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**EFFECTS OF THE CONFLICTING IDEOLOGIES OF THE TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE ON POLICY
FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION IN SOUTH AFRICA**

By

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2014178210

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This dissertation represents not only my work at the keyboard but a milestone in a decade of lecturing labour relations where politics and ideologies are fundamental to the course. Through the years I have learnt that there is always a relationship between a political party and an ideology which will then provide a direction of the policies to be formulated and implemented. This dissertation is therefore a result of many experiences I have encountered as an academic and of the generosity of many people to whom I am grateful.

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Abstract

Issues of development are on top of the Agenda of the United Nations because it is the international organisation that grants status to countries according to the level of development. South Africa is rated as a developing country while the Bretton Woods institutions rate South Africa as a developing economy. Bretton Woods institutions (with the specific reference to the International Monetary Fund) are interested in economic policies of the countries. South Africa finds itself at the centre of being a young democracy that has to compete globally without adequate capacity to be a global player. Social contract binds the government to deliver public goods to the electorate; hence there is a need to form partnerships and networks for delivering public goods. Some partnerships are formulated inside the country while some are at an international level. Partnerships and networks as stakeholders in policy making are able to support a policy that promotes their interests. Nonetheless, twenty years have passed while South Africa maintains its democracy as a young one. It is therefore justifiable to conduct a historic study with a special focus on socio-economic policies that are formulated with the partners and networks in the process.

In line with the central argument, this study wanted to describe the effects of the conflicting ideologies in the form of socialism and capitalism to growth impediment in South Africa because their co-existence results to policy uncertainty. Documents analysed exposed that South Africa has changed socio-economic policies five times in a period of 18 years (1994 to 2012) whose implementation strategies are reported to be a contradiction. Moreover, instead of complementing each other, social economic policies compete with each other; hence there is no meaningful implementation. Socio-economic policies are a tool of decreasing unemployment, poverty and inequality. Findings revealed that growth and economy stagnated hence jobs cannot be created; poverty and unemployment has increased; conflicting ideologies are not always a reason policy is not implemented; state does not have capacity to implement policy; better life for all remains an election manifesto; and policy goals and strategies employed during implementation are contradicting one another. On the other hand, the promise of a better life for is betrayed; hence

improving the quality of life, promotion of nation building and social cohesion is an illusion if South Africa is stolen (Bhorat, Buthelezi, Duma, Mondi, Peter, Qobo, Swilling & Friedenstein, 2017: 4).

Key terms – governance, democracy, socialism, capitalism, networks, partnerships, justice, poverty, inequalities, unemployment, tripartite alliance

Dedication

To my Mother, Sizakele Alexia Malinga (uMaGumede) who was deprived of an opportunity to learn beyond Standard 4 (Grade 6) because of being a girl child. Mah, this one is for you because you saw a need for us – your children to go to school.

DECLARATION

I, Nonhlanhla Alice Koenane declare that the Master’s Degree research dissertation or interrelated, publishable manuscripts/published articles, or coursework Master’s degree mini-dissertation that I herewith submit for the Master’s Degree qualification in Governance and Political Transformation at the University of the Free State is my independent work, and I have not previously submitted it for a qualification at another institution of higher learning.

.....

SIGNATURE

Nonhlanhla Alice Koenane

.....

DATE

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	- AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
ARPM	- AFRICAN PEER REVIEW MECHANISM
ASGISA	- ACCELERATED & SHARED GROWTH INITIATIVE FOR SOUTH AFRICA
BRICS	- BRAZIL, RUSSIA, INDIA, CHINA & SOUTH AFRICA
COSATU	- CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS
DA	- DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE
DOED	- DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
DOF	- DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE
FDI	- FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT
GEAR	- GROWTH, EMPLOYMENT & REDISTRIBUTION STRATEGY
GNU	- GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY
IFP	- INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY
IMF	- INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND
JIPSA	- JOINT INITIATIVE FOR PRIORITY SKILLS ACQUISITION
MDGs	- MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS
NDP	- NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN
NDR	- NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION
NGP	- NEW GROWTH PATH
NEPAD	- NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT
PPP	- PUBLIC-PRIVATE-PARTNERSHIP
RDP	- RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY
SACP	- SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY
SADC	- SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPING COMMUNITIES
SSA	- STATISTICS SOUTH AFRICA
SOEs	- STATE OWNED ENTERPRISES

USA - UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WB - WORLD BANK

WTO - WORLD TRADE CENTRE

CHAPTER 1: Background to and motivation for the study

1.1 Introduction

I studied the effects of the conflicting ideologies that underpin the existence of tripartite alliance in South Africa because I wanted to find out what the contribution of these conflicting ideologies are to the challenges South Africa experiences during policy formulation and implementation. Moreover, I wanted to describe the ideologies and the policies South Africa has had since 1994 because co-existence of the ideologies in the form of socialism and capitalism result in policy uncertainty, with specific reference to the economic policies. This study is within the context of governance and political transformation where theories of governance were applied as a frame of reference in order to understand the role of the government and other stakeholders involved in policy making. This research is of critical importance in South Africa because most policies remain on paper, hence implementation remains a challenge. Conducting this study in the form of a historical research sought to provide some alternatives in the policy process whereby the countries of Switzerland, the United States of America and India were referred to for South Africa to benchmark in the formulation and implementation of socio-economic policies. Theories of Governance in the form of Network Governance formed the basis of this study given the fact that governance is about self-organising networks (Toikka, 2011:47). Moreover, Toikka states that the Networks Theory of governance suggests an empirical toolkit for analysing the policy-making processes.

1.1.1 Mixed economies

There is a possibility for socialism and capitalism to co-exist. Payne (2015:5) reveals that socialism and capitalism are incompatible in theory while they complement each other in reality. Chivance (2000:1) provides definitions for both socialism and capitalism where he conceives of socialism as a system based on social ownership and planned coordination of the economy. On the other hand, the author conceives of capitalism as a system based on private ownership, market allocation and entrepreneurship. Moreover, capitalism asserts that socialism is economically irrational and inefficient as it destroys the basis for a good economy. Nonetheless, Bergh (2011:21) provides an antithesis of Chivance (2000:1) as he reveals that in countries such as Switzerland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark capitalism and

socialism co-exist and they are rated amongst the developed countries. Turok (2011) also states with specific reference to China under the leadership of the Communist Party, that the country has adopted capitalism as an economic framework and is rated amongst the developed economies. The success of the economies in the Scandinavian countries and in China is made possible by the presence of a mixed economic system where there are high levels of economic freedom and well-functioning capitalist institutions. South Africa can utilise the mentioned countries as examples for benchmarking purposes while conceptualising the mixed economy in a South African context.

The United States (U.S.) Department of State (2017:3) reports that the US follows a mixed economy system because both the government and private sector organisations play an important role in socio-economic matters. In other words, there is no single country that exercises pure capitalism because the government has a duty to provide for the social welfare needs of society in response to the social contract the government has with the electorate (Koenane & Mangena, 2017:65). Above the provision of the social welfare goods, Lehohla (2017: 20) confirms the provision of a social wage in South Africa such as of free primary education, no-fee paying schools, pension for the aged and child support grant as well as the low income houses (with the intention to implement the Reconstruction and Development Policy [RDP] during the period of transition from apartheid to democracy), to mention a few.

In the context of governance, the government is no longer the sole provider of public goods because partnerships and networks are now in place. A discussion on partnerships and networks as governance theories underpinning this study is found on Chapter 2 of this research. The paragraph below defines partnerships and networks (in governance) in order to logically connect the policy process and the role players in the formulation and implementation of socio-economic policies with the intention of answering the main research question of this study.

1.1.2 Networks and partnerships in the policy process

In the midst of a very thin line that exists between networks and partnerships in practice, Williams, Sankar and Rogers (2004: 2) provide the difference. They perceive a network as a group of people with a common interest who interact and

cooperate with each other for mutual assistance. On the other hand, a partnership is a relationship between organisations or groups that is characterised by mutual cooperation and responsibility to achieve a common goal with the involvement of all partners. This explanation is deemed pertinent because networks and partnerships have become a relationship between all stakeholders in governance. In South Africa, networks and partnerships do not make the policy process easy because each stakeholder focuses on which policies benefit him or her. On the other hand, the tripartite alliance itself is an example of a partnership that reasons from the conflicting schools of thought. Their existence is shaped by the conflicting ideologies that make it difficult to reach consensus regarding the implementation of socio-economic policies.

Differences are not supposed to be one of the distinguishing characteristics of the tripartite alliance. Mthembu (2014: 2-4) reveals that during a 1969 Conference in exile both the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the African National Congress (ANC) agreed on choosing Marxism as a provision for ideological direction towards democratising South Africa. Based on the nature of the relationship, the SACP and the ANC formulated prior to the birth of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the SACP chose not to contest the elections as an independent political party. The SACP is playing a role in the ANC-led government with regards to consolidating democracy while paying little attention to communism or socialism following the collapse of a global network in the form of the Soviet Union (Mthembu; 2014:3).

1.1.3. Issues of concern in the policy process

The ANC-led government in the form of a tripartite alliance lead the government of the day in spite of their incompatible ideologies (that is, socialism versus capitalism). Incompatibility of the ideologies reveals itself during the policy process. This assertion is not supported by Schwarzmantel (2008:26) who believes that the alliance is founded on a common commitment to the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) and the need to unite the largest possible cross-section of South Africa. It is within this context that the researcher perceives the differences as unnecessary in realising what is entailed in the Freedom Charter as a means of realising a better life for all. However, it is stated by Natrass (2014: 14)

that conflicting statements regarding nationalisation marked the beginning of control over the economy in the announcement made by Nelson Mandela (in his capacity as the then ANC President) prior to the first democratic elections. A contradictory statement was made by Mandela (as the ANC President and the newly democratically elected President of the Republic of South Africa) at the World Economic Forum that the nationalisation of mines was not going to happen (Nattrass, 2014; 4). Nationalisation and its rejection by the African National Congress [ANC] while supported by Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU] & South African Communist Party [SACP] as alliance partners, is one of the issues of concern in the policy process where there is a need to reach consensus for the just implementation of the Freedom Charter.

Differences in the tripartite alliance are affirmed by Business Monitor International (BMI, 2017: 48) where it reports that there were in-fights in the ruling party ahead of the National Elective Conference (in December, 2017). In-fighting in the democratically elected and legitimate government structure has caused South Africa to be both a political and an economic risk to potential investors (Ndhambi, 2015:12). To achieve an economic and political legitimacy, sound policies must be formulated and implemented. It is within this context that the authenticity of the ANC-led government is an area of concern in the presence of incompatible ideologies and lack of consensus reaching. One outcome is lack of meaningful policy formulation and implementation. The possibility of not reaching consensus on policy matters in the alliance was predicted by Mandela (as well as being the ANC's position) as he issued the statement below:

“There are matters where we will agree; the second category is matters we disagree among us, but we compromise. Third category is where there is no agreement at all and the government will go on with its policy” (Nelson Mandela, 1994).

It is within the context of this quotation that I question the credibility of the tripartite alliance in leading country and the policy processes. Mandela's use of the concept government in the above quotation has remained an issue of concern because in the ANC-led alliance, dual membership exists. In other words, the card-carrying members of SACP and COSATU affiliates (in various unions) are also ANC card carrying members. It is therefore not easy to state whose membership is not dual in

the tripartite alliance. For example, the deployment of Dr. Blade Nzimande in government as the former Minister of Higher Education and Training (and the current Minister of Transport) while he serves as the Secretary-General of the SACP in South Africa is tangible evidence. His deployment blurs the distinction between when he behaves like a cabinet Minister as a deployee of the SACP in government and when he opposes what the SACP recommends regarding policy while he is maintaining the position of being an ANC member. Nonetheless, what remains in the tripartite alliance is to achieve social transformation where matters related to inequalities, poverty and unemployment are addressed.

To realise the goal of social transformation through the effective transformation of the economy depends on the ideology of the ruling party. In South Africa, the founding principles of each alliance partner are not compatible with each other, hence meaningful policy formulation and implementation becomes a mission unaccomplished. On the other hand, in the midst of being discontented with the ANC, the SACP and COSATU continue to be loyal to the ANC even though the Secretary-General of the SACP (Blade Nzimande) has revealed that there is a need to review government's economic policy (McKinley, 2001:202). The following paragraph provides a summarised version of the economic policies whose meaningful implementation would result to the realisation of a better life for all in South Africa.

1.2 Socio-economic policies

Schnurr (2009:37) states that general economic policies of government are essential for encouraging steady economic growth. While economic growth is a necessary condition for the reduction of unemployment, there is a need for economic growth to exceed population growth (Ndhambi, 2015:6). In South Africa, population growth has been a challenge to economic growth. According to Erasmus, Loedolff, Mda and Nel (2015: 47) between 2001 and 2011, the population increased by approximately 7 million. This assertion is supported by Lehohla (2017: 2) as he states that the population growth has not been accompanied by the necessary structural transformation nor it has translated into equitable human development and improved livelihoods. Economic transformation is therefore deemed pertinent in transforming the lives of the growing population in the country as long as realistic policies are

formulated and implemented without putting more pressure on one of the partners in the policy process. Strategically, South Africa can adopt specific policies targeted towards addressing socio-economic inequalities that exist across the globe but be conceptualised to fit in a South African context. Apart from inequalities, uneven distribution of wealth is a distinguishing characteristic of the population in the new South Africa that must be addressed in order to close the poverty and inequality gaps that exist in the society.

The government's resources (financial resources and human capital) are of limited scope hence partners become involved in the development agenda. That is why Schnurr (2009:45) sees a need for the poor people to be empowered to take charge of their futures and become responsible for their own economic advancement. There is therefore a need for the government to invest in their education and training in support of the existing legislation South Africa has. Reasoning behind the formulation and implementation of policies that seek to eradicate inequalities in society is based on the fact that extreme inequalities are catastrophic for the development of the communities. That is why Dye (in Anderson, 2015: 47) states that the level of economic development has a dominant influence on government policies on matters such as education, welfare, taxation and public regulation. Provision of education and welfare fall under the delivery of public goods and social security wage (Lehohla, 2017: 20); and are financed through taxation of the economic active South Africans as well as the private sector.

It is necessary to state that the mentioned public goods are an indication of the influence socialists (that is the SACP) have in policy matters in the new South Africa. In 1992, Hani in his capacity as the then Secretary-General of the SACP (Bishop, 1993: 137) supported the provision of the social goods such as free health services and free education even though he was a proponent of democratic socialism. His support of democratic socialism was based on the new world order that was a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the fall of the Berlin Wall in Germany.

In the new South Africa, education is free at basic education level (in public schools), public health is also freely accessible even though the provision of basic services in the new South Africa includes access to water and electricity to rural communities where levels of poverty and unemployment are high. Other additional

development in the new South Africa is the provision of RDP houses to those in need or the poorest of the poor. The noted challenge (as the researcher's contention) is the failure of the country's socio-economic policies to achieve a classless society given the fact that only the low income earners qualify to reside in the RDP houses. Therefore, the economic status of South Africans re-groups them into different classes, a state that the current government is looking forward to reversing; at least on paper. Nonetheless, the private sector has partnered with the government in delivering services to the citizens since the introduction of Public-Private-Partnerships.

Having highlighted the presence of the private sector in South Africa as a prominent stakeholder in economic growth, there is therefore a need for the government to formulate policies that create a conducive environment for the private sector to prosper. However, the laws governing the employment relationship make it difficult for the private sector to prosper (Venter & Levy, 2014: 152). For example, Barclays Bank left South Africa with an intention to expand in Africa based on the fact that the government is somehow influencing the manner in which the market operates. Government's intervention in the private sector is responding to COSATU as it is stated that one of the trade union objectives is political affiliation. Since trade unions are not political parties, they see a need to align themselves with the political party of their choice in order to influence labour policies.

1. 3 Problem statement

Ginsburg (1996:82) states that it is clear that the political system established by the new constitution offers only a limited form of democracy in which the government is rendered strong enough to govern effectively, but weak enough to be able govern against important interests. The author continues to state that ...*"despite the fact that South African capitalism has generated pronounced polarities of wealth, income and life chances that it has continuously created unemployment and poverty even in its growth phases and has spread the rewards and punishments of the system unevenly across racial and ethnic lines, the interests of capital are, nevertheless, not only paramount, but in effect, constitutionally beyond challenge."* It is within this background that policy formulation and implementation in South Africa aimed at

achieving a better life for all remains on paper. The organisation of the state is therefore creating an elusive future for the majority of the South Africans.

It is within the parameters of the afore-mentioned assertion that a research question has emanated whereby I asked a fundamental question as to how a better life for all can be achieved if the ideologies of the alliance partners are not compatible. Because of the incompatibility of the ideologies, policy formulation and implementation in South Africa does not reach consensus.

South Africa has never had a clear economic policy in the sense that RDP was the national policy in 1994 even though it was short-lived and replaced by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (Gear) in 1996 (Visser, 2004:10). Gear was criticised by the alliance partners especially COSATU (in spite of being part of the ANC-led government), on the basis that only the ANC was involved in the macro-economic strategy of the government (Twala & Kompi, 2012:180). However, Twala and Kompi further state that each partner in the alliance is independent and has a right to develop its position on various issues while recognising the ANC as the alliance leader. COSATU's contestation of their exclusion emanates from their democratic principles in a union where a bottom-up approach is used while the ANC uses a top-down approach (McKinley, 2001: 202). There is therefore a trend of policy failure in the new South Africa, thus compromising the realisation of a better life for all.

1.4 Main Research question

How can South Africa attain a better life for all when there is no consensus-driven policy framework within the tripartite alliance?

1.4.1 Specific Research Questions

- What causes the ideological differences within the ANC-led government?
- What are the historical founding principles of the tripartite alliance?
- Which socio-economic frameworks South Africa had under the ANC-led government?
- To what level have the lives of the ordinary people improved in the new South Africa?

1.5 Research Aims

I wanted to describe the effects of the conflicting ideologies in the form of socialism and capitalism to growth impediment in South Africa because their co-existence results in policy uncertainty in a democratic state.

1.5.1 Research objectives

- To explain the ideological differences in the ANC-led government.
- To explain the founding principles of the tripartite alliance from a historical perspective.
- To chronologically explain the socio-economic frameworks South Africa has had under the ANC-led government.
- To report on the levels of improvement in the lives of the ordinary people in the new South Africans.

1.6 Research Methodology

The research methodology sought to answer “how” questions in the research process within a specific tradition or a paradigm. Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis and Bezuidenhout (2014:23) assert that there are three dominant research traditions which are positivism, critical realism and interpretivism. An interpretivism tradition will be adopted in this research. Within the interpretivism tradition, an intellectual tradition in the form of phenomenology was utilised as it allows the researcher to interpret and describe the phenomenon from the point of view of the phenomenon being studied. A qualitative approach was followed because the researcher had to use deductive reasoning in order to understand and rationalise phenomenon under study in this historic research.

Historical research has described the events that have taken place in South Africa from 1994, to date under the ANC-led government. Moreover, the nature of policies that were formulated in the new South Africa and the challenges experienced by the tripartite alliance and other stakeholders such as the business community in the implementation phase (with specific reference to economic policies) form the basis of this historical research. Therefore, a phenomenological approach was used to provide an in-depth understanding of the conditions in South Africa. Secondary

sources of information were utilised in the form of scholarly journals, newspaper articles and books. In support of the above-mentioned research approach and the tradition, a historic-hermeneutic paradigm was deemed pertinent in this study because its aim was embedded in the in-depth understanding of a phenomenon.

In this historical research Partnerships Theory, Justice Theory and Network Theory were utilised in conjunction with the socio-economic policies of the new South Africa to scrutinise the sequence of events in the phenomenon under study. The relevance of and justification for using each theory and the disclosure of the limitations of each theory was highlighted. For example, Checkley, Coupe & Foster (2016: 8-10) assert that the utilisation of networks in governance is deemed pertinent. On the other hand, the authors reveal that networks are self-destructive. This research provides a thesis or an antithesis regarding the synthesis of the conclusion provided by the previously mentioned authors.

Christopher and Heffner (2017:1-2) state that historical research attempts to gain the best knowledge by looking at the past rather than the future because predicting the future depends on an in-depth understanding of the historical events. Therefore, it protects other researchers and policy makers from making the same mistakes that were made in the past. A deeper understanding of networks, partnerships and justice will assist policy makers in making better choices during the policy formulation stage with the intention of ensuring a better future for the poor South Africans. This research sought to contribute to the research conducted by various researchers regarding the development agenda of South Africa by revisiting the socio-economic policies South Africa has followed since the dawn of democracy.

Because historic research uses existing records and data, it is therefore appropriate in the field of public policy. Within the context of public policy, the aim of the researcher in historical research was to better understand a problem and the variety of factors that have influenced how the issue has evolved into what it is today (Checkley et.al, 2016:8). The advantages of applying historical research to policy are that it provides evidence that can be utilised to inform public policy. Moreover, the researcher discovered important factors that underlie the current problems and sought to bring awareness to policy makers to avoid implementing unresearched policies.

1.6.1 Research Approach

The notion of research approach is explained by Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis and Bezuidenhout (2014:304-305) as the use of either a qualitative or quantitative approach or both. A qualitative approach was used in this study because the research followed a phenomenological paradigm. Phenomenological research focused on letting the phenomenon to speak for itself in support of the assertion that in qualitative research the social phenomenon is context-dependent. Moreover, the meaning of whatever it is that the researcher investigates depends on the particular situation and the lived experiences of individuals or phenomenon under study (Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2006:35). This study fell within the interpretive approach because there is synergy between the research paradigm chosen for the qualitative study and the manner in which data was collected and analysed.

