marginal vitamin A status (serum vitamin A levels >20ug/dl). According to international criteria the national prevalence (33%) of marginal vitamin A status indicates a serious public health problem and translates into children with suboptimal functioning immune systems with increased incidence of gastro-enteritis and respiratory tract infections as well as visual disturbances which could lead to blindness. One in five children was anaemic with the age group 6-23 months most seriously affected. The situation is most severe in rural areas and informal urban settlements.

In 1994 community health workers, nutrition workers and health committee members from Philani, an NGO, and the Nutrition Coordinating Committee in Khayelitsha mapped the whole community by foot and visited every fiftieth dwelling – a total of over 1300 households – to find the nutrition and health facts of their community. They found how unemployment, destitution, poor housing and lack of basic services gave rise to poor nutrition and ruined children's health. They also found children suffering from severe malnutrition in families with poor social organisation and chaotic home circumstances where there was no capacity to access even the meagre health and nutrition resources available in the community. About

400,000 people live in Khayelitsha. Of those, 20% are children younger than 6 years (80,000). The survey shows that almost 12% (10,000) of those children are under weight for age and 25% are stunted. It is estimated that only one third of these underweight children is in contact with some state or NGO-run nutrition intervention programme.

South Africa is food secure. Its internal food production and nationally financed imports are sufficient to ensure that every person in this country receives adequate food. Still 30-40% of South Africa households does not have access to an adequate diet, due to a maldistribution of household income.

Let us estimate that maybe 40% of the children in this country are hungry, 25% to such a degree that their growth is impaired and with that we know their neurological and intellectual development as well. This translates into a massive loss of human potential and resources with major implications for the development potential of South Africa. The RDP green paper published in 1994 states that we must ensure that as soon as possible and certainly within three years every person in South Africa should get their basic nutritional requirement each day and that they no longer live in fear of going hungry. It is not happening. That is the challenge.

The Response of the State

There are or until recently have been three national nutrition programmes.

In 1975, the Department of Health introduced the Protein-Vitamin-Mineral supplementary scheme in clinics mainly to support malnourished children aged between one and six. This programme was the forerunner of the present Protein Energy Malnutrition Programme (PEM) a facility-based nutrition rehabilitation programme targeting malnourished children, pregnant and lactating women, the chronically ill and the elderly.

This programme has been criticised for its inability to move away from a hand out approach to meet the long-term development and health needs of South Africa's children. Nutrition education has not taken the prominent place it should within the programme and there are few linkages between the programme and community structures which has led to poor targeting and dependency.

The coverage has been poor and this programme does not reach many malnourished children. Although the budget is small, it is not fully utilised in some provinces due partly to the lack of personnel to manage the programme, and partly to the lack of an outreach component to find those children in disorganised families possibly in greatest need of nutrition intervention.

Food Aid Programme: National Nutrition and Social Development Programme

The aim of the Food Aid Programme, initiated in 1991, was to deliver a nutrition service (food aid) to communities in need through funding of Non-Governmental and Community-Based Organisations. Criticism was soon levelled at this programme for lack of developmental focus and the name was changed to the National Nutrition and Social Development Programme.

Organisations funded were encouraged to initiate development projects as part of their nutrition services to the community. This has turned out to be a difficult task with only limited success. There have been many problems with this programme including inadequate staffing, unwieldy administrative procedures and the potential for fraud. However, many organisations maintain that it has served an important relief function especially in areas disrupted by political violence and effected by drought.

The Primary School Nutrition Programme [PSNP]

The Primary School Nutrition Programme was started in September 1994 on the initiative of the State President. It is reaching a large number of primary school children (close to 50% of the total number of primary school children in South Africa) over the whole country. Although the intention of the programme was to include nutrition education, development of food gardens, nutrition surveillance and monitoring as well as parasite control, it has in most parts of the country remained a school-feeding programme. It has increased school attendance and limited hunger, but the full potential of the programme has not been achieved. This programme has now been included together with the old NNSDP under the new heading Community-Based Nutrition Programme (CBNP), to stress the importance of community participation in any nutrition activity. It was decided that the most important target groups for

the Community Based Nutrition Programme are:

- Children (0-6 years)
- Pregnant and lactating women
- Primary school children
- Individuals in crisis

In developing a National Integrated Nutrition Strategy, the Nutrition Commission from 1994 recommended that the three previous nutrition programmes need to function together as one Integrated Nutrition Programme (INP). There should be a close linkage between the facility based PEM and the community based programmes (NNSDP, PSNP) with a strong nutrition promotion and education component integrated at all levels.

An important aspect of the INP is the recommendation that the PEM (facility based nutrition intervention scheme) should function within and be part of the Primary Health Care package at District level. Adequate staff time should be devoted to activities such as growth monitoring, nutrition education, food supplementation, outreach programmes, micronutrient supplementation, as well as treatment and prevention of infectious diseases. Further, the Commission recommended the introduction of a nutrition promotion programme to address the issues of communication, advocacy and appropriate legislation.

The success of this integrated programme will be monitored by means of a nation-wide system of nutrition surveillance forming an integral part of the national health information system for South Africa.

The Challenge

The Health Sector of this country is faced with a remarkable opportunity:

- 1) The allocation of approximately R1 billion / year to nutrition programmes demonstrates the importance the Government attaches to the alleviation of malnutrition. There is political will.
- 2) There are good nutrition policies in place
- 3) Children from underprivileged communities are mentioned as primary target groups in many of these policies
- 4) There is interest and support from the international community
- 5) There is committed and motivated nutrition staff

A considerable amount of the money allocated for nutrition intervention has been spent on feeding without clearly shown benefits in improved nutrition status of children. We need further research to fully evaluate the impact of the PEM, NNSDP and PSNP, and with the results of that research to plan future nutrition interventions. A change in the mindset equating nutrition with feeding is necessary. In a paper presented by Reginald Green in Johannesburg some years ago, however, he talks about the "unempowerable" households, which he defines as those with an inadequate ratio of labour power to mouths: for example, an elderly grandmother caring for a number of small children, or households who are employable at a very low level of productivity due to factors which will repeat themselves if we fail to stop the damage of malnutrition on children who grow up today. He estimates that one third of absolutely poor households fall into this category, which necessitates a redistributive process of transfer payment in cash or kind aimed at these "unempowerable" households.

