

JEREMY SEEKINGS

Curriculum Vitae

(January 2017)

Date of birth: 3 January 1962
Place of birth: London, U.K.
Citizenship: British

Work Address: Centre for Social Science Research,
and Departments of Sociology and Political Studies,
University of Cape Town,
Rondebosch, Cape Town 7701, South Africa
Telephone: +27-21-650-3505 (direct) or 21-650-3501 (department)
or 72-422-6465 (mobile) or 21-790-1509 (home)
E-mail: jeremy.seekings@uct.ac.za.

ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS

- 1984 B.A. (Honours), First Class, University of Oxford, in Philosophy, Politics and Economics (M.A., 1988);
1986 Honours degree, First Class (with Merit Award for top student), University of the Witwatersrand, in African Political Studies;
1990 D.Phil, University of Oxford, in Politics: Thesis on “Quiescence and the Transition to Confrontation in South African Townships, 1978-1984”.

CURRENT APPOINTMENTS

Professor of Political Studies and Sociology, University of Cape Town.

Visiting Professor of Political Science, Macmillan Centre for International and Area Studies, Yale.

PUBLICATIONS

(1) Books

1. *Heroes or Villains? Youth Politics in the 1980s* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1993).
2. *Lay Assessors in South Africa's Magistrates' Courts* (Cape Town: Law, Race and Gender Research Unit, University of Cape Town, 1998).
3. *The UDF: The United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983-1991* (Athens OH: Ohio U.P.; Oxford: James Currey and Cape Town: David Philip, 2000).

4. *Class, Race and Inequality in South Africa* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 2005; Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006) (co-authored with Nicoli Natrass).
5. *Growing Up in the New South Africa: Childhood and Adolescence in Post-Apartheid Cape Town* (co-authored with Rachel Bray, Imke Gooskens, Lauren Kahn, and Susan Moses) (Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Press); ISBN 0-7969- 2313-2.
6. *Policy, Politics and Poverty in South Africa* (co-authored with Nicoli Natrass) (London: Palgrave Macmillan, July 2015), republished as *Poverty, Policy and Politics in South Africa* (Cape Town: Jacana, October 2016).

(2) Edited collections

1. *Urban Studies in South Africa After Apartheid*: symposium in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24,4 (2000).
2. *Quantitative Studies of South African Society*: special issue of *Social Dynamics* 27,1 (2001).
3. *AIDS and Society in Southern Africa*: special issue of *Social Dynamics* 28,1 (2002) (co-edited with Donald Skinner).
4. *Welfare Reform in South Africa*: special issue of *Social Dynamics* 28,2 (2002).
5. *Households and Families in Southern Africa*: special issue of *Social Dynamics* 29,2 (2003).
6. *Childhood and Adolescence in Southern Africa*: special issue of *Social Dynamics* 32,1 (2006).
7. *Real Estate, the City and Place: The Crisis Unfolds*: two-part symposium *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34,3/4 (2010) (co-edited with Roger Keil).
8. *Dutch Cities*: [virtual issue](#) of the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (2011).
9. *Urban Sociology*: [virtual issue](#) of the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (2011).
10. *Transitions to Adulthood in South Africa*: Report for the Centre for Development and Enterprise (2011)
11. *Latin American Cities*: [virtual issue](#) of the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (2011).

(3) Articles in Refereed Journals

1. 'Rent Boycotts, the State, and the Transformation of the Urban Political Economy' [co-authored with M.Chaskalson and K.Jochelson], *Review of African Political Economy*, 40 (1987), pp.47-64.
2. 'Political Mobilisation in Tumahole, 1984-1985', *Africa Perspective* (Johannesburg), new series vol 1 no 7/8 (October 1989), pp. 105-144.
3. "'Trailing Behind the Masses": The United Democratic Front and Township Politics in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal Region, 1983-1984', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18,1 (March 1992), pp.93-114.
4. 'From "Quiescence" to "People's Power": Township Politics in Kagiso, 1985-1986', *Social Dynamics* 18,1 (June 1992), pp.20-41.
5. 'Media Representations of Youth and the South African Transition, 1989-1994', *South African Sociological Review* 7,2 (April 1995), pp.25-42.
6. 'The "Lost Generation": South Africa's "Youth Problem" in the Early 1990s', *Transformation* 29 (1996), pp.103-125.
7. 'Mandela's Lost Province: The African National Congress and the Western Cape Electorate in the 1994 South African Elections', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22,4 (Dec 1996),

