

# INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY, CITIZENSHIP AND PUBLIC POLICY IN AFRICA

# ANNUAL REPORT 2018



institute for democracy,  
citizenship and public policy in  
Africa



**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**  
IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD



# IDCPA GOVERNANCE

The management and administration of the Institute comprise:

- the **Director**
- the **Management Committee**, comprising researchers actively involved in the Institute's projects
- an **Advisory Board**, comprising researchers based in Cape Town with an active interest in the work of the Institute
- an **International Advisory Panel**, which is in the process of being constituted
- a part-time **Operations Manager**
- junior **administrative staff** shared with the Centre for Social Science Research (CSSR)

The Management Committee and Advisory Board replaced a Consultative Committee established in 2017. The Management Committee meets as necessary, at least three times p.a.. The role of the Advisory Board is to give critical advice to the Director and Dean on the direction, activities and management of the Institute. The Advisory Board must meet at least once per annum. The Board reports (through the Chair) to the University Research Committee, which in turn reports to the University Senate. The membership of the Board comprises ex officio members together with scholars – from across UCT as well as from elsewhere in Cape Town – with a strong interest in the work of the Institute.



## Management Committee:

A/Prof John Akokpari (Political Studies): Director  
Carmen Alpin (Afrobarometer)  
Prof Tim Murithi (Honorary Research Associate)  
Dr Vino Naidoo (Political Studies)  
Xichavo Alecia Ndlovu (Political Studies)

Sibusiso Nkomo (Afrobarometer)  
Dr Elias Phaahla (Political Studies)  
Prof Chris Saunders (Emeritus Professor, History)  
Prof Jeremy Seekings (Sociology)  
Postgrad student representatives

## Advisory Board:

The DVC, Research (chair)  
The Dean or Deputy-Dean, Humanities Faculty  
The Director of the Research Office, UCT  
The Director of the Institute  
Prof Rob Cameron (Political Studies)  
Anyway Chingwete (Institute for Justice and Reconciliation)  
Prof Danwood Chirwa (Law)  
Prof Hormon Chitonge (African Studies)  
Dr Colin Darch (former African Studies librarian)  
Dr Sean Gossel (Graduate School of Business)  
Prof Alan Hirsch (Graduate School of Development and Public Policy)  
Dr Mundia Kabinga (Graduate School of Business)  
Prof Evance Kalula (retired, formerly Law and IAPO)  
Vanja Karth (Democratic Governance and Rights Unit, Law Faculty)

Busi Khangala (African Studies librarian)  
Prof Edwin Muchapondwa (School of Economics)  
Prof Ndangwa Noyoo (Social Development)  
Prof Lungisile Ntsebeza (African Studies)  
Prof Francis Nyamnjoh (Anthropology)  
Chris Oxtoby (Democratic Governance and Rights Unit, Law Faculty)  
Brian Raftopoulos (UWC)  
Prof Maano Ramutsindela (Environmental and Geographical Science)  
Dr Antonio Tomas (African Centre for Cities)  
Ivan Turok (HSRC)  
Prof Hermann Wasserman (Film and Media Studies)

# DIRECTOR'S NOTE

Associate Professor John Akokpari



This is the first stand-alone annual report for UCT's Institute for Democracy, Citizenship and Public Policy in Africa. The Institute was established at the beginning of 2017, with its core comprising research and other activities that had previously been conducted under the auspices of UCT's Centre for Social Science Research (CSSR). In 2017, we combined the Institute's annual report with the CSSR's annual report. This year, 2018, the Institute has moved out of the CSSR's shadow and grown into an active and autonomous research centre.

For the first nine months of the year, Professor Jeremy Seekings continued to serve as Interim Director of the Institute (as well as Director of the CSSR). In September, I took over as Acting Director. In January 2019 I shall formally begin as the first full Director of the Institute. I am grateful to Jeremy – together with our Operations Manager, Rebecca Maughan-Brown – for getting the Institute up and running. Jeremy will remain active as a researcher in the Institute, continuing to work on public policy and public opinion and helping to steer our new initiative on political parties.

During 2018 we organised a series of very successful workshops, bringing together scholars from across UCT and Cape Town with scholars from the rest of Africa. Our Afrobarometer data team worked long hours to complete the 7th round of surveys and to combine the data into a pooled continent-wide data set. At the end of the year we resumed our annual Summer School, run in partnership with Afrobarometer. We initiated new research into political parties and, together with legal scholars, on judiciaries. Researchers in the Institute published widely and presented work at many local and international conferences and seminars. Student researchers initiated a student seminar series.

