

The Viability of the South African National Development Plan and
Amartya Sen's Theory of Ethical Development

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Declaration

Student Number: 3260562

I declare that *The Viability of the South African National Development Plan and Amartya Sen's Theory of Ethical Development* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Rochelle Nicolette Davids



Signed *RN Davids*



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“Blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honour and power and might be to our God forever and ever.”

-Revelation 7:12-

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Abstract

“Development” has emerged as a key word indicating the level of participation in and integration into the global economy of previously “under-developed” or marginalized countries, especially from the so-called “Third World”. Even though decolonial theory contests the validity of what is seen as a particular arrogant Western assessment of the norms at work in such classification of nation-states, it is widely accepted that there is a direct equation between *growth* and *equality*: The lower the level of inequality in any country, the faster and the more sustainable the growth in the economy is expected to be. South Africa’s dilemma is that it portrays the extreme negative aspect of this fundamental socio-economic formula. The country has a high level of inequality and seems to be stuck in low economic growth! In essence, the current high level of inequality in South Africa results in slow and unsustainable growth in the economy. A healthy development path for South Africa would mean that both economic growth *and* equality should be sustainably sought. Colonial and apartheid periods elicited processes of planning and development which may have been well-managed and controlled but were fundamentally unjust, being based on stark inequalities, and thus strongly and justifiably opposed.

The central focus of this study is to ethically assess the rationale and implementation of the South African National Development Plan (NDP), developed on the basis of the country’s model new Constitution in order to ensure good quality of life and dignity for all its citizens. The goal of this study is to determine to which extent the NDP is viable in this sense, and can be supported on the basis of a responsible ethical development paradigm, such as Amartya Sen’s comprehensive theory of “development as freedom”. The relevance of this thesis is that it aims at contributing towards a trustworthy assessment framework for testing all aspects of the NDP, especially its ethical viability.

To test the viability of the NDP the study zoomed in on detailed assessments of the following frameworks:

- 1) *Critical historical studies* of South Africa’s international political and economic development,
- 2) *Constitutional and human rights studies* into the constitutional framework of the NDP and its socio-ethical perspectives,
- 3) *Studies on Development Theory* to identify gaps or suspect aspects of the NDP,
- 4) *Studies on globalization and a global ethic* to specifically understand the positive and negative sides of globalization as relevant factors in development discourse in South Africa, and

- 5) *A particular study of Sen's comprehensive development framework* to use a theory acknowledged for its comprehensiveness and ethical sharpness to thoroughly assess the strengths and weaknesses of the NDP.

Some preliminary findings drawn from this study suggest that the (*utilitarian or consequentialist*) goals and objectives of the NDP are generally seen as positive and pointing in the right direction. However, the deeper ethical analysis of the NDP, linked to the emergence of *responsibility theory*, a *global ethic* (a deontological social ethic for the world), a particular African *virtue ethic* (Ubuntu), and specifically to Amartya Sen's ethical analysis of the kind of *agency and freedom* needed by the actors in the drama of development – together - expose various shortcomings in the NDP, some of its goals, its implementation, sustainability, and the new ethos it embodies.

The concluding remarks of this study thus provide a number of critical points, ethically spoken, on crucial details of the NDP. Such aspects of the NDP are, for instance, its “utility” (according to the theory which holds that actions are right if they lead to optimum happiness for the greatest number of people); its “morality” (good outcomes or results produced by right actions, consequences which generally outweigh all other considerations); its “virtue” (which focuses on individual agency, morality and duties), but also in typical African fashion, the quality of its “Ubuntu” (the being together of people defining each member of the clan's humanity and dignity). Sen's accent on the *inner freedom*, the *agency*, of individuals and people, organized in civil society - to support each other, to be open, ready and engaged in their own development - seems to provide some of the missing ingredients for the NDP and its path. Such ingredients cannot be guaranteed or “produced” by human rights, constitutions, rule of law, or even a bill of rights. In the face of state capture, corrupt leadership, personal greed, lack of personal integrity or virtue, disregard for divine commands or human rights, this one factor seems to be the only medicine that works: *deep-seated personal agency* (of the individual and of civil society), generating strong determination, joint action and a belief of a future commonwealth that does honour the original dream of the Freedom Charter.

Hopefully the critical questions emerging from the multi-level ethical assessment of the NDP, may stimulate new debates and set out new research agendas for a just and peaceful future for the “Rainbow Nation”.

KEY WORDS: Development, Globalization, Ethos, Economy, Sustainability, Human Rights, Capability Approach, Freedom, Equality, Participation, Decolonial

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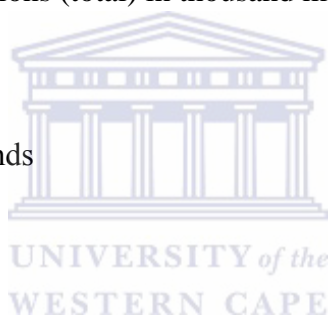
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List of Abbreviations

AGAPE	Alternative Globalization Addressing People and Earth
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
CO ₂	Carbon Dioxide
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CRVS	Civil Registration and Vital Statistics
CWP	Community Work Programme
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DHIS	District Health Information System
DOTS	Directly Observed Treatment, Short-Course
DPME	Department for Performance Monitoring and Evaluation
EPWP	Expanded Works Programme
FET	Further Education and Training
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GNI	Gross National Income
GNP	Gross National Product
HCT	HIV Counselling and Testing
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IMR	Infant Mortality Rate
LPL	Lower-bound Poverty Line
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MDGR	Millennium Development Goals Report
MMR	Maternal Mortality Ratio
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
MRCR	Medical Research Council Report
MTCT	Mother-To-Child-Transmission
NCS	National Chronic Solutions
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NGP	New Growth Path
NPC	National Planning Commission
NSDA	Negotiated Service Delivery Agreement
NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PUI	Poverty, Unemployment, Inequality
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SAGNA	South African Government News Agency
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
STATSSA	Statistics South Africa
TB	Tuberculosis
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UPL	Upper-bound Poverty Line
WCC	World Council of Churches

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Orientation

The South African National Development Plan (NDP) represents a significant step in the process of charting a new socio-economic path for South Africa.¹ The objectives set out at the inaugural meeting of the South African National Planning Commission (NPC) in May 2011, suggest that this new development path for South Africa entails inter alia the following: to grow the economy, reduce poverty, improve the quality of life for all South Africans, and to do so in a sustainable way.² Even at face value this is clearly a complex task, involving at least four major issues: a growing economy, reduction of poverty, improvement of quality of life for all, and sustainability. Here are some of the immediate questions that can (and should) be raised: How is equality and growth to be balanced? How does the quality of human life relate to the full scale of human rights? How can economic and ecological sustainability be reconciled?

The NDP was formulated after extensive research and input from tens of thousands of South Africans. The foundational focus of the NDP is economic: to expand economic opportunity for all by investing in and improving infrastructure, as well as supporting industries such as mining and agriculture; by diversifying exports and strengthening links to faster-growing economies; by enacting reforms to lower the cost of business transactions and reducing constraints to growth in various sectors; by moving towards more efficient and climate-friendly production systems, and encouraging entrepreneurship and innovation.³

However, as the NDP itself indicates, there are many fundamental challenges impeding South African development. Especially challenges and problems on a human level still need proper attention. Here we can mention inter alia the increasing pressure on creating jobs, providing better industrial policies, improving the quality of education and providing clear direction in the management of labour relations. Many of these challenges are embedded in the broad field of so-called second generation rights (social, economic and cultural rights), in the attainment of which the state has to play a leading role. South Africa has undeniably made

¹ NDP 2011:1.

² NDP 2011:216.

³ See SouthAfrica.info (2015): <http://www.southafrica.info/business/economy/econoverview.htm>.

some progress in reducing poverty, but it still remains a pervasive reality. Millions of people remain unemployed and many working households live close to or under the poverty line.⁴ South Africa has also made inadequate progress in reducing inequality through the positive promotion of political, economic and human rights for all citizens, and the deliberate countering of racial and class issues.

The tackling of the interrelated challenge of poverty, unemployment and inequality (PUI) is central to the objectives of the NDP. In South Africa, this challenge is embedded in the colonial and apartheid history of inequality and discrimination, and can therefore not simply be solved by economic means only. In this thesis it will be illustrated – via various interdisciplinary discourses dealing with the underlying issues at stake behind and beyond the NDP – that a very intricate, almost impossible, balancing act is required. Various seemingly incompatible ingredients will simply have to be joined together to realise the ideals espoused in the new NDP, for instance growth together with ecological sustainability as well as a whole range of second generation rights, captured under the key word equality. Moreover, this must be done without neglecting the freedoms (first generation rights) and participation and human development (third generation rights) implied in a global and democratic human rights culture.

Such a culture is usually assumed as the basis for any ethically viable “development plan”. It may be asked, at the outset, whether all these aims are at all, jointly, viable. Viability is a key component of this study, and in this context it refers to the ability of development to maintain itself or fulfil its potentialities against various odds. My own interest, that led me to this topic, is specifically in how the “viability” of a national development plan such as the NDP can be reconciled with the qualification “ethical” in the discourse on ethical development. This interest was triggered by my critical engagement with various globalization discourses in my (Masters) thesis, in which I compared Joseph Stiglitz’ ethical concerns about the world economy with ecumenical critique of social justice issues created by and within neo-capitalism.⁵ The NPC’s alleged optimism about South African economic growth and development by 2030 made me curious about how the Committee brought together the strategies to achieve the NDP’s vision which entails the reduction of both poverty and inequality.⁶ The personal interest factors that led to this study can be summarized by saying

⁴ NDP 2011:1.

⁵ In my Masters study on globalization (Davids 2013) I was challenged to deal with two major justice issues: the increasing discrepancy between rich and poor and the effects of human greed on the ecology of planet earth.

⁶ NDP 2011:1.

that I wish to link my interest in the ethics of globalization with a better understanding of human development. Having done a broad literature survey covering these problems, I have chosen to tackle the core question on the ethical viability of South Africa's NDP within the framework of Amartya Sen's influential thinking on the human element in development theory. Sen's focus on "development as freedom" seems to create a comprehensive ethical framework within which to assess most aspects mentioned above, and which should be integrated into a successful development plan for South Africa.

At the heart of the ambitious vision of the NDP "for South Africa 2030", is a "new development paradigm" that seeks to involve communities, youth, workers, the unemployed and business in a new partnership - with each other and with a more capable state.⁷ The aim of the NDP is to develop the capabilities of individuals and of the country, and to create opportunities for all citizens, in line with fundamental human rights principles as formulated and guaranteed in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 in the Bill of Rights.⁸ These goals seem to correlate with Sen's ideals for "development as freedom".

The main thrust of this thesis is thus in the first instance to critically assess the viability of the NDP on the basis of its own development paradigm, embedded as it is in constitutional notions of freedom, equality, participation and sustainability.⁹ Viability here covers all aspects of the NDP: Viability in terms of the ideals of individual (political and civil) freedoms, viability in terms of social, economic and cultural equality to all citizens in terms of social security; viability in terms of access to and participation in a fair global system (seen as development). It also includes viability in terms of rationale and aims, focus and content, implementation and targets, and viability in terms of economic and ecological sustainability – in brief: the long-term reliability of the NDP.

To successfully execute such a comprehensive socio-ethical assessment of the NDP in its entirety, various critical discourses on key issues such as freedom, equality, participation and development will thus have to be combined in search of an apt (normative) ethical framework. This, however, is a massive and comprehensive undertaking which cannot be done by one person in one study. In this research the development paradigm followed or assumed in the NDP will thus be investigated against a historical and a constitutional

⁷ See the National Planning Commission Consultative Drive (2012).

⁸ NDP 2011:27. See also chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996.

⁹ These constitutional ideals are in line with the famous *liberté, égalité* and *fraternité* of the French Revolution (1789), which resulted in the "three generations of human rights" since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the Freedom Charter (1955). The significance of these events formed the foundations of and established the modern democracy South Africa now appreciates.

background. The first intention is to understand the NDP, and the development paradigm espoused in the NDP, against the relevant socio-economic, colonial and historical backgrounds, but also within the normative framework of the Bill of Rights. The second intention is to assess the paradigm of development inherent in the NDP (which contains specific notions of freedom, equality, development, participation and sustainability).

This assessment will be done as follows: the NDP will be unpacked against various critiques of colonialism and empire, as well as neo-capitalism and globalization; a more focused ethical investigation will be done in terms of an emerging global ethos, paralleling a rediscovery of Ubuntu philosophy in Southern Africa, and Amartya Sen's influential theory of ethical development (resting on notions of "agency" and "development as freedom"), will be used to give a comprehensive ethical assessment of the NDP. Sen's theory of "ethical development" deliberately seeks to integrate as many aspects of development as possible in search of a truly human paradigm, in which human freedom for responsible choices are maximized. This is an aspect which also seems to be emphasized in the NDP's accent on empowerment and participation of all citizens.

1.2 Background

South Africa's 'socio-economic development history' infers that the factors that shaped the economy dates back to colonial times. This caused the vast majority of people to be marginalized and excluded from the country's growth and development. In addition, the unsustainable patterns of growth and development were environmentally untenable.¹⁰ Taken together, the "points of origination" and "routes of dispersion" are key concepts to trace geopolitics of knowing, sensing, believing as well as body-politics of knowing, sensing and understanding."¹¹ Although South Africa's socio-political setup has changed radically since 1994, for many poor South Africans, however, much remained the same, highlighting serious shortcomings in the country's development path. This thesis attempts to identify the challenges against the relevant and complex ideological and socio-economic backgrounds.

The first interpretative framework for assessing the NDP is the relationship between economic growth in South Africa and the political power struggles which controlled the economy and its benefits to citizens, which is a surprisingly undeveloped area of research in

¹⁰ See South African Education and Environment Project (SAEP): <http://www.saep.org/media/docs/>. This project support and promote sustainable development for South Africa.

¹¹ Mignolo 2013:132.

economic circles.¹² In this study various economic and politically controlled structural periods which shaped South African history, as distinguished by Terreblanche, will be investigated.¹³ In South Africa economic growth can never be separated from the country's political struggles because throughout historical and current debates, it is self-evident that the one has been shaping the other. Also following Terreblanche, a special focus will be on the Dutch period and the Anglo Boer War and this will illustrate which division caused the marginalization of millions of the country's citizens:

- During the first period (1910-22), the British influence (Empire) dominated in economic and political terms and a racially segregated community was formed.
- The second period (1922-33), saw the birth of economic nationalism and the attempt of (mainly Afrikaner) farmers and white mineworkers to establish a welfare state.
- The third period (1933-1948) highlighted the dominance of English power and the birth of industrialization with less government interference.
- However, the fourth period (1948-60), saw the rise of Afrikaner "upliftment" and the further institutionalization of apartheid.
- The fifth period (1960-73) can be characterised by the attempt to institutionalize white (mainly Afrikaner) dominance on the basis of "Verwoerdian" ideology in a period of rapid growth and industrialization, including the growing importance of black urbanization as a powerful social force.
- The sixth period (1973-84) witnessed the consequences of consistent industrialization, leading to the realization that the racial policy was damaging the development of the country and its people.
- The seventh period (1984-1994) saw the rapid decrease in economic growth, mainly due to economic sanctions against South Africa by many countries.
- The eighth period (starting in 1994) marks the end of apartheid, and the beginning of a new constitutional democracy, which allowed representative government to initiate economic reforms to hopefully establish South Africa as a more dynamic and internationally competitive economy entity.

A second background or framework for assessing the NDP is provided by the new possibilities opened up for all citizens in South Africa by the new constitutional democracy for which the country is globally lauded. Since the NDP backs up its dream of development

¹² Terreblanche 1990:6. This aspect will be dealt with in detail in chapter 2.

¹³ Terreblanche 1990:7-21.

with frequent references to the Bill of Rights – as may be studied under the key words freedom, equality, participation, development and sustainability – the development paradigm embodied in the NDP will be tested against the constitutional checks and balances as provided in the Bill of Rights.

A third framework for interpretation, which will feature in the ethical assessment of the NDP's development paradigm,¹⁴ is provided by the inter-related debates on globalization and the quest for a global ethic. In this debate two very important parallel discourses cannot be ignored in the theoretical discussion and practical implementation of any development theory or plan. The first is the critique of the current global economy, with its neo-capitalist focus on "growth" by all means, coming from financial "insiders" such as Joseph Stiglitz.¹⁵ The second critique is similar but coming from informed ecumenical debates on social justice, peace and ecological sustainability.¹⁶ Against these three "backgrounds", or within these three "frameworks" (economic history, human rights and global "empire"), Sen's theory on "development as freedom" will be used to further test the ethical viability of the NDP.

Since the NDP was accepted as South Africa's blueprint for growth and development in 2011, various positive and negative perceptions about the country's progress emerged. The African Economic Outlook Report states that South Africa's growth in 2014 constantly decreased, showing a percentage of only 1.5% and the weakest performance since the world-wide financial crisis; the economy was impacted by its most extensive industrial action since the end of apartheid and numerous infrastructural cracks, notably insufficient energy sources, fragile domestic petitions, and pale investment rates also acted as a drag on economic growth.¹⁷ One example of serious critique has come from the hand of Claire Bisseker, a respected economic editor for the Financial Mail Magazine: "Zuma's hands-off leadership style and lack of crisis management have created the sense of an economy operating on auto pilot with no-one at the helm to arrest the steady slide in its growth potential and creditworthiness."¹⁸ Currently, the country has not yet reached its full growth and development capacity. It soon became clear that there were still so much more to be done to grow the economy.

¹⁴ This interpretative framework will thus operate after the NDP has been studied against the relevant backgrounds, since it forms part of the ethical assessment of the NDP.

¹⁵ Stiglitz' critique of the new capitalist tendencies has been consistent. See Stiglitz (1989, 1990, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, and 2013). See also Davids (2013:55-67).

¹⁶ This theological debate is echoed in the strong new ecological awareness movement in the world.

¹⁷ Kumo, Omilola and Minsat 2015:2.

¹⁸ Bisseker 2015.

1.3 Relevance and Original Contribution

This study concentrates on the most important recent political initiative to create an equal and flourishing socio-political climate in South Africa and for all its citizens - the NDP. This document will, in spite of misgivings and criticism from various quarters, remain the relevant and authoritative guiding vision for the new South Africa, at least for the foreseeable future. The NDP was initiated to significantly reduce inequality in South Africa by 2030 “through uniting South Africans, unleashing the energies of its citizens, growing an inclusive economy, building capabilities and enhancing the capability of the state and leaders to work together to solve complex problems”.¹⁹ The relevance of this thesis is that it will contribute towards developing an assessment framework for testing all aspects of the NDP, especially its viability, and in particular its ethical viability. In addition, the thesis intends to suggest perspectives to strengthen the rationale, viability and implementation of the NDP. Finally the thesis will endeavour to provide perspectives from which the NPC can benefit in planning and evaluating future work for national development, taken from crucial debates in development theory, global ethics and ecumenical discourse on global justice and peace issues.

1.4 Problem Statement

An existing and ongoing discussion amongst development theorists today revolves around the subject of the direct equation between growth and equality. Some theorists even suggests that the lower the level of inequality in any country, the faster and the more sustainable the growth in the economy. Three leading economists, Ostry, Berg and Tsangarides, in their ongoing global debate on equality and growth provide a synopsis of current developments on these matters: “Economists are increasingly focusing on the links between rising inequality and the fragility of growth. Narratives include the relationship between inequality, leverage and the financial cycle, which sowed the seeds for crisis; and the role of political-economy factors (especially the influence of the rich) in allowing financial excess to balloon ahead of the crisis ... inequality can undermine progress in health and education, cause investment-reducing political and economic instability, and undercut the social consensus required to adjust in the face of shocks, and thus that it tends to reduce the pace and durability of growth.”²⁰

¹⁹ NDP 2011:1.

²⁰ Ostry, Berg and Tsangarides 2014:4.

South Africa's dilemma is that it portrays the extreme negative aspect of this fundamental socio-economic formula. The country has a high level of inequality and low economic growth! In essence, the current high level of inequality in South Africa results in slow and unsustainable growth in the economy. A healthy development path for South Africa would mean that both economic growth and equality should be sustainable. As illustrated by development paradigms from the colonial and apartheid times, processes of planning and development may have been well-managed and controlled but were fundamentally unjust, being based on stark inequalities, and thus strongly and justifiably opposed.

The NDP highlights various challenges blocking viable growth in the country: The unemployment rate is too high, the quality of school education for most people is below standard, Poorly located and inadequate infrastructure limits social inclusion and faster economic growth, spatial challenges continue to marginalize the poor, the inefficient and weak public health system is also discriminatory, the quality and performance of the public service is deteriorating, corruption in government undermines service delivery, and above all South Africa remains a divided and fundamentally unequal society.²¹

Even the "solution" of a better work ethic depends on perceptions of rewards in terms of better quality of life for all. All these points, addressed in the NDP, indicate that the quest for a sustainable development plan rests on underlying issues of human dignity, equality and participation, and that the success of such a plan, and its accompanying paradigm, rests on human and ethical factors as much as on economic factors.²² Human dignity, equality, freedom, participation and work ethos together with fairness of access to the so-called free market are all contributing human rights and ethical issues which impact on the success of such a plan. Many other negative factors which however seem to frequently drive the economy, such as greed, "empire", corruption, nepotism, racism, class factors, chauvinism, etc., also need careful scrutiny when the "viability" of such a development plan is assessed.

These backgrounds provide the central focus of this study to ethically assess the rationale and implementation of the NDP. The goal is to determine to which extent the NDP is viable and

²¹ NDP 2011:3.

²² I agree with the brief definition of "sustainable development" provided by Wikipedia: "Sustainable development is the organizing principle for meeting human development goals while at the same time sustaining the ability of natural systems to provide the natural resources and ecosystem services upon which the economy and society depends. The desirable end result is a state of society where living conditions and resource use continue to meet human needs without undermining the integrity and stability of the natural systems. Virtue rightness, consequence, and context are ethically important in navigating sustainability." https://www.en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sustainable_development. Accessed 12 January 2017, 13:10.

can be supported on the basis of a responsible ethical development paradigm, such as Amartya Sen's comprehensive theory of "development as freedom". On such a basis, the NDP can be criticized according to its foundational assumptions and details, and recommendations can be made as to its possible improvement.

1.5 Research Question

In view of current discourses on development (e.g. on economic growth, poverty, unemployment, history of economic inequality, globalization and "empire", ethical development theory, ecological sustainability, human dignity and human rights), the research question in this study is formulated as follows: How can Amartya Sen's theory of "development as freedom" supplement utilitarian, deontological, virtue ethics and Ubuntu perspectives, and thus contribute towards an ethically viable development paradigm for South Africa? Inversely put: What are the ethical implications of Sen's approach to development for the NDP and its implementation, as implied in the ethical discourse surrounding the NDP? In ordinary street language one can simply ask: Can the NDP, its implementation and viability (in all senses of the word: economic, human, ecological, ethical) be improved, and if so, how?

1.6 Literature Review

This thesis aims to evaluate the work of the NPC's contributions to the NDP, specifically from ethical and human rights perspectives. Towards this end, an in-depth review of literature has been undertaken to understand the issues that caused South African development to fail in the colonial and apartheid era. This was followed by a review on the development paradigm assumed in the NDP, and how this paradigm, in its details, can be supported by the new South African Constitution and its Bill of Rights. The literature reviews provided the material for the various chapters needed to cover the unfolding logic of the thesis. This is done by means of a study of books, journals, and internet sources on several critical issues identified, such as equality, participation and freedom, as well as globalization and ecology. Here follows a short overview of the literature survey:

1. The economic history of South Africa (the legacies of colonialism and apartheid) as outlined by Terreblanche (1990, 2009a and 2009b, 2012, 2014) and others present the background from which the NDP emerged as an "emergency plan" towards a better future for all. An important overall framework for discourse on the enduring disempowering influence of colonial hegemony in Africa is decolonial theory (as

represented by Fanon (1965), Mignolo (2000, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013), Quijano (2000), Eckel (2010), Ndlovu and Makoni (2014), Maldonado-Torres (2011), Grosfoguel (2011), Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013), Sithole (2015) and Gumede (2015). Decolonial theory forms a sustaining skeleton for this study and is interpreted into the arrangement of relevant chapters rather than as a separate point, since it is important to integrate this overall hermeneutic of colonial suspicion into all aspects of our investigation.²³ Such a critical overview is fundamental because it assists in developing an understanding for the current economic status.

2. Notions of development, or the development paradigm supporting the NDP, is studied in view of selected literature on development theory, such as Kuznetz (1979), Frank (1967, 1969), Chambers (2004), Gore (2000), Thomas (2004), Kane and Sand (1988), Kanbur (2006), Gasper and St Clair (2010), and Andreassen and Marks (2010), and various publications of Sen.
3. Literature on Constitutionalism, the South African Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the various “generations” of human rights, the Rule of Law, has been and will further be consulted. This was done to assess the NDP as to its compatibility with the human rights tradition. Issues of social and economic equality, access to resources, social security provision, labour law, trade unions, etc. are all of major importance in testing South Africa’s approach to human dignity and developmental freedom.
4. Development ethics, specifically, is another framework that has been used to assess the viability and implementation of the NDP. A pioneer in the study of development ethics, Denis Goulet (1995) argued that this field of study examines the ethical and value questions related to development theory, planning, and practice. Des Gasper (2004) sought to combine and connect human development, development ethics, and public policy. Their views, covering systematic discussion of ethical and value questions posed by development theory, planning and practice, helped provide tools for assessment of situations, policies, and valuations placed on development performance with regard to the NDP. Such views prepared the way for the relevance and impact of Sen’s ethical development theory vis-à-vis the South African NDP.

²³ A vital short link between the economic history of South Africa (Terreblance) and decolonial theory (Fanon et al.) is suggested as it relates to this study –it will be given at the beginning of chapter 2, as an introduction to the discussion of the effects of colonial rule and apartheid on South Africa’s lop-sided economic history. This critical theory on African development will then also be dealt with as one of the five development theories discussed in chapter 3 (see 3.2).

5. An additional framework for an ethical assessment of any development theory or plan that had to be included in this study is the globalization debate concerning “empire” and the fairness of current global economic policies. This need brought about an intellectual encounter with philosophical and economic critiques of neo-capitalism (Stiglitz and others), as well as with the ecumenical debates on major aspects of globalization, viz the rising gap between rich and poor worldwide and the ecological sustainability of current economic policies that are only based on notions of “growth” (see De Santa Ana (1998), Stackhouse (2007), Raiser (2002), Lombard (2010), and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013).
6. The study will particularly focus on Amartya Sen's work (1982, 1984, 1987, 1992, 1998, 1999, 2002) since it has most consistently concerned itself with the ethical dimensions of development via the idea of human freedom.

The literature for this study has thus been carefully chosen to cover the various areas in which the ethical aspects of the NDP are tested: the history of inequality and the enduring legacies of colonialism and apartheid, notions of ethical development, human rights (defining human freedom, equality, and participation), globalization, and critical notions (philosophical and ecumenical) of economic and environmental justice.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

As already explained in the Background section (1.2), development theory combines (by its nature) various complementary discourses. A study focusing on a national development plan, such as this one on the NDP, necessarily needs to find a comprehensive framework, one in which inter alia provision is made to simultaneously evaluate discourses as diverse and wide-ranging as decolonial theory, economic theory, economic history, human rights, quality of life, development theory, globalization, ecology, sustainability, and market theories. When one wishes to also bring ethics into play - by operationalizing concepts such as equality, justice, participation and human freedom - the discourse becomes even more complex.

To deal with these intricacies it was decided to follow a more or less common sense approach in terms of moving firstly into the backgrounds of the NDP (such as the colonial and economic-historical backgrounds, together with the constitutional and human rights background), and then to move into deeper layers of the problem, such as the definition of “development” and the specific development paradigm used in the NDP. Two additional backgrounds, that was added, deals with aspects of globalization theory, i.e. the influence of

power or “empire” in economic relations across the globe as well as the issue of ecological sustainability of economic growth. Here the views of critics of neo-liberal economic policies (such as Stiglitz) and ecumenical critics of the effects of such policies on people and the environment (such as De Santa Ana) were found to be indispensable.

Thus, after a chapter outlining the NDP, its origins, aims, goals, implementation plan, etc., chapter four will focus on these background aspects mentioned above, which are crucial to evaluating the viability of the NDP. Relevant theories dealing with a) decolonial and economic theory and economic history, b) constitutionalism and human rights, c) ethical development theory and d) globalization and justice issues, were employed in each of these consecutive chapters. They prepare the way to use Amartya Sen's comprehensive theory on ethical development to evaluate all these aspects of the NDP as they function in relation to one another. According to Sen, development should be measured by how much freedom individuals, groups, and eventually countries, have towards their own development, since without freedom people cannot make the choices that allow them to help themselves and others (see Sen 1999). His multi-layered approach to “development as freedom” has been very helpful to deal with the diverse aspects involved in the ethical assessment of the NDP.

Sen's five-fold definition of freedom, as the interdependent bundle of different kinds of freedom, is used to address key areas in this study under the caption of “freedom”:

1. Political freedom and civil rights - first generation rights;
2. Economic freedom including opportunities to get credit - part of second generation rights;
3. Social opportunities, including arrangements for health care, education, and other social services - second generation rights for which the government should provide “social security”;
4. Transparency guarantees, including interactions with others (including the government), which are characterized by a mutual understanding of what is offered and what could be expected – third generation rights dealing with “participation”; and
5. Protective security, within which Sen includes unemployment benefits, famine and emergency relief, and general safety nets – part of third generation rights dealing with “security” and “development”.²⁴

²⁴ Sen 1999:1.

Sen argues that agency focuses on the ability to personally choose the “functionings” one values, a choice that may not always correlate with personal well-being.²⁵ Sen’s views are crucial in this study because it mainly focuses on the fact that economic development cannot be successful without considering the primary elements of human development and human freedom of choice. The interesting twist in Sen’s approach, born in a Third World context of “exclusion” from or “manipulation” by global forces at work, is that he elevates “freedom” as a core concept for all development, and also applies it in the spheres of second and third generation rights, where “agency” was traditionally seen to rest in governments or in supra-personal “powers”.

Thus, as the chapters unfolds, critical debates within the overlapping spheres of colonial and apartheid economy, development theory (where capability and agency expert, Martha Nussbaum’s notions of human development, will also be explored), and constitutional/human rights discourse on economic issues will be followed and applied to the NDP. Having laid bare the fundamental backgrounds of the issues to be addressed by the NDP, the ethical assessment of the NDP can now follow. The ethical discourse includes various current global debates, such as the economic debate on neo-capitalism, ecumenical debate on globalization and justice, as well as ethical development discourse on ecological sustainability. These ethical perspectives will be integrated as part of the final conversation between Sen and the NDP, on the issue of freedom, or personal agency. The important goal of this interdisciplinary exercise is to assess whether the NDP is viable and can be supported on the basis of a responsible ethical development paradigm. This study hopes to make a limited but circumscribed contribution to such an assessment.

Following the route outlined above, this study contributes, in conversation with Sen, towards a comprehensive theoretical framework by combining human rights and constitutional perspectives on development (freedom, equality and participation), with ethical development theories and ecumenical perspectives on justice. Such an “ethical framework” for development can be used to assess the NDP ethically as to its viability, inclusivity and participatory implementation in the economic world.

²⁵ See Sen (1999).

1.8 Methodology

The historical research is associated with historiography as the primary research method. Given asserts that: "Historiography goes beyond data gathering to analyse and develop theoretical and holistic conclusions about historical events and periods. It includes a critical examination of sources, interpretation of data, and analysis that focuses on the narrative, interpretation, and use of valid and reliable evidence that supports the study conclusions."²⁶

After collecting the source material of this study and establishing its credibility for purposes of historical writing, it was arranged and rearranged in different ways to bring about some order and meaning in it. Chitnis states: "Thus co-relate various facts, establish causal relations between them and make them meaningful. For writing such a work of history, for properly utilising the source material to write such a narrative interwoven with interpretations, one has to perform certain essential operations which synthesise the facts meaningfully. These processes of logical thinking include: (1) generalization, (2) the argument from statistics, (3) analogy, (4) hypothesis, (5) conjecture, (6) the argument from silence, and (7) the argument a priori."²⁷

Using relevant literature, selected for specific historiographical purposes as explained above, the methodology is made up of the following:

1. Critical historical studies of South Africa's international political and economic development from appropriate historical viewpoints, such as decolonial theory - to identify lessons from history that can be brought into alignment with the current NDP or can be applied to it.
2. Studies on Development Theory – to identify gaps or suspect aspects of the NDP, but also future challenges to implementation of the NDP's vision for 2030.
3. Constitutional and human rights studies into the constitutional background and framework of the NDP and its socio-ethical perspectives - to determine if the detail of the NDP is viable, attainable and globally compatible with human rights ideals and standards.
4. A particular study of Sen's comprehensive development framework, in which freedom to choose one's own development – to use a theory acknowledged for its strength (in terms of integration of considerations of ethics, human rights, agency and viability) to thoroughly assess the strengths and weaknesses of the NDP. Within this

²⁶ Given 2008:396.

²⁷ Chitnis 2006:50-51.

framework, other relevant backgrounds and debates, surrounding the NDP, have also been used to inform our assessment of the NDP in detail.

5. Studies on globalization and a global ethic – to specifically understand the positive and negative side of globalization as relevant factors in development discourse in South Africa. In view of the historical background of the South African economy and the theories of development mentioned above, the impact of globalization and “empire”²⁸ is particularly relevant in this context, especially within the framework of an emerging global ethos.
6. A final assessment - to draw clear consequences for the viability and implementation of the NDP, taken from the various backgrounds, ethical frameworks, and the critical conversation with Sen. Although this is not the main aim of this study, these conversations may also contribute towards an “ethos for a global economy”, a major and legitimate concern for intellectuals such as Hans K ung and the “global ethic” movement, inspired by his comprehensive global ethical vision.

1.9 Brief Overview of Chapter Contents

Chapter one provides definitions of the key terms, a background and explication of the central research question, and a brief outline of the content of each chapter. It focuses on the methodology; the approach and logic of the research method and definition of the theoretical questions. Relevant literature and scholarly debates, with particular reference to development ethics, are reviewed as a background to the relevance of the research.

Chapter two explores South Africa’s economy via appropriate colonial backgrounds and the apartheid era to determine its place and importance within the current 2030 NDP vision.

Chapter three provides definitions of the key terms, concepts and theories of development.

Chapter four investigates the constitutional and human rights framework of the NDP. The NDP’s origination, based on a South African constitutional framework, and what socio-ethical implications can be or should be drawn from such a supposedly close relationship with a Bill of Rights, are also discussed.

²⁸ See the Accra Declaration (2004:3). Generally it is perceived that the church needs the Accra Declaration because it contains issues such as justice, unity and solidarity. In the first instance, justice is a matter of faith, secondly, the unity of the church is critical and thirdly, the church stands in solidarity with persons who are suffering and struggling. See also Davids (2013:32).

Chapter five focuses on the influential notion of Amartya Sen, “development as freedom”. Using various notions and applications of “freedom”, as developed by Sen (such as political freedom and civil rights, economic freedom, social opportunities, transparency and protective security), the ingredients of “ethical development” are brought together and integrated to form a framework within which to assess the NDP as to its ethical viability and sustainability. It is relevant in this chapter to unravel how the NDP will achieve its objectives in terms of South Africa’s poverty, unemployment and inequality challenge. This chapter zooms in on the integrated and inclusive rural economy as described in the NDP - a multi-faceted economy which includes everything from basic service delivery and food security, to governance, employment relations and empowerment.

Chapter six highlights major contributions to the debate on globalization, as they affect development theory and practice. Relevant implications for the assumptions underlying the NDP will be drawn. Furthermore a global ethic for global development is discussed in view of the fact that South Africa has an opportunity to maximise its regional and international influence and has the ability to strategically position itself and contribute to the global economy by means of a global ethic.

Chapter seven provides an overall ethical assessment of the NDP, against the various backgrounds and theoretical frameworks employed to illustrate the skewed nature of South Africa’s economy and its persistent inequalities.

In the final ethical assessment (chapter 7) it is argued that any national plan should attend to these inequalities in order to make the country a more equitable state. Clear positive outcomes or consequences are needed and the NDP will thus have a strong utilitarian drive and consequentialist focus. The goals and objectives of the NDP are thus generally seen as positive and pointing in the right direction. What is also clear is that the normative framework of the NDP, strongly linked to and fed by the new Constitution, functions like a Kantian rationale for action, a deontological command or duty. The concluding remarks thus provide a number of critical points, ethically spoken, on crucial details of the NDP with the intention of further development of the NDP, its “utility”, its “morality”, its “virtue” and the quality of its “Ubuntu”. Hopefully these conclusions may stimulate new debates and set out new research agendas for a just and peaceful future for the “Rainbow Nation”.

CHAPTER 2

SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL HISTORY: COLONIAL AND APARTHEID EXPLOITATION

2.1 Introduction

South Africa's economy is currently the second largest in Africa (just behind that of Nigeria), and is ranked as an upper-middle income economy by the World Bank - one of only four countries in Africa in this category.¹ However, the country's economy is still skewed by enormous inequalities caused by its colonialism and apartheid past. Professor Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni, expert in decolonial theory and development studies at UNISA, is of the view that as a continent, Africa (including South Africa) was a casualty of "deliberate exploitation" and "underdevelopment" by European colonial systems and governments.² Today South Africa is still experiencing the ongoing grappling with issues of colonialism, apartheid and its fight for total freedom from colonial power structures - decoloniality.

Generally, economic history is a valuable pursuit and has "become particularly exciting in recent years since the scope of the fundamental question – Why are some countries rich and others poor? – has gone global."³ It entails a question that has some concrete and some vague answers. While we shall follow Terreblanche's quite precise and concrete argument that inequality in the world, especially economic inequality, can be traced directly via a history of Western empires,⁴ the emergence of "decolonial studies" as a hermeneutical tool in African Studies provides a similar answer.

However, colonial theory seeks the origin of all underdevelopment in the Third World in the one key word, "colonialism". Terreblanche's "seven unique characteristics of Western Empires"⁵, representing a more complicated theory, can be seen to support decolonial theory, which will be dealt with as one of the major "development theories" in this study, and which will feature in most of the chapters as an interpretive framework.

¹ World Bank 2013. See also African Ranking (2015) for gen about the largest economies in Africa.

² Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:11.

³ Allen (2011:1) provides an in-depth analysis of the importance of economic history.

⁴ Terreblanche (2009a) and (2009b).

⁵ Terreblanche 2009a:1-16. Terreblanche views "Empire" as synonymous with "globalization, multiple empires, monopoly over state violence, European superiority and racism, the rise of capitalism, the global division of labour, and the great divergence between North and South".

It will be evident that the undertone of Terreblanche's critical economic overview resonates strongly with the sentiments of decolonial theory. Decoloniality is the response to the capitalist and communist imperial designs. Ndlovu-Gatsheni describes its emergence and aim: "The Bandung Conference of 1955 was one of the major decoloniality projects that sought to chart a new human trajectory beyond capitalism and communism, building on decolonization and Global South solidarity. Decoloniality became an epistemic and political project involving epistemic disobedience, decolonization of power, decolonization of being and decolonization of knowledge as those people who experienced the negative aspects of modernity continue the struggle for a new humanism."⁶

To get to grips with the negative aspects of South Africa's history of underdevelopment, also a major concern in decolonial theory, we shall follow Terreblanche's survey. South African economic history is rich and fundamental for addressing paramount questions about the interrelationships between political institutions and economic growth. Different periods, such as the Dutch settlement, the British take-over, and the Anglo Boer war, caused the division and marginalization of millions of the country's citizens. As distinguished by Terreblanche, there were eight of these political-economic periods.

Against this backdrop, the aim throughout this chapter is: Firstly to provide an overview of where the country was since the formation of the Union of South Africa till full liberation (1910-1994) and where it finds itself today (1994 onwards), according to Terreblanche. Secondly, zoom in on how the country's transition from its colonial past to a democracy improved the country's development path. Hence, "the approach to the colonial world, its ordering and its geographical layout will allow us to mark out the lines on which a democratic "society will be reorganized"; from apartheid to democracy."⁷ Finally, illustrate why the inter-related challenge of poverty, unemployment and inequality (PUI) in contemporary South Africa remains a reality.

2.2 Terreblanche's Critical Review of South Africa's Political-Economic History

Several critics are of the view that part of the challenge South Africa is confronting today has to do with its "transition from apartheid to democracy".⁸ Terreblanche, in his writings, labels this as the 'elite transition'. Although some critics do not agree with Terreblanche, his critical and invaluable review of South Africa's uneven history of economic and political

⁶ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:231-232. See also Kaplan's *Social Change in the Capitalist World* (1993).

⁷ Fanon 1963:37.

⁸ Gumede 2015:19.

development is provided in this study. As an appropriate framework and context his review includes eight structural periods: 1910-22; 1922-33; 1933-1948; 1948-60; 1960-73; 1973-84, 1984-1994, and 1994 -onwards.