Historical reviews in the form of books, scholarly journals, conference proceedings papers and books were reviewed in chronological order as an appropriate method for conducting this research. The researcher reconstructed the evidence in the form of the afore-mentioned documents. As a point of departure, the researcher did not try to see through the eyes of the previous researchers who have studied this phenomenon but sought to bring new perspectives following the process of reviewing the literature.

1.6.2 Data collection methods

There is a need for the qualitative researchers to tell readers how they collected data and how they see the evidence (Neuman, 1997: 334). This historic study is one of the approaches followed in qualitative research. Most historic researchers are regularly motivated to study the past based on some problems in the present. There are various methods of obtaining data for a qualitative research that include historic research (Elliot & Timulak, 2005:149). Welman and Kruger (1999:186) state that in historical research, researchers have to locate existing sources such as newspapers, books and scholarly journals. The researcher did not interfere with the data collection process such as interviews, focus groups, participant observation (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al, 2014:183-190), but described, analysed and interpreted what is already available. The researcher made inferences about the past, often imagining what must have occurred (Thies, 2002:355). In this research, secondary sources were

utilised in a chronological manner as a data collection method with the intention of discovering new knowledge or interpreting existing knowledge. Historical records were a source of data. This had the advantage of working on data that is already available. On the other hand, it was a restriction because data was restricted to what already exists (Coldwell & Herbst, 2004:48).

1.6.3 Document analysis

Document analysis process involved reducing the volume of raw information, identifying significant patterns and constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what the data revealed. Common denominators of document analysis such as reduction, organisation, interpretation and substantiation of data (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al, 2014) were followed during data analysis stage. A hermeneutic approach was employed as it emphasises the focus on subjective understanding and interpretation. This approach was meaningful to this research as it included a detailed reading or examination of the text where the researcher was referred to written words. A researcher conducted a reading to discover meaning embedded within the text. Interpretive research in hermeneutics was motivated by the need to explain particular instances in terms of broad principles but also retained what was unique and distinctive about the specifics. Inductive methods were used in transcribing the accessed sources. This kind of reasoning allowed the researcher to conduct content analysis using an interpretive paradigm with the intention of providing a description of the reality mirrored in the text. Content analysis was used as it fits in qualitative research in an interpretive paradigm, using a phenomenological approach.

1.6.3.1 Strategies to ensure quality data

Data analysis followed shortly after the historical documents had been reviewed. Data was organised into categories, patterns were located and a coding system was developed (in accordance with the writings of Du Plooy-Cilliers et al, 2014:236-238) to avoid losing sight of the finer details of what transpired during the data inquiry. The researcher only transcribed data that was adding value to the study. Exact words from the sources were put in double quotation marks. For what was paraphrased by the researcher, a single quotation mark was used following the

recommendations of Behrens and Rosen (1997: 32-35) as well as the University of Oxford's Bodleian Library (2011).

1.7 Ethical considerations

Since there were no participants in the form of human beings, obtaining consent was not required nor was the permission to conduct the research. The following was taken into consideration to comply with ethical requirements in historical research:

- The researcher was sensitive to political issues and cross-cultural interaction.
- The researcher acknowledged the intellectual property of other researchers, in order to avoid errors in documentation and failure to cite sources thus leading to being charged with plagiarism.
- The researcher's selection criteria for use of evidence and external criticism of documents placed a burden of integrity of the individual researchers; hence it was treated with discretion.

1.8 Expected contribution of the study

Effects of the conflicting ideologies of the tripartite alliance on policy formulation and implementation in South Africa as a chosen research topic for this study will be an eye opener for the masses of South Africans who do not have political education so that they might use rationality during the next election. The study will also assist policy-makers who lack formal political and economic education while deciding the fate of all South Africans in the realisation of the National Development Plan and in their endeavour to fight the triple challenge that persists in the new South Africa.

1.9 Limitation of the study

The use of historical research allowed the researcher to choose the documents that were accessible and meaningful to the research. There was a potential danger of leaving out some documents that might have meaningfully added value to the study. Documents review is also not a flexible means to get data because it eliminates the use of interviews, focus groups and participant observation (Coldwell & Herbst, 2004: 49).

1.10 Research Design (Layout)

The chapters in this study are presented in the following manner:

Chapter 1 : Background to and motivation for the study.

The Chapter gives the rationale for conducting this study in the new South Africa and introduces the socio-economic policies directed towards attaining social transformation. Issues of concern in the policy process as well as the research methodology followed in this study form part of this Chapter.

Chapter 2 : Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

Operational definitions of concepts such as democracy, capitalism and socialism that underpin this study are given. Theories of governance that were deemed appropriate for this research such as Networks, Partnerships and Justice Theories are introduced for their application in various socio-economic policies of the new South Africa.

Chapter 3 : Post 1994 socio-economic policies in South Africa

Policy change from apartheid to democracy marked a paradigm shift in the nature of policies that are meant to actualise the preamble of the Constitution where it says South Africa belongs to all who lives in it. A number of socio-economic policies such as Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP), Growth, Employment and Redistribution plan (GEAR), Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA), Joint Initiative for Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA), New Growth Path (NGP) and the National Development Plan (NDP) are explained in line with the intention to improve the standards of living for all South Africans. Shortcomings in the implementation of each policy are also highlighted.

Chapter 4 : Main Discussion

Justification of each governance theory in each socio-economic policy is mentioned. The role and power of organisations such as the World Bank, World Trade Centre and International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the policy process are highlighted. Various forms of networks and their influence on policy matters as well as the inequalities in partnerships form part of the discussion. Critique of each governance theory is given

and the role of the globalised economy. A controversy surrounding wealth creation and wealth distribution is discussed.

Chapter 5 : Results, Conclusions and Recommendation

The life span of each socio-economic policy is summarised. The trend regarding the increase in poverty, inequality and unemployment is explained. Lessons from other continents such as Asia, Europe and BRICS countries are provided for South Africa to benchmark. A summary of the results, recommendations and recommendations for future research conclude the Chapter.

CHAPTER 2: Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

2.1. Introduction

“It is absolutely clear now that the major cause of tensions in the alliance is the lack of political will for collective debates and discussions on key policy questions. Part of the problem is an assumption from our comrades in government that discussion of the key policy choices means co-determination thus constraining government to govern. As we have pointed out before the issue is not so much differences between the ANC and its alliance partners as it is about differences within government’s economic policies in particular.....Part of the problem seems to be that we have limited our debate, particularly economic debates to the very senior leadership of the alliance. We re-affirm our commitment to defend all those communists, even if some of the policies they are pursuing are in contradiction with some party’s position.” (SACP Political Report, 2001:4).

The context of the above citation emphasises the need to elaborate on the conceptual as well as the theoretical frameworks underpinning this study. South Africa is a democratic country led by the tripartite alliance; an alliance whose founding principles are incompatible. Venter and Levy (2014:6) state that democratic countries (such as South Africa) follow capitalism as an ideology. On the other hand, the mentioned authors provide socialism as an ideology which is followed by non-democratic countries. It is therefore deemed pertinent to provide some clarity on the afore-mentioned concepts with an intention to establish how their co-existence in South Africa contributes to or hinders the realisation of a better life for all. Ginsburg (1996:85) states that South Africa’s capitalism has widened the poverty and inequality gap as it consistently creates unemployment. This assertion is confirmed by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC, 2017) as it hosted a dialogue on the increasing gap between the poor and the rich in the new South Africa (ENCA News Channel at 07H00 on 30 August 2017).

Prior to providing a discussion on the concepts underpinning this study, it is necessary to provide a summarised version of ideology as a concept because ideologies are central to this study. It has been reported by Badarat (2006: 81) that

since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, politics and economics have become two sides of the same coin. Therefore; modern democracy cannot be separated from its economic system. The economic system will be informed by the ideology of the ruling party in a country even though it has been revealed by Schwarzmantel (2008: 81) that democracy manifests itself either in a capitalist or socialist format. Schwarzmantel (2008: 13) further states that confrontation between different ideologies is a necessity in building and retaining a healthy democracy. Ideological conflict or confrontation between different ideologies involves debates, discussions and political struggle between competing views of how society should be organised. In line with the said statements, Badarat (2006: 6) states that there is no single definition of an ideology because each definition has been challenged and contradicted.

However, the above-mentioned author defines ideology as a political term that consists of a view of the present and the future; is action-oriented towards the masses and is usually couched in simple terms that can be understood by ordinary people. Nonetheless, ideologies are used to persuade people to accomplish the goals of the state. Schwarzmantel (2008: 25) asserts that ideologies start with liberalism and move on to ideologies of the left or right. Moreover, ideology presents at least in its fullest form a broad range of views which cover aspects of how society should be; what forms of differences or differentiation between people should be accepted and which one is rejected on the way to the accomplishment of a desirable society.

2.2. Conceptual framework

Segrillo (2012: 1) states that liberalism and socialism are the historical concepts underpinning the direction any political party follows in a given country. These concepts have left marks in shaping world politics. They are also perceived as rival approaches. Based on their presence in shaping both political and economic environments, a discussion of these mentioned ideologies is laid out within a democratic setting (that is, in the South Africa context) drawing points of reference from a global perspective. Therefore, a discussion of democracy, capitalism and socialism is tackled in the next section.

2.2.1. Democracy

Huntington in Segrillo (2012:9) defines democracy as a political system in which the most powerful decision makers are elected through fair, honest and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote. Schmitter and Karl in Segrillo (2012: 10) conceives of democracy as a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable by the electorate for their actions in the public domain, acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of the elected representatives. For the purpose of this study, both definitions of democracy will be applied transnationally and in South Africa.

Goodin and Pettit (2006:674) assert that democracy is perceived as an alternative acceptable method of governance. The idea is supported by Harden (2014:1) who states that incorporation of democracy into governments has increased in the 21st Century. Its acceptance is displayed in the modern political life where laws and policies are legitimised. However, it is a difficult form of government to create and to sustain. On the other hand, democracy is deemed as one of the pre-conditions of reaching sustainable development (Makgoba, 1999:255). Moreover, the birth of globalisation has created transnational relationships. In other words, globalisation has created interdependency among states. Another outcome of globalisation is the formulation of networks even though some are not effective thus hindering the global agenda of attaining sustainable development. A discussion on networks as one of the theories underpinning this study will be provided in this chapter because South Africa is one of the role players on the global stage.

As much as there is a dominant conception of democracy from a Western world view (where liberal elements such as separation of powers, rule of law and protection of basic liberties), Harden (2014:1) provides different models of democracy such as polyarchy, delegative democracy, and minimalist standard as well as illiberal democracy. The motivation behind the provision of different models of democracy originates from the presence of democratic governments that deviate from living according to the prescription of liberal democracy into their governance practices. That is why the idea of liberal democracy remains a contested conception around the world. In fact, Makgoba (1999: 249) rejects the utilisation of the Western conception

of democracy and suggests the acknowledgement of African ideologisation in bringing on board what he refers to as African socialism.

Zakaria (2009:1) explains illiberal democracy as a variation of democracy that seeks to describe the current state of affairs of democracy in various countries. The author further states that the paradigm shift seeks to divert from the concept of democracy as promulgated by the Western super powers. Currently, some of the countries around the globe are setting into a form of government that mixes a substantial degree of democracy with a substantial degree of illiberalism (Harden, 2014:2). For example, in Africa (with a specific reference to Southern Africa) there is Swaziland a country where an absolute monarchy exists but they consider themselves as a democratic country; in spite of the infringement of the individual liberties. Another example is Zimbabwe where the President, until his recent fall from power, was above the constitution. These variances stand as proof of the existence of illiberal democracy.

In line with the above-mentioned models of democracy, Goodin and Pettit (2006:675) state that within the concept of democracy; lies a deep-rooted conflict in responding to whether democracy should mean some kind of popular power or an aid to decision-making. As an outcome of this conflict, models of democracy have emerged. The models include direct or participatory democracy, liberal or representative democracy and Marxism or the one-party model (Segrillo, 2012:8-11). Liberals believe in the constitutional state and support a free market system in order to resolve the problems of ensuring authority and liberty (Coppedge et al, 2011:253-255). The Marxism model believes that liberties, equality and justice cannot be realised by the free struggle for the votes together with the free struggle for profit in the market place (Alexander, 2015:981-986). This school of thought seeks to complement the above-mentioned delegative democracy model even though Marxism suggests a system that is related to a Communist Party based on the belief that transition to socialism calls for the presence of a disciplined cadre of revolutionaries (Campbell, 2008:3-8). It is therefore believed that it is the Communist Party that is instrumental in creating a framework for socialism. The statements mentioned here are arousing an interest in the future political landscape of South Africa under the leadership of the tripartite alliance.

Voting for the first time by all South Africans in 1994 marked the beginning of a democratic dispensation. Prior to the first democratic elections Mandela (1994) stated that democracy will have little content and will be short lived if the socio-economic problems are not attended to by the democratically elected government. He further stated that democratisation must be designed in such a manner that it transforms both the state and society where an enabling environment will be created for all South Africans to participate in matters related to development as opposed to involving the masses during the election period only. Addressing the issues of concern in the social environment by the government (such as racial and gender inequalities, education, health and housing) seeks to transform the South African society and the eradication poverty, unemployment and inequalities. It is because of the mentioned issues of concern that the government must intervene in order to improve the standards of living of the citizens in partial fulfilment of the social contract as in the writings of Locke and Hobbes (Goodin & Pettit, 2006:55-57).

The above-mentioned assertions regarding democracy are critiqued by Harden (2014:1) who states that debates about democracy remain in academia because democracy is a concept without a single and an agreed meaning. For the purpose of this study, Harden's assertion will be used because democracy means different things to different governments who are formed by political parties that reason from different schools of thought.

South Africa is one of the few African countries that follow liberal democracy (Nattrass, 2014:4). The author further states that South Africa's democracy is deemed complicated because the ANC-led government is in an alliance format with COSATU and SACP. Based on the founding principles of each alliance partner, the relationships that exist between the state and labour and the state and business have been strained to such an extent that formulation and implementation of economic policies remains a challenge. Outcomes of the strained relationship create policy-incoherence in a democratic state. It can therefore be stated that the current state of affairs regarding the ruling party has implications for future growth and job creation as well as for consolidating democracy. It is necessary to state that the current policies of the tripartite alliance have not yet succeeded in promoting the shared growth that was anticipated for realising a better life for all (Kearney & Odusola, 2009:74).

2.2.2. Capitalism

Hodgson (2015: 1) asserts that *“One of the most commonly used concepts in modern humanities and social sciences; capitalism is one of the most misunderstood.”* The author further states that technological developments have improved the standards of living where life expectancy has increased. At the same time, global growth since 1700 has resulted in a widening gap between the rich and the poor countries. It can also be stated that Temperley (1997: 2) relates capitalism to slavery which advanced economic development in the West where slavery appeared to be a norm. Slavery assisted the West to have cheap labour (that is, slaves) as a means of production which was successful in providing cheap goods and a high level of profit. Nonetheless, Kirk (2015:1) asserts that capitalism and socialism are to be understood as two sides of the same coin given the fact that in capitalist countries a notion of socialism is applied. The example of the Scandinavian countries, the United States of America (USA) and India (as mentioned in Chapter 1) is confirmation of the possibility for socialism and capitalism to co-exist. Co-existence of the mentioned ideologies seeks to promote development of the entire society and where the business sector finds the environment conducive to prosperity.

The conception of a capitalist society can therefore be associated with a society in which ordinary social functions are subordinated to the laws of the market and where the government’s role is more based on maintaining order with less involvement in the economy (Temperley, 199: 98). However, Ferguson (2011: 1) reveals that in a capitalist orientation, inequalities (that are a concern in the socialist orientation) are a result of people’s different abilities rather than the workings of the system within which those abilities exist. Kirk (2015: 1) states that capitalism and socialism are comfortable in all political strategies. Moreover, the author states that neither communism nor socialism are the opposite of capitalism. A counter argument is provided by Stan (2008:1) where he states that capitalism is not a political ideology, but an economic system which is applicable in various systems. Having provided a quotation from the writings of Hodgson’s on the conception of capitalism, the following section expatiates on capitalism from various perspectives.

Lott (2015:11) defines capitalism as a system of both private property and relatively free market exchanges of products, resources and services. With profit as the

guiding objective, exploitation becomes a major feature of capitalism. It is for this reason that policy making in a capitalist setting is dominated by powerful business associates and a smaller number of those belonging to the elite class. Turok (2011: 128-133) states that in capitalism, the capitalists own the factors of production. Even though capitalists are outside the state, they have influence on the state and it can be said that they govern indirectly through the ideological hegemony they establish outside the state. Capitalism as an ideology is criticised by socialists who state that in a democratic setting capitalist society is undemocratic because the means of production are centred on a minority class and not socialised throughout the population (Segrillo, 2012:14). It is also stated by Hodgson (2015: 2) that Marx's analysis of capitalism was historically specific but flawed in its resilience because neither capitalism nor socialism is self-supportive even though capitalism is dominant, globally. It is within this context that Lott (2015:10) assert that inequality is an outcome of a capitalist economy.

An anti-capitalism orientation in South Africa is the SACP's unique characteristic (Eidelberg, 1997:12), and they are the proponents of socialism as confirmed by the SACP's statement that "*socialism is the future*" even though they are in an alliance with the ANC. In the context of the ANC-led alliance, the ANC is to a certain extent accommodating towards socialism given the fact that their Polokwane Resolution in 2007 was for the existence of a mixed system of economy in South Africa. The anti-capitalism approach of the socialists in an ANC-led government explains the hurdles that the alliance partners encounter in the policy process whereby the majority of the policies do not reach the implementation phase. Implementation of policies that are development-oriented in South Africa are supposed to complying with the Chapter 10 of the Constitution (of 1996) where values governing public administration are enshrined. One of the values states that public administration must be development oriented. Socio-economic policies are therefore instruments for realising the development agenda even though implementation will be complying with the ideological orientation of only one member of the alliance. Hence, policy implementation in South Africa remains a challenge with specific reference to the economic policies. The following paragraph provides discussion on socialism as an ideology in the quest for operationalising socialism as one of the concepts that underpin this study.

2.2.3. Socialism

Cannon (2003:2-9) states that in the old days, socialism was called the society of the free and equal people while democracy was defined as the rule of the people in the presence of exploitation by capitalists. Lott (2015:13) defines socialism as a theory of social organisation that advocates that the means of production, distribution and exchange should be owned and regulated by the community as a whole. On the other hand, socialism can be understood as a societal and a government system based on equality and social justice that requires government intervention in economic affairs. Central to the connotations of socialism is the creation of an enabling environment where all people to have equal access to the necessary social and material means to live a better life. Additionally, people must have equal access to politics and participate in decisions that affect their lives in support of equal access to the basic services. This cannot be achieved overnight, which is why planning is of strategic importance in socialism because it represents one of the aspects of human beings becoming the subjects of their own history (Terreblanche, 1999:2). In other words, it represents one aspect of human self-development (Campbell, 2008:3). The author further states that central planning is the mode of existence of socialist society because socialism is potentially threatening to the privileged elite in the country.

Cohen (in Lott, 2015: 14) reveals that ideal socialism focuses on justice through the removal of obstacles to opportunities so that major resources are available not just to people of privilege. It can therefore be stated that Marxists dwell on economic democracy and refuse to go without it in political democracy (Segrillo, 2012: 16). The author further states that radical Marxists (in the footsteps of Lenin) affirm that liberal democracy is always bound by a narrow framework of capitalist exploitation and consequently remains a democracy for the minority at the expense of the majority. Some of the characteristics of socialism include adhering to non-violent restraint and the emphasis on the working class. Additionally, socialism seeks to end social classes and inequalities which will bring social production in line with social ownership in the endeavour to address social needs.

The ANC (during the years in exile) survived with the support of the countries under the Soviet Union even though it was preparing to draw away politically and

ideologically (in 1985) with the intention of being accommodated by the capitalist countries (Eidelberg, 1997:2). Eidelberg further states that the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of 1989 became a crucial factor in persuading the SACP to modify its stance on anti-capitalism. It is for this reason that the SACP accepted the RDP in the belief that economic growth and international competitiveness should in fact be subordinated to social needs (Eidelberg, 1997:14). However, transformation achieved under democracy in South Africa is below expectations and follows a pattern of underperformance (Bhorat, et al, 2013: 12). The authors go on to state that good policies exist but poor implementation of the policies is one of the distinguishing characteristics of South Africa in spite of the basic economic good that they want to achieve, where there will be inclusive economic growth. The current ANC-led government faces a challenge of gaining credibility in its economic policies at both the formulation and implementation phases.

2.3. Governance Theories

Since the inception of democracy, governments have ceded power to other role players in support of governance. Governance is broader than government. It is perceived by Schwarzmantel (2008: 22) as the development of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors have become blurred. Governance can therefore be regarded as a new public management (Jo-Ann, 2001: 232) where characteristics such as accountability, transparency, responsiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, and being participatory as well as adhering to the rule of law are prescribed. There is a need for a good governance where governance theory is part and parcel of the strategy of good governance (Bang & Esmark, 2013 3). That is why Chhotray and Stoker (2006: 214) state that governance theory calls for the adoption of a multi-disciplinary approach in order to understand the challenges involved in designing governance solutions at a national level and in a transnational arena.