We are now in a much better position to distinguish the distinctive contribution that the Institute will make in terms of research, including in relation to its 'parent' body, the CSSR. Almost all of the research conducted within the CSSR concerns South Africa, whereas the new Institute is primarily concerned with Africa beyond South Africa's borders. Over the past eighteen months the Institute has established itself as the premier site in the Western Cape for the critical analysis of democracy in Africa beyond South Africa. Secondly, the work in the CSSR is more sociological, criminological, and economic, whereas the focus of the new Institute is more on research into broadly political and legal issues.

Next year, 2019, promises to be very exciting. We are currently planning a full series of workshops in 2019. Professor Tim Murithi and I shall be hosting a workshop on regional organisations in Africa, often caught between national politics and the global stage. We shall be examining whether regional organisations have delivered African solutions to Africa's challenges. We anticipate holding workshops on elections in Malawi, South Africa and Botswana. Public policy will be examined through one or more workshops. And we plan further workshops on political parties, possibly focusing on the experience of former liberation movements as opposition parties.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'John Akokpari', written over a light grey background.



# STUDENTS AND SUPERVISION

Building capacity in the critical study of democracy, citizenship and public policy is foundational to the work of the Institute. Members of the Institute currently supervise over 70 masters and doctoral students. The Institute helps to fund graduate students as well as providing an intellectual community within which they can flourish. The Summer School run in partnership with Afrobarometer provides an opportunity for students to develop skills. Together with the Department of Political Studies, we drafted an Action Plan for promoting interest and skills in analyzing data from Afrobarometer and other datasets within the department. Matthias Krönke and others initiated a postgraduate student seminar series. We also initiated a scheme to incentivize graduate students to publish their research, initially as Working Papers in the Institute series.

In 2018, members of the Institute supervised:

- **35 Master's students**
- **23 Doctoral candidates**
- **1 Postdoctoral fellow**

Of these students:

- **12 Masters students and**
- **1 Doctoral candidate graduated in 2018**

The Institute also welcomed

- **22 Afrobarometer Summer School students** from **18 countries**

**Top: Isaac Chinyoka is awarded his PhD in December.**

**Middle left: Matthias Kronke and Afrobarometer Executive Director Prof E. Gyimah-Boadi present at the UN in Vienna**

**Middle right: Leonard Mbulle-Nziege (right) represents the Institute at the South African Institute for International Affairs - Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (SAIIA-KAS) Careers evening**

**Bottom: 2018 AB-IDCPPA Summer School students, lecturers, and TAs**





# CITIZENS' ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR

The Institute is heavily involved in the collection and analysis of data on public opinion, primarily through Afrobarometer (AB), and understanding how citizens exercise choice in terms of voting in competitive elections.

AB is a pan-African, non-partisan research network that conducts and analyses public attitude surveys on democracy, governance, economic conditions and related issues across most of Africa. The Institute is a support unit within the AB network, with responsibility for data management. Carmen Alpin, with support from team members based at the Institute (Jamy Felton, Thomas Isbell and Matthias Krönke) and overseas (Kakra Adu based at CDD-Ghana, and Sam Balongo, based at IDS-Kenya), manages all the network data. Boniface Dulani (based in Malawi) manages fieldwork operations for East and Southern Africa, while Hatchile Consult Ltd, based in Kampala, Uganda, oversees AB samples.

Round 7 of AB data collection was completed in 2018. After completing 21 countries in 2017, the team ensured country questionnaires were programmed for the remaining 13 countries in 2018, and trained partners in fieldwork monitoring. Jamy also assisted in two EU-funded pre-election studies in Zimbabwe. The pooled dataset for the seventh round was released internally in September, and it will be available to the wider public in September 2019. The country data were made available for online analysis on the AB website. AB has also introduced geocoded data. A total of 250 requests to access geocoded data were received from both academia and donor organisations in 2018.

The Institute also partners with AB in running an annual Summer School. In 2016 and 2017 we had to cancel summer schools due to disruptions of the university and consequent rescheduling of the academic programme. Our Summer School resumed in November. Twenty-two young researchers from across Africa participated in four weeks of classes on social statistics, using AB data, with applications to various topics concerning democratisation and party politics.