2.2.1 The British Colonial Influence (Empire): 1910-22

The first period, as distinguished by Terreblanche, is the influence of the British Empire from 1910 to 1922. The colonial nature which Terreblanche describes consistently, led to the exploitation of the resources and the people of the country to the benefit of the colonial.⁹ In retrospect, the notion “of development within the context of colonialism meant that Europeans were agents of development and the peoples of the Global South were objects of development”.¹⁰ Grippingly, this was also the case for South Africa.

As a starting point Terreblanche explains the union of South Africa which was established in the wake of the Anglo-Boer War to overcome the war resentments and foster a new unity of the white population: “From as early as 1910 the Union of South Africa came into being with blacks almost completely excluded from Parliament. White unity was considered the more important objective. By choosing General Louis Botha as the first Prime Minister, the British government enabled the English commercial and mining interests to build a successful coalition with important elements in the Afrikaner community. The long-lasting alliance between wealthier Afrikaner farmers and the capitalist mine-owners formed the backbone of the South African Party which guaranteed political control for the English establishment for almost 15 years. The English, with the Chamber of Mines as its financial and organizational core, controlled the economy.”¹¹

The economy suffered and so did the millions of marginalized and poor people under this type of alliance. This ill-controlled economy asphyxiated the growth and development of the country in numerous ways because it was governed by a group of elites who was only interested in advancing their own well-being. It was a form of *constitutional dominance* which resulted in, as world-renowned economist, Joseph Stiglitz puts it, “the price of inequality”.¹² Terreblanche’s view reconnoitres the ‘rebellion’ of 1914 against South Africa’s entry into the First World War on Britain’s side and how it was a further testament to the extent of Afrikaner dissatisfaction with political arrangements. During this time racially

⁹ NPC Online 2013. It is thus no surprise that according to the review of the NPC, raw materials were extracted and exposed, with the rents going to the colonizers.

¹⁰ Ndlovu and Makoni 2015:506.

¹¹ Terreblanche 1990:7.

¹² Stiglitz 2012:113.

exploitative and suppressive legislation was introduced and this destabilized the economic position of blacks. These legislations included the 1911 Mines and Works Act, the 1911 Black Labour Regulations Act, and the 1913 Land Act.¹³ The rich combination of this colonial legislation exacerbated the ongoing destitution of blacks and resulted in an emerging black working class. Colonial legislation was the laws established and enforced by the colonizers on the colonized.¹⁴ Hence, “this emphasis upon history requires us to engage with the intellectual premises of colonial law-making”.¹⁵ It was clear that colonial legislation impacted the country’s economy a great deal. The factors which influenced the social and economic situation in South Africa during the first twelve years after 1910 translated into apartheid.

Terreblanche elucidates how the Botha and Smuts governments created racially separated social and economic structures with the purpose of generating environments favourable to a successful and profitable exploitation of South Africa’s mineral wealth: “Between 1910 and 1920, black miners’ wages declined steadily as did the incomes of most groups, except English settlers wealthier farmers and foreign shareholders. Between 1918 and 1919 black and white workers engaged in a wave of strike action in response to declining living standards. Whereas white workers made some gains, black strikers were summarily and brutally repressed by government action.”¹⁶

This period seemed to have heralded a diminutive economic growth and development pattern for South Africa and this was mainly caused by the greed and self-interest of the elite in power. This resonates with Stiglitz’s notion that, in the past, beliefs sometimes changed in ways that enhanced the well-being of the elites, as when ideas that justified slavery or inequality became prevalent.¹⁷ Progress and advancement of South Africa’s economic growth and development up to this point (1922) was not evident and the period of Afrikaner economic nationalism which followed only made things more difficult.

¹³ Terreblanche 1990:8. See also South African History Online (2011) for a list of colonial and apartheid legislation. The Mines and Works Act 1911 permitted the granting of certificates of competency for a number of suited mining occupations to Whites and Coloureds only. The Black Labour Regulations Act 1911 reserved farm workers for white agriculture. It also reduced the industrial power of blacks by making strike action by them a criminal offence. It imposed the first statutory obligation to compensate black Africans for injuries. The Black Land Act 1913 prohibited Blacks from owning or renting land outside designated reserves.

¹⁴ Saito 2010. The national liberation movements of the late 1950s and 1960s brought tremendous hope and renewed aspirations to colonized peoples around the world.

¹⁵ See Bachmann and Frost (2012:310).

¹⁶ Terreblanche 1990:8.

¹⁷ Stiglitz 2012:113.

2.2.2 Afrikaner Economic Nationalism: 1922-33

Between 1922 and 1933 Nationalism focused on the Afrikaner and the economy; the economic empowerment of the Afrikaner. Michael Heilperin, legend in the area of monetary economics, defines economic nationalism as “the policy of national self-sufficiency”.¹⁸ As a traditional and political singularity of its time, Afrikaner economic nationalism entailed the immense power of government control. Terreblanche explicates this phenomenon and how the 1922 factors, such as the ‘white miners’ strike, obstructed the economic and political hegemony: “The dictates of capitalist profitability thus acted to place mining capital in direct conflict with white workers. The harsh repressions of the strike (which left over 200 dead) lead to a class-based pact between the mainly English-speaking Labour Party (LP) lead by Creswell, and Hertzog’s National Party. Mobilizing anti-capitalist and Afrikaner nationalist sentiments, this alliance took power in 1924. The socialist orientation of the LP combined with the NP’s nationalist-inspired opposition to the economic and colonial power of the English to create the first serious challenge capitalism in South Africa.”¹⁹

Like many developing countries, South Africa was not exempted from the challenge of growing its economy. Stiglitz notes that “before 1960 in most developing countries around the world, markets (at least as shaped by colonial powers) by themselves were not delivering growth”.²⁰ The interesting patterns of the combined forces of Labour Party and Hertzog’s National Party influenced the economic agenda of the Government. Terreblanche provides details of this how this shift from economic liberalism to economic nationalism transpired: Policies were implemented which were designed to further national economic self-sufficiency via a deliberate policy of import substitution. This operated through the reconstituted Board of Trade and Industries which selectively, but extensively, encouraged local industry via substantially increased import tariffs.

The establishment of ISCOR (Iron and Steel Corporation) in 1928 further boosted the manufacturing sector and increased the involvement of the public sector in the economy.²¹ This was a definite shift and had a significant effect on the economic ideology of the new government. Interplay existed between nationalism and economic policy. This resonates with Heilperin’s notion of national policies which can be guided by a nationalistic perception of national interest: “A government can adopt policies of autarky, of insulation, of protectionism

¹⁸ Heilperin 2010:18.

¹⁹ Terreblanche 1990:8.

²⁰ Stiglitz 2010:113.

²¹ Terreblanche 1990:9.

– or policies of international cooperation or even free trade.”²² According to Terreblanche the centrality to the new economic programme was its welfare state policy which was geared towards compensating poorer whites for the impoverishment and disruption they were suffering as a consequence of modernization and urbanization.²³ Moreover, he maintains that the fundamental components of this policy encapsulated the provision of financial support to farmers, the assurance of a supply of cheap black labour to agriculture, mining and industry, and the protection of whites from black competition in the labour market.²⁴ One of the fundamental principles in this regard, was that white people should get paid at a rate in correspondence with a ‘civilized’ standard of living rather than in accordance with the dictates of the labour market and this was supported by legislation. This was given supplementary potency by enforcing legislation (at the time) more belligerently. As stated by Terreblanche, this legislation included the 1925 Customs, Tariff and Excise Duty Amendment Act and the 1926 Mines and Works Act.²⁵

Afrikaner economic nationalism (1922-33) is engrained into the country’s rich history and its rigidness and aggressiveness should never be underestimated or overlooked. The dawn of a new era brought new challenges for the country’s socio-economic climate and was heavily influenced by the “Great Depression” which was described as “a watershed in the history of modern economies”.²⁶

2.2.3 Dominance of British Power: 1933-48

The start of the Great Depression brought about a revival of British power in South Africa and this forced Hertzog into a coalition government with Smuts in 1933. Terreblanche draws attention to the task of economic restoration and how it was simplified by the economic turnaround: “Between 1930 and 1940, the South African economy grew at a rate of 5 per cent per annum. Like 1924, 1933 was an important watershed in South African political economic history as it signalled significant reorientations in political and economic strategies. Although the fusion government of Hertzog and Smuts was born out of a common desire to settle the constitutional relationship with the Empire and to pull South Africa out of economic crisis,

²² Heilperin 2010:24.

²³ Terreblanche 1990:9.

²⁴ Terreblanche 1990:9.

²⁵ Terreblanche 1990:9.

²⁶ Temin 1991:1. Peter Temin, is the author of *Lessons from the Great Depression*.

Hertzog and Smuts entered into the coalition with hidden agendas.”²⁷ While Hertzog and Smuts were successful in their personal self-advancing agenda, both of these approaches can be described as twin failures in the pursuit of growing the economy. South Africa’s economy was severely transformed during the time of the Great Depression. Jones and Müller, authors of *The South African Economy* (1992) notes: “The global Depression hit South Africa badly. The nadir in the country’s economic fortunes, as in the case of both Britain and the United States was reached early in 1933.”²⁸ South Africa experienced tough economic challenges during this transformative period.

Typically, during any transition period there must be a hand-over of resources from one party to another. Stiglitz maintains: “The general view is that as part of the process of transition, resources have to be transferred from one use to another”.²⁹ At the time of this new fusion government, the process of hand-over elicited increased unemployment in the country. Terreblanche observes that despite a substantial degree of urbanization by the 1940s, the country’s economy was increasingly facing skilled-labour bottlenecks which inevitably led to more liberal economic policies.³⁰ Also central to the 1930s was the issue of racial classes. The Government was determined to stop the influx of Africans into towns but was unsuccessful and the ‘poor white’ problem emerged and urbanization thus received another boost.³¹

The new realities and policies indicate some sense of *economic rehabilitation growth* in South Africa that broke through immediately after the Second World War. Terreblanche describes some of these new economic policies: “The liberal dominated Social Economic Planning Council was set up and the Department of Native Affairs recommended the abolition of the pass laws. Black wages rose faster than white wages over the period and in 1945 the National Education Finance Act freed black education from its constricting dependence on the level of black taxes.”³² These major policy changes also heralded the end of the harsh impoverished conditions of blacks during this period. Scerri is of the view that “the engineered poverty trap wherein the most backward part of the community was made responsible for its own development.”³³ Notwithstanding that these policy changes had its

²⁷ Terreblanche 1990:10. See also Natrass (1981 and 1983) for an additional and extensive overview of South Africa’s economy.

²⁸ Jones and Muller 1992:21.

²⁹ Stiglitz 1994:260.

³⁰ Terreblanche 1990:11.

³¹ South African History Online 2011.

³² Terreblanche 1990:11.

³³ Scerri 2009:133.

own limitations; this community development had restrictions of its own. Terreblanche asserts that the boundaries to these reforms was appropriately validated by the brutal suppression of the black miners' strike of 1946 and the disappointment of recalling black voting rights was detached by the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act.³⁴ He further states that black mine wages refrained from ensuing uphill trails of those in the industry and a comprehensive approach to utilize low-cost refugee employment from bordering states, aided in destabilizing the negotiating control of black miners.³⁵ Hence, in the late 1930s the African National Congress (ANC) demanded that the Government restrict foreign labour but unfortunately this demand was not sanctioned.

These reforms were somehow still tied to the past and were not categorically and completely unhampered from apartheid ideologies. Scerri suggests that "these reforms, however revolutionary they may have been for their proponents as well as their opponents within government, were still defined within the existing segregation paradigm".³⁶ The reaction of the NP under its new leader, Dr DF Malan brought an end to what looked like a 'potential South African development economy'. Interestingly, no easy options for the interpretation of development into specific strategies existed during this period. There was no consensus as to what development meant for South Africa.

Keith Griffen, as cited by Goulet, is a well-known researcher and economist and evaluated six strategies that may be tested in order to determine if a development path is ensued: Monetarism (resource utilization and income level), open economy (savings investment and growth), industrialization (human capital formation), green revolution (role of state) and redistribution and socialism (participation, democracy and freedom).³⁷ South African development was possible at this time but it was approached from a different perspective. Liberalization, as it transpired in the country's socio-economic policy, was considered with revulsion by Malan's NP.

Terreblanche clarifies the nexus between the new economic policies as it pertained to liberalization and 'volkskapitalisme' which translates into the mobilization of ethnic forces to foster Afrikaner accumulation: "Riding high on nationalist mobilization, anger over the war effort and white fears of redundancy, the NP was a formidable contender for power by 1948. The old Afrikaner/English rivalry emerged to polarize politics even further when the

³⁴ Terreblanche 1990:11.

³⁵ Terreblanche 1990:11.

³⁶ Scerri 2009:134.

³⁷ Goulet 1995:85.

government introduced an immigration scheme to overcome manpower shortages. Afrikaner nationalism had a clear economic intervention thrust. Afrikaners, it was argued, had to take control of what they believed was rightfully theirs through 'volkskapitalisme'. Afrikaner nationalism was the organized expression of specific class forces to secure a base for capital accumulation. In return for lucrative employment, Afrikaner workers formed an alliance with Afrikaner capitalists and the growing Afrikaner petite bourgeoisie."³⁸

The force of Afrikaner nationalism overshadowed what could have been a promising new period of economic growth and integration for the country. This force brought renewed uncertainty and instability to the country's existing tough economic climate. Against the liberal policies responding to realities of urbanization and the need for skilled labour the focus would be on Afrikaner upliftment and further institutionalization of apartheid in the period 1948-1960.

2.2.4 Afrikaner Upliftment and Further Institutionalization of Apartheid: 1948-60

In 1948, South Africa experienced an increase in unemployment and poverty. Terreblanche assessed the election victory of the National Party as being based on an apartheid ticket in 1948 which heralded a profound change in the South African balance of power: "The English establishment was dealt a severe blow. Soon after taking power, the government put into operation a three-pronged programme designed to further the interests of Afrikaner nationalism. New discriminatory laws were added to the existing arsenal, the bureaucracy and parastatal sector was enlarged in order to generate Afrikaner employment opportunities, and a variety of welfare programmes were launched to redistribute wealth and uplift especially the poor white population."³⁹

It became clear that the limited reforms of the early 1940s, endorsed liberalizing the economy and the politics governing it. These reforms were reversed in favour of the racially repressive and segregationist political and economic institutions which formed the backbone of apartheid. Stiglitz is of the view that "financial institutions have argued strongly for the free mobility of capital. Indeed, they have become champions of the rights of capital – over the rights of workers or even political rights".⁴⁰ The point thus at issue regarding South Africa at this time, was the efficacious endorsement of Government's policy in favour of Afrikaner profits, gains and well-being. This was achieved through enforcing the following legislations:

³⁸ Terreblanche 1990:12.

³⁹ Terreblanche 1990:12.

⁴⁰ Stiglitz 2012:143.

1952 Black Act and Reference Book, 1950 Population Registration Act, 1950 Group Areas Act, 1953 Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, 1954 Black Resettlement Act, 1953 Bantu Education Act pegged expenditure on blacks to the level of black taxes, and the 1957 Extension of University Education Act. In addition, the appropriate legislation associated with the entrapment of the coloured community and which added 'fuel to the fire', included the 1956 Malan government's process, 1951 Bantu Authorities Act and the 1959 Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act, 1950 Suppression of Communism Act, 1953 Natives Settlement of Disputes Act, 1956 Riotous Assemblies Act, and the 1956 Industrial Conciliation Act.⁴¹

While these legislations supported the economic and political agendas during this period, the increase in the control over most spheres of black life did not go un-resisted. Terreblanche purports: "The ANC, which had maintained an essential non-confrontationist position, became increasingly class conscious and radicalised in the late 1940s. The rapid increase, since the Second World War, in both black urbanization and proletarianization was a major factor behind this shift. Between 1939 and 1952 the black urban population almost doubled. The relaxation of the pass laws during the war facilitated the exodus of labour tenants from white farms and the town-ward drift of those responding to deteriorating conditions in the reserves. The revival of trade unionism and the development of community resistance as an anti-government weapon contributed to the radicalization of the ANC."⁴² Apart from the economic impediments, several events also transpired during this time which included:

⁴¹ Terreblanche 1990:12. The Black Act of 1952 stipulated that all black people over the age of 16 were required to carry passes, and that no black person could stay in an urban area for more than 72 hours. A "reference book" had to be carried at all times, by doctors to academics and labourers alike (RALC 2010). The Population Registration Act 1950 provided that all South African citizens be racially classified in one of three categories: White, Black and Coloured. The Group Areas Act 1950 aimed to make the residential separation compulsory. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act 1953 ensured that there should be separate amenities, such as toilets, parks and beaches for different racial groups. The Black Resettlement Act 1954 granted powers to the government to remove Africans from any area within and next to the magisterial district of Johannesburg. The Bantu Education Act 1953 established a separate educational system run by the Department of Native Affairs under the Minister, Dr H.F. Verwoerd. The Extension of University Education Act 1957 separated tertiary institutions for Blacks, Indians, Coloureds and Whites. The Bantu Authorities Act 1951 attempted to keep South African citizens apart on a racial and ethnic basis. The Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act 1959 announced the existence of eight African ethnic groups based on their linguistic and cultural diversity. The Suppression of Communism Act 1950 was a result of the NP Government's, fear of the influence that the Communist Party of South Africa might have on the Afrikaner, and later the African, working class. The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, 1953 (renamed in 1964 to the Bantu Labour Settlement of Disputes) Act, in 1973 to the Bantu Labour Relations Regulations Act, and in 1978 to the Black Labour Relations Regulation Act) was a South African law that formed part of the apartheid system of racial segregation in South Africa. In terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act 1956, gatherings in open-air public places were prohibited if the Minister of Justice considered that they could endanger the public peace. The Industrial Conciliation Act 1956 separated the trade union movements along racial lines, with the aim of weakening them.

⁴² Terreblanche 1990:13.

The two one-day protest strikes in 1950 and 1951, the launching of the 1952 Defiance Campaign, the 1953 Criminal Law Amendment Act which put an end to the campaign, and in 1955 the ANC initiated the Kliptown Conference and drew up the 'Freedom Charter' which comprised of a list of basic rights and freedoms.⁴³ It is no wonder that in the face of such state repression the idea of civil disobedience was replaced by the protest politics of the early 1960s. It is also not surprising either that these new realities of protest politics was counted by the apartheid state with the vision of "grand apartheid" within a new Republic of South Africa, as proclaimed in 1961.

2.2.5 Verwoerdian Ideology: Afrikaner Dominance and Black Urbanization: 1960-73

The term Verwoerdian ideology refers to the conception and implementation of apartheid by South African Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd (1958-1966). During this Verwoerdian period, there was a direct link between Afrikaner dominance and the issue of black urbanization. The history of the urbanization frequency then was quite profound because it indicated the country's general growth and development. Author of *Urbanization in South Africa* (2013), Isabelle Edmonds, suggests that it is important first to understand the state of urbanization in South Africa as it stands now to accurately examine the relationship between urbanization and development in the country.⁴⁴ Correspondingly, this also pertains to be spot-on for the historical emergence of urbanization during apartheid in South Africa. However, aside from the issue of urbanization, various other appalling events loomed from the Verwoerdian period.

During the ANC-PAC campaign against the pass laws (March 1960), 69 people were shot dead in Sharpeville.⁴⁵ Terreblanche elaborates on this horrific epoch: "In response to the nationwide protest strike, the government cordoned off the townships, banned the ANC and the PAC, and arrested thousands of people. Once underground, the ANC set up its guerrilla wing, Umkonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation), which committed acts of sabotage until its leadership was rounded up at their headquarters in Rivonia, and incarcerated for life in 1963. Because of these measures, black protest effectively disappeared for over a decade. In 1962 the powers of the police were extended with regard to interrogation procedures, and detention without charge for 12 days was permitted. This was extended to 90 days in 1963, to

⁴³ Terreblanche 1990:13. The African Freedom Charter (1995 and 1991) is often seen as one of the standing documents of the human rights culture which later found expression in the Bill of Rights contained in the Constitution.

⁴⁴ Edmonds 2013.

⁴⁵ The PAC was a smaller but more radical group than the ANC who actually initiated the idea of the protest.

an indefinite period if authorised by a judge in 1965, and to an indefinite period without such authorizations in 1976.”⁴⁶

Tom Lodge's *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and Its Consequences* (2011), explains how and why the Massacre occurred, looking at the social and political background of the events of March 1960 as well as the long-term consequences of the shootings.⁴⁷ Lodge offers a gripping account of the Massacre itself as well as the wider events that accompanied the tragedy, particularly the simultaneous protest in Cape Town which helped prolong the political crisis that developed in the wake of the shootings. Just as important, he sheds light on the long-term consequences of these events.

The events of 1960 resulted in an economic as well as a political crisis. Terreblanche's analysis zooms in on the sobering facts and reports that the capital poured out of the country and the value of the Rand plummeted alarmingly; the policy of apartheid was replaced by the allegedly less racist policy of separate development; and between 1960 and 1970, the economy grew at 5.6% per annum.⁴⁸ This analysis suggests that Sharpeville elicited horrendous and colossal social, political and economic challenges for the country and sparked global condemnation and apprehension.

In addition, Sharpeville amplified suppression coming from the National Party. Terreblanche gives account of the Sharpeville incident and how this affected the country's economy, employment and urbanization conditions: “The long economic boom facilitated the process of social engineering by boosting government coffers. Forced resettlement continued at pace and strong communities were destroyed. Controls on the movement of blacks tightened. The Labour Bureaus, provided for by the Native Labour Regulations Act, were activated by the 1964 Bantu Labour Act and the Bantu Labour Regulations of 1964, 1965 and 1968, in an effort to streamline and rationalize the flow of blacks to urban areas and between sectors.”⁴⁹

Regardless of the edifice of this “monolith”, black urbanization augmented and this period of resistance to and adaptation of “grand apartheid” was followed by the epoch of consistent industrialization.

⁴⁶ Terreblanche 1990:14.

⁴⁷ See Lodge (2011).

⁴⁸ Terreblanche 1990:14.

⁴⁹ Terreblanche 1990:15. The term “monolith” translates into the magnitude and the evil nature of all these discriminatory acts all together, looming and visible like an enormous dragon size rock.

2.2.6 Consistent Industrialization: 1973-84

Carlo Cipolla, writer of *Between History and Economics: An Introduction to Economic History* (1998) refers to industrialization as “a macro-economic phenomenon, comprising of various micro-economic components”.⁵⁰ It seems fitting to capitalize on the clarity of this definition because it stimulates an understanding of the 1973-1976 political and economic changes that transpired in South Africa. This period was, what many described as, the most fundamental and dramatic era since the formation of the Union. Terreblanche observes: “Between 1971 and 1973 the price of essential commodities for black workers rose by 40 per cent. Workers responded with widespread strikes in 1973. By the mid-1970s both government and employer organizations were publicly committed to moving towards paying the rate for the job, thus ending the official ‘civilized labour’ policy on wages. The process of liberalization in the labour sphere culminated in the acceptance of reforms laid out in the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions, which reported in 1979.”⁵¹

The central catastrophe of 1987 was Riekert’s fruitless effort to uphold divisions between urban insiders and rural outsiders. Terreblanche asserts: “The coup in Lisbon in April 1974 precipitated the independence of Angola and Mozambique in 1975. This broke the cordon sanitaire of white minority regimes around South Africa. A completely different security situation developed. These regional developments played an important role in the transition from ‘Verwoerdian separated development’ to ‘Vorster’s pragmatic apartheid’ and eventually to ‘Botha’s total strategy’. Under Botha, South African society was increasingly militarized in order to cope with the ‘total onslaught’ from ‘communist-inspired insurgents’. On a regional level the major implication of this policy was the destabilization of neighbouring states sympathetic to anti-apartheid forces. Apart from any security function, destabilization benefited South Africa economically and ideologically, insofar as it undermined any alternative black socialist models in the region.”⁵²

As a result the issue of urban and rural spatial spheres stimulated interest among those overseeing this processes. A paper written by Hanival and Maia, *An Overview of the Performance of the South African Economy since 1994* states: The South African economy, over several decades, was driven by inwardly-focused policies which were aimed at industrialization and import substitutions. Most of the country’s companies were greatly

⁵⁰ Cipolla 1998:13.

⁵¹ Terreblanche 1990:15.

⁵² Terreblanche 1990:16.

protected from global competition and market forces. As a result, this inward positioning permitted local businesses to develop in a way that was economically unfeasible. This transpired just before the final hurdle to the apartheid regime, international sanctions and while there was a lack of import protection.⁵³ This type of protectionism or tariff barriers was inclusive of shares, grants or lower tax which anticipated the protection of national trades, industries and employment from international competition.

The main aim was to reduce South Africa's reliance on foreign suppliers because it appeared as if the global trading structure excavated payments from the country. Terreblanche provide some data as to how the economy performed during this time and how the Vorster leadership elicited economic policies that was to reduce the country's dependence on foreign suppliers: "The low growth rate and the sharp increase in capital intensity were mainly responsible for major factors, such as the Soweto uprising and oil hikes. Under the leadership of Vorster (1966-78) the government embarked on an economic policy designed to decrease South Africa's dependency on foreign suppliers of strategic goods. Large subsidies became available for import substitution, while strategic industries such as the ARMSCOR and Sasol were developed and expanded. Such subsidies were also available for industrial development in border areas. For many English-dominated companies, these developments created lucrative investment opportunities."⁵⁴

After another period of decay, South Africa's economy seemed to have spiralled down one more time economically, politically and socially. This might have been because of international influences working in on the country's economy or because of many other factors. According to Aghion and Durlauf, experts in the field of economic growth: "The asymmetric effect of international trade on the process of industrialization of development and less developed economies, affected the demand for human capital and thus the timing of the demographic transition in developed and less-developed economies, generating a great divergence in output per capita as well as significant changes in the distribution of world population."⁵⁵ It is clear that in the South African context, the eighties seemed to have been calamitous and very dark years for the country. This was evident in the country's economic growth dwindling behind the evolution of its population.

⁵³ Hanival and Maia 2007:1. This paper served as input into the fifteen year review process by the Presidency.

⁵⁴ Terreblanche 1990:16. ARMSCOR (Armaments Corporation of South Africa) was originally established in 1968 as an arms production company. Sasol Limited develops and commercialises technologies, including synthetic fuels technologies, and produces different liquid fuels, chemicals and electricity.

⁵⁵ Aghion and Durlauf 2005:282.

2.2.7 Rapid Decrease in Economic Growth: 1984-94

Economic growth “captures the interplay between human evolution and the process of economic development in various phases of development.”⁵⁶ In many cases the consequential relationship between economic growth and the population may be underestimated or misinterpreted and thus affect development negatively. During 1984-1994, South Africa experienced a rapid decrease in economic growth. In this regard, Terreblanche described the early 1980s relationship between the bureaucratic state and the business community as an unholy marriage.⁵⁷

The dialectical linkages between the different periods delineated here by Terreblanche led to the view of how, in 1984 another very important and in fact critical turning point occurred in South Africa's history - one that eventually led to the demise of the apartheid dream and its economic viability: “In September of that year the tricameral Parliament was introduced and the townships erupted in widespread rebellion. Cumbersome and unacceptable though it maybe, the tricameral constitution reflects the growing realisation in government circles that apartheid is unsustainable and that the nettle of power sharing has to be grasped. It represents a first reluctant step away from separate development and white domination towards the idea of ‘one nation’ comprising whites, coloureds and Indians. At the same time, the Constitution is untenable because it excludes blacks and continues to entrench white domination. It is ironic that the township unrested from 1983 onwards in opposition to the new Constitution played a major role during the mid-1980s in co-ordinating the mass democratic movement against apartheid.”⁵⁸

Terreblanche identifies the discrepancy between the 1980s and 1960s Government and the dramatic changes it conceded. However, the fundamental aspect of the 1980s' was the rigidity between the co-optive dominance strategy of the bureaucratic state, and the growing power and influence of organizations in the mass democratic movement. The poor performance of the economy since 1974 was aggravated by the Rubicon speech of President Botha in August 1985. The cold statistics conveyed in this speech, was indicative of the

⁵⁶ Aghion and Durlauf 2005:266.

⁵⁷ Terreblanche 1990:17. In Economics, stagflation is a situation in which the inflation rate is high, the economic growth rate slows, and unemployment remains steadily high.

⁵⁸ Terreblanche 1990:17. See also South African History Online (2011). Numerous factors characterised the intensification of the freedom struggle against the National Party government in the 1980s. This decade witnessed an increase in the armed struggle combined with mass politicisation of the oppressed peoples. The 1983 Constitution was roundly criticised in opposition circles for its unrepresentative character. Relative to the earlier periods' infiltration of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) guerrillas, MK cadres stepped up their attacks, aiming daringly for symbolic military targets that railed black opinion behind the ANC.

turbulences of South Africa's economic condition. Botha, himself stated that "despite its much-publicised privatisation and deregulation policies, the Government has lost control over the economic and political destiny of South Africa".⁵⁹ Interestingly, as cited by Terreblanche, Dr de Kock, Governor of the Reserve Bank during this period admonished: "...if adequate progress is not made in the field of political and constitutional reform, South Africa's relationships with the rest of the world are unlikely to improve to any significant extent. ... In that event, South Africa will probably remain a capital-exporting and debt-repaying country for years ... In such circumstances, the average standard of living in South Africa will at best rise only slowly."⁶⁰

Terreblanche's acute view of the economic situation heralded the seriousness of the continual 'mismanagement' of the economy. His assessment (given in 1990) of the final phase of the apartheid's regime and its legacy for the future of an independent South Africa was very negative. He opted for the view that if the South African Government do not solve its real economic watersheds and stabilizes its global affairs, the rapid decrease of the country's economic will linger.⁶¹ Increased economic turnaround, growth and development were critical for the subsequent post-apartheid period.

2.2.8 Post-Apartheid and a New Constitutional Democracy: 1994 and Beyond

From 1994 and onwards a new constitutional democracy emerged in South Africa. Gazing into the future Terreblanche, in his writings, argued from a constitutional point of view, that a major task during the transitional period will be to introduce a legitimate form of democracy which enables everyone to participate in decision-making processes.⁶² This viewpoint resonates with the idea of Elizabeth Siridopoulos', renowned researcher of international affairs, stated that although South Africa has taken steps towards uniting its democracy, the country should still meet its domestic socio-economic and political challenges in order to determine the role that it can play in the affairs of the continent as a whole.⁶³ South Africa's transitional phase was still heavily affected by apartheid and the challenge was to understand and deal with the difficult past in order to move over to this promising future.

⁵⁹ Terreblanche 1990:18.

⁶⁰ Terreblanche 1990:18.

⁶¹ Terreblanche 1990:18. See also NPC Online (2013).

⁶² Terreblanche 1990:20.

⁶³ Siridopoulos 2004:vi.

Aghion and Durlauf construes the struggles and complexity of growing the economy while still grappling with ills of the past: "...it has become apparent that a comprehensive understanding of the hurdles faced by less developed economies in reaching a state of sustained economic growth would be futile unless the factors that prompted the transition of the currently developed economies into a state of sustained economic growth could be identified and their implications would be modified to account for the differences in the growth structure of less developed economies in an interdependent world."⁶⁴

At the time of the transition, the new democratic Government was confronted by the challenge of positioning South Africa in the world and complying with global standards of economic development and growth was not easy. Hence, the era of a new constitutional democracy elicited the need for this new democratic Government to increase economic growth and stability for South Africa. Terreblanche observes: "Apart from the democratization process, the rebuilding of the South African economy had to be a high priority during the transitional phase. It is reasonable to suspect that the present decline in the economy during the last years of the apartheid, caused predominantly by internal instability and growing international isolation, will continue during the final phase of apartheid. In all probability, a sustainable high economic growth rate will only be feasible once the mass democratic movement and the international community were satisfied that a decisive turning away from apartheid towards a democratic future had taken place."⁶⁵

Terreblanche's extensive research on these socio-economic dynamics suggests that the new constitutional democracy with its public monetary effects cannot be undervalued. The reality is that apartheid left its footprints in the country's history, and now, in the new democracy, an enhanced and improved economic climate should be built for the prosperity of the country. Now should be the time for the new Government to utilize the power entrusted to them to redress the challenge of poverty, unemployment, and inequality. Colonial and apartheid exploitation and epistemological dominance within the sphere of development formed part of several power structures.⁶⁶ In this sense, new ideas for development had almost no place and colonialism remained embedded in a neo-liberal ideology which only worked for the elite. As will become evident, through Terreblanche's own post-independent publications read together with other authoritative assessments, his analysis prove to be close to the mark.

⁶⁴ Aghion and Durlauf 2005:176.

⁶⁵ Terreblanche 1990:20.

⁶⁶ Ndlovu and Makoni 2014:504.

2.3 Transition of South Africa's Economy from Apartheid to Democracy: Mandela, Mbeki, Zuma and the Decolonial Perspective

At the start of the new democracy, South Africa's Government endeavoured to destroy neo-liberalism and create a model that endorses economic stability and growth for the country. Development endorses democracy which is concerned with equality and economic justice.⁶⁷ Hence, the Government aspires to embrace a transformation which is built in at the deepest layers of its economic system and at the highest levels of business, government, and civil society. The relevance of Terreblanche's critical view in 2.2 (above) was to ultimately provide a solid background from which the country's current development path emerged.⁶⁸ Thus, it is fundamental to understand past power structures before embracing a decolonial approach which, in essence, "contributes to a democratic future and harmonious society".⁶⁹ In South Africa, economic growth can never be separated from the country's political struggles. Hence, the conversation about the transition of South Africa's political economy from colonialism/apartheid (undemocratic) to decoloniality (democratic) breeds the "overarching objective of a decolonial epistemic perspective" which aims to "unveil epistemic silences hidden within Euro-American epistemologies as well as deceit and hypocrisy that conceal epistemicides".⁷⁰ This includes an understanding of political and economic change that should be accompanied by relevant and direct changes.

These changes should aspire to improve the quality of life of the everyday citizen. In this sense, "a decolonial perspective is meant not only to change the context of intellectual and academic conversations of development, but also the terms of this conversation so as to engage with the crucial issues of epistemology, being, and power that maintain the present asymmetrical global relations."⁷¹ Decoloniality, in this regard serves then as a mechanism of emancipation which translates into "the action that aims to undo the complex colonial matrices of power" which hampered the country's development for years.⁷² This section deals with how, from a decolonial viewpoint, South Africa's economic reality, during the reign of Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma, produced interesting and very different results.

⁶⁷ Mignolo 2013:131.

⁶⁸ It is clear that the NDP used a very similar approach to the link that exists between political power and economic manipulation, the worst form of which is "empire", as argued convincingly by Terreblanche, who exposes the workings of empire throughout history.

⁶⁹ Mignolo 2013:138.

⁷⁰ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012:5.

⁷¹ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012:5.

⁷² Sithole 2013:1.

2.3.1 Mandela and the Post-Apartheid Economic Dream: A Brief Synopsis

The authoritative History Statistics describes Mandela's remarkable rise to power after 27 years in prison "objectively" as follows: Nelson Mandela was a notorious South African anti-apartheid revolutionary politician, and philanthropist who served as President of South Africa from 1994 to 1999. He was the country's first black chief executive, and the first elected in a fully representative democratic election. Under his leadership, Government focused on dismantling the legacy of apartheid through tackling institutionalised racism and fostering racial reconciliation.⁷³

Ndlovu-Gatsheni purports that Mandela, "embraced and articulated decolonial ethics of liberation as the foundation of a new politics of life as opposed to imperial politics of death."⁷⁴ He explicates the roots of decolonial ethics in some detail: "Genealogically, decoloniality and critical decolonial ethics of liberation are traceable to the anti-slave trade, anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and anti-apartheid thinkers from the Global South, whereas postcolonialism is traceable from thinkers from the Global North, such as Michel Foucault, and others."⁷⁵

Mandela, together with his humanitarianism, revolutionary politicisation and decolonial ethics of liberation, endorsed the idea of the post-apartheid economic dream for South Africa. Post-apartheid South Africa, announced a new dawn for the country and the prerequisite necessary to achieving its dream, was the collective efforts of all citizens to work together.⁷⁶ A substantial part of this dream, in economic terms, was based on the 1955 Freedom Charter, (which promised employment and education for all citizens).⁷⁷ Thus Mandela's economic legacy originated from the political freedoms for which he fought and won. These ideals which Mandela fought for, emitted volumes of his "decolonial human struggle" to free South Africa from the categorical systems of colonialism and apartheid while creating a better life for its citizens.⁷⁸ He was aware of the fact that it was the colonial peoples who must liberate themselves from colonialist domination. Hence, his "life of struggle and legacy" was "a very deep and profound humanism" which was the "driving force of his political actions."⁷⁹

⁷³ See History Statistics (2015).

⁷⁴ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2016:46.

⁷⁵ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2016:46.

⁷⁶ Rapulana 2013.

⁷⁷ African Freedom Charter 1955.

⁷⁸ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2016:37. See also Fanon (1964:105).

⁷⁹ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2016:37.

Mandela's dream and motto was that there should be peace, economic freedom and justice for all. During his presidency, the South African economy needed revival from the gross inequities that stemmed from the harsh apartheid epoch. At this stage, it was evident that South Africa's economic affairs became part of what transpired on a global platform and it was imperative for the country's new leaders to engage on a global economic level hence the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which was part of the election platform of the ANC in the 1994 elections, was chosen as the primary socio-economic programme.⁸⁰

The broader aim of this socio-economic policy was to establish a more equal society through reconstruction and development. Five major policy programmes, as enlisted in the 1995 White Paper for Reconstruction and Development, included creating a strong, dynamic and balanced economy; developing human resource capacity of all South Africans; ensuring that no one suffers racial or gender discrimination in hiring, promotion or training situations; developing a prosperous, balanced regional economy in the country; and democratising the state and society.⁸¹

Although The RDP was viewed as the cornerstone of the Government's development policy, it did not deliver on its initial purpose for economic growth. This challenged the validity and viability of the policy itself. It was indicated in the 1995 White Paper that the new Government experienced some difficulties in the implementation of the RDP: "Firstly, a fiscal constraint due to the poor fiscal and economic legacy it inherited after fifty years of apartheid and twenty years of the total strategy; Secondly, an organizational constraint due to the lack of an efficient public service and a distressful inability of the new government build the necessary state capacity and thirdly, the inability of the new government to prioritise the RDP and to integrate it as the guiding principle of its socio-economic policies."⁸²

According to these challenges, it appeared that the RDP ignored the gathering of new taxes, rather focusing, far too narrowly on fiscal prudence and the reallocation of existing revenues. However, despite the shortcomings of the RDP, Mandela's initial focus and earnest concern was on the economic growth and development of South Africa and the country's citizens as a whole. This was established by numerous acumens.

⁸⁰ The White Paper for Reconstruction and Development 1995. This Paper is an authoritative report or guide that informed readers concisely about a complex issue and presented the issuing body's philosophy on the matter. See also South African History Online (1996) for the background provided here on the different development paths (RDP, GEAR, NGP and NDP).

⁸¹ White Paper 1995.

⁸² White Paper 1995.

Peter Montalto, an emerging markets economist and reporter on global economic matters, lauded Mandela's contribution to this end: "Mandela was a pragmatist on the economy. He rejected nationalisation even though it was official ANC policy. One of the reasons that it is still an investment grade country is the institution he set up."⁸³ Similarly, John Maynard elucidated the positive economic results of South Africa since Mandela's involvement in the country's pecuniary affairs: "South Africa experienced massive foreign direct investment (FDI) under the Mandela administration. Strong FDI leads to a strong currency as the demand for the domestic currency increases. It also drives construction and infrastructure development, which bears in late years as this lifts the capacity of an economy to handle greater growth, in terms of population and trade. The fruits of this can be seen in the strong growth experienced during Mbeki's tenure as president."⁸⁴ Angelo Young, *International Business Times* journalist, also identified four prominent contributions associated with Mandela's profound leadership and influence on the economy: Firstly, he cleaned up the country's monetary policy. Secondly, he did not follow Robert Mugabe's lead. Thirdly, Mandela formed an alliance with trade unions that increased worker productivity and lowered unemployment. Fourthly he expressed ideological flexibility by eschewing hard-left economic theory and moving to the centre.⁸⁵

Mandela's brief background provided in this section is only a fraction of what and how he contributed to the advancement of the socio-economic orbit of South Africa. His strong will and determination to create a better life for all citizens was indeed a robust testimony to all who were still to follow. He proved that "the decolonial theory of life is founded on the will to live rather than the will to power".⁸⁶

The indications are therefore that Mandela played a prominent, effective role in turning the South African economy around – this he did very well. He worked to protect South Africa's economy from collapse. The first phase of South Africa's new democratic economy came to an end when Mandela retired and he built an economy that is, today, in a better shape than it was under white minority rule during colonial and apartheid eras. However, there was still a huge gap between rich and poor in the country and the issue of inequality still needed gross adjustments. The commitment to tackle and address these tough economic challenges was still a reality when Thabo Mbeki took office.

⁸³ Montalto 2013.

⁸⁴ Maynard 2016. John Maynard is the *nom de plume* of an independent economist who and is obsessed with official statistics – and. He then uses these facts to blast through misleading narrative and propaganda.

⁸⁵ Young 2013.

