

**iGagasi**

**Viewpoint (Bukiwe Cimela)**

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**Bukiwe Cimela (Presenter):** Three scenarios have been set out for the country's future. The Dinokeng Scenario Group says South Africa could find itself in one of the scenarios if a number of issues are not addressed. Some of the scenarios are not the scenarios South Africa wants to find itself facing. Now to talk more about this we're joined by Dr Mamphele Ramphela, Chairperson of the Dinokeng Scenario Group; hello Dr. Ramphela and welcome to Viewpoint

**Dr Mamphele Ramphela:** Hello my sister

**Bukiwe Cimela:** We're also joined by Ebrahim Fakir, Head of Governance, Electoral Institute of South Africa. Ebrahim welcome to Viewpoint.

**Ebrahim Fakir:** Hi good evening and thanks for having me

**Bukiwe Cimela:** KZN, you also get a chance to comment on the issue. Now Dr Ramphela, to start off with, who or what is Dinokeng?

**Dr Mamphele Ramphela:** Dinokeng is a team that was brought together by Old Mutual and Nedbank from the middle of last year until we released the reports early this month. It's a team of 35 South Africans from all walks of life and all of us came there because we are concerned citizens – from the private sector, from the public sector, including politicians and two of them are now in fact in government and we also had people from civil society. So we were representing the diversity of South Africa and it is that diversity that we used to come up with shared understandings about our challenges, our opportunities, our achievements and the mistakes we've made in the last 15 years.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** What was the criterion of choosing these people, these 35 when the initiative was started? Who was invited?

**Dr Mamphele Ramphele:** The first people who were invited were the conveners – six of us, and we were then asked to invite other people that we thought could make a difference, from the trade union side, from the private sector side, from the faith-based organizational side, from political parties, so it was really a selected group by a diversity of South Africans. So because we were different, the six of us, we were able to bring different constituencies to the party.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Mr. Fakir, let's look at this group, the 35, looking at the six original conveners. What is the make of it? Is this different from other research groups?

**Ebrahim Fakir:** I think it's very difficult for me to answer that question simply because I'm not aware of who all 35 were. Of course I know some of the participants who are part of this and I think it is a fairly representative sample of people who work in different sectors of our society, who come with different approaches and who come with different understandings of our society. So I think let's just first conclude that I think this was fairly representative. I'm also fairly confident that many of the views that they would have shared at the Scenario Planning Exercise were fairly well-informed given the experiences that they respectively come with. What I suspect may not have been adequately accounted for is the large amount of research which actually has been done so to a degree I suppose some of the participants would have come in with some of that research but I suspect many of them would just have come with perspectives of their own interpretations of how they understood society to be unfolding in the different sectors and how the different sectors relate to each other now. The fact that they may not have used all of the research is not in itself a problem. I don't think it is because I think the very basis of scenario planning is where people come and give perspectives of how they think society is relating to each other and how it may potentially unfold in the future and then of course decide on which one is the most desirable and which one is the least desirable so I think it is a fairly valuable exercise but at the same time, one has to take all of the scenario plans which have emerged with a pinch of salt because the Dinokeng Scenarios are not the only ones. Government I think, about a year ago released the 20/25 Scenarios in which they also characterized for five different models of different ideas of the future. Now each of them I think has to be taken with a grain of salt, with a degree of skepticism but largely I think the measures that they do propose and the

understandings that they emerge with, are relevant for us to think about how society unfolds.

**Dr Mamphele Ramphela:** May I make a small correction here. We definitely were not researchers as an overall team but we did commission research on the specific areas which we identified early on as the challenging areas. In the field of education for example, health, employment and youth development and issues of crime and we also relied very much on research that is available from the HSRC's, the MRC's, the government statistics. So I'm not saying we're a research group but we did base our observations on research that is out there.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Dr Ramphela, did you focus on these specific areas, the health, education, the crime in the country or was it just anything that you wanted to talk about in South Africa?