- pp.517-540 (co-authored with Matt Eldridge).
8. 'The Decline of South Africa's Civic Organisations, 1990-1996', *Critical Sociology* 22,3 (December 1996), pp.135-157.
 9. '"That Time was Apartheid, Now It's the New South Africa": Discourses of Race in Ruyterwacht, South Africa', *Nomos* volume XXXIX (1997), pp.504-539 (co-authored with Courtney Jung).
 10. 'SANCO: Strategic Dilemmas in a Democratic South Africa', *Transformation* 34 (1997), pp.1-30.
 11. 'South Africa's First Democratic Local Elections: The Case of the Western Cape, 1995-96', *Society in Transition* (formerly South African Journal of Sociology) 28,1-4 (December 1997), pp.122-136.
 12. 'Citizenship and welfare in a South Africa: Deracialisation and inequality in a labour-surplus economy', *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 31, 3 (1997) (co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass), pp.452-481.
 13. 'No Home for Revolutionaries: The Structure and Activities of the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) in Metropolitan Cape Town, 1996-97', *Urban Forum* 9,1 (August 1998), pp.1-36.
 14. 'Democratisation and Urban Politics in South African Townships', in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24,4 (Dec 2000), pp.889-905 (co-authored with Janet Cherry and Kris Jones).
 15. 'Introduction: Urban Studies in South Africa after Apartheid', in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24,4 (Dec 2000), pp.832-40.
 16. 'Visions of Society: Workers, Peasants and the Unemployed in a Changing South Africa', in *Journal for Studies in Economics and Econometrics* 24,3 (Nov 2000), pp.53-72.
 17. '"Two Nations": Race and Economic Inequality in South Africa Today', in *Daedalus*, special issue on South Africa (Spring 2001), pp. 45-70 (co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass).
 18. 'The Origins of Social Citizenship in South Africa', in *South African Journal of Philosophy* 19,4 (Dec 2000), pp.386-404.
 19. 'Democracy and Distribution in Highly Unequal Economies: The Case of South Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 39,3 (September 2001) (co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass), pp.471-98.
 20. 'The Uneven Development of Quantitative Social Sciences in South Africa', *Social Dynamics* 27,1 (2001), pp.1-36.
 21. 'The Broader Importance of Welfare Reform in South Africa', in *Social Dynamics* 28,2 (Winter 2002), pp.1-38.
 22. 'Distribution, Redistribution and the Class Structure in Post-Apartheid South Africa', in *Transformation* 50 (2002), pp.1-30 (co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass).
 23. 'Trade Unions, Social Policy and Class Compromise', *Review of African Political Economy* 100 (2004).
 24. 'Employment Guarantee or Minimum Income? Workfare and Welfare in Developing Countries', *International Journal of the Environment, Workplace and Employment* 2,1 (2006): 44-68.
 25. 'Partisan Realignment in Cape Town, 1994-2004', *Journal of African Elections* 5,1 (2006): 176-203.
 26. 'Beyond Heroes and Villains: The Rediscovery of the Ordinary in the Study of Childhood

- and Adolescence in South Africa', *Social Dynamics* 32,1 (June 2006): 1-20 (to be republished in David Pratten (ed.), *Readings in Youth in Africa* (Indiana University Press, 2010).
27. 'The Inconsequentiality of Employment Disincentives: Basic Income in South Africa', in *Basic Income Studies* [online journal] 2,1 (June 2007) [available on <http://www.bepress.com/bis/vol2/iss1/art12>].
 28. 'The Mutability of Distributive Justice Beliefs in South Africa', *South African Review of Sociology* 38,1 (June 2007): 20-44.
 29. "'Pa's pension": The origins of non-contributory old-age pensions in late colonial Barbados', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 35,4 (December 2007): 529-47.
 30. "'Not a Single White Person Should be Allowed to go under": Swartgevaar and the Origins of South Africa's Welfare State, 1924-1929', *Journal of African History* 48,3 (November 2007): 375-94.
 31. 'Workers and the beginnings of welfare state-building in Argentina and South Africa', *African Studies* 66,2&3 (August-December 2007): 253-72.
 32. 'The Continuing Salience of Race: Discrimination and Diversity in South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 26,1 (January 2008): 1-26.
 33. "'Just Deserts": Race, Class and Distributive Justice in Post-apartheid South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 34,1 (March 2008): 39-60.
 34. 'The Carnegie Commission and the Backlash against Welfare State-Building in South Africa, 1931-1937', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 34,3 (September 2008): 515-37.
 35. 'Deserving Individuals and Groups: The Post-Apartheid State's Justification of the Shape of South Africa's System of Social Assistance', *Transformation* 68 (2008): 28-52.
 36. 'The Rise and Fall of the Weberian Analysis of Class in South Africa between 1949 and the early 1970s', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35, 4 (December 2009): 865-81.
 37. 'Whose Voices? Politics and Methodology in the Study of Political Organisation and Protest in the Final Phase of the 'Struggle' in South Africa', *South African Historical Journal* 62,1 (March 2010)
 38. 'State-business relations and pro-poor growth in South Africa', *Journal of International Development* 23 (2011): 338-57 (co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass).
 39. 'British Colonial Policy, Local Politics and the Origins of the Mauritian Welfare State, 1936-1950', *Journal of African History* 52 (2011): 157-77.
 40. 'Race, Attitudes and Behaviour in Racially-mixed Low-income Neighbourhoods in Cape Town, South Africa', *Current Sociology* 59,5 (2011): 655-71 (co-authored with Singumbe Muyebe).
 41. 'The Changing Faces of Urban Civic Organisation', *Transformation* 75 (2011): 140-61.
 42. 'A cut above the rest: Traditional Male Circumcision and HIV Risk Among Xhosa men in Cape Town, South Africa', *Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes (JAIDS)* (co-authored with Brendan Maughan-Brown, Atheendar Venkataramani, Nicoli Nattrass and Alan Whiteside) 58,5 (Dec 2011): 499-505.
 43. 'Violence, violence prevention, and safety: A research agenda for South Africa', *South African Medical Journal* 102,4 (April 2012): 218-24; co-authored with Catherine L. Ward, Lillian Artz, Julie Berg, Floretta Boonzaier, Sarah Crawford-Browne, Andrew Dawes, Donald Foster, Richard Matzopoulos, Andrew Nicol, Jeremy Seekings, Sebastian van As, Elrena van der Spuy.