⁸⁶ Ndlovu-Gatscheni 2016:35.

2.3.2 Mbeki: South Africa's Blossoming Economy

Thabo Mbeki became deputy-president under Mandela in 1994 and was left to run much of domestic policy, especially economic affairs.⁸⁷ He became the second post-apartheid president in 1999. It is true that "Mbeki is, at least as much as Mandela, the primary architect of South Africa's transition to democracy and the post-apartheid state; his story provides a key to South Africa's turbulent past, its complicated perplexing current politics."⁸⁸

Mbeki was also an endorser of a decolonial South Africa and took a robust stand against the legacy of apartheid and colonialism. He believed in the politically, economically, socially and democratically bourgeoning of the country. Mark Gevisser, author of *A Legacy of Liberation: Thabo Mbeki and the Future of the South African Dream* (2009), provides account of Mbeki's contributions and relations to the ANC and the congressional decolonial strategies for the future of South Africa: "Because decoloniality is against all forms of fundamentalisms and egocentricisms, it enabled the ANC to easily become a home to socialists, liberals and Africanists as long as they all were committed to the decolonial struggle. While socialist ideals lost some favour in the 1990s following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the implosion of socialist regimes in Eastern, Europe, other pluriversal ideals gained a further boost from the globalization process that was accompanied by denationalization and deterritorialization processes. The current leadership of the ANC, despite numerous circumstances, have vowed to continue the decolonial humanist struggle, building from where Mandela left off."⁸⁹

Mbeki's strategy on economic affairs was in line but also different from that of Mandela's.⁹⁰ Gevisser reports that "It was Mbeki's task, self-assigned, to remind South Africans to the difficulties of the transition: The centuries of racism and white supremacy to be overcome; the recalcitrant civil service inherited; the severe skills deficit among those now in power; the constraints that the global economy imposed on South Africa."⁹¹ He had to take over the torch from Mandela to continue the endeavour of economic growth and progress in South Africa. From this point forward, Mbeki's approach led to the emergence of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Plan (GEAR).

⁸⁷ The Economist 2005. This Newspaper provides authoritative insights and opinions offered on international news, politics and business. See also History Statistics (2015) for more historical facts of Thabo Mbeki.

⁸⁸ Gevisser 2009:1.

⁸⁹ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2016:37.

⁹⁰ The Economist 2005.

⁹¹ Gevisser 2009:246.

Through GEAR, Mbeki, together with former finance minister, Trevor Manuel, prescribed several ambitious and tough economic reforms.⁹² Manuel was seen as both an extraordinarily quick study and a powerfully persuasive politician but he was also starkly criticized. Gevisser states that “despite Manuel’s conservative approach to economics, the market saw a black man, a former revolutionary, and it panicked”.⁹³ Regardless, Manuel’s solution, GEAR, was developed in conjunction with academics and World Bank.

The Economist reported on these economic reforms: “The reforms were implemented with the intent to cut the deficit, lower inflation, cut tariffs bureaucracy and privatises some state firms. The new policy did not work as rapidly as expected and the costs were high. The unemployment rate was roughly 40% and half of the population still lived below the poverty line. But the economy has now started to blossom. Growth was higher than its historical average, and was sustained for the longest period since the previous of the last century.”⁹⁴

This report demonstrated that the combination of Mbeki and Manuel proved to be the most successful economic combination in South African history. Profoundly, South Africa experienced thirty six consecutive quarters of positive growth during the period of Mbeki and Manuel as a team. Maynard notes that it had to be said that they were in charge of the country and finances during a “sweet spot” for South Africa.⁹⁵ While the GEAR strategy was sufficient, in some ways, for the achievement of macroeconomic objectives, it clearly fell short with regard to the social challenges of the country, most notably poverty reduction and employment creation.

The two leading development strategy statements since 1994 that were intended to deal with economic challenges were the RDP of 1994 and GEAR of 1996 – they were meant to achieve the challenges that were still haunting the nation. It was maybe unavoidable that a third strategy would have to be initiated.⁹⁶ The third strategy, as development plan, was more transparent and open-ended than GEAR. It promised growth for both private and public sectors and above all it promised to improve the quality of life and standard of living for South Africans. This third development strategy was, in 2006, introduced by Mbeki as the

⁹² The Economist 2005.

⁹³ Gevisser 2009:249-250.

⁹⁴ The Economist 2005.

⁹⁵ Maynard 2016. See also Gevisser (2009:250): Mbeki was GEAR’s godfather, and he and Manuel advocated it with steely determination. One of the messages the “new ANC government of heightened contestation”, it was firmly in charge and that the “communist tail no longer wagged the ANC dog”.

⁹⁶ South African History Online 1996 (<http://www.sahistory.org.za>).

Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (ASGISA)⁹⁷ which was a further expansion on the first two developmental strategies, RDP and GEAR.

The composition of this new development strategy seemed to have been more ambitious to combat the socio-economic ills of the past, which still confronted millions of South Africans. The South African historical data of ASGISA acknowledged the challenges of prolonged poverty driven by unemployment, and low earnings, and the jobless nature of economic growth. As a result of these ongoing challenges, ASGISA envisioned the following aims: “Reduce poverty by 2010 and halving unemployment by 2014 from the 28% in 2004 to 14% by 2012; and also recognised that the policies implemented to address these issues needed to be at the forefront of economic policy decision making.”⁹⁸ The RDP and GEAR, promised to reduce poverty and create employment, but these challenges remained deepening. Researcher of development studies, Chance Chagunda, reported on the core intension of this new development strategy: “ASGISA was built on foundations of the RDP’s goals of building a united, democratic, non-sexist and non-racial society, and a single integrated economy. While there was some reasonable level of success, the level of implementation and future of the programme was uncertain as no official word came from the government regarding the fate of ASGISA.”⁹⁹

Notwithstanding the national and global economic factors that influenced the efforts of ASGISA, it is clear, as derived here from Chagunda’s sentiments, considerable scrutiny emanated from ASGISA’s performance and effectiveness. The 2008 international economic watershed with the crash of the stock markets and bankruptcy of the banks that had to be saved by national treasuries, stalled ASGISA’s efforts. This was conveyed at the 2008 Annual report of ASGISA by Alan Hirsch, deputy head of policy co-ordination and advisory services in the presidency at the time explains: “It can be said that this is not without foresight as the current economic crisis has the potential to impact severely on the economically marginalized”.¹⁰⁰

The eclectic results which ASGISA, under the leadership of Mbeki, managed to produce lured a great deal of criticism from economic and political circles alike. Political economist, Peter Bond, observes that Mbeki was criticized by the left for his “perceived abandonment of

⁹⁷ See South African History Online 1996 (<http://www.sahistory.org.za>).

⁹⁸ See South African History Online 1996 (<http://www.sahistory.org.za>).

⁹⁹ Chagunda 2006:4.

¹⁰⁰ Mbola 2008.

state-interventionist social democratic economic policies”¹⁰¹. In the face of these disparagements, Mbeki was still a major force behind the economic structure of South Africa. Hence, it must be recognized that the country’s economy thrived and exhibited growth and progress. Mbeki was cognisant of the fact that “the rise of a new nation, the setting up of a new state, its diplomatic relations, and its economic and political trends”, will never be easy, but he did what he could to improve the country’s economic state of affairs.¹⁰² In this, he was indeed a pioneer of his time and more efficacious than Jacob Zuma is currently. Mbeki was awarded the Presidential Award for outstanding service to economic growth.

2.3.3 Zuma: Poor Performance of the South African Economy

Jacob Zuma was elected by Parliament, following his party’s victory in the 2009 general election, as the President of South Africa and he was re-elected in the 2014.¹⁰³ After Mbeki’s term in office, ASGISA was replaced with the New Growth Path (NGP) which was announced by Zuma in his ‘State of the Nation’ address in 2010.¹⁰⁴ The NGP recognized that structural unemployment remained extremely high; poverty continued to afflict millions; oppression of workers continued and inequalities grew deeper than ever before. In this regard, the NGP was envisioned to accelerate growth for the South African economy, and to do so in ways that rapidly reduced poverty, unemployment and inequality. To help overcome these structural challenges and contribute to the achievement of higher levels of economic growth, the NGP was seen as but only a necessary policy.¹⁰⁵ Like ASGISA, the NGP was also not very successful in reaching its objectives and the country needed a development path that would bring stability and economic growth.

As discussed in chapter 1 of this thesis, the Government introduced the NDP-2030 as the country’s long-term development roadmap in 2011.¹⁰⁶ The NDP is a document that entrenches and aspires to increase the economy, eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030. In retrospect, the strides that were taken by Mandela and Mbeki to grow and progress the economic situation in South Africa, were quite remarkable. They contributed significantly to this end. However, for the present-day Government under the leadership of Zuma, it may be supposed otherwise.

¹⁰¹ Bond 2003 and 2004. Professor Peter Bond’s research interests also include social policy and geopolitics.

¹⁰² Fanon 1963:33. See also The Presidency (2006): <http://www.gov.za>.

¹⁰³ History Statistics 2015.

¹⁰⁴ South African History Online (1996): (<http://www.sahistory.org.za>).

¹⁰⁵ South African History Online (1996)

¹⁰⁶ South African History Online 1996.

This is demonstrated by several critics in their opinions about the country's current tough economic climate under Zuma's leadership. Former Democratic Alliance Parliamentary leader, Lindiwe Mazibuko, demarcates the current Zuma administration and how South Africans and the global economic community witnessed a worrying reversal in the progress which has been made since 1994: "Thus far, Zuma has presided over a series of major crises: the poor performance of our economy, the rapid increase in corruption and cronyism, and numerous challenges with the quality of our education system ... This, coupled with policy uncertainty arising from tension between the NDP and the NGP, has had a deeply negative effect on investor confidence in our country."¹⁰⁷ Mazibuko's observations are quite interesting. It resonates with the view of American journalist, David Shipley: "Government debt has almost doubled since Zuma took office in 2009, rising to more than 50 percent of gross domestic product for the first time in more than two decades."¹⁰⁸

Bisseker's article on *Zuma's Economic Track Record: Steady Descent* (2015), similarly states: "Under Zuma, South Africa's economic trajectory has been one of steady descent. The most revealing international comparison is that South Africa's recovery from the global financial crisis has been far shallower than that of the peers."¹⁰⁹

The *Economist* suggests that: The Zuma government has shown insufficient interest in improving matters. The NDP, which is the main socio-economic growth strategy for the country, seems to be ignored by Zuma and his government. Despite government's ultimate adoption of the NDP, it has proved incapable of acting on it visibly and urgently."¹¹⁰

Shipley articulately draws attention to some of the successes and failures of South Africa's current economic policy: "There are results of poor fiscal policy, including a failure by the government to manage economic risks and foster growth. Zuma, as president and 'forerunner' of the country is responsible for driving the country's economy into a direction of growth increase and not growth decrease. For Zuma and his administration the people of South Africa is no longer a primary concern. This administration lacks the promotion of financial transparency and it has become a vehicle for personal enrichment rather than national development."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Mazibuko 2014.

¹⁰⁸ Shipley 2016.

¹⁰⁹ Bisseker 2015.

¹¹⁰ The Economist 2015.

¹¹¹ Shipley 2016.

In light of these views, it becomes clear that South Africa's economy is already weak and it is heading for a downfall if serious action is not taken by Government to improve the current situation. Despite numerous promises of creating more employment and economic growth under the Zuma administration, the opposite transpired. It is also clear that the current economic policy implemented, comprises of both its gross domestic product successes and failures concomitant with it.

The main measure of a country's economic performance is the gross domestic product (GDP) from year to year in real terms (after allowing for inflation). In this regard, leading financial consultant, Marius Strydom provides some in-depth explanation of a country's economic growth and development in terms of GDP performance: "This is often held up as the primary measure of success of a country, although it is important to look at issues such as poverty, GDP per capita, Gini coefficient, education levels, crime, corruption and global happiness as well."¹¹² South Africa's GDP, in terms of economic performance, has undergone various periods of triumphs and botches. Strydom illustrates: The first and highest economic performance of post-apartheid South Africa was during the reign of Thabo Mbeki who presided over an average growth rate of 4%, followed by Nelson Mandela at 2.7% and under Jacob Zuma we have seen average GDP growth of 1.7%.¹¹³

According to these figures, it becomes apparent that South Africa still needs significant change to boost its economy. It would not be fair toward the country's citizens if they should be the ones paying the price for incessant weak and dire administration of the economy under the existing Government. The South African economy will only begin to prosper when the roots of corruption are destroyed, dismantled and replaced with a policy that enhances the country's economic performance and benefits all citizens.¹¹⁴

Considering South Africa's economic climate as delineated, during the reign of Mandela, Mbeki and now Zuma, it may be inferred that the country is in need of considerable socio-economic transformation and reform. The challenge of poverty, unemployment and

¹¹² Strydom 2015. Gini coefficient is a measure of inequality of a distribution.

¹¹³ Strydom 2015.

¹¹⁴ In this regard the growing crises, of "state capture" under Zuma's leadership and an escalating revolutionary student movement under the banner of "Fees must fall", will have to be resolved urgently. It becomes an increasing worry that "decolonial theory", with all its positive intentions, may be highjacked in service of a revolution that deliberately wishes to destroy the gains of post-independent South Africa. Ironically, Fanon's idea of liberation not coming as a gift from anybody, but resting on "tears, fire and blood" of the revolting people, is then deliberately applied to rationalise this "second revolution" of the angry post-1994 generation in South Africa (see Sato 2010:2). These crises not only have severe effects on the country's faltering economy, but will have serious consequences for the future chances of "development" and the National Development Plan. These factors will be addressed in the final chapter of this thesis.

inequality (PUI) is still ongoing and in order for these continual human realities to be eradicated, “a complete calling in question of the colonial situation” is necessary.¹¹⁵ The perennial challenge remains a sobering reality after more than 20 years after political liberation and it still excludes the vast majority of marginalized and vulnerable people in the country.¹¹⁶

2.4 The Remaining Challenge of Colonialism: Poverty, Unemployment, Inequality

Colonialism as historical process was correlated with the invasion, conquest, and direct administration of the African continent by countries like Britain and France.¹¹⁷ The reason for taking over Africa was for “purposes of enhancing their prestige, as empires, for exploitation of natural and human resources and export of excess population, for the benefit of the empire.”¹¹⁸ Frantz Fanon, pioneer of human rights and liberation studies, describe the novelty, realities and dynamics of colonial political and economic transitions: “The originality of the colonial context is that economic reality, inequality, and the immense difference of ways of life never come to mask the human realities.”¹¹⁹ South Africa’s racial inequalities are consequences of colonialism and apartheid during which “cartography and law” was used “to classify and categorize the population according to race”.¹²⁰

As a result, poverty, unemployment and inequality became embedded in South Africa’s colonial and apartheid history and cannot simply be solved by economic means only. An epistemic decolonial approach is fundamental to “undo the damage wrought by both modernity and by understanding coloniality only as modernity”.¹²¹ Hence, this requires an explanation and understanding of the distinction between colonialism and coloniality. In this

¹¹⁵ Fanon 1963:37.

¹¹⁶ A leader of the new Kairos Movement in South Africa, Rev Edwin Arrison, in a call for joint action against “state capture” and what could become a violent student revolution, sent out on 14 October 2016, distinguishes three narratives for the future of post-coloniality: the first one is represented by people such as Zuma, Manyi, Moyane and Mngxitima who paint those who call for good governance (such as Kgalema Motlanthe and Frank Chikane) as “anti-black” or even “anti-African”, while they themselves plunder the state’s resources, using their own considerable post-colonial power cynically; the second narrative (represented by for instance the F.W. de Klerk Foundation) is primarily concerned about guaranteeing private property and the unhindered operation of democracy *with* neo-capitalism; the third narrative, which Arrison believes can help the “centre to hold”, is about good governance, the reprioritisation of the budget (the “people’s budget”) and a strong civil society movement of empowering the marginalized. There is thus a “kairos call” for action to strengthen the initiatives of people such as Pravin Gordhan, Zwelinzima Vavi, Mark Heywood and Moss Ntha – representing different factions of government and civil society – to bolster the third, middle-ground, narrative as the one taking the country forward, out of its dilemma of “state capture” or “revolution”.

¹¹⁷ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:13.

¹¹⁸ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:13.

¹¹⁹ Fanon 1963:39.

¹²⁰ Ndlovu and Makoni 2014:509.

¹²¹ Bhambra 2014:118.

regard, Ndlovu-Gatsheni, cautions not to confuse coloniality with colonialism: “In post colonies it continues to affect the lives of people, long after direct colonialism and administrative apartheid have been dethroned. What therefore needs to be understood is the invisible vampirism of technologies of imperialism and colonial matrices of power that continues to exist in the minds, lives, languages, dreams, imaginations, and epistemologies of modern subjects in Africa and the entire global South.”¹²²

Today, South Africa's long-standing history of colonialism and apartheid cannot simply be ignored. Hence, the country's intent to construct progressive social, political and economic policies should elicit the dismantling of the disparities concomitant with colonialism and apartheid. This includes the residual challenge of colonialism, poverty, unemployment and inequality. The aim then of this reconstruction should serve to avert colonialism to continue, thus promoting liberation for the vulnerable and marginalized.

2.4.1 Poverty

Since 1994, the eradication of poverty required (and still requires) continuous fundamental discussions and efforts by the South African government that would help to solve the problem effectively. *Towards an Anti-Poverty Strategy for South Africa* (2008), is an example of a discussion document that was drafted by the Presidency of South Africa as a measure to find solutions to poverty. In this document, poverty is defined “as deficiency in an individual's socio-economic capabilities.”¹²³ The purpose of the discussion held by the Presidency was to determine the manifestation of poverty and its associated factors. These factors included “income, access to basic services, access to assets, information, social networks or social capital.”¹²⁴ The comprehensive understanding and definition of poverty provided by the Presidency in this regard, denotes that government should institute effective actions to deal with poverty amongst millions of citizens in the country.

Aside from this definition, it is also necessary to ascertain and assess how the vulnerable and marginalized understand and perceive poverty. *Participatory Poverty Assessment: An Introduction to Theory and Practice* (2001) by Andy Norton zooms in on the subject of the Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) which is “an instrument for including poor people's views in the analysis of poverty and the formulation of strategies to reduce it through public

¹²² Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:11.

¹²³ The Presidency 2008:4.

¹²⁴ The Presidency 2008:4.

policy” is but one way to do this.¹²⁵ Several PPAs were conducted in South Africa over a period of time. The one that is suitable for this study is the 1997 PPA that was conducted in the country because it was just three years after the start of our new democracy and eradicating poverty was a thorn in the flesh for the new Government. The 1997 PPA evaluated, described and characterised the understanding of those who lived in impoverishment in the following ways: As the alienation from kinship and the community, food insecurity, crowded homes, use of basic forms of energy, a lack of adequate paid, insecure jobs, and the fragmentation of the family.¹²⁶ The initial purpose of the 1997 PPA in South Africa was to advance the efficiency of public actions that was directed at reducing poverty. It is clear that the concept of poverty is understood differently by the government and ordinary citizens (who sometimes do not have the power to escape the ‘trap’ of poverty).

Advisor to world leaders on issues related to creating economic success, Jeffery Sachs, defines the “trap” of poverty as the” key problem for the poorest countries is that poverty itself can be a trap. When poverty is very extreme, the poor do not have the ability – by themselves – to get out of the mess.”¹²⁷ The ‘degree’ or ‘level’ of poverty determines the impossibility of improving the living standards of the poor. Sachs explains: “Consider the kind of poverty caused by a lack of capital per person. Poor rural villages lack trucks, paved roads, power generators, irrigation channels. Human capital is very low, with hungry disease-ridden and illiterate villages struggling for survival. Natural capital is depleted: the trees have been cut down and the soil nutrients exhausted. In these conditions the need is for more capital – physical, human, natural - but that requires more saving. When people are poor, but not utterly destitute, they may be able to save. When they are utterly destitute, they need their entire income, or more, just to survive. There is no margin of income above survival that can be invested for the future.”¹²⁸

There is a persistent increase of poverty amongst South Africa’s population today. Millions of people are affected by and living in harsh poverty conditions which almost completely deprive them from the ability to get out of it. The marginalized include the elderly, unemployed, children, women, people with disability and people living in poor areas. Poverty is usually associated with a lack of power amongst the vulnerable and the enforcement of

¹²⁵ Norton et al. 2001:6.

¹²⁶ Woolard 2002:2.

¹²⁷ Sachs 2005:56.

¹²⁸ Sachs 2005:56.

their basic human rights.¹²⁹ Hence, the strategy to eliminate poverty should integrate the implementation of human rights. In combining government efforts to eradicate poverty with a human rights approach, elicits a strong policy which should prioritise ordinary citizens and their right to a higher standard of living. Philosopher and Director of the *Global Justice Programme* in Germany, Thomas Pogge describes the nexus between poverty and human rights: "Piercing together the current global record, we find that most of the current massive under-fulfilment of human rights is more or less directly connected to poverty. The connection is direct in the case of basic social and economic human rights, such as the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of oneself and one's family, including food, ... housing, and medical care."¹³⁰

Pogge thus argues that, human rights are built on the belief that their purpose is not to facilitate self-realisation, but to provide direct satisfaction of human needs.¹³¹ He maintains that historically, governments failed to identify the link between poverty and human rights and because of this reality, Sub-Saharan Africa was the most impoverished zone in the year 1500, and it remains so.¹³² In this regard, the lack of the implementation of human rights that should be connected with the eradication of poverty cannot be emphasised enough. Probably one of the most daunting realities of South Africa today is the difficulty of the millions struggling to free themselves from the 'trap' of poverty. Over time, the Government came up with strategies that would combat poverty on many fronts. As discussed above, the Presidency indicated that one of the factors and even primary causes of poverty is lack of income. In addition, the core reason of a lack of income is the lack of paid work. Job creation for millions of South Africans is a strategy to reduce poverty in the country. Other strategies include the improvement of the health and education systems in order to give the poor a better chance at improving the quality of their lives.

The success of implementing these strategies effectively requires not only the support from Government to reduce poverty but also the participation from the citizenry. The difficulty of freeing themselves out of poverty could be turned around into the possibility of doing so. This can be done only if all citizens become effective role-players of their own development and where Government works sturdily operative in developing people's capabilities to create the lives they deserve.

¹²⁹ See Tendulkar and Jain (1995): There are numerous factors which govern rural and urban poverty and deprive the poor and marginalized from their basic human rights.

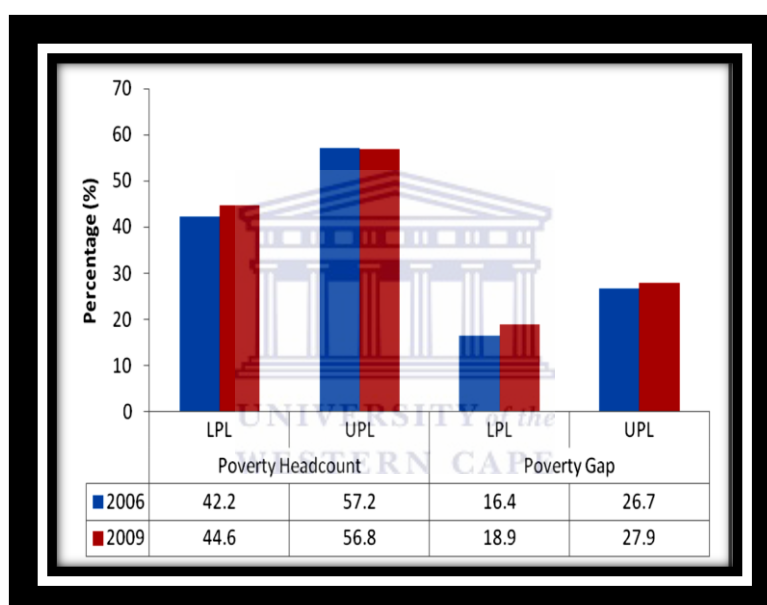
¹³⁰ Pogge 2002:1.

¹³¹ Allen 2011:91.

¹³² Allen 2011:91.

According to Sen, “poverty can be feasibly identified in terms of capability deprivation; the approach concentrates on deprivations that are intrinsically important.”¹³³ The viewpoints of Sachs and Sen share the similarity that poverty can be determined by *capability deprivation*; for example, the lack of capital per person. In addition, these interesting views also elicit the necessity to zoom into some historical but significant statistics (as shown below) of poverty levels in South Africa. Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) advances the planning, production, analysis, and use of official and other statistics, as reported in the Millennium Development Goals Report (MDG) which in turn is a testimony of the NPC’s resolve to create a better life for all as well as to the use of evidence as the basis for decision making.¹³⁴

Figure 1 - National poverty lines: Poverty headcount and poverty gap



Source: Income and Expenditure Survey, 2005/2006; Living Conditions Survey, 2008/2009, Stats SA

According to Stats South Africa’s poverty is measured by means of lower-bound poverty lines (LBPLs) and upper-bound poverty lines (UBPLs). People at the LBPL are unable to consume or purchase both adequate food and non-food items and people at the UBPL can purchase both adequate food and non-food items.¹³⁵ The MDG reports (as seen in the figure above) that: “The domesticated indicators are based on national poverty lines derived from the cost of basic needs of households in South Africa. These include a lower-bound poverty line (LBPL) of R433 per person per month (in 2011 prices) and an upper-bound poverty line

¹³³ Sen 1999:87.

¹³⁴ MDGR 2013:5. For example, Stats SA (2014) examines poverty between 2006 and 2011 in South Africa. See also OECD (2001) for development assistance committee poverty guidelines.

¹³⁵ Stats SA 2015:1. See also Stats SA (2008) for specifics on poverty measurements.

(UBPL) of R620 (in 2011 prices). The stats between 2006 and 2011 show a drop in the poverty headcount and the poverty gap. An insignificant increase in the poverty headcount and poverty gap is also detected between 2006 and 2009 and this is probably ascribed to the worldwide economic crisis of 2008/09.¹³⁶ The continuous change that exists in measuring poverty is also based on other influential factors, such as unemployment. Hence, employment creation is one of the most critical interventions that should receive the highest level of attention from Government in addressing poverty. The Government's vision for the development of the country promotes economic growth while at the same time advances the standard and quality of the lives of millions of South Africans.

2.4.2 Unemployment

Generally the planning for poverty reduction, in most countries, includes strategies of the reduction of unemployment. It is for this reason, that a comprehensive understanding of the term unemployment should be documented. For the purpose of this study, the term unemployment as defined by Geete Kingdon and John Knight will be appropriated.¹³⁷ Kingdon and Knight illustrates that developments in the job market are fundamental to South African wealth and provides the narrow and broad definition of unemployment: "The broad definition accepts as unemployed those who did not search for work in a 4-week reference period but who report being available for work and say they would accept if a suitable job were offered. In 1998 the narrow concept was declared the 'official' definition of unemployment."¹³⁸

Although the narrow concept of unemployment is approved in South Africa, some critics suggest that the broad concept is the more precise reflection of joblessness in the country. In their quest to finding clarity of the searching and non-searching people without a job states in conditions of high unemployment and following three new approaches, Kingdon and Knight explains: "Firstly, in South Africa the non-searching unemployed are, on average, significantly more deprived than the searching ... Secondly, the non-searching unemployed are not any happier than searching unemployed ... Finally, evidence on the wage-unemployment relationship indicates that local wage determination takes non-searching workers into account as genuine labour force participants."¹³⁹

¹³⁶ MDGR 2013:29. The MDG report speaks of the intense commitment by the NPC to better lives.

¹³⁷ Kingdon and Knight 2005. The research was supported by the Economic and Social Research Council.

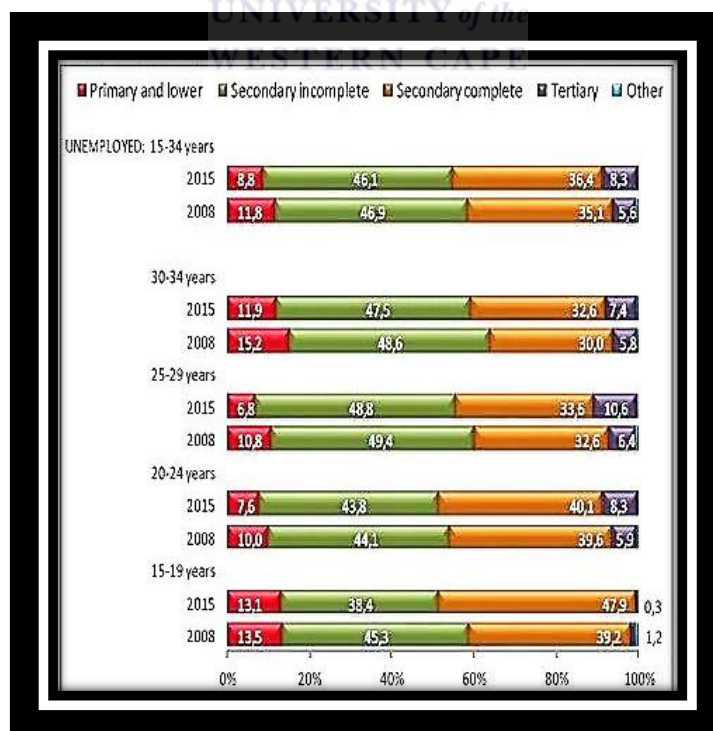
¹³⁸ Kingdon and Knight 2005:9.

¹³⁹ Kingdon and Knight 2005:10.

Kingdon and Knight's illustration elicits the idea that the unemployed – those who are searching and those who are not searching for employment – become discouraged when in all their efforts, cannot find work. The deterrence is not because of the connection to the job market that is deteriorating but rather to the knowing that they continuously find themselves being 'trapped' in poverty and are unable to free themselves from it.¹⁴⁰

The specifics integrated into expanding opportunities for employment thus should include the enhancement of the Government's involvement to embark on and implement robust measurements for creating jobs. The augmentation of creating more equal conditions in the job market involves affirmative action. By countenancing this approach, the unemployed, especially the youth, would have an opportunity to compete on an equal basis. The definition and analysis of the concept of unemployment, as discussed above, elicits the provision of reasons as to why the issue of unemployment has long been a dominant obsession for the South African Government. The country has one of the worst cases of youth unemployment in the world. While Stats SA continues to publish stats for poverty in South Africa, it tends to provide information and stats of the rate of unemployment equally (see figure below).

Figure 2 - Level of Education of Unemployed Youth in 5-Year Age Groups, 2008 and 2015



¹⁴⁰ See Klasen and Woolard 2008.

The unemployment report provided by Stats SA stated that in 2015 as many as 3.6 million young people were unemployed and actively looking for work, a substantially lower number of adults, (1.9) million, were in that situation.¹⁴¹ The statistics of the level of unemployed youth, as given above in 5-year age groups, speak for themselves and provides the grim picture and the big challenge as far as the problem of unemployment in South Africa is concerned. Stats SA reported: "Youth unemployment has increased since 2008 partly due to the global recession, rising from 32.7% in 2008 to 36.1% in 2011, and remained between 35% and 37% in subsequent years."¹⁴²

South Africa's Minister for Performance, Monitoring and Evaluation, Collins Chabane, stated in his 2014 speech of unemployment that "Finding solutions to youth unemployment is of utmost importance. If we want to create the absorption and retention of young people into the economy, we need to prioritize pragmatic, demand focused and solutions driven interventions."¹⁴³ The importance of finding solutions to the unemployment problem in South Africa has also been identified by the NPC and a number of policy interventions to improve youth unemployment are therefore set out in the NDP: "Government needs to apply a youth lens to policies to expand opportunities, enhance capabilities and provide second chances. Areas most commonly identified as unlocking the potential of a demographic dividend are: better health, including food security; better health care; better education; meeting demands for higher skill levels; easy labour market entry and labour mobility."¹⁴⁴ As suggested above, there are mechanisms that can be utilised in order solve challenges unemployment. It becomes clear that the result of rising employment will positively affect the employment-to-population rate which in turn is central to growth and development of the country.

In the figure below, Stats SA found that: The employment-to-population ratio remained around 41-45%. The trend shows an insignificant drop between 2008 and 2009 probably caused by the worldwide economic crisis at the time. The ratio is higher for males compared to females. For both males and females the ratio declines between 2008 and 2009.¹⁴⁵ The evidence seems to be strong that the South African Government still has a long way to go before the goal for radically reducing unemployment in the country by 2030 can be achieved.

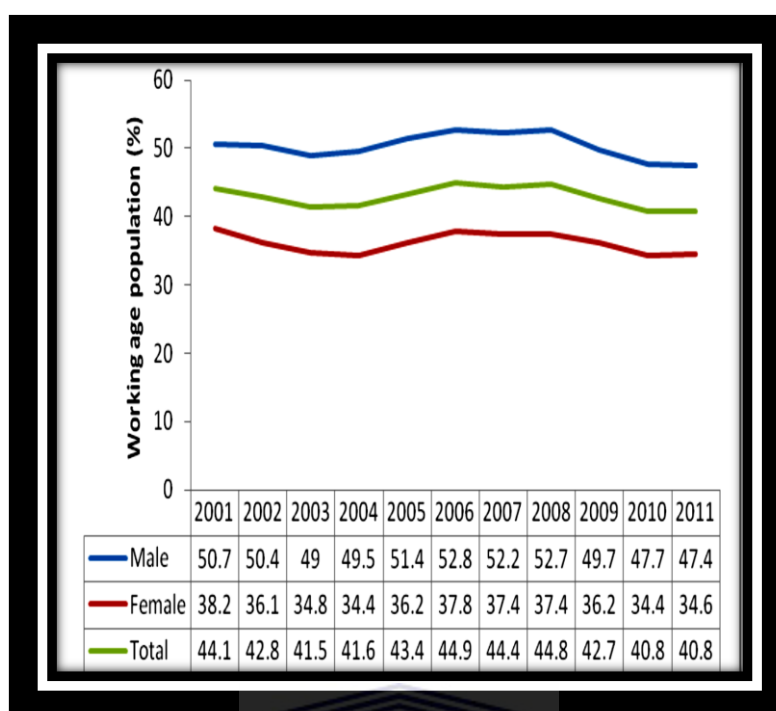
¹⁴¹ Stats SA 2015.

¹⁴² Stats SA 2015.

¹⁴³ Chabane 2014.

¹⁴⁴ NDP 2011:86.

¹⁴⁵ MDGR 2013:31. The EPWP contributes to Government's Policy Priorities, such sustainable livelihoods, education and health; rural development; food security and the fight against crime and corruption (EPWP 2013). The CWP is a government programme aimed at tackling poverty and employment (CWP 2013).

Figure 3 - Employment-to-population ratio

Source: Labour Force Survey (2001-2007); Quarterly Labour Force Survey (2008- 2011), Stats SA

The MDG report states that these unemployment ratios validate the sobering necessity to provide work for 3.4 million of the 6.8 million unemployed people when the broad definition of unemployment is applied. In using the narrow definition of unemployment the country ought to employ 2.2 million of the 4.4 million unemployed. The MDG report highlights that should this be a burden of the Government alone, and then through the EPWP and CWP, Government would have to create 3.4 million and 2.2 million jobs respectively.¹⁴⁶ This is but only a bird's eye view of the subject on historical, but significant unemployment statics in South Africa. The evidence, as illustrated in these stats seems to propose that drastic interventions, methods and measures are needed in order to neutralise or even solve the unemployment challenge.¹⁴⁷ Interpreting the data given, the question remains thus: What measures are appropriate in terms of reducing unemployment in the country? Tim Worstall, senior fellow of the Adam Smith Institute in London, observes that the correct method to reduce unemployment is to reduce unemployment benefits, abolish the minimum wage and insist that those unemployed take a job, any job, at any price.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ MDGR 2013:31.

¹⁴⁷ See Motsahi (2015): Labour-intensive strategies are fundamental to the reduction of unemployment.

¹⁴⁸ Worstall 2014.

Sen's approach of addressing unemployment rests in identifying the effects thereof and finding solutions to fix it: "There is plenty of evidence that unemployment has many far-reaching effects other than loss of income, including psychological harm, loss of work motivation, skill and self-confidence, increase in ailments and morbidity (and even mortality rates), disruption of family relations and social life, hardening of social exclusion and accentuation of racial tensions and gender asymmetries."¹⁴⁹ In focusing on the issue of unemployment, the NDP draws attention to many negative affects it can have on society at large: "Those most excessively affected by unemployment, are vulnerable people, such as women and the youth. Provision of quality education is fundamental because it provides all South Africans with the skills and training they need to complete for work and enjoy a higher standard of living. However, education can be a variable border against unemployment: unemployment levels are high among matriculants and even among those with tertiary education. Organizational aspects complicate the creation of more employment."¹⁵⁰

All these negative effects imply that the multitudes of South African citizens will, for a long time, continue to be unable to participate profoundly in the economy. The reality is that unemployment affects the South Africa economy and not only the unemployed. In essence it is not just a case of do you or do you not have a job; with the "job" comes various other important "entitlements" linked to quality of life. Quality of life depends on people's objective conditions and capabilities. Steps should be taken to improve measures of people's health, education, personal activities and environmental conditions. In particular, substantial effort should be devoted to developing and implementing robust, reliable measures of social connections, political voice and promoting security that can be shown to predict life satisfaction.¹⁵¹

It is difficult to face up to the enormity of the South African unemployment problem in its totality. As the reality of the scale and unrelenting rise of unemployment has been grasped, it has become a matter of pragmatism that the limits of what the Government can do about unemployment are acknowledged and priorities set for which section of the unemployed policy should target.¹⁵² Promoting and lifting employment levels will contribute to the country's economic growth, development and quality of life for all its citizens.

¹⁴⁹ Sen 1999:94.

¹⁵⁰ NDP 2011:325-326.

¹⁵¹ Stiglitz 2010:16.

¹⁵² Kingdon and Knight 2005:10.

2.4.3 Inequality

Globally, millions of people experience inequalities in divergent ways; for example, in education, quality healthcare and in the distribution of power. As Julie Litchfield, senior lecturer of Economics at the University of Sussex point out: "Inequality is a broader concept than poverty in that it is defined over the whole distribution, not only the censured distribution of individuals or households below a certain poverty line."¹⁵³ Since 1994, many initiatives from South Africans were established to help find solutions on how to combat inequality in the country.¹⁵⁴

Recently, the *Authentic Hopeful Action* (AHA), an initiative which emerged in 2014 amongst participants from various organizations and institutions was established. The fundamental aim of the AHA movement is to foster a concerted and massive response from Christians in South Africa to the triple problem of poverty, unemployment and inequality that radically undermining the social fabric of our society. The AHA movement considers inequality to be connected to a wide range of factors: "To focus on poverty, unemployment and inequality is not to deny or relativize the full range of other social problems in South Africa."¹⁵⁵ South Africa's broadened inequality component is the defining challenge of its time. The variation of inequality levels in many countries around the world, are coupled with a number of elements.

The 2013 Report of the *World Social Situation* (RWSS), leading publication on major social development issues, asserts that: "While income inequality across countries has receded somewhat in recent years, it has risen within many countries. Non-economic inequalities have either remained stable or declined, yet remain high."¹⁵⁶ South Africa's high inequality levels over time proved to have been persistent and are caused by many influences. According to the RWSS, "there is growing evidence and recognition of the powerful and corrosive effects of inequality on economic growth, poverty reduction, social and economic stability and socially-sustainable development."¹⁵⁷ Consequently, the constant rise of inequality can avoid poverty from decreasing and it can negatively implicate the socio-economic development of the country.

¹⁵³ Litchfield 1999:1.

¹⁵⁴ The World Bank (2012) provides in-depth reviews of South Africa's inequality of opportunity issues.

¹⁵⁵ AHA 2014:2.

¹⁵⁶ RWSS 2013:21.

¹⁵⁷ RWSS 2013:21.

The World Bank describes, in detail, what the effects of high levels of inequality entails: “High levels of inequality contribute to high levels of poverty in several ways. First, higher inequality implies higher poverty, since a smaller share of resources is obtained by those at the bottom of the distribution of income or consumption. Second, higher initial inequality may result in lower subsequent growth and, therefore, in less poverty reduction. Third, high levels of inequality may reduce the benefits of the poor because a higher initial inequality may lower the share of the poor’s benefits from growth.”¹⁵⁸

In a South African context, the serious repercussions of inequality on the marginalized in this sense should provoke a necessary dialogue between Government and the broader civil society on how to address the burden of inequality. The harsh consequences of inequality impact the well-being of those at the bottom of the income distribution and those at the top. The result of high income inequality always causes “the rich to control a greater share of income.”¹⁵⁹ Inequality in South Africa has demonstrated numerous trends since the start of our new democracy in 1994.

In the words of Joel Netshitenzhe, one of South Africa’s most powerful political players: “While income inequality among the races have somewhat declined, this is not necessarily the case with regard to the income gap among various social strata within the population as a whole.”¹⁶⁰ Sen, whose theoretical insights inform much of this thesis, is also an outstanding economic theorist and he provides analyses in issues of inequality.