Afrobarometer is an invaluable resource. The Institute is committed to encouraging the expanded use of AB data in teaching and research at the University of Cape Town and elsewhere across the region.



From the top: AB data collection in Benin, Madagascar, Mozambique, and South Africa



# JUDICIARIES IN AFRICA

The judiciary is integral to upholding the rule of law and thus, the effective working of democracy. Too often, however, African judiciaries are unable to adequately fulfill these roles according to the mandates they have been given. The Judiciaries in Africa (JiA) project aims to further our understanding of judiciaries in Africa by collecting systematic comparative information with a focus on judicial independence, legitimacy and access to justice. Broadly speaking, the project seeks to answer three questions:

- To what extent are judiciaries independent from other branches of government, able to enforce the rule of law, and provide access to justice?
- Why do some judiciaries perform better or worse in fulfilling their mandates?
- Which factors are facilitating or impeding institutional development of judiciaries, and thus the quality and health of multiparty democracy in Africa?

To answer these questions, the JiA project aims to bring together existing, and generate new research that connects the areas of judicial independence, legitimacy and access to justice. The first of the three thematic areas focuses on the horizontal relationship between the executive and the legislative branches of government on the one side, and the judiciary on the other. In contrast, the second theme - judicial legitimacy - concentrates on the vertical relationship between the judiciary as an institution and ordinary citizens. Lastly, access to justice as a basic human right deals with, among other things, the distinction between the availability and accessibility of justice in different forums, from apex courts to high courts, magistrates' courts and traditional courts. Each theme provokes a different set of questions guiding the research process.

Our interdisciplinary research approach allows us to explore differences across countries and institutions using a variety of quantitative and qualitative measures, ranging from content analysis of publicly available data (e.g. legal frameworks and court cases) to citizen surveys and expert interviews. The different methodologies are bundled in five interconnected research modules that were piloted in our first country study, South Africa. From 2019 we will expand our data collection to selected countries in southern and East Africa.



**Above: Chris Oxtoby moderates a panel discussion on the 2018 Zimbabwean election**

**Below: JiA members present at the Gabarone African Network of Constitutional Lawyers conference**



The Judiciaries in Africa project is a collaboration between the Democratic Governance and Rights Unit (DGRU) and the IDCPPA. The Steering Committee currently comprises Vanja Karth (DGRU), Chris Oxtoby (DGRU) and Matthias Krönke (IDCPPA).



# POLITICAL PARTIES IN AFRICA

PPA

Political Parties in Africa

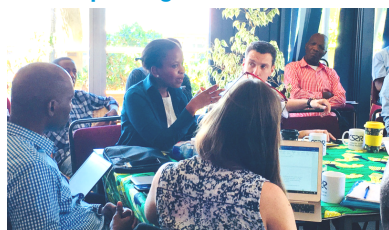
The Institute initiated in 2018 a new project on Political Parties in Africa, focusing on Southern Africa. The study of political parties has lagged behind their rising importance with the restoration of multi-party elections and turnovers in government. Topics such as party organisation, ideology, the importance of programmes and patronage, experience in subnational government, candidate selection and defection, and electoral campaigning remain under-studied. There is little systematic research on the extent to which governing and opposition parties have themselves contributed to their successes or defeats.

This project's goals include:

- To establish an active network of researchers across Africa, Europe and North America;
- To strengthen empirical social science research capacity in African institutions;
- To conduct rigorous and systematic data collection;
- To partner with existing international data collection efforts and bring Africa into the global conversation; and
- To coordinate with policy-makers and civil society to support democracy promotion efforts.



Participants gather for the December conference on political parties



The Institute held a successful workshop in April on opposition parties in Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia. In August, we held a workshop on the Zimbabwean elections. In December we convened a mini-conference on political parties, with top scholars from the USA, Europe and Southern Africa.

We collaborated with the Political Parties Database project in collecting national-level data on political parties, focusing on political parties' formal rules. We collected data in South Africa, Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania. This work was led

by Matthias Krönke and Sarah Lockwood, together with partners in Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania.

We are also developing survey instruments for data collection at national and local levels. Matthias Krönke began to pilot surveys of parties' local leadership and infrastructure. We hope to link data on parties' local presence to Afrobarometer data. We are currently endeavouring to raise funds for major data collection beginning in 2019. The mini-conference in December was followed by a research planning workshop to discuss new data collection and dissemination.