44. 'Pathways to Redistribution: The Emerging Politics of Social Assistance across the Global "South"', *Journal für Entwicklungspolitik* (Austrian Journal of Development Studies) XXVIII,1: 14-34.
45. 'Slum Dwellers to Freeholders: Homeownership and Neighbourly Relations in Poor Post-Apartheid Urban Neighbourhoods of Cape Town, South Africa' in the *South African Review of Sociology* 43,3 (2012): (with Singumbe Muyeba).
46. 'Poverty, sexual behaviour, gender and HIV infection among young black men and women in Cape Town, South Africa', *African Journal of AIDS Research*, 11,4 (2012) (co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass, Brendan Maughan-Brown and Alan Whiteside).
47. 'Is the South Brazilian? The public realm in urban Brazil through a comparative lens', *Policy and Politics* 43,3 (2013): 351-70.
48. 'The Social and Political Implications of Demographic Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Annals of the American Academic of Political and Social Sciences* 652,1 (March 2014): 70-86.
49. 'Taking Disadvantage Seriously: The "underclass" in post-apartheid South Africa', *Africa* 84,1 (2014) 135-41.
50. 'Job destruction in Newcastle: Minimum wage-setting and low-wage employment in the South African clothing industry', *Transformation* 84 (April 2014): 1-30 (co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass).
51. 'Kinship, market and state in the provision of care in South Africa', *Soziale Welt* special issue 20 (2014): 435-450 (co-authored with Elena Moore).
52. 'Violence and socio-economic conditions in Cape Town, South Africa', *Economics of Peace and Security Journal* 9,2 (2014): 34-42 (co-authored with Kai Thaler).
53. 'State-building, market regulation and citizenship in South Africa', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 19,2 (2016), special issue edited by David Casassas and Peter Wagner on 'Economic modernity in the twenty-first century': 191-209.
54. 'Trade unions, the state and "casino capitalism" in South Africa's clothing industry', *Review of African Political Economy* 43,167 (2016): 89-106 (co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass).
55. 'Setting the level of a national minimum wage: What can South Africa learn from other countries' experiences?', *Transformation* 92 (2016): 1-36 (co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass).

(4) Chapters in Books

1. 'Rent Boycotts and the Urban Political Economy' [co-authored with M.Chaskalson and K.Jochelson], in SARS (ed) *South African Review* 4 (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1987).
2. 'Political Mobilisation in Black Townships of the Transvaal', in P.Frankel, N.Pines and M.Swilling (eds), *State, Resistance and Change* (London: Croom Helm, 1988, and Cape Town: Southern Books, 1989).
3. 'The Origins of Political Mobilisation in P.W.V. Townships', in W.Cobbett and R.Cohen (eds), *Popular Struggles in South Africa* (London: James Currey, 1988).
4. 'The Pretoria-Witwatersrand Region' [co-authored with M.Chaskalson], in Indicator Project, *Political Conflict in South Africa, 1984-1988* (Durban: Indicator Project South Africa, 1988).
5. 'The Vaal Triangle and Orange Free State' [co-authored with M.Chaskalson], in Indicator Project, *Political Conflict in South Africa, 1984-1988* (Durban: Indicator Project South Africa, 1988).
6. 'People's Courts and Popular Politics', in SARS (ed) *South African Review* 5 (Johannesburg:

- Ravan, 1989).
7. 'Township Resistance', in M.Swilling, R.Humphries & K.Shubane (eds), *Apartheid City in Transition* (Cape Town: O.U.P., 1991), pp.290-308.
 8. 'The Revival of "People's Courts": Informal Justice in Transitional South Africa', in G.Moss & I.Obery (eds), *South African Review* 6 (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1992), pp.186-200.
 9. 'Civic Organisations in South African Townships', in G.Moss & I.Obery (eds) *South African Review* 6 (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1992), pp.216-238.
 10. 'From Independence to Identification', in W.James, D.Caliguire & K.Cullinan (eds), *Now That We Are Free: Coloured Communities in a Democratic South Africa* (Cape Town: IDASA and Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996), pp.28-38.
 11. 'Civic Organisations during South Africa's Transition to Democracy, 1990-1996', in Pal Ahluwalia and Paul Nursey-Bray (eds), *The Post-Colonial Condition: Contemporary Politics in Africa* (New York: Nova Social Science, 1997), pp.139-157.
 12. 'Constitutional and Legislative Provisions Governing Citizenship, Class and the Labour Relations Act' in Nico Steytler (ed), *Democracy, Human Rights and Economic Development in Southern Africa* (Johannesburg: Lex Patria, 1997) (co-authored with Nicoli Natrass), pp.29-45.
 13. 'Changing Patterns of Inequality in the South African Labour Market', in Lennart Petersson (ed), *Post-Apartheid Southern Africa: Economic Challenges and Policies for the Future* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998) (co-authored with Nicoli Natrass), pp.44-63.
 14. 'Growth, democracy, and expectations in South Africa', in Iraj Abedian and Michael Biggs (eds), *Economic Globalisation and Fiscal Policy* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998) (co-authored with Nicoli Natrass), pp.27-53.
 15. 'Democratic Institutions and Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa', in Mark Robinson and Gordon White (eds), *The Democratic Developmental State* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1998) (co-authored with Nicoli Natrass), pp.215-42.
 16. 'The Development of Strategic Thought in South Africa's Civic Movement, 1977-1990', in G.Adler & J.Steinberg (eds), *From Comrades to Citizens: The South African Civics Movement and the Transition to Democracy* (London: Macmillan and New York: St Martin's Press, 2000), pp.52-85.
 17. 'After Apartheid: Civic Organisations in the "new" South Africa', in G.Adler & J.Steinberg (eds), *From Comrades to Citizens: The South African Civics Movement and the Transition to Democracy* (London: Macmillan and New York: St Martin's Press, 2000), pp.205-224.
 18. 'The United Democratic Front and the Media, 1983-1991', in Les Switzer and Mohamed Adikhari (eds), *South Africa's Resistance Press: Alternative Voices in the Last Generation under Apartheid* (Athens OH: Ohio UP, 2000), pp.223-59.
 19. 'Social ordering and control in the African townships of South Africa: an historical overview of extra-state initiatives from the 1940s to the 1990s', in Wilfried Scharf and Daniel Nina (eds), *The Other Law: Non-State Ordering in South Africa* (Cape Town: Juta, 2001), pp.71-97.
 20. 'Vigilantism and Popular Justice after Apartheid', in Dermot Feenan (ed.), *Informal Criminal Justice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002) (co-authored with Rebekah Lee), pp.96-116.
 21. 'Welfare in Wonderland? The Politics of the Basic Income Grant in South Africa, 1996-2002', in Guy Standing and Michael Samson (eds), *The Basic Income Grant in South Africa* (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2003), pp.56-76 (co-authored with Heidi Matisonn).
 22. 'Crime and the Rule of Law in Post-Apartheid South Africa', in Allison Garland, Heather Golding, Meg Rustenburg and Joseph Tulchin (eds), *Crime and the Threat to Democratic*