**Dr Mamphele Ramphela:** You know what was quite amazing is that the process started with interviews with all 35 of us – this is before we had met as a group – when you distil those interviews there were very clear shared concerns and they revolved around these issues. So that was the more remarkable first point. The second point is, typical because of the diversity of our backgrounds, we came at those problems very differently and there were heated debates about how one explains certain things, there is a burden of history and then there is a question of what have we done as a society since 1994. We can't keep blaming apartheid for our educational failures without also owning that we made certain policy choices and certain ways of approaching. So what is remarkable about Dinokeng is not that we thought the same way, but it is that we had core-shared concerns and core values that obviously are enshrined in our constitution, also informed how we came to the conclusions and we didn't agree on everything but we had a concern around certain core issues which were the achievements, the mistakes that were made which are now liabilities and the challenges that we face and the way forward. The three scenarios, there aren't any disagreements around them.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Mr. Fakir, the fact that the group comes from very varied and diverse backgrounds politically, socially and otherwise, doesn't this make them more acceptable,

the scenarios that they come with because it sort of represents the diversity of South Africa?

**Ebrahim Fakir:** Well I'm not sure that in itself is the complete measure of acceptability or credibility of the scenarios. Now that's not calling into question the credibility of the conclusions they reached. I think they are fairly credible. But their credibility does not only vest on the representativity of the diversity of views which might come, either political, either social, either contextual because of background or because they come from different sectors of our society. That's part of what lends credibility but I think what lends greater credibility is that much of what their discussion would have revolved around were the core five or six areas that they each identified I suspect, as the major challenges facing South Africa number one. Number two, the actual state of play in those particular sectors, so I think what gives it a degree of credibility is the correct reading of the kind of lack that you might experience in education, in health, in race relations, in the economy, in terms of employment. So I think the credibility factor is not simply hinged on the fact that a representative sample of people who come from a diversity of backgrounds and context, it's the nature of the deliberations firstly. Secondly, it is a representativity factor. Thirdly, it's the nature of the issues they actually focused on and lastly it's the kinds of conclusions that they reached. Now of course, someone's going to quibble with each one of those conclusions or the process by which they reach them but that in itself does not deny the credibility of the process. But we must again be cautious. Many of the scenario-planning exercises which have been undertaken are not conclusive and that's the thing we should bear in mind. They are possibilities. Its almost a kind of yours stars foretell but it's a more kind of informed your stars foretell scenario planning exercise.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Dr Ramphele earlier you mentioned specific areas where you looked at particularly the health and education. Focusing on those just briefly, what did you find were the major challenges on those focus areas?

**Dr Mamphele Ramphele:** You see my sister that worst part is that education has proven in the whole world through that if you're educated, if a person is educated he or she doesn't need to be given food, to be given a grant or whatever, he or she is able to do it him/herself. So education is the beginning of any development process. If you want to

rescue people from poverty and unemployment you've got to start with education. For example, one of the studies we called is that people with degrees, only 3% of those who are unemployed have degrees. If you have a matric certificate the chances of you being unemployed are 28% or 28% of the people who were unemployed in 2008 had matric certificates. If you don't have a matric certificate those people represented more than 50%. So there's a chance of not being able to get a job in today's global economy. And let's remember, this is not just South African economy. Our economy is tied up with the world economy and the world economy is a knowledge economy. So if you're not educated you won't be able to find a job as it happens to an educated person and that thing is the key part that we recognized. The problem that we have my sister is not that government has not injected funding into education but what happened is that we chose a wrong curriculum for ourselves.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** What do you mean?

**Dr Mamphele Ramphela:** What I mean is that the Outcomes Based Education that we chose needs teachers who are highly educated, who have smaller classes, who are able to teach children to make research, etc. Now tell me how many teachers do we have; in the 300 000 or so teachers that we have, how many of them were qualified? So that thing leads to that the gap between children from or who go to private schools where there are highly skilled teachers are leading whilst ours in townships, in rural areas who don't have such teachers are lagging behind! So we have a serious problem. The second problem is that our teachers have lost the culture of our fathers and mothers – the teachers who groomed us – where a teacher was called to teaching. So if a teacher went into a classroom he or she would be prepared, be ready, he cares for the child, he is punctual, he is on until the schooling hours are over; after school there are sports, music, etc; how many schools are doing that anymore. So the development of the poorest child in South Africa is suffering because of the de-professionalisation of the teaching profession in many poor schools. So those are the key things and then on the health front the most important issue is that of HIV/AIDS, we have ignored this issue during its early stages now it's like leaving a camel to bring in its nose, and now the whole camel is in the house, there's no space for us the people of this home.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Are we able to take out the camel out of there of tent?