As the debate continues about the benefit of direct nutrition support relative to other more "developmental" interventions, there is some agreement that both short and long-term strategies are needed. Children are being damaged and crippled by malnutrition today. They cannot wait for tomorrow's development programmes or economic growth. It will be so politically incorrect as to say we need feeding programmes for chronic and acute malnourished children, and children at risk from food insecure families. But intervention to eliminate malnutrition and hunger in this country cannot stop there and it is not the sole responsibility of the Health and Nutrition Departments. Poor nutrition is an outcome of many sectors' failure to deliver to South Africa's poor communities and the solution must come through co-operation by those same sectors. Health can play a facilitation role, and that is an important opportunity, but we are not trained in development, job creation or agriculture. The result is often that when we think "development", the result is food gardens and sewing projects that are often unsustainable. Our poor communities need more significant investments.

In addition to the shift from feeding programmes to integrated nutrition interventions with co-

operation from many different sectors there also needs to be a shift of focus to more resources and greater emphasis on interventions specifically targeting underweight children or children at risk from food insecure communities. Most of the nutrition resources have gone to children not from this most nutritionally vulnerable group.

The basic conditions to eliminate malnutrition are present in South Africa today and this presents both a challenge and an opportunity. Our ability to protect our most valuable national resource – our children – will indicate the success of developmental and transformation processes in this country.

Plenary Discussion

Input into decision making / information channels

There is a need to understand processes in the provinces. A key challenge is how to bridge information gaps so people can know about services and how to access them: in Western Cape there are district committees that can distribute funds to communities. The Department of Health is willing to listen and information is available about how systems work. Philani uses community radio as a tool for health education. As well, the immediate community around each centre is represented in management meetings.

The National Nutrition and Social Development Programme doesn't allow distributors to buy what they want. Government had drawn up a standard list because they had received invoices for coke and similar items. NGOs need to participate in government structures to review the list. In the meantime, feeding scheme staff members should talk to the government field worker who is supposed to visit all field sites.

Income-generating activities

Giving food without looking at the cause of malnutrition won't help. There was disagreement about income-generating activities: some felt that poor families rather need skills that will enable them to get jobs. Others felt such projects could be useful; Philani has a development centre with a successful weaving project to help mothers earn an income.

Social and Family Setting

In cases where young children do not have access

to crèches, families should be encouraged to go to clinics with children up to school age so that the children's growth can be monitored and caregivers provided with advice and services if they are needed. Outreach programmes are needed to reach children in families without the capacity to go to clinics.

Philani works in 6 areas in Khayelitsha and staff members work with government hospitals and clinics; they run early childhood development centres combining nutrition rehabilitation with education of mothers and they also trace defaulters. Philani has no capacity to work beyond current communities. Those wanting to start projects should go to state health structures and demand resources for children.

Breastfeeding and Weaning

Khayalitsha survey showed that 2-3 years olds had the highest malnutrition levels. There was much information on breastfeeding but little on how to correctly introduce solid foods.

Private Sector

Little is known about private sector involvement in nutrition programmes. St George's Foundation and World Food Bank do collect excess food from hotels for redistribution.

Lessons from Philani

Research into chronic malnutrition shows it is due to unemployment, overcrowding and constant movement of families, resulting in lack of care for children.

Philani doesn't sell or charge for food products. There is a small problem of people reselling milk – sometimes to buy food for other children or paraffin for cooking or alcohol.

Philani has made impact on childhood illness with oral rehydration programmes, and the incidence of severe dehydration from diarrhoea has decreased. However, there are many newcomers in the area and this makes it look like impact is not great.

6. SOCIAL MOBILISATION: LESSONS FROM THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

Presentation by Vivienne Taylor,
SADEP, UWC

The study was done to highlight the history of social mobilisation in the South African struggle and to show how social mobilisation strategies can be used for children.

INTRODUCTION

This summary provides an overview of some of the main aspects of the study. South Africans' experiences of mass mobilisation against apartheid and national domination inform current social relations and the manner in which the apartheid state is being dismantled. A critical reflection on the past experiences of South Africa's mass democratic struggles is therefore essential to understand the present and mobilise for the future.

OBJECTIVES

This study was born out of the need to seek people-driven alternatives to the development crisis in the country; alternatives based on people's past experiences of mobilising against racial discrimination, economic exploitation and national domination. Some of the objectives of the study were to:

- review and analyse key aspects of South African experience in mass mobilisation to end apartheid and the processes that shaped national consciousness against apartheid;
- identify the critical processes, structures and strategies which led to effective mobilisation and participation in South Africa's democratic movement so that these might be adapted and utilised to promote social mobilisation and support action to improve the well-being of children within a human development approach and
- identify priority community concerns regarding the well-being of South Africans, particularly children;

Mobilising to attain democracy through mass action and struggle, as revealed in the study, was about creating an enabling environment for a vibrant civil society to challenge repressive state power; represented demands from below, was about people's struggle against death; and was

about securing the space for struggle, critical dissent and its expression against a repressive regime.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOVEMENTS AND MOBILISATION

Chapter two and three clarifies the relationship between concepts of movements, the historical and ideological forces that shaped them and the material conditions that determined who was involved in attempts to change power relations. The trajectory of national liberation movements, popular movements and new social movements highlights the issues around which movements organise, the processes, structures and ways of mobilising mass action and the constant interplay between forces for change and state reaction. The relationship of mass movements to the study on social mobilisation is a significant element, given the history of political, social and economic struggles in Africa and globally.