- Governance* (Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson International Centre, 2003), pp.50-58.
23. 'Institutional Design, Cultural Diversity and Economic Solidarity: A Comparison of South Africa, Brazil and Nigeria', in Philippe van Parijs (ed.), *Cultural Diversity versus Economic Solidarity* (Brussels: Deboeck University, Francqui Scientific Library, 2004): 101-38.
 24. 'The UDF and the Transition to Democracy', in Andries Oliphant (ed.), *Democracy X* (Cape Town: Iziko Museums, 2004?).
 25. 'The New (Global) Economy and Inequality in South Africa', in Melvin Ayogu and Don Ross (eds), *Development Dilemmas: The Finance and Political Ethics of Growth Policies* (London: Routledge, 2005, co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass).
 26. 'Visions, Hopes and Views about the Future: The Radical Moment of South African Welfare Reform', in Saul Dubow and Alan Jeeves (eds), *South Africa's 1940s: Worlds of Possibilities* (Cape Town: Double Storey, 2005): 44-63.
 27. 'The Political Economy of the Basic Income Grant in South Africa', in Karl Widerquist, Michael Anthony Lewis and Steven Pressman (eds), *The Ethics and Economics of the Basic Income Guarantee* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005): 235-48 (co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass).
 28. 'The Electoral Implications of Social and Economic Change Since 1994', in Jessica Piombo and Lia Nijzink (eds), *Electoral Politics in South Africa: Assessing the First Democratic Decade* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005; and Pretoria: HSRC Press, 2006): 23-42.
 29. 'Inequality in Post-Apartheid South Africa', in Ann Bernstein and Sandy Johnston (eds), *The Next Decade: Perspectives on South Africa's Growth and Development* (Johannesburg: Centre for Development and Enterprise, 2005): 93-111 (co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass and Murray Leibbrandt).
 30. 'Welfare Regimes and Redistribution in the South', in Ian Shapiro, Peter Swenson and Daniela Donno (eds), *Divide and Deal: The Politics of Distribution in Democracies* (New York: NYU Press, 2008): 19-42.
 31. 'South Africa since 1994: Who holds power after Apartheid?', in Abdul Raufu Mustapha and Lindsay Whitfield (eds), *Turning Points in African Democracy* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer / James Currey, 2009): 134-52.
 32. 'Persistance de la "race" dans l'Afrique du Sud post-apartheid', in *Racisme: Entre exclusion sociale et peur identitaire*, vol. 17 of *Alternative Sud* (Louvain-le-Neuve: Centre Tricontental et Editions Syllepse, 2010): 81-94.
 33. 'Racial and Class Discrimination in Assessments of "Just Desert" in Post-Apartheid Cape Town', in Miguel Centano and Katherine Newman (eds), *Discrimination in an Unequal World* (New York: Oxford University Press) ISBN 0199732167: 63-87.
 34. 'The ILO and Welfare Reform in South Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, 1919-50', in Magaly Garcia Rodriguez, Jasmien Van Daele, Marcel van der Linden and Geert Van Goethem (eds), *The ILO: Past and Present* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010, series International and Comparative Social History), 145-72.
 35. 'The origins of national organisation among civic organisations in South Africa, 1979-1990', chapter 26 in Gregory Houston *et al.* (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4: 1980-1990* (Pretoria: SADET and UNISA Press, 2010) ISBN 1868886441.
 36. 'The United Democratic Front in Cape Town, 1983-1986', chapter 9 in Gregory Houston *et al.* (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4: 1980-1990* (Pretoria: SADET and UNISA Press, 2010) ISBN 1868886441.