**Dr Mamphele Ramphele:** Yes we can! This is the beauty of it. You look at the poorest communities which decide to tackle this issue and it is shown also in the mining industry where people who are not educated working in those mines. Many mines have got 100% or close to 100% agreement to tests and once you test you know your status and you get to be supported, you get to be put on treatment when you need it and your family is now in many other mines included in that treatment programme. But you must take responsibility. Change your lifestyle. You can't have multiple partners and say you want to deal with HIV/Aids, it is calling into question our practices in the sexual arena and we've got to face up to it – that is why our leaders have failed, we have failed as leaders in this society to say to our young people this thing is deadly but you can take care of it.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** By tests are you referring to compulsory testing?

**Dr Mamphele Ramphele:** No. I'm not talking to compulsory, I mean its like for example, when I grew up as a child, we had TB as a big epidemic, so if there is one person in the family who goes to the clinic because they're coughing – coughing blood – and then tests were conducted and it was discovered that this person has TB, then they'd say no man go back home to tell your family that there is this problem, so that they can all come and be tested because we want to treat you so that none of the people who may have been infected by you, re-infect you when you get better. Do we understand what does that means; it's a public health approach. Now we can, and Botswana has shown that we can do it. It is a question of – in the same way as when you get to the doctor's room you get your temperature taken, you get your blood pressure taken – it's not compulsory but it is a way of addressing a problem. So as a nation – and this is a big message of Dinokeng. Dinokeng is not coming out with solutions to problems. Dinokeng is coming out with a view that says lets have an open and frank conversation about our problems and each one of us must take responsibility. It's not fair to say what is the government doing? What are you doing about it?

**Bukiwe Cimela:** When we return from the commercial break we're going to be focusing on the three scenarios predicted by the Dinokeng Scenario Group. Our producer is going to be taking your calls. Now is the time for you KZN to start phoning in, our producer is going to be taking our calls.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Mr. Fakir, having spoken or having looked at the different scenarios that have been presented for South Africa, how should government look at this one? Should government just dismiss it or actually should government look at it and compare it to other scenarios that have been set for the country?

**Ebrahim Fakir:** I don't think government can simply try to ignore these kinds of conclusions or scenarios for the future. But as I was saying earlier, one takes them with a pinch of salt. One must take them seriously but compare them with other scenario plans which have been put down for instance government's Scenario 20/25 which sets out about four or five different possible futures and so one should try and mix and match and see what the commonalities and the differences, what the similarities are and where they diverge and so obviously, the ones which are common would then automatically suggest to you that these are the real fundamental problems which are being faced in society and which might in the future indeed come to pass because clearly it seems as if everyone's commonly agreeing that this is the trajectory in which society, in which behaviour, in which government, in which policy seems to be going and it may in fact be a mistake because this is maybe where the problems begin to emerge, equally I think what might be identified as common and similar, but in all of the difference scenario plans might seem to suggest what's going right and what might need to be built upon. So clearly there are lessons on both what to avoid and what to pursue in all of these scenario plans but each one has to be taken in conjunction with the CV's of others and then of course you design the appropriate policy interventions and governance measures required to go into the future and I think Dr Mamphele Ramphele has kind of identified some of the problems in education and health but I would say that many of those problems extend into the economy, into jobs where productivity levels are low, where people don't take their jobs seriously and this is true for local government as well. If we think of one of the scenarios that the Dinokeng Scenario process has painted, and that is the increased levels of social protest and all of that, it seems as if the last decade – this is not something that's going to happen in the future. It's happened already and is happening right now. For instance, two days after our elections there were masses of social protests in about four or five places around the country. Now of course they all have different motivations and of course they're all premised from different things. Some of them are about frustrations about service delivery but some of them are about real