Mobilisation in Africa was directed at reconfiguring state power and state formations and their relationship to civil society organisations. In post independent African states the goals of social mobilisation were linked to the purposes of the state, the liberation of the state from colonial hegemony, the need to forge national unity, to overcome under-development, specially in the economic sphere and the establishment of a just and humane society.

The study examines how the dominant mode of social and cultural patterns constructed by colonisers excluded and alienated local nationals in the process of governance. Institutional violence affected both the formation of national liberation movements and the cohesiveness of popular resistance. The impact of state violence led to the wholesale destruction of families and communities.

In attempts to reconstruct nation states and regain human dignity people moved outside of their traditional hierarchies of power and colonial power bases and formed new organisations. With the goal of popular resistance or national liberation, movements retained some elements from the past, but were more responsive to collective decision making and democratic control, since they emerged in opposition to authoritarian systems.

These chapters also highlight some of the key factors that influenced struggles, such as the theology of hope and liberation, the end of the second world war, political and economic processes and the rise of Pan-Africanism. A key finding in this section was that national liberation movements mobilised more effectively when political struggles were linked to economic hardship and cultural domination.

THE HISTORY OF STRUGGLE AND MOBILISATION

Chapter three focuses on the historical process of struggle and examines the shifts in strategy of the national liberation movement from negotiating with the apartheid government to mass mobilisation against it. Mobilisation in the period prior to 1950 was based on a strategy of petitioning the apartheid authorities through deputations, delegations and letters. Since dialogue with governments brought no change in the political, economic and social conditions of black people, a new strategy of confrontation and mass mobilisation was developed.

Historically, the study showed that a lot of the success of struggles for democracy, based on mass mobilisation, depended on victories of the ideological kind. When people's bodies were attacked, they turned to their mental and spiritual resources.

THERE WERE FOUR KEY PHASES OF MASS MOBILISATION

The First phase: The defiance campaigns, 1950 - 1961

The 1952 Defiance Campaign against the pass laws was the huge umbrella under which a series of civil disobedience activities, organised by the ANC, took place. The campaign, which signalled the first major action undertaken jointly by Africans, Coloureds and Indians, lasted from early 1952 until the beginning of 1953.

The aim during the period was to mobilise and build a mass movement within a non racial framework. While the old strategy of exerting extra-parliamentary pressure was continued, the process of generating such pressure through popular campaigns took on new importance. During the period 1954 to 1955, liberation movements concentrated their efforts on the planning of three other campaigns. These included the Freedom Charter Campaign, the campaign against removals from the Western

areas townships in Johannesburg and the campaign against Bantu Education. Attempts to build a mass base through the drafting of a Freedom Charter, a document which reflected people's views and aspirations, with which they could identify and which they could claim as their own, was critical to the ANC's consolidation at all levels.

The struggle between 1957 and 1961 was characterised by increasing state repression and a greater need for unity. However, dissent within the liberation movement led to a split and the formation of the Pan African Congress. Another outcome of this phase was that the defiance campaigns increased the consciousness of urban workers which in turn resulted in a closer alliance between the trade union movement, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the African National Congress.

The second phase : 1968 - 1978

The second phase of mobilisation was characterised by internal covert resistance after the Sharpeville massacre and external organisation during 1968 - 1978. The banning of the overt political activities of the ANC led to a redirection of mobilising efforts to other arenas, such as the trade unions and gave rise to trade unionism.

It may be said that the rise of unionism during the 1970s and 1980s, accompanied by nation-wide strikes and stay-aways in certain industries, also served to maintain a high degree of worker activism linked to mobilisation within the framework of national liberation. This gave rise to what is now being called social movement unionism.

The formation of SASO was a critical factor in unifying black (African, Coloured and Indian) people around their common oppression during this phase. The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), driven by charismatic student leadership, based its mobilisation strategies on an analysis which showed that the psychological nature of oppression had to be addressed in order for people to overcome their fears and resist their oppressors. The 1976 Soweto student revolt was a defining movement in mass democratic struggles and brought about a cross-generational involvement of a different kind.

The third phase : The rise of extra-parliamentary pressure through the United Democratic Front (UDF) against parliamentary reform, 1980 - 1990

The state's total strategy against resistance during the 1980s led to a massive wave of demonstrations and the build-up of a countervailing force which resulted in the UDF. Informed by the principles of non-racialism advocated in the 1950s by the Congress Alliance, the UDF was strengthened by the experience of youth and workers whose confidence grew and matured through their participation in the BCM, the Soweto student revolt and the trade union movement of the 1970s. Within the UDF a new cadre of leadership emerged, representing different class views and interests.

The base and social composition of the liberation movements expanded as urbanised youth and the working class came together to strengthen a counterculture of resistance which had risen in the townships after 1976. New techniques of organisation and mobilisation, such as the use of graphic posters, pamphleteering, films, videos, mass meetings and selective use of the media, corresponded with the emerging confidence and new skills of black worker activists and their allies.

The fourth phase : The period of negotiations from 1990 - 1994

After the historic unbanning of the liberation movements on 11 February 1990, mass democratic struggles and mobilisation strategies gained new impetus and was directed at gaining leverage in the negotiations.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MOVEMENTS

In examining the relationship between national liberation movements and social movements, an important feature emerged in the study. The establishment of movements whose membership consisted of people who, although themselves not directly affected by apartheid, were so appalled that they mobilised on behalf of black South Africans. These movements are categorized as Proxy movements.

While national liberation movements mobilised people in their own national interests, social movements mobilised sectoral groups or categories of the population for the attainment of a specific goal. Proxy movements mobilised on behalf of people. The nature of these movements

and their social composition, goals and processes determined both strategies and outcomes. Each movement interpreted its area of concern within specific contexts. The focus of each movement also defined its constituency and distinguished its membership from that of other movements. Their ideological focus was on the material, emotional and psychological deprivation caused by apartheid and racial capitalism.