The 'data' collected is not for academic research alone. Across much of Southern Africa it is difficult for citizens to access reliable information about the political parties and candidates contesting elections. We plan to collate and disseminate high-quality information to citizens, both online and indirectly through journalists and social media.



# PUBLIC POLICY

The Institute has a strong interest in the critical study of public policy, focusing especially on governance, policy-making and policy implementation. We seek to work closely with colleagues with specialist expertise in particular areas of public policy (such as public transport, urban planning or economic policy).

Our major focus hitherto has been on social protection (or welfare) policy in East and Southern Africa. This research, originally funded through UKAid, has resulted in a series of working papers and conference papers, many by graduate students. In 2018 Isaac Chinyoka was awarded his PhD for his thesis on child welfare regimes in Southern Africa (Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa). As a post-doc, he continued to work on publishing chapters as working papers. Hangala Siachiwena is completing his PhD on Malawi and Zambia. Petro Ntemi began PhD research on health policy in Tanzania. Courtney Hallink interviewed Members of Parliament and party officials in South Africa and Botswana (and is about to do so in Zambia). Jeremy Seekings wrote a series of conference papers on normative dissonance between international organisations and national governments.

Several papers are to be published in 2019 in a book (from Oxford University Press) co-edited by Jeremy Seekings together with scholars from the University of Manchester and the United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER). Several papers are being revised for inclusion in a special issue of *Critical Social Policy*, on intergenerational relationships and social grants in South Africa (being co-edited by Elena Moore and Jeremy Seekings). In 2019, we are planning a workshop on elite and popular attitudes towards social protection in Africa.



Left: Hangala Siachiwena with former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda  
Right: Jeremy Seekings and Hangala Siachiwena meet with the Zambian Minister of Labour



# SEMINARS AND WORKSHOPS

Date	Topic	Presenter
January 18	The influence of born-again Christian movements on political attitudes	Erin Hern (College of Idaho)
February 26	Reinventing Social Democratic Development: Insights from Indian and Scandinavian Comparisons	Olle Törnquist (Univ of Oslo)
March 20	Responsible Parties: Saving Democracy from Itself	Ian Shapiro (Yale)
March 29	Institutionalising Party Systems in Africa: The cases of Cape Verde, Zambia and Mozambique	Edalina Sanches (Univ. of Portugal, Lisbon)
April 3	Governance and the improvement of education outcomes	Brian Levy (UCT)
April 20	Workshop on Opposition Parties In Southern Africa	
April 24	The 'Coverage' or Reach of Social Protection in Africa: A critical look at data	Jeremy Seekings (UCT)
August 7	How do disillusioned voters choose among political outsiders? Evidence from the 2016 Beninese Election	Robert Nyenhuis (Cal Poly Pomona)
August 17	Workshop on Zimbabwe's 2018 Elections	
August 23	Workshop on Conflict and the Challenges for Development in Brazil, the PALOPs and South Africa: What Can We Learn From Lusophone Africa And Brazil?	
August 28	Transitioning toward Gender Justice: A Trend Analysis of 13 African Cases	Maxine Rubin (IJR)
October 9	Bounded Autonomy: An assessment of Zimbabwe's courts and electoral commission	Matthias Krönke (UCT)
November 20-December 15	UCT – Afrobarometer Summer School 2018	
December 10-11	Political Parties in Africa (PPA) Conference	
December 12-13	PPA Research and Planning Workshop	



Seminar with Olle Törnquist



AB Summer School lecture on the Politics of Infrastructure and Service Delivery



Attendees at the April Workshop on Opposition Parties



# PUBLICATIONS

## Books

- Karbo, T. and **Murithi T.** (eds) *The African Union: Autocracy, Diplomacy and Peacebuilding in Africa*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Levy, B., Cameron, R., **Naidoo, V.**, and Hoadley, U. (eds) *The Politics and Governance of Basic Education: A Tale of Two South African Provinces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## Book chapters