However, techniques of good governance are deeply ambiguous as they presuppose the strengthening of the self-governing capacity of the organisation while on the other hand they approach this self-governing capacity as a resource of government. Dealing with issues pertaining to governance is not an easy exercise hence the utilisation of theories that are found in governance is deemed pertinent. The

following paragraphs provide a discussion of the governance theories that underpin this study. It is necessary to state that good governance does not involve a specific ideological attachment hence no single theory will be linked or associated with a certain ideology. Ideologies were discussed under the conceptual framework because they are at the centre of this research.

2.3.1. Networks Theory

Bang and Esmark (2013:12) reveal that networks offer an alternative in the domain of governance since policy is made via networks. In other words, policy need leads the actors to initiate the process of network building and information is gathered or distributed via the existing network contacts. It is necessary to state that the process of network building and the existing network contacts are two different things. Band and Esmark continue to state that network governance takes the notion of wicked policy problems and the need for coordination in and across functional domains and levels as their starting point. Castellás (in Bang & Esmark, 2013:14) asserts that the notion of the networked state poses a particular strong version of bureaucracy even though some understand networks as a supplement to bureaucratic organisation. The function of a network varies from policy formulation to implementation taking into consideration its size, stability, level of inclusion and the type of anchoring in the political system.

As much as networks are crucial to the mobilisation strategy of good governance, networks are also perceived as part of the solution to the challenge of inter-governmental coordination across all levels of governance (Manuel, 2007). Haveri, Nyholm, Roiseland & Vabo (2009:49) reveal that governance is about self-organising networks where the roles of public and private actors are complicated. Based on how networks are formulated, they ruin themselves. In spite of the networks ability to be self-destructive, networks have contributed to policy formulation and implementation. Bang and Esmark (2013:17) state that there is a universal agreement that networks cannot be considered democratic from the perspectives of minimal, liberal and electoral democracy. On the other hand, the use of networks in public policy cannot be perceived as an instrument of democracy because democracy is not a real concern of network governance.

2.3.1.1. Network governance and policy problems

If it was stated in the above paragraph, networks are not democratic and have the potential to be self-destructive. The utilisation of networks has implications at various public policy stages. The governance process starts at the level of a policy need or a problem to be addressed. In this process the government is not completely in control because its power has been ceded to other parties in the network. The greatest challenge of networks is the danger of one or more actors who are involved in the process of delivering a public good lacking the resources to respond to the task at hand. Because role players in the network are not accountable to the electorate, the government has a duty to devise other means of ensuring continuity. Another policy problem has been mentioned by Toikka (2011:24) when he states that in networks rules and practices that define policy making are generated in the networks as part of the game. The rules set in the network function as a limiting factor for the actors in the network because they (the rules) are not permanent and are unstable.

2.3.2. Partnerships Theory

The South African Constitution (1996) has a special provision for partnerships because where public-private partnership exist, provision of public goods is improved while the private sector gets new business opportunities (Manuel, 2017). The Constitution states that when an organ of state contracts goods or services, it must do so in accordance with a system which is fair, equitable, transparent, competitive and cost-effective and where the value of money is taken into consideration. Partnerships relate to contracts that the government enters into with the private sector for the provision of public goods. They are therefore perceived as effective means of addressing problems that a single sector of the economy (that is, the public sector) cannot tackle alone.

Rutten, Leliveld and Foeken (2008:145) state that public-private partnerships are perceived as the main vehicle for enhancing growth and development in a country. However, sometimes there are contradictory consequences of the development opportunities for local communities of transnational cooperative processes involving more than one country. Schuppert (2014: 286-287) states that partnerships are by definition organisational arrangements with a sector-crossing character and are a suitable arrangement in governance. What partnerships in governance entail

includes delegation, co-option, co-regulation and self-regulation within an existing hierarchy. Benefit of partnerships in the public service includes the entrepreneur spirit where public sector is run like a business. It can be further stated that networks are organisational arrangements with similar functions where partners are involved in the public policy implementation.

Governance makes it possible for government to form partnerships with other stakeholders for the delivery of public goods. In South Africa, the notion of public-private-partnership was introduced during Mandela's era as the President where government invited the private sector to fund certain public projects with the intention of realising the South African development agenda.

When the then Minister of Finance (Manuel) delivered a speech introducing the New Growth Path as the economic policy he stated the following where he acknowledged the existence of public-private partnership in South Africa:

"Public-Private Partnership that we see reflected in our approach to policy design and reform that lies behind our current robust economic growth and which will support and sustain our growth story in coming years." (Manuel, 2007:14).

2.3.2.1. Public-Private-Partnership (PPP)

Lombard (2012:1) states that South African legislation defines Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) as a contract between a public sector institution and a private party, in which the private sector assumes a substantial financial, technical and operational risk in the design, financing, building and operation of a project. The intention is to bring certainty, improved efficiency, affordability, reduced risk perception and a better delivery cost. Lombard provides an example of the Gauteng vision of PPP where strategic goals of the province are to promote sustainable PPP for infrastructure development. Since economic growth, job creation and poverty alleviation are the challenges that the government cannot meet alone (in Gauteng and in other provinces), PPP can be leveraged as an important mechanism for a solution. Nonetheless, PPP seeks to attain mutual benefit as a key to success and sustainability. Given the inheritance of service delivery backlogs in the new South Africa, involvement or partnering with the private sector can contribute positively to a paradigm shift. An advantage provided in PPP is the sharing of risks even though the

public sector has to concern itself with additional costs and the technical problems that will be experienced during the implementation stage (Schuppert, 2014:295).

2.3.2.2. Partnerships, governance and policy problems

Having mentioned in this Chapter that the government is bound to deliver to the electorate because the social contract binds them together, the government has a moral duty to deliver as desired. Partnerships reveal the presence of more than one actor or role player in a process where each of them seeks to protect their position or a policy goal. It has been stated that private sector is one of the role players or partners in the partnership. This sector of the economy survives or prospers if the government makes and implements sound economic policies. This is not the case in South Africa where the ANC-led government cannot reach consensus on policy-related matters because of their ideological differences. Socialists in government believe that socialism is the future while the ANC follows a capitalist approach even though it is referred to as neo-liberalism. The ANC as the alliance partner strives to retain the relationship they have with the socialist SACP while it needs to implement policies that are user-friendly to the private sector as well as other countries South Africa is partnering with, transnationally. It can therefore be stated that diversity among the role players in the policy stages contributes to the non-implementation of the policies aimed at helping the ruling party to realise a better life for all dream.

2.3.3. Justice Theory

Bealey (2000:77) states that the justice concept is a multi-faceted concept even though it manifests itself in two prominent categories; that is social justice and procedural justice. Social justice is concerned with the creation of a just and equitable society where certain criteria are applied to obtain a desired society. There is no universal definition because various philosophers (such as Aristotle, Locke, Marx, Norzick and Rawls) have different perceptions of the concept (Younkins, 2000: 124; Vincent, 2012: 122). It is necessary to state that there are people who criticise justice theory because they are not benefitting from it. Justice also manifests itself in the form of compensatory justice as well as distributive justice (Grober et al., 2011:141). For the purpose of this study distributive justice is an appropriate choice because in the government's endeavour to realise a better life for all, distribution of resources needs to take place.

2.3.3.1. Distributive Justice

Resources are always characterised by scarcity which is why there is a need for a formal procedure to be in place for the distribution of public goods to the electorate. In the writings of Marx distributive justice is attained if the government is able to use develop a legislative framework that authorises the government to extract the resources from those who have and offer to those who do not have. Those who do not have will receive according to their needs while those who have wealth will contribute according to their abilities. There is therefore a need for the resources or public goods to be distributed in a fair manner.

Having expatiated on capitalism and socialism as ideologies that shape the orientation of the ruling party in a country, it is deemed pertinent to bring some insights as to how the ANC-led government ought to distribute resources in the presence of the conflicting ideologies. It is for this reason that the challenges posed by both socialism and capitalism regarding access to public goods are highlighted in the following paragraphs.

2.3.3.2 Challenges posed by capitalism in distributive justice

Capitalism is a system where the government plays a role in ensuring safety and providing a legislative framework that is user-friendly to the markets (Segrillo, 2012:13). Wealth creation is at the centre of capitalism. However, distribution is not part of the agenda in order to close poverty and inequality gaps in society. Capitalism and globalisation are being blamed for the creation of social classes where there are high income earners, middle income earners and a lower class that is paid the least (Cannon, 2003:2). This has assisted those who are rich to become richer while making those who are poor poorer. In the presence of democracy, globalisation and capitalism the government finds it difficult to formulate policies that will benefit both the majority and the small elites who are wealthy. Within the context of a better life for all in South Africa, there is a need for a viable policy that will direct the country towards eradicating the triple challenge of unemployment, poverty and inequalities.

It has been stated by Cannon (2003:6) that capitalism (under any kind of government) is a system of minority rule and the principal beneficiaries are the small

minorities. South African socio-economic policies are meant to achieve a better life for all, not just the minorities in realisation of the social contract that exist between the government of the day and the electorate. For the majority to benefit, the environment must be conducive for the private sector (as job creators) to be sustained. In other words, capitalism should provide job opportunities to the majority of South Africans for the purpose of sustainable development.

2.3.3.3 Shortcomings of socialism in wealth creation

Socialism refers to an economic system in which the means of production and distribution are owned by the state (Coppedge & Gerring, 2011:253). The authors further state that early socialism (that is the Utopian ideal) sought to transform capitalism into a more egalitarian system in order to realise collective well-being for all the people. In the South African setting, the tax rate is low while the statistics of the unemployed have escalated since the dawn of democracy. An outcome of low tax rates and the fewer statistics of those employed if compared with those that are unemployed (Statistics South Africa, 2017) hinder effectiveness and efficiency of government in fast-tracking service delivery. Reality is, the government cannot provide the same level of services to all, and hence resorts to engaging the private sector through public-private-partnerships. It has been stated by Ackermans (2014:5) that the regulations that hinder business prosperity will contribute to wealth creation for the realisation of a better life for all where the triple challenge will be eradicated. The author continues to state that there is a risk in South Africa that if the SACP and COSATU increase the elements of socialism because growth will deteriorate.

According to the Bertelsmann Transformation Index (2003:6), COSATU has had great influence on the labour market and social policies since 1994 in its quest to fight the inequalities that were created by the laws of the apartheid government. Based on the country's past, the level of development is difficult to classify. There is therefore a need for the government to reform South African society by the application of Justice Theory to reduce the socio-economic disparities. However, justice theory in the form of distributive justice where the government's concern is in fair distribution of society's burdens and benefits through major societal institutions is not beneficial to the business sector (Grobler et al, 2014:215). In the endeavour to implement distributive justice, a socialist orientation takes precedence in a country

where the government distributes the resources it does not have capacity to create. Therefore, if socialism does not co-exist with capitalism, eradicating inequality, poverty and unemployment in South Africa will remain on paper only.

2.3.3.4 Governance Theories and Research Questions

A better life for all is the priority of the governing party in the new South Africa. The main research question seeks answers that will assist South Africa to attain this goal. Governance theories such as networks, partnerships and justice were chosen in order to assist the researcher to expose the alternatives the government has.

Networks Theory provides an alternative to governance because the policy process involves a number of stakeholders such as political parties, civil society and the business community. For the ruling party to succeed, it needs some networking inside the country and outside the national borders where information is gathered via networks (Bang and Esmark, 2013:12). However, Toikka (2011:24) states that in networks there is a potential that one or more actors involved in the process of delivering a public good lack resources to respond to the task. Another challenge posed by networks is that the actors are not present on a permanent basis. In other words, networks are not a real solution to the problems in civil society.

Partnerships are another alternative in addressing the research problem regarding the realisation of a better life for all. Partnerships were initiated by the first democratic administration led by Mandela where PPP was introduced. The state acknowledges its limited capacity hence it seeks alternative ways of discharging its obligations to the electorate. However, partnerships do not allow the state to delegate its accountability to the electorate should one of the partners fail to deliver as anticipated.

With regards to justice theory, with specific reference to justice distributive justice, a better life for all is attainable if the resources are distributed in a fair manner. In the application of justice theory where society will receive from the state according to their needs, the triple challenge may be reduced. However, the limitation of this theory is its distribution of the resources not created by the state but by the private sector.

2.4. Conclusion

The tripartite alliance as the governing party displays differences ideologically; such differences evolve around socio-economic policies. Co-existence of the ideologies (capitalism and socialism) irrespective of their application in conjunction with the governance theories hinders the realisation of a better life for all in South Africa. Nonetheless, socialism and capitalism were conceived as the two sides of the same coin because even the pro-democracy countries utilise them both because the social contract binds the government and the electorate.

A very thin line exist between networks and partnerships as theories in governance, but what is common is that they are both characterised by diversity which has negative impact on policy formulation and implementation. However, benefits of utilising partnerships in leveraging the poor state capacity strikes the balance and adds value to the policy process. It was also noted that accountability in the networks remains a challenge in the policy process. Also, actors in the networks are not permanent; sustainability and continuity then remains a challenge in the process. In summary, the utilisation of networks and partnerships in governance has not benefitted the ANC-led government since lack of policy implementation has become the norm in the new South Africa.

CHAPTER 3: Post 1994 Socio-economic policies in South Africa

3.1. Introduction

Transition from apartheid to democracy shifted a paradigm regarding the economy which collapsed between the 1980s and 1990s (Bhorat, Naidoo, Oosthuizen & Pillay, 2016). The authors' further state that the transition to democracy exposed South Africa to international standards such as the co-existence of government and governance even though the government remains responsible for playing a key role in reducing inequalities. This period created expectations from the electorate given the fact that a better life for all was promised by the ANC-led alliance as they campaigned prior to the democratic elections in 1994. The possibility of attaining the promise is the main research question where the tripartite alliance's ideologies are conflicting; hence consensus is not reached during policy formulation and implementation. Moreover, low levels of education in the civil society are a limitation on a democratic state because the public does not have the ability to hold the government accountable (Bhorat, Naidoo & Pillay, 2016:22).

In anticipation of realising a better life for all, an opposing statement is offered by Makhubela (2008:37) who reports that the majority of people in South Africa remain unemployed, under-educated and under-housed in spite of the government's considerable investment in socio-economic development. It is therefore imperative for the government of the day to create sound economic policies in order to eliminate the social ills South Africa has because of her developing country status. It is within this context that Tustin and Geldenhuys (2011:69) assert that in democratic countries the key stakeholders in governance must recommend, formulate and implement economic policies having considered all the needs of the society.

The economic policies South Africa has had since 1994 are the subject for discussion in this Chapter. Therefore it is a historic study. The strength of a historical study is evident in the writings of Gunman (in Tustin and Geldenhuys (2011:70) where he states the following:

"...however carefully the present is considered and however refined the techniques of analysis, the present is not fully comprehended if the past is ignored or distorted. The evolution of an organisation is a complex and heavily influenced by social,

economic, moral, ideological and political processes. To understand the organisation of the past, present and future, it is imperative to understand how these elements have become embedded in and continue to influence modern organisations.”

Taking the above quotation into consideration, the economic policies or frameworks for economic policies in South Africa will be utilised as a tool for evaluating their formulation and implementation challenges. Additionally, the duration of each economic policy will be scrutinised together with its strengths and weaknesses, in the South African setting. It is necessary to state that South Africa has had a number of frameworks for economic policies without the existence of a real economic policy. Conflicting founding principles of each alliance partner justify the non-existence of an economic policy. Moreover, failure to reach consensus on economic policies has resulted in the formulation of a number of frameworks since from to date. The economic frameworks are discussed in the following paragraphs.

3.2. Economic policies of the ANC-led government in the new South Africa

After being released from Robben Island in 1990, Mandela called for the nationalisation of mines and monopoly industries (Nattrass, 2014:14). This call was short-lived because Mandela in 1991 (during the World Economic Summit) re-assured international investors (as job creators) that nationalisation was not going to happen in South Africa (Nattrass, 2014:14). This marked the beginning of an ambiguous position of South Africa in as far as policy direction is concerned. Moving away from the position that was shared by the tripartite alliance in compliance with the Freedom Charter led to the criticism whereby the socialists in the alliance blamed the ANC for adopting the elite's pact which was a point of departure from what was common in the alliance (Bendix, 2010:231).

Knight (2001: 1) reports that the need to create employment and better life for all is at the centre of economic policy formulation and the implementation of RDP priorities. In the search for answers to the main research question, the following paragraphs provide details of the economic-related policies in the new South Africa such as RDP, Gear policy, ASGiSA, New Growth Path (NGP) as well as the National Development Plan (NDP). Reasons for the formulation of each economic framework will be provided as it has been stated that the government of the day is striving to create a better life for all. Disparities in the policy stages will be highlighted given the

fact that poverty, inequality and unemployment are classified as the triple challenges faced by South Africa in her young democracy.

3.2.1. Reconstruction and Development Policy [RDP] (1994)

RDP is the first economic framework the new South Africa had for making the country a better place to live in and where socio-economic matters are on top of the development agenda. It was therefore formulated and adopted by the tripartite alliance in order to reduce inequality, create jobs and to improve the quality of life. Socio-economic conditions in South Africa today are attributed to the country's history under the colonial rule as well as to the apartheid policies of the Nationalist Party government (Nattrass, 2014:13). In partial fulfilment of achieving a better life for all, the ANC-led government had the RDP as the government economic framework after the 1994 democratic elections given the fact that the ANC's election manifesto was based on RDP (Ndhambi, 2015:1). Ndhambi further states that the RDP was an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework with an intention to mobilise all South Africans and the country's resources for the final eradication of apartheid and a sustained democracy. The priorities of the RDP included the necessity to meet basic needs of people (such as housing, water, electricity, health and sanitation), building the economy and democratising South Africa, to mention a few. It must be stated that the RDP was not drawn up by experts but by people who were going to be part of implementing it (Mandela, 1994: 1) such as the ANC-led alliance in consultation with other organisations (that is, non-governmental organisations).

Unemployment was there in the period of change following the isolation of South Africa by global markets as an attempt to end apartheid. SA History Online (1994-2019) reports that unemployment was at 20% in 1994 and that a positive decline was observed in 1995 where a figure of 16.9% was reported. The introduction of the RDP in the midst of unemployment and the prioritisation of social goods to be accessible to the majority of South Africans strained the economy because creation of the resources to be distributed was not prioritised. Nonetheless, the majority of black South Africans had access to basic services such as water, electricity, sanitation and RDP houses.

3.2.2. Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) Policy (1996)

Mathe (2002:1) states that the RDP (as a 1994 policy) was short-lived as it was substituted by GEAR in 1996. This framework became a macroeconomic strategy that met with different reactions from a number of sectors of society. However, it was accepted by the business sector based on the fact that the GEAR framework intended to boost private investment (Nattrass, 2014:16). It was opposed by COSATU who felt betrayed by their comrades who were in government. Nattrass further states that GEAR was meant to rebuild and reconstruct the economy in keeping with the goals of the RDP. The reality to be achieved by GEAR as a target was economic growth (between 3 and 6%) and the creation of 400 000 jobs by the Year 2000. Knight (2001:1) states that massive job losses worsened following the adoption of GEAR as a macroeconomic policy in South Africa, hence inequalities, poverty and unemployment continued to pose a threat to development and economic growth.

Because on the loopholes in a GEAR a policy that was meant to lower unemployment and promote growth, the opposite of what was intended was achieved (Lewis, 2001: 3-5). Therefore, slow growth, unemployment and inequalities were observed. It is within the period of GEAR that the unemployment levels escalated to 27.2% in the Year 2002, 27.1% in 2003 and 27.7% in 2004 (SA History Online, 1994 to 2019; BusinessTech, 2015). These are the worst years in as far as unemployment is concerned in the new South Africa.

Ndhambi (2015:94) reports that since GEAR was based on neo-liberalism, it was not going to work in developing economies like in South Africa. Hence, unemployment rose between 1994 and 1996 resulting in unemployment being declared as chronic in the new South Africa (Aliber, 2001:15). COSATU and the SACP were critical of GEAR as they claimed that the policies were neoliberal and would result in government cutting back on social services and the rich getting richer. It can therefore be stated that GEAR was not going to be a success if there was no consensus reached regarding economic policy within the tripartite alliance. It is stated by Steenkamp (2015: 56) that the GEAR strategy was considered to be in direct conflict with the objectives of the RDP because poverty reduction, income equality and economic growth were not enough to reduce the high levels of

employment in South Africa. A new strategy was therefore a necessity that was going to result in economic growth and job creation in partial fulfilment of a better life for all. Having observed the shortcomings of GEAR, an Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative (ASGISA and its sister policy JIPSA) were formulated. These are discussed in the next paragraph.

3.2.3. ASGISA and JIPSA

3.2.3.1 ASGISA

Steenkamp (2015: 56) reports that following Mbeki's comment regarding the challenges his administration was facing then (in 2002) South Africa did not need policy change but to ensure that policies were effectively implemented which was a challenge. ASGISA was then formulated and its main objective was to reduce poverty by 2010 and halve unemployment by 2014. The Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) and Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) are sister policies in the sense that JIPSA was formulated in order to render ASGISA useful. ASGISA was launched in 2005 by Thabo Mbeki (former President) and headed by the Deputy President (Mlambo-Ngcuka) with an intention to guide and improve South Africa's economy. Accelerating growth and halving unemployment and poverty by the Year 2014 were the core areas of focus of the policy (Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2006: 8; McCarthy, 2011:1). However; this framework has attracted comments and media attention following the implementation challenges of RDP and GEAR. The specific outcome for ASGISA was to address a critical challenge in the new South Africa regarding the lack of sufficient skills in key areas of the economy and society (Mouton, 2008: XV).