and very perceived gaps in the democratic process where people simply don't know who their local councillors are, where local council officials and employees don't take their jobs seriously, they don't apply themselves as conscientiously as they do. In education this is a similar problem and one of the problems here is not just in lack of capacity or lack of infrastructure. This is about a conscientious approach to the jobs we have firstly. Secondly, I think there are also degrees of social breakdown that we must begin to face up to. Black communities in the seventies and the eighties, particularly through Black Consciousness initiatives sort of had many of these self-help community organisation groups, so people came together provided tuition so where the formal education system, the health system, the welfare system was breaking down, you had sports clubs, you had teacher associations, you had parents coming together to be able to step in to fill the gaps which may have been emerging in the formal system, now that seems to have broken down and society is going to have to re-invent some of these community-driven initiatives to supplement what we do and what we expect from government because clearly, it seems as if the government is not going to be able to do this all on its own.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** This has been a concern to me as well. Dr Ramphele this is something you also mention that since 1994, citizens seem to have disengaged. Did you find a reason why this disengagement of citizens in those sports or in those societies that Mr. Fakir is talking about?

**Dr Mamphele Ramphele:** You know, the interesting thing is that it's an interpretation of freedom. Those of us who were activists in the sixties and seventies and eighties, when freedom came in 1994 we said well, this is it, our government is going to take care of us. Secondly, we had the president who was first deputy-president and later president, who actually discouraged self civil society engagement. President Thabo Mbeki was not really tolerant of non-governmental organisations. He viewed them with great suspicion and the Minister in the Presidency was actually quite ruthless when it came to dealing with it. I know that personally, and then we had also, the kind of materialistic culture that emerged post-1994 where people said well, it's now our chance to do this; so all of those factors contributed to a disengagement by society across the spectrum. The civil society and even the faith-based organisations started to say well, no more protests in the streets; we are now going to focus on taking people to heaven. Then the private sector was busy making money and it has to be said that liberation was very good for the

private sector in South Africa. When you look at the graphs we have in our report that we were actually in a negative growth territory around 1994 and how we've been growing ever since until now with the global meltdown. So the private sector has had a fantastic time and so they just kept quiet and said well, lets make money and when they do try and raise their voices they are also shot down and so it was a collective disengagement by all of us and now of course, the government however committed it is to freedom and to delivery doesn't have the capacity, it will never have the capacity to deliver on all of these challenges without all of us citizens, civil society, the private sector working with government to really make it happen.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Very quickly Dr Ramphele, give us the three scenarios. Let's start with the first scenario. What did you find on the first scenario?

**Dr Mampole Ramphele:** Well the first scenario really is Business as Usual. If we continue with this new administration on the same path that we've been on over the last 15 years, we're going to end up with Scenario One which is where the continued disengagement by civil society, we have the protests, the destruction of property and then the government comes in and placates people with a little bit here and a little bit there and in the end all hell breaks loose and then we end up with a strongman. The second scenario is the Walk Behind. We are very good as South Africans to follow leaders and if we continue to accept the notion of following leaders and we have this notion of a developmental state that not only creates an environment for development but decides that it is going to run banks, its going to run mines - imagine, we couldn't run Eskom which is a state-owned enterprise, we can't run SAA which is also state-owned - where is the capacity going to come from to run mines and banks and other things? It's just a very frightening possibility. That's Scenario Two. The third scenario really is based on an old African saying that says if you want to walk fast, walk alone, if you want to walk far, walk with others – walk together with others. And that's really that's what captures the distinction between the scenarios. It isn't really about in this scenario this is what you do, it is simply reading the scene of today as Ebrahim was saying. What we are talking about in terms of 15/20, 20/25 some of those scenes are already ended – the bad, the good and the ugly and so we are not making a prediction that is based on differences. We are saying it could be a combination of a bit of this, a bit of that and a bit of the other.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Mr. Fakir, are there any common scenarios particularly with this Dinokeng and the government's 20/25 and also are they meant to spook us into shaping up?