37. 'Activist Networks and Political Protest in the Free State, 1983–1990', chapter 14 in Gregory Houston *et al.* (eds), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 4: 1980-1990* (Pretoria: SADET and UNISA Press, 2010) ISBN 1868886441 (co-authored with Chitja Twala).
38. "Measuring the Gendered Consequences of AIDS: Householding and Poverty in South Africa", in Jennifer Klot and Vinh-Kim Nguyen (eds), *The Fourth Wave: An Assault on Women. Gender, Culture and HIV in the 21st Century* (New York: SSRN and Geneva: UNESCO, published in print 2011, ISBN 098412571X and 9780984125715).
39. 'Race, Class and Inequality in the South African City', in Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (eds), *The New Blackwell Companion to the City* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), ISBN 1405189819: 532-46.
40. 'Poverty and Inequality in South Africa, 1994-2007', in Ian Shapiro and Kahreen Tebeau (eds), *After Apartheid: Reinventing South Africa* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), ISBN 0813930979: 21-51.
41. 'The economy and poverty in the twentieth century', in Robert Ross, Anne Mager and Bill Nasson (eds), *The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2: 1885-1994* (Cambridge U.P., 2011), ISBN 0521869838 (co-authored with Nicoli Natrass): 518-72.
42. 'The Continuing Politics of Basic Income in South Africa', in Matthew Murray and Carole Pateman and (eds), *Basic Income Worldwide: Horizons of Reform: Basic Income Solutions around the World* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), ISBN 0230285422: 128-150 (co-authored with Heidi Matisonn).
43. 'Locating Generation X: Taste and Identity in Transitional South Africa', in Christine Henseler (ed.), *Generation X Goes Global: Mapping a Youth Culture in Motion* (London: Routledge, 2013), ISBN 0415699444: 51-72 (co-authored with Jan Schenk).
44. 'The Politics of Social Policy in Africa', in Nic Cheeseman, David Anderson and Andrea Scheibler (eds), *Routledge Handbook of African Politics* (London: Routledge, 2013): 309-21.
45. 'The Social and Political Implications of Demographic Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa', in Robert Rotberg (ed.), *Governance and Innovation in Africa: South Africa after Mandela* (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Center for International Governance Innovation, 2014): 83-102. ISBN-10: 978-1-928096-08-5
46. 'Institutions, wage differentiation and the structure of employment in South Africa', in Anthony Black (ed.), *Towards Employment-Intensive Growth in South Africa* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, forthcoming 2016) (co-authored with Nicoli Natrass).
47. 'Afrique du Sud: la pauvreté dans la prospérité?', in Raphaël Porteilla, Judit Hayem, Marianne Séverin and Pierre-Paul Dika (eds), *Afrique du Sud: 20 ans de démocratie contrastée* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2016): 153-174. ISBN 978-2-343-07536-5.
48. 'Redistribution and Labour Market Transformation: Minimum Wage-Setting, Social Assistance and Poverty', in Andries du Toit, Ingrid Woolard and Ayanda Nyoka (eds), *Radical Reconciliation: Critical choices for economic justice (Transformation Audit 2015)* (Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2016) (co-authored with Nicoli Natrass): 1-25.
49. 'Democracy and distribution in highly unequal economies: the case of South Africa' (co-authored with Nicoli Natrass), reprinted in Nic Cheeseman (ed.), *African Politics*, vol. 3 (Routledge, 2016): 19-44.
50. 'State capacity and the construction of pro-poor welfare states in the "developing" world', in

Miguel Centeno, Atul Kohli and Deborah Yashar, with Dinsha Mistree (eds), *States in the Developing World* (Cambridge University Press, Feb 2017), ISBN 9781316665657: 363-79.

51. 'Democracy and Inclusive Growth in South Africa', in Anne Applebaum and Ann Bernstein (eds), *The Democratic Alternative from the South* (Johannesburg: Centre for Development and Enterprise, forthcoming) (co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass).
52. 'The social consequences of class formation among Black South Africans in the 2000s: Evidence from the South African Reconciliation Barometer', in Kate Lefko-Everett, Rajen Govender and Don Foster (eds), *Reviewing Reconciliation: Perspectives of South African citizens twenty years into democracy* (HSRC Press, 2017 forthcoming).

(5) Bibliographies

1. 'Welfare States', in *Oxford Bibliographies Online: Sociology* (ed. Jeff Manza) <http://oxfordbibliographiesonline.com/view/document/obo-9780199756384/obo-9780199756384-0065.xml>.

(6) Other Periodical Articles

2. 'Vigilantes and the State', *Work in Progress* no 40 (January 1986).
3. 'Workers and the Politics of Consumer Boycotts', *South African Labour Bulletin*, vol 11 no 6 (June/July 1986).
4. 'The Crisis in South Africa' [review article], *Review of African Political Economy*, 40 (1987), pp.102-110.
5. 'Mobilisation Before Organisation? The Revival of Civic Protest', *Indicator* 7,3 (Winter 1990).
6. 'What Now in the Townships?', *Urban Forum* 1,1 (1990).
7. 'Hostel Hostilities: Township Wars on the Reef', *Indicator* 8,3 (Winter 1991), pp.11-15.
8. 'Social Control and its Legitimation' [review article], *South African Sociological Review* 3,2 (April 1991), pp.84-90.
9. 'Gender Ideology and Township Politics in the 1980s', *Agenda* 10 (1991), pp.77-88.
10. 'Ruyterwacht and Reconciliation', *Indicator* 12,2 (Autumn 1995), pp.18-22 (co-authored with Courtney Jung).
11. 'Some Comments on "The Racialisation of Social Scientific Research on South Africa"', *South African Sociological Review* 7,2 (April 1995), pp.60-69.
12. 'What "Swing"? Local Elections in the Western Cape', *Indicator* 13,1 (Summer 1995), pp.29-32.
13. 'The Challenge Ahead: Unemployment and Inequality in South Africa', *South African Labour Bulletin* 20,1 (February 1996), pp.66-72 (co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass).
14. 'Anticlimax: Cape Town's Local Elections', *Indicator* 13,3 (Winter 1996), pp.41-45.
15. 'From the Ballot Box to the Bookshelf: Studies of the 1994 South African General Election', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 115,2 (July 1997), pp.287-309.
16. 'The Wage Board: Empowerment or Emasculation?', *South African Labour Bulletin* 21,5 (October 1997), pp.16-20 (co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass).
17. 'Democratisation and the courts in South Africa', *Oxford International Review* IX,1 (Winter 1998/99), pp.34-8.
18. 'Apartheid', 'Nelson Mandela' and 'South Africa', in Richard Schaefer (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity and Society*, 3 volumes (London: Sage, 2008), pp. 80-2, 867-9 and 1,261-2.
19. 'The International Journal of Urban and Regional Research: An Editorial Statement',