In this regard Sen’s work on inequality links with the NDP, because it captures very well an understanding of inequality overall, but particularly also provides a meaningful context for the NDP’s approach to inequality. Sen argues that inequality is a central notion within every social theory that has stood its ground: “Severe inequalities are not socially attractive, and momentous inequalities can be, some would argue, downright barbaric. The sense of inequality may also erode social cohesion, and some types of inequalities can make it difficult to achieve even efficiency.”¹⁶¹ While poverty levels and depth of poverty are declining, levels of inequality have remained high in South Africa. Sen’s poverty measure contains the Gini coefficient among the poor. The levels of economic inequality in a country are usually indicated by means of the so-called Gini coefficient. According to the MDG

¹⁵⁸ World Bank 2002:77.

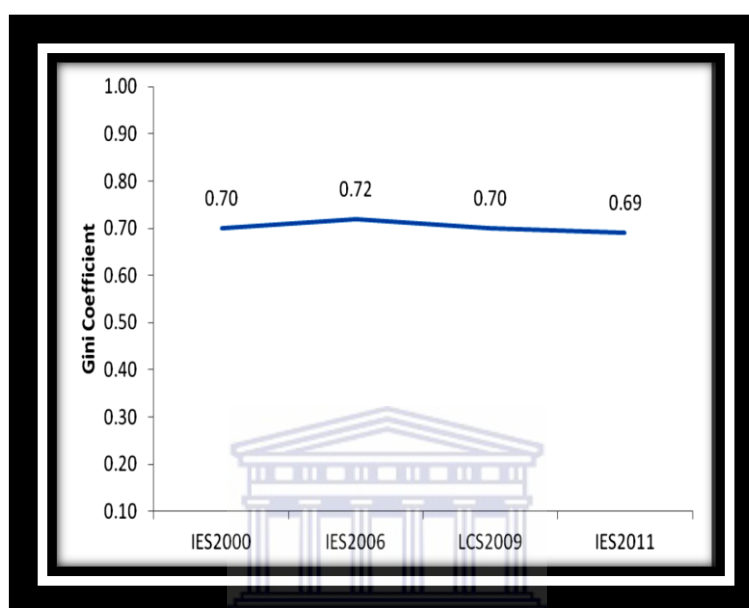
¹⁵⁹ RWSS 2013:22.

¹⁶⁰ Netshitenzhe 2013:1.

¹⁶¹ Sen 1999:93. See also the World Bank (1999): The Gini coefficient of inequality is the most commonly used measure of inequality. The coefficient varies between 0, which reflects complete equality and 1, which indicates complete inequality. See also Sen (1976:223).

Report and as shown in the figure below the Gini coefficient has remained at around 0.7 since 2000 and while the Gini coefficient informs on the levels of inequality, it is largely driven by the income of the richest 5% and this, may be insensitive to the changes occurring at the bottom of the distribution. The evidence suggests that the target inequality as measured by the Gini coefficient is unlikely to be met.¹⁶²

Figure 4- Gini coefficient



Source: Income and Expenditure Survey, 2000, 2005/2006 & 2010/2011; Living Conditions Survey, 2008/2009, Statistics South Africa

The NDP's analysis regarding current inequality indicators in South Africa attached to the reduction of inequality in the country states that: "Inequality will be achieved if the Gini coefficient falls from the current level of 0.7 to 0.6 by 2030. While the proposed reduction would mark a significant shift, a high level of inequality would persist in 2030."¹⁶³ The transformation of an inequitable society to a more equitable society is one of the main objectives of the NDP but it seems as if it is going to take a very long time to achieve this. The varied influences that affect inequality can become one to form strong sources of social tension, fertile ground for political and civil unrest, instability and heightened human insecurity.

Inequality is also an issue of social justice. People want to live in societies that are fair, where hard work is rewarded, and where one's socio-economic position can be improved regardless of one's background.¹⁶⁴ The UNDP highlights the importance that all people should have

¹⁶² MDGR 2013:29-30.

¹⁶³ NDP 2011:3.

¹⁶⁴ RWSS 2013:22.

equal chances to lay claims on their human rights: "Human rights are moral claims on ... individual and collective agents, and on the design of social arrangements. Human rights are fulfilled when the persons involved enjoy secure access to the freedom or resource (adequate health protection, freedom of speech) covered by the right."¹⁶⁵ Sen stresses the importance that all human beings have and are entitled to their human rights: "The treatment of inequality in economic and social evaluation involves many dilemmas ... substantial inequalities are often hard to defend in terms of models of fairness."¹⁶⁶ A more prosperous country that is progressively eradicating poverty and inequality will also, over time, eliminate the effects of apartheid and colonial discrimination that have so scarred our society. Such a country built, on human rights principles, will lay the basis for greater social cohesion, unity and opportunity and a more sustainable development paradigm.

In this regard, Sen has advocated new approaches to discourse on fundamental freedoms and human rights: "When we assess inequalities across the world in being able to avoid preventable morbidity, or escapable hunger, or premature mortality, we are not merely examining differences in well-being ... The available data regarding the realisation of disease, hunger, and early mortality tell us a great deal about the presence or absence of certain central basic freedoms."¹⁶⁷ In the human rights sphere, Government has the fundamental responsibility to respect, protect and fulfil rights, but this depends on a dedicated and committed government with full democratic participation and transparency.

South Africa's inequality ratio affects all political procedures and processes in ways that directs people's opportunities to education, health care, jobs and social security. For the most part, inequalities concern the poor and the marginalized and it has a direct negative impact on the reduction of poverty. Inequality restricts prospects for social mobility and including integrational mobility. Income inequality leads to uneven access to health and education and, therefore, to the integrational transmission of unequal economic and social opportunities, creating poverty traps, wasting human potential, and resulting in less, dynamic, less creative societies. Inequality also increases the vulnerability of societies to economic crises and prolongs the time it takes to recover from such crises.¹⁶⁸ Despite the promising proposed solutions set out in the NDP there is the barrier of how and when the effect of these solutions for the PUI challenge in South Africa will materialize.

¹⁶⁵ UNDP 2000:25.

¹⁶⁶ Sen 1999:92.

¹⁶⁷ Sen 1992:69. See also Srinivasan (1982): defines hunger and estimates its global incidences.

¹⁶⁸ RWSS 2013:22.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter Terreblanche's critical review of South Africa's economic and political history served as an introduction and broader understanding of the country's current development path. What was included or left out, and the conclusions that were drawn from the distinctive time periods, were produced by the various events that affected focus at the time. Terreblanche's historiographical approach was specifically chosen for this study because it prepared the way for a thoroughly decolonial politics and economics discussion to follow. In this sense, it zoomed in on specific historical accounts and it reflected on the theories and philosophies that influenced the conclusions drawn in this study on development. For example, Terreblanche suggested that the eradication of poverty, unemployment and inequality should be seen as an ethical, political and economic imperative and that the Government's role should be one of proactive development in order to address the PUI challenge. Hence, "decoloniality as a cluster of liberation projects of critical thought from the ex-colonized epistemic sites" should serve a purpose in combating the PUI challenge in South Africa.¹⁶⁹

From a decolonial epistemic perspective it can be inferred that the NDP acknowledges the oppression of the marginalized and vulnerable during apartheid, and thus paves the way for a brand new story for the future. Hence, it is an approach that assists in unmasking and dismantling colonialism and promotes democracy. Terreblanche's accounts provided an exploration of the various contexts that affected historical thinking in South Africa in different epochs. The consideration of the broader cultural, social, economic and political forces shaped historical events in South Africa. The country's PUI challenge is primarily political but fundamentally also an economic one. This recognition also elicits ideologies on human agency and development and what must be done about it.

The 'decolonial' NDP is the document which brought liberation for the people of South Africa (as human agents) in terms of economic growth and development. Increasing human agency (of both men and women) is a key factor in economic development. It is clear that both Terreblanche and Sen are economic historians distinctively in their own right. On the one hand, Sen describes agency as the capacity for autonomous decision-making that ultimately drives economic and social-political change. On the other hand, Terreblanche's accounts illuminated how the particular time periods were interpreted at the time and how

¹⁶⁹ Ndlovu and Makoni 2014:509.

they reflected disciplinary progress and change especially in terms of development. The discussion of the transition from the country's colonial and apartheid past to democracy was foundational to the different stages of economic and political dynamics. Agency affected economic change and freedom impacted agency. Sen asserts: "Expansion of freedom is viewed both as the primary end and as the principal means of development. Development consists of the removal of various types of unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency. The removal of substantial unfreedoms is constitutive of development."¹⁷⁰

The integration of Terreblanche's account of South Africa's economic and political history, decolonial theory, Sen's development as agency and freedom and the NDP elicits curiosity on how to interpret historical and current concepts and theories of different development approaches and how human agency should be central to these approaches. The following chapter deals with an overview of such concepts and theories of development.



¹⁷⁰ Sen 1999:xii.

CHAPTER 3

REFLECTIONS ON THEORIES AND CONCEPTS OF DEVELOPMENT

3.1 Introduction

As discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis, colonialism in South Africa, supported and buoyed European dominance and capitalism and this apprehended economic growth and development for the country and its millions of marginalized and colonized peoples. In his book, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (2012) Walter Rodney states: "From every viewpoint other than that of the minority class of capitalists, colonialism was a monstrous institution holding back the liberation of man."¹ South Africa's colonial and apartheid 'monolith' was inclusive of "three hundred years of colonialism and fifty of internal colonialism", which "hard-wired" a duo into the country's structures; an internationally interrelated "world of production exchange and consumption" and a controlled "world of informality, poverty and marginalization".²

When dealing with theories and concepts of development, economic realities and challenges "become a part of the vocabulary" and thus demands efforts to delink and change the conversation.³ Theories and concepts of development can be changed and delinked from colonialism through a decolonial epistemic approach. In doing so, the continuous quest for the benefits of scrutinising development discourse from the viewpoint of colonial difference cannot be denied.⁴ This chapter deals with such decolonial reflections on theories and concepts of development. These reflections may for instance refer to a social goal, an ideal of social well-being; a utopia to which governments aspire.⁵ The answer to the question of 'What is development?' may be determined by various strategies and policies, in line with development goals.

¹ Rodney 2012:201.

² See the Synthesis of the Development Report (2005:3).

³ See for instance the sober factual basis of the diagnostic report as release in June 2011 and summarised on page 15 of the executive summary as well as the very challenging 119 actions identified on pg. 54-66 of the executive summary of the NDP that will be needed to implement the NDP.

⁴ Mignolo 2000:49-88. Colonial difference is a reference to the spaces, borders, and peripheries of empire that have suffered the negative consequences of modernity, such as colonialism, apartheid and neo-colonialism.

⁵ This warm idealistic language about the new dream for South Africa is prevalent in the whole first part of the executive summary of the NDP.

3.2 Major Development Theories

A prodigious integer of descriptions for underdevelopment and concepts of development emerged over a long period of time. Internationally acclaimed researcher in economics development, Frithjof Kuhnen, identified and categorized some of the *historical* major development systems, such as the theory of modernization (which encompasses dualisms, strategies, and social-psychological theories) and the theory of dependency (which comprises of external trade, imperialism and dependencia theories).⁶ These theories with subtle connotations of underdevelopment, is still *existent* in the global economic and development sphere as it was inherited from European and Western rule and colonization epochs.

Kuhnen is of the view that there were complexities that stemmed from the exertions that were undertaken to shed light on the actual landscape of development. He asserts: Since the end of World War II there has been a worldwide struggle for the improvement of living conditions in developing countries.⁷ During the early period of development efforts there was little discussion in development discourse on the historical causes and the real nature of development. Furthermore, theoretical considerations during this time of the Cold War explained the situation of and the path for development from the viewpoint of Western or Socialist metropolises. Decolonial theory emerged as a response to this lacuna (see 3.2.1).

3.2.1 Decolonial Theory of Underdevelopment

The term underdevelopment is customarily linked with resources not being fully utilized to their maximum socio-economic potential. The result then is that national development is dawdling in most instances than it ought to be, particularly when paralleled with the investment and innovation in neighbouring countries. Development theorist, Gustav Estava, provides in-depth insight on different approaches to underdevelopment: "As it was taken for granted that underdevelopment itself was out there, that it was something real, explanations of the phenomenon began to appear. An intense search for its material and historical causes immediately started. Some gave no importance to the gestation period. Others made this aspect the central element of their elaborations and described in painstaking detail colonial exploitation in all its variations and the processes of primitive accumulation of capital.

⁶ Kuhnen 1987:12-19. Dualism theories assume a split of economic and social structures of different sectors so that they differ in organization, level of development, and goal structures. Strategy theories initiate development and transform traditional subsistence economy into a modern market economy. Social-psychology theories intend to reduce the causes to aspects of one discipline. External trade theories deal with outside influences which makes development impossible. Imperialist theory explains the domination of underdeveloped.

⁷ Kuhnen 1987:1. See also Quero (2011).

Pragmatic attention was also given to the internal or external factors that seemed to be the current cause of underdevelopment terms of trade, unequal exchange, and dependency, and protectionism, imperfections of the market, corruption, and lack of democracy or entrepreneurship.”⁸ The cause of underdevelopment, then, according to these approaches, is found at the core of the reliance on industrialized nation states whereas in-house dynamics of less-developed countries are regarded as extraneous or viewed as indicators and penalties of dependence.

Decolonial theory has emerged as a major paradigm for studying Africa's history of underdevelopment. Rodney poses some profound questions which virtually subpoena's the broader civil society to take charge and break down the walls of underdevelopment: “Is it not clear by now that the process of exploitation leads to an underdeveloped humanity both at the centre and at the periphery? Do we not see that the underdevelopment of the centre, in the homeland of the exploiters, possessions and deadly weaponry, but that the nakedness and human retardation are nevertheless there? So who among us does not need to break the coils of the past, to transcend and recreate our history?”⁹ In this regard decolonial theory forms a sustaining framework for this study and is integrated and interpreted into the arrangement of relevant chapters and their foci. Here a short survey is given of ground-breaking decolonial theorists:

Frantz Fanon (1965) is hailed as Africa's pioneer for decolonization and a leading theorist.¹⁰ His idea of “freedom, liberation from oppression, justice and human rights” is applied throughout this study to exemplify the extent of the struggle for an end to colonialism, poverty and oppression, thus creating a development that is inclusive and liberative and that would contribute to the wellbeing of all humankind.

Anibal Quijano (2000) is an author of several works on coloniality and decoloniality. South Africa, as a nation has undergone a number of power struggles throughout history. His idea of the “coloniality of power” is discussed in this study to epitomize how the model of power that is nationally and even globally hegemonic throughout history presupposes an element of coloniality.

Jan Eckel (2010) contributes to the decolonial debate from a human rights perspective. In this study his work is pragmatic because it assists in developing an understanding of the events

⁸ Esteva 2007:11.

⁹ Rodney 2005:xxvi.

¹⁰ Fanon 1965:27-28.

and consequences of decolonization and how it profoundly shapes the socio-political side of development.

Morgan Ndlovu and Eric Makoni's (2014) work is employed in this study to illuminate the idea that the decolonial thinking paradigm dissipates the ancient lore that local development strategies are common remedies and that it can result in the development of all economies globally.

Nelson Maldonado-Torres (2011) argues that decolonial thinking has existed since the very inception of modern forms of colonization and to that extent, a certain decolonial turn has existed as well. This decolonial turn, as referred to Maldonado-Torres, is delicately applied throughout the study to depict the different epochs of development.

Ramón Grosfoguel (2011) suggests that the need for a common critical language of decolonization requires a form of universality that is not anymore a monologic, monotopic imperial global design imposed by persuasion or force to the rest of the world in the name of progress or civilization. Chapter 6 discusses the globalist nature of such language.

Walter D. Mignolo (2013), in his work on, *Geopolitics of Sensing and Knowing: On (De) Coloniality, Border Thinking, and Epistemic Disobedience*, Mignolo contends that decolonial arguments promote the communal as another option next to capitalism and communism. As a nation, South Africa underwent a number of development strategies in order to improve the socio-economic status of the country. Chapter 2 deals with the history of the country's economy and as a matter of necessity a discussion of an alternative development path integrated with decoloniality is deliberated.

Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) is the founder of the Africa Decolonial Research Network at UNISA. His contribution to decolonial theory is profound and is used in this study to create an awareness amongst South Africans that decolonial theory in processes of development should be applied as a theory that stimulates constitutional and human rights qualities of equality, freedom and participation.

Gurminder Bhambra (2014), specialist in the post-colonial and decolonial studies, suggests that the traditions of thought associated with post-colonialism and decoloniality are longstanding and diverse. Historically, development in South Africa has been described differently by many economists and others. Chapter 4 zooms in on the current development paradigm of post-apartheid South Africa.

Tendayi Sithole (2015) endorses decolonial theory and covers research fields, such as black radical thought, Africana existential phenomenology, decoloniality, critical race theory and literary studies. His notions in this study are used to provide a depiction of the mixed concepts and ideas of how decoloniality may affect development policies and processes.

Vusi Gumede (2015) on decoloniality and inclusive development maintains that there is still so much to do in order to bring development in South Africa to full swing. Chapter 4 deals with the issue of inclusive development in the country and the impact of decoloniality in this regard.

There are three main purposes for the embodiment of decolonial theory in this study which resonates with the notions Ndlovu-Gatsheni: The first is that of *coloniality of power*. It helps to investigate how the current 'global political' was constructed and constituted into the asymmetrical and modern power structure. The second is that of *coloniality of knowledge*, which focuses on teasing out epistemological issues, politics of knowledge generation as well as questions of who generates which knowledge, and for what purpose. The third is that of *coloniality of being*. This aspect is very important because it assists in remembering and investigating how humanity was questioned and controlled by colonizers and the continuing effects of this *state of being*.¹¹ Thus, integrated into modern ideas of development, decolonial theory suggests that colonialism and all other forms of oppression, can no longer form part of new democratic ways of growing a country socially, economically and politically.

3.2.2 Theory of Modernization

Modernization theory is embedded in the roots of global civilizations. Some critics are of the view that modernization is mainly linked with capitalism. Theories of the 1950s and early 1960s viewed the process of development as a sequence of historical stages.¹² According to Alvin So, professor of social science, Hong Kong, three central historical events contributed to the inception of the modernization theory after the Second World War: The rise of the United States as a superpower, the rise of the United States world communist movement and the disintegration of European colonial empires in countries, such as Asia and Africa.¹³ These emerging countries were in pursuit of an ideal of development to support their economy and to boost their political freedom. Modernization theory claimed that free enterprise or

¹¹ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:12.

¹² See Joshi (2014).

¹³ So 1991:17. This communist movement gained powerful influence in the debate on the development when it struck the labour force in the US.

capitalism was a reaction to this political freedom. The theory was permanent and could not be overturned, and it promoted, in effect, the wealth of the developed countries.¹⁴ Furthermore, modernization theory suggests that modern societies are more fruitful, its children are well refined and cultivated, and extra welfare is given to the poor. As a result, modernization is an “irreversible process; once started, modernization cannot be stopped”.¹⁵ Development meant economic growth and stability benefitting only the elite. Modernization theory caused the poor to become even poorer and the rich even richer.

From an economic and social justice perspective, Sen describes the nexus between poverty and modernity: “Poverty is about the inability to lead a decent, minimally acceptable life, whereas low income makes it difficult to lead a life of freedom and well-being. Development theory, therefore, in contrast with modernization theory, should be relatively examined in order to balance the life of freedom and well-being.”¹⁶ The lore of modernization, entrenched its authentic processes, dogmas and strategies that promised to enhance the lives of the poor and marginalized, however the results of this theory proved quite the opposite.

The processes of modernization are notorious for impoverishing “Africa through colonialism and imperialism by the West and this trend is with us today as the East takes its turn to deplete the continent’s resources such as oil and minerals.”¹⁷ This reverberate with Ndlovu-Gatsheni’s notion that attention falls on the historical and colonial periods which brought gross undemocratic political, economic and social insufficiencies to underdeveloped and poor South Africa: “Within colonial discourses development meant opening up the African continent for economic exploitation and the permanent settlement of white settlers. Development also meant defeating African resistance to pave the way for the construction of colonial states. Development meant the designation of land as the private property of white settlers in those areas that fell victim to settler colonialism, like South Africa, and others. Development meant the rearrangement of African agrarian systems to make sure they produced the cash crops needed in Europe and America.”¹⁸ The reality is that throughout history, the Euro-American influences injected modernization theory into South Africa and the African continent at large so that the continent’s ideas may be shaped accordingly.

¹⁴ Cowen and Shenton 1996:13.

¹⁵ Tipps 1976:65.

¹⁶ Sen 2012.

¹⁷ Matunhu 2011:67-68.

¹⁸ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012:6.

Today modernization theory is increasingly being tested and defied by many African countries. Giovanni Reyes, expert in development theory, is of the view that theorists of modernization are in constant pursuit of trying to analyse the roots of poverty, how poverty develops and how it influences underdevelopment confronted by different poor countries respectively.¹⁹ Many sociological studies, emerging out of the 20th century suggests that modernization, as a process of economic development and social change, examines how its processes and the subject of economic growth in particular, relate to democratization and democratic consolidation.²⁰ Through this, the relationship between democracy and development is now strengthened and becomes fundamental to a country's own development paradigm.²¹ In this context, delinking from colonialism and turning to a decolonial paradigm point toward the transition from colonialism to a democratic government that promotes a development path that can create economic growth.

3.2.3 Theory of Dependency

South Africa, in particular, moved away from colonialism and apartheid toward a decolonial paradigm which vigorously endorses democracy. Democratic processes of development in the country therefore have intrinsic value in their own right. Furthermore, this causes inclusive and participatory decision-making which is broadly archetypical of different social interests and completely free from Western-European influences. Chilean economist, Osvaldo Sunkel, defines dependency theory as a clarification of the economic development of a country in terms of the outside influences on national development policies.²² These outside influences are inclusive of political, economic, and cultural factors. The international dependency theory was very popular in the 1970s and early 1980s. The dependency theorists argued that underdevelopment exists because of the dominance of developed countries and multinational corporations over developing countries.²³ In chapter 2 of this study, it was stated that South Africa was also not excluded from outside influences working in on the economic climate of the country and during the apartheid epoch this phenomenon seemed to have been strongly buoyed by its proponents. Dependency theory stirred up colossal uncertainty, fear and a sense of imprisonment amongst the millions that fell victims to the

¹⁹ Reyes 2012.

²⁰ Johanessen 2009:6.

²¹ Menocal 2007:4. Research fellow, Alina Menocal asserts that the importance of participation in one's own development through open and non-discriminatory democratic processes is fundamental.

²² Sunkel 1969:23.

²³ Dang and Pheng 2014:18. See also Kuhnen (1987).

apartheid system. Andre Gunder Frank, German-American economic historian and sociologist, upheld his views on dependency theory in Third World countries by categorizing it in the following three ways: First, in contrast to the development of the core nations which is self-contained, the development of nations in the Third World necessitates subordination to the core. Second, the peripheral nations experience their greatest economic development when their ties to the core are at their weakest. Third, when the core recovers from its crisis and re-establishes trade and investment ties, it fully incorporates the peripheral nations once again into the system, and the growth of industrialization in these regions is stifled.²⁴ To this degree, dependency theory grasps the notion that the Third World countries were underdeveloped and exploited by the first world countries and that limited prospects for Third World development were visible.

Dependency theory intended for resources to flow from poor underdeveloped countries to wealthy countries.²⁵ As a result, the wealthy countries became more enriched at the expense of the poor underdeveloped countries. Several economists of the 1980s used the free market and market-friendliness, to challenge the global dependency ideology.²⁶ The double-sidedness of dependency theory has been described as firstly, being pessimistic about the possibilities for development in the Third World and secondly, it claimed that the growth of today's developed nations has made the Third World bankrupt and therefore poor.²⁷ Mignolo's viewpoint elaborates on this reality which remains palpable in today's development processes: "The wounds and histories of humiliation offers the point of reference for de-colonial epistemic political projects and for de-colonial ethics. Decoloniality, then, means working toward a vision of human life that is not dependent upon or structured by the forced imposition of one ideal of society over those that differ, which is what modernity does and, hence, where decolonization of the mind should begin. The struggle is for changing the terms in addition to the content of the conversation."²⁸ It is clear that dependency theory carried with it gross negative socio-economic consequences.

²⁴ Frank 1969. See also Daniel Chirot's *Social Change in a Peripheral Society: The Creation of a Balkan Colony* (1993), where he provides an analysis of social change and how the peripheral societies were absorbed by the dynamic industrial economies and turned into colonial or neo-classical societies.

²⁵ The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (2006) also reports on the dynamics and complexities of underdeveloped or least developed countries.

²⁶ Dang and Pheng 2014:18-19.

²⁷ Isbister 2006:41.

²⁸ Mignolo 2008:16-17. The colonized do not have epistemic privileges, of course: The only epistemic privilege is in the side of the colonizer, even when the case in point are emancipating projects, liberal or Marxist.

The effects of dependency theory impacted the process of development, from a colonial point of view, more negatively than it did positively. Dependency theory preached a continuous gospel of capitalism which was part of European coloniality which survived colonialism.²⁹ The nexus between development and coloniality as such, has been longstanding hence, the Bandung Conference was a way of showcasing that an alternative way is possible and its limit was to remain within the domain of political and economic delinking.³⁰ Delinking, then, “requires analysis of the making and remaking of the imperial and colonial differences and it requires visions and strategies for the implementation of border thinking leading to decolonization of knowledge and of being; from here, new concepts of economic and social organization (politics) will be derived”.³¹ This alternative way was to decolonize the imprints of the colonization and substitute it with new ideas which in turn can contribute to a new world order.

3.2.4 Theory of World Systems

World-systems theory followed on dependency theory. The theory of world systems suggests that there is a world economic system in which some countries benefit while others were exploited. Professor of anthropology at Boston University, USA, Thomas Barfield defines the theory of world systems as the “inter-regional and transnational division of labour which divides the world into core countries, semi-periphery countries, and the periphery countries”.³² Interestingly, world-systems theory together with a decolonial epistemic approach, forms “an ideal entry point to interrogate claims of objectivist-universalist knowledges, challenges of decolonization of Euro-American power structure, and problems of developmentalism”.³³ The original disseminated idea of the world systems theory was conducted by Immanuel Wallerstein, who was of the view that the world should be taken as one system.³⁴ Wallerstein's analyses on the world systems propagated a concise and accessible introduction to the comprehensive approach that he pioneered to understanding the history and development of the modern world. His theory is seen to have a number of advantages over dependency theory in explaining development and underdevelopment.

²⁹ Maltonado-Torres 2007:243.

³⁰ Mignolo 2013:135.

³¹ Mignolo 2008:72. See also Kebede's *Africa's Quest for a Philosophy of Decolonization* (2004).

³² Barfield 1997:498.

³³ Grosfoguel and Cervantes 2002: 11-30.

³⁴ Reyes 2012.

For example, it is able to explain how selected Third World countries were able to develop and move out of the periphery. The notion of a semi-periphery allows world system theorists to escape stagnationism, and to think more easily about the dramatic economic development that has characterised a number of countries in the Far East.³⁵ *Four Main Theories of Development: Modernization, Dependency, World Systems, and Globalization* (2001) written by Giovanni Reyes, covers three main assumptions of Wallerstein's world systems theory: a) There is a strong link between social sciences especially among sociology, economics and political disciplines; b) Instead of addressing the analysis of each of the variables, it is necessary to study the reality of social systems; c) It is necessary to recognize the new character of the capitalist system.³⁶ Evidently, there are several flaws in the world systems theory.

Grosfoguel identifies these flaws and provides a comprehensive layout of world systems theory and its effects on development: "To call the present world-system capitalist is, to say the least, misleading. Given the hegemonic Eurocentric common sense, the moment we use the word capitalism, people immediately think that we are talking about the economy. However, capitalism is only one of the multiple entangled constellations of the colonial power matrix. Capitalism is an important constellation of power, but not the sole one. Given its entanglement with other power relations, destroying the capitalist aspects of the world-system would not be enough to destroy the present world system. To transform this world-system it is crucial to destroy the historical structural heterogeneous totality called the colonial power matrix of the world system with its multiple forms of power hierarchies."³⁷

The best approach to uproot, address, deconstruct and reconstruct these flaws would be through "decolonial epistemic perspectives that reveal coloniality embedded in development discourse".³⁸ In this sense, decolonization is fundamental because "state sovereignty potentially changes the economic and political rules of the game" for their benefit and leave everyone else outside the attainment of prosperity.³⁹ Grosfoguel explains: "Accordingly, to move beyond this system the struggle cannot be just anti-capitalist but an anti-systemic decolonial liberation. Anti-systemic decolonization and liberation cannot be reduced to only

³⁵ Graaff and Le Roux 2001:87. See also Kock and Okunlola (2014).

³⁶ Wallerstein 1987.

³⁷ Grosfoguel 2011.

³⁸ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012:4.

³⁹ Strang 1990:846. Sovereign states have widely legitimised rights to nationalise industries, spur economic growth through central direction and initiative and organize collectively. A world-system composed of sovereign states may be quite unlike one made up of empires

one dimension of social life, such as the economic system (capitalism) like it happened with the twentieth century Marxist left. It requires a broader transformation ... The coloniality of power perspective challenges us to think about social change and social transformation in a non-reductionist way.⁴⁰ World systems theory also connects with more recent globalization theories as a big part of the economic development, i.e. the wealth, of the rich countries is wealth imported from the poor countries. In this way, “the world economic system generates inequality and it runs on inequality just as the internal combustion engine is propelled by the difference between rich and poor”.⁴¹

3.2.5 Theory of Globalization

The theory of globalization has emerged from the global mechanisms of greater integration with particular emphasis on the sphere of economic transactions. Anthony Giddens describes globalization as: “The intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. This involves a change in the way we understand geography and experience localness. As well as offering the opportunity it brings with considerable risks linked, for example, to technological change.”⁴²

Strategies on how to transform the theories of globalization from one emphasis to the other, has kept supporters and critics of globalization quite busy. Currently, the production of knowledge in terms of globalization from the Western man ‘point zero’ god-eye view is still ongoing.⁴³ Globalization theory conceptualization has become a battleground of different approaches for domination of the playing field amongst critics of different persuasions. Some of these critics begin to understand, rather reluctantly, that globalization, with its positive and negative effects, is a serious and permanent reality, and that it is taking the centre stage within economic debates. The broad topic of globalization encapsulates notions of the economy and the environment and displays itself through various interconnected developments. As a result and in general, “what seems to be taking place all over the world is a trans-nationalization of elites side by side with a growing disintegration of natural societies

⁴⁰ Grosfoguel 2011.

⁴¹ Sachs 2007:46.

⁴² Giddens 1990:64 and 1998:28. Following Anthony Giddens, British sociologist who notorious for his theory of structuration and his holistic view of modern societies, one may venture to say that globalisation has been shaped by various theories of pessimists, optimists and Third Way analysts.

⁴³ Quijano 2013:69.

and local communities.”⁴⁴ The concept is linked to the rapid changes in the field of mass communication, transforming the world into a global village and has come into use to describe developments in the world economy over the past ten years following the collapse of the communist empire in Eastern Europe.⁴⁵ However, “globalization studies, political economy paradigm and world-system analysis, with only a few conceptions, have not derived the epistemological and theoretical implications of the epistemic critique coming from subaltern locations in the colonial divide and expressed in academia through ethnic studies and woman studies.”⁴⁶

As philosophical issue, Jameson, dismantle the four different affirmations of globalization: Firstly, it affirms the option that there is no such thing as globalization. Secondly it affirms that globalization is nothing new. Thirdly, it affirms that the relationship between globalization and the world market, which is the ultimate horizon of capitalism. Fourthly, affirmation posits some new multinational stage of capitalism, of which globalization is an intrinsic feature and which we now largely tend, whether we like it or not, to associate with that reality called post-modernity.⁴⁷

In light of Jameson's view it becomes clear that globalization with its multiple concepts and understandings, consists of various critical factors, which include problems as diverse as poverty and ecology.⁴⁸ The continuation of knowledge production from the Western perspective, “has led important problems in the way we conceptualize global capitalism and the world system”.⁴⁹ Negative and positive attitudes toward the globalization phenomenon evoke a wide range of explosive responses which set forth different rhythms of impact throughout the world. The impacts of globalization on economic and political scales differ from each other. On the one hand, economic globalization has substantial and discernible impacts which alter the balance of resources, economic and political, within and across borders, requiring more sophisticated, developed systems of global and regional regulation. On the other hand, political globalization in the framework of political communities can no longer be thought of as discrete worlds or as self-enclosed political spaces; the ultimate impact is that they are enmeshed in complex structures of overlapping forces, relations and

⁴⁴ Nef and Reiter 2009:132-133.

⁴⁵ Raiser 2002:3.

⁴⁶ Quijano 2013:69.

⁴⁷ Jameson and Miyoshi 1998:54.

⁴⁸ Reyes 2012.

⁴⁹ Quijano 2013:69.

networks.⁵⁰ These offer strategies for overcoming the prevailing situation and initiating development which may be suitable under certain economic and social conditions, but are not applicable to others. For the world at large, the global human society is in desperate need of a just world.⁵¹

3.2.6 Theory of a Fourth Generation Approach: People-centred Development

This approach is based on the work of DC Korten⁵², who identified various “generations” in development thinking, and eventually moved towards a full-blown “people-centred development” (representing the fourth generation). The first generation was the “relief and welfare” model, followed by the second: “small-scale, self-reliant local development”, with a focus on “micro-policy reform” and “voluntary development agencies”⁵³. The third generation was “sustainable systems development”, in which he concentrated on “planning frameworks” and “cooperation between government and NGOs”, and “community management”.⁵⁴ However, becoming aware of the dangers of globalization, he shifted gears towards what he saw as an emerging fourth stage, with full focus on “people” and their agency vis-à-vis global forces, governments and even bigger NGOs.⁵⁵ Through these shifts in emphasis in development thinking, Korten moved closer to the accent on people themselves and their agency, as more recently developed further by Sen and Nussbaum (see the next section).

However, Korten’s dynamic theory also elicited strong and positive response from church-based and more theological involvements with development. In South Africa the work of Naas Swart (recently appointed in a position dealing with theology and development at the University of the Western Cape), has drawn attention after the publication of his doctoral thesis as *The Churches and the Development Debate* (2006), and other contributions.⁵⁶

Swart identified four promising aspects (“new beacons”) within the strong ecumenical development debate:

1. The emergence of “new social movements”, such as “base communities” and “the church of the poor”, cutting across religious and denominational boundaries, and being guided by an

⁵⁰ Heslam 2004:6-9.

⁵¹ Gumede 2014:9.

⁵² See Korten 1987

⁵³ Korten 1984; 1986.

⁵⁴ Korten 1987; Korten and Quizon 1995.

⁵⁵ Korten 1995a and 1995b.

⁵⁶ Swart 2006, see also his masters research paper, 1997.

emerging new global ethic (as discussed in 6.5 ff.).⁵⁷ This development is in line with the new accent on active participation of people and organisations in “civil society”.⁵⁸

2. “New communication solidarities” as employed especially by the World Council of Churches, and as strengthened by the rapidly developing idea of a “network society” and initiatives such as the *People's Communication Charter*.⁵⁹

3. An “alternative development policy” with not only emphasis on issuing of social statements and public proclamations (the so-called “prophetic voice”), but especially also on careful analysis by people trained to “distinguish the spirits” in society.⁶⁰

4. The discovery of the “soft culture” of more feminine approaches to the world's problems. Growth-centred approaches were increasingly unmasked as led by intrusive and individualistic masculine ideals of competition, empire and conquest, seeking symbols of dominance and power over others and nature. People-centred development depends on a realisation of traditionally more feminine ideals of nurturing, family, community, continuity, conserving, reconciliation, caring, reverence and regeneration of life.⁶¹

3.2.7 The Capability Approach: Sen's Theory of Freedom and Agency

Generally, capability refers to the power or ability to do something. The capability approach is a tool with which poverty, inequality and well-being are measured. For instance it would indicate that “the lower a person is in the welfare scale, the greater his sense of poverty, and his welfare rank among others may be taken to indicate the weight to be placed on his income gap”.⁶² Applying the capability approach to issues of policy and social change would often require additional explanations, such as Nussbaum's methodology.⁶³ Nussbaum frames basic principles in terms of ten capabilities, i.e. real opportunities based on personal and social circumstance. She claims that a political order can only be considered as being decent if this order secures at least a threshold level of these ten capabilities to all citizens.⁶⁴ The capabilities approach has been very influential in development policy where it has shaped the

⁵⁷ Swart 2006:194-210.

⁵⁸ Swart 2006:211-214.

⁵⁹ Swart 2006:215-222.

⁶⁰ Swart 2006:223-229.

⁶¹ Swart 2006:230-240; see Korten 1990:168-169.

⁶² Sen 1976:222.

⁶³ Robeyns 2005:4 and 2003. See also Comim, Qizilbash, and Alkire, (2010): These authors argue that although there is a great deal of global optimism about the capability approach, it remain complex and difficult and translate it into policy.

⁶⁴ Nussbaum 2011:30-31.

evolution of the human development index (HDI). The core capabilities which Nussbaum proposes encompass:

1. Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length,
2. Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished, to have adequate shelter,
3. Being able to avoid unnecessary and non-beneficial pain and to have pleasurable experiences,
4. Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason; and to have the educational opportunities necessary to realize these,
5. Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves,
6. Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life,
7. Being able to live with and toward others, to recognise and show concern for other human beings,
8. Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature,
9. Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities, and
10. Being able to live one's own life and no one else's; enjoying freedom of association and freedom from unwarranted search and seizure.⁶⁵

Although Nussbaum did not claim her list as definite and unchanging, she strongly advocates for outlining a list of central human capabilities. By identifying the crucial elements of a "good" human life, neutralises the debate between culture and the imperialist nature of applying universal principles. It prioritises physical well-being, which is crucial to leading a good human life. The capability approach is not merely concerned with achievements but rather it focuses on the freedom of choice which is of greater importance to a person's quality of life.⁶⁶

In order to make meaningful, rapid and sustained progress in reducing poverty and inequality over the next two decades, South Africa must "write a new story" for the years to come. The NDP asserts that: "In this new story, every citizen is concerned about the well-being of all other citizens and the development of South Africa mean the development of each and every

⁶⁵ Nussbaum 2000:83-85. See also Nussbaum (2003).

⁶⁶ Capability Approach 2015.

one of us who lives here.”⁶⁷ These objectives resonate with Sen and Nussbaum’s idea of human capabilities and the approach associated with it. The basic purpose of development is to enlarge people’s choices. In principle these choices can be infinite and can change over time.⁶⁸ People often value achievements that do not show up at all, or not immediately, in income or growth figures. Development, then, should elicit resources and opportunities for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives.⁶⁹

In collaboration with Nussbaum, Sen created the capabilities approach predominantly as a paradigm for policy debate in human development. The approach emphasises functional capabilities which include the importance of real freedoms in the assessment of a person’s advantage, individual differences in the ability to transform resources into valuable activities, the multi-variate nature of activities giving rise to happiness, a balance of materialistic and non-materialistic factors in evaluating human welfare and concern for the distribution of opportunities within society.⁷⁰ These factors are construed in terms of the substantive freedoms people have reason to value, instead of utility or access to resources.⁷¹ The NDP intends to enhance human capabilities through building on social solidarity.⁷² Hence, the capability approach is a proposition for social arrangements which should be evaluated on the basis of the freedom people have to enhance the broad spectrum of their standard of living. This also necessitates the advancement of their operational capability, capacity and ability or their “functionings” which they value.

Essentially, functionings refer to the states and an activity constitutive of a person’s being.⁷³ Examples of functionings can vary from elementary things, such as being healthy, having a good job, such as being happy, and having self-respect. If equality in social arrangements is to be demanded in any space, it is to be demanded in the space of capabilities.⁷⁴ The capability approach in terms of the NDP then is to develop the capabilities of individuals and of the country, and to create equal opportunities for all South Africans. Sen observes that “concern with positive freedoms leads directly to valuing people’s capabilities and instrumentally to valuing things that enhance the capabilities”.⁷⁵ Capabilities are positive

⁶⁷ NDP 2011:4.

⁶⁸ Sen 1982:1.

⁶⁹ Fukuda-Parr and Kumar 2003:3. See also the Capability Approach (2015).

⁷⁰ Sen 2015.

⁷¹ See Sen 1984:

⁷² NDP 2011:4.

⁷³ Sen 1992.

⁷⁴ Alkire and Deneulin 2005:122.

⁷⁵ Sen 1984:324.

freedoms which embed the combinations of functionings, which are feasible for a person to achieve. Alkire illustrates that the formulations of capability have two parts: functionings and freedom of opportunity – the substantive freedom to pursue different functioning combinations.⁷⁶ Ultimately, capabilities denote a person's opportunity and ability to generate valuable outcomes, taking into account relevant personal characteristics and external factors. The important part of this definition is the freedom to achieve. If freedom had only instrumental value and no intrinsic value to a person's actual combination of functionings, then such a definition would not acknowledge the entirety of what a person is capable of doing. In the most basic sense, functionings consist of "beings and doings".⁷⁷ As a result, living may be seen as a set of interrelated functionings.