**Ebrahim Fakir:** Look there are some similarities with the 20/25 Scenarios that was produced by government and there's elements of similarity but there's obviously some difference too. But much of what I think the Dinokeng Scenarios in fact do in response to the government ones from 20/25 and I'm not saying that they did this in direct response, is that it does in some way distil the five different ones that the government scenario plan actually lays out and tries to crystallize those into three which sharpens them a little more and also gives us a broader scope for interpreting some of the kind of events and activities that are going on in the country right now. For instance, if you think of the way in which elites live as opposed to the way in which the poor do. For instance, let's take health, education and private security. Security is the one thing that only a state or a government is the legitimate user of force in a society to protect the kind of laws, to provide safety and security stability and peace. But in South Africa as we know, if I can afford it I won't go to the SAPS I'd rather go and call ADT or any one of the other private security providers and the same kind of logic replicates itself in health, education and elsewhere. And so what that means is that those of us who perhaps are in the relative elite – we have the ability to bargain, even to upscale the quality, the scope, the degree, the depth of services that are provided in any of those areas. But because we're not bargaining with a public provider, we're bargaining with a private provider, we can do so through the money that we have. Those who cannot afford to do that they must go and continue to procure these services in the public sector but because they are powerful, they are not the relative elite, they don't have the ability to bargain, to increase the kind of scope, quality and depth and rate of service. So what happens is that government doesn't feel the pressure to be responsive to be accountable because those are not the powerful constituencies that they tend to be responding to. Now if that kind of scenario continues to play itself out, you will continue to have the kind of divisions that we have in our society and these divisions, when people talk about levels of inequality they're not simply referring to the question of income in equality, they are also referring to the kind of inequality that emerges when you live completely separate and different lives. Now given the history that we have in terms of separation and cleavage in terms of race, that

in part is beginning to change. Its changing because you have post-1994 new identities emerging but the logic of separation in cleavage continues even so what you can then conclude, is tyou have bigger divisions emerging not only within races but also between races and that in a country which has the kind of history division that we have, is not a good thing. But it could entrench itself into the future. That's one possible scenario. Now in terms of what the government scenario plan paints out, is that if this increases in the way or continues in the way it does, not only will you have divisions based within races and within communities but also between them. And so for the project of non-racialism, for the project of commonality, for the project of building unity in society, that is an incredibly dangerous thing to do. The same goes in education, in health. But you know, the scary thing here is that we seem not to have a plan in place to try and counter many of these attitudes which may be emerging in certain of our communities. For instance, if you look at some of the survey researches that have been produced over the last four or five years and you ask – particularly worrying among black South Africans. Would you like your children to go to school in a mixed race environment and many and the majority, close to 60% would say no, they'd rather prefer to go to same race schools. Now you can obviously interpret this in very many different ways. You can interpret it; well they don't want to go because they don't feel confident enough. Secondly they don't want to go because they believe that their cultures may be diluted and the same happens when you look at the responses of people from other race groups. So for instance, if one of the surveys asks questions about how confident are you and how much trust do you have in public institutions, Indian South Africans unfortunately display the largest number of degrees of distrust even though high levels of distrust emerge in all communities. The trouble with this is that South Africa is an incredibly difficult country to govern. But if high levels of people across all racial groups and across all income groups have low levels of trust, for the future it means that it will be even more difficult for the kind of public institutions to apply they rules in the way that they are meant to be applied and so you therefore end up with a society which can only be governed through repression rather than true concept.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** We're taking your calls. Let's welcome Mandla from Ntuthunga. Mandla welcome to Viewpoint; what's your view?

**Caller:** Hello lady; I'm worried about education in rural areas because if you look carefully at learners or those of us who studied in rural areas there are little opportunities to make it into universities, to get higher education.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Why do think that Mandla?

**Caller:** So I want to ask if there isn't a way with which my fellows/guests there could consult the Department of Education about this Outcome-Based Education.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Mandla, you say "you who are studying in rural areas" chances for you to go to universities are slim why do you feel that your chances of pursuing tertiary education are slim?

**Caller:** It's because rural education is not like education of urban areas, particularly it is very poor and there is scarcity of resources meant for learners to study about something they can see so that they can have courage to continue studying.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** All right thank you so much Mandla. Now Dr Ramphele when we spoke earlier, you mentioned the differences in township schools and urban schools. Was there a disgruntlement that Mandla is talking about in the rural schools as well? Did you find that people in rural areas feel left out?