- **Akokpari, J.** Can Democratic Developmental States Emerge in Africa?: Rethinking the Afro-pessimists and Afro-optimist debate. In C. Landsberg, ed., *Africa Rise Up!: Perspectives on African Renewal*. Johannesburg: Real African Publisher, pp.89-112.
- **Akokpari, J.** Consistency in inconsistency: South Africa's foreign policies in international organisations. In: J. Warner and T. Shaw, eds., *African Foreign Policies in International Institutions*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.247-264.
- **Akokpari, J.** The Pan African Parliament as an institution of African integration: Prospects and constraints. In K. Adar, G. Finizio and A. Meyer, eds., *Building Regionalism from Below: The Role of Parliaments and Civil Society in Regional Integration in Africa*. Brussels: P.I.E Peter Lang, pp.47 -64.
- **Felton, J.** and **Nkomo, S.** Enter state capture: Citizen perceptions of corruption and the corrosion of democratic culture and institutions. In: M. Meirotti and G. Masterson, eds., *State Capture in Africa*. Johannesburg: EISA, pp.133-149.
- **Mattes, R.** Support for Democracy. In W. Thompson, ed., *Oxford Research Encyclopaedia in Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.622.
- **Mattes, R.** and Moreno, A. Social and Political Trust in Developing Countries: Latin America and Africa. In: E. Uslaner, ed., *Oxford Handbook of Social and Political Trust*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.357-38.
- **Murithi, T.** Localizing Transitional Justice Norms. In: K. Coleman and T. Tieku, eds., *African Actors in International Security: Shaping Contemporary Norms*. London: Lynne Rienner, pp.153-172.
- **Murithi, T.** The African Peace and Security Architecture and the African Governance Architecture Nexus. In: E. Birikorang, F. Okyere and K. Anning, eds., *Annual Review of Peace Support Operations in Africa 2017*. Accra: Kofi Annan Peacekeeping Training Centre, pp.39-54.
- **Murithi, T.** The Instrumentalization of SADC to Achieve Foreign Policy Agendas. In: J. Warner and T. Shaw, eds., *African Foreign Policies in International Institutions*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.149-164.
- **Saunders, C.** Tambo, Oliver Reginald Kaizana (1917–1993). In D. Cannadine, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/odnb/9780198614128.013.64937.
- **Saunders, C.** Western Contact Group. In G. Martel, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Diplomacy*. Hoboken: Wiley. DOI: 10.1002/9781118885154.dipl0316.
- **Seekings, J.** The Changing Salience of Race: Discrimination and Diversity in South Africa. In: R. Hewitt and C. Kaunda, eds., *Who is an African? Race, Identity and Destiny in Post-apartheid South Africa*. Lanham: Lexington/Fortress Press, pp.3-30.
- **Seekings, J.** The “Developmental” and “Welfare” State in South Africa. In: T. Halversen, C. Tapscott and T. Cruz-del Rosario, eds., *The Democratic Developmental State: North-South Perspectives*. New York: Columbia University Press, and Stuttgart: Ibidem Press with CROP, pp.107-130.



## Journal articles

- Button, K., Moore, E. and **Seekings, J.** South Africa's hybrid care regime: The changing and contested roles of individuals, families and the state after apartheid. *Current Sociology*, 66(4): pp.602-16; DOI: 10.1177/0011392118765243.
- Clayton, A., Josefsson, C., **Mattes, R.** and Mozaffar, S. In Whose Interest? Gender and Mass-Elite Priority Congruence in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Comparative Political Studies*. DOI: 10.1177/0010414018758767.
- **Felton, J.** Saints or Sinners: Public Evaluations of Post-Apartheid South African Presidents. *Politeia: Power, Politics, and the Presidency in South Africa*, 36(1). DOI: 10.25159/0256-8845/3247.
- Muriass, R.L, Wang, V., Benstead, L., **Dulani, B.** and Rakner, L. Why the Gender of Traditional Authorities Matters: Intersectionality and Women's Rights Advocacy in Malawi. *Comparative Political Studies*. DOI: 10.1177/0010414018774369.
- **Murithi, T.** Advancing transitional justice in post-conflict societies in Africa. *African Journal of Democracy and Governance*, 5(3): pp.103-124.
- Nattrass, N. and **Seekings, J.** Employment and Labour Productivity in High Unemployment Countries. *Development Policy Review*, 36(S2): pp.769-85. DOI: 10.1111/dpr.12313.
- Nattrass, N. and **Seekings, J.** Trajectories of Development and the Global Clothing Industry. *Competition and Change*, 22(3): pp.274-92; DOI: 10.1177/1024529418768608.
- **Saunders, C.** SWAPO, Namibia's Liberation Struggle and the Organisation of African Unity's Liberation Committee. *South African Historical Journal*. DOI: 10.1080/02582473.2018.1430846.