The motivation behind the formulation of ASGISA was based on Mlambo-Ngcuka's conception of what constituted challenges in government, after the 2002 cabinet *Lekgotla* (Chagunda, 2006:2). ASGISA revealed a need for channelling the energy of government and its partners to focus on sectors such as tourism, agriculture and business process outsourcing (Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2006:6). The choice of these sectors was based on the fact that they are labour intensive and rapidly growing worldwide. They are also ideal in the South African situation as they open opportunities for broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE). Tourism contributes to growth in South Africa as it looks forward to increasing employment to

400 000. Tourism as an industry entails a strong government and private sector partnership.

Mlambo-Ngcuka (in Chagunda, 2006:2) stated that the challenge facing the democratically elected government was not to change in government policy but to ensure that policies were implemented. A different view was shared by the Department of Finance (1997:7) who were of the opinion that while recognising that policy making must remain sensitive to changing circumstances, there was an urgent need to establish firm foundations for the approach to growth and employment creation in the South African economy. That is why the government sought partnerships with business, labour and civil society for the successful implementation of ASGISA. Nevertheless, the unemployment challenge was not addressed by ASGISA because between 2005 and 2010, the unemployed were between 23 and 23.7% of the South African population, in spite of the 1.8 million jobs that were created between 2004 and 2009 (Mahadea & Simson, 2010: 2).

3.2.3.2 JIPSA

JIPSA was launched in 2006, a month after ASGISA with the intention of identifying solutions to the major skills shortages. Based on the fact that ASGISA consisted of a limited set of interventions that were intended to serve as catalysts, it did not fully attend to matters related to unemployment which remained high while growth was not adequately shared (Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2006). This author further stated that desirable growth that could be achieved through ASGISA depended on resolving the shortage of a skilled workforce in South Africa. JIPSA was then adopted as an initiative that sets skills priorities in support of ASGISA's economic growth objectives. JIPSA's strength is in its recognition of the many other initiatives in South Africa that strengthen education and skills development and that it works in support of the mentioned initiatives. JIPSA provides an inclusive platform through which the social partners can demonstrate their commitment to human resource and skills development.

The inclusion of partners in JIPSA was the perception of Mlambo-Ngcuka that ASGISA is a national shared growth strategy with multiple stakeholders rather than being the government's sole programme. Mouton (2008:XVI) states that the new type of partnership established by JIPSA between government and business through

the involvement of academics, research consultants, civil society and labour as actors with different agendas, interests, beliefs and values but able to address the national challenge of scarce skills shortages. The author suggests that JIPSA followed an appropriate approach to achieve its goals; hence that approach must be consistently applied across all the remaining areas of engagement. There is therefore a need for the mentioned stakeholders to reach consensus in as far as the acquisition of critical skills is concerned because the shortage severely undermines economic growth and service delivery. JIPSA was in use for a period of four years until it was discontinued in 2010 when the NGP was adopted as the new socio-economic framework. A summary of the NGP follows in the next paragraph.

3.2.4. New Growth Path [NGP] (2010)

This policy was adopted by the government as the framework for economic policy and the driver of the country's jobs strategy following its introduction by the Economic Development Ministry led by Patel (McCarthy, 2011:1). The author further states that the New Growth Path was an industrial policy which directed employment creation to the private sector thus shifting focus from the government. Adoption of the New Growth Path as an economic framework was a strategy for increasing economic growth at a sustainable rate in order to create five million jobs by the year 2020 (Jones, 2011:1). Zuma (current President of South Africa) endorsed the NGP and further stated that it is the country's vision to place jobs and decent work at the centre of economic policy thus setting a target of creating five million jobs by the year 2020. Dube (2011:2) reports some controversies in the NGP given the fact that labour and business have different conceptions of the NGP with specific reference to wage gaps.

These differences are a source of conflict in the employment relationship where employees sell their labour to employers in exchange for a fair salary. On the other hand, the business sectors' interest is in maximising profit. It therefore remains the government's duty to promulgate legislation that will assist labour and businesses to be able reach a compromise in order for the relationship to be healthy. The economic policy or framework must be able to strike a balance in the employment relationship based on the fact that the government is a policy maker. Currently, the NGP is the socio-economic policy document that does not create a conducive

environment for the business sector to prosper. Business sector is supposed to be the major creator of jobs, but the conditions must be favourable for them which is not the case in the new South Africa. Decreasing unemployment, poverty and inequality in South Africa depends on the presence of a viable economic policy because the government alone cannot absorb the majority of the unemployed people. There is therefore a need for the government as a policy maker to strike balance in achieving the needs of the business community and those of the public as one of the beneficiaries of public policy that seeks to offer a better life for all.

In spite of the presence of the NGP as an economic framework, South African economy has remained one of the most inequitable in the world and joblessness has increased (Department of Economic Development [DoED], 2011). Simkins (2011:1) asserts that during the period between 2007 and 2009, the country's resources were misappropriated thus compelling South Africa to have a large budget deficit. Hence, the new administration (after the 2009 elections) entered office when there were financial challenges thus setting it up for failure in embarking on new socio-economic projects. During this period, the loss of close to a million jobs was a lived experience in South Africa. It can be stated that the economy has not created sufficient job opportunities for the majority of South Africans. In other words, the conditions that were created by the government do not favour the achievement of the stated targets.

3.2.5. National Development Plan [NDP] (2012)

The NDP was drawn up by the National Planning Committee under the leadership of Trevor Manuel in his capacity as the Minister in the Presidency (and a former Finance Minister). The NDP aims to ensure that all South Africans attain a decent standard of living through the elimination of poverty as well as the reduction of inequality (Ramano, 2014:1). The mentioned author notes some differences between the RDP and the NDP by stating that the RDP was big on the implementation strategy but very limited on specific objective. The NDP on the other hand is big on specific objectives but very limited on the implementation strategy. The strength of the RDP was based on working on the strategy that was seeking to address the recognised challenges such as lack of housing, a failing education system, a failing health system and a shortage of jobs. The NDP has summarised the development challenges as they were in the RDP and referred to them as the triple challenge

where issues pertaining to poverty, unemployment and inequality are an issue of concern. The NDP is a tool for undoing the triple challenge even though it is not stated how this challenge is going to be minimised.

This is the current economic framework for South Africa (NDP) from which the strategic priorities have been abstracted in order to realise Vision 2030. Based on the fact that this study is historical by design, not much will be referred to for the period 2012 to 2014 because NDP was only two years old when Zuma's first administration ended. However, the objectives of NDP will be compared and contrasted with other economic frameworks the new South Africa has had.

3.3. Barriers towards achieving a better life for all in South Africa

The Year 2014 marked 15 years of democracy in which more than one economic framework was adopted. Each economic framework or policy was meant to assist the government to provide a better life for all as promised because the country has a history of people who were politically and economically disenfranchised. That is why the new South Africa's mission is to redistribute income and opportunities in favour of the poor (Department of Finance, 1997). Moreover, there is a need to create a society where there is equal access to healthcare, education and other basic services. Progress made includes opening the economy to international competition and securing access to new markets as well as the establishment of policy frameworks for the delivery of social services. On the other hand challenges that impair realisation of a better life for all include the following failures:

- Growth is not able to provide sufficient and equitable distribution of income and wealth
- Growth is not able provide adequate resources that are needed to expand social service delivery
- The unemployment trends have not been reversed

The RDP was a policy that was meant to be a growth through redistribution" one but was short-lived (adopted in 1994 and changed in 1996 for GEAR). One of the reasons that led to the failure of RDP was the government's lack of capacity to implement it. However, the Minister concerned regarding the implementation (Jay Naidoo, a former COSATU leader) was undermined by some politicians and some

private sector partners because the RDP did not cater for the interests of the capitalists in government (Visser, 2009:230). Visser further states that Naidoo did not command respect among the ANC parliamentarians and did not always see eye to eye with Mandela as the President on the issues of the RDP. Failure to see eye to eye between the then President of the country (Mandela) and the Minister charged with the responsibility to oversee the meaningful implementation of the RDP for economic transformation, compromised the achievement of a better life for all. It is within the said background that Aliber (2001:52) has maintained that lack of an overarching anti-poverty strategy in South Africa is a challenge. It is stated by Turok (in Aliber, 2001:52) that the central reason for government's ineffectiveness in addressing poverty is not lack of commitment but the absence of a special ministry of economic development; a department that will be charged with the responsibility of developing a coherent, inter-sectoral poverty and development strategy and coordinate policy between departments.

Looking at democratising the state as one of the RDP programmes, there was therefore a need to link democracy, development and a people-centred approach. However, challenges in the implementation of the RDP regarding democracy revealed that processes called for participation by organisations outside government including society and the corporate sector (Ndhambi, 2015:38). A challenge posed by the need for civil society participation is related to the low levels of literacy of the majority of the South Africans. One of the conditions of democracy is education levels where civil society must be informed of how to hold the government accountable. It is not the case in South Africa because civil society has not interrogated the ruling party to find answers for the government's failure to reverse the unemployment crisis in the labour market. Another area of concern is the presence of insufficient progress towards the equitable distribution of income and wealth (Department of Finance [DoF], 2007).

It is within the said background that Gigaba (in Africa Report, 2017: 13) states that the ownership of wealth and assets is concentrated in the hands of a small population. Even though the small population that owns wealth is not specified, a paradigm shift has occurred in South Africa where wealth is no longer concentrated in the hands of a few White South Africans, Blacks who have benefitted from BEE have increased the inequality gap amongst blacks. In other words, few black

capitalists have emerged while the majority of blacks are trapped in the triple challenge. What remains an issue of concern about the existence of Black capitalists is that radical economic transformation has been announced as a strategy to re-direct wealth and economy from the hands of the few White South Africans without the mentioning the few black capitalists. It can therefore be stated that there is a need to redefine what distributive justice means in South Africa.

3.3.1 Ideology versus distribution and creation of wealth

It has been mentioned that the alliance partners in South Africa do not share the same ideologies. Any ideology is a basic principle that shapes the behaviour of those who believe in it. Conflicting ideologies in the majority party in South Africa refer to socialism (an ideology that shapes the reasoning of COSATU and SACP) and capitalism as an ideology followed in democratic countries such as South Africa (Venter & Levy, 2014:7). Capitalists are conceived of by these authors as the minorities who own the means of production. They are also accused of exploiting labour. In other words, they use employees as a means to their ends. They are therefore oriented towards the creation of wealth with no interest of distributing it to the poor masses. An economic framework in South Africa such as GEAR is ambiguous as it believes in growth, employment and redistribution. Growth is likely to occur if there is full employment, where citizens will increase their savings. Because poverty and unemployment levels are high in the country, social grants have become the means of alleviating poverty.

The government does not create wealth; hence distribution of social income grants over-burdens the economic system where there is no balance between wealth creation and its distribution. The lives of grant recipients cannot be sustained given the fact that the cost of living is higher than the grant some unemployed people receive. According to information released by Statistics South Africa (SSA, 2017), numbers of grant recipients exceed the number of the employed who are tax payers. A better life for all is becoming an unrealisable dream in South Africa if unemployment statistics are increasing, and hence, poverty and inequality also widening.

On the other hand, socialism is interested in wealth distribution while paying no attention to creating it. This ideology is the opposite of the capitalists for widening the

poverty gap. Venter and Levy (2014: 7) assert that socialism perceives trade unions as the vehicle to be utilised in order to overthrow capitalism because it has categorised people according to classes (that is high income earners, and middle income earners as well as low income earners). The RDP as an economic framework for South Africa (in 1994) focused on socio-economic aspects where addressing matters related to decent houses, access to education and healthcare in an equitable manner were influenced by the leftists in government (that is, the SACP and COSATU). However, it must be stated that the RDP was not creating a conducive environment for private sector to prosper based on the formulation and implementation of policies that favoured employees. It can therefore be stated that the presence of the SACP and COSATU with a socialist orientation while co-governing with the ANC with its neo-liberal or capitalist orientation defeats the purpose of negotiating the effective economic policies South Africa needs to deal with the triple challenge as an area of focus (towards realising the Strategic priorities in line with Vision 2030 and the NDP).

Having highlighted some issues of concern regarding the ideologies, it is important to mention that it was confirmed by Hani (in Bishop, 1993: 133) that a better life for all in an ideal South African society will not happen during the next century. Hani also stated that the ANC believes in a mixed economy, a system that was endorsed by the SACP for post-apartheid South Africa where redistribution of wealth of the country in an equitable manner remains fundamental. However, the utilisation of networks, partnerships and justice as some of the theories of governance confirms the existence of a mixed economic system to a certain extent given the fact that the private sector cannot become a partner in governance if there is nothing for it to gain in South Africa. In conclusion, it can be stated that the Scandinavian countries are not the only countries where a mixed economy is found; indeed it is a common practice in democratic countries. Its presence allows government to retain its role of being a policy maker while the private sector performs its role of job creation. People continue to sell their labour under the protection of the labour laws. A summary of legislation follows in the following paragraph.

3.3.2 Labour laws in South Africa

The presence of COSATU in the tripartite alliance in South Africa fulfils one the reasons why people join trade unions. Job security, economic reasons and political reasons (Venter & Levy, 2014: 23) are of the reasons some employees seek to find protection in the employment relationship. Aligning themselves with the ANC, COSATU (as a representative of workers in the alliance) seeks a political party whom they want to support in exchange for the enactment and promulgation of the labour laws that are friendly to the union members. In response to the observed crisis and notion of power, McKinley (2008: 1) states that *“the state has rapidly become the public arm of a slowly deracialising capitalist ruling class. The African National Congress (ANC) which is in political and administrative possession of the state is under the effective control of this ruling class and is fully committed to serving its interests.* In other words, the partnership between COSATU and ANC is of mutual benefit whereby COSATU mobilises its membership to vote for the ANC during the elections so-that it retains power. On the other hand, the ANC has to promulgate legislation that is worker-friendly. It is within the context of the said statements that trade unions form part of a political process aimed at changing the nature of the socio-economic and political systems of society (Nel, Kirsten, Swanepoel, Erasmus & Poisat & 2010:8).

The first democratically elected ruling party in 1994 adopted pro-labour policies following the involvement of COSATU in mobilising its members to vote for the ANC in 1994. In 1995, the Labour Relations Act (LRA of 1995) was promulgated by the Government of National Unity (GNU) where employees were given some rights in the employment relationship. Another piece of legislation that favours employees is the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA of 1997) , an Act that grants employees leave days for various reasons such as sick leave, maternity leave, family responsibility leave as well as vacation leave. The number of paid leave days that employees are entitled disadvantages the employers because they contribute to decreased productivity levels on the employer’s side. On the other hand, employees demand higher salaries against the background of low productivity levels in South Africa. It is within this background that low productivity levels are now reported as one of the challenges in the employment relationship, in South Africa and internationally.

3.3.3 Pressure posed by Bretton Woods Institutions

The World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are known as the Bretton Woods institutions that function with the World Trade Organisation (WTO) as a sister organisation. The IMF focuses on the financial policies in various countries and supports privatisation of State-Owned-Enterprises (SOEs). In the South African context, the IMF has noted problems such as the need for labour market reform in order to address the on-going challenge of unemployment (Business Report, 2011:1). The unemployment rates increased in South Africa following the adoption of GEAR as a macroeconomic framework. It was following the suggestion of the IMF that South Africa reduce the number of its public sector employees in order to reduce spending the public budget on funding salaries of public servants. The suggestion did not exclude the State-Owned-Enterprises (SOEs), and their full privatisation was recommended by the IMF even though it was rejected by the SACP and COSATU on the grounds that jobs were likely to be lost if privatisation were to become a reality. Nonetheless, South Africa as a developing country and a global player is not exempted from complying with the international standards that are approved by the Western economies in compliance with the capitalism as an ideology favoured by democratic countries.

3.4 Conclusion

The macroeconomic framework in South Africa has failed to realise its anticipated outcome of decreasing unemployment, poverty and inequality (Chagunda, 2006:3-4). The majority of South Africans are employed in the low skilled positions while the business sector is looking for skilled employees. Equipping South Africans with industry-specific skills through training and development initiatives co-exists with the labour laws that threaten the survival of the business sector. Rights of workers have contributed to the low productivity levels while they demand higher salaries. Balancing the needs of the business sector and those of employees call for the existence of a sound economic policy, a challenge South Africa continues to have. Inequalities that the country has are condemned by the current Minister of Finance (Gigaba, in Africa Report, 2017: 13)) as he states that the ownership of wealth and assets remains concentrated in the hands of the small minority of the population.

CHAPTER 4: Application of governance theories to the socio-economic policies

4.1 Introduction

The Freedom Charter remains the basis of policy formulation in South Africa in the ANC-led government. Negotiated settlements in the early 1990s included political and economic freedom for the majority of South Africans; a benefit enjoyed by the minority groups during the apartheid period. A number of socio-economic policies have been formulated in South Africa with less success in the implementation stage. In an attempt to answer the main research question regarding the realisation of a better life for all in South Africa through proper formulation and implementation of the socio-economic policies, theories such as Networks, Partnerships and Justice were chosen as governance theories underpinning this study. This Chapter seeks to apply each theory to the socio-economic policies of the new South Africa. The successes and limitations of each theory within the context of the policies under scrutiny in this study are provided.

4.2 Partnerships Theory for RDP and GEAR policies

4.2.1 Overview of local and international partners in the RDP process

Jang, McSparren & Raschchupkina (2015: 4) allude to the fact that there are different modes of global governance that take various forms such as International Governmental Organisations (IGOs) as well as Public-Private-Partnerships. The authors simplify the explanation of IGOs by providing the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the United Nations (UN) as examples of existing state-centred governance mechanisms. The mentioned organisations use partnership with non-state actors that have expertise and resources in order achieve the desired goals. Various countries have managed to pursue agreements and arrangements through the WTO because participation in the world economy is deemed pertinent (United Nations [UN], 2006:44). The presence of the WTO is a testimony of a globalised world, where transnational actors; and hence partnerships are inevitable.

South Africa joined the global community in the post-apartheid era following the reversal of sanctions that were imposed by the global community (Venter & Levy, 2014: 104); hence the country is new in being a role player at an international level.

Developing countries still have a limited say in world affairs and a limited capacity to formulate and implement their own policies. The involvement of the World Bank (WB) and IMF in the formulation and implementation of socio-economic policies confirm the existence of inequalities in transnational participation. Additionally, Clapp and Wilkinson (2010: 209) report that in transnational partnerships (where the World Bank and the IMF are involved) the use of financial power has created inequalities in the partnerships. The authors further state that the rights to vote in the policy process and in the selection of Board members are afforded to partners in accordance with their financial contribution.

Reasoning behind the said statement is based on the fact that there are some policies that are supported by the IMF while it rejects some and the country (as a partner) has to comply with the perceptions of the IMF as a powerful institution. The involvement of transnational partners in the formulation of the RDP was of a limited scope because by then, South Africa was regaining acceptance globally following the end of isolation. However, Chorny (2011:33-34) reveals that the IMF, World Bank and WTO have influence on the transitional economies even though their involvement in South Africa is not confirmed. Nonetheless, a South African version of partnerships is highlighted in the next paragraph.

4.2.1.1 Early stages of partnerships in South Africa

In South Africa, partnerships are a lived experience because the tripartite alliance is a partnership on its own, but the ANC is a dominant partner. During the years of the apartheid regime various political parties joined forces with the ANC to fight the apartheid regime and other parties outside national borders. On the other hand, the National Party and the ANC-led alliance entered into a partnership to reach the goal of a negotiated settlement that transferred power to the ANC (Koelble, 2005: 8). The interaction involved falls within the definition of a partnership as provided by Williams et al (2004:2) who conceive a partnership to be a relationship between groups that is characterised by mutual cooperation and responsibility to achieve a common goal. The common goal was a peaceful transition from apartheid to democracy whereby the NP government willingly surrendered power to the majority.

The formulation of government in the new South Africa was an example of a partnership which is why it was referred to as the Government of National Unity

(GNU). Key partners in GNU were the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the National Party (NP) in an ANC-led government. The ANC-led government had to lead in finding solutions for the socio-economic ills South Africa inherited from the apartheid regime with the inclusion of other partners. Because it was a period of transition from apartheid to democracy, there was no effective involvement of other stakeholders such as civil society and business even though there were international partners involved in the form of countries that supported the ANC in exile (in and outside Africa). The transition period was therefore a period of formulating new relationships while consolidating the existing ones if they were still meaningful for continuity.

Within the context of the partnership that existed following the first democratic election, in its capacity as the governing party, the ANC had to embark on social transformation which was going to be made possible by the formulation and implementation of the realistic policies. The ANC-led government adopted the RDP as the national policy with an intention to reconstruct the social fabric for the majority of South Africans to enjoy political and economic freedom. However, the ANC-led alliance in its capacity as government did not have the capacity to implement policies that provide social and economic security in the absence of partnerships with other stakeholders such as the business sector (Subira, 2011: 71). The paragraph below views the utilisation of partnership theory in the RDP.

4.2.2 Partnerships in the RDP process

The RDP as a policy is not an outcome of a single party because in as much as it was drafted by COSATU, it was eventually adopted by the tripartite alliance (Ndhambi, 2015: 21). The RDP's outcome as socio-economic policy was positive because from 1994 the South African economy started to grow again following political instability and macroeconomic policy decisions of the NP government during apartheid (Faulkner & Loewald, 2008: 4). The tripartite alliance is an example of a partnership on its own. Having stated that partnerships include non-political actors such as civil society, the business sector and other transnational actors, the RDP's limitation originates from its formulation as an election manifesto (prior to the 1994 first democratic elections) without the involvement of other stakeholders other than the alliance partners. However, it must be stated that the formulation of the ANC-led government presents itself as a partnership even though it is referred to as an

alliance. This therefore means that the RDP formulation excluded other social partners who were outside the alliance at that time. This assertion is confirmed by Mandela (1994: 1) as he states that the RDP was not drawn up by experts but by people who were going to be part of implementing it. Mandela's confirmation exposes that research institutions (such as universities) as one of the essential partners in policy formulation were not part of policy development in order to assess its impact. It is the author's contention that the exclusion of prominent partners was setting the RDP up for failure.