Sen suggests that functionings are crucial to an adequate understanding of the capability approach.⁷⁸ He asserts that an agent's valued capability to achieve functionings provides a general approach to the evaluation of social arrangements, and this yields a particular way of viewing the assessment of equality and inequality. Agent here refers to someone who acts and brings about change, whose achievement can be evaluated in terms of his or her own values and goals.⁷⁹ Agency depends on the ability to personally choose the functionings one values, a choice that may not correlate with personal well-being. For the purposes of the capability approach, agency primarily refers to a person's role as a member of society, with the ability to participate in economic, social and political actions.⁸⁰

In this regard, Sen explains that an agent need not be guided by a pursuit of well-being; agency achievement considers a person's success in terms of their pursuit of their goals.⁸¹ Sen argues that the importance of an agency achievement does not rest entirely on the enhancement of well-being that it may indirectly cause. For example, if one fights for the independence of one's country, and when that independence is achieved, one happens also to feel happier, the main achievement is that of independence, of which the happiness at that achievement is only one consequence.⁸²

⁷⁶ Alkire 2009:22.

⁷⁷ Sen 1992.

⁷⁸ Sen 1992.

⁷⁹ Sen 2015. See also Equality Impact Assessment (2011) and Sen (1992:5): The selection and weighting of different functionings influence the assessment of the agent's or individual's capability to achieve various alternative functioning bundles.

⁸⁰ Sen 2015. See also Ibrahim and Alkire (2004): *Agency and Empowerment: A Proposal for Internationally Comparable Indicators* proposes a short list of internationally-comparable indicators of individual agency.

⁸¹ Sen 1992.

⁸² Sen 1987:43.

It is not unnatural to be happy at that achievement, but the achievement does not consist only of that happiness. It is, therefore, plausible to argue that the agency achievement and well-being achievement, both of which have some distinct importance, may be casually linked with each other, but this fact does not compromise the specific importance of either. In so far as utility-based “welfarist calculus” concentrates only on the well-being of the person, ignoring the agency aspect, or actually fails to distinguish between the agency aspect and the well-being aspect altogether, something of real importance is lost.⁸³

Therefore agency is crucial in assessing one's capabilities as well as any economic, social or political barriers preventing one to achieve substantive freedoms. In this sense, agency goes together with the expansion of valuable freedoms. That is, in order to be agents of their own lives, people need the freedom to be educated, speak in public without fear, express themselves, associate freely; conversely, people can establish such an environment by being agents.⁸⁴ Agency aspects are important in assessing what a person can do in line with his or her conception of the good. Hence, a person's capabilities are the basis for assessing freedom to achieve well-being and agency.⁸⁵

In expanding and implementing the freedom (“development as freedom”) Sen suggests for successful and effective development could constitute not only the means, but also the end in South Africa's development path. In supporting freedom at best is for Government to embrace its role by providing infrastructure and easy access to public service, social safety nets, good macroeconomic policies, and environmental protection. Collectively, these factors are viewed as part of Sen's and Nussbaum's capability approach and it epitomises the success of the freedom that members of the society enjoys.⁸⁶

⁸³ Sen 1987:44.

⁸⁴ Alkire and Deneulin (2005). See also Alkire (2009): The concern for agency stresses the fact that participation, public debate, democratic practice and empowerment should be fostered alongside well-being. Crocker (1995:153) and Crocker (2004, 2008) resonate with these ideas.

⁸⁵ Robeyns 2000.

⁸⁶ Sen 1992:8. See also the University of Chicago (2012), the Capability Approach (2015) and Nussbaum (2015): Martha Craven Nussbaum, born May 6, 1947, is an American philosopher and the current Ernst Freud Distinguished Service Professor of Law and Ethics at the University of Chicago, a chair that includes appointments in the philosophy department and the law school. She has a particular interest in ancient Greek and Roman philosophy, political philosophy, feminism, and ethics, including animal rights. She several books, such as *The Fragile of Goodness* (1986), *Sex and Social Justice* (1998), *The Sleep of Reason* (2002), *Hiding From Humanity: Disgust, Shame, and the Law* (2004) and *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* (2006). Nussbaum's work on capabilities has often focused on the unequal freedoms and opportunities of women, and she has developed a distinctive type of feminism, drawing inspiration from the liberal tradition, but emphasizing that liberalism, at its best, entails radical rethinking of gender relations and relations within the family.

What looms from the theories of modernization, dependency, world systems, globalization and the capability approach, is a call for fresh and different concepts and methodologies to development through decolonization. This can however only be achieved through application of decolonial epistemologies which overtly undertakes “decolonial geopolitics and body-politics of knowledge as point of departure to a radical critique”.⁸⁷

3.3 Concepts of Development

Throughout centuries, dissimilar concepts of development have been conveyed which was derived from a variety of circumstantial evidence that influenced such interpretations. In retrospect, development shaped discourses which encapsulated an examination of why so many countries started to see themselves as underdeveloped.⁸⁸ Generally, most of the concepts of development entail some elements of originality, differentiability, growth markets, needs analysis and global possibilities, but there are other concepts that rather find the *human* factors foundational for development. Robert Chambers, research zooms in on how the poor should be taken into account when the development problem is identified, policy is formulated and projects are implemented: “If development means good change, questions arise about what is good and what sort of change matters.”⁸⁹

Reflections of this kind, resonates with what anthropologist, Arturo Escobar contended: “As Western experts and politicians started to see certain conditions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America as a problem – mostly what was perceived as poverty and backwardness – a new domain of thought and experience, namely, development, came into being resulting in a new strategy for dealing with the alleged problems. Initiated in the United States and Western Europe this strategy became in a few years a powerful force in the Third World.”⁹⁰ One reality remains clear, that since 1950 development has accomplished much in terms of benefitting the rich and wealthy.⁹¹ Another reality was that development has been a source of large-scale human suffering insofar as it has displaced people, evicting entire communities and denying families their accustomed livelihoods.⁹²

⁸⁷ Quijano 2014:69.

⁸⁸ Escobar 1995:6. See, for instance, Seers and Harmondsworth (1971) who placed major emphasis on the totality of how many factors were relevant to development.

⁸⁹ Chambers 2004:2. In 2013 Chambers who is an academic and practitioner in development studies, became an honorary fellow of the International Institute of Social Studies.

⁹⁰ Escobar 1995:13.

⁹¹ Woods and Lewis 2005:446

⁹² Penz, Drydyk and Bose 2011:2.

According to some developmental critics, like Kuznetz, economic growth is at the heart of development both as unintentional and intentional activity: “Development conceived of as economic growth is a quantitative concept and basically means more of the same ... it is clear that economic development is more than economic growth alone. Economic development refers to growth accompanied by quantitative changes in the structures of production and employment, generally referred to as structural change.”⁹³ This implies that economic growth could take place without any economic development. Generally, some authors see development as a euphemism for Western penetration and domination of the world, involving great misery and exploitation in both past and present.⁹⁴ Information about development techniques and strategies about development has only been produced, for the most part of its historical existence, by “one knowledge system, namely, the modern West one” and the “dominance of this knowledge system has dictated the marginalization and disqualification of non-Western knowledge systems”.⁹⁵ Furthermore, “in these latter knowledge systems, the authors conclude, researchers and activists might find alternative rationalities to guide social action away from economistic and reductionistic ways of thinking”.⁹⁶

Development is often perceived as positive, and that it effects change to the better position.⁹⁷ However, on the one hand economic development is the increase of a regional economy's capacity to create wealth for local residents. Their assumption is that it depends upon deployment of a region's building blocks.⁹⁸ On the other hand, economic development is between development as an immanent and unintentional process and development as an intentional activity.⁹⁹ Both of these views seem to argue that development should have a hands-on, in-depth approach. One side argues for the advancement of a solely economic development strategy, whereas the other side argues for a development that should be sustainable and intended for the good of the people – putting people before profits.

Swedish Nobel prize-winner, Gunnar Myrdal asserts: “Discussions of development have implicitly been based on a series of modernization ideals or values. In this instance, modernization refers to making development suitable for the contemporary world using new

⁹³ Kuznetz 1966:1.

⁹⁴ Frank 1969:1

⁹⁵ Escobar 1995:13.

⁹⁶ Escobar 1995:13.

⁹⁷ Sithole 2015:9.

⁹⁸ Kane and Sand 1988:1.

⁹⁹ Cowen and Shenton 1998:50. Michael Cowen and Robert Shenton's book on *Doctrines of Development* is a real archaeology of knowledge and the book is filled with assumptions and ideas of the theory and practice of development.

methods and styles, etc.”¹⁰⁰ For the longest time, development was embraced as an ambiguous term and it may never change in the future but, new methodologies, approaches, techniques, strategies and concepts of development should involve changes in economic structures, environmental sustainability as well as human-centred approaches.

Gilbert Rist's *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith* (2002), provide a comprehensive overview of what the idea of development meant throughout history: “Development consists of a set of practices, sometimes appearing to conflict with one another, which require transformation and destruction of the natural environment and of social relations. Its aim is to increase the production of commodities (goods and services) geared, by way of exchange, to effective demand.”¹⁰¹ What Rist is propagating here can be brought into comparison with the prominence of colonialism which was tied up with ambiguous approaches to development and how “colonial futures” dominated and plagued “the pretensions of progress, change and transformation”.¹⁰² Rist calls for reflection of whether success of development in a post-modern world will become evident in a sustainable manner.

Trevor Parfitt, coordinator of the MSC in international development management at the University of Nottingham, contributes to various international relations courses on this post-modern subject: “Evaluation concerning post-modern approaches rests on the assumption that poverty and development are both socially constructed and embedded within certain economic episteme which value some assets over others.”¹⁰³ With regard to such interpretations of economy and poverty, post-modern approaches look for alternative value systems so that the poor are not stigmatized and their spiritual and cultural assets are recognized.¹⁰⁴

Parfitt identifies the problem of imbalance and influence in development and based on his (and other) perspectives it becomes clear that it is not easy to come to a single universal agreement on the concept of development. However, old, outdated notions of development should be reviewed and adjusted in order for it to comply to needs of the economy, environment and people globally. It is possible to bring about such balance in addressing the

¹⁰⁰ Myrdal 1968:57-69.

¹⁰¹ Rist 2002:12.

¹⁰² Sithole 2015:9. These futures are pretentious in that they offer nothing but only plain elusiveness. This is even clear in the discourses of development which are repressive meta-narrative that regards the colonial episteme as the only basis and the only reservoir that is essential for development

¹⁰³ Parfitt 2002:2. Aspects of modern thinking that are often subjected to post-modern critique include the belief that history reflects a teleology of progress, i.e. if one examines human history one can detect a process of progress towards greater levels of civilisation, or towards greater human emancipation.

¹⁰⁴ Hickey and Mohan 2003:38.

complexities of the comprehension of development – there are so many- through an epistemic decolonial approach. In essence, decolonizing the concept of development entails rescuing it from Euro-Western and colonial perspectives and approaches which looms capitalism and advancement of those at the top only.

In his 2012 inaugural lecture delivered at the University of South Africa, Ndlovu-Gatsheni suggested a reason as to why development should be approached via an epistemic decolonial point of view: “In terms of the definition of development, I prefer the Bandung Conference of 1955 articulation of development, whose point of departure is decolonization in which development was defined as a laboratory human aspiration to attain freedom from political, economic, ideological, epistemological, and social domination that was installed by colonialism and coloniality.”¹⁰⁵

Similarly, Sen's concept of development is quite profound and it is also the backbone of this study. Sen has argued for an even broader concept of development (than growth, modernization, etc.), focusing on the concept of freedom and he grasps the essence of development as an integrated process of expansion of substantive freedoms.¹⁰⁶ Ndlovu-Gatsheni's version of development entails overcoming those major obstacles, such as colonialism and apartheid which hampered human happiness and attainment of material welfare, civil and political liberties, social peace, and human security.¹⁰⁷ In his approach and leaning more to the concept of sustainable development, Sen centralizes freedom in relationship to these socio-economic issues. He is persistent that present levels of poverty, misery and injustice are simply unacceptable.¹⁰⁸

Sustainable Development

In a global context, the acuity of sustainable development is often differently applied. The understanding of sustainable development is also occasionally embedded in “specific theoretical orientation” based upon the “method” applied to promote growth and in addition be reflective of the environment and human beings equally.¹⁰⁹ The National Strategy for Sustainable Development and Action Plan (NSSD), approved by the South African Government in 2008, defines sustainable development as “the selection and implementation of development option, which allows for appropriate and justifiable social and economic

¹⁰⁵ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012:2.

¹⁰⁶ Sen 1999:1. Economic growth should be evaluated in relation with the expansion of human freedoms.

¹⁰⁷ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012:2.

¹⁰⁸ Sen 1999:1.

¹⁰⁹ See www.lib.uidaho.edu/digital/turning/pdf/Kuhn's%20Paradigm%20Shift.pdf.

goals to be achieved, based on the meeting of basic needs and equity, without compromising the natural system on which it is based.”¹¹⁰ Concerns about the protection of the environment and human well-being thus become fundamental to the actions taken to adjust economic systems and within this context the NSSD also provides central sustainable conditions for maintaining such prerogatives: “Sustainability in the first instance recognises that the maintenance of healthy ecosystems and natural resources are preconditions for human well-being. In the second instance, it recognises that there are limits to the goods and services that can be provided. In other words, ecological sustainability acknowledges that human beings are part of nature and not a separate entity.”¹¹¹

The three fundamental and interrelated approaches to development encapsulate economic, environmental and human factors. These factors are important because it forms the basis of a sustainable development paradigm which increases the country's economic profits and at the same time advances the education system, expands the healthcare system, and enhances the quality of life for all citizens.¹¹² Hence it then becomes an “ethical standard and ethical principle for further development of society”.¹¹³ Correspondingly, the implementation of such a sustainable development paradigm opposes economic, social and cultural restrictions and it establishes a social and economic system that guarantees support for further development and growth.

The nexus between ethics and sustainable development, then, is how it is applied presently and how it can be improved. This establishes the essential requirements for continuous and serious ethical investigation regarding the advancement of quality of life for human beings and the environment. Agyeman, Bullare and Evans', *Just Sustainabilities: Development in Unequal World* (2003) resonates with this idea of how the ethical implications of sustainable development should “ensure a better quality of life for all, now, and into the future, in a just and equitable manner, while living within the limits of supporting ecosystems.”¹¹⁴ Sustainable development mirrors a paradigm that meets the necessity of the contemporary without neglecting the ability to accommodate for the needs of future generations. Chambers' notion of sustainable development is based on such forces working in on present and future

¹¹⁰ NSSD 2011:8.

¹¹¹ NSSD 2011:8. See also Edward Barbier's book, *Economics, Natural Resource Scarcity and Development: Conventional and Alternative Views* (1989): This book outlines an economic approach to the use of natural resources and particularly to the problem of environmental degradation.

¹¹² Pearce, Markandya and Barbier 1989.

¹¹³ Parker 1993; Kothari 1994.

¹¹⁴ Agyeman, Bullare and Evans 2003:2.

generations and societies: "People orientated the social-structural sustainability concept and this reflects the interface between development and dominating social norms and strives to maintain the stability of social systems. Social sustainability seeks to reduce vulnerability and maintain the health of social and cultural systems, and their ability to withstand shocks."¹¹⁵ Chambers' core idea is that once the sustainable development concept is fully understood, it should accordingly be implemented and followed through in processes and policies and it should be beneficial even for future generations.

Sustainable development also deals with the implementation of its processes and policies. In general, the implementation of policies is subjective to the institutional features. The capability of the institutions in the policy of sustainable development requires the assessment of the institutional sustainability measurements. The reason for this requirement is because effective, correctly operative institutions are crucial for sustainable development in the realization of the social, economic, and environmental objectives set by the society.¹¹⁶ Thus, for sustainable development to become a reality, institutions with their policies in place must work together and effectively in order to achieve the common goal. South Africa's systems approach for a sustainable society is one where the economic, socio-political and environmental systems are embedded within each other and then integrated through the Government which encompasses all other systems in a legitimate regulatory framework.¹¹⁷ The NDP envisions South Africa as a country of sustainable development.

The vision and systems approach for a sustainable society according to the National Framework on Sustainable Development (NFSD) means making sure that the economic, socio-political and environmental systems remain equally attuned as the fundamental development challenges are overcome through specific actions and intervention to eradicate poverty and severe inequalities.¹¹⁸ Therefore, "sustainable development depends much on investing in people" and their livelihoods.¹¹⁹ Professor and expert in development studies at the University of South Africa, Sibonginkosi Mazibuko,¹²⁰ describes sustainable development as an approach which "grows from a rich understanding in thinking about development over time and it could be seen as representing a kind of paradigm shift." The objectives as delineated in the NDP, may be achieved through uniting South Africans, unleashing the

¹¹⁵ Chambers 1989. See also Cobb (1992).

¹¹⁶ Helm 1998.

¹¹⁷ NFSD 2008:6.

¹¹⁸ NFSD 2008:7. The purpose of the NFSD is to create a development path for the country that is sustainable.

¹¹⁹ Offiong 2001:223.

¹²⁰ Mazibuko 2013:173.

energies of its citizens, growing an inclusive economy, building capabilities, enhancing the capability of the state and leaders working together to solve complex problems.¹²¹ Similar to many countries around the world, South Africa also has a unique development paradigm deeply rooted and embedded within the country's rich political and economic history. This paradigm is directed at creating development that is sustainable for the country; seeking "nothing less than the reorientation" and construction of development that would improve quality of life for the country's citizens and the environment.¹²²

Commonly, paradigms are fundamental for human beings for several reasons. For example, what we see has a great impact on what we feel. As a result, what we feel determines what we normally do. The same principle counts for approaches to development and growth – how development is viewed, is how it will be applied with prospects of the desired results it will ensue. A sustainable development paradigm "frames and directs the nature or type" of development South Africa embraces and it provides the "fundamental basis for evaluating the results" of growth and development in the country.¹²³

Interestingly, paradigms are not unfamiliar to decolonial thinking as well and though historical scientists introduced the phrase "paradigm" it can almost no longer serve as a "point of reference and of epistemic legitimacy".¹²⁴ Hence, throughout the NDP's vision it becomes clear that the NDP elicits decolonial thought and "communal doing".¹²⁵ South Africa aspires to be a sustainable, economically prosperous and self-reliant nation that safeguards its democracy.¹²⁶ In so doing Government will, firstly, meet the fundamental human needs of its people. Secondly, manage the country's limited ecological resources responsibly for current and future generations. Finally, advance efficient and effective integrated planning and governance through national, regional and global collaboration.¹²⁷ The concept of sustainable development includes a variety of scopes, characteristic of different protection programmes and different types of communities and institutions embracing this paradigm.

¹²¹ Maul 2012:6-7. The new nations emerging from colonial rule into political freedom perceived their efforts to catch up economically with the rich industrial countries as the continuation on an international level of the struggle for national independence. See also Mkandawire (2011): Africa's quest for 'catch-up' and economic development dates as far back to the era of enslavement and colonization.

¹²² Bryant 2015: 50.

¹²³ Thomas Kuhn's work on *The Structure of Scientific Revolution* (1962), introduced the phrase "paradigm". See Vocabulary.com (2014) and University of Idaho library.

www.lib.uidaho.edu/digital/turning/pdf/Kuhn's%20Paradigm%20Shift.pdf

¹²⁴ Mignolo 2013:131.

¹²⁵ Mignolo 2013:131.

¹²⁶ See Terreblanche (2012), Cosatu (2013) and Numsa (2012) for confrontational critique about the NDP.

¹²⁷ NFSD 2008. See also Heinen (1994).

3.4 Conclusion

The deliberation of theories and concepts of development remains to be polygonal. It becomes evident, as contested both theoretically and politically in this chapter, that the topic sustains an inherent complexity as well as ambiguity. The proposition of an epistemic decolonial approach to the conceptualization of development is predicated on the issues of power, knowledge, and being. The broad concept of development therefore involves a change of the entire society (as described by Amartya Sen) in the direction of the decolonial ideals. This implies the transition from colonial and apartheid ideas to more democratic ones which can contribute to the advancement of standards of living and quality of life for all.

Sen's stance on development is summarized in the book *Development as Freedom* (1999). He argues that the expansion of freedom is central to development – both as the primary end and as the principal means.¹²⁸ He explains that a person as an agent need not be guided solely by a pursuit of well-being. Agency achievement considers a person's success in terms of the pursuit of the totality of the considered goals and objectives. The NDP employed sustainable development as a paradigm for the country's economic growth and development and through this aspires to address, tackle and combat the gross challenge of poverty, unemployment and inequality. Sen's approach proved to be of prime importance for the discussion of the NDP, because of its focus on human well-being and development within a broad scope of human rights discourses. In addition, Sen's approach has helped to broaden the concept of freedom from the individual to the global spheres of existence.

¹²⁸ See <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2012/nov/22amartya-sen-human-development-doyen>.

CHAPTER 4

STRUCTURAL FRAMEWORK OF THE NDP: THE CONSTITUTION, HUMAN RIGHTS AND VIABILITY

4.1 Introduction

The harsh realities of colonialism and apartheid greatly affected the identity of black people in such a way that their dignity and humanity was violated and they were treated in accordance with their racial classification as established by the colonizers and slave owners. Ndlovu-Gatsheni describes it as a time “where racial hierarchization and classification of people according to race pushed Africans to the lowest rank of human ontology where even their being human was doubted and where they existed as objects of development”.¹ In general, the main purpose of constitutions is that they are designed to abolish such atrocities and gross inequalities of the past and be the representation of new and democratic standards and ideas to which governments, in their own right, dedicate themselves.

In the ground-breaking work, *Redesigning the State for Right Development* (2010), Kenyan researcher of constitutional law, Yash Ghai expresses the seriousness of the role of constitutions globally: “Considerable evidence suggests that constitutions are now taken more seriously than before. Constitutions are commonly seen as negotiated mechanisms which have been implemented after substantial public participation.”² This participation implicates the global societies whom had assigned or vested interest in the protection of their rights and the enactment of these constitutions.

Profoundly, the main objectives and implementation of today's local and global socio-economic rights are based on these constitutions. Governments then has the responsibility to foster constitutional values and ensure that human beings at large have equal access to resources, opportunities and services needed for an adequate standard of living. These constitutional values include human dignity, non-sexism, non-racialism and the rule of law.³ Constitutions may serve as tools to bout racial, ethnic, and sexual discrimination and promote freedom and democracy. The Constitution is the founding document of the nation hence it was drafted with the full participation of the people.

¹ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012:4.

² Ghai 2010:182-183.

³ NDP 2011:422.

4.2 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) at a Glance

South Africa's economy also suffered from the consequences of colonial and apartheid power structures. Quijano deciphers "coloniality of power" as "the interrelated practices and legacies of European colonialism in social orders and forms of knowledge".⁴ This knowledge transcribes what colonizers imposed on the colonized people as law. According to Sithole "the colonial custom has always been that the colonizer rules and the colonized should obey".⁵ In this way, the exercise of the "coloniality of power" assumed that colonized peoples and people of colour needed to be governed, and this, in turn, dismissed their humanity.⁶

A new day dawned for South Africa in 1994 when the country transitioned into a new democracy. These colonized structures and way of approaching humanity was demolished and was substituted with a common approach of prioritising human dignity above all. As stated by Fanon: "The uprising of the new nation and the breaking down of colonial structures".⁷ A change was long overdue for the country and decolonization was the answer. Fanon observes that "decolonization ... cannot become ... to itself except in the exact measure that we can discern the movements which give it historical form and content."⁸ Colonialism and apartheid were the historical context from where South Africa started to construct a democratic nation.

The 1996 Constitution of South Africa encompasses rights and measures which safeguards the nation against any form of discrimination.⁹ Claude Leon foundation chair in constitutional governance and lecturer of constitutional law, Pierre De Vos, observes that: "Formally, the 1996 South African Constitution creates a sovereign democratic state founded on the values of human dignity and the advancement of equality, non-racialism and non-sexism, the supremacy of the Constitution, the rule of law, universal adult suffrage and a multiparty system of democracy."¹⁰

⁴ Quijano 2000:533-580. Coloniality of power identifies and describes the living legacy of colonialism in contemporary societies in the form of social discrimination that outlived formal colonialism and became integrated in succeeding social orders.

⁵ Sithole 2015:3.

⁶ Falcón 2016:34.

⁷ Fanon 1963:69.

⁸ Fanon 1963:35.

⁹ See <http://www.sites.library.northwest.edu/SouthAfrica/Chapter-1>.

¹⁰ De Vos et al. 2014:26. See also Andreassen and Marks (2010:62): Human rights-based approaches require a high degree of participation, including communities, civil society, minorities, indigenous peoples, and women.

4.2.1 Human Dignity

Human dignity, as theory and concept, augmented its importance in spheres of economics, politics, and everyday suppositions. Cambridge University philosophy professor, Oliver Sensen asserts that: "Human dignity is now the cornerstone of the constitution of many states and political manifestos, and United Nations documents present dignity as the justification for human rights."¹¹ In South Africa's context, the Constitution protects the right to dignity by stating that everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected.¹² Entrenched as one of the dominant values in the Constitution, human dignity embraces the kind of dignity that aspires to be "fully equal" irrespective of where humans are located.¹³

Sensen purports that human dignity is often assumed to be a value that grounds the requirement to respect other human beings.¹⁴ Respect for one another as human beings is in essence, human geniality which is that "part of a life with human dignity" as "a common life with others organized so as to respect that equal dignity."¹⁵ The value of human dignity is saturated in the Constitution and underlies the interpretation of many, if not all, the other rights in the Bill of Rights.¹⁶ The value of human dignity has also been invoked in South Africa's socio-economic rights interpretation as well and in this sense it encircles "the multiple facts of human need, which suggests that this common life must do something for all of us, fulfilling need up to a point at which human dignity is not undermined by hunger, or violent assault, or unequal treatment in the political realm."¹⁷

It is within this context that human development should find its validation because it encompasses all aspects of human existence. The 1991 Nobel Peace Prize Winner, Aung San Suu Kyi is of the view that "true dignity comes with an assurance of one's ability to rise to the challenges of the human situation".¹⁸ Respect for human dignity implies commitment to creating conditions under which individuals can develop a sense of self-worth and security. Real advancement affirms the equal dignity of each individual and nourishes their growth as human beings without any form of discrimination.

¹¹ Sensen 2011:1.

¹² See chapter 2, section 10 of the Constitution.

¹³ Nussbaum 2006:274.

¹⁴ Sensen 2011:1.

¹⁵ Nussbaum 2006:274.

¹⁶ De Vos et al. 2014:466.

¹⁷ Nussbaum 2006:274.

¹⁸ Suu Kyi 1991. See also the Human Development Report (2002:52).

4.2.2 Non-Discrimination and the Right to Equality

During colonial and apartheid epochs, the oppressed peoples continuously fought for and yearned for their liberation from discrimination, oppression and distraught. Fanon explains: "The war of liberation is not a seeking for reforms but the grandiose effort of a people, which had been mummified, to rediscover its own genius, to reassure its history and assert its sovereignty."¹⁹ The power of transformation and freedom from discrimination therefore, should have been embedded in the sovereignty of the people which in turn would foster constitutional values for a democratic country.

Chapter one of the Constitution which encompasses the founding provisions states that South Africa is one, sovereign, democratic state founded on the value of non-sexism and non-racialism.²⁰ In this regard, non-racism and non-sexism is aimed at constructing practices that treat everybody as equal and that work specifically towards redressing the imbalances of the past where people were oppressed or devalued because of their race or their gender. Hence, the fundamental purpose and role of non-discrimination as entrenched in the Constitution should be to "provide access to equal opportunity and choices".²¹

Global non-discrimination policies should constantly endeavour to promote equality for all human beings irrespective of their race, gender or sexual orientation. The NPC has also called for clarity on the roles and responsibilities of the different components of national gender institutions.²² Importantly, "substantive equality requires recognition of and appropriate responses to gender-specific harms that will not be addressed by gender-neutral (formal equality) measures."²³ In this regard, sustained campaigns need to focus on the advancement of non-discrimination and right to equality for all.

The right to equality is a concept, understood in terms of the Constitution, that all individuals have the same rights and deserves the same level of respect and dignity. The legal framework that underpinned apartheid has been abolished. South Africa is a unique country, whose people walked away from the abyss of war and bloodshed to create a democratic state based on a Constitution that is respected. The right to equality is guaranteed in section 9 of the Bill of Rights:

¹⁹ Fanon 1964:83-84.

²⁰ Chapter 1, section 1(b) of the Constitution. See also NDP (2011:420).

²¹ Freeman, Rudolf and Chinkin 2012:133-134.

²² NDP 2011:420.

²³ Freeman, Rudolf and Chinkin 2012:463.

- (1) Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to protection and benefit of the law.
- (2) Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. To promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken.
- (3) The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.
- (4) No person may unfairly discriminate or directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds in terms of subsection (3). National legislation must be enacted to prevent or prohibit unfair discrimination.
- (5) Discrimination on one or more of the grounds listed in subsection (3) is unfair unless it is established that the discrimination is fair.²⁴

Section 9 thus aims to address some of the unfairness inherent in this state of affairs while also providing a legal framework to prevent unfair treatment of individuals based on their race, sex, gender, sexual orientation, disability and other personal characteristics or attributes. As such, the right to equality is an essential component of the transformative Constitution.²⁵ Equality in this sense, thus, places emphasises on the fact that all human beings are born free and equal. In congruence with the Constitution, Liebenberg and Pillay assert that “Government may take steps to protect or advance individuals or groups that have been disadvantaged by unfair discrimination with the aim of promoting the achievement of equality.”²⁶

Advancing real equality can be achieved if Government takes positive steps to ensure that vulnerable and disadvantaged groups enjoy meaningful access to socio-economic rights. Without access to an education, sufficient food, healthcare and housing, poor people will not be able to participate equally in the economic and social life of our country. Equality is built on the fundamental relationships that define us as South Africans which are vitally important. These relationships will bind us together in moving towards a shared future. The first element that binds South Africans together is a shared history. Our rich Constitution is a testament to

²⁴ See chapter 2, section 9 of the Constitution.

²⁵ De Vos et al. 2014:420.

²⁶ Liebenberg and Pillay 2000:24.

that history. It is a social compact that carefully defines our togetherness and accords rights and exacts obligations from each of us.²⁷ The enhancement, then, of the right to equality is encapsulated in the country's constitutionalism and its relationship with other important constitutional law concepts, such as the relevant political and social history of the society in which it is being established.²⁸ The difference between decolonization and the dominant colonial and apartheid controlled power structures is the "locus of enunciation".²⁹

Hence, there must be an ability to identify inequalities and unequal opportunities.³⁰ On this basis it might be inferred that the NPC identified these inequalities experienced by so many South Africans and as a result came up with some solutions. The NDP in this regard, states that: The discrimination suffered by black people in the past crucially influences their life chances in the present. The Constitution lays the basis for equalizing life chances and for redress; this should begin with ensuring that everyone has access to quality basic services, quality healthcare and quality education.³¹ The right to equality is thus justified by past discriminations.

4.2.3 Rule of Law

Historically, all forms of oppression and discrimination also heavily influenced the rule of law and justice for the oppressed peoples was but only a dream. Gibson elucidates these desecrating and oppressing veracities of the colonized: "Colonialism was an episode in the life of people, a rude interruption of the rhythms and idioms that sustained their local and common humanity, a digression from the terms of their moral argument with themselves; a distraction, a hell of a major distraction, yes, but a distraction all the same."³² The rule of law and the supremacy of the 1996 Constitution dismantled these disproportions and it is regarded as the nub reason for advancing democracy in South Africa. The importance of the rule of law is a founding value entrenched in Chapter one of the Constitution.³³

The Rule of Law (2003) written by Cheryl Saunders and Katherine Le Roy provides a useful layout of some staple principles encompassing the rule of law: "First, the polity must be

²⁷ NDP 2011:411.

²⁸ De Vos et al. 2014:39.

²⁹ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012:5. See also Grosfoguel (2007:213): Locus of enunciation here refers to the "geographical spaces from which the oppressed people declare their participation, freedom and right to equality, their ideological orientations, subject positions (racial, gender and class identifications), and the historical processes and events that informed their knowledge-claims"

³⁰ See Katwala (2010).

³¹ NDP 2011:416.

³² Gibson 2011:55.

³³ See chapter 1, section 1(c) of the Constitution

governed by general rules that are laid down in advance. Secondly, these rules (and no other rules) must be applied and enforced. Thirdly, disputes about the rules must be resolved effectively and fairly. In a common law system, a fourth principle might be added that government itself is bound by the same rules as citizens and that disputes involving governments are resolved in the same way as those involving private parties.”³⁴

The Constitution is highly symbolic of the response which emerged against apartheid's direct political, social and cultural domination that caused poverty and marginalization in the country. By far the most definitive feature of South Africa's post-apartheid constitutional system is that of constitutional supremacy. The Constitution in its founding provisions expresses supremacy first as a foundational value, and second declares the supremacy of the Constitution as a binding and enforceable rule in no uncertain terms.³⁵

South Africa's rule of law is generally in good shape, although more could be done to realize the transformative promise of the Constitution.³⁶ The rule of law is also recognized as an enforceable principle on which the exercise of public power and legislative acts can be challenged. The rule of law has been promoted around the world to secure economic development and political freedom.

Many social problems, such as poverty, racial and ethnic discrimination, and gender inequality, occur at the societal level. South Africa made progress with a number of social problems, however a great deal still needs to be done to build the democratic country once dreamt of. Government and citizens alike has the responsibility and obligation to protect and promote the democracy of the country. The Constitution is fundamental to nation building enabling the nation to achieve the constitutional vision of a society based on freedom, equality, participation, human dignity and democracy.

4.2.4 Democracy

Democracy, in the Constitution means that all people are equal and that there is no distinction between the colonizer and the colonized anymore. Mbembe explains: “With the advent of democracy and the new constitutional state, there are no longer settlers or natives.”³⁷ In this sense the Constitution acknowledges the oppressed peoples during apartheid and thus paves

³⁴ Saunders and Le Roy 2003:5.

³⁵ Chapter 1, section 2 of the Constitution. See also Quijano (2007:168) and De Vos (2014:54).

³⁶ NDP 2011:408.

³⁷ Mbembe 2008 and 2015:1. See also Fanon (1963:39): In the colonies, the foreigner coming from another country imposed his rule by means of guns and machines; the settler remained a foreigner.

the way for a brand new story for the future. The vision for South Africa is integrated in the ethos of the Constitution. De Vos points out: "Constitutions are often said to represent a snapshot of the hopes and dreams of a nation at the time of its writings."³⁸ For the purpose of this study the importance of the Constitution is drawn from how it condemns colonialism and apartheid and what it aims to achieve in terms of developing the South African nation economically, socially and politically. The Constitution which serves as basis for the NDP is thus interpreted as the document of new epistemic reference for development in the country.

Democracy and the democratic rights that make democracy possible only have meaning if they lead to the construction of a new kind of society in which people actually have the social resources they need to exercise their rights meaningfully.³⁹ If there is no readily available social resources to exercise their rights in meaningfully, it must mean that they are still captured in the harsh grip of apartheid. One can thus say that some are liberated but others are still living in the years of apartheid where resources were limited or completely absent.

Drawing on a wide range of interdisciplinary resources and democratic theory, the work of Liebenberg and Pillay provides an in-depth and thorough background on the meaning of apartheid for the country's citizens: For the majority of people in South Africa, apartheid meant the denial of the right to vote and other civil and political rights like the right to freedom of speech and a fair trial; the dispossession of people from their land and housing; the deliberate underdevelopment of black communities, and discrimination in the quantity and quality of education, housing, health care and social security.⁴⁰ With regard to most of these aspects South Africa is a much different country now than it was before its democratic transition.

In the early 1990s the country's democracy has been widely celebrated as a miracle and is viewed as a social revolution by peaceful means with the popular masses being the real beneficiaries.⁴¹ Kurt Shillinger purports that: "South Africa's peaceful transition from apartheid to majority rule in 1994 brought euphoria, but with freedom came new responsibilities and expectations; new freedom and responsibilities requiring all kinds of efforts to build a better development path for the country."⁴² The transformative nature of the current Constitution changed everything.

³⁸ De Vos et al. 2014:4.

³⁹ De Vos et al. 2014:28.

⁴⁰ See Liebenberg and Pillay 1998 and 2000:18

⁴¹ Jones and Stokke 2005:21.

⁴² Shillinger 2009:6. Kurt Shillinger is a Researcher at the South African Institute of International Affairs.

Democracy at all levels of economic and social spheres breeds the success of development in a country. If non-democratic policies exist in a country, numerous problems, such as discrimination may be anticipated. The purpose of democracy in a country is to accomplish the objectives that best serve the interests of the people in terms of their human rights, living standards, and quality of life standards, and that reflect their highest aspirations. A development approach may be incorporated into policy implementation where this seeks to identify and respond to those factors that prevent or constrain some, as compared to others, from enjoying rights that in principle everyone is entitled to.⁴³

The combination of development and human rights entails methods and activities that link the human rights system and its inherent notion of power and struggle with development. Boesen and Sano asserts that: "A human rights-based approach highlights the fact that a great deal of poverty originates from political, social, cultural, or institutional discriminatory practices – both overt and covert – at the international, national, and local levels."⁴⁴ The NDP, with its human rights-based approach to development, provided a framework for development and in addition integrated democracy.

The NDP 2030 serves as South Africa's long-term socio-economic development roadmap. The NPC identified the constraints to faster growth among other things, and presented a roadmap to a more inclusive economy.⁴⁵ Thus it could be concluded that the transition from discrimination to freedom in South Africa was not an easy road. Similarly, as described by Sen, the idea of developing a democratic country is never easy and it should consist of stimulating debates and strategies around development with reflections on human agents and their well-being.⁴⁶ It becomes clear that democracy elicits the necessity for South Africa's rural communities to have greater opportunities to participate fully in the economic, social and political orbits of the country.

4.2.5 Participation

In the drafting and adoption of the final 1996 Constitution of South Africa, both a substantial public participation programme and a programme of political discussions were introduced

⁴³ Naidoo 2003:3.

⁴⁴ Boesen and Sano 2010:63.

⁴⁵ See Tatak (2015:xiii, 57), decolonization is necessary to democratize societies in the original communal sense by delinking from European and Western epistemologies. The more important it becomes to master the tools of decolonization and setting our minds and bodies free from the constraints of modernity/coloniality the better for our common humanity.

⁴⁶ Sen 1999:1.

and inaugurated. This was done to guarantee wide-spread participation in the negotiating process that would lead to the wide-spread approval of the result reached.⁴⁷ The importance of wide-spread public participation in constitution-making detects and elicits sovereignty in the people, and it is generally accepted that the power is within the people who decide how it should be delegated and implemented.⁴⁸ South Africa is one of the countries whose constitution-making process demanded the wide-spread participation of its citizens.

Despite persistent problems of poverty and inequality, South Africa has successfully conducted repeated free and fair local and national elections. Likewise, it can be observed that consultation forums have been established to ensure that people can voice an opinion, even amidst severe resource deprivation and inequality.⁴⁹ The Constitution establishes a democratic system of Government with both representative and participatory rudiments. Part of the participatory aspect of democracy is the requirement to facilitate public involvement in the legislative and other processes of Parliament. Parliament cannot engage in other important processes without considering the need to facilitate some form of public participation.⁵⁰

Generally, developing countries' social movements have emerged as a form of socio-political agency in the pursuit of transformative forms of participation.⁵¹ It must therefore be recognized that national development policies should aim at the constant improvement of the well-being of the citizens. Tseola notes that the "promotion of qualitative public participation for active citizenry, ownership, control and accountability through local government democracy and public administration would only be feasible and practicable within a comprehensive political national drive and state activism strive for decoloniality."⁵² The entire text of the 1996 Constitution including its preamble provides a comprehensive picture of how it operates and specifically how decoloniality can be linked to the transformational nature of the Constitution.

The South African Constitution starts with a preamble and contains 243 sections which are divided into 14 chapters. The preamble states the purpose of the Constitution: "We, the people of South Africa ... believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity. We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as

⁴⁷ De Vos et al. 2014:23-24.

⁴⁸ Ghai 2010:184.

⁴⁹ See Jones and Stokke (2005:16).

⁵⁰ De Vos et al. 2014:119.

⁵¹ Hickey 2003:25.

⁵² Tseola et al. 2013:13.

the supreme law of the Republic so as to ... establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights; lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law ... May God protect our people. Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika. God bless South Africa.”⁵³

The participation of individuals as recipients of policy implementation with regard to the NDP is essential for individuals to be involved in governing themselves. As we shall see, the nature of the democracy established by the Constitution focuses on the participation of citizens at all levels and at all stages of decision making. The Constitution envisages inclusive, accountable, participatory, decentralised and transparent institutions of governance and contemplates that government will actively promote and deepen a culture of democracy.⁵⁴

Over the years, the debate on human participation in development decision-making processes has evolved from ‘non-existent to existent’. Rosemary McGee, in her work on *Participation and Development* (2001), provides a critical assessment on the expansion of dominant features of human participation in development by fusing together development theory and the practice thereof: “The 1990s focus of the participation debate shifted to policy, governance and institutional concepts, and linkages with newer concepts of civil society, citizenship and rights-based approaches to development.”⁵⁵ Craig Mokhiber’s work on *Toward a Measure of Dignity: Indicators for Rights-Based Development* (2000) illustrates how public participation is fundamental to the advancement and projection of development: “In the development context, public opinion polls and other such tools are important for testing public perceptions about progress. The emphasis on active, free and meaningful participation of the rights-based approach requires that people determine the fundamental questions of their own development.”⁵⁶

In participating in formal political and administrative processes, the poor can debate and potentially influence broad policy directives, budget priorities and program design.⁵⁷ Public participation enhances sovereignty in the citizens of the country and in decision making processes concerning the country. Hence, the NDP stresses the importance of laying down a

⁵³ See the Constitution 1996.