**Dr Mamphele Ramphele:** You know, the tragedy is that we started off during the time when I was at school – kids used to come from townships to rural areas because that's where the best schools were. Think about Lemana, think about think Stutulwane, think about Packs and Inkamani and Adams College, Uhlange, why did we kill those schools? That's the first point. Second point is you go to most schools and you ask what the medium of instruction is? They'll tell you English. Now I come from Limpopo where Sepedi is the primary language – I was taught in Sepedi by my mother who was teaching in Sub A, Sub B but I was introduced to English as a subject and Afrikaans as a subject by that time I got to Std 3 I was fluent in all three languages. Now that is completely lost. Now our department in the interest of so-called democracy has given parents the choice. What language do you want your children to be taught in? Now, choice is great but it is not good if people don't have the information base on which to

make a rational choice. Many South Africans and I've listened to even business people saying well, it's logical that they should be taught in English. Yes, but at what point in the education process? You have to teach children through the medium of their mother tongue to maintain that link between home, community and school and introduce the other languages as they get further on. By the time they complete High School those kids will be fluent in all three languages and they will be bright. That's where we went wrong. So it's not just the Outcomes Based Education per se, it is also the language choice issue. So that caller is absolutely correct. We are not going to be able to do well for rural people because we are overburdening them with a curriculum that doesn't work for the type of level of qualification of the teachers, the discontinuation of mother tongue education is a disaster.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Let's welcome Bheki from Botha's Hill; Bheki welcome to Viewpoint

**Caller:** Hello sister Bukiwe, I'm Bheki Duma from Botha's Hill. Sister Bukiwe let me talk about the OBE; this curriculum seems not to be doing us good in rural areas. Why; simply because it requires supporting material – things such as computers and other things which needs money. So you find that it needs parent state to operate with their children whereas the fact is our parents aren't educated. So I'm just saying to your honorable guests isn't there a way with which our government can review the whole process?

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Let's welcome Nkosingiphile from Ethekwini; Nkosingiphile hello and welcome to Viewpoint

**Caller:** I just want to put an argument with Mamphele Ramphele. The first argument is on the issue of education. They are saying the OBE makes teachers that are well-trained in terms of education. But my argument is to say we are not actually coming up with things that say after we have got all those teachers that are well-trained, what could be the best of the OBE that is well taught in schools that is the first question that I have. Because if you are seeing the current policy of government, of closing the colleges and making sure that all teachers are being trained at university level its to bring that particular level of tertiary education that is needed in the teaching field and again I wanted to come on the issue of food parcels versus the education system – which in a way I concur but my

argument is to say if you take a child to school and he's hungry in the stomach, how do you deal with that particular aspect of that child and that particular family is unable to provide food for that particular child. What could be the research on that particular aspect? Then I wanted to come on the issue of health. I think we are belittling the aspect of health into taking it into HIV/Aids. As much as we understand the vastness of the epidemic. We need to look at the holistical way and in a way that how it affects our country because you are not going to single out HIV/Aids as the only disease that is affecting every society.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Nkosingiphile, what do you think is the biggest challenge of our health system in South Africa?

**Caller:** One of the biggest challenges of our health system in South Africa is firstly, when you look at the morale of nurses, the morale of the staff that are working in hospitals, its a bit going down. How do we then as government mention that we boost the morale of our health workers in making sure that the services that they provide to society that they provide to communities is of a standard that is needed. Same applies to teachers because as Dr Ramphele says – I concur with her in the issues of classrooms. But what is really most important, those particular teachers in those classes are able or not able to teach, but what is important, when the child comes to school hungry they can be able to teach that particular child at least.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Alright thanks so much Nkosingiphile. A challenge to you particularly with your statement that education is the key if you give people food – they're not able to help themselves. Nkosingiphile is challenging one of those things you mentioned.

**Dr Mampole Ramphele:** I think you are misquoting both myself and your caller. The point is not that we don't need food parcels. The point is, if we had an education system that was working well, over time educated people don't need to be given food parcels and their children wouldn't need to be given social grants. At the moment we clearly need feeding schemes in the schools. We need social grants but we need two things apart from that. First we must take the corruption out of food parcels. You can't use food parcels during election time simply to buy votes. Second, social grants are a safety net but the person who is included in that safety net has to also as a citizen be seen to be

responsible. We cannot have the situation right now where people get social grants – young women who have got babies and uses grants to perm their hair and buy fashions and the children remain un-immunized, hungry and many don't go to school. In Latin America, there is a programme of conditional social grants so if you are a mother whose children are on social grants you get the money through the ATM machine only if your card has been inserted by the school that your children go to, by the clinic where they are immunized and also that you are being trained as the mother to be able to be ready for work. It isn't that there is something wrong with social grants. It's how we're doing them.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Mr. Fakir, let's talk briefly about something Nkosingiphile also mentioned, the fact that it seems we belittling the health system if you only focus on HIV/Aids, that it's broader. He mentioned the morale of health workers particularly the public health workers. What would you say is the biggest challenge facing the health system in the country?