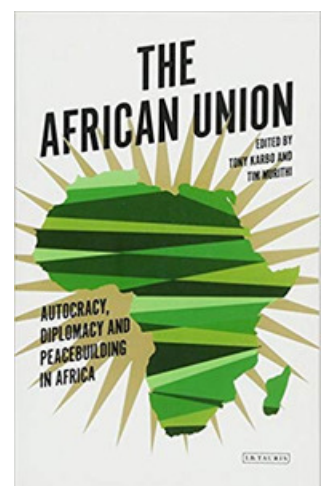
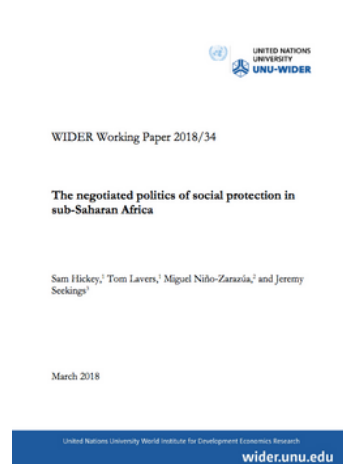
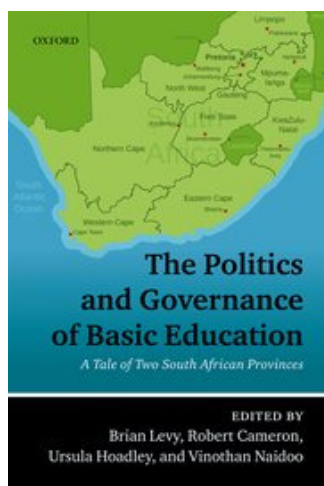
## Web article

- **Saunders, C.** Pik Botha and Namibia: ambiguities and contradictions. The Conversation. Available at: <http://theconversation.com/pik-botha-and-namibia-ambiguities-and-contradictions-104950> [Accessed 4 Dec. 2018].

## Working papers

- Hickey, S., Lavers, T., Niño-Zarazúa, M and **Seekings, J.** The Negotiated Politics of Social protection in Sub-Saharan Africa. UNU-WIDER Working Paper 2018/34. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.
- Hickey, S. and **Seekings, J.** Who should get what, how and why? DfID and the transnational politics of social cash transfers in Sub-Saharan Africa. CSSR Working Paper 409. Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, UCT.
- **Lockwood, S. J.** and **Kronke, M.** Do electoral systems affect how citizens hold their government accountable? Evidence from Africa. Afrobarometer Working Paper 181. Accra: Afrobarometer.
- Moore E. and **Seekings, J.** Social Protection, Intergenerational Relationships and Conflict in South Africa. CSSR Working Paper 419. Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, UCT.
- **Naidoo, V.** Machinery of Government Change in South Africa's Post-democratic Public Administration. PARI Working Paper. Johannesburg: Public Affairs Research Institute.
- **Seekings, J.** The legitimacy of claims made on kin and state in South Africa. CSSR Working Paper 416. Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, UCT.
- **Seekings, J.** Voters, Parties and Elections in Zambia. CSSR Working Paper 422. Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, UCT.

As well as 20 **Afrobarometer dispatches** by IDCPPA members Jamy Felton, Thomas Isbell, Sibusiso Nkomo, and Hangala Siachiwena available at <http://www.afrobarometer.org/publications>



# ABOUT THE IDCPPA

The Institute was established in 2017 to conduct research into the factors that strengthen and sustain democracy across Africa. Our research focuses on three broad topics. First, we are concerned with effective and predictable political (including judicial) institutions. This entails research on institutions of representation and accountability, focusing on issues such as constitutional design, legislatures, courts, rights, political parties, sub-national government and bureaucracy. Secondly, we are concerned with the factors that encourage an active and critical citizenry. This involves research into, inter alia, public opinion, political activism and the media. Thirdly, we examine the effects of public policies on social and economic dimensions of citizenship as well as its political and civil dimensions, including through economic growth, social welfare (including health care) and the regulation of everyday life (including family life). We are dedicated to the critical reexamination of democracy in Africa and the development of Africa-centric theory through systematic empirical research and a critical engagement with scholarship on other parts of the world.



Institute and Centre for Social Science Research members at our year end function



## **The Institute for Democracy, Citizenship and Public Policy in Africa**

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