⁵⁴ De Vos et al. 2014:29.

⁵⁵ McGee 2001:112.

⁵⁶ Mokhiber 2000:7.

⁵⁷ World Bank Development Report 2002:275. See also World Bank (2006).

political agenda that focuses on creating attitudes, beliefs, habits and practices of the civil community that encapsulates the collective exercise of enhancing such sovereignty.

The NDP's vision which is the blueprint for the country's development and which runs throughout this study links public participation and nation building inherently to the underlying principles of the country's Constitution: "Nation building and social cohesion matter – both as an end-state and a facilitator. A balance needs to be found between healing the divisions of the past, broadening economic opportunities and building a sense of inclusion and common purpose among all South Africans."⁵⁸ The enhancement of the right to equality for all citizens and the exercise of finding the balance between the undemocratic past and democratic present are deeply rooted in the promotion of the values crafted in the Constitution.

The success of the NDP regarded as one of the country's most strategic initiatives, will ultimately depend on all the stakeholders involved and whether they are prepared to make it work. Participation was always radically conceived as a struggle against political and economic exclusion from exercising control over public resources.⁵⁹ But desperate change was needed. Transformation does not depend on highly technical processes, but rather on the participation of citizens. The objectives of the NDP cannot be achieved and delivered by Government alone and requires a joint collaborative approach by public, private and non-governmental sectors together with citizen participation and involvement. There are also considerable advantages to linking constitutional reform to the right to development and public participation.⁶⁰ The nexus that exists between the Constitution and the NDP is bounded by Government and public participation; the community at large has a vested interest in their implementation alike. In essence, human dignity, non-discrimination, the right to equality and democracy are all designed in such a way that it encompasses fundamental socio-economic rights, including the right to basic needs and services.

⁵⁸ NDP 2011:413.

⁵⁹ Fals Borda 1998:161. Orlando Fals Borda was one of the founders of participatory action research.

⁶⁰ Ghai 2010:182-183.

4.3 Socio-Economic Rights as Constitutive Feature of Development

The people of South Africa achieved ultimate human rights in 1994 during the first democratic elections. The democratic 1996 Constitution then provided black people rights to participate in socio-political and economic policy decision-making processes.⁶¹ This is the reason why the Constitution is known for its entrenchment of a range of socio-economic rights: environmental rights and rights to land, housing, healthcare, food, water, social assistance and education. These rights together require collective power to be used to advance ideals of freedom, equality, human dignity and social justice.⁶²

Socio-economic rights as decolonial constitutive feature of development is “often distinguished from civil and political rights on the basis that they engender different types of duties”.⁶³ Today, the characteristics of these duties represent and support democracy as opposed to colonialism and apartheid. Hence, is it necessary to “recognize that colonization had a huge impact in destroying Africans to learn the governance systems” and even the enforcement of rights and duties.⁶⁴ Colonialism marked a critical milestone in the evolution and development of governance systems in Africa.⁶⁵ The constitutional responsibility given to Government was to enforce human rights which enable the elevation of living standards for the country's citizens.⁶⁶

In *Development as a Human Right: Legal, Political and Economic Dimensions* (2010), Andreassen and Marks identify important intrinsic links between development and the enforcement of these rights: “While human rights standards and principles have to provide the parameters for the articulation and the conduct of the development policies and programs, the process has to lead to enforceable human rights ... to ensure that the benefits of this process will reach the poorest and the most vulnerable.”⁶⁷ Apart from promoting socio-economic rights in development, it is also important to understand the enforcement of these rights in a constitutional context.

⁶¹ Magwena 2015.

⁶² Brand and Heyns et al. 2005:1.

⁶³ De Vos et al. 2014:722. See also Maul (2012:7): During the 1960s, increasingly fundamental criticism was expressed of the first two “generations” of human rights discourse, based on the political and social rights of the individual, which came under attack as the expression of a Eurocentric world-view. From here the road led to the emergence, at the beginning of the 1970s, of a new, third generation human rights discourse, giving priority to solidarity rights, such as the right to development or the right to freedom from colonialism.

⁶⁴ Magwena 2015.

⁶⁵ Sesay 2014.

⁶⁶ Sebelo et al. 2013:1.

⁶⁷ Andreassen and Marks 2010:x-xi.

Liebenberg maintains that “the Constitution envisaged that the inclusion of socio-economic rights in the Bill of Rights would help empower disadvantaged groups, particularly those living in poverty, to protect and advance their fundamental interests in the process of development. In this way the South African Constitution came to embrace a holistic and interdependent concept of human rights.”⁶⁸ In this regard and apart from the implementation, the Constitution enables the enforcement of socio-economic rights, creating avenues of redress through which complaints that the state or others have failed in their constitutional duties can be determined and constitutional duties can be enforced.⁶⁹ Hence the interpretation of these rights is important and is so delineated in South Africa’s Constitution.

The interpretation of socio-economic rights is conditioned by two generally applicable provisions of the Constitution: Firstly, section 7(2) of the Constitution which determines that “the state must respect, protect, promote and fulfil the rights in the Bills of Rights.”⁷⁰ Secondly, section 39(1) set out the role of international and foreign law in terms of socio-economic rights: “a court, tribunal or forum (a) must promote the values that underlie an open and democratic society based on human dignity, equality and freedom; (b) must consider international law; and (c) may consider foreign law.”⁷¹ The approach, calculus and elucidation of these socio-economic rights are directly linked with Government’s optimism and determination to dismantle and eradicate the gross inequalities caused by colonialism and apartheid.

Socio-economic rights entrenched in the Bill of Rights include “priority obligations”⁷² which are created by a number of provisions. These include the following: Section 28(1)(c) provides that every child has the right “to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care services, and social services”.⁷³ Section 29(1)(b) provides that everyone has the right “to basic education, including adult basic education”.⁷⁴ Section 35(2)(e) provides that every detainee, including every sentenced prisoner, has the right “to conditions of detention that are consistent with human dignity, including at least exercise and the provision, at state expense, of adequate

⁶⁸ Liebenberg 2010:210. What was important for the South African transition from colonialism and apartheid to democracy was its holistic approach to how the oppressed peoples were to be liberated. Fanon (1963:39) asserts that when you examined at close quarters the colonial context, it was evident that what parcelled out the world was to begin with the fact of belonging to or not belonging to a given race, a given species.

⁶⁹ Heyns and Brand et al. 2005:2.

⁷⁰ Chapter 2, section 7(2) of the Constitution.

⁷¹ Chapter 2, section 39(1) of the Constitution.

⁷² Heyns and Brand 2005.

⁷³ Section 28(1)(c) of the Constitution and also Heyns and Brand 2004:28.

⁷⁴ Section 29(1)(b) of the Constitution.

accommodation, nutrition, reading material and medical treatment”.⁷⁵ Section 26(3) provides that “no one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions”.⁷⁶ Section 27(3) guarantees that “no one may be refused emergency medical treatment”.⁷⁷

In addition, socio-economic rights entrenched in the Bill of Rights include “internally qualified rights”⁷⁸ which are created by the following provisions:

Section 24 which reads: “(1) Everyone has the right – (a) to an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being; and (b) to have the environment protected, for the benefit of present and future generations, through reasonable legislative and other measures that – (i) prevent pollution and ecological degradation; (ii) promote conservation; and (iii) secure ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development.”⁷⁹ Section 26 which reads: “(1) Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing. (2) The State must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right.”⁸⁰ Section 27 which reads: “(1) Everyone has the right to have access to – (a) health care services, including reproductive health care; (b) sufficient food and water; and (c) social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependents, appropriate social assistance (2) The State must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of each of these rights”.⁸¹

South Africa's Constitution is one of the most progressive and because of its highly innovative edifice the country is often hailed as an exceptional example of making socio-economic rights justiciable.⁸² Based on the link that exists in South Africa's social, economic, political and civil rights in the Constitution, the framework for the NDP was formulated as the blueprint of the country's development strategy with socio-economic rights as decolonial constitutive feature. The development objectives integrated into the NDP is based on constitutional values and the population's right to development.

⁷⁵ Section 35(2)(e) of the Constitution.

⁷⁶ Section 26(3) of the Constitution.

⁷⁷ Section 27(3) of the Constitution.

⁷⁸ Brand and Heyns 2005.

⁷⁹ Section 24 of the Constitution.

⁸⁰ Section 26 of the Constitution.

⁸¹ Section 27 of the Constitution.

⁸² Jones and Stokke 2005:29.

4.4 Constitutional Human Rights and the Right to Development

South Africa's constitutionalism attempts to transform and dismantle old colonial practices of our society from one deeply divided by the legacy of a racist and unequal past into one based on "democracy, social justice, equality, dignity and freedom".⁸³ Emphasis in this regard is placed on the role that the Government and the ordinary citizens should play collectively in order to advance transformation. Transforming society, uniting the country and promoting the right to development is but some of the dreams and hopes integrated into the Constitution of South Africa as well as in the NDP.

According to the NDP, "the success of the NDP will be judged on its ability to change relationships between people and the state and within the state itself by drawing attention to the way in which decisions are arrived at, seeking justice in each decision. The plan is about physical change brought by focusing attention on policy and implementation, but it is equally about relationships."⁸⁴ Generally decolonial theorists, "engage with the notion of decoloniality as an epistemic and political option to think-act-feel and build relationships and coalitions ... from the perspective of coloniality".⁸⁵ Thus, in regard to all of these aspects set out in the NDP, the starting point would have to be the Constitution. The Constitution not only depends on its legality and provisions, but it also offers instruments for its own enactments or adherence, such as development and human rights aspects.

All human rights should consist of constitutive features which make them legal and enforceable for the good of humanity.⁸⁶ Amartya Sen provides a view of the constitutive features and aims of human rights to depict the common discipline of these rights: "The idea of human rights has gained a great deal of ground in recent years, and it has acquired something of an official status in international discourse as well as in South Africa."⁸⁷ It should be seen as intrinsic to the people's entitlement to participate actively and meaningfully in society. In retrospect, "the idea of universal and inalienable human rights took hold with unprecedented vigour around the middle of the twentieth century, lending the colonial liberation movements a new source of legitimacy in their demands for equality and self-

⁸³ De Vos et al. 2014:27. See also Balakrishnan and Heintz (2015): Their contribution to the global human rights debate provide a list of some factors which threatened the realization of human rights.

⁸⁴ NDP 2011:411.

⁸⁵ Biekart, Harcourt and Knorringa 2016:152. See also Burke (2010).

⁸⁶ Hayden 2001. See also Frankovits (2005): There are some fundamental points which must be considered and principles to be observed for to see human rights impact development positively and successfully.

⁸⁷ Sen 1999:227. See also Andreassen and Marks (2010:62).

determination.”⁸⁸ South Africa’s history of inequality, according to the NDP, “provides the proper backdrop for understanding that the Constitution was drafted at least in part to ensure that the violations of the apartheid past are never repeated and that human rights are promoted.”⁸⁹ According to Maul “it was in the Second World War that the idea of inalienable human rights, reinterpreted as rights of individual, really began to develop its anti-colonial force.”⁹⁰

The essence of the social compact is captured in Chapter 2 of the Constitution, which declares that everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit from the law and, in the following clause, that the country may pass laws that protect or advance people disadvantaged by unfair discrimination. These two clauses form the nub of the complex compromise that brought democracy and freedom in 1994.⁹¹ Currently, the Constitution is an anti-colonial document which removed the barriers of development, enabling the complete recognition for decolonization.⁹²

Predominantly it is the Government’s responsibility to take “resolute steps to eliminate the massive and flagrant violations of the human rights of the people and human beings and they have to remove violations of human rights, described as obstacles to development.”⁹³ The NDP states that the value that citizens attach to rights and responsibilities are directly related to whether they perceive the society to be just and fair.⁹⁴ All institutions in society and particularly the Government should espouse and enforce per se physiognomies of human rights, fairness and justice at all times.

Human rights are a fundamental part of the Constitution hence, the NPC identified, the obstacles that confined its advancement and promoted the ideology of development, to build the nation and to enhance the country’s political and social status. These rights are also fundamental to the NDP and the right to development for all citizens. According to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, the right to development is a right of all individuals and all peoples “to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social,

⁸⁸ Maul 2012:5.

⁸⁹ NDP 2011:412.

⁹⁰ Maul 2012:6.

⁹¹ NDP 2011:412.

⁹² See Fanon (1963:35): Decolonization never takes place unnoticed, for it influences individuals and modifies them fundamentally. It transforms spectators crushed with their inessentiality into privileged actors, with the grandiose glare of history’s floodlights upon them. It brings a natural rhythm into existence, introduced by new men, and with it a new language and a new humanity.

⁹³ Ghai 2010:180-181.

⁹⁴ NDP 2011:413.

cultural and political development in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized.”⁹⁵ Sandra Liebenberg, Professor and third incumbent of the H.F. Oppenheimer Chair in Human Rights Law, asserts an interesting view on how human rights which can be placed at the centre of development: “The right to development has been conceptualized as the right to a particular process of development in which all human rights can be fully realised.”⁹⁶ The realization and enactment of the right to development in itself is a human rights issue.

The challenge however is to ascribe the accountability for the enactment of human rights in development on government and citizens alike. Giovanni Sartori, one of the world's renowned academics of democracy, suggests robust recommendations on the right to development by offering organizational measures that support the conservative notions accepted by various political reformers: “The right to development is so comprehensive and requires such major reorientation and structuring of the state, however, that very constitution of the state must be modified in order to fully implement it.”⁹⁷ As illustrated by Sartori, government is responsible to see to it that human rights are at the centre of a country's development agenda. The challenge is to ensure that people enjoy the same rights within their societies, while respecting the cultural freedom of those societies.⁹⁸

The NDP stimulates the positive viewpoint of creating, maintaining and improving the conditions that guarantees individual claims and freedoms to human rights. The transformational essence of the Constitution imprinted in the development policy, the NDP, suggests that citizens should feel that they belong, that they celebrate all differences amongst them and that the welfare of one should be the welfare of all. The Constitution is needed in everyday jurisprudence where it has to be interpreted and contested as to its deepest intention to provide justice for the people on ground level.⁹⁹ All citizens have the right to development in order to improve the quality of their lives. Consequently, this should then designate the indispensability to equally develop the citizenry socially and economically under the law.

South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy, showed that the country's social and welfare policy framework has not achieved real economic transformation, wealth

⁹⁵ OHCHR 1986:1.

⁹⁶ Liebenberg 2010:211.

⁹⁷ Sartori 1994:1971.

⁹⁸ An-Na'im 2002:1

⁹⁹ Kemshall 2008:112. The philosophy of rights or civil liberties is basically inclusive, where no one is outside the constituency of justice.

redistribution or the eradication of poverty.¹⁰⁰ Hence, the country needed new ways for addressing and thinking about solutions to this challenge. A new post-colonial and post-apartheid development path with which I denote as, “decolonial ideals” was to be established in order to grow the socio-economic dynamics of the country. Decolonial ideals infers the demolishing of old colonial and apartheid practices and strategies for development and the construction of new, fresh approaches. In this way, decolonial “thinking and doing” would confront the country’s problematic and complex history of colonial and apartheid power structures and effectively create decolonial ideals for developing the country.¹⁰¹

The paradigm shift concerning South Africa’s development path transpired when the NPC was established in April 2010. The Diagnostic Report¹⁰² of the NPC states that the mandate of the NPC was “to take a broad, crosscutting, independent and critical view” of the challenges and opportunities facing South Africa. The Commission identified related challenges that would affect the country’s ability create more jobs which includes addressing the legacy of apartheid spatial divisions and bridging deeply rooted social divisions.



¹⁰⁰ Mosoetsa 2011:1.

¹⁰¹ Mignolo 2011:24.

¹⁰² NPC Diagnostic Report 2011:1, 5. The diagnostic document aims to identify the main challenges confronting the country and to examine their underlying causes. See also Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2014:509): The NPC’s proposals suggests a development approach that would “unmask and dismantle” the colonial complexities and to create a prosperous future for the country and its citizens.

4.5 The Implementation of the NDP

The NDP offers a long-term perspective as it delineates a desired destination and identifies the role different sectors of society should play in reaching that goal. As a durable strategic plan, it serves four broad objectives: Providing overarching goals for what needs to be achieved by 2030, building consensus and overcoming the main obstacles in achieving these goals, providing a shared long-term strategic framework within which more detailed planning can take place and creating a basis for making choices about how best to use limited resources.¹⁰³ The NDP aims to ensure that all South Africans attain a decent standard of living through the elimination of poverty and reduction of inequality. The considered rudiments which are associated with a decent standard of living are: Housing, water, electricity and sanitation; safe and reliable public transport; quality education and skills development; safety and security; quality health care; social protection; employment; recreation and leisure; clean environment and adequate nutrition.¹⁰⁴ Implementation is the action that must follow upon any preliminary thinking in order for something to actually happen.¹⁰⁵

The NDP has been approved and adopted by Government and has received strong endorsement from the broader society. The focus now shifts to how the NDP will be implemented and how its goals will be achieved. The South African Government News Agency (SAGNA) is a highly credible and authoritative source of information as it is regularly published by the Department of Communications (DOC). The main objective of SAGNA is to provide access to articles and feature stories aimed at keeping the public informed about the implementation of Government's mandate. According to SAGNA the people of South Africa have a right to information, irrespective of their class, colour or creed and the Government has a mandate to ensure that its entire people have access to information.¹⁰⁶ In this thesis, SAGNA, together with other authoritative sources, like the NDP is used to specifically illustrate the progress of the NDP. In this section a synopsis is provided regarding the phases and strategic processes of the NDP which were drawn up to also regulate its diverse stages of implementation.

¹⁰³ SAGNA 2013:1.

¹⁰⁴ SAGNA 2013:1. See also Cooper and Packard (1997) in which the production, transmission and implementation of ideas about development within historical and political contexts are examined.

¹⁰⁵ Oxford Dictionary 2012.

¹⁰⁶ See <http://www.SAnews.gov.za>.

4.5.1 The NDP and its Proposals

Generally, implementation of any development plan should consist of subsections. These subsections need to be evaluated and divided into manageable portions in order to strategically achieve the goals attached to it. This resonates with what the NPC suggested for the successful implementation of the NDP: “Breaking the plan into manageable chunks; developing detailed programme plans; building trust and confidence among key role-players; strengthening public sector capacity; streamlining reporting procedures; and consistent messaging.”¹⁰⁷ One of the central motivations of the implementation of the NDP was to move the project from development to service provision, and this could vary from community to community.

Primarily, the NDP's proposals needed to be implemented in the right order over the next seventeen years. As stated by SAGNA, various phases were identified and the first was the identification of critical steps to be taken in 2013 to unlock implementation. The breakdown of this task included:

- The implementation of programmes that did not require additional resources and long lead times,
- The preparation of the 2014-19 Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) as the first five-year building block of the NDP,
- The focus on areas where implementation of existing policies needed to improve, and
- The focus dialogues to overcome obstacles to implementation.¹⁰⁸

A second phase dealt with the 2014-2019 planning cycle. This cycle was supposedly to be viewed as the first in a series of five-year planning cycles that would advance the goals of the NDP. The equivalent planning cycle at local Government level would then be equally important.¹⁰⁹

The third phase focused on the 2019-2024 planning segment of the NDP. The initial purpose of this phase was to initiate the remaining activities and to use previous cycles to assess and provide information generated by the review of performance.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ SAGNA 2013:6.

¹⁰⁸ SAGNA 2013:2

¹⁰⁹ SAGNA 2013:2

¹¹⁰ SAGNA 2013:2

4.5.2 Integration of the NDP into Government Plans

Government started a process that would parallel the long term plans of departments with the NDP.¹¹¹ This process aimed at identifying areas where policy change was required to ensure consistency and coherence. Integration of development plans into governmental structures is elucidated by D. Barry Dala-Clayton and Stephen Bass in their book, *Sustainable Development Strategies: A Resource Book* (2002): "Integration can often be more successfully achieved through bottom-up demand rather than top-down reorganization. Strong local institutions, accessible information, fora to allow debate and consensus/conflict management mechanisms can all forge integrated solutions."¹¹²

The planning processes carried out by departments and other Government organizations thus had (and still have) a pivotal role to play in conveying the vision and proposals contained in the NDP.¹¹³ Dala-Clayton and Bass asserts that: "A multi-stakeholder steering committee comprising representatives of the private sector and civil society as well as government, has generally been found necessary to ensure equitable governance of the strategy processes to make the key decisions."¹¹⁴ Hence, the Government's planning process ought to be done by integrating the NDP's proposals into the existing activities of these entities, fragmented into the medium and short-term plans of municipal, local, national and provincial Government.

All levels of Government and other entities would then form a structure which needed to have, and be able to "exercise, the powers required to formulate a strategy, achieve consensus on its scope and content, and monitor its development, implementation and impacts."¹¹⁵ The NDP would then provide the golden thread that instituted coherence and consistency to these plans respectively.¹¹⁶ The initial intention was that Government programmes be buttressed by scrupulous implementation plans which would clearly outline and sequence decisions made and actions undertaken.

¹¹¹ SAGNA 2013:3. See also Andreassen and Marks (2010:62): First, the increasing participation within programming relates primarily to a number of requirements to project cycle management. Aid organizations emphasize that participation must include all phases of programming, including formulation, implementation, and monitoring. The second aspect focuses especially on strengthening the involvement of media, interest groups, or civil society in public decision-making and establishing a supportive environment-strengthening accessibility to information and public institutions.

¹¹² Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:105-107.

¹¹³ SAGNA 2013:3.

¹¹⁴ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:81.

¹¹⁵ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:81.

¹¹⁶ SAGNA 2013:3.

4.5.3 Role of Sectors of Societies

The NDP, as new development strategy, necessitated drastic vicissitudes in the roles of sectors and the broader society. Phase three of the implementation process was based on the fact that the NDP was a plan for the whole country and that the role of different sectors of societies were critical.¹¹⁷ However, occasionally “governments might best focus on integration across ministries and departments first, before going on to a wider, participatory process with many civil society and private sector stakeholders”.¹¹⁸

Government engaged with all sectors about their contribution to the implementation phase of the NDP and particularly identified, to some extent, any obstacles to them fulfilling their role effectively.¹¹⁹ Interestingly, Dalal-Clayton and Bass explains the importance and roles of other entities in a new development strategy: “Government alone cannot develop a high quality development plan hence it needs analytical and other inputs from civil society stakeholders to ensure that the strategy process has access to and takes account of a broader body of information and views.”¹²⁰

Central to leading the implementation process of the NDP is the participation of South Africans.¹²¹ The pragmatism of this participatory process “is also determined by the attitude of mind and behaviour” of Government concerning the different sectors and society with whom they work.¹²² Although the NDP chronicled various ambitious goals, the private and public sector also has a major role to play in achieving these objectives. Government is clearly stating its commitment to the NDP, and it is important that the public and private sector does the same.¹²³ Where any obstacles emerge, the process of sectoral dialogues would transpire in order to find practical solutions for it and how the continuation of implementation of the NDP could be strengthened. This is indeed a call for solidarity in combining all influences to collectively stand together and to realize the vision of the NDP with its obvious conditions for successful implementation.

¹¹⁷ SAGNA 2013:4. See also the NDP (2011:428).

¹¹⁸ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:206-207.

¹¹⁹ SAGNA 2013:4. See also the NDP (2011:428).

¹²⁰ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:230. A phased approach to participation will be required with the use of participation structures and methodologies with which the majority of participants are familiar, and which are acceptable scientifically and politically.

¹²¹ SAGNA 2013:4. See also the NDP (2011:428).

¹²² Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:211. Success comes from rapport, dialogue and fair sharing of information and ideas – which means that the professionals too must have attractive ‘trade goods’ and must appreciate what they are getting in return

¹²³ SAGNA 2013:4. See also the NDP (2011:428).

4.5.4 Financing

Apart from the fact that successful implementation of the NDP depends on the nexus between state and society and their “extensive supporting roles in strengthening and safeguarding human capabilities”, it also depends on a well-managed financial component.¹²⁴ It is impossible for any development plan to flourish without the indispensable monetary succour. Retrospectively, “strategy finance tasks were often limited to adding up the costs of recommended actions and proposing increases in the government budget.”¹²⁵ Phase four of the implementation of the NDP dealt with how the NDP would be financed.

Diagnostically, the NDP would shape the budget allocation of the country over the next 17 years and this would involve wieldy quotas of the fiscal parts of the implementation phase.¹²⁶ However, though it remains fundamental to strategize on funding for a development plan, this might not be adequate. In providing a cornerstone resource which is focused on integrated strategies, approaches and methods for development, Dalal-Clayton and Bass expands on their view of financing such a project: “Development as concept moved away from a focus on producing a plan document to a more process-oriented approach, so the financial challenges have changed. It is no longer simply a case of mobilizing funds for such projects or activities, with the government in the lead implementing role.”¹²⁷

Hence, the NPC suggested that Government’s intention to gradually shift resources towards investment which will grow the economy, broaden opportunities and enhance capabilities should be supported.¹²⁸ A strong strategy is now seen as being more about setting a vision with broad directions, agreeing the attributes of a path towards development, and putting in place the key mechanisms.¹²⁹ This signalled a result of other parts of South Africa’s budget which will need to grow more slowly.¹³⁰ So attention must be given also to the financial mechanisms needed to internalize environmental and social costs in order to achieve the necessary changes in direction.¹³¹ This will only be possible if there is an achieved greater worth for money in many established areas of local and provincial government activity that is why much of the NDP focuses on how we can get better at what we do.

¹²⁴ Sen 1999:53.

¹²⁵ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:288.

¹²⁶ SAGNA 2013:7.

¹²⁷ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:288.

¹²⁸ SAGNA 2013:7.

¹²⁹ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:288.

¹³⁰ SAGNA 2013:7.

¹³¹ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:288.

4.5.5 Provincial and Local Government

Phase five included the provincial and local Government. In terms of making the commitment and setting the agenda for the NDP, it was important to create an “open and participatory environment for the processes involved, inviting civil society and others to participate in all strategy tasks, and providing support where needed”.¹³² The NDP identified the task of improving the quality of public services as critical to achieving transformation. Thus it required processes that would strengthen the ability of Government and all other sectors and society to fulfil its development role.¹³³ According to Dalal-Clayton and Bass “governments need to work out how to take a leadership role in developing strategies for development.”¹³⁴

Provincial and local Government actions virtually have a direct link to the quality of the lives of citizens in any country around the world. In this regard, the intent of provincial planning was to focus on the proposals that were made in areas of core provincial responsibility, such as education and health. Some of the priority steps provinces needed to embark on in implementing the NDP included:

- Using the provincial five-year plan to focus attention on how to improve outcomes in core provincial functions, such as education and health, and
- Paying greater attention to the quality of management within departments with a view to ensuring that public servants are both challenged and supported so that they can contribute fully to the work of their departments.¹³⁵

While addressing these socio-economic issues it was essential that provincial and local Government committees do so within the framework of the NDP. In addition, these committees were therefore accountable for the improvement of the quality of life and enhancement of living standards for the whole of society. In the process, each province should then have the opportunity to lead the way in demonstrating the potential for how progress and perfection may be achieved in the development strategy.¹³⁶ The NDP highlights the need to strengthen the ability of local Government to fulfil its developmental role.

¹³² Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:181.

¹³³ SAGNA 2013:9.

¹³⁴ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:181.

¹³⁵ SAGNA 2013:9.

¹³⁶ SAGNA 2013:9.

4.5.6 Monitoring and Reporting

Phase six of the implementation encompassed the monitoring and reporting components of the NDP which was essential to guaranteeing average management supervision.¹³⁷ Planning and implementation should be informed by evidence-based monitoring and evaluation.¹³⁸ The results of the evidence produced indicated the gravity of successful planning and implementation. Dalal-Clayton and Bass observes that: “Reporting and dissemination of the findings is necessary to feedback key messages to key stakeholder groups, and thus enable them to continuously improve their behaviour, the strategy itself and its component activities.”¹³⁹

According to the NPC there were already monitoring and reporting processes in place for Government priorities, plans, and policies. Integration of the NDP into these plans enabled the NDP implementation to be monitored by means of existing processes.¹⁴⁰ In this instance, then, “monitoring and evaluation need to be based on clear indicators and built into strategies to steer processes, track progress, distil and capture lessons, and signal when a change of direction is necessary.”¹⁴¹ The Department for Performance Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME) was responsibility for overseeing progress against many of these objectives through the outcomes approach, and would have overall responsibility for the monitoring progress.¹⁴²

Equally important was the ability to keep track of the progress of the NDP in its entirety. This included identifying unforeseen circumstances that would hamper progress or serious blockages that needed to be addressed.¹⁴³ Comprehensively, a more strategic and high-level form of monitoring was required that would be carried out by the NPC drawing on data that was already collected by DPME and other sources so as to minimize the reporting burden.¹⁴⁴ Since the implementation of the NDP would be a shared responsibility between Government and social partners, it would then be important to interact with organizations in other sectors to assess progress and identify blockages. Here it could already be anticipated that the role of leadership and accountability would be critical.

¹³⁷ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:309.

¹³⁸ SAGNA 2013:10.

¹³⁹ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:310.

¹⁴⁰ SAGNA 2013:10.

¹⁴¹ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:34.

¹⁴² SAGNA 2013:10.

¹⁴³ SAGNA 2013:10.

¹⁴⁴ SAGNA 2013:10.

4.5.7 Role of Leadership and Accountability

Phase seven entailed the role of leadership and accountability regarding the NDP. According to the NPC, the President and Deputy President would be the lead champions of the NDP within Cabinet, in Government and throughout the country.¹⁴⁵ Dalal-Clayton and Bass describes the role of leadership together with its fundamental accountability segment required for the successful execution for any development plan: “Partnership implies mutual accountability, first horizontally, to the authorities’ own management board and then local community, and then thereafter vertically to the government level which sets the framework. As monitoring and reporting becomes more integrated, less policing by central government of policy implementation and enforcement will be necessary.”¹⁴⁶

Premiers and mayors would need to be visible agencies to drive implementation at provincial and municipal levels. The NPC stated that accountability and transparency provide strong incentives for good governance.¹⁴⁷ They are essential characteristics of well-functioning institutions and good public service performance and Government’s accountability depends on the ability of citizens to insist on such liability when it is resisted.

This is normally facilitated by factors such as the existence of civil society groups, organized democratic political parties, and robust traditions of local democracy.¹⁴⁸ South Africa, with its mostly democratic policies and processes, regards responsible economic and political leadership to be critical to the effective implementation of the NDP.¹⁴⁹ In this regard, Cabinet would be responsible for overseeing implementation and facilitating the resolution of coordination challenges and where there are blockages, the Presidency will mediate discussions between the different parties responsible for implementation in order to find a practical way of removing the blockage.¹⁵⁰

In light of all of the above-mentioned implementation phases that were drawn up in terms of the NDP it may be concluded that South Africa has moved on towards a more democratic approach toward development. The improvement of the capacity, accountability and capability of the Government would require for their involvement to be proactive in terms of constructive and progressive, viable, sustainable development for the country.

¹⁴⁵ World Bank 2002:276.

¹⁴⁶ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:99.

¹⁴⁷ World Bank 2002:276.

¹⁴⁸ Luckham, Goetz and Kaldor 2003:28.

¹⁴⁹ SAGNA 2013:11.

¹⁵⁰ SAGNA 2013:11.

4.6 Viability as Major Factor in Assessing South Africa's Development Plan

Constructing and strengthening a democratic system is an essential component of the process of progressive development.¹⁵¹ As discussed above, the steps identified in the NDP is necessary to improve the capacity of the Government and it will not be easy but fundamental to changing the conversation of South Africa's development. Fanon asserts that "decolonization, which sets out to change the order of the world, is, obviously, a program of complete disorder. But it cannot come as a result of magical practices, or of a natural shock, or of a friendly understanding".¹⁵²

Congruently, Raymond Brayant, professor of political ecology at King's College London, asserts: "Deconstructing theory and decolonizing knowledge entails politicizing the ontology of diversity, difference and otherness to thereby construct sustainability discourses and practices rooted in specific cultural territories rather than Western scientific narratives based on universalist concepts, as well as de-politicizing notions such as biodiversity hotspots, ecosystem services and sustainable development, that in the end disregard the ecological conditions of life and disrespect local people's existential conditions and knowledge systems."¹⁵³

The NDP recurrently notes that for the NDP to succeed, the participation of many parties (both public and private) is required. Despite the general worry that hangs over the attainment of the targets enlisted in the NDP, the Government remains essentially responsible for driving the implementation of the NDP. Strong controversial criticism from the general public on the effective implementation and execution of the NDP by Government is also emerging. For example, there was a report by Cronin in which he stated that the NDP is more of a vision with useful insights and recommendations that are sandwiched between an opening section of

¹⁵¹ Sen 1999:157. See Fanon (1963:37), if we wish to describe it precisely, we might find it in the well-known word: "The last shall be first and the first last". Decolonization is the putting into practice of this sentence. That is why, if we try to describe it, all decolonization is never easy but always successful. In fusing together the building of a new democratic nation and decolonization, a great deal of difficulty is to be anticipated. Transition is never easy and it also involves the replacement of the old with the new.

¹⁵² Fanon 1963:35-42. During the period of decolonization, the native's reason is appealed to. He is offered definite values, he is told frequently that decolonization need not mean regression, and that he must put his trust in qualities which are well tried, solid, and highly esteemed.

¹⁵³ Bryant 2015:50. See also Kaufmann (2012:148): After the Second World War, three principles became dominant for the intergovernmental struggle for environmental preservation: (a) to persecute the environmental protection as an egoistic self-interest, (b) Turning away the utopia of incessant growth of the national prosperity, and (c) acknowledging a point of no return on the part of the planet's destruction. So, in the beginning there have been three moral claims to the egoism in selfish environmental treatment of mankind (a) and the wish to refuse the belief in permanent economic growth, in national constraints in particular, (b) in consideration of a moment in which a turnover isn't possible anymore. Basically, moral desires forced market reality and existing political power structure in a world distinguished into competing systems, both selfish and political powerful.

cringe worthy poetry and a clumsy attempt to present social contract theory. Cronin had also in the media referred to the NDP as a wonderful idea, but totally unrealistic. Maynier suggested that the government could not or would not implement the NDP.¹⁵⁴

The actions of all the parties involved might have significant positive or negative impacts on the viability of a sustainable development strategy. These impacts may determine whether or not the NDP in its entirety will come to fruition or not. Dalal-Clayton and Bass observe: “In recent years, growing attention has centred on the role of law and legal institutions in sustainable development. This has coincided with a profound shift in thinking about the role of the state, and a reorientation of governance strategies towards the creation of suitable enabling environments for greater private and local initiative in sustainable development. Good laws and functioning legal institutions are essential contributors to the predictability, security and flexibility needed to define such environments. Conversely, poorly designed and implemented laws can constrain and inhibit effective action, distort economic incentives and discourage appropriate interventions by government and civil society stakeholders. A close analysis of the applicable legal framework, therefore, is an important part of assessing the viability of any sustainable development strategy or its components.”¹⁵⁵

It seems clear that viability testing of sustainable development strategies encompasses several legal frameworks which are differently applied by many countries world-wide. Similar to the South African Government, the Scottish Government's development strategy encompasses a range of responsibilities, such as health, education, justice, rural affairs, housing and the environment. Their focus zooms in on the viability of development which is: “The key factor which determines whether development proceeds or not. In the current climate, it is more important than ever that public and private sectors work together to deliver development on the ground.”¹⁵⁶ The aforementioned chapters of this thesis illuminated the importance of the participation of both public and private sectors in the country's development success and the shared responsibility which all South Africans should take upon themselves to help realise the NDP vision in its entirety.¹⁵⁷ Through participation and collective efforts of all citizens, it is anticipated that the viability of the NDP will thus be strengthened and enhanced. The NDP's viability is thus also determined by means of integrated economic, environmental and

¹⁵⁴ October 2015. Maynier is MP of the Democratic Alliance and Cronin is deputy minister of transport

¹⁵⁵ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:162.

¹⁵⁶ Scotland.gov.uk 2010.

¹⁵⁷ NDP 2011:429.

human data and capital assessments.¹⁵⁸ As discussed above, several approaches are used to assess development viability and this includes the legal milieu which supports sustainable development. In this regard, Dalal-Clayton and Bass' analysis on the legal framework for sustainable development is quite insightful. In the following few paragraphs these steps are discussed in collaboration with South African law and notions of the NDP on a few main issues, such as economic environmental and human development to test the NDP's viability in terms of the country's legislation.

4.6.1 Viability and the 'Legal Playing Field': Ecological Sustainability

Firstly, is to identify the components of the country's legal framework that is relevant to sustainable development.¹⁵⁹ This entails defining the legal playing field. E.g. South Africa's forestry cannot be understood in isolation from numerous other general laws, including the constitution and laws on environment, etc. The National Forests Act 84 of 1998 and the Forestry Laws Amendment Act 35 of 2005 reflects the vision for the future of forestry in South Africa.¹⁶⁰ The Acts set out rules for protecting indigenous forests, and ensure that the public has reasonable access to state-forest land for recreational, cultural, spiritual and educational purposes. This vision is reiterated in the NDP where it emphasises that forestry contributes substantially to the country's economic growth, amongst other factors.¹⁶¹

4.6.2 Viability and the Substance of the Law: Social, Economic and Cultural Equality

Secondly, is to assess the extent of the laws identified in step 1 and how they allow, encourage, constrain or prevent the types of activities on which a sustainable development strategy is focused.¹⁶² E.g. does the legal framework provide mechanism(s) by which people can obtain meaningful and secure rights to the assets essential for sustainable livelihoods? The Infrastructure Development Act 23 of 2014 provide for the facilitation and co-ordination of public infrastructure development which is significant economic or social importance to the Republic.¹⁶³ The development strategy delineated in this Act, succumbs to economic, human and environmental development for the country. The NDP rightly complies in stating that: "Income through employment or social security is critical to defining living standards, but human beings need more than income.

¹⁵⁸ Scotland.gov.uk 2010:1

¹⁵⁹ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:164.

¹⁶⁰ See the National Forests Act 84 of 1998 and the Forestry Laws Amendment Act 35 of 2005.

¹⁶¹ NPC Diagnostic Overview 2011:18.

¹⁶² Dalal-Clayton 2002:164-165.

¹⁶³ See the Infrastructure Development Act 2003 of 2014.

They need adequate nutrition, they need transport to get to work, and they deserve safe communities and clean neighbourhoods. These elements require action either from individuals, government, communities or the private sector. The NDP makes a commitment to achieving a minimum standard of living which can be progressively released through a multi-pronged strategy.”¹⁶⁴ It is important to note here that in the NDP no definition of a minimum standard of living is given, rather a framework for adoption of a minimum standard of living by society is provided.

4.6.3 Viability and the Effect of the Law: Political and Civil Freedoms

Thirdly is to assess the actual effect that relevant laws have on the ground – in what ways do they influence the behaviour of individual institutions? ¹⁶⁵ E.g. lack of political power and failure to recognize the limitations of legal reform in bringing about social and economic change – laws that require sudden changes in deeply ingrained behaviour may prove difficult to implement. The Infrastructure Development Act 23 of 2014 is also a mechanism by which to ensure that infrastructure development in the Republic is given priority in planning, approval and implementation; to ensure that the development goals of the state are promoted through infrastructure development; to improve the management of such infrastructure during all life-cycle phases, including planning, approval, implementation and operations; and to provide for matters incidental thereto.¹⁶⁶

It is also important to assess the viability of investment in the wider economic context. Laws need to be designed with an eye to their cost and their impacts on different groups, as well as their clarity, coherence and consistency with social norms. Similarly, investments will only succeed if they work with, not against, the underlying economic forces that lead people to behave in particular ways.¹⁶⁷ The NDP asserts that for the NDP to work, a complex interplay of actors and actions, and progress which in any one area is almost always dependent on progress in another is needed. The NDP provides a common focus for action across all sectors and sections of South African society.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ See the Executive Summary of the NDP 2011:28.

¹⁶⁵ Dalal-Clayton 2002:165.

¹⁶⁶ See the Infrastructure Development Act 2003 of 2014.

¹⁶⁷ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:169.

¹⁶⁸ See the Executive Summary of the NDP 2011:17.