“VOICES OF EXPERIENCE IN MASS DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLES”

Reflections by leaders emphasise the need for critical analysis on the events and strategies that shaped mass action. Key in the process of mass mobilisation as articulated by many, was the concerted attempt to engage in a programme of political education so that people understood why they were engaging in mass action. Inevitably mobilisation led to cycles of activity. Retaliatory state action led to more committed and angry responses from those who were affected. Movements and mobilisation were shaped by the ideological perspectives of leaders, their values and principles and their commitment to democratic struggle and freedom. Importantly, linking the struggle for democracy with the struggle against poverty helped to expand the base of movements.

Leaders were also influenced by religious values, liberation struggles elsewhere in the world, particularly the anti-colonial struggles in Africa and the Cuban struggle. While ideological perspectives were shaped by socialism and nationalism, different interpretations of ideological positions and different strands also resulted in divisions. In spite of this, at times the unity of the oppressed across all levels of society was critical in shaping the strategies for mass mobilisation.

Organisation and Mobilisation

An interesting finding was that mass mobilisation and mass action were not always a result of broad-based organisation. Organisations seldom needed more than a small core of people to operate at an extremely high level of intensity. The UDF had broad appeal and was characterised by “looseness” and “flexibility”. These characteristics allowed it to involve people from, and through, a large number of organisations ranging from overtly political groups to churches or sports clubs.

Issues and mobilisation

The type of issues chosen was also a significant factor in the success of mobilisation. For instance towards the end of the 1980s virtually all campaigns and activities revolved around a set litany of political demands which included the demands contained in the Freedom Charter as well as the release of political prisoners, the return of the exiles, the removal of the South African Defence Force troops from the townships, and the unbanning of political leaders and organisations. Many of the campaigns undertaken by civic movements centred around housing and service provision issues. Practical issues were used to mobilise people around broader demands. Union organisers, in particular, spoke about the importance of organising on "bread and butter" issues. Logistical factors and access to resources also influenced mobilisation according to many.

Race and mobilisation

Race emerged as a defining factor in mobilising. Non-racialism was a basic principle of the Congress-aligned organisations. However, given apartheid, and given South Africa's particular demographic and political history, non-racialism was easier to aspire to than to achieve.

International influence

Internal mobilisation would not have succeeded had the country not been subjected to external pressure of various kinds. The international sanctions, boycotts and anti-apartheid movements were significant factors in supporting democratic struggles. In addition the role of countries that provided bases for the ANC in exile was critical to the capacity of movements to sustain mobilisation.

PEOPLE'S EXPERIENCES OF MOBILISATION AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS
Organisations that emerged during the 1970s and 1980s operated at different levels through many structures. They not only articulated the extent to which political alienation led to social disintegration, but also raised a critical awareness of the need for alternative systems of governance.

Civic structures that emerged during the 1980s in protest against discredited local control and governance and the unacceptable increases in rents and service charges, organised through street committees and residents associations.

The consistent thread throughout this section was the manner in which the trajectory of political and social struggles, created an environment in which an improvement in the overall quality of life of the poorest was seen as a necessary result of democracy.

In addition, the lack of communication and consultation between government and civil society was raised as a critical factor in perceptions of people on what has changed and what remains the same in post apartheid South Africa.

The period of the study 1995 - 1996 was seen as a pivotal time for community organisation. From the experiences of the past and the current crises of development a central feature that emerged in the study was the need for community organisation and development workers to address large scale national problems. Problems of declining incomes, deepening and increasing inequalities, physical deterioration, increasing vulnerability of women and children, continued exclusion from decision making structures and uncertainty about institutional changes and the states capacity to promote and manage social transformation emerged as significant factors that highlight the need for collective strategies and mobilisation.

CONSTRUCTING ALTERNATIVES THROUGH STRUGGLE

The shift from protest to direct challenge and confrontation was a result of critical interventions, motivating factors and processes. Among the turning points were the defiance campaigns (as a part of the 1949 Programme of Action led by the ANC Youth League); the Sharpeville massacre on 21 March 1960; the 1956 women's march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria; various treason trials; the banning of the liberation movements; the student and worker movements of the 1970s; and the Soweto uprising of 1976. In all these events, different movements played decisive roles and in the process began to change arenas of governance.

Women and mobilisation

In particular the role and experiences of women highlighted how people, in the face of poverty, and extreme deprivation, were able to mobilise against oppression. However quite often women's specific and differentiated roles in the struggle were not highlighted by many because of

how closely their initiatives against subordination were tied to what is termed political resistance of a national content. But women linked their political, social and economic conditions with the need for emancipation from oppression as a result of patriarchy and other cultural forces.

Further the participation of women and the brutality they experienced shocked the world and emphasised the evils of the system of apartheid and provided the incentive, at times, to mobilise.

The study revealed that women's organisations addressed wider social rather than specific gender issues and that women's organisations usually provided moral, physical or financial support and played a leading role in these ways.

Children and mobilisation

During periods of intense struggle and extreme poverty children have always been on the receiving end of police brutality. Firstly, they are the most vulnerable and at risk because of poverty. Secondly, the extent of social disintegration, violence and alienation had a lasting impact on children and youth.

Youth and mobilisation

Throughout the period of struggle, youth played a critical role, though their roles and their contributions to mass mobilisation differed during certain periods. From the late 1960s to the early 1970s, young people, played a significant role at a time when most political activity had been suppressed. During the period of the 1980s, student activists were involved in mass democratic struggles at a younger age than their predecessors.

The extent of youth involvement in mass mobilisation during this period, and right up to the 1980s, has been attributed to several factors.

These include: state repression; demographic features; time available for mobilisation (students and unemployed young people have more time on their hands); and a growing intolerance amongst the youth of adults who seemed to be accepting the apartheid system.