**Ebrahim Fakir:** I think there are plenty of those challenges and those challenges don't only related to HIV and the distribution of anti-retrovirals which in itself was a problem because we had a leader who didn't really think that it was in fact a problem, although government policy - they say - was premised on something else. There was a conceptual logical philosophic problem in the approach to HIV/Aids – that's one problem in health. The second is the question of infrastructure. The third is the question of a culture of service. The fourth would be actual capacity constraints in terms of the required number of skilled doctors, nurses and so forth. The fifth would be infrastructure. So clearly there are many, many challenges in health. They do not only relate to HIV/Aids but let's break them down first. Let's take HIV/Aids as one instance. Clearly we seem to be on the back foot when it comes to HIV/Aids because we're getting a late start. Now we're getting a late start because we had a leadership which even though government policy may have been premised on something else, given that we're a society in which we take our cue from leaders many people based their behavioral patterns on what they believed leaders had been saying and so we're on the back foot on that score. Number two, I think behavior, we must also learn lessons from Botswana. Botswana has a very good treatment and care programme. The trouble however, is that the HIV rate continues to be fairly high in proportion to the size of the population so the

number of incidents are much lower than South Africa but the percentage, because they're only 1.8 million people, obviously the numbers are going to be much less when you have a population size of 48 million. But if we look at the percentage proportions, they have a very high incidence rate of HIV/Aids and I think that's a problem because of behavioral attitude, cultural attitude, the way in which people behave in and approach the disease, and I think we must take that seriously. Secondly, cultural dimension also relates to the cultural service in our public institutions particularly in health – public hospitals, management, the nurses, the doctors, the queues that people have to experience to be able to get the kind of treatment that they require. Thirdly is I think there were policy problems and some of those policy problems is while it was true we needed a greater amount of investment in primary health care we could not and should not and ought not to have ignored investment in the tertiary education, health education sectors. Simply, this reneges to the high profile clinics where there was pioneering medical research in medical work being done. That was clearly under-funded in many of the pioneering hospitals for instance, Groote Schuur in Cape Town, Jo'burg, Addington in Durban – I mean, many of these who are continuing this pioneering medical research were under-funded and that was done to fund a greater amount of primary health care and clearly it was not an either/or situation – both were required and we agree we're going to have to find a way of straddling this divide. So I agree the problem is not just in health reducible simply to HIV/Aids, it's much broader.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Let's welcome Khulekani in Newlands; hello. Khulekani is not there. Let's welcome S'thembiso at Hluhluwe. S'thembiso, welcome to Viewpoint and how are you?

**Caller:** Hello sister Bukiwe, I'm fine. I've heard what that lady has been saying there though I forget what her name is...

**Bukiwe Cimela:** ...Ms. Ramphele ...

**Caller:** ...Yes. That lady has explained regarding matric qualifications what-what; but the problems that we face as the youth is that the places where we are is rural, there are no jobs, even if those jobs are there its on farms. As you've heard that I'm at Hluhluwe; this area is on farms; the mother works for R500, on her R500 income we have to buy food

and the child can't go to school. Even if the child does go to school if a teacher gives him or her a homework then she has to buy some items, e.g. a tin to make that handwork, now the child won't get marks if she didn't make that item. The teacher knows that the mother doesn't work or that she gets paid very little income but you'll find that the child will get punished. So those are the challenges that we encounter rendering education impossible

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Now in those challenges isn't there a solution S'thembiso that could be used in those areas where children are studying?

**Caller:** Let make an example about myself sister Bukiwe; I'm not qualified to do the job that I'm currently on according to requirements but I can do it. If you go to paperwork to look if do I have these, I'll say I don't but I can do it. I'm telling you about something that I'm doing; currently I'm working but when it comes to paperwork they can say shame this guy is not qualifying.