4.6.4 Viability and Legal Constraints: Access and Participation in Development

Fourthly is to assess the feasibility and priority of addressing the legal constraints because once the constraining features in the legal framework have been identified, the next step is to analyse how to correct those features, or at least to mitigate their impact.¹⁶⁹ E.g. to what extent are fundamental threats to strategy goals that they will need to be addressed in a forthright fashion? A classic example in the context of South Africa in this regard would be that Environmental Management Act 107 of 1998 which provides for co-operative, environmental governance by establishing principles for decision-making on matters affecting the environment, institutions that will promote co-operative governance and procedures for co-ordinating environmental functions exercised by organs of state; and to provide for matters connected therewith.¹⁷⁰ The NDP states that over the past few years, South Africa has increasingly stated its ambition to act responsibly to mitigate the effects of climate change. The National Climate Change Response White Paper clarifies this ambition through quantifying the business-as-usual trajectory, against which the efficacy of South Africa's collective actions to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions is measured. This mitigation effort aims to achieve the peak, plateau and decline trajectory of the Copenhagen Accord, which serves as South Africa's long-term 2050 mitigation vision.¹⁷¹

4.6.5 Viability of Rationale, Aims, Focus, Content and Implementation Targets

Development viability can be influenced in many ways by several factors. Although the public sector has no influence over some of these factors, there are many ways in which the actions bureaucrats and elected members take can affect development viability.¹⁷² In essence, the validation of the NDP's viability should rest within delineated strategies and action plans that would ultimately contribute to the construction of a copiously developed country. The NDP itself states that "the quality of leadership is critical to spark and accelerate change in areas that government controls, to induce behaviour change in others."¹⁷³

The NDP's success is embedded in the actions of Government officials and civil society alike. The effectiveness of the implementation of the targets set by Government is determined by the contributions Government makes to the viability of the NDP. Generally, positive contributions augment strength and viability to development strategies.

¹⁶⁹ Dalal-Clayton 2002:169.

¹⁷⁰ See the Environmental Management Act 107 of 1998.

¹⁷¹ NDP 2011:182.

¹⁷² See Scotland.gov.uk (2010).

¹⁷³ NDP 2011:416.

Interestingly, the Scottish Government puts forward a few guidelines as to how this can be achieved: First; a deeper understanding of development viability should be initiated. This entails developing an understanding of the economics of development. Second, remain solution focused – Recognising how costs and demands can impact on a development's viability is fundamental in order to be able to respond flexibly, so that solutions can be delivered. Third, dialogue – Good communication with applicants can assist in the decision making process. Fourth, timely decision making - Good use of resources for both public and private sectors is more important than ever. Timely decision making can help to reduce delays, and consequent costs for all. Fifth, development Delivery – The result of an increased awareness and practice of development viability is to ensure the various practitioners in planning and development (in all sectors) are focused on development delivery.¹⁷⁴ These guidelines also carry feasible weight and if applied within wider development strategies, may positively contribute to sustainability and success.

Taken together, all of the points discussed above, elicited a relatively realistic approach to scrutinizing the prominence of the law and the strength of the NDP's viability. It stimulated the idea that while it is important to uphold the law in development strategies, it is equally imperative that the challenges that accompany it should not be underestimated.

4.7 Conclusion

The strong social impact of the country's Constitution and its fundamental role is clearly established in the layout and substance of the NDP, where it indorses the freedom, equality and participation of all citizens and provides the strategic framework for South Africa's national vision for sustainable development. Utility and duty join together in establishing core elements of the NDP. It is also not far-fetched to bring into play the "virtue theory" implicit in the idealism of the Ubuntu philosophy spicing the NDP. However, the deeper ethical analysis of the NDP, linked to the emergence of a global ethic and to Amartya Sen's analysis of the kind of agency and freedom needed by the actors in the drama of development, together expose various shortcomings in the NDP, some of its implementation, sustainability, goals, and the new ethos it embodies.

Evidently, the NDP has everything strategically and procedurally under its auspices. However, the question remains whether or not the elements of planning and implementation which include the integration into Government plans, the role of different sectors of society,

¹⁷⁴ See Scotland.gov.uk (2010).

conditions for successful implementation, financing, provincial and local government relations, monitoring and reporting, the role of leadership and accountability and getting the incentives right, are realistic and viable for the “construction of sustainable development” as basis for the NDP’s paradigm. A plan is only credible as its delivery mechanism is viable. According to the NDP there is a real risk that South Africa’s development agenda could fail because the state is incapable of implementing it.¹⁷⁵ However, it has become clear through the various examples provided above that the NDP’s sustainable development paradigm harmonizes with South Africa’s legislation. This indicates that the NDP complements development legislation and that the strategies delineated in the NDP aspires to equally promote economic, environmental and human development. Uncertainty about the attainment of the NDP’s vision for 2030 still overwhelms its eloquent construction. As major factor in assessing South Africa’s development plan, viability should encompass the enhancement of the capabilities and construction of opportunities for all South Africans and in addition it should show the improvement of the country’s economic growth and environmental sustainability. Through assessing variations in diverse development factors regularly and effectively, the progression of the country’s socio-economic development may be determined and it may also contribute positively to the augmentation of the NDP and the espousal of other feasible methods, such as Sen’s theory of development.

¹⁷⁵ See the Executive Summary of the NDP 2011:44.

CHAPTER 5

AMARTYA SEN'S THEORY OF ETHICAL DEVELOPMENT IN CONTEXT OF THE NDP

5.1 Introduction

As one of the primary sources for this thesis, Sen's ideas on ethical development contribute to the understanding of "development as freedom" and how his theory can be placed in context of the NDP. His approach to development is cognisant of the past, current and future aspects that influence its processes and strategies.¹ Sen (born 3 November 1933) is an Indian economist and philosopher, who since 1972 has taught and worked in the United Kingdom and the United States. He has made contributions in subject areas, such as welfare economics and social choice theory.

Sen's papers in the late 1960s and early 1970s helped develop the theory of social choice. In 1981 Sen published *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*, a book in which he argued that famine occurs not only from a lack of food, but from inequalities built into mechanisms for distributing food.² In addition to his important work on famines, his work in economic measurement of poverty and inequality has had considerable influence in the formulation of the *Human Development Report*.³ This report is published annually by, amongst others, social theorists together with the United Nations Development Programme, and it ranks countries according to a variety of economic and social indicators.

His work on *Collective Choice and Social Welfare* (1970), addressed problems related to individual rights, justice and equity, majority rule, and the availability of information about individual conditions and produced information that could help improve economic conditions for the poor.⁴ *Development as Freedom* (1999) defines universal ethical principles as the relevant goal of development initiatives.⁵ *The Idea of Justice* (2009) presented Sen's own

¹ Sen 2014. See also Batterbury and Fernando (2005): They provide a comprehensive framework of Sen's biographical details and theoretical context. In contrast to the numerous positively hailed opinions about Sen, Emmanuelle Benicourt's work (2002) questions Sen's contribution to post-autistic economics. Dennis O'Hearn's "Amartya Sen's Development as Freedom: Ten Years Later" (2009), considers the central impact of Sen's contribution to global development.

² Sachs 1998.

³ Sen 2010. See also Grusky and Kanbur (2006).

⁴ Sen 2015.

⁵ ITDG 2005. See also "Amartya Sen's Ethics of Substantial Freedoms" by Jan Garrett (2005)

theory of justice was an alternative to the influential modern theories of justice. Sen's contribution to development economics is integrated in the notion of "capability".

In order for the NDP vision to be achieved by 2030, South Africa will have to solve the challenges of the historical clash between the ideals of growth and equality, the balancing act needed between economic development and ecological sustainability, the negative spin-offs from rampant globalization and empire, and even the competition between various generations of human rights for prominence in development discourse. Having done a broad literature survey, I have chosen to tackle the core question, on the ethical viability of the NDP within the framework of Amartya Sen's influential thinking on human-centred development. Through his ground-breaking work, *Development as Freedom*, Sen suggests that development is the path to freedom and that it must include the people that need development. Sen's theory seems to create a comprehensive ethical framework within which to assess most aspects of the NDP, and which, I argue, is assimilated into a successful decolonial development plan for South Africa.

The NDP has been described as a "viable plan for driving South Africa's socio-economic development, eliminating poverty and reducing inequality by 2030."⁶ As mentioned in the earlier chapters of this thesis, the main thrust of this study is to critically assess the viability of the NDP on the basis of its own development paradigm, embedded as it is in constitutional notions of freedom, equality, participation and sustainability. Each chapter in the NDP encloses a spectrum of objectives and propositions. Some of these are common accounts of policy intent and others are definitive policy proposals, actions or processes that need to materialize.⁷

In this chapter I will zoom in on the nexus between Sen's approach to ethical development and the core aspects of the NDP. Sen's approach consists of fundamental elements, such as political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security which provide ethical suggestions to fathom the viability of the NDP, given all the challenges already discussed, more comprehensively.

⁶ SAGNA 2014.

⁷ NDP 2011:28.

5.2 Political Freedom: An Inclusive Economy for South Africa

Political freedom is a central concept in history and political thought and one of the most important features of democratic societies.⁸ According to Sen “political freedoms include the political entitlements associated with democracies in the broadest sense.”⁹ These political freedoms or entitlements, as Sen puts it, include: Forums for free debate, ability to participate in public discussions, protection for dissents, free media, existence of political parties, elected bodies, facilities to scrutinize authorities, positional arrangements to ensure checks and balances between judiciary, legislature and executive, decentralisation, citizens’ participation, and institutional arrangements.¹⁰

These political freedoms also reverberates Dalal-Clayton and Bass’ sentiments regarding development rights: “It promotes the right of people to exercise full sovereignty over their resources, rights to participate actively, freely and meaningfully in national development, and rights to fair distribution of benefits. It promotes good governance criteria. It defines limits to state authority.”¹¹ The idea of implementing all of these human capabilities is to enhance “political freedom as a relationship free of oppression”.¹² The rights of all members of society are fully respected and individuals are free to choose how decisions are made and who should make them.

Apartheid impacted South Africa with gross inequalities and restrictions and as a result disadvantaged growth and development for the country. According to Sen “causes of unfreedoms are likely to lead to the lack of public facilities and social care.”¹³ Hence, development cannot be successful without embracing a human-centred approach. The socio-economic infrastructure of South Africa has a long and troubled history.¹⁴ Thus, in order to dismantle these challenges it was required at the start of democracy in 1994 that South Africans should work together in order to augment socio-economic growth for the country. The measurement of the country’s growth and development should therefore indicate that

⁸ Arendt 1993.

⁹ Sen 1999:38. See also the “Removing Unfreedoms Project” (2002) for a list of Sen’s five instrumental freedoms as well as the constraints associated with these freedoms. The “Removing Unfreedoms Project” began in May 2002 with the launch at the UN-World Habitat day in Brussels October 2002. Further research in consultation with development experts resulted in a workshop facilitated by the NGO Sparc and the National Slum Dwellers Federation in Mumbai, India in May 2003. By July 7th 2003 an International Colloquium had been convened at the London School of Economics highlighted by an all-day participation event with the Nobel Laurette Amartya Sen and Lord Meghnad Desai.

¹⁰ See Index of Economic Freedom (2006:237).

¹¹ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:263.

¹² Young 1990:39.

¹³ Sen 1992:5.

¹⁴ Perkins 2011.

sustainability balances its present economic performance of the country.¹⁵ Sustainability has a dialect of its own and “in order to measure sustainability, what is needed are indicators that should show signs of change in the quantities of the different factors that matter for future well-being.”¹⁶ Hence, “in speaking about the sustainability of the world, one must consider two dimensions: nature and human beings”¹⁷

The well-being of humans and the protection of the environment are consistent factors that should be associated with sustainable development hence it must always deliver for all the citizens in the country. South Africa's sustainable development paradigm embeds the notion of inclusiveness. The term of inclusiveness, in this sense, would mean that every citizen, in the urban and rural areas of the country, must be able to benefit in one way or the other from the success of the country's economic growth and development. Ultimately, including urban and rural people equally in the development of the country will result in the improvement of their well-being, quality of life and living standards.

5.2.1 Inclusive Rural Development

The construction of an inclusive rural economy is a central concern to national politics.¹⁸ As a developing country, South Africa embraces the idea of inclusive rural development and the strategy for this is given significance in the NDP: “The strategy should ensure access to basic services, food security and the empowerment of farm workers. It should also recognize the wide range of opportunities present in rural areas and develop strategies tailored to local conditions. Institutional capacity is integral to success, especially in the reforms required to resolve contested relationships between traditional and constitutional institutions.”¹⁹ The approach delineated by the NDP for inclusive rural development implies the rigid tackling of the most prominent and fundamental socio-economic ills of our time. Many economic and social development challenges are confronting South Africa today, including marginalization from globalization, development financing, and climate change.²⁰ The present-day fragility of the Government speaks of weak governance and poor leadership in the country. South Africa is never exempted from the daunting challenges of economic growth and development.

¹⁵ Stiglitz 2010:127-132.

¹⁶ Stiglitz 2010:127-132.

¹⁷ De Santa Ana 1998:127-128.

¹⁸ *Administration for Rural Development Programmes in India* (2003) written by Gagan Singh, provides some useful suggestions for the functioning of grass-root rural development programmes.

¹⁹ NDP 2011:219.

²⁰ NDP 2011:8. See also Harris (2010).

The NDP asserts that: “Analysis of South Africa’s economic development shows that rural areas are mainly locations of primary sector industries. In South Africa, mining is vital for job creation. The spill-over benefits related to trading and services from mining as a source of development and how this can be used to develop local economies needs to be investigated, as too little is known of mining value chains and how they can address spatial development inequalities.”²¹ The prospects of inclusive rural development have been recognized as one of the solutions to deal with the problem of the marginalized and the poor. In this regard, the inclusive rural development approach, as outlined above by the NDP, aspires to assist in the “improvement of distribution of well-being along the dimensions of income, health and education at the time that the average achievement improves.”²² Thus, significantly impacting the lives of the millions of people living in rural areas in South Africa and who are also affected by the country’s economic growth and development.

5.2.2 Democracy as Basis for Development

In general, governments are confronted with the challenge of raising people’s living standards, improving the quality of their lives and considering their well-being. However, “because the sustainable rural livelihoods approach is strength-based rather than needs-based, it does not primarily inquire into what needs to happen but rather how things should (or must) happen.”²³ Sen’s idea purports freedom and democracy in context of human-centred development which is also regarded as imperative for sustainable development in the NDP: “Democracy has not just restored the dignity of all South Africans – it has also translated into improved access to education, health services, water, housing, electricity and social security.”²⁴

The NDP acknowledged freedom as a fundamental element on which development should be based and therefore utilised democratic rhetoric, such as the 1955 Freedom Charter to formulate and advance a new development path for the country: “...The people shall govern ... All National Groups shall have equal rights ... The people shall share in the country’s wealth ... The land shall be shared among those who work it ... All shall be equal before the law ... All shall enjoy equal human rights: the law shall guarantee to all their right to speak,

²¹ NDP 2011:207.

²² Kanbur and Rauniyar 2009.

²³ Mazibuko 2013:175. While all other ideas on rural development focused on agriculture as a priority to rural development, the sustainable livelihoods approach does not. The sustainable livelihoods approach recognizes the fact that people engage in a variety of activities for their livelihoods.

²⁴ NDP 2011:1.

to organize, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate children. There shall be work and security ... The doors of learning and culture shall be opened ... There shall be houses, security and comfort ..."²⁵ These critical points delineated in the Freedom Charter resonate with Sen's five instruments of freedom (political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security) which he regards as the basic building blocks for a democratic society. Political rights (in the form of free speech and elections) help to promote economic security. Sen asserts that appropriately exercising political rights elicits sustainable development which equally transforms society presently and for generations to come. There is no political democracy that can flourish if the mass of the people are still living under the constraints of political freedoms, such as poverty and without land and tangible prospects for a better life.²⁶

South Africa has made insufficient progress in reducing inequality, millions of the country's people remain unemployed and many working households live close to the poverty.²⁷ Attacking poverty and deprivation must therefore be the first priority of a democratic government.²⁸ Other constraints of political freedoms may include: Absence of assessments required to inform policy makers about capabilities and potentials of development, constraints to voting or access to voting booths, constraints on access to law and order services, nature of land titles, constraints on access to information, constraints to use of telecommunications, no protection against evictions, and no balance of power between central and local governments.²⁹ Hence, in light of all these political constraints, democracy should be considered as a fundamental factor for development.

Citizens should have opportunities to decide who should be in power and control their country and according to which principles to do so. They must also be able to decide: "The possibility to scrutinise and criticise authorities to have freedom of political expression and an uncensored press, to enjoy the freedom to choose between different political parties, and so on. The introduction of democracy provides a basis for greater accountability of the state to its citizens."³⁰ If Sen's suggestion of political freedoms are applied in the context of the NDP, democracy could be strengthened and contribute to the eradication of poverty and inequality.

²⁵ See the South African Freedom Charter (1955).

²⁶ Sen 1999:11.

²⁷ NDP 2011:1.

²⁸ NDP 2011:1.

²⁹ See Removing Unfreedoms Project 2002.

³⁰ NDP 2011:364.

5.3 Economic Facilities: South Africa's Economic Growth and Employment

Customarily, South African citizens should have the opportunities and freedom to use the economic facilities and resources of the country in its entirety. According to Sen, "the opportunities that individuals enjoy to utilise economic resources for the purposes of consumption, production, exchange and the quality of income as well as how it is distributed, is of great importance."³¹ Freedom of economic security should then encompass the following: Open labour market, protection from bondage, access to product markets, saving opportunities, stable business ethics, title to land, and freedom for women to seek employment outside home.³²

South Africa, like many countries around the world, has its unique set of economic facilities. Specified economic areas addresses and constructs the enhancement of the country's economic facilities to ensure growth and development. These economic facilities cover a broad spectrum. In efforts to create and establish economic freedom for the population, the NDP suggests that the necessary criteria be used to achieve this objective. This includes expanding and growing the country's economic infrastructure (e.g. the upgrading of several factors, such as water resources, transport, information and communications).³³ Engrained in this objective are all the constituent parts that would help in generating the actual economic freedom and security every citizen is entitled to.

This comprises of creating an environment for sustainable employment and economic growth, gaining global market share, activating labour market policies and labour market regulation, creating small and expanding firms, growing mining and minerals, focus on manufacturing, tourism and institutional capability and culture.³⁴ All these factors are important for development and economic growth and it also elevates freedom and expansion of access to economic resources for the country's citizenry.

South Africa's economic history (as discussed in chapter 2 of this study) was greatly grounded on human and natural resources and as a result, the context within which individuals, ideas, and institutions shaped the precise outcomes was created.³⁵ However, this economic philosophy changed and currently the sustainable development paradigm has become the new growth path for the country. The paradigm is embedded in the NDP and its

³¹ Sen 1992:9.

³² See Removing Unfreedoms Project 2002.

³³ NDP 2011:31.

³⁴ NDP 2011:29.

³⁵ Feinstein 2005:1. See also chapter 2 of this study.

objective is to improve the quality of life for millions of South Africans comprehensively and it includes “better education, higher standards of health and nutrition, less poverty, a cleaner environment, more equality of opportunity, greater individual freedom, and a richer cultural life.”³⁶ The sustainable development paradigm directly then capitalizes on the idea of growing and expanding “the net benefits of economic development, subject to maintaining the services and quality of natural resources over time”³⁷

In juxtaposition with a sustainable development paradigm, the main purpose of economic development is to build the prosperity of the country monetarily. Historically, the concept of economic development embedded the increase of income growth while “environmental considerations were left to languish on the side lines, the standard of living was often allowed to slide, large inequalities between classes, regions, and genders were ignored and poverty was tolerated more than it should have been in the rush to generate maximum growth.”³⁸ Today, the concept rather aims to embrace a wide range of possibilities for economic growth, opinions, control and political freedoms as it refers to “a continuous increase in the economic standard of living of a country’s population, normally accomplished by increasing its stocks of physical and human capital and improving technology”.³⁹ While sustainable development is concerned with the environment and human beings, economic development deals with the increase of income growth (GDP) of the country.

5.3.1 The GDP as Measurement for Economic Growth

The relationship between sustainable and economic development is about balancing the respective aims of economic growth and attending to human and environmental considerations equally. The GDP is a very important economic measurement and three aspects (expenditure, production and income) are considered when the economic performance of the country is determined.⁴⁰ It provides a broad understanding of the development of the economic prosperity of the country. Like many other economic factors associated with South Africa’s prosperity and development, the GDP is regularly monitored to indicate where the country finds itself in this regard. However, as Dang and Pheng argue, “the indicator is a measure of well-being and development exclusively based on material

³⁶ World Bank 1991:4. See also chapter 4 of this study.

³⁷ Pearce and Turner 1990:24.

³⁸ Basu 2000:64. See also Basu and Kanbur (2008).

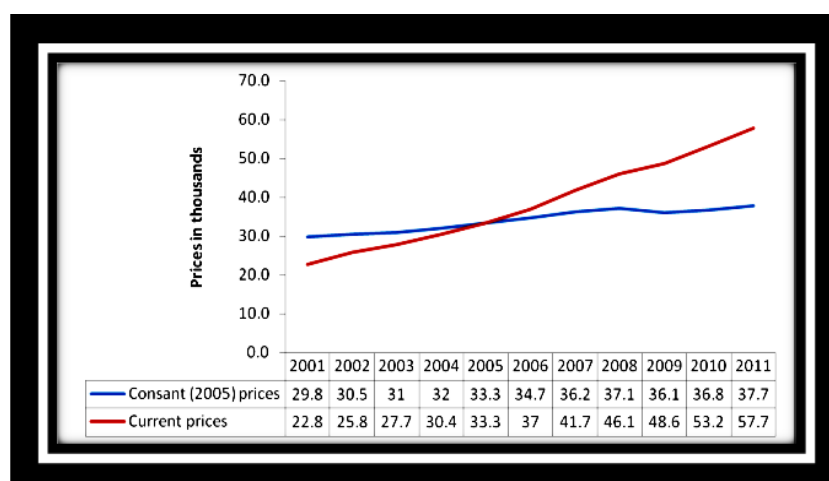
³⁹ Deodorff’s Glossary of International Economics 2016.

⁴⁰ See Soubbotina(2004), Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is calculated as the value of the total final production of all goods and services in one year within South Africa’s borders.

wealth. Improvements in welfare such as better health care, education and more housing for large parts of the poor population have not been captured.”⁴¹ South Africa's GDP is the main factor with which economic growth and development can be measured. A brief historical overview of the economic performance in the early years of South Africa is provided in the NDP and includes the investment spending in the country which fell from an average of almost 30% of GDP in the early 1980s to about 16% by the early 2000s and similarly, public infrastructure spending was at low levels by historical standards.⁴² The result of this economic underperformance cost the country to lose out on a “generation of capital investment in roads, rail, ports, electricity, water sanitation, public transport and housing.”⁴³ Currently, it appears as if South Africa is in need of an economy which is more inclusive, more dynamic and in which the fruits of growth are shared more equitably.

The current aim of accelerating growth in a more inclusive way requires, according to the NDP that “the country needs a higher level of capital spending in general and public investment in particular. Gross fixed capital formation needs to reach about 30% of GDP by 2030 to see a sustained impact on growth and household services”⁴⁴ In this instance economic growth is accomplished by doing things to improve the country's future production potential such as building more factories, educating more people, improving its technology etc. An economic growth and development growth model in South Africa has been adjusted to include the well-being of human beings and the consideration for the environment.

Figure 5 - GDP per capita in current and real prices, Rand thousand



Source: DNA Economics calculations based on Statistics South Africa gross domestic product data (2001-11)

⁴¹ Dang and Pheng 2015:12

⁴² NDP 2011:13. See also African Country Focus (2016) for more analysis on South Africa's current GDP.

⁴³ NDP 2011:13.

⁴⁴ NDP 2011:13.

The figure above provided by Stats SA and also found in the 2013 MDG report is an example of the economic performance of South Africa from 2001-2011: "Improvements in per capita income in this period have been dampened somewhat by the effects of the global recession in 2009, and the subsequent sluggish growth in the domestic economy. Real GDP per capita declined in 2009 by 2.7% with South Africa only able to surpass 2008 levels in 2011."⁴⁵

Generally one of the most difficult conundrums for critics of the South African economy is its constant changes in GDP. In most cases it is difficult to pinpoint what the causes are for the increase and decrease in GDP. Although South Africa is a well-developed country in the African continent, its economy is currently facing a big economic crisis with its GDP undergoing constant change; the economy is performing negatively and the country's development and economic growth continues to slow down. Government must do more to grow GDP. The World Bank asserts that "Governments may need to enact legal and regulatory reforms to deepen market access, clean up inspectorates and revenue authorities, and actively disseminate information to the poor on opportunities for employment, asset ownership, and local and international prices."⁴⁶ The GDP indicates where the economic performance of the country can be improved.

To bring about the balance and reconstruction of the country's economy and employment status is going to take a long time. However, in attaining the objectives for increased levels of employment, production, incomes and broadening opportunities will reduce inequality and improve living standards and ensure a dignified existence for all South Africans. In addition, the economy will be significantly boosted through the absorption of employment and the country's organization will be able to respond to the opportunities and challenges.⁴⁷ If these actions are implemented, the country's economy would be at the forefront of its decolonial ideals for development.

The challenge of creating an environment for sustainable economic growth for South Africa has been and always will be a consistent struggle which the Government must overcome. The crux of sustainability is to prevent that present choices of development destruct the vision for preserving and advancing quality of life in the future. This suggests that "our economic systems should be managed so that we live off the dividend of our resources, maintaining and improving the asset base so that the generations that follow will be able to live equally well

⁴⁵ MDGR 2013:109-110.

⁴⁶ World Bank 2002:276.

⁴⁷ NDP 2011:90.

or better.”⁴⁸ As documented in the NDP, creating an environment for sustainable economic growth involves work to be done in the social and economic spheres of the country. For example: “reducing the cost of living for households and costs of doing business through microeconomic reforms in the areas of food, transport and telecommunications” and to “remove the most pressing constraints on growth.”⁴⁹

The role of markets in economic growth is significantly important. The attainment of international market share will increase the country's economic performance. According to the NDP actions, such as the expansion of “South Africa's positioning for offshore business services, and build on the advantage provided by its telecommunications, banking and retail firms operating in other countries” should be taken.⁵⁰ In addition, mining exports should be increased “by giving clear certainty over property rights and increasing rail, water and energy capacity.”⁵¹ The result of gaining global share market would be that the country would become more developed with an improved quality of life for all, better skilled labour and substantially reduced levels of inequality.

5.3.2 The Interrelatedness between Employment and the Economy

A significant part of sustainable and economic development is the issue of employment and job creation. The relation between the economy and employment is that it deals with people at work and the impact it may have on the growth or stagnation of economic development. The NDP asserts that: “Everybody actively has set out to change his or her own life in a way that not only oneself, but also one's family and the broad community, benefits (work).”⁵² The quality of life and standards of living of millions of people can be changed for the better by means of employment.

The Overseas Development Institute (ODI) on *Economic Theory, Freedom and Human Rights: The Work of Amartya Sen* (2001) explains the formal frameworks in economics which have traditionally been dominated by welfare criteria such as utility: “Employment is the most important measure for judging the sustainability of the welfare state and the success of social and economic policy.”⁵³ The strategies delineated in the NDP to reduce unemployment and create decent work and sustainable livelihoods, forms part of the

⁴⁸ Repetto 1985:10.

⁴⁹ NDP 2011:29.

⁵⁰ NDP 2011:29.

⁵¹ NDP 2011:29.

⁵² NDP 2011:89. See also Piana (2001).

⁵³ ODI 2001:1.

assessment of such socio-economic policy. The economy and employment are two interrelated indicators based on how people find employment in order to prosper economically and how the country's growth and development will benefit from this result.

Active labour market policies are embedded in the notion of providing clear certainty about how to help get unemployed people back to work. The NDP notes that: "Active market policies are to broaden the expanded public works programme to cover 2 million full-time equivalent jobs by 2020."⁵⁴ Policies revolving around employment creation and making it possible for people to increase their standards of living through finding good employment include job placement services, benefit administration, and labour market programmes. Actions to be taken to execute the active labour market policy of the NDP include to "offer a tax subsidy to employers to reduce the initial cost of hiring young labour market entrants, facilitate agreement between employers and unions on entry-level wages, give a subsidy to the placement sector to identify, prepare and place matric graduates into jobs, and adopt a more open immigration approach to expand supply of high-level skills."⁵⁵

These are approaches, if implemented effectively, can implicate the country's economic performance profoundly and can lift the burden of unemployment. The NDP draws attention to South Africa's labour system that needs to be more "responsive to the challenges of simultaneously expanding employment opportunities, raising living standards and reducing inequality."⁵⁶ Labour market regulations should be applied with justice. For a just, decent employment agenda to be achieved there should be a balance between enabling faster expansion in employment opportunities and the protection of human rights.⁵⁷ In this sense, "policy intervention is required to improve employment creation and labour protection."⁵⁸

Small and expanding firms form part of the country's employment and economic challenges. The NDP suggests that "business incubators should be set up, including private-sector partnerships, with rewards to success. This could include early-stage entrepreneurship training, artisan training and assisting small-scale farmers and construction firms."⁵⁹ These actions will contribute to the fact that small and expanding firms will become more prominent, and generate the majority of new jobs created. They will be stimulated through public and private procurement, improved access to debt and equity finance, a simplified

⁵⁴ NDP 2011:29.

⁵⁵ NDP 2011:29.

⁵⁶ NDP 2011:111.

⁵⁷ NDP 2011:113.

⁵⁸ NDP 2011:113.

⁵⁹ NDP 2011:29.

regulatory environment, and support services.⁶⁰ Economic growth is created by people and thus is a fundamental requirement for the development of a country. In recent years the significance of employment has rightly been reflected more closely in the focus of development policy debates. Secure jobs with social benefits and fair pay offer a way out of poverty - a phenomenon which explains why employment is a pillar of development. The relation between the economy and employment represents a key to development.

Sen's focus, in relation to the economy and employment, seem to resonate with the importance of the freedom of human beings and how free individuals really are to improve their standard of living: "In order to achieve development goals, the removal of major sources of 'unfreedoms' is required, such as poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over-activity of repressive states."⁶¹ Hence, economic growth is not a means to an end; it is designed to serve people and reduce poverty, unemployment and inequality. These fundamental aspects of South Africa's economic and employment foci appear to be in alignment with Sen's theory of development. It relates to the notion of expanding and improving South Africa's economic performance and growth.

Sen asserts that "corresponding to multiple interconnected freedoms, there is a need to develop and support a plurality of institutions, including democratic systems, legal mechanisms, market structures, educational and health provisions, media and other communication facilities and so on."⁶² The integration and implementation of development policies should be the ends and means in itself and "the people have to be seen, in this perspective, as being actively involved – given the opportunity – in shaping their own destiny, and not just as passive recipients of the fruits of cunning of development programs. This is a supporting role, rather than one of ready-made delivery."⁶³

Sustainable development is linked with various actual benefits that can in effect boost the economic performance and prosperity of the country. Today there seems to be a definite and clear difference between accelerated economic growth and a reasonable economic growth pattern over time. The NDP correspondingly illuminates and proposes a sustainable economic growth paradigm which can be maintained without causing compelling economic challenges for the future.

⁶⁰ NDP 2011:117.

⁶¹ Sen 1999:3.

⁶² Sen 1999:53.

⁶³ Sen 1999:53.

Firstly, as discussed in this section, an increase in South Africa's overall economic income means that earnings and profits will also be expected to increase; this will in turn increase the GDP of the country. Secondly, sustainable development of the country will be viable to trigger increase employment, and it is possible that more people will be employed and less will be unemployed. Thirdly, expanding infrastructure will bring distinctive assistance and gain for the country. If the sustainable development paradigm which is concerned with the livelihoods of human beings and the protection of the environment, the success of inclusive growth and development for the country will become a reality. The participation of all economic institutions including the larger part of society should serve as a collective effort in making the expansion of the economic infrastructure in the country more inclusive.

Sen asserts that "economic facilities (in the form of opportunities for participation in trade and production) can help to generate personal abundance as well as public resources for social facilities".⁶⁴ Apart from the factors which influences freedom of economic security (as seen above), there are the constraints chained to it. These constraints are: No financing of shelter and human settlements, gender equality that is the percentage of family income retained by women, loans from moneylenders, individual disabilities, no access to credit, constraints on women to seek employment, no access to training facilities, no access to transport, no access to markets, no improving of urban economies, no attempts to enable markets to work, and no ability to mobilise sources of finance.⁶⁵

In light of these economic constraints that might obstruct the possibilities of engendering individual copiousness all together, the urgency, I would suggest, exists for the South African Government to break the barriers blocking economic freedom and security for the vulnerable and marginalized population in the country. The NDP's objective to grow the economy, strengthen the capabilities of citizens and building an inclusive rural economy, becomes part of the bargaining process. In doing so the Government aspires to activate rural economies, substantially increase investment in immigration infrastructure and create tenure security for communal farmers, especially women.⁶⁶ In essence, human-centred development or human capital in the context of the NDP can be more prioritised if Sen's approaches with regards to the availability of economic facilities are implemented. What must and should follow after the implementation of an effective human-centred development approach will thus mean more economic growth and development for the country through transparency.

⁶⁴ Sen 1999:11.

⁶⁵ See Removing Unfreedoms Project 2002.

⁶⁶ NDP 2011:33.

5.4 Transparency Guarantees: Accountability, Corruption, Building a Capable State

Sen suggests that citizens need to be provided the guarantees for openness, necessary disclosures, rights to information and tangible evidence of trust so that the clauses of the social contract between the government and the citizens are always clearly defined and enacted.⁶⁷ This almost always entails the concept of transparency. Freedom for these transparency guarantees encapsulates: Absence of corruption, mechanism for seeking justice, guarantees of disclosures, lucidity and speed of judicial decisions, and access to police protection.⁶⁸

The absence of these fundamental transparency guarantees freedoms ensue poor governance which may ruinously destabilize national development. The Diagnostic Report of the NPC notes: "South Africa suffers from high levels of corruption that undermine the rule of law and hinder the state's ability to effect development and socio-economic transformation. The performance of state systems of accountability has been uneven enabling corruption to thrive. Corruption is not specific to the public sector; the private sector has been tolerant of and engages in corrupt practices."⁶⁹ What looms from these sentiments expressed here by the NPC are the possible residues of the constraints of transparency guarantees which deal with: Unpublished contracts and tenders, no regular independent auditing of municipal accounts, no laws on disclosure of potential conflicts of interests, civil society is not involved in major public projects and no facilities to report crime.⁷⁰

Although South Africa's population at large is harmed by corruption, the costs fall most heavily on the poor through the impact on the quality and accessibility of public services. What should be clear in this regard is that transparency guarantees should "have a clear instrumental role in preventing corruption, financial irresponsibility and underhand dealings".⁷¹ According to the NDP "Overcoming the two-fold challenge of corruption and lack of accountability in our society requires a resilient system consisting of political will, sound institutions, a solid legal foundation and an active citizenry that is empowered to hold public officials accountable".⁷²

⁶⁷ Sen 1999:39.

⁶⁸ See Removing Unfreedoms Project 2002.

⁶⁹ NDP 2011:401.

⁷⁰ See Removing Unfreedoms Project 2002.

⁷¹ Sen 1999:40.

⁷² NDP 2011:401.

Transparency is the epitome of the need for openness that people can anticipate; the freedom to deal with one another with a justified expectation of disclosure and clarity. Sen asserts: "The exercise of freedom is mediated by values, but the values in turn are influenced by political discussions and influenced by participatory freedoms. Each of these connections deserves careful scrutiny."⁷³ These guarantees should serve as values and mechanisms in preventing corruption, financial irresponsibility and violation of society's rules of conduct for government and business.⁷⁴ The NDP's proposition to combat corruption and enhancing accountability includes some elements of these transparency guarantees freedoms, however the momentum of implementation remain unsatisfactory according to several critics.

Accountability and corruption are two factors that can have a direct impact on building safer communities and a capable state for South Africa.⁷⁵ On the one hand, the accountability of Government officials should be visible in the certain functions they perform. On the other hand, corruption, whether in the private or public sectors, is a reality for South Africa and "any level of corruption is likely to work against the poor, as it will affect the way all laws are enforced and the likelihood that violators are brought to justice".⁷⁶

Being Government officials "does not mean they are immune to the relatively tolerant attitudes towards some forms of organized crime in some of their neighbours."⁷⁷ The impact of corruption on poor people is described by the World Bank: "Where justice is sold and the wealthy or powerful are thus beyond its reach, the poor will suffer the consequences of elite impunity. More directly, judicial corruption deprives the poor of an ability to take their complaints to court or to have their conflicts resolved fairly."⁷⁸

Government aspires to ultimately create a country that is developmental through the NDP. According to Gumede a developmental country is a country "that is active in pursuing its agenda, working with social partners, and has the capacity and is appropriately organized for its predetermined developmental objectives".⁷⁹ To professionalize the public service, the NPC proposed that the intergovernmental system requires review.⁸⁰ The NPC's view is within the present constitutional framework; it is possible to have more differentiation in the powers and functions of provinces and municipalities, taking capacity into account.

⁷³ Sen 1999:9.

⁷⁴ Garrett 2005.

⁷⁵ James and Hadland (2002): There should be shared aspirations of the imperatives of accountability.

⁷⁶ World Bank 2002:290.

⁷⁷ Irish-Qhobosheane 2007:204.

⁷⁸ World Bank 2002:290.

⁷⁹ Gumede 2008:9.

⁸⁰ NDP 2011:23-24.

The present system can be improved. The NPC proposed regional utilities to provide services on behalf of less resourced municipalities on an agency basis, without undermining the accountability of the services. Large cities should be given greater fiscal and political powers to coordinate the upgrading of human settlement, transport and spatial planning.⁸¹ The core elements approaches towards sustainable development have had some failures and successes in and around the South African economic, human-centred and environmental capital growth path initiative.

Sen's idea on transparency portrays that where there is openness and clarity and complete transparency, people feel free to communicate with one another. If this approach is to be implemented in the context of the NDP, there will be substantial disclosure of corruption which can be eradicated sufficiently and effectively. In addition, the responsibility of Government is to undertake measures to provide the necessary freedom for its citizens to have access to protective security.

5.5 Protective Security: Improvement of South Africa's Social Security Services

Effective social protection and welfare services are an integral part of South Africa's programme for inclusive economic growth and central to the elimination of poverty and reduction of inequality.⁸² Sen suggests that "protective security should be a social safety net that prevents sections of the population from being reduced to hopelessness".⁸³ The freedoms of these protective securities incorporate the fundamental elements of: Emergency facilities, shelters, subsidy for victims of famine and disaster, and arrangements for protection of extreme deprivation.⁸⁴

The NDP envisage a comprehensive and feasible social protection structure for the country by the year 2030. This system would revolve around: Social security grants, social protection through social wage (no-fee schools, free basic services and subsidised public transport), and the increase of work opportunities.⁸⁵ Retrospectively, colonial and apartheid epochs caused the country's economic struggle and excluded the poor and marginalized, not just because nothing else could be done to improve the quality of their lives, but also because of race and ethnicity. Fanon purports: "In the colonies the economic substructure was also a superstructure. The cause was the consequence; you are rich because you are white, you are

⁸¹ NDP 2011:24.

⁸² NDP 2011:401.

⁸³ Sen 1999:40.

⁸⁴ See Removing Unfreedoms Project 2002.

⁸⁵ NDP 2011:401.

white because you are rich.”⁸⁶ Colonialism and apartheid systematically discriminated against black South Africans in all aspects of economic and social life and thus at the dawn of the 1994 democracy new reforms were needed to reconstruct the country's social security systems.

Dala-Clayton and Bass provides extensive acumen on how vulnerable and marginalized people are affected by poor social security systems and other influences working in on their economic status: “Many countries are struggling under the combined pressures of slow economic growth, a heavy external debt burden, corruption, violent conflict and food insecurity. Many of the residents of these countries suffer from a lack of access to social services, energy supplies and infrastructure. Their ability to develop their potential economic assets is also hampered by lack of access to resources, to credit or to the means for influencing national policy. At best, some become refugees or economic migrants. As a result of these processes, poor countries and poor people are continually marginalized from the opportunities presented by the global economy.”⁸⁷

Given these sentiments, South Africa's social protection system has been improving over the years through the establishment of social programs that aids in advancing the quality of life for its vulnerable and marginalized people.⁸⁸ According to the World Bank social protection programs may improve income distribution and good, policy choices and thus growth.⁸⁹ South Africa's social security measurements consist of indicators, such as free primary health care, no-fee schools, social grants and provision of free basic services in the form of RDP housing, reticulated water, electricity, sanitation and sewerage as well as solid waste management to households categorised as poor and indigent. The figure below is indicative of the improvements made in South Africa's social security services from 2004 to 2011.