International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 33,2 (June 2010): i-x (co-authored with Roger Keil).

20. 'Does One Size Fit All? A comment on the ILO's 2014 *World of Work Report*', *Global Social Policy* 15,2 (August 2015): 192-4.

(7) Recent media

1. 'Inequality: Why Isaacs is half right and half wrong', *GroundUp* 30 July 2014; http://www.groundup.org.za/article/inequality-why-isaacs-half-right-and-half-wrong_2050/.
2. 'What is at issue in the minimum wage debate?' (Seekings & Natrass), *GroundUp* 27 Nov 2014; http://www.groundup.org.za/article/what-issue-minimum-wage-debate_2482/; revised version published on *Econ 3x3* (January 2015); <http://www.econ3x3.org/sites/default/files/articles/Seekings%20%26%20Natrass%202015%20Minimum%20wage%20debate%20FINAL.pdf>.
3. 'Rhodes and the politics of pain' (Seekings and Natrass), *GroundUp* 31 March 2015; http://www.groundup.org.za/article/rhodes-and-politics-pain_2796/ and *Daily Maverick* <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2015-03-31-rhodes-and-the-politics-of-pain/>.
4. 'National minimum wage, part 1: Comparing South Africa to other countries' (Natrass and Seekings), *GroundUp* 25 Nov 2015; http://www.groundup.org.za/article/national-minimum-wage-part-one-comparing-south-africa-other-countries_3533/.
5. 'National minimum wage, part 2: What will happen to jobs' (Natrass and Seekings), *GroundUp* 25 Nov 2015; http://www.groundup.org.za/article/national-minimum-wage-part-two-what-will-happen-jobs_3540/.
6. 'National minimum wage, part 3: The options' (Natrass and Seekings), *GroundUp* 25 Nov 2015; http://www.groundup.org.za/article/national-minimum-wage-part-three-options_3552/.
7. 'High minimum wage hikes will lead to job destruction' (Natrass and Seekings), *Business Day* 8 Dec 2015; <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/2015/12/08/high-minimum-wage-hikes-will-lead-to-job-destruction>.
8. 'Minimum wages: Too high will hurt poor people'; *GroundUp* 15 Feb 2016; <http://www.groundup.org.za/article/minimum-wages-debate-continues-point/>.

(8) Working Papers etc not published elsewhere

1. 'The United Democratic Front: Its Formation, Structures and Impact on Township Politics in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal Region, 1983-1984', in *Work in Progress: Papers Presented at the Southern African History and Politics Seminar*, Oxford University (1990).
2. *Shack-Residents of Khayelitsha: Residential and Migration Histories*, University of Stellenbosch, Research Unit for Development Sociology Occasional Paper no.15 (1990).
3. 'Powerlessness and Politics: "Quiescence" and Protest in P.W.V. Townships, c1973-1985', in *Papers Presented at the Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries seminar*, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, volume 16 (1991).
4. *South African Townships, 1980-1991: An Annotated Bibliography*, University of Stellenbosch, Research Unit for Development Sociology Occasional Paper no.16 (February 1992).
5. *Local Level Negotiations in the Cape*, Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (IDASA), Cape Town (1991).
6. *An Evaluation of the European Community / Kagiso Trust Civic and Advice Centre Programme*, Kagiso Trust, Johannesburg (1993).