Some organisations such as the business community were consulted when the RDP was in the process of formulation, meaning they were not active partners in the policy process. Consultation is of a limited scope because it does not offer a platform for good faith negotiation where parties involved can compromise during their deliberations in order to reach consensus on the matters of mutual interest at hand (Venter & Levy, 2014: 517). It is stated by Rutten et al, (2008: 145) that partnerships are perceived as the main vehicle for enhancing growth and development in the country because different partners have different skills and different resources and thus complement each other. Apart from the resources and skills partners may have, there is a possibility of rejection around policy goals based on the unique preferences of unique actors in the policy process (Subira, 2011: 40). That is the reason why the RDP needed a consensus on the definition of basic needs. Having obtained some concessions from the other political parties, the ANC adjusted the role of the state in favour of appeasing all parties involved (Onis & Senses, 2005: 265). Formulating a policy that was intended to have a positive impact on the majority of the South Africans without the involvement of the business sector was detrimental to the RDP thus leading to its failure to deliver as anticipated.

The exclusion of the business sector in the formulation of the RDP as reported by Onis and Senses (2005:265) is rejected by Schuppert, 2014: 287) who states that in spite of the opposition that the RDP received from the IMF and World Bank, PPPs were formulated. The ANC-led government saw a need to form partnerships with the private sector in the interests of the delivery of public goods (Schuppert, 2014: 287). It can therefore be stated that the disapproval of the RDP by the IMF in particular did not become an obstacle for the ANC-led government to partner with the business

community in South Africa. Consensus had to be reached between the ANC-led government and the business community in delivering social goods.

After setting the agenda with the business sector and the formulation of terms of reference, the RDP policy exceeded the level of partnerships and formed networks. Networks Theory can therefore be mentioned in passing in the RDP based on the basic principles guiding the RDP such as ensuring peace and security for all in order to accomplish the goal of nation building (Subira, 2011: 41). Security, peace and human rights are universal concerns originating from the UN whose membership is voluntary and based on the sovereignty of states. In as far as security is concerned (nationally, regionally or internationally), the existing global networks that threaten human existence (such as terrorism networks) destabilises countries hence there is a need to create global networks that promote security, peace and human rights. South Africa as a member state of the UN enshrined human rights in the new Constitution of 1996 where partnerships and networks are validated.

As mentioned previously, power plays a crucial role in policy matters, and the world powers criticised the RDP and put pressure on South Africa to develop and implement liberal economic policies even though South Africa was not ready in the sense that there were socio-economic backlogs that resulted from the separate development policy of the NP government. The integration of the former independent states inside the country such as Transkei and Ciskei as well as the former homelands posed an economic developmental threat to sustainability. The criticism of the IMF of the RDP led to the adoption of GEAR as an economic framework in South Africa in 1996. The section below revisits the GEAR policy as a response to the demands of the international partners in the policy process.

4.3 Use of Partnerships Theory in GEAR Policy

In 1996 GEAR became a macroeconomic strategy whose formulation process was different from that of the RDP, and hence met with different reactions from a number of sectors of society (Mathe, 2002: 1). The placement of GEAR under Partnerships Theory is based on the afore-mentioned statement which maintained that the tripartite alliance itself is a partnership even though the ANC is the dominant party in the alliance. The involvement of the World Bank and the IMF as global partners in development strengthens the support of utilising partnerships theory in the GEAR

strategy. Nonetheless, GEAR policy was opposed by the SACP and COSATU (as local partners in government) for its neoliberal ideas as it followed models of development for developing countries that were designed by the World Bank and the IMF (Subira, 2011: 45). The willingness to follow the prescriptions of international organisations such as the IMF who designed structural adjustment programmes for the developing countries showed South Africa's acceptance by global organisations and South Africa's will to become a global partner. It is Subira's contention that the GEAR policy originated from the RDP whose main goal was to reduce poverty and inequality while building confidence in the private sector (as one of the role players in governance). It also hoped to bring about the most favourable environment for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).

GEAR focused on growth, employment and redistribution of the economy but did not address reduction of inequalities (a current focus of the NDP where the issue of the triple challenge is attended to). On the other hand, the policy created a conducive environment for the business sector as one of the partners but stalled on the economy (Turok, 2011:1) and soured relations with the alliance partners who felt a higher degree of marginalisation as partners in the alliance which was supposed to be leading South Africa. However, it must be stated that the exclusion of COSATU and the SACP while adhering to the international standards that favour the developed countries marked the beginning of a partnership with countries with various resources, experiences and powers. This partnership was not going to succeed because as stated by Rutten, Leliveld and Foeken (2013: 13), partnerships based on power relations in global partnerships where partners are unequal, fighting inequality remains an elusive quest. In other words, the inequality of partners according to the status of countries compromises the ability of developing countries to be equal partners with the developed countries.

As GEAR was introduced while democracy in South Africa was still in its infancy, policy effects were supposed to be focusing on long-term, not short-term. However, in South Africa socio-economic policies are a mixture of long-term and short-term goals that lack sustainability. What becomes an issue of concern is based on the fact that redistribution of wealth and the economy as anticipated in GEAR was premature because the country had not created wealth and economy to be distributed. Moreover, in the midst of the beginning of providing public goods to the majority of

South Africans, the government needed more resources than it had. The partnership was therefore charged with the responsibility to define the basic services that the democratic government had to render to the electorate. Provision of electricity, water, houses, and access to public health and education were some of the public goods that were supposed to be delivered by the government in partnership with the business community. There was not going to be wealth to be distributed because the government had to prioritise the delivery of public goods to the majority of the South African population.

The ANC, although the dominant partner in the alliance depends on the support of COSATU and the SACP to hold power. However, the SACP and COSATU's lack of involvement in policy formulation confirms the vague strategies for poverty reduction. What was not elaborated in the alliance is fundamental to the SACP and COSATU as they are instrumental in fighting the class struggle. On the other hand, the ANC under the leadership of Mbeki – an economist by profession and fully conversant with the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) as modelled by the IMF and the World Bank saw it fit for South Africa to focus on a long-term development agenda (Subira, 2011: 48). As the policy (GEAR) was meant to develop the confidence of the private sector (one of the role players in the policy process) and attract FDI, there was a need to maintain a good relationship with businesses. At the same time, there was a need to maintain a relationship with the SACP and COSATU as partners whose socialist orientation frustrates private sector as another partner in the policy process because private sector flourishes in a capitalist-oriented policy framework.

Civil society as another partner in the policy process was not part of formulating GEAR (Subira, 2011: 48). It is deemed pertinent to mention that socio-economic policies of the government are directed towards achieving a better life for all; hence society is the main beneficiary of the policy outcomes. In order to achieve poverty reduction and inequality the goals of the GEAR policy, the government assumed that building confidence in the private investors was going to be a part of the solution as it is expected that job creation is contributed to by the private sector. The private sector as another role player in the partnership depends on the nature of the current government's orientation in terms of the ideology that will influence policy direction. The involvement of COSATU as another member in partnership with the ANC in the alliance aligned itself with the ANC in order for the ruling dominant party to formulate

and implement policies that are friendly to the working class and the society at large. However, there were no benefits but burdens on civil society's side because the recommendations of the IMF for South Africa to privatise the state-owned-enterprises (SOEs) led to job losses, hence unemployment increased.

The above-mentioned outcome indicates the omission of research institutions as another strategic partner in the policy process because their involvement would have provided scientific results in line with the feasibility of implementing GEAR in South Africa. Definition of the relevant partners that are of strategic importance in the process of formulating a particular policy reveals that policy formulation does not borrow much from academia. Researchers in academia only provide discussion and recommendations which have no binding force on policy makers. The government remains responsible for policy formulation and implementation based on the existence of the social contract that binds government and the electorate. On the other hand, the mentioning of the term "*redistribution*" in GEAR is self-contradictory because distribution of growth and economy depends on how conducive the environment is for the private sector to prosper (Jessop, 2001: 4).

Government's policy that sought to redistribute resources did not receive consensus and the will of the private sector as a major role player in economic development and growth. Moreover, a socio-economic policy that was formulated as an economic framework could not have been successful in the absence of implementing the Justice Theory or the fairness principle because it is the only theory that caters for distributive justice even though it does not cater for the creation of wealth. Redistribution of the economy wealth that originates from the teachings of Karl Marx is supported by Jessop (2001: 4) where individuals contribute according to their abilities while some receive according to their needs. The majority of the beneficiaries of justice theory are in the civil society (one member of the partnership), but the business sector contributes in the form of corporate taxes and what they volunteer to do under corporate social responsibility as well as in the projects they have entered into with the government under PPP.

Subira (2011: 48) reports that there are conflicting reviews of the successes of GEAR between government and civil society. Decreasing government spending as one of the targets of GEAR was not effected since there was an increase in social

grants expenditure. One of the failures of GEAR is attributed to the exclusion of society through targeted interventions in the historically disadvantaged communities such as the former homelands (for example, KwaZulu, QwaQwa and Gazankulu) and the countries that chose independence thus becoming countries inside the country (for example, Ciskei and Transkei). In spite of the GEAR's inability to produce the results promised, the South African economy did stabilise and then grew. However, due to lack of consensus in the implementation of GEAR, ASGISA and JIPSA (a sister policy to ASGISA as previously noted) were formulated as a means of supporting GEAR policy. Summary of the main points of ASGISA and JIPSA in line with the networks theory of governance is highlighted in this chapter.

4.4 Application of Networks Theory in GEAR policy

Alvarez and Ferreira (1995: 10) report that networks can either be inter-organisational or intra-organisational; some are formal while some are informal. As much as it is stated in the previous paragraphs that GEAR was introduced when South Africa's democracy was still in its infancy, the country was new in networking. Globalisation and the country's admission to be a player on the world stage granted opportunities of being exposed to complex and dynamic governance networks. Some of the disadvantages of networks include spill overs following disruptive events in one area that will have damaging effects on other countries. Moreover, governance networks make it difficult to analyse risks because visibility of a risk decreases as complexity increases (Harden, 2014: 4-7).

South Africa was still a learning organisation striving to cope with the complexities of globalisation but it was not exempted from utilising possible and available networks inside the country and in the region. The Southern African Developing Community (SADC) is an example of a regional network) where regional development gradually led to the formulation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for Africa. The paragraph below provides a discussion of the regional networks where the MDGs are a topic for discussion within the context of Africa. The MDGs for Africa promotes partnerships and networking based on the fact that their 8th goal reveals that one of the desired state of becoming is to formulate partnerships for development (Nwonwu, 2008). This calls for international cooperation at regional level in SADC, the African Union (AU) and outside Africa. Socio-economic policies of South Africa

such as GEAR had to contribute to the development initiatives in Africa in partial fulfilment of the MDGs.

4.4.1 Regional networks

According to Aljazeera News Channel (19th of November 2017), instability leads to an influx of refugees who must be accommodated by neighbouring countries in the region and internationally. Networks exist in order to ensure stability at a political level where other stakeholders are involved, for example civil society, business and labour. The limitation regarding prosperity brought by governance networks depends on how democracy as a precondition for governance is understood and practised by various countries under the protection of national sovereignty. Therefore, countries have to make choices to comply or not to comply with what is imposed by regional or global networks.

The background provided lays a foundation of what was expected of South Africa during the period when GEAR was the socio-economic policy. At that time, Zimbabwe was experiencing an economic crisis and the risk of receiving refugees was going to be felt by South Africa at the most. There was therefore a need to support the people of Zimbabwe in their country in order to protect the well-being of South Africans who were poverty-stricken. Therefore, job creation was not going to be a success then based on the need for the policy makers to develop mitigating strategies for coping with the crisis in Zimbabwe. Redistribution of wealth and economy as one of the objectives of GEAR did not benefit people in South Africa but resources were distributed to Zimbabwe. It can therefore be stated that political and economic stability of countries in the network is a precondition for a successful network while the ills of the countries in the network affect the development agenda of the countries in the network. The mentioned statements reveal the importance of inter-governmental relations because they are a tool to be utilised for the formulation of networks that promote economic growth and development in the region. The MDGs are therefore a point of reference in as far as prioritising regional development.

4.4.1.1 Regional development initiatives

The MDGs are not the only development initiative because the New Economic Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) also exists (Goldin & Reinert, 2006: 9). NEPAD is one of the partnerships in development following the birth of the African Renaissance that was pioneered by Mbeki during his era as the South Africa President. However, the MDGs were chosen for this study as an example because the Heads of States in Africa pledged to halve poverty and hunger in the region by the Year 2015. With specific reference to the MDGs, the UN (2006) provides its criticism both as a partnership for development in Africa and its utilisation of networks. One of the limitations of the MDGs is their lack of incorporating the management of the globalisation process for the benefit of human kind. Additionally, there is no provision of good governance at an international level. Lack of what constitute good governance at a regional level manifests itself in how democracy is understood and practised by various countries in the region (Africa) and in SADC. For example, in SADC, the absolute monarchy exists in Swaziland even though the country classifies itself under democratic countries. Additionally, Zimbabwe (during Mugabe's era) declared itself as a democratic country while human rights were violated and in the absence of opposition parties. The neighbouring countries in the region did not have power to interfere in Zimbabwe because each country is protected by its sovereignty (that is free from foreign invasion).

Regional countries did not reach consensus on what constitutes good governance during the era of the African Peer Review Mechanism (ARPM) even though Botswana was rated as number one in terms of good governance in the early 2000s. In conclusion, the UN states that the measure that the industrialised nations are to take for the benefit of the least developed countries demonstrate the lack of clarity on the nature of support and demonstrable commitments by developed countries with regard to poverty reduction. This statement reveals the influence of power in partnerships and in networks. Based on the inequalities in terms of power in networks, it is the author's contention that their utilisation in addressing matters related to inequalities in countries and in societies is a futile exercise if their formation is characterised by inequalities. The paragraph below summarises inter-governmental relations within the context of networks.

4.4.2 Networks and inter-governmental relations

Regional or international networks cannot be effective if networking is not found inside the country itself. Inter-governmental networks exist where the national, provincial and local government spheres are the legitimate structures for policy matters with the inclusion of other necessary stakeholders such as business and civil society. There is a need to buy in the idea of networks at provincial and local government levels even though the provincial and local governments may have different priorities to those of the national government. Moreover, political leadership in provinces and at municipal level is not in the hands of the tripartite alliance and hence conflict is inevitable. For example, the ANC-led alliance did not win all provinces in South Africa in 1994; hence there were challenges in the Western Cape, a province that is experiencing a high level of social ills and disasters such as fire in the informal settlements.

In KwaZulu-Natal, the IFP obtained the majority of votes in the province in 1994, a province that had to implement the ANC policies as the political party that obtained the maximum votes at a national level. In KwaZulu-Natal, political intolerance and levels of crime were high; safety became a risk for the society and private sector to flourish. With the centralisation of the security cluster at the national government level, safety matters are not decentralised fully at provincial levels. Hence, combatting crime (for example) in the Western Cape is frustrated by its leadership in the form of the Democratic Alliance (DA, an official opposition party in South Africa). With the failure to separate party politics and government in the ANC (as it was reported earlier in this study), having a common goal of service delivery is dented by the standing of the DA as the governing party and an opposition at national level. Socio-economic policies will remain on paper based on the differences that exist among political parties without seeing a need to focus on a common goal which is offering a better life for all in South Africa. The next paragraph highlights the existence of the environmental networks that protect the environment especially now in the presence of global warming.

4.4.2.1 Environmental networks

Within the intergovernmental networks context, it is necessary to report the existence of the environmental networks based on the correlation that exists between

development and environmental degradation which contributes to the imbalances in the ecosystem (Clapp & Wilkinson, 2010: 196). Global warming which is associated with de-forestation as well as issues of drought has aroused the interests of environmental networks that hinder opportunities of development. The existence of these networks has the potential of frustrating the development agenda at any level of government, hence unemployment, poverty and inequalities could not be attended to in the era of GEAR and all other socio-economic policies.

The existence of environmental networks remains a challenge when it comes to approving development initiatives in the world today. What remains a challenge is to balance the preservation of the environment and the implementation of development projects that have the potential to destroy the environment thus causing extinction of some indigenous species that play a role in balancing the ecosystem. Nonetheless, developing countries still have development support from their former colonisers. The next paragraph provides a summary version of the common wealth of nations as an example of a global partnership and network for development in the fight against global poverty.

4.4.2.2 Commonwealth of nations

South Africa as a former British colony belongs to the Commonwealth countries, an organisation that contributes to global governance and the advancement of human development, rights and security (Clapp & Wilkinson, 2010: 187-189). This organisation is known for its concern with national and global poverty because there is a positive correlation between poverty and unemployment. With specific reference to South Africa, the former coloniser (Britain) remains powerful economically than the former colony (South Africa). At an international level, the kind of support and aid former colonies receive from former colonisers do not allow the aid recipients a degree of freedom to utilise aid the way the country sees fit. Within its network, Commonwealth embraces the emerging economies such as BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), and some non-governmental organisations as well as multinational corporations.

It is necessary to emphasise that during the adoption of GEAR, South Africa was only a member of the Commonwealth because BRICS is a new development. With the support of the BRICS countries, networks are therefore strengthened. However,

South Africa has managed to formulate networks in all continents found in the world. Brazil is in South America, Russia is in Europe, India and China are in Asia and South Africa is in Africa. The mentioned countries in BRICS have different socio-economic policies originating from various ideologies shared by the ruling parties. They all form a development networks even though each country's development agenda shaped by the ruling party's ideology is not the same.

4.4.3 Perceptions about GEAR

Having learnt that the alliance partners did not reach consensus regarding GEAR policy, maintaining the relationship is of strategic importance in the ANC-led government. On the other hand, the needs of businesses and the international inter-governmental organisations must be taken into consideration. Networks focus on a common purpose or goal such as peace, stability and human rights. The UN is an example of an international organisation that prescribes accepted behaviour in the member states even though adhering to those set standards for the member states is voluntary. Alvarez and Ferreira (1995:10-11) report that the working relationships in the networks can vary from relatively permanent to highly transitional. This assertion is supported by Antivachis and Angelis (2014: 592) who state that informal social systems as opposed to bureaucracies characterise the networks. Therefore, the basic assumption of network relationships is that one party is dependent on the other but they all benefit if they pool their resources together.

It is therefore necessary to state that formulation and implementation of socio-economic policies such as GEAR by networks will depend on what benefit each partner wants to get out of the policy in question. Clapp and Wilkinson (2010: 288) reveal that the legitimacy of networks is not solely based on representing their countries, but also depends on their elite contacts and the resources they are able to mobilise. If elites are involved in the network, wealth creation policies are more likely to be supported by the business sector because they are not interested in its distribution. Therefore, the redistribution aspect of GEAR could not have been a success because it is not favoured by the business community in a capitalist system because they believe in the creation of wealth, not in distributing it.

4.5 ASGISA and JIPSA policies

The RDP and GEAR socio-economic policies existed during Mbeki's era as the President of South Africa in 2006. According to Turok (2011) ASGISA provided a framework for government's increased focus on economic infrastructure and skills development. However, Mbeki's idea of ASGISA was short-lived because of being recalled before finishing his term in 2010 (Subira, 2011: 51) and being replaced by Zuma as President. Nonetheless, ASGISA and JIPSA were formulated in order to give support to the implementation of GEAR policy as it was discovered that low levels of literacy exist in South Africa, meaning that industry could not hire the unskilled workforce. ASGISA's specific outcome was to address a critical challenge in the new South Africa regarding the lack of skills in the key areas of the economy and society.

JIPSA sought to address skills shortages in the country even though Mlambo-Ngcuka targeted some sectors of the economy such as tourism and agriculture as sectors that have potential to develop the economy of the country. The policy (JIPSA) did not pay attention to retention strategies which are important because South Africa is one of the countries that experience brain-drain. Therefore, both the skilled labour and the non-skilled economically active South Africans contribute to skills shortages and calls for the interventions for balancing emigration and immigration as stated in the national priorities of South Africa (in the 2010 Strategic Human Resource Development (SHRD) for South Africa) towards successful realisation of Vision 2030.

It is an issue of concern that in 2006 there was a national call for the prioritisation of skills with the Skills Development Act (SDA) having been promulgated as long ago as 1998. Moreover, SHRD was only introduced in 2010 when ten years of promulgating the SDA have lapsed. The absence of skills needed by the private sector had already compromised the South African public sector because of its international compliance with the IMF's recommendation of decreasing public budget on funding salaries of the public servants and the privatisation of the state owned enterprises. Having enacted an Act in 1998 and responding to the crisis of skills nationally reveals ineffective coordination of activities in government departments (that is in government networks).

In South Africa, skills acquisition is facilitated by two Ministers at national level, namely, the Minister of Labour and the Minister of Higher Education and Training. The private sector communicates with the Minister of Labour regarding the skills they require and the Minister of Labour in collaboration with the Minister of Higher Education informs Technical and Vocational Training institutions (TVETs) to offer priority courses. Business is one of the partners in skills acquisition because they can form partnerships with the Institutions of Higher Learning where they develop the curriculum or lecture on a part-time basis, while assisting in developing industry-specific skills, thus strengthening community engagement initiatives as required.