**Bukiwe Cimela** Thanks to S'thembiso in Hluhluwe and let's welcome S'the at Umlazi. S'the hello and welcome to Viewpoint what is your view?

**Caller:** Hello Bukiwe. The issue of education in rural areas is a major one. To make an example of the area where I grew up at Hlokozi, to get a newspaper so as to know what is happening in the country would take me a full week; unlike a person from townships who knows everything that is going on in the country. There was no TV to watch so as to connect with the world. I would therefore ask the Department of Education to focus in rural areas; to bring services closer to learners according to their needs; a typical example is the Department of Education is able to do so, many a time I've seen it happening. You see at Ndwedwe there is Umdibaniso High School which has everything that learners need; it has computers and everything. So the Department is able to do this if it is pushed.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Thanks S'the for your view. Let's welcome Loyiso in Phoenix. Loyiso welcome to Viewpoint and what is your view?

**Caller:** Hello sister Bukiwe. I want to comment on the education issue; that there is unfairness when it comes to people from rural areas, because you find that when you go to universities it's only then that you're introduced to a computer. Those who've been studying in high-quality schools don't have a problem with operating a computer whilst you (from rural area) on your first year you have to be taught how to use the mouse – which creates a disadvantage, you find that learners who were studying in rural areas lag behind but if government can try to lay basic infrastructure – support learners in rural areas, by giving them computers, giving them good laboratories, giving them libraries education can exist because there are brilliant learners in rural areas.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** All right. Thanks Loyiso for your view. Dr Ramphele because of time, is there any positive, is there light at the end of the tunnel? Looking at the scenarios, can we find common ground where everybody will be happy in the future?...Dr. Ramphele

**Dr Mampole Ramphele:** Clearly the impression that in the health sphere there is only HIV that is the problem. I'm sorry but I agree with my fellow panelist about the other issues that he raised and I cannot agree with your callers more about the importance of closing the digital gap between the urban and the rural and the facilities gap and the respect gap. Rural people are not being given the respect that they deserve. And I think what our scenarios are saying is they will not get that respect unless they absolutely jump up and down and insist on getting it. For as long as they are standing behind their traditional leaders and councillors who are not performing nothing is going to happen. They must insist on their rights and they must carry out their responsibilities by saying hey, I'm Mr. Citizen, I deserve equally!

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Mr. Fakir, based on the number of callers we've had, all speaking about education is this is an indication that South Africans know the importance of education and they want good education so that as Dr Ramphele was saying, in the future they don't have to rely on those grants, they don't have to rely on those food parcels?

**Ebrahim Fakir:** Well I would begin to hope that more South Africans begin to believe that education, particularly reading, writing, Arithmetic is fundamental, is important and is the most important thing because clearly we seem to have had a middle strata in our

society particularly post-'94 who have not believed that education is primary and is key so I'm fairly encouraged that so many callers have identified education. I think we're on to a good start. Clearly we're starting off with a government now in 2009 which does not believe that it knows everything and that it knows all the answers and that they know best. So I think there's some encouraging signals that have emerged. At the same time I don't think that even though its not desirable to have 5 000 social protests in a period of ten years, that those should necessarily of themselves stop – yes what should stop is the burning of houses, chasing away of people, hurting of people etc. but I think people should continue taking to the streets when they believe that their needs are not being met. Certainly I think government should begin to take this stuff more seriously and much more seriously than the previous one did because clearly, if you want to bridge the digital divide, we know just from last year that we faced with electricity provision and that's because government didn't listen to the kind of advice it had which was given as far back as 2002. So clearly, citizens do know what they want. Citizens are well informed and government should do much better at listening and taking citizens more seriously.

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Right, because of time – thank you so much. That was Ebrahim Fakir who is Head of Governance. Thank you so much for having joined us Mr. Fakir

**Ebrahim Fakir:** Thank you

**Dr. Mamphela Ramphele:** Okay, thank you so much Bukiwe. Bye-bye

**Bukiwe Cimela:** Thank you so much Dr. Mamphela Ramphele; she is Chairperson of the Denokeng Scenario Group. My name is Bukiwe Cimela. The show was produced by Ayanda Milanzi.