Community and civic campaigns

The growth of civic organisations was a conscious attempt at co-ordinated action against illegitimate community councils. The issues around which the civic movements mobilised were real and concrete. There were issues that people could relate to and feel strongly about. The activities

of civic movements showed that mass movements have a greater chance at success if they are also able to mobilise at a local level. Another feature of civic organisations during this period was that they were able to mobilise people beyond party political afflictions, even though many members were linked to the national liberation movements.

The education struggles

Education has always been a site of struggle during the different phases of mass mobilisation.

The education crisis was too vast and deep-seated to be dealt with through a process of mass mobilisation. While the issue of education lent itself to mobilisation, the specific aspects related to it could not be dealt with in the same way.

Issues of Governance, Democracy and Leadership

Central to issues of governance, democracy and leadership was the concern with how issues of governance emerged in practice within movements and how movements tried to construct alternatives to the governance of the apartheid state.

The high level of control and regulation of community and government organisations in the past was the impetus for an alternative system of politics and governance. Highlighted in the study was a degree of scepticism and criticism of formal parliamentary democracy as it generally operates in western countries. Within the mass democratic movement it was clear that mobilisation was organised around a broad ideal of "democracy" rather than a specific goal. The openness of societal structures to ensure the effective participation of all people was critical. The need for people to secure and maintain spaces to have critical debate, dissent and a diverse range of views also emerged in discussion.

Democracy within the national liberation movement was also driven by the need to make unaccountable public, private and community sectors accountable and transparent in their operations.

The type of leadership which emerged was not only shaped by struggle but also provided role models for activists. An emphasis was placed on the need for strong leadership, without which mobilisation could not be sustained. Types of leadership that provided alternatives were seen as collective, charismatic, organisational and organic leadership.

An interesting finding of the study was that during the 1960s and 1970s, unlike the 1980s, there were different layers of leadership (who provided shadow leadership) inside and outside the country who could provide political direction and control through different ways and who were understudies of prominent leaders who could have been banned or imprisoned at any time.

In addition cliques, cabals, factions and the labelling of leaders and individuals emerged as issues in movements for change. These or other inner groupings, and the resultant divisions, are probably inevitable in any struggle. The secrecy surrounding them was exaggerated in the South African context because of the illicit nature of many of the gatherings.

Culture, Communication, Media and Mobilisation

The study indicates that for many South Africans, especially black people, the battle as asserting a truly South African cultural identity was intertwined with a complex pattern of forces which include the media, forms of communication and its processes both nationally and globally. The study reinforced the belief that there has always been a compact of power between the former white minority government, the media and the private sector.

Throughout the democratic struggle therefore, a conscious attempt was made by the oppressed to retain the codes, customs, values and traditions that would affirm a truly South African national identity. In doing so, some of the cultural values and forms became identified as tools of resistance. The influence of the media and communication processes in transmitting the values and hegemonic role of the dominant white culture was raised throughout the study. Strands of cultural resistance were linked to the need to address the divisive nature of apartheid and unify the majority.

Cultural activities and the constructing of a counter culture was significant in democratic struggles. While alternatives to imposed cultural practices have been emerging throughout, it was during the 1980s that it became prominent and made an impact. Artists were challenged to reflect the world they lived in, with all its brutality. Cultural events during periods of mass action became a way of codifying behaviour and symbols in certain contexts. The use of images

and symbols was political, and the careful selection of certain symbols came out of a political context.

Extreme repression and almost no access to mainstream methods of communication resulted in both subversive and alternative communication strategies. Communication and the use of the media posed two central challenges to the democratic movement. The first was the struggle to secure the right to communicate and freedom of expression and the second was to construct alternatives to the exclusionary processes of communication to advance the struggle. Different ways of communicating were reviewed in the study. Participation of people through effective communication processes was consequently seen as key to mobilisation.

FROM POLITICAL MOBILISATION TO SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Mobilisation and the conceptual framework
The South African struggle for democracy was based on the understanding that apartheid and economic exploitation of the majority were not incidental to the political, social and economic institutions which emerged. Rather they were embedded in the structures, policies and processes of governance at all levels of society. Conceptually then it was important for movements for social change to use a political approach to spheres usually seen as non political.

To make a real impact in the field of child focused human development, conceptual frameworks for social mobilisation therefore need to go beyond mechanistic, behavioural processes that rely on the social engineering of experts and social marketing, to work within a framework that links social and political conditions with critical analysis.

Learning from history

History reinforces the lesson that mobilisation against political domination is directly linked to other forms of exploitation and in order to address these forms of exploitation, it is necessary for democratic governments to form new relationships with progressive forces.

The conditions which gave rise to movements for political and social change still exist in South Africa and elsewhere. The extreme poverty, deepening inequalities and various forms of exclusion create the environment for political or

social mobilisation. Depending on the state's capacity to understand and manage the process, citizens could begin to engage in social mobilisation at a very constructive level or engage in popular rebellion to defy and bring down the state.

The transitional context and mobilisation
Community members are not being informed of the significant policy shifts towards transformation taking place at a national level. These changes are not communicated to them. Firstly, community members feel distanced from this process because the speed at which policy changes are taking place does not allow for their active participation. Secondly, community participation in public policy formulation has not been characteristic of South Africa in the past. However for citizens to participate in policy processes there has to be a significant programme of public education and communication. Resources are not being put into development education or public participation.

On the economic front, the current macro-economic framework is not perceived to have a significant social development emphasis or to prioritise the needs of workers, women, people in rural areas and children. Increasing joblessness, continued retrenchments and job losses are creating uncertainty and an environment which encourages a subterranean economy based on cross-border crime syndicates and trafficking in narcotics, women and children.

While the changing context in South Africa provides the space for different sectors to bring new issues and political, social, economic and cultural demands into the process, these different sectors can become forces which could lead to a broad movement for social change if the present state re-visits the concept of peoples' forums and strengthens organisations of civil society. Prospects for transforming the relationship between the state and civil society depend on whether the state and movements come together in ways that are complementary.