Because private sector organisations have outsourced some of their non-line functions - they may have partners with whom they are in a network where the supply chain networks have emerged. Resiliency in the supply chain networks is a necessity because the disruptions in the network are a potential risk to the end-users of the public goods (that is, society). An example of a resilient supply chain network is in the provision of water to households as a basic need and a constitutional right for all South Africans. Because water is one of the basic needs, it must be accessible to all including those in rural areas for free while those in urban areas are charged for litres of water consumed by each urban household per month. In other words, provision of basic services is not free to all South Africans.

At national level there is the Department of Water Affairs; a department that works in collaboration with others in the network such as Water Boards, the Agricultural sector (that guards the country against food security risks), the business community and the public as the end user. Water Boards as well as Water Trading Entities charge the municipalities for the service they render even though it is the duty of the municipalities to provide water (ENCA News Channel on 27 November, 2017). For the municipality to pay for the provision of water at a local government level, the end users must be able to pay the municipal bills. This therefore becomes a challenge because municipalities are not on the same standing; some are rich (in suburbs and cities) while the rural municipalities are poor. Poverty, unemployment and inequality are a more experience for the rural dwellers than for those who live in urban areas.

Private companies as one of the partners in development have the will, knowledge and organisational strength to change the systems they have moved to and have the

capacity to develop physical and social infrastructure provided that the government has sound policies that support the well-being of the investors. The private sector's role and the necessary collaboration of the Ministers at national level reveals that partnerships and networks theories were appropriate for the implementation of both ASGISA and JIPSA in South Africa. The limitation of JIPSA is that the involvement of the private sector produced outcomes that were fit for the private sector only while it did not contribute to the development of skills for the public sector. This therefore confirms the assertion that participation of members of a partnership depends on what is there as a benefit for the individual partners.

The battle of skills development in South Africa is not over because population profile, unemployment, demand and supply of skilled labour, education levels, HIV/Aids, a changing society and technological advancements are some of the macro factors affecting training and development in South Africa (Erasmus, Loedolff, Mda & Nel, 2015: 47-62). Some of the mentioned macro factors such as low levels of education, unemployment and poverty are amongst the national priorities in the NDP of tackling the issues pertaining to what the NDP refers to as the triple challenge (that is unemployment, poverty and inequality). Hence, there is a revised Strategic Human Resource Development for 2030 (Manuel, 2017: 39) that has created fifteen priorities to be realised over the period of 20 years as they were created in 2010. Some of the priorities are as follows in Erasmus et al, (2015: 65):

- Ensure that South Africa is ranked in the top 10% of the comparable country in terms of its human development index, its knowledge and education, its technology and innovation.
- Ensure that the balance of immigration and emigration reflects a net positive inflow of people with priority skills required for economic growth and development.
- Ensure that people remain in education and training until age 18 years.
- Ensure that adults in the labour market (employed and unemployed) have access to education and training opportunities that will enable them to acquire a minimum qualification at Level 4 of the National Qualifications Framework.
- Ensure that levels of investment are above the global average for all sectors of the education and training system.

The above-mentioned goals that were formulated in 2010 are a continuity of the NGP in the NGP where the country sees the necessity of equipping South Africans with the necessary skills to be marketable. However, quality is compromised in the process. The Democratic Alliance (in December 2017) wanted the Department of Basic Education to disclose how marks for the matriculants were altered. This has been allegation for years whereby the institutions of higher learning receive students who are not able to write and speak English as the medium of instruction at post-matric level. Current debates following the “Fees must fall” campaign where the decolonising and Africanisation of education are new topics in academia, the utilisation of the African languages as medium of instruction limits the mobility of South Africans who will not be meeting the requirements of competing globally. Therefore, the balancing of emigration and immigration is failed by the current mentioned practices.

It is justifiable to conclude by saying South Africa continues to contradict itself because the policies formulated and the strategies or practices employed for effective implementation are in opposition to what was the ideal state of becoming. What remains an issue of concern is that South Africa cannot realise the objectives of the NDP if the market place is experiencing the over-supply of unskilled labour that has to compete with technological advancements that have promoted the existence of global networks that form an essential aspect of partnerships.

4.6 Partnership Theory for New Growth Path and NDP

Manuel (2004) asserts that partnerships are effective means of addressing problems that the government cannot tackle alone; hence they are contracts that government enters into with the private sector for the provision of public goods. Having chosen partnerships as one of the theories of governance, it is necessary to establish if the above-mentioned socio-economic policies had the chance of being implemented by partnerships. Romano (2014: 1) reports that the socio-economic policies in the new South Africa are a continuation of the RDP where the differences are found in the implementation strategies and the specific objectives. Nonetheless, Jang, McSparren and Rashchupkina (2015: 1) report that policy matters are now shared where stakeholders such as business (local and international), civil society, labour and governments who are all partners in development. In other words, partnerships

are a means of delivering public goods in South Africa. However, the specific objectives are not revealed in the NDP, hence its meaningful implementation remains an ideal state of becoming.

4.6.1 Networks Theory in the New Growth Path

4.6.1.1 Background information

The New Growth Path (NGP) was adopted in 2010 following the RDP, GEAR and ASGISA as socio-economic policies. This policy was supposed to be aligned with priorities mentioned in 2010 such as job creation, rural development, improved health facilities, provision of better standard of education and improvement in the safety and security of the country (Subira, 2011). The mentioned priorities in South Africa could not have been attended to by the government as a sole actor but called for the inclusion of other partners in governance, hence partnerships and networks are unavoidable. The effective utilisation of networks supports the government's developmental agenda where the main focus is on jobs creation and economic growth. Mentioning of a thin line between networks and partnerships in Chapter 1 justifies the conception of NGP within the context of partnerships theory of governance. Logically, partnerships theory connects businesses in South Africa (domestic and foreign) to social development thus mutually benefitting both the government and private companies. The private sector brings on board the required skills, experiences and resources that are lacking in the public sector (Terreblanche, 1999:1-3). Terreblanche reveals that one of the reasons that lead to policy failure is the lack of capacity in government.

For example, developing infrastructure such as roads in priority areas targeted in 2010 such as healthcare facilities and education institutions to mention a few depended on the availability of roads that are constructed by the private sector for the government to effect access to the public services as one of the *Batho Pele* (People First) principles. The development in the new South Africa manifests itself in black empowerment strategies where black-owned firms receive tenders. It is the author's contention that awarding tenders to certain Black-owned companies has broadened the inequality gap where few Black capitalists have emerged while the majority of South Africans live below the poverty line (Statistics South Africa, 2017). News24 (in 2013) reports that the NGP was meant to increase employment and to

have a more equal society where organised labour and business were to be partners in policy formulation for the intended results. Involvement of businesses as one of the partners is understood in the definition of partnerships. However, organised labour where COSATU is both an alliance partner and a representative of the organised labour becomes an issue of concern because of the dual standing. NEDLAC is an organisation that adds transparency and legitimacy to the socio-economic decision making process, but its involvement is not disclosed even though it is a prominent stakeholder. Public-Private-Partnerships are therefore not an absolute solution for realising the priorities that were identified in 2010 for the NGP to be a framework used towards the provision of social goods such as health care, housing and education.

4.6.1.2. Use of Networks Theory in NGP policy

Goldin and Reinert (2006: 217) report that the development agenda is effective if there is societal commitment and the will to participate by the private sector because it is this sector which has the ability to lead the country to a sustained economic growth. The provision of better standards of education invites the active involvement of networks in the sense that levels of education are used by international organisations such as the UN to measure the Human Development Index (HDI) in a country. Because South Africa is the member state of the UN, she is subjected to international ratings by global organisations. Lyall et al, (2009: 2) explains the relationship that exists between networks and governance whereby governance is conceived as a set of networks and social interactions rather than a political process of government institutions.

On the other hand, Schuppert (2014: 287) states that networks are organisational arrangements with similar functions where partners are involved in the public policy implementation. Antivachis and Angelis (2014:589) report that organisations form networks in order to achieve some end that could not have been achieved in the absence of others. This therefore reveals that networks are independent organisations collaborating for network-level outcomes. It can therefore be stated that there is a thin line between networks and partnerships within the context of governance because partners are found in networks. Nonetheless, the government is required to monitor the interplay of networks to ensure that principles of

democracy and social equity are maintained in specific networks while ascertaining that the interests of the public are served.

The mentioned example of developing infrastructure for mobility purposes such as roads benefits a state-owned company – Transnet (meaning Transport Networks) in its business operations even though the company does not construct roads. However, in one way or another, Transnet has a duty to render corporate social responsibility in the community where the business operates thus contributing to the improvement of the living standards in partial fulfilment of the NGP. Prior to discussing the global networks, there is a need to discuss intergovernmental networks in South Africa because they are necessary for policy formulation and implementation.

4.6.1.3 Intergovernmental networks

In government, the Department of Public Works in collaboration with the Department of Transport is charged with the responsibility of overseeing the projects that fall within the scope of practice of the Department. This then forms an intergovernmental network in the sense that the National Departments decisions are to be implemented at a local government level thus requiring a reaching of consensus with the provincial government as well as the district municipalities that will be affected by the development. For example, infrastructure development is a factor in the movement of goods outside the country. The construction of the N1, N2 and N3 as national roads involved a number of provinces and municipalities because they are national routes used to enter or exit from South Africa to the neighbouring countries such as Mozambique and Swaziland via the N2 in the Northern KwaZulu-Natal. There was therefore a need for the formulation of an intergovernmental network by provinces such as the Western Cape, the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal for the N2 project to be a success while taking into consideration the development priorities at district municipality level. The N1 route allows road users to enter Zimbabwe as well as Zambia. The construction of these roads involved the South African National Roads Agency (SANRA), meaning networking is inevitable in the development agenda.

The limitation posed by projects such as the construction of roads is based on the fact that they do not provide permanent jobs. It is only a temporary solution to unemployment for those who participate in projects of this nature because they do

not earn a living wage and receive no benefits, hence their lives cannot be sustained. Poverty and inequality are therefore a chronic challenge which socio-economic policies must be address for South Africa to be rated amongst developed countries. However, it must be stated that the NGP was short-lived following its adoption in 2010; it was followed by the NDP policy in 2012. The next paragraph elaborates on the NDP as a socio-economic policy for South Africa within the context of partnerships and networks as theories of governance.

4.6.7 The NDP in Partnerships and networks context

The NDP is a 2012 socio-economic framework adopted during Zuma's first administration following the replacement of Mbeki's NGP policy. The NDP does not address different concerns in South Africa but uses different concepts in as far as improving the living conditions for all South Africans in order to attain a better life for all is concerned. South Africa needs to strike a balance in which social inequalities are eliminated (Netshitenze, 2016: 1). The author does not provide a formula to be used because the NDP must not be viewed as a new or different policy but be viewed in the light of other policies before the NDP because they all focused on addressing the socio-economic problems of the new South Africa. It is therefore imperative for South Africa to develop real strategies for the private sector to flourish while the government delivers public goods with the help of the private sector with who they are in a partnership.

4.6.7.1 Inequalities in partnerships

The limitation of partnerships is exposed by Clapp and Wilkinson (2010: 187-189) in the sense that partnerships are characterised by power inequality. Moreover, partnerships where businesses are involved are criticised for being keener on serving their business interests than the goals of human kind. The interests of government and those of private sector organisations are incompatible in the sense that businesses want to see return on investment because they are profit making organisations. On the other hand, the government is a non-profit organisation and has responsibility for delivering public goods. The involvement of the private sector in the projects that are meant to benefit humankind serves to the advantage of the government because private companies have the knowledge and organisational strength to deliver as anticipated (Shiraish, Yamagata & Yusuf, 2009: 161). Because

of the different reasons that justify the existence of government and the private sector in governance, Steenkamp (2015: 34) reveals that unemployment remains a major challenge in South Africa because the economy is not sufficient to absorb new entrants in the job market.

4.6.7.2 Effects of the globalised economy

In the presence of the NDP (in 2017) and its inclusion of strategic HRD priorities in line with Vision 2030, the economy is not growing. Moreover, two international rating agencies (that is Fitch and Moody's) have afforded South Africa a junk status (that is, a status below investment level). Junk status is detrimental to the economy because the chances of obtaining foreign direct investment are slim. South Africa has become an investment risk as well as a political risk based on the tensions that exist within the ANC itself and the tensions in the tripartite alliance as a whole.

The downgrading of South Africa has put the country out of the World Government Bond Index. Investors are bound by policy to avoid countries that are not part of that particular world organisation. According to Staff Writer, (2017), disinvestment is therefore unavoidable and the triple challenge (that is, poverty, inequality and unemployment) is going to remain an issue of concern in South Africa. As it has already been mentioned that private sector organisations are the major job creators when compared with the public sector, there is a need for the ANC-led government to create an environment that will boost investor confidence. An outcome of investor confidence in South Africa will be an increased FDI whose presence will contribute to the creation of some jobs as means of eradicating unemployment, poverty and inequality in South Africa.

The presence and involvement of the international rating agencies confirms that South Africa is in networks that are strategic to global governance. But, Clapp and Wilkinson (2010: 210) report that networks at an international level are dominated by the elites where wealth creation is a driving force, not wealth distribution. Networks as multilateral governance are criticised for being producers of highly unequal distribution of power in the world (UN, 2006). Developed countries in global networks are made up of countries that are more powerful than others based on their financial and economic position; they are therefore not equipped with the skills to address problems of inequality because they are characterised by inequality themselves. The

use of networks at a global level is not going to assist South Africa to develop practical solutions to eradicate inequalities caused by the existence of a dual economic system where there are a few rich people while the majority of people are poor. Networks and partnerships actually fail to address poverty and inequalities in the world; their success is deemed by Rutten, Leliveld and Foeken (2008: 13) to be an elusive quest. Antivachis and Angelis (2014:586) reveal that formulation and implementation of socio-economic policies by networks will depend on what each partner desires to benefit out from the policy in question.

Networks were not going to lead to the implementation of the NGP because the policy was not supported by the alliance partners. Moreover, economic growth, poverty and job creation remain key goals of economic policies in South Africa. Against the said background, the author concurs with News24 (2014) where they perceive the NDP as a diagnostic report of the economy but with the lack of strategic plan of action. It is therefore idealistic in its approach. It is necessary to state that in the presence of the NDP, prior to the elective Conference of the ANC in December 2017, Cyril Ramaphosa proposed a New Deal in order to fast-track transformation the ANC-led government. The proposed New Deal confirms that the NDP diagnosed the state of the economy while the plan of action was not provided. A pattern of changing socio-economic policies is therefore noted while the promise of a better life for all has not been felt by the majority in the new South African.

4.6.7.3. Criticism of Partnerships and Achievements in NDP

Networks and partnerships assisted the government to report on its successes since 1994. According to Ramaphosa (December, 2017), the ANC-led government has handed out 17 million houses to the needy, offers grants to millions and feeds an estimated 9 million children in public schools. It can therefore be stated that the NDP is self-contradictory because provision of social grants, houses and feeding schemes in public schools do not improve the living conditions of South Africans. For example, houses provided by the current government contradict the respect of human dignity. The size of the houses is smaller than those that were offered by the National Party government in townships. Additionally, the size of the yard invades privacy among the dwellers in the RDP houses and the possibility of the easy spread of communicable diseases is one of the health risks because houses are too close to

each other. It is the author's contention that the RDP houses can be perceived as formalised informal settlements that reinforce the classes in society. Having a classless society is therefore an illusion in the new South Africa under the leadership of the tripartite alliance.

Provision of social grants to the majority of South Africans neither assists the country to fight the triple challenge nor create an enabling environment for the country to be rated amongst developed countries as stated in the goals for the Vision 2030. Sustainable development is not going to be achieved if the majority of South Africans are dependents on social grants. A dependency effect is created and the entitlement theory is strengthened where South Africans are of the opinion that because they voted, the government must provide for them according to their needs. Economically active South Africans and businesses are therefore taxed in order for the government to provide for the services mentioned above. Having created a dependency effect and the enforcement of the entitlement theory, the level of unemployment is higher than those in employment. There is a strong possibility of reaching a stage where a better life for all cannot be realised if the government and its partners and networks do not come up with a practical plan for addressing the widening unemployment, inequality and poverty rates in the new South Africa.

In response to the mentioned issues of concern, businesses in South Africa had a Jobs summit where they agree to devise strategies for creating at 100 000 jobs for youth in 2018. Mohale (CEO of Business Leadership South Africa, 2017) stated that the economic problems South Africa is currently experiencing (following a second downgrade) are self-inflicted. He continued to state that ...*"we are where we are by choice as South Africa. It is not because we are an emerging market; it is not because of the recession or our partnering with BRICS countries because they are doing well. It is deliberate, purposeful and conscious....."* [ENCA News at 12H00 on 27 November, 2017].

Mohale (2017) was referring to the challenges South Africa has had under the leadership of Zuma as the president; a period characterised by 12 cabinet reshuffles, 6 appointments of National Police Commissioners and the placement of 10 Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) at Eskom in a period of 8 years. It is within this context that the international rating agencies see South Africa as an investment risk. In spite

of the negative publicity South Africa is receiving regarding the levels of corruption and maladministration, Poplak (2017) reports that Ramaphosa has embarked on campaigns whose primary focus is on saving campaigns are focusing on saving South African economy in order to eradicate the triple challenge. Having provided some highlights regarding the NDP and the pressures South Africa is experiencing internationally, the following paragraph elaborates on Justice Theory as one of the theories of governance that underpin this study in the quest to identify the fairness principle in the socio-economic policies and their implementation. Justice theory is applicable to all the socio-economic policies in the new South Africa from the RDP to the NDP.

4.7 Justice Theory

4.7.1 An overview of Justice Theory

The previously mentioned theories in this study do seek justice in one way or another because they focus on doing away with the inequalities that are a result of divisions in society (Lyall, Papaioannou & Smith, 2009: 26-27). The first policy that sought to do justice in South Africa was the RDP because it was looking forward to distributing the country's resources. (Ndhambi, 2015: 1). This assertion is supported by Turok (2011:1), where he reports that the RDP did not address the economic transformation in principle; hence the ANC's preparations for transforming the economy were inadequate.

The use of Justice Theory in governance is critiqued by Harden (2014:11) due to its inadequacies in striking a balance. For example, protection of the minorities can impose limits on the will of the majority while the existence of strong civil society organisations may have the effect of pressuring the government to restrict the civil liberties enjoyed by the minorities. The mentioned partners (minorities and civil society) do not exclude the business community (as wealth creators) in the policy process. Justice Theory asserts that society responsibilities and burdens must be shared in the implementation of distributive justice.

With regards to the socio-economic policies discussed above while associating them with partnerships and networks theories of governance, justice theory is applicable to all the socio-economic policies mentioned in this study because the inclusion of the

Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996) changes the perceptions of inequalities even though they continue to be a major challenge in the new South Africa. The mentioned socio-economic policies use different concepts in identifying challenges that hinder development and growth economically in South Africa while blaming the apartheid regime for the demographic challenges South Africa is facing.

Because of the presence of the SACP in the ruling party and its belief in having an equal society, policy direction is going to reflect the SACP's views. Distribution of wealth is also at the centre of the founding principles of the socialists movements such as the SACP and is supported by COSATU in the alliance. Hence, their input in socio-economic policies and consequences are either positively or negatively felt by different stakeholders in society. The meaning of justice as fairness as conceived by Rawls is going to be applied to link the theory of justice to the socio-economic policies in South Africa in the discussion that follows. The reality of equality as proposed in all the socio-economic theories under scrutiny is derived from the writings of Garret (2005: 3) as he reports that Rawls' conception of justice is derived from the perspective that people are free and equal. Issues of fighting inequalities in society are addressed by all the socio-economic policies of the new South Africa.

4.7.2. Justice Theory and RDP

The RDP was formulated to reduce inequality with an intention to improve the quality of life. Priorities of the policy focused on the need for all South Africans to have access to the basic needs such as housing, water, electricity (to mention a few) as public goods (Ndhambi, 2015:1). The policy's focus on reconstructing and developing South Africa reverses the inequalities that originated from the discriminatory policies of the apartheid government. It is the application of justice theory because the unfair treatment of the Black majority lived in places that did not improve the quality of their lives. The policy did improve the lives of some South Africans while it was not benefitting others. For example, South Africa still has under-developed places where people do not have access to clean water in the rural areas as well as in the informal settlements. Nonetheless, some 17 million RDP houses have been constructed and offered to some South Africans even though the process of allocating houses violated the fairness principle. Motivation behind mentioning of a

violation in the application of justice is the inequality that is observed in the RDP houses today where some people converted their houses (that are meant for the poor) into mansions. Therefore, if the criteria for allocating RDP housing were based on the level of income, some undeserving South Africans benefitted unfairly.

The unjustness of the process of formulating the RDP was the exclusion of other stakeholders because it was solely prepared by COSATU and presented to the ANC as an ideal national policy for a democratically elected government. As it has been mentioned by Garrett (2005: 3) that people are equal in Rawls conception of justice, formulation of the RDP policy did not display equal participation of the stakeholders that were going to be affected by the policy in South Africa. Even though it was prior to the democratic elections, partnership in the form of the tripartite alliance was already there, it was therefore an omission on COSATU's side to limit the participation of all stakeholders during the formulation stage. Based on the exclusion of some stakeholders, the policy was hopelessly confused and its implementation was undermined by the alliance's attempt to keep everyone on the receiving end without considering the feasibility in as far as the resources were concerned. The strategy for reconstruction of the economy was not in place in spite of its necessity for realising a dream of improving the living standards of the society at large. The outcome of the RDP policy implementation with regard to the reduction of inequalities and the creation of jobs was not just on the part of the private sector as a prominent role player in job creation and contributing to sustainable development in the country.