The figure indicates that the proportion of indigent households with access to free water, electricity, sanitation and sewerage as well as solid waste management increased by the following percentage points: 9.8, 30.3, 19.4 and 15.4 respectively from 2004 to 2011.⁹⁰

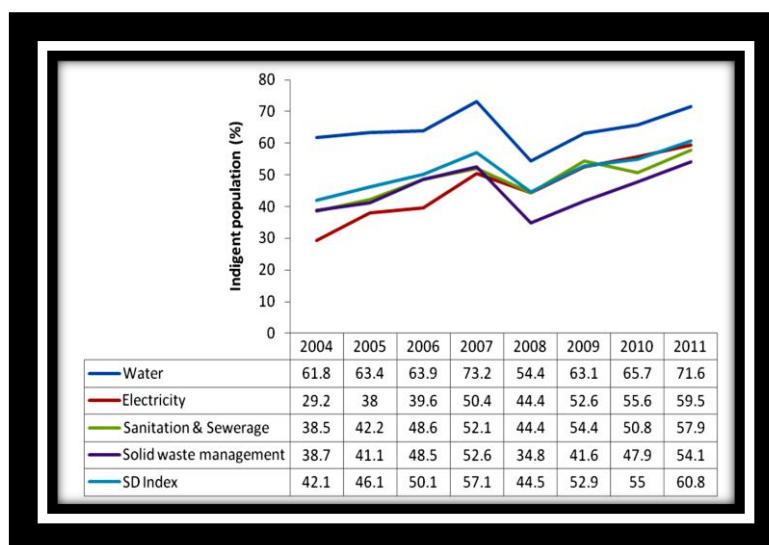
⁸⁶ Fanon 1963:39.

⁸⁷ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:8.

⁸⁸ See Van den Berg (1997): The two main kinds of social security are social insurance and social assistance.

⁸⁹ World Bank 2002.

⁹⁰ MDGR 2013:34.

Figure 6 -Access to Free Basic Services for Indigent Households

Source: Non-Financial Census of Municipalities, 2004–2011, Statistics South Africa

To achieve the objectives of even broader social security coverage, the NDP proposed the following reforms: The retirement savings and risk benefit gap should be closed through reforms; social welfare services must be expanded; public employment should be expanded to provide work for the unemployed, with a specific focus on the youth and women and; the integration of a number of databases in the social security environment with information from public employment programmes will enable communities to conduct social audits of government services, leading to better and more effective targeting of Government's social and employment programmes.⁹¹ An acceptable minimum standard of living must be defined as the social floor, including what is needed to enable people to develop their capabilities.

The above statistics shows that some progress and success is visible, however much effort is needed to still improve. Current broader social programs have the ability to encourage poverty reduction by means of providing income to the vulnerable and the marginalized, thus investing in human capital and building safer communities. The ultimate goal in establishing the country social security system would be to determine a social floor, which focus on issues to lower cost of living, especially for poor households, enhancing food security and urgently rationalising existing benefit payment systems.⁹² In doing this, the NDP aims to enhance the social security freedoms for the country's population at large. The NDP intends for development to reach its maximum beneficial capacity (for all human beings and the

⁹¹ NDP 2011:21.

⁹² NDP 2011:37.

environment) hence restrictions on freedoms creating a better quality of life for all should be removed. The constraints of protective security may be associated with: No access to networks, no access to emergency food, duration of mitigation, nature of resettlements, emergency and delay and constraints to access of shelter.⁹³

The Constitution promises all citizens a right to equality and the right of access to social security.⁹⁴ In terms of s 27(1) of the Constitution, everyone has a right of access to social security, including social assistance if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants. It is the responsibility of the Government to realise the right to social security for all citizens and all other rights stipulated in the Constitution. Generally, South Africa has a good social security system, but there are a number of challenges that is still currently confronting this system; the social security system must still completely abolish the issue of inequality and exclusion. The NCP identified this critical issue and included the need for radical, effective and inclusive transformation in the social security system. It became imperative for the NPC to align the concerns of the social security system in the NDP to show that there can be solutions to the challenges of the system.

Building Safer Communities

It becomes clear throughout the sequence of this thesis, that in order for South Africa to achieve its optimum goal for adequate growth and development, deep structural changes on various fronts are required. The necessity for the reformation of various stratum subsists, e.g., land tenure policies which will aid in augmentation of access to resources for disadvantaged and marginalized groups. Dalal-Clayton and Bass maintains that: "Equally, it will be important to build and strengthen social capital, and to devise formal safety nets to enable vulnerable economies and groups of citizens to better cope with external and domestic shocks."⁹⁵ One of the structural changes concerning development in South Africa is embedded in Government's ambition to also build safer communities. In this context, the NDP draws attention to building safer communities for the country's civilians by way of amongst other strategies, strengthening its criminal justice system which in "its own integrity and its role" perpetuates or restricts "violence, crime, racial and other forms of discrimination, and operational biases against the poor."⁹⁶

⁹³ See Removing Unfreedoms Project 2002.

⁹⁴ See section 27(1) of the Constitution 1996.

⁹⁵ Dalal-Clayton 2002:27.

⁹⁶ World Bank 2002:291.

Retrospectively, the remilitarization of South Africa's police amenities produced results of higher conviction rates which in turn augmented violence in the service.⁹⁷ In this regard the NPC suggests that the police should be demilitarised to turn the force into a civil, professional service.⁹⁸ Hence, the NDP provides a framework that encompasses the equal protection of all civilians in the efforts of building safer communities: "Women and children and all vulnerable groups should feel protected and they should have confidence in the criminal justice system to effectively apprehend and prosecute criminals who violate individual and community safety..."⁹⁹ Individual and society-based safety and protection is a human right and accordingly we as a country should build safer communities.

Although change is possible, it sometimes lack substantive freedoms which relates directly to economic poverty and which robs people of the freedom to satisfy hunger, or to achieve sufficient nutrition, or to obtain remedies for treatable illnesses or the opportunity to be adequately clothed or sheltered, or to enjoy clean water or sanitary facilities.¹⁰⁰ In this regard, Sen's sentiments stimulate the questions about how the capabilities of people are being enhanced and what role development has to fulfil in order to achieve capability objectives.

5.6 Social Opportunities: Core Elements of the NDP's Human-Centred Approach

Social opportunities are the arrangements and choice of opportunities that the Government create for its citizens regarding education, health care and other essential community facilities. Sen is of the view that "social opportunities facilitate economic participation".¹⁰¹ The freedom for social opportunities thus comprehensively embraces therefore: Good health, basic education, gender equality, women's well-being, childcare, and property rights for women.¹⁰² These opportunities are relevant for the evaluation and measurement of the country's development.

South Africa's development path has not sufficiently expanded opportunities for its citizens. This is recognised in the NDP in terms of, especially the political rights of women and the youth and economic benefits for those with access to employment.¹⁰³ This may well be accredited to the constraints in some areas of social opportunities, such as no access to

⁹⁷ NDP 2011:22.

⁹⁸ NDP 2011:22.

⁹⁹ NDP 2011:21.

¹⁰⁰ Sen 1999:3.

¹⁰¹ Sen 1999:11.

¹⁰² See Removing Unfreedoms Project 2002.

¹⁰³ NDP 2011:4.

medicine and maybe alternative medicine of culture, no access to fuel, stability of dwelling, domestic injuries, exposure to pollution, constraints to access to water, constraints to school attendance, unattended children, working children under ten years old number of children per class, distance from primary school, and areas considered as dangerous or inaccessible to the police.¹⁰⁴

South African citizens live and operate in a country of organizations, such as Government. In this context, the opportunities given to the country's population, is not only dependent on Government's operations and functions but also on the contributions it makes to freedom. Hence, "the rewards of human development go well beyond the direct enhancement of quality of life, and include also its impact on people's productive abilities and thus on economic growth on a widely shared basis."¹⁰⁵ The NDP's view on social opportunities resonates with these freedoms and it is also very optimistic in its approach about it. Focus and attention, in this sense, falls on several improvements on social opportunities, such as human settlements, healthcare and education. Firstly, at the heart of all enhancements and improvement of social opportunities lays the unequivocal importance of human development.

5.6.1 Human Development as Imperative Component of Inclusive Growth

During the 1960s and 1970s, the NGO (non-governmental organizations) movement consolidated the theory and practice of sustainable development while drawing on colonial precedents.¹⁰⁶ As Mark Duffield, professor and former director of global insecurities centre explains: "At this time, sustainable development was a community-based technology of self-reliance that defined itself in opposition to states and the strategies of modernization then being pursued. With the rise of neoliberalism and the demise of state-led models of advancement, however, the idea of sustainability through self-reliance increasingly came to define official development policy."¹⁰⁷

Director of the Thabo Mbeki African leadership institute, professor Vusi Gumede asserts: "Neoliberal economic thought has let the world down, not once, not twice but many times. The recent and ongoing global economic crises bear this argument out. The implication of this is that the market-orientated economic thought is informed, perpetuated and sustained by

¹⁰⁴ See Removing Unfreedoms Project 2002.

¹⁰⁵ Sen 1999:142.

¹⁰⁶ Duffield 2007:67. See also Anand and Sen (2000): Their paper "Human Development and Economic Sustainability", provide some detail of how the concern of human development in the present, can be integrated with that in the future.

¹⁰⁷ Duffield 2007:67.

class and interest. While the corporate elites are getting richer, the poor are getting poorer regardless of their location. This then calls for a thought leadership that can generate new ideas for inclusive development.”¹⁰⁸

New ideas for inclusive development endorse decoloniality which is concerned with global equality and economic justice.¹⁰⁹ From a decolonial perspective, the West's epistemological dominance within the sphere of development forms part of the colonial matrix of power or coloniality.¹¹⁰ In this sense, new ideas for inclusive development have almost no place and coloniality is embedded in neo-liberal ideology which only works for the benefit of those at the very top. A quest for an inclusive development model which can destroy neo-liberalism and create a model that endorses equality exists today. The NDP is the result of the resentment of coloniality and the episteme of a new decolonized development path. In this way decolonization serves its function neither as capitalism nor communism but rather as an alternative way of approaching development. South Africa's idealistic inclusive development approach then embraces transformation at the deepest layers of its economic system and at the highest levels of business, Government, and civil society.

Human-centred development is an imperative component of inclusive growth. In this regard, Sen's views are clear and it purports almost exact observations about the topic: “Those who see themselves as financial conservatives sometimes express scepticism about human development. There is, however, little rational basis for that inference. The benefits of human development are manifest, and can be more fully accounted by taking an adequately comprehensive view of its overall impact. Cost consciousness can help to direct human development in channels that are more productive – directly and indirectly – of the quality of life, but it does not threaten its imperative interest.”¹¹¹ Delineated in the NDP are strategies to enhance human development by categorically addressing the fundamental issues, such as human settlements, the housing gap market, the moving of jobs to denser townships and safe transport for citizens.¹¹²

According to Dalal-Clayton “There are many technical and political difficulties in integrating social, economic and environmental objectives and in adequately addressing the intergenerational dimensions of sustainable development. Different challenges need to be

¹⁰⁸ Gumede 2014:11.

¹⁰⁹ Mignolo 2013:131.

¹¹⁰ Ndlovu and Makoni 2014:504.

¹¹¹ Sen 1999:142.

¹¹² NDP 2011:33.

addressed at different spatial levels, such as the global level, the national level and some challenges can only be addressed at the local level, such alterations in patterns of resource use. The impacts of decisions taken at different levels need to be taken into account in an integrated and coherent way. Their consequences must be considered, particularly implications across different sectors and for different interest groups.”¹¹³

In the past, South Africa’s “poverty assessments rarely looked beyond access to human and physical infrastructure to other elements that affect rural livelihoods and the probability of being poor.”¹¹⁴ Interestingly, the aftermath of apartheid left a “terrible spatial legacy” and this is visible in the “different levels of access to human and physical infrastructure in the country’s urban and rural spheres.”¹¹⁵ Fanon observes: “For a colonized people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and above all, dignity.”¹¹⁶ The South African legacy of urban and rural spatial livelihoods is considered to be of fundamental importance to the present plan of sustainable development and an inclusive economy in the country.

Government’s need for transforming urban and rural spaces in South Africa is a consistent one because it would aid in the objective of building an inclusive economy. Reversing the country’s spatial inheritance, even with sound and sensible policies, is likely to take decades.¹¹⁷ The NDP suggests that the needs of the citizens should be met and broader social, environmental and economic interests of citizens should be taken into account: “Travel distances need to be shorter. It means building denser and more liveable cities and towns. In rural areas, settlement patterns must balance the social, cultural and agricultural needs of families with the need to provide cost-effective services to households.”¹¹⁸

The notion embraces the empowerment of the poor and marginalized being able to improve the quality of their lives hence it “is contingent upon the creativity and enthusiasm of the majority of the people.”¹¹⁹ The improvement of quality of life is rooted in and can be perceived to being a human right. The NDP is inclusive of socio-economic rights, such as the

¹¹³ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:28.

¹¹⁴ World Bank 2002:71.

¹¹⁵ Liebenberg and Pillay 2000:160. According to Liebenberg and Pillay laws of the apartheid era, such as the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 restricted the African population to 13% of the total land area of South Africa.

¹¹⁶ Fanon 1963:43.

¹¹⁷ Liebenberg and Pillay 2000:160. The policies of housing since 1994, in some instances, have reinforced the spatial division by placing low-income housing on the periphery of cities, far from economic activity.

¹¹⁸ NDP 2011:16-17.

¹¹⁹ Offiong 2001:225.

right to quality education and to quality health care, and this guarantees the promotion of human-centred developmental considerations.¹²⁰ The World Bank considers human-centred approaches to development as very significant: “People are the ends and the means of development. Although improved health, nutrition, and education are ends in themselves, healthy and educated human beings are also the principal means of achieving development.”¹²¹

The idea of building an inclusive economy for South Africa resonates with Sen's human-centred approach to development: “Many problems of deprivation arise from unfavourable terms of inclusion and adverse participation. It is very important to distinguish between the nature of a problem where some people are being kept out (or at least left out) and the characteristics of a different problem where some people are being included – may even be forced to be included – on deeply unfavourable terms.”¹²² In this way, an inclusive economy suggests that all should be included by the development and the strategy should empower poor people to gain for themselves and their children more of what they want and need.

5.6.2 Human-Centred Indices

Human-centred development complements an inclusive economy and is linked with a number of conceptual frameworks, such as human development reports and indices.¹²³ Pioneer, Sabina Alkire, in his work on *Human Development: Definitions, Critiques, and Related Concepts* (2010), explains that Human Development Reports (HDRs) are produced annually and these reports “applies the concept of human development to diverse themes, such as the environment, gender, poverty, globalization, cultural liberties and migration, to name just a few.”¹²⁴ HDRs are tools that are often used to measure the achievements of development. The HDRs also include a statistical index with the Human Development Index (HDI) and other figures relevant to human development for many countries.¹²⁵ The HDI integrated in the HDR is a summary measure for assessing long-term progress in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of

¹²⁰ NDP 2011:402.

¹²¹ World Bank 1989:63.

¹²² Sen 2000:28.

¹²³ UNDR 2006 and 2010. See also Fuduka-Parr (2003); Fuduka-Parr and Kumar (2003)

¹²⁴ See Alkire 2002a, 2002b and 2010. Alkire's research mainly deals with measuring multidimensional poverty.

¹²⁵ Alkire 2010:1.

living.¹²⁶ The 2011 South African HDR illustrates the link between HDRs and HDIs: “A long and healthy life is measured by life expectancy access to knowledge is measured by mean years of schooling for the adult population, which is the average number of years of education received in a life-time by people aged 25 years and older.”¹²⁷ The global framework for HDRs and HDIs, as explained above, is also used for South Africa.

Table 1- South Africa's HDI Trends Based on Consistent Time Series Data, New Component Indicators and New Methodology

Year	Life Expectancy at Birth	Expected Years of Schooling	Mean Years of Schooling	GNI Per Capita 2005 PPP\$	HDI Value
1980	56.9	11.1	4.8	8.399	0.570
1985	59.8	11.1	4.8	7.892	0.581
1990	61.5	11.4	6.5	7.671	0.621
1995	59.9	13.1	8.2	7.350	0.65
2000	54.8	13.1	8.2	7.462	0.622
2005	51.1	13.1	8.2	8.420	0.604
2010	52.2	13.1	8.5	9.307	0.621
2011	52.8	13.1	8.5	9.463	0.625
2012	53.4	13.1	8.5	9.594	0.629

Source: Human Development Report 2013

The 2013 Human Development Report above illustrates that South Africa's “HDI value for 2012 is 0.629 in the medium human development category. Between 1980 and 2012, South Africa's HDI value increased from 0.57 to 0.629, an increase of 10%”¹²⁸ The South African HDI is used by the NDP to determine definitive areas in the country for prioritising programmes of human development thus, “widening people's choices and the level of well-being they achieve” which are at the core of the notion of human development.¹²⁹ According to the 2013 HDR, figures in the above table also illustrates: “The rank of South Africa's HDI for 2011 based on data available in 2012 and methods used in 2012 was – 122 out of 187 countries. In the 2011 HDR, South Africa was ranked 123 out of 187 countries. Between 1980 and 2012, South Africa's life expectancy at birth decreased by 3-5 years, mean years of schooling increased by 3.7 years and expected years of schooling increased by about 14 per cent between 1980 and 2012.”¹³⁰

¹²⁶ HDR 2013. According to the 2013 HDR country rankings and values in the annual HDI are kept under strict embargo until the global launch and worldwide electronic release of the Human Development Report. The HDR is kept under strict supervision to ensure accuracy when released.

¹²⁷ HDR 2013.

¹²⁸ HDR 2013.

¹²⁹ UNDP 1997.

¹³⁰ HDR 2013.

Dalal-Clayton and Bass explains the importance of HDRs and HDIs: “By providing comprehensive human development indicators and indices, the national human development reports help to monitor progress and setbacks in human development and poverty. One of the most exciting features of many of the national human development reports is the disaggregation of human development indices by region or groups within the country. Measuring human development by region, province, gender, urban/rural populations or ethnic groups has provided a useful planning tool for governments to target development programmes and public expenditure to areas where human deprivation is the most critical. This approach helps governments to focus on equity when planning for development and, in some cases, when conducting public expenditure reviews.”¹³¹

South Africa's HDR and HDI indicate that a great deal of work still needs to be done to achieve the vision of an inclusive economy by the year 2030. According to the NDP this includes creating 11 million jobs by means of: Realising an environment for sustainable employment and inclusive economic growth, promoting employment in labour-absorbing industries, raising exports and competitiveness, strengthening Government's capacity to give leadership to economic development and to mobilize all sectors of society around a national vision.¹³²

The concept of human development has depicted a “categorizing alternative objective for economic growth for many economists and development workers.”¹³³ The different perceptions of human development provided indications for how and why policy makers should orient the tremendously powerful processes of economic growth, industrialization, and service delivery to human freedoms. If the current human development strategy of the NDP be implemented effectively, people's capabilities and the opportunities that are created for the citizens in the country can be increased even more.

5.6.3 Providing Quality Health Care

Sen's own view of the improvement of healthcare services seem to harmonize with the NDP's view: “There is considerable evidence that improved health care as well as nutrition also make the workforce more productive and better remunerated”.¹³⁴ The NDP's notion of healthcare for all is being approached by addressing social determinants of health, reducing

¹³¹ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:41.

¹³² NDP 2011:10.

¹³³ Alkire 2010:40-41.

¹³⁴ Sen 1999:142.

burdens of disease to controllable levels, building human resources for the health sector of the future, strengthening the national health system and implementing national health insurance.¹³⁵

The necessity and provision of a quality healthcare system is an integral part of the NDP and, as a result, finds prominence therein.¹³⁶ The World Bank have identified the link that exists between inequality, poverty and ill-health of the millions of people around the world and describes the global harsh realities and consequences thereof: “The illness of a household breadwinner and the consequent loss of income can undermine a poor household’s ability to cope financially. Out-of-pocket payments for health services – especially hospital care – can make the difference between a household being poor or not. High fertility additionally places an extra financial burden on households, by diluting the resources available to other household members and by constraining earning opportunities, especially for women.”¹³⁷

As in many countries, poverty is the main cause of childhood mortality and the spread of other diseases and illnesses in South Africa. The high or low numbers of childhood mortality is an indication of “a country’s health status in general and, specifically, of the health status of children in a country.”¹³⁸ Dalal-Clayton and Bass asserts that: “Even in these prosperous times, extreme poverty still ravages the lives of one out of every five persons in the developing world. The highest proportion of the poor and the fastest growth in poverty are both in sub-Saharan Africa where half the population was poor in 2000. The social ills associated with poverty are on the rise in many countries with high rates of poverty. These include disease, family breakdown, endemic crime and the use of narcotic drugs.”¹³⁹

As part of creating and providing an effective, high quality and functional healthcare system, one of Government’s core focus points is on the childhood mortality rate in the country. The degree of childhood mortality also determines the quality, efficiency and sustainability of the healthcare system that is functional in the country.¹⁴⁰ The reduction of childhood mortality relies on “whether effective and sustainable health interventions can be delivered to high proportions of children and mothers.”¹⁴¹ The result of these interventions provides a basis for achieving the central targets of eliminating diseases and ill health.

¹³⁵ NDP 2011:36.

¹³⁶ NDP 2011:19.

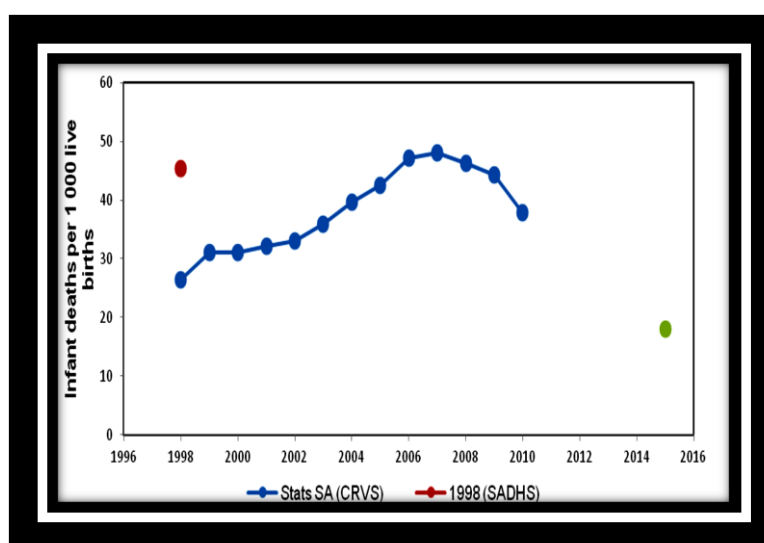
¹³⁷ World Bank 2002:203.

¹³⁸ McKerrow and Mulaudzi 2010.

¹³⁹ Dalal-Clayton 2002:8.

¹⁴⁰ McKerrow and Mulaudzi 2010.

¹⁴¹ Bryce 2003.

Figure 7 - Trends in infant mortality rates in South Africa since 1998 and the 2015 MDG target

Source: Demographic and Health Survey 1998, Department of Health; Mortality and Causes of Death, Mid-year Population Estimates, Statistics South Africa

In South Africa, the infant mortality rate (IMR), as seen in the figure above, is measured by utilising “Civil Registration and Vital Statistics (CRVS) data” and has “increased from 26 to 48 infant deaths per 1000 live births between the periods 1998 to 2007”, declined “in IMR since 2007” and “by 2010, the IMR was approximately 38 deaths per 1000 live births.”¹⁴² The NDP notes that the strategies set for decreasing child mortality in the country serves to tackle the problem head-on and will be achieved by 2030. Apart from battling with the challenge of decreasing childhood mortality rate in South Africa, the Government must also address and manage the three major global public health problems affecting the country. These include the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) / acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), tuberculosis (TB) and malaria. According to the 2013 MDG report these main public health problems undermine development in South Africa.¹⁴³

HIV-AIDS

HIV/AIDS is threatening civil society, growth and development in South Africa. Dala-Clayton and Bass reports that: HIV-AIDS and malaria are serious diseases that erode both the productive capacity and the social fabric of hard-hit nations. In the worst affected countries, HIV has already had a profound negative impact on infant, child and maternal mortality. In

¹⁴² MDGR 2013:66.

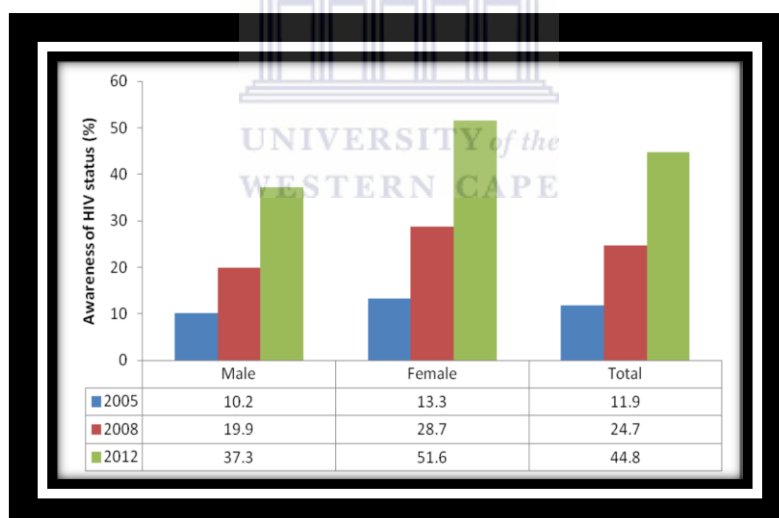
¹⁴³ MDGR 2013:84.

addition, nearly 500 million people suffer from acute malaria every year, of which 1 million die.”¹⁴⁴ In 2012, 5.6 million people in South Africa were already living with HIV-AIDS.¹⁴⁵

The HIV/AIDS epidemic has illustrated South Africa's ability to make monumental social and political mistakes – as well as its ability to correct them and implement a complex programme effectively. The health system's success in managing the epidemic over the past five years is commendable yet, there is no room for complacency.¹⁴⁶ The NDP suggests that in reducing the rate of new infections will cut this figure sustainably but even if there are no new infections, there will still be a sizeable number of HIV-positive persons requiring treatment, posing ongoing challenges for the tuberculosis infection rate, and sustaining the risk of drug-resistant HIV strains developing.¹⁴⁷

The figure below illustrates, in brief, that 44.8% of the country's citizens had an HIV test in the past 12 months and know their statuses. In comparison to previous years this level is higher and the increase from 11.9% in 2005 to 24.7% in 2008 is clear.¹⁴⁸

Figure 8 - Awareness of HIV status in last 12 months, South Africa 2005–2012



Source: South African National HIV Prevalence, Incidence and Behaviour Survey, 2012, Human Sciences Research Council

These statistics are important for the country because it provides an idea of how the type of programmes, such as awareness campaigns can assist in boosting Government's strategy to fight the disease. The HIV/AIDS epidemic has also severely impacted on the country's

¹⁴⁴ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:8.

¹⁴⁵ MDGR 2013:84.

¹⁴⁶ NDP 2011:20.

¹⁴⁷ NDP 2011:20.

¹⁴⁸ MDGR 2014:84.

policies, development and growth. The HIV epidemic and its implications for public policy are likely to be with us for at least another generation, possibly two. According to the NDP, building a national health insurance system is an important objective which comprises of four prerequisites to its success: Improving the quality of public health care, lowering the relative cost of private care, recruiting more professionals in both the public and private sectors, and developing a health information system that spans public and private health providers.¹⁴⁹ For these restructurings to become a reality, the collaboration between the public and private sectors with their respective resources is required.

Tuberculosis (TB) and Malaria

South Africa has the third highest TB burden in the world.¹⁵⁰ Halting and reversing the public health problem of TB by 2015 is another strategy delineated in the NDP. The 2013 MDG report describes the complexity of controlling the increasing drug-resistant forms of TB: "About 50-70% of new TB cases in South Africa are also co-infected with HIV. Significant challenges remain around accurate and specific diagnosis and treatment influenced by the state of severely reduced immunity."¹⁵¹ Overcoming the problem of TB in the country requires the participation from Government and citizens equally. Positively, the reduction of the malaria disease in South Africa has been visible. The 2013 MDG report also shows the "drastic declines in malaria incidence, prevalence and death rates, thus indicating that the 2015 targets have been achieved."¹⁵²

The NDP stresses the need to address these threatening diseases which can only be properly managed in a healthcare system that is efficient and functional: "The primary and district health system should provide universal access, with a focus on prevention, education, disease management and treatment. Hospitals should be effective and efficient, providing quality secondary and tertiary care for those who need it. More health professionals should be on hand, especially in poorer communities."¹⁵³ It becomes clear that poverty has been recognized to be the central reason for the spread of diseases. These diseases are primary life dangers that impact the social status and protection of civilians negatively.

In essence, these statistics prove that quality healthcare has always been a primary concern of human beings throughout history. Sen is of the view that "It should, therefore, come as no

¹⁴⁹ NDP 2011:20.

¹⁵⁰ MDGR 2013:79.

¹⁵¹ MDGR 2013:79.

¹⁵² MDGR 2013:89.

¹⁵³ NDP 2011:19.

surprise that healthcare for all has been a highly appealing social objective in most countries in the world, even in those that have not got very far in actually providing it. The usual reason given for not attempting to provide universal healthcare in a country is poverty”.¹⁵⁴

Because of the high level of poverty in South Africa, the lack and inability of the Government to provide quality healthcare to the marginalized is quite evident. According to Sen, a number of poor countries have shown, through their pioneering public policies, that basic healthcare for all can be provided at a remarkably good level at very low cost if the society, including the political and intellectual leadership, can get its act together.¹⁵⁵ It is for this reason that the NPC proposed that the reform of the public health system should focus on: Improved management, more and better trained health professionals and greater supervision over clinical and administrative matters at facility level, combined with effective accountability; better patient information systems supporting more decentralised and home-based care models; a focus on infant health care, at institutional level. These efforts collectively then would contribute to the improvement of the country's health system.¹⁵⁶

5.6.4 Improving Education and Training

Sen observes: “Given the shared communal benefits of basic education, which may transcend the gains of the person being educated, basic education may have a public-good component as well (and can be seen as a semipublic good).”¹⁵⁷ The NDP suggests that by improving early childhood development and nutrition, building stronger schooling systems, adding quality to further education and training and higher education will ultimately contribute to the augmentation of social opportunities.¹⁵⁸

As discussed above, the human development index combines indicators of longevity (life expectancy at birth), education (adult literacy rate and combined gross enrolment rate) and standard of living (real GDP per capita). It is widely accepted and can be used as a stand-alone index of human conditions or together with other socio-economic indicators, such as education as part of sustainability assessment.¹⁵⁹ The South African *Twenty Year Review* (2014) is a useful report that is used by Government to inform and shape future initiatives and operational plans regarding the vision of the NDP. The report states: “Since 1994,

¹⁵⁴ Sen 2015.

¹⁵⁵ Sen 2015.

¹⁵⁶ NDP 2011:20.

¹⁵⁷ Sen 1999:128.

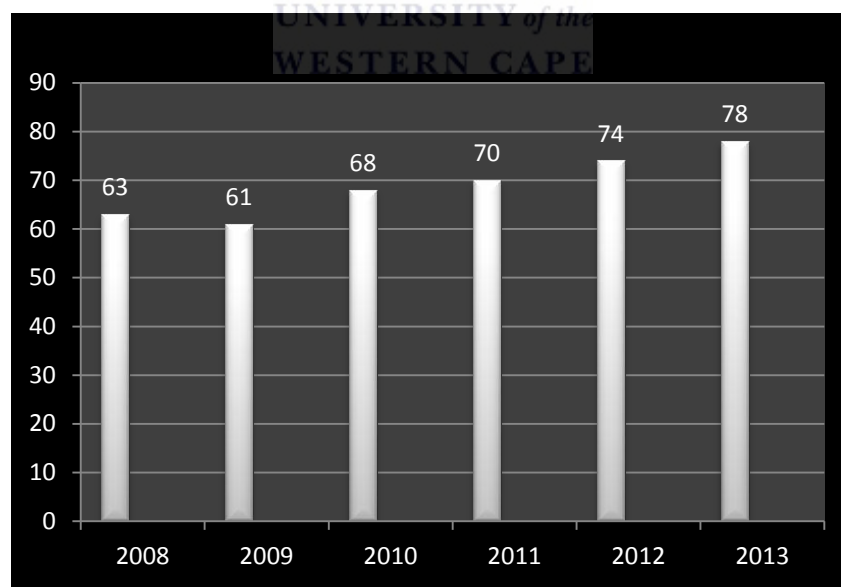
¹⁵⁸ NDP 2011:35.

¹⁵⁹ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:145.

government has implemented major policy reforms to redress past inequalities in education, transforming the education system and increasing the skills and life chances of all South Africans.”¹⁶⁰ The NDP highlights the importance of improving the quality of education. This requires “careful management”, and “support from all interested parties and time”.¹⁶¹ The quality of education, training and participation, correlates with the notion of the World Bank: “Inadequate education is one of the most powerful determinants of poverty, and unequal access to educational opportunity is a strong correlate of income inequality. Education is one of the most powerful instruments societies have for reducing deprivation and vulnerability”¹⁶² South Africa is notorious for its poor education system.¹⁶³

The historical but significant statics below as indicated in the *Twenty Year Review* report demonstrates the progress of the education system in the country at the time: “Grade 12 pass rates increased from 61 per cent in 2009 to 78% in 2013. This is partly due to increased matric support programmes offered by the Department of Basic Education (DBE), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO’s) and the private sector.”¹⁶⁴ In addition, nineteen different departments of education have been unified into a single education system, removing race as the basis for attending school.

Figure 9 - National Senior Certificate overall pass rate, 2008–2013



Source: Department of Basic Education, 2013

¹⁶⁰ See SA Twenty Year Review (2014:47).

¹⁶¹ NDP 2011:17.

¹⁶² World Bank 2002:233-234.

¹⁶³ PHRR 1998:31. The Poverty and Human Rights Report revealed that apartheid laws and policies ensured that black people were either denied education or received education that was of a poor quality.

¹⁶⁴ See SA Twenty Year Review (2014:50).

A substantial amount of work is still needed for the improvement of the education system. The NPC proposed the following goals to help in the improvement of the education and training system in the country: The first set of proposals involved addressing micronutrient deficiencies, supporting parents and families to break the cycle of poverty, and providing the best preparation for young children. The second set of proposals encompassed specific recommendations focused on better support to schools, delivering the basic necessities for a good education and measuring the right things. The third set of proposals aimed to improve the competence of schools' leadership structures. The fourth set of proposals related to teacher performance measurement and appropriate content and pedagogical support.¹⁶⁵

The crux in all these recommendations is the accountability of teachers. Teachers must be held accountable for learner performance within the learning environments. The higher education and training system needs to spend more on research and development in general, the institutional set-up also needs to improve the link between innovation and the productive needs of business.¹⁶⁶ Government should partner with the private sector to raise the level of research and development in firms. Public resources should be targeted to build the research infrastructure required by a modern economy in line with the country's development strategy.¹⁶⁷

Sen explains why it is important to continuously improve social services: "Without developing social sectors like school education and basic healthcare services, and without carrying outland reforms, it will not be possible to have participatory and widely shared economic growth. Education and healthcare are not only vital for quality of life; they have much to contribute to economic development and social change. For modern production, especially for the world market, quality control is essential, and in this, it is crucial that people can read instructions and specifications. Also, education and health help people to search for new opportunities and to take up new jobs".¹⁶⁸

Sen's puts forward the central idea that equal opportunities for all are fundamental to economic growth and development not just for the country but for individual agents alike and this resonates with the NDP's sustainable development paradigm. Both Sen and the NDP's view emit that with adequate social opportunities, individuals can effectively shape their own destiny and help each other. They need not be seen primarily as passive recipients

¹⁶⁵ NDP 2011:18.

¹⁶⁶ NDP 2011:18.

¹⁶⁷ NDP 2011:19.

¹⁶⁸ Sen 2013.

of the benefits of cunning development programs. There is indeed a strong rationale for recognizing the positive role of free and sustainable agency – and even of constructive impatience.¹⁶⁹ The idea can contribute into making the NDP more viable because of its sensitivity toward human development.

One such example of sensitivity toward human development as provided by the NDP would be in the context of shifting to a greener economy: “A shift to a green economy and more sustainable practices in general should not be seen in opposition to development, job creation and economic growth. Nor should it be seen as a nice-to-have or merely an additional sector of the economy. With all the development challenges in SA the only way to really advance environmental sustainability is to tie it clearly to human and economic development.”¹⁷⁰

5.6.5 South Africa's Infrastructure: The Shift to a Greener Economy

Generally, aspects of infrastructure are regarded as “those basic facilities and services which facilitates different economic activities and thereby help in economic development of the country.”¹⁷¹ Infrastructure is the basic requirement for economic and sustainable development globally and does not directly produce goods and services, but facilitates production in primary, secondary and tertiary economic activities by creating external economies. The level of economic and sustainable development in any country directly depends on the improvement of infrastructure. The sustainable development model and its initiatives are adopted and applied by many countries around the world. Dalal-Clayton and Bass observes: “Recognition of deteriorating environmental trends led to the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm which, in turn, led to the creation of UNEP AND IIED. Since then, worldwide acceptance of the importance of environmental issues has grown enormously.”¹⁷²

The conceptualization of environmental sustainable development differs from one country to another although the propositions of the World Bank are shared in a common way with an understanding of the following factors: “Environmental activities can provide effective ways to empower the poor. The scope of environmental concerns is quite broad. It includes water supply and wastewater disposal, solid waste removal, indoor and urban air pollution, and natural resource issues such as land degradation, deforestation and loss of coastal ecosystems

¹⁶⁹ Sen 1999:11.

¹⁷⁰ NDP 2011:185.

¹⁷¹ Metha 2015:1. See also Grabowski, Self, S and Shields (2007).

¹⁷² Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:11.

and fisheries. Better environmental management provides many opportunities to build sustainable livelihoods. Natural resources can be put to more productive use to alleviate income poverty.”¹⁷³ South Africa’s history of economic development was based on the extraction of its mineral wealth and other resources, and the exploitation of its indigenous population. According to Liebenberg and Pillay the priority rested within the interests of industry and this resulted in the environment and people being neglected, industrial pollution, contamination of ground water and exploitative mining practices which led to disease and poverty.¹⁷⁴

These environmental issues are also concerned with the equilibrium of several factors, such as poverty, unemployment and inequality. In this regard, equilibrium denotes that poverty alleviations should not damage the environment of the poor, which would only substitute gains in one area for losses in another, and improving environmental conditions should ultimately help reduce poverty.¹⁷⁵

Dalal-Clayton and Bass provides an in-depth explanation of the effects some environmental issues, particularly global energy use, might have on economic infrastructure, human life and the ecosystem: “Since 1971, global energy use has increased by nearly 70% and is projected to continue to increase by over 2% over the next 15 years – despite the fact that 2 billion people are still largely unconnected to the fossil fuel-based economy. While the increase will mean that more people will have access to energy services, it will raise greenhouse gas emissions by 50% over current levels, unless there are serious efforts to increase energy efficiency and reduce reliance on fossil fuels. Although there has been considerable growth and technical progress in the use of renewable energy sources such as wind, solar, geothermal, hydro-electricity and others, public infrastructure and the convenience of fossil fuels and their low prices seriously inhibit any large-scale switch to the use of such clean energy sources in the foreseeable future.”¹⁷⁶ The fundamental environmental aspects of South Africa’s infrastructure encompass transport, energy, water resources, and information communication technology networks. Based on a sustainable development paradigm, a brief overview of these aspects as dealt with in the NDP will be provided here.

¹⁷³ World Bank 2002:376.

¹⁷⁴ Liebenberg and Pillay 2000:136. Apartheid city planning has ensured that most of the negative impacts on the environment are felt by historically disadvantaged communities. According to Liebenberg and Pillay the conditions today include poor provision of services, dangerous and unhealthy work places, air pollution and lack of access to quick and safe transport, all contributes to stress and poor health in these communities.

¹⁷⁵ World Bank 2002:376.

¹⁷⁶ Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:9.

Coal

Coal makes an important, continuous contribution to the economic and social pillars of sustainable development.¹⁷⁷ The effectiveness and usefulness of coal and how it can impact economic infrastructures significantly, has been greatly endorsed by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD): “Coal’s environmental performance has improved steadily. Faster and more dramatic improvement in environmental performance is feasible now and should be a high priority of industry and government to enhance coal’s contribution to the third pillar of sustainable development.”¹⁷⁸ According to the NDP, the actions that should be instituted for the effective management of coal in the country is to “ensure domestic security of coal supply for existing power stations through industry compact, more comprehensive coal field planning, invest in a new heavy-haul corridor to the Waterberg coal field, upgrade the central basin coal network and expand export capacity in the line to Richards Bay.”¹⁷⁹ Government has recognized that coal was and still is fundamental to the country’s energy resources.

Oil and Gas

The functions that the oil and gas industry must fulfil in a sustainable development model should be “to meet the needs of the global society for oil and gas at a reasonable cost, safely and with minimal impact on the environment until suitable alternate energy sources are available.”¹⁸⁰ The NDP asserts that the “enabling” of “exploratory drilling to identify economically recoverable coal seam and shale gas reserves while environmental investigations will continue to ascertain whether sustainable exploitation of these resources is possible” and the development of “infrastructure for the import of liquefied natural gas, mainly for power production, over the short to medium term.”¹⁸¹

Electricity

Energy is central to achieving the goals of sustainable development. Electricity measurements consist of both qualitative and quantitative factors.¹⁸² Some proposals put forward by the NDP for the effective management of electricity include: Moving to less carbon-intensive electricity production; Moving Eskom’s system operator, planning, power procurement,

¹⁷⁷ OECD 2002:