7. *Making an Informed Investment: Improving the Value of Public Expenditure in Primary and Secondary Schooling in South Africa*, Report for the Standing Committee on Public Accounts in the Parliament of South Africa (2001).
8. 'Indicators of Performance in South Africa's Public School System'. *Working paper 10*, Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town
9. 'Unemployment and Distributive Justice in South Africa: Some Inconclusive Evidence From Cape Town'. *Working paper 24*, Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town (2002)
10. 'How Do We Know What To Do? The Importance of Experimentation in Designing Programmes and Policies to Improve South African Schooling', *Working paper 30*, Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town (February 2003).
11. 'Are South Africa's Cities Changing? Indications from the mid-1990s' (review essay), *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27,1 (2003), pp.197-202.
12. 'The 2003 Cape Area Study: A User's Guide', *CSSR Working Paper* no.63 (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town, March 2004) (with Karin Alexander, Tracy Jooste and Isaac Matzner).
13. 'The Cape Area Panel Study: Technical Documentation for Wave 1 (2002)', Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town (March 2005) (by David Lam, Jeremy Seekings, *et al.*, subsequently expanded to cover subsequent waves of CAPS)
14. 'The Cape Area Panel Study: An Introduction and User's Guide to Wave 1 Data', Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town (March 2005) (by David Lam, Jeremy Seekings, *et al.*, subsequently expanded to cover subsequent waves of CAPS).
15. 'Inequality and Diversity in Cape Town: An Introduction and User's Guide to the 2005 Cape Area Study', *CSSR Working Paper* no.124 (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town, August 2005) (with Tracy Jooste, Mirah Langer and Brendan Maughan-Brown).
16. 'Perceptions of Class and Income in Post-Apartheid Cape Town', *CSSR Working Paper* no.07/198 (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town).
17. 'Racial and Class Discrimination in Assessments of "Just Desert" in Post-Apartheid Cape Town', *CSSR Working Paper* no.07/199 (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town).
18. 'The ILO and Social Protection in the Global South, 1919-2005', [paper for the ILO Century Project](#) (Geneva, 2008) and also as *CSSR Working Paper* no.238 (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town).
19. 'Beyond Fluidity: Kinship and Households as Social Projects', *CSSR Working Paper* no.237 (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town).
20. 'Claims on and Obligations to Kin in Cape Town, South Africa', *CSSR Working Paper* no 272 (Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town, 2010) (co-authored with Sarah Harper).
21. *The Social Consequences of Establishing Mixed Neighbourhoods*, report for the Department of Local Government and Housing, Provincial Government of the Western Cape (2010), pp vi+181 (co-authored with Tracy Jooste, Singumbe Muyeba, Marius Coqui and Margo Russell).
22. 'Differentiation within the South African Clothing Industry: Implications for Wage-Setting and Employment', *CSSR Working Paper* no. 307 (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town, 2012) (with Nicoli Natrass).

23. 'Institutions, Wage Differentiation and the Structure of Employment in South Africa', *CSSR Working Paper* no. 309 (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town, 2012) (with Nicoli Nattrass). <http://www.cssr.uct.ac.za/pub/wp/309>.
24. 'Job destruction in the South African clothing industry: How an unholy alliance of organised labour, the state and some employers is undermining labour-intensive growth', published as *CSSR Working Paper* no 323 (2013) and by the Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE), Johannesburg (2013) (with Nicoli Nattrass): <http://www.cssr.uct.ac.za/pub/wp/323>.
25. 'Democracy, Poverty and Inclusive Growth in South Africa since 1994', *CSSR Working Paper* 321 (2013): <http://www.cssr.uct.ac.za/pub/wp/321>.
26. 'Continuity and Change in the South African Class Structure Since the End of Apartheid', *CSSR Working Paper* 355 (2015): <http://www.cssr.uct.ac.za/pub/wp/355>.
27. 'Should and can labour-surplus, middle-income economies pursue labour-intensive growth? The South African Challenge' (co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass), *CSSR Working Paper* 351 (2015): <http://www.cssr.uct.ac.za/pub/wp/351>.
28. 'The "Developmental" and "Welfare" State in South Africa', *CSSR Working Paper* 358 (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town, 2015).
29. 'State capacity and the construction of pro-poor welfare states in the "developing" world', *CSSR Working Paper* 359 (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town, 2015).
30. 'National minimum wage setting in South Africa' (co-authored with Nicoli Nattrass), *CSSR Working Paper* 362 (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town, 2015).
31. 'Social policy reform under the Government of National Unity in Zimbabwe, 2009-13' (Isaac Chinyoka & Jeremy Seekings), *CSSR Working Paper* 373 (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town, 2016).
32. 'Trade unions and the redesign of South Africa's minimum wage-setting institutions in the 1990s', *CSSR Working Paper* 374 (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town, 2016).
33. 'Minimum wage-setting by the Employment Conditions Commission in South Africa, 1999-2015', *CSSR Working Paper* 375 (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town, 2016).
34. 'Drought relief and the origins of a conservative welfare state in Botswana, 1965-1980', *CSSR Working Paper* 378 (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town, 2016).
35. 'Redefining the affordability of social assistance programmes: The Child Support Grant in South Africa, 1998-2014', *CSSR Working Paper* 379 (Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town, 2016).