Inter-movement articulation

The struggles of movements and groups of excluded people are usually too diverse in their origins and outcomes to be seen as a model that can be adopted for all development efforts.

Liberation movements sought to achieve real gains for the dispossessed majority in their countries through revolutionary mobilisation under the guidance of a vanguard party or enlightened elite. Since the former liberation movement in South Africa has become the majority in government, it has had to seek new ways of promoting relationships between movements. How the government engages with its former alliance partners in the labour, women's, youth and civic movements will be critical in the future.

Social movements which included workers, residents' associations, health activists and homeless people reflect multiple forms of collective mobilisation of society which was in turn shaped by the plurality of the sites and forms of struggle and gave it a content and character different from the established order. Movements which were organised around specific issues affecting workers, youth, women and communities were located ideologically and in terms of their relationship within the broader national liberation movements.

Understanding how movements articulate with each other and how they represent different or common interests is critical to social mobilisation.

Diverse and varied organisations and movements came together to achieve a common goal or resolve a conflict that affected the majority. When issues to be addressed were perceived to be legitimate, commanded the moral high ground, and did not undermine the integrity of the organisations taking part in the process, the results were more likely to be successful.

Lessons for inter and intra movement articulation in the current context relate to both factors internal to them and external. Some of the internal crises of movements that played a significant role in mass democratic struggles such as the Congress Alliance and others include the identity of movements and the needs of their constituencies, their ability to survive in the context of realignments taking place nationally and globally and the manner in which provincialism and patriarchy conflict with national interest and human rights.

Other lessons from struggle and mobilisation are raised in relation to the community, religious and government sectors together with key issues and factors in mobilisation.

Sustainable Development partnerships

The need to build sustainable development partnerships is the concluding theme of the study. In this regard a precondition for effective social mobilisation which leads to transformation was seen as community empowerment. A human rights culture which facilitates socio economic rights is critical. It can only gain momentum if political rights are consolidated and human development programmes prioritise the needs of the most vulnerable and excluded. Central to constructing alternatives and promoting development is the challenge to secure and use democratic space.

In the process of mobilisation and organisation alternative systems, structures, forms of leadership, coalitions and practices emerge, as past experience shows, which in themselves are alternatives.

Plenary Discussion

Family Life

There is a need to rebuild family life in South Africa but there is no point in trying to reconstruct a model of family that doesn't exist: many have given up their role as parents. It is important to understand why this has happened and how capabilities could be increased. We also need to fully understand the significant elements that brought about destruction of the family [policy, legislation of government, interaction in society at large]. The major issue is work because it is problematic to try and survive in a cash-based society without an income. If the family is not viable, children suffer. We need to identify interventions.

Perhaps we should look at functions of the family [social cohesion, economic sustenance] and discuss how the functions could be supported. Children are now discovering their own support structures and forms of family. We need to understand and learn about children's way of doing things. For example, under the auspices of the children's resource centre, children are running their own health centres, cleaning schools and streets etc. We need to create an enabling environment for children so they can form their own social movement.

Participation By Children

The CRC focuses a lot on rights but little on responsibilities and obligations; there was concern amongst some that this could foster an entitlement culture in which children are empowered but they do very little. CRC has focused on rights because people have been disadvantaged. We need to look at how we understand children as citizens of the country and how we find ways for children to learn about their rights, obligations and responsibilities.

We need to find strategic ways to have children come and share their concerns with us. For example, the NCRC worked closely with children and this led to the Children's Summit in 1992 that drew up the *South African Children's Charter*.

Mobilisation

Participants felt the need to rebuild the movement step by step. Children are key but so are parents and adults. Some felt that Government needs to be involved in the poverty campaign. Mobilisation can be a strategy that straddles all programmes and sectors. People may not know about new policies so government must communicate programmes.

UNICEF/SADEP agreed to document the past as a legitimate part of the situation analysis to show how people mobilised against apartheid power. The resulting book is a base resource document from which lessons can be learned. In November 1997 a conference was held to review the study and the responses will be published as a final report.

Governments by nature are cumbersome and legislators are very busy. There is intrinsic responsibility for civil society to monitor what is happening thereby forcing government to move in certain directions. The challenge is how to contribute constructively.

The issues of promoting volunteerism were debated. Some supported the concept; others felt that it was untenable to force volunteerism in impoverished communities.

7. SUMMARY

Presented by Valerie Leach

The best interests of children are the best interests of society. Their *rights* are in the constitution; their *obligations* are imposed by society. Thus, children are *citizens*.

In South Africa the allocation for Basic Social Services [pre-primary education, primary education, and primary health services] does not yet reach 20%. It exceeds 20%, however, if we include social welfare and housing grants etc. Budget allocations are not pro-poor. The system is not yet efficient. The macroeconomic framework specified targets and timelines but is deficit reduction compatible with social strategy? More resources are needed for sound management systems.

With respect to health and nutrition, the high prevalence of malnutrition is an outcome of social processes. Underlying causes are insufficient food, disease and lack of services. Basic causes relate to unemployment, poverty and social dislocation. Nutrition programmes are preoccupied with food and the school-age population. There is a need for truly integrated social development programmes [especially for 2-3 year olds]. More community involvement, outreach and understanding of the people's conditions is essential.

The way ahead is through

- Awareness [access to information – more studies, making results available; development of a conceptual framework; use of networks, community fora and radio]
- Monitoring so that government lives up to obligations. Community child watch committees and community fora could do this.
- Mobilisation – children can be a unifying force but we need to find appropriate forms of organisation and governance so that children can be involved and informed. We need to work towards building child-friendly communities.

8. STATEMENT

By Scholastica Kimaryo, UNICEF Representative in South Africa

It has been a privilege and challenge for UNICEF to work in South Africa. The issues are complex; global conditions make the work difficult and South Africa's challenges are the UN's challenges. When South Africa succeeds, it motivates the rest of the world to continue struggling: many countries have lost optimism about development but they are rejuvenated by South Africa's struggle. With or without UNICEF, the government has established structures to address the issues of children. International organisations cannot claim that they have influenced South Africa; we can learn especially from the period of transformation. We need to find new ways to engage in this process.