4.7.3 Justice Theory and GEAR policy

Following the stage of failing to reach consensus in the alliance regarding the RDP as the ideal policy that will contribute to inequality reduction, job creation and improving the living standards of all South Africans, GEAR was promulgated even though it did not change what was desired to be achieved in the RDP. Formulation of GEAR repeated the mistake of omitting prominent stakeholders as it had been the case in the formulation of the RDP. Natrass (2014: 16) reports that GEAR being a policy that excluded the important stakeholders in the process, was meant to reduce poverty and inequality. It also covered the notion of redistribution of wealth. Coetzee & Roux (2003: 637) report that human beings are of equal worth with regard to their

humanness, meaning that no individual holds a prior superior and more exclusive right to life than others. They continue to state that distributive justice presupposes the relative scarcity of resources that may be acquired and owned in order to actualise the human right to life. Therefore, laws of distribution must be formulated and observed in order to satisfy each and every individual's claim to the right to life.

In line with Rawls theory of Justice social and economic inequalities are unjust unless they meet certain requirements such as the creation of equal opportunities where those that have suffered the greater inequality must benefit and those who have the least social and economic goods (Gray, 2011: 8). South Africa has promulgated the Employment Equity Act (1998) in order to compensate those who have been marginalised. Their advancement with regard to employment opportunities is a justified social justice as it marginalises those who were better positioned during the apartheid period in South Africa. Indirectly, GEAR (in its endeavour to distribute wealth) was adhering to the principles of distributive justice without taking into consideration that in governance a number of stakeholders such as businesses (nationally and internationally), the IMF and the World Bank, networks and partnerships (in and outside the country) limit the state's power in being a prominent player in matters of national and international importance.

If Marx's conception of justice means people must unequally contribute to the well-being of others, that is, '*from each according to his abilities and to each according to his needs*' it was not achievable in the era of GEAR. The reasoning behind the provision of this citation is based on the fact that the government was not able to create jobs as anticipated, but there was an increase in the provision of social grants (Hazzlehurst, 2011: 5). However, the grant does not assist people to be sustained but creates dependents. Businesses in the form of the corporate tax they pay support the government in the provision of grants because the government is not a profit-making entity but a service provider of public goods.

Equality in South Africa still needs some serious considerations because the socialists perceive it as the abolition of classes with an intention to have a classless society. However, Mephram and Ruben (1981: 23-24) argue that capitalists will only accept the connotation of a classless society if and only if clarity is made in terms of the conditions of equality. Seeking justice in as far as distribution of wealth is

concerned in order to have a classless and equal society is not going to be achieved because Hani (in Bishop, 1992) reports that equality will remain a concept but will never be achieved. Hani's assertion raises some concerns regarding the position of the SACP of realising a classless society if it is not achievable.

4.7.4 Justice Theory and ASGISA

The Accelerated and Shared growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) sought to accelerate growth, and reduce unemployment levels as well as poverty by the Year 2014 (Mouton, 2008: XV). It therefore provided a framework for the government for increased focus on infrastructure and skills. Reduction of poverty and unemployment sought to restore human dignity and partially fulfil the goal of having an equal society in a democratic country. In the presence of Black-Broad-Based-Economic-Empowerment (BBBEE) in the new South Africa, justice theory is applied because Blacks as the majority that was marginalised by the previous regime are granted opportunities to participate in the economic activities of the country as employers themselves. Businesses classified under BBBEE create jobs too and assist the government to reduce unemployment and poverty. It was also just for the government to go beyond the principle of distributive justice and implement compensatory justice where those who were previously disadvantaged are compensated for the previous losses (Grobler et al, 2012: 217).

The BBBEE Act as well as the Employment Equity Act falls under the definition of laws that compensate previously disadvantaged South Africans but not in monetary form. Compensatory justice promotes preferential treatment to remedy past injustices (Steenkamp, 2015: 63). It can be stated that justice theory in its application of compensatory justice co-existed with the application of utilitarianism as an ethical theory which focuses on maximising pleasure for the greater number of people (Grobler et al, 2012: 217). Blacks are a majority that was marginalised and whose advancement is a necessity for reaching equality. Nonetheless, compensatory justice violated the concern for the minorities as the important aspect of justice theory. In summary, contradictions in the application of justice theory are noted even though it is not avoidable because the application of theory cannot be avoided if the past imbalances are to be addressed.

The formulation of JIPSA was based on the acknowledgement of skills shortages in the economic active population. Since equality cannot be attained if the majority of the South African population is unemployed, skills initiatives were brought on board. Skills development was a fair practice because training and development is a continuation of education as a constitutional right for all South Africans. Government's entering into partnerships with the private sector and other social sectors fairly involved the relevant stakeholders. Therefore, provision of training benefits both the private sector and beneficiaries of training who become marketable. Neither private sector nor government or other social sectors were used as means to ends because the benefit was mutual. It was therefore striking a balance between migration and emigration where South Africa is reported to be one of the countries that experience brain drain. With the right skills in the population, the supply of unskilled labour diminishes, public spending on grants is reduced and unemployment is likely to be reduced thus restoring human dignity. Job creation that took place during the ASGISA era happened but not as anticipated. The situation was worsened by the recession (between 2008 and 2009) where unemployment increased (Steenkamp, 2015: 17) because of the reasons which were beyond South Africa's abilities in as far as justice is concerned.

4.7.5 Justice Theory and the NGP

The recession that took place between 2008 and 2009 and the job losses that occurred, forced South Africa to devise a coping mechanism. The New Growth Path was then formulated as a tool to cope with the lack of growth that was caused by the recession. Moreover, it was meant to assist South Africa to cope with the challenges identified in the RDP, GEAR and ASGISA, and hence placed emphasis on investments in social development, training and development and job creation (Steenkamp, 2015: 17). The policy implementation is reported to have resulted in what was not anticipated since unemployment remained extremely high while the inequality gap has widened. Fairness and consistency in as far as fighting unemployment and poverty was concerned is noted even though different tactics were employed. The motivation behind saying fairness and consistency are observed is based on the continuity of showing a concern regarding the skills of South Africans and the introduction of Strategic Human Resource Development for South Africa, for Vision 2030 by the year 2010.

Preferential treatment in employment where compensatory justice is implemented continued to exist. Steenkamp (2015: 65) reports that after identifying the priority sectors in the economy that were expected to boost the economy, extended black economic empowerment was one of the objectives of the NGP. However, black economic empowerment did not contribute to sustainability in the lives of those who found employment in BBBEE employment because the government wanted to invest in projects that were in construction, maintenance and production. In other words, the nature of employment was not permanent because projects have a time frame while the BBBEE businesses are owned by Blacks who do not have the skills or capacity to be entrepreneurs.

4.7.6 Justice Theory and the NDP

The National Development Plan (NDP) provides long term targets for investment, growth and employment creation. Moreover it provides a plan for reaching the targets drawn on other policies and programmes (Turok, 2011: 1). NDP is not different from the RDP because it seeks to ensure that all South Africans attain a decent standard of living through the elimination of poverty and the reduction of inequality. Poverty and inequality are classified as outcomes of the crimes against humanity that took place during the apartheid regime in South Africa; hence, corrective measures must be implemented. It has been mentioned previously that social grants are offered to those who are in need with an intention to reduce the number of people who live below the poverty line. Food, shelter and safety are some of the basic needs the government must provide to citizens. Application of compensatory justice that has been implemented with the enactment of the EEA (1998) and affirmative action measures as well as the introduction of the BBBEE Act. Beneficiaries of EEA have been clarified as people belonging to designated groups such as blacks, women, coloureds and people with disabilities. In partial fulfilment of the NDP objectives justice has been served through the mentioned statements.

Advancing the employment of people belonging to designated groups and advancing their skills is a national priority under the protection of the Skills Development Act (1998). South Africa's Vision 2030 calls for the current government to strike a balance between migration and emigration of people with the required skills. Skills Development Act (1998) seeks to assist the unskilled South Africans to be

marketable. Currently, the country experiences over-supply of the unskilled labour, hence the unemployment statistics escalate every year. The Skills Development Act (1998) implements distributive justice because businesses are mandated to contribute 1% of their annual income to the skills development fund. Moreover, employer organisations are expected to conduct training for the current workforce so that their skills do not become obsolete as people compete with technology in the job market. Labour intensive jobs are diminishing; hence the government through BBBEE supports projects such as those in construction for those who are neither educated nor skilled to find employment opportunities on a contractual basis. However, the NDP has been criticised for being a diagnostic tool for the South African economy without providing an action plan towards realising its principal objective of a better life for all.

For all South Africans to have a better life under improved conditions of living, ethical behaviour is expected on the part of the representatives of the civil society. Levels of corruption in South Africa were revealed by the former Public Protector (Advocate Thuli Madonsela) and State Capture is dominating the news in South Africa. Corruption is also exposed in some of the governance networks where procurement is the source of corruption with specific reference to the State-Owned-Enterprises (SOEs). The outcome of corruption is a poverty gap that is widening, and increased levels of unemployment and inequality. In response to the challenges in government, it has been mentioned in this study that the Business Leadership South Africa (BLSA) held a Jobs Summit (27 November 2017) to address the economic problems South Africa is experiencing and to create 100 000 jobs for youth in 2018 (ENCA News at 12H00 on 27 November 2017). It is because of the corruption levels and State Capture Report that BLSA maintains a position that the current conditions in South Africa are not an accident but a choice made by the ANC-led government in its self-contradicting socio-economic policies.

As it has been previously mentioned that the role of the conflicting ideologies of the tripartite alliance is at the centre of this study because the effectiveness of the socio-economic policies are to be judged according to the level of development on the lives of all South Africans. None of the socio-economic policies has managed to decrease unemployment, poverty and inequalities because they are escalating instead of decreasing. Capitalism as an ideology has prospered where a few has benefitted in

the black empowerment projects while the majority remains entrapped in the triple challenge. Socialists (SACP) in the ANC-led alliance do not behave as a vanguard because the triple challenge continues to be a development barrier in South Africa. Their support of the social wage in the form of RDP houses and social grants in particular continues to create classes in society while the original socialists' orientation objects. Distribution of resources without prioritising viable growth creation strategies defeats the purpose of achieving a better life for all. As much as the alliance partners strive for a better South Africa, the strategies they employ differ because capitalists take a different position to socialists. Based on the conflicting ideologies of the tripartite alliance in South Africa, every socio-economic framework attempted so far has failed to achieve its desired outcomes.

4.8 Conclusion

Having aligned some theories of governance with the socio-economic policies of the ANC-led government it is necessary to borrow from Turok (2011: 4-5) where he states that South Africa is a dual economy where those who are extremely rich co-exist with those who are extremely poor. The policies mentioned in this Chapter are the government's interventions to address the triple challenge as revealed by the NDP at a national level. Attracting foreign direct investment is a necessity because the private sector is a major stakeholder in job creation. However, the mentioned policies do not address the inequalities South Africa has such as the living standards of rural dwellers and the incorporation of the former TVBC states (that is Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei) as former independent countries within the country.

A one-size-fits-all policy is not going to address the triple challenge across South Africa because each municipality within a district municipality of a province has its different developmental needs. It is because of the mentioned statements that Rutten, Leliveld and Foeken (2008: 19) reveal that policy fails because of the assumptions in the planning phase that omit the specific strategies that will be used in identifying the rightful beneficiaries in line with justice theory. The involvement of partnerships, networks and the application of justice in fighting poverty, unemployment and inequality globally have been reported by Easterly (in Rutten, Leliveld and Foeken, 2008:13) as an *"Elusive Quest"*. Inequality with regards to

power in the partnerships explains their failure to address inequality based on the unequal status of stakeholders in the partnerships and in networks, nationally and internationally.

From a justice perspective, there is a need to respond to a concern revealed by Patnaik (2017: 40) as he states that redistribution of wealth should wait and growth must take priority. However, the basic needs are a right of all people and they cannot wait until growth has taken place. More need to be done in finding possible recommendations for dealing with poverty, unemployment and inequality because wealth creators are not wealth distributors while those who believe that wealth must be distributed are not the ones who create it.

CHAPTER 5: Results, conclusions and recommendations

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the alignment of the governance theories to the socio-economic policies of the new South Africa. Since 1994, the main economic objectives of the ANC-led government have focused on job creation, the elimination of poverty and the reduction of inequality. Socio-economic policies of the democratically elected government such as the RDP, GEAR, ASGISA (and its sister policy JIPSA), the NGP and the NDP are the transformation policies that have sought to reverse the social ills created by the apartheid policies even though South Africa faces the dilemma of there being a substantial amount of what has been transformed while much has not (Daily Maverick News Reporter, 2013). In other words, a few South Africans have found personal wealth while millions have not. There is therefore a need to formulate and implement policies that are resilient in the quest to achieve a better life for all. Theories of governance that underpin this study have been discussed within the context of this study for the purpose of finding answers to the research questions and for the alignment of the research objectives to the research topic.

Results of this study attempted to answer the research questions and describe events that have occurred during the implementation period of the socio-economic policies from 1994 to-date. Patterns and the decisions made by the ANC-led alliance were viewed in the context of governance theories that underpin this study. Consequences of decisions made are provided and a synthesis of the role played by the ideologies is highlighted. Other ailments other than ideologies that hinder growth and the realisation of a better life for all are summarised and the negativities they have caused for the country. Conclusions and recommendations are also part of this chapter.

5.2 Results

5.2.1 Introduction

From the RDP to the NDP what has changed are policy names while the objectives remain the same. Turok (2011: 6) mentions that what is referred to as a triple challenge in the NDP (that is, inequality, unemployment and poverty) demands an

extensive needs assessment because socio-economic solutions for the urban areas are different from those of the rural communities based on the dualities of the South African society. In other words, socio-economic policies have not taken into cognisance the country's past where there were homelands as well as the independent states within the Republic of South Africa such as the former Ciskei and Transkei.

The conflicting ideologies have successfully hindered growth and development in South Africa. Lack of consistency manifests itself in the promulgation of 5 different socio-economic policies (that is, the RDP, GEAR, ASGISA and JIPSA, the NGP and the NDP) between 1994 and 2012. The life span of other policies was too short, for example the RDP was adopted in 1994 and the policy was replaced by GEAR in 1996. Likewise, the NGP was adopted in 2010 in response to the global economic recession and was replaced by the NDP in 2012. The sequence followed in policy changes raises concerns as to what it is that South Africa wants to achieve with its socio-economic policies. However, outside the tripartite alliance various partners in the policy process such as government, business, labour and civil society exist and are a contributing factor to policy changes because what each wants in the partnership contradicts with other partners want in the network.

5.2.2 Increasing unemployment, inequality and poverty

5.2.2.1 Unemployment

High unemployment remains a challenge in the new South Africa while the sectors of the economy are finding it difficult to create sufficient jobs. Mbeki in Majangaza (2016:7) relates unemployment to the challenged country's economy which must be resolved with the necessary urgency even though he blames the private sector for the governments' struggling economic policies. The labour market has not managed to absorb all the employable labour that is available because it has limited capacity (Coetzee & Roux, 2003: 540). It means businesses can create employment opportunities if they have the will because they have the ability to expand their operations. However, businesses are blamed for investing in business expansion without paying attention to the shortage of skills that businesses need for obtaining or retaining competitive advantage in the market (Faulkner & Loewald, 2008: 13). Shortage of skills is one of the contributing factors to the rising unemployment levels

based on the oversupply of unskilled labour. The Table below provides the employment and unemployment statistics in the new South Africa for the skilled and unskilled labour across all sectors of the economy (Lewis, 2001: 12):

Category	Labour supply (in thousands)	Employment (in thousands)	Unemployment (in thousands)	Unemployment Percentage
Highly skilled labour	1350	1350	0	0%
Skilled labour	3495	2928	567	16.2%
Semi-skilled and unskilled labour	7359	3669	3690	50.1%
Informal labour	2547	1494	1053	41.3%
TOTAL	14751	9441	5310	36%

The above Table illustrates that only the highly skilled labour has prospects of employment as opposed to other categories. However, the percentage for the skilled labour is high as it is reported to be at 16.2% nationally but it is at crisis level for those who are semi-skilled and those who are unskilled as the latter are at 50.1%. JIPSA as a government policy that focused on skills acquisition has not made a huge impact because the unskilled labour is also characterised by low levels of literacy. Illiterate labour has no prospects in the market with the presence of changing technology that demand people who are highly skilled and educated. The prioritisation of eradicating illiteracy in South Africa in the Vision 2030 of the NDP is therefore not addressing the current challenges the government is facing. High levels of unemployment are not assisting the country to narrow the poverty gap nor deal with the inequalities.

The afore-mentioned statements are supported by Lehohla (former Statistician-General, 2017) as he reports that the key driver of poverty is unemployment in South Africa and in the world, but employment or employability depends on educational levels in the population profile. The low levels of education in South Africa that were acknowledged during the period when ASGISA was the socio-economic policy continue to haunt the employability of the majority of South Africans. JIPSA as the

sister policy to ASGISA did not attend to the skills shortages because the strategic goals of South Africa for Vision 2030 in the NDP include the prioritisation of skills. Because skills acquisition cannot be done overnight, unemployment remains a barrier to sustainable development to the majority of South Africans. Social wage in the form of grants and free access to basic services to the majority is now a burden carried by the few employed South Africans who pay tax.

The adoption of various socio-economic policies that are not market friendly have resulted in massive retrenchments in the private sector thus increasing the unemployment statistics. On the other hand, in spite of businesses being a dominant sector in South Africa, the majority of shares in businesses are owned by foreign firms (Theron, 2011: 18). It can therefore be stated that the South African economy is not owned by South Africans today because of foreign domination. National Treasury is careful of what they say regarding policy because if they invent radical or revolutionary policies, foreign businesses may leave South Africa. It is the author's contention that the announcement of radical economic transformation by President Zuma (in 2017) is one of the reasons that led to the downgrading of South Africa to a status of below investment, following the sacking of the then Finance Minister (Pravin) and his Deputy (Jonas).

5.2.2.2 Inequality

Doing away with the triple challenge in South Africa includes reducing inequalities that exist in the population and is being taken care of in the NDP. However, Manuel in Black Business Quarterly Magazine (BBQ, 2017, 78) reports that the country is nowhere closer to the successful implementation of the NDP because the government has too many plans that are competing in the task of improving the economic growth that will close the inequality gaps. Competition is detrimental to the success of the government plans; instead the plans must complement each other.

Based on the nature of the competing plans of the government and the rising levels of inequalities in the new South Africa, Smith (2017:1) reports that millions of South Africans cannot afford to buy food, do not have access to healthcare and decent sanitation to mention a few things. Some rural dwellers and people in the informal settlements live below the poverty line while the few have managed to accumulate wealth.

Apart from the competing plans of the government, Koelble (2005: 2) links the growing inequalities to the poor leadership style the country has politically which manifests itself in the adoption of socio-economic strategies that bring greater poverty, inequality and injustice to the people of South Africa. It can therefore be stated that there is lack of consistency in terms of strategies adopted and the outcomes of the strategies. Hence, there is a need to involve independent partners in governance when it comes to policy recommendations that are desired to achieve a better life for all in South Africa. What is observed are the consistent detrimental results of the socio-economic policies that do not improve the living conditions of the majority of South Africans. In other words, lack of policy coordination in the new South Africa is confirmed by Smith (2016: 22), in his capacity as the Researcher in the Institute for African Alternatives. The mentioned author concludes by saying South Africa's growth path seems to systematically reward economic activity that reproduces patterns of inequality inherited from the apartheid regime.

5.2.2.3 Poverty

Poverty has increased in the new South Africa in spite of the availability of policies that seek to reduce poverty. Low economic growth, increase in unemployment levels, higher consumer prices, low investment levels, policy uncertainty and household dependency on credit are some of the causes of poverty in the new South Africa. This assertion is confirmed by Smith (2017: 1) as he states that the rate of poverty has doubled in the new South Africa. Statistics South Africa (SSA, 2017) also released the country's Poverty Report and revealed that 30 million of South Africa's 55 million citizens in 2015, three million more than in 2011 – lived in poverty or below the upper poverty line of R992 per person per month. SSA states that racial inequalities continue to define inequalities where the majority affected by poverty is largely black Africans. The difference made by the ANC-led government is based on halving poverty by 29.3% between the Years 2002 and 2007; extreme poverty has been reduced.

Poverty and unemployment are related. As it has been stated that unemployment levels have increased, so as poverty. Lack of job creation by the sectors of the economy, shortage of skills, replacement of labour-intensive jobs by technology and low levels of literacy among some South Africans are some of the things that trap the

majority of South Africans into poverty. The diminishing number of labour-intensive jobs in the presence of technology remains a challenge because technology is the tool that coordinates activities at a global level while it has become a cheap commodity in the production process. The indisputable fact is the existence of the expensive labour in South Africa which makes it difficult for the employers to fairly compensate employees while they are gaining high levels of profit. Based on the salary expectations in South Africa, few have gained employment.