9. CLOSING COMMENTS

By Chairperson

Vigorous democracy requires interaction between legislators and civil society. Through the kind of discussions possible in workshops such as this, it is hoped to further democratic development.

Scholastica Kimaryo presented Mr. Saloojee and Dr. Abe Nkomo from the Health Portfolio Committee each with a copy of Karl Eric Knutson's book, *Children: Noble Causes or Worthy Citizens?*

NETWORKING CONTACT LIST [Organisations and individuals invited to the workshop // Members of the Portfolio Committee // UNICEF staff members]

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Human Sciences Research Council [HSRC] Western Cape	Rachel C Prinsloo, Regional Director	Private Bag X5 Roggebaai Cape Town 8012	T- (021) 419-2572	F- (021) 419-6766

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

ADSA	Edelweiss Wentzel Coordinator: Division Dietetics and President of ADSA	Private Bag X17 Cape Town 7535	T- (021) 959-2232	F- (021) 880-1825 [tel]
Afrika Cultural Centre [ACC]	Mr B Francis Ms Cony Sedumedi	PO Box 8380 Johannesburg 2000	T- (011) 838-4541 (011) 833-2323	F- (011) 833-2324
Baby-Friendly Hospital: St Monica's Maternity Hospital	Phyllis Baxen	38 Lions Street Cape Town 8001	T- (021) 237-237	F- (021) 248-739
Baby-Friendly Hospital: Vergelegen Medi-Clinic c/o Lourensford Estate	Melanie Kreft	PO Box 95 Somerset West Cape Town 7129	T- (021) 850-9000	F- (021) 850-9040
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Cape Town Breastfeeding Liaison Group	Hope Ntsabiso Lulama Phillips	Private Bag X7 Woodstock Cape Town 7915	T- (021) 460-9192	F- (021) 471-959
Cape Town Child Welfare Society	Alan Jackson, Director	PO Box 18008 Wynberg Cape Town 7824	T- (021) 761-7130	F- (021) 797-3390
Centre for Education Policy Development, Evaluation and Management [CEPD]	Mr John Pampallis, Director	PO Box 31892, Braamfontein Johannesburg 2017	T- (011) 403-6131	F- (011) 403-1130
Centre for Policy Studies [CPS]	Khehla Shubane	PO Box 16488 Doornfontein Johannesburg 2028	T- (011) 402-4308	F- (011) 402-7755
Children's Resource Centre	The Director	PO Box 1187 Woodstock Cape Town 7915	T- (021) 47-5757	F- (021) 47-8597
Community Agency for Social Enquiry [CASE]	David Everatt, Director	PO Box 32882 Braamfontein Johannesburg 2017	T- (011) 403-4204	F- (011) 403-1005
Community Conflict Management and Resolution [CCMR]	Pat Mkhize, Director	PO Box 1846 Randburg Johannesburg 2125	T- (011) 789-3022 (011) 886-4173/5	F- (011) 886-4177
Community Law Centre [University of Western Cape]	Nico Stetiyer, Director	Private Bag X17 Bellville Cape Town 7535	T- (021) 959-2950	F- (021) 959-2411
Community Workers Forum	Yvonne Michael, Steering Committee	14 Montague Street Wellington Cape Town	T- (021) 864-3501	F- (021) 685-3087
Community Workers Forum New Women's Movement	Marjorie Billings	15 Jardine Street Wellington Cape Town 7655	T- (021) 873-2979	F- (021) 685-3033

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Institute for Democracy in South Africa [IDASA]	Professor Wilmot James Executive Director	PO Box 1739 Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 461-2559	F- (021) 461-2589
ISPCAN [13th International Conference on Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect Year 2000]	Chana Majake, Chairperson	PO Box 13545 Hatfield Pretoria 0028	T- (012) 834-580 (082) 200-3983	F- (012) 834-580
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Mvula Trust	Horst Kleinschmidt, Executive Director	PO Box 32351 Braamfontein Johannesburg 2017	T- (011) 403-3425	F- (011) 403-1260
National Association for Child and Youth Care Workers (NACCW)	Ms Zenni Tuhumbadoo	PO Box 36407 Glosderry Cape Town 7702	T- (021) 696-4247 (021) 696-4123	F- (021) 697-4130

National Children and Violence Trust		PO Box 71924 Bryanston Johannesburg 2021	T- (011) 789-2480/1	F- (011) 789-2478
National Children's Rights Committee [NCRC]	M Rantla, Executive Director	PO Box 616 Rivonia Johannesburg 2128	T- (011) 807-7474 (011) 807-7475 (011) 807-7476	F- (011) 807-7477
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National Rural Development Forum [NRDF]	Ms Lisebo Khoali-McCarthy	Johannesburg	T- (011) 339-5412	F- (011) 339-1440
National Welfare, Social Service & Development Forum	Marilyn Setlalentoa, National Secretary	PO Box 4025 Johannesburg 2000	T- (011) 836-6160	F- (011) 836-6034
Nelson Mandela Children's Fund	Mr Jeremy Ratcliffe, Executive Director	PO Box 797 Highlands North Johannesburg 2037	T- (011) 786-9140	F- (011) 786-9197
Network Against Child Labour	Simon Mokoena, National Co-ordinator	PO Box 42440 Fordsburg Johannesburg 2033	T- (011) 836-0282	F- (011) 834-1873
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Pascap Trust	Nadia Isaacs	PO Box 31276 Grassy Park Cape Town 7888	T- (021) 705-0732 / 5706	F- (021) 705-0732
PAWC	Hilary Goeiman, Senior Community Dietitian	PO Box 554 Cape Town 7570	T- (021) 946-8151	F- (021) 946-2203
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Philani Nutrition Project	Ms. Lindiwe Kopile, Coordinator	PO Box 40188 Elonwabeni Khayalitsha Cape Town 7791	T- (021) 387-5124	F- (021) 387-5107
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Resources Aimed at Preventing Child Abuse and Neglect [RAPCAN]	Diana Scott, The Director	197 Lower Main Road Observatory Cape Town 7925	T- (021) 448-9034/5/6	F- (021) 488-9042
Restoration Social Services	Jakob Afrika, Coordinator	102 Atbara Street Cape Town	T- (021) 955-1859	F- (021) 955-1859
Safeline	M. Lowdt	PO Box 36091 Glosderry Cape Town 7702	T- (021) 638-1155	F- (021) 637-4211
South African Congress for Early Childhood Development	The Director	PO Box 673 Pretoria 0001	T- (012) 322-0601	F- (012) 322-9379
South African Democratic Teachers Union [SADTU]	Willy Madish, President Thulas Nxesi, General Secretary	PO Box 6401 Johannesburg 2000	T- (011) 334-4830 (082) 893-4070	F- (011) 334-4836/ 8
South African Democratic Teachers Union [SADTU]. Free State	Eddie Dithebe, Media Convenor	Box 6785 Bloemfontein 9300	T- (051) 430-1257	F- (051) 430-1405
South African National NGO Coalition [SANGOCO]	Jackie Boule, Executive Director Anthea Bingle, Membership Services Officer	PO Box 31471 Braamfontein Johannesburg 2017	T- (011) 403-7746	F- (011) 403-8703
Southern Natal Children's Rights Committee	Ms K Vawda	1st floor 480 Smit Street Durban 4001	T- (031) 307-6075	F- (031) 307-6074

Streetwise South Africa	Mr Brian Shanek	PO Box 27937 Yeoville Johannesburg 2143	T- (011) 402-4355	F- (011) 402-8205
Trade Union Library	Mr Martin Jansen	PO Box 376 Woodstock Cape Town 7915	T- (021) 477-848	F- (021) 479-244
Vredelus House	Mita Solomons, Manager	P/Bag X3 Elsie's Rivier Cape Town 7490	T- (021) 931-0233 (021) 952-3568	F- (021) 932-4420
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Westville Primary School	Fazelene Behardien	Corner Boshoff & De Duine Road Cape Town	T- (021) 797-5578	F- (021) 797-5548
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Young Women's Christian Association [YWCA] Western Cape Branch	Mr. Peter Hansen	20 Bellevue St The Gardens Cape Town 8001	T- (021) 23-3711	F- (021) 23-3711 [ask for fax] F- (021) 403-3177

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Portfolio Committee, Health	Dr. SA Nkomo, Honourable MP Chairperson	PO Box 15 Parliament Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 403-3240	
Portfolio Committee, Welfare	Mr. E Saloojee, Honourable MP	PO Box 15 Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 403-2302 (011) 403-0538 40 fax sadwa (021) 403-2337	F- (021) 403-2070 / 2300
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Portfolio Committee, Welfare	Ms. Adelaide Tambo, Honourable MP	PO Box 15 Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 403-3096	F- (021) 462-4237
Portfolio Committee, Welfare	Ms. Trusma Nonyaniso Madubula, Honourable MP	7 Hadedla Street, Electric City Blue Downs Cape Town 7100	T- (021) 904-5525 [h] (021) 403-3702 [o]	F- (021) 461-9687
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Portfolio Committee, Welfare	Pauline Cupido, Honourable MP	PO Box 15 Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 403-3330	F- (021) 403-2910
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Portfolio Committee, Welfare	Ms. RZN Capa, Honourable MP	PO Box 15 Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 403-2911	F- (021) 462-2141
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Portfolio Committee, Welfare	Ms. BO Dlamini, Honourable MP	PO Box 15 Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 403-2911	F- (021) 462-2141
Portfolio Committee, Welfare	Dr. E.E. Jassat, Honourable MP	PO Box 15 Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 403-2911	F- (021) 462-2141
Portfolio Committee, Welfare	Dr NEK Kuzwayo, Honourable MP	PO Box 15 Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 403-2911	F- (021) 462-2141
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Portfolio Committee, Welfare	Mr. RK September, Honourable MP	PO Box 15 Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 403-2911	F- (021) 462-2141
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Portfolio Committee, Welfare	Ms. NT Madubula, Honourable MP	PO Box 15 Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 403-2911	F- (021) 462-2141
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Portfolio Committee, Welfare	Ms. KW Nqwemesha, Honourable MP	PO Box 15 Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 403-2911	F- (021) 462-2141
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Portfolio Committee, Welfare	Dr. PWA Mulder, Honourable MP	PO Box 15 Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 403-2911	F- (021) 462-2141
Portfolio Committee, Welfare	Dr. BG Mbulawa, Honourable MP	PO Box 15 Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 403-2911	F- (021) 462-2141
Portfolio Committee, Welfare	Mr. MMZ Dyani, Honourable MP	PO Box 15 Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 403-2911	F- (021) 462-2141
Portfolio Committee, Welfare	Mr. LM Green, Honourable MP	PO Box 15 Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 403-2911	F- (021) 462-2141
Portfolio Committee, Welfare	Rev. KR Mashoe, Honourable MP	PO Box 15 Cape Town 8000	T- (021) 403-2911	F- (021) 462-2141 F- (021) 696-7549

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African National Congress (ANC)	J. Ngculu, Provincial Secretary [Western Cape]	PO Box 402 Athlone Cape Town 7764	T- (021) 696-7510	
African National Congress (ANC) Women's League. Western Cape	Ms Nomatshala Hangani	PO Box 402 Athlone Cape Town 7764	T- (021) 696-7510	F- (021) 696-7549
South African Communist Party [SACP]. Western Cape	The Chairperson	601 Katz Building 152 Victoria Road Woodstock Cape Town 7925	T- (021) 448-7908	F- (021) 477167 F- (012) 322-4806

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