The NDP recognises the important role of science and technology but they are not helping many of the poorest of the poor; people who are characterised by low levels of literacy. They contribute to the population that depend on social grants. However, some of the literate people have not gained employment because there are unemployed graduates. They cannot all be absorbed by sectors of the economy based on the economic uncertainties South Africa is facing and disinvestment following the downgrading by International rating Agencies in 2017. Apart from the unemployed graduates being a growing trend in South Africa, the future threat to advancing in science and technology is based on the government's scrapping Maths at Matric levels at 300 schools in South Africa (Nkosi, 2016: 12). Scrapping maths is against the policy of education which state "*every pupil must write maths pure (recognised by universities) or maths literacy (which is not recognised by universities) to matriculate.*" If South Africa is to be ranked among the world's top 10% in terms of science and technology, scrapping maths is moving against the direction of the country's destiny.

Financial resources are not always channelled for the benefit of the poor people and job creation because corruption exists. Staff Writer (2017: 1) exposes the role played by corruption in the networks that are business related where the state is involved. A small network of individuals and companies are receiving the full benefit of procurement deals and contracts in the state-owned-enterprises witness the involvement of the Gupta family in South Africa. This is a true reflection of negative use of networks as it disadvantages the poor and the majority. Staff Writer further states that the elites responsible for establishing patronage networks facilitate the distribution of benefits to the few. It can therefore be mentioned that poor planning in as far as Black Economic Empowerment goes is back-firing in its tender procedures. Corruption has emanated and poverty, unemployment and inequality escalate. BEE

has created more inequalities among blacks because some few blacks have become black capitalists who benefit in the corrupt system of supply chain management in government.

Some poverty relief interventions are offered by the ANC-led government in the form of social grants. In 2017, the number of grants recipients was 17 million up from around three million in the year 2000 (SSA Report, 2017). As much as grants have reduced the number of people who live below the poverty line, they do not assist the country to reach a stage of sustainable development. In the process, they create people who are dependent on the state for survival. A dependency effect has been created and the entitlement theory is strengthened among those who receive grants. In support of the afore-mentioned statements, the former Statistician-General (Lehohla, 2017) rejects the idea of offering grants to the poor as he perceives the act as South Africa's failure to confront the causes of poverty in order to avoid dealing with the hygiene of poverty. In other words, grant can be equated with treating a symptom not the real cause of a condition.

5.3 Economic growth and poverty reduction

Economic growth is to be accompanied by increased or full employment. It has happened in East Asia but not in Africa because of high labour costs. Labour is therefore not contributing to growth because investors looking for cost-effective labour do not see an incentive for investing in Africa (Shiraishi, Yamagata & Yusuf, and 2009: 151). Poverty reduction interventions must therefore be a priority of the national government; it has not been the case in South Africa. There is a need for the creation of real poverty reduction strategies instead of dwelling on ideal strategies. Regarding poverty, Clapp & Wilkinson (2010: 252) expose the fact that poverty reduction manifests itself in two components, namely those who escape poverty while some enter poverty. In the South African context, a substantial amount in the population has entered poverty in the new South Africa following retrenchments.

Mentioning of the above information is necessary for the policy makers and implementers and for statistical purposes for measuring the level of development by the Human Development Index of the UN. It is therefore the author's contention that what impedes development goes beyond state failure. The power of big businesses

and the alliances between the state and businesses primarily impede development as it has been stated that each partner in a network has his or her vested interests whose accomplishment is deemed pertinent (Clapp & Wilkinson, 2010: 252). Moreover, the power of partners in the development networks is unequal, meaning development continues to be dominated by developed countries because their resources give them an advantage over the developing countries. An issue of concern with regards to the networks is the revelation that the networks are self-destructive; their continued utilisation is therefore setting the programmes up for failure because the foundation actually does not exist.

Nonetheless, lessons can be learnt from countries that have managed to rise above the wave (that is, to confront poverty) where job creation has brought a success story. For example, in Asia minimum wage policies are appropriate in raising the incomes of the poorest workers without reducing the number of jobs available. In South Africa in particular, debates about the minimum wage have contributed to reducing the number of the jobs available, hence poverty and inequalities increase (Baulch, 2011: 257). There is a need for business, government and labour to benchmark from developing economies such as Asia in order to address the chronic poverty in South Africa.

There is a new hope for South Africa following the election of Ramaphosa in December 2017 as the President of the ANC who has succeeded Zuma as the President of the country (following Zuma's resignation after the ANC's elective conference). What brings about hope is that Ramaphosa is a former trade unionist, the business man and a politician; he has knowledge of them all. Nonetheless, his Administration will to inherit the triple challenge as well as racial imbalances and income disparities. In other words, past and current socio-economic policies have not yet made the anticipated differences in the lives of the poor South Africans.

What remains an issue of concern is the declaration of Bernstein (2017: 78) that economic growth is not South Africa's priority because the country technically entered into a recession when the economy declined in the first quarter of 2017. This then confirms Mogale's assertion that the economic problems South Africa is experiencing are self-inflicted and are the choice of those in the political leadership

(Mogale, 2017 at ENCA News on 27 November, 2017). This is an existing challenge the new Administration in 2019 has to tackle.

Another lesson South Africa can utilise for its resilient developmental agenda is from Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the fall of the Berlin wall in Germany (Dicken, 2015: 28). A group of transnational economies were produced where former command economies transformed themselves into capitalist market economies. Russia in BRICS is one of the countries that were transformed into a capitalist economy and is observed to be playing a significant role in the global economy. Other former communist countries (such as Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) have experienced inwards FDI where networks from Western Europe expanded to Eastern Europe for developmental purposes where the use of cheaper labour by West Europe was a main focus (Dicken, 2015: 28). Therefore, the lower cost Eastern Europe helped West Europe to produce more at a lower cost. What worked for Europe may not work in South Africa and within the region, but a lesson can be learnt in order to reach a sustainable development where the economy will be able to be a driving force of job creation. If South Africa cannot benchmark and contextualise what other countries have managed to develop, the triple challenge will be a chronic condition. Hence, a better life for all will remain only a desired destiny

5.4 Conclusions

In line with the central argument in the research topic where the research questions and objectives were a driving force of this study, socio-economic policies that were revisited have not improved the lives of the ordinary South Africans. Instead, what all the policies sought to achieve in the form of realising a better life for all remains a desire in spite of being in Year 23 after democracy (that is 1994 to 2017). Instead of inequalities and unemployment decreasing, both have increased in the new South Africa. South Africa is now the country where the highest inequality levels are found in the world. A better life for all therefore remains an election campaign while playing with the emotions of the poor people whose lives have worsened. The original position that ideologies were originally perceived as the sole source of failure in policy implementation, is rejected because some other underlying causes have been discovered in the process of analysing documents. The paragraphs below provide

concluding remarks as to what has contributed to the lack of policy implementation in South Africa, with specific reference to the socio-economic policies.

5.4.1 Will and capacity to implement policy

Lack of capacity to implement has been observed in South Africa from 1994 to date. However, it was mentioned that the use of partnerships and networks serves to complement the state's capacity. Human (2001) states that the lack of capacity to implement policy is based on the different types of managers that exist in the public service and the lack of political will compromises the attainment of a better life for all in South Africa. The managers referred to are those with qualifications but who lack managerial experience. Some do not have qualifications but are cadres deployed by the ruling party while some are affirmative action appointees in compliance with the Employment Equity Act and BBBEE. Based on the reasons that underlie their appointments, capacity is an issue of concern because in their presence, socio-economic policies has failed at the implementation stage since the dawn of democracy. Those who deployed by the ruling party are the ones that utilises their will to implement provided that the policy in question and its implementation strategies are not violating his or her ideological standing. Failure to reach consensus on socio-economic policies in the alliance has negative effects because instead of implementing policy, ideological differences take precedence. Inability of the ruling party to implement policies that invite foreign direct investment is not helping the country to eliminate the triple challenge. Focusing on the alliance's differences is perceived by Neethling (2016:67) as a source of political, social and economic risks that discourage FDI under the leadership of the tripartite alliance.

5.4.2 Re-formulation of classes in society

Classes will never cease to exist in South Africa because they are being created afresh by the ANC-led government. The RDP houses that are offered to the poorest of the poor increase the categorisation of South Africans according to classes. The presence of COSATU and the SACP in government contradicts what they stand for in pursuit of socialism. In line with the teachings of Marx who asserted that in order to destroy capitalism there is a need to mobilise the working class because they are the only vehicle one can utilise to overthrow capitalism. In the presence of the pro-socialism COSATU and the SACP in government, they did not play their role of

having an equal society during RDP housing policy formulation and implementation. Therefore, an intention to have a classless society is defeated by the creation of a society that is classified in different classes. However, the allocation of RDP houses lacked appropriate criteria for identifying the needy people because some RDP houses are now converted into mansions thus showing who is who in the vicinity.

If a classless society is the goal to be realised, it continues to be only a desirable state of becoming because systems are promoting the existence of classes. Partnerships are not going to assist the democratic government to eliminate classes in society because an ideal society is not going to be achieved in the near future (Hani, 1993: 133); hence inequalities originating from the presence of the low income, middle income and high income earners remains a global challenge. South Africa is currently leading in terms of inequalities in the world.

5.4.3 Non-adherence to socio-economic policies

The government of the ANC-led alliance has been characterised by failure to stick to one socio-economic policy, hence by the Year 2012 (after 14 years of democracy) South Africa had had five different socio-economic policies. However, it must be stated that the RDP remains basis for the government policy in South Africa because there is a need to create a new order in the process of rebuilding the nation. It can therefore be stated that different names have been used for the various socio-economic policies whose effective implementation will result in ensuring that all South Africans enjoy political and economic freedom. Generally speaking, it is the same as putting old wine in a new bottle. What remains a challenge is that regarding a better life for all as was the ANC election campaign in 1994, much has been done but much has not. Some people have found personal wealth and security while millions more have not (Daily Maverick Newspaper, 2013). The Newspaper further states that the system of government is becoming decayed following the release of the former Public Protector's (PP) report on state capture. On the other side of the continuum, the three parties to the alliance continue to pull in different directions. Tensions have manifested themselves in the SACP with the contestation of the elections in the Free State (for the first time in 2017) against the ANC. Because of the tensions that exist within the alliance, re-strengthening relationships in the

alliance is a deviation from its primary goal of formulating and implementing socio-economic policies as the government of the day.

5.4.4 Ideology and identity crisis

Angelo Fick (in his capacity as a Senior Researcher for ENCA News Channel, on 16 December 2017) is of the opinion that there is no relevance of the ideologies in the new South Africa. They were meaningful during the apartheid era because the motive was to unseat the NP government and have a black majority rule. During the early stages of this research ideologies were perceived to be the main cause for failure to reach consensus but the literature reviewed revealed that the alliance is characterised by dual membership. In other words, there is no single member in the tripartite alliance that belongs only to the ANC, SACP or any COSATU affiliated union. It therefore raises questions as to why COSATU and SACP sometimes complain of being marginalised by the ANC in the policy process if they are also members of the ANC. Dual membership then compromises the policy process because it is characterised by the presence of people who are not clear on what direction do they want this country to adopt. The tripartite alliance is therefore characterised by an identity crisis. Crisis management is therefore deemed pertinent for the electorate to be clear as to who is who in the alliance so as make informed choices during elections.

5.4.5 Liberation movement as government

The ANC's economic vision during the struggle against apartheid was to a certain extent ambiguous because when Mandela was released from jail he stressed the need for nationalisation and redistribution. During the policy conference in 1992, the ANC changed its stand on nationalisation but perceived it as one of the measures under consideration (Habib & Padayachee, 2011: 4). This suggests that a liberation movement has limitations if it becomes a ruling party. There was therefore a need to formulate policies that were going to transform the South African fabric while attracting foreign investors. The post-apartheid South Africa has been granted the status of being a developmental state (Gumede (2011: 1), hence its policies are framed in terms of reconstruction and development. Gumede further states that developmental states are able to balance economic growth and social development while building democratic institutions at the same time. The preconceived idea for

South Africa was based on the impossibility of achieving autonomy and accountability, and growth and redistribution in a democratic developmental state based on the fact that democracy is not compatible with growth and poverty reduction at the same time (Rodrik in Gumede, 2011:1).

5.4.6. Inadequate use of training legislation

The persistence of unemployment, poverty and inequality in South Africa is attributed to the shortage of skills in the country. Moreover, for South Africa to be one of the countries that are competitive in science and technology, skills development is deemed pertinent. However, the mentioning of schools in South Africa that scrapped maths in matric defeats the developmental agenda in line with Vision 2030 of the NDP. One of the reasons for scrapping maths is the absence of maths teachers. For those who are trained in teaching maths, they face Curriculum change almost every five years if a new Minister is deployed in Basic Education. Nonetheless, what is important is to utilise the Skills Development Act (of 1998) to capacitate educators who do not possess the skill of teaching maths.

Dropping maths disadvantages learners in the long run because jobs that are classified under scarce or rare skills in South Africa require maths to be passed as a subject in matric. Naledi Pandor (2014, in the Mail & Guardian) disclosed that the scrapping of maths was owing to the unavailability of necessary teachers. Some schools dropped maths pure for maths literacy in order to improve their pass rates while some schools that were listed by the Minister of Basic Education as not getting maths teachers was based on the small numbers of enrolment (Dicken, 2015). The policy of allocating teachers to schools based on the enrolment could not be creating an on-going trend in schools if teachers were exposed to training and development as supported by the Skills Development Act. The scrapping of maths was therefore an uncalculated move; it proves the contradictions in terms of the policy, South Africa's Vision 2030 and the strategies being employed. The Skills Development Act is a legislative framework to be utilised to equip non-maths teachers with the necessary skill of teaching maths. Additionally, schools can partner or network with private schools in order for pupils not to be deprived of an opportunity. The Department of Health (DoH) uses the same strategy where the Specialists from the Private health system serve the public hospitals at least twice a week in order not to

deprive the poor an access to quality health care in the absence of a medical aid. Inadequate use of training legislation confirms the lack of will and capacity on the side of cadres that are deployed in government by the tripartite alliance. It also concurs with Human who states that different managers exist in the public sector where some are qualified but inexperienced while some are neither qualified nor experienced but serve as deployed cadres.

5.5 Outcomes of the research problem, questions and objectives

5.5.1 Research problem

The research problem manifested itself in the formulation of the ANC-led government as a partnership with its imperfections because the tripartite alliance itself is a combination of independent organisations that subjected themselves to be led by the ANC. Because the founding principles of each organisation are not the same, policy implementation in South Africa faces implementation challenges. The tripartite alliance itself fails to reach consensus on policy matters. The dual membership in the tripartite alliance where the SACP and COSATU members are card carrying members of the ANC raises questions as to who is who in the alliance. Additionally, the partnership also include other stakeholders such as business community who will support a policy that creates a conducive environment for the business to prosper.

5.5.2 Research questions and objectives

The literature reviewed in this study (in Chapters 2 and 3 of this study) sought to answer the questions and the objectives regarding the ideologies that differentiate the alliance partners and their role in the policy process. There was also a need to identify the socio-economic frameworks South Africa had had since 1994 under the ANC-led alliance in order to state if the lives of the ordinary South Africans have improved or not. In order to answer the research questions, governance theories such as Partnerships, Networks and Justice were utilised with an intention to ascertain the level of their success in the presence of capitalism and socialism as the ideologies that shape the existence of the alliance partners in a democratic state. Several of forms of democracy were noted thus leading to the conclusion that there is no universal definition and application of democracy globally.

Democracy and its alignment to capitalism revealed that there is no pure capitalist country because the social contract binds the government of the day to deliver public goods to the electorate. Therefore, the capitalist countries such as the USA do cater for the needs of the people as is desirable in a socialist country. The existence of both orientations (socialism and capitalism) in the ANC-led government is not supposed to be a source of conflict when it comes to policy making and implementation. However, it was noted that lack of reaching consensus hinders the process of improving the lives of the majority in South Africa.

Utilisation of partnerships and networks revealed the presence of power relations where the status of the country economically becomes a reason for it to be supported in the networks or in the partnerships that are transnational. Inequalities in countries was observed, hence discussions on dealing with global inequalities cannot be reversed. Because countries will never be equal in terms of economic growth and development, inequalities are here to stay.

The limitation of Justice Theory in the form of distributive justice was mentioned. There is a need to create wealth before it can be distributed. However, compensatory justice in South Africa has caused more harm than good with the introduction of affirmative action in the Employment Equity Act and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) strategies of the government because inequality has grown amongst black people. Some blacks who have become tenderpreneurs are black capitalists while the majority remain in poverty and unemployment. BBBEE has created contractual jobs whereby peoples' lives cannot be sustained.

5.6 Final Conclusions

During document analysis certain premises were explored and the final thought provoking conclusions are highlighted below in an abridged version in order to be proved differently by other researchers in South Africa in particular.

- Equality is an illusion, people will never be equal. For the sake of distributing wealth and resources to the poorest of the poor, it means some are wealthier than others.

- Growth and economy have stagnated hence jobs cannot be created. The implementation of the socio-economic policies exposes the negative growth where jobs are lost not created.
- The conflicting ideologies in the ANC-led tripartite alliance as government are not always a source of disagreements that hinder policy implementation. Dual membership in the alliance raises a question as to who is who in the tripartite alliance.
- Socio-economic policies compete with other government projects. There is no coordination and integration at local, provincial and national government level.
- Policy goals and strategies employed contradict themselves. Arriving at an unintended destiny confirms the lack of the state's capacity to implement policy hence; the unrealistic targets in the midst of the state's lack of capacity to implement public policies continue to be a trend.
- A better life for all in South Africa remains an election manifesto of the ANC-led tripartite alliance.

5.7 Recommendations

5.7.1 Seek for lessons from developing economies

China has done well economically under the Communist Party and its adoption of market friendly economic policies. South Africa can use the example of China in formulating and implementing its socio-economic policies.

Chang (in Turok, 2011: 68) provides another example of Korea and Taiwan as countries with full employment. In other words, anyone who wants a job has it in spite of being badly paid if compared with the ideal salaries and wages in South Africa. An example of the mentioned countries indicates that the ANC-led government is not taking unemployment seriously. Moreover, China as one of South Africa's partners in development in the BRICS countries is rated amongst developed countries under the leadership of the Communist Party. India and Brazil are also rated as developing economies while South Africa is not developing economically. South Africa can contextualise the strategies used by BRICS countries in order to fight the triple challenge if there is political will.

5.7.2 Political education for all

An antithesis of Ncube's (2017: 84)) recommendation for political education for traditional leaders in South Africa is the need of introducing political education to all South Africans at basic education level as part of Life Skills. Good governance calls for the active participation of civil society in policy-related matters and in holding the government accountable. Koenane and Mangena (2017:65) assert that human beings are social and political animals; they are therefore expected to participate actively in society and influence public policy because it is through their active participation that they will live well. While the majority of the South Africans live within the scope of the entitlement theory where they expect the government to provide for their well-being, the ignorance displayed by some South Africans who were asked about the Presidential hopeful candidates in the ANC elective Conference (December, 2017) raised concerns about how accountability can be enforced if South Africans do not know the political leadership in government.

5.7.3 A need for merit-based appointments

The appointment of the political office bearers (Ministers) will make the difference if they lead the departments they have expertise for. For example, the placement of the current Minister of Health who is a Medical Doctor by profession must be a consistent strategy of assigning political office bearers. Moreover, the appointment of bureaucrats in government and the state-owned-enterprises must refrain from the usage of cadre deployment. This recommendation was communicated by Manuel (in his capacity as the Chairperson of the Planning Commission) to be one of the causes that hinder development, growth and proper policy formulation in South Africa. The State Capture Report and the involvement of the GUPTA family in the appointment of Ministers in South Africa reveal that the Manuel's recommendation has not been taken into consideration.

5.7.4 Land distribution

The ANC elective conference in December 2017 resorted to a land distribution without compensation strategy hence lessons must be taken from countries such as Zimbabwe where the intention was good but the implementation outcome defeated the purpose of complying with distributive justice. There is also a need for the

government to involve academia in the process of formulating and implementing land distribution policies, and for conducting a risk analysis for the country as well as the international community. The results of the risk analysis research will assist the government in establishing mitigating strategies as well as identifying which risks are not worth taking with regards to land distribution.

5.7.5 A need for one centre of power

If the ANC retains power in 2019, the party must draw a distinction between Luthuli House and the Union Building for accounting purposes because the two centres of power are currently used as scape goats. Officials in Luthuli House cannot take actions or corrective measures against their members deployed in government because they claim that government structures must discipline them. If South Africans demand explanations from the ANC as the ruling party, responses like *“Hands-off the ANC and our President”* create chaos for governance. A serious contradiction is observed where Zuma as the former President of the ANC and the current President of the country accounts to the party not to the electorate that voted for the ANC during elections. Currently, the President of the country (Zuma) became above the party that deployed him in government because Luthuli House shifted the blame onto government while the opposition parties that made the effort to hold Zuma accountable were not supported by the tripartite alliance members in Cabinet. The existence of the two centres of power is self-destructive for governance in South Africa.

5.7.6 Constitutional Amendment

South African democracy is dominated by a single party that uses its majority to support its members by the effective utilisation of politics related loyalty. Party loyalty of the tripartite alliance members deployed in government hinders the voices of civil society from being heard in disapproval of the unacceptable behaviour of the political office bearers. Amendment to the Constitution is deemed pertinent to allow the electorate to vote for the Presidential candidate of their choice who is not accountable to his or her political party. Amendment to the constitution is just in the sense that it will stop the practice of the political parties of using civil society as a means to their ends during election campaigns only because humans must be treated as means to themselves.

5.7 Recommendations for future research

The conclusion made about networks that they are self-destructive invites academics to conduct research to provide conclusions that affirm or reject the assertion. Future research must formulate a link whereby policy makers, network establishment, policy process and policy outcomes can be dissected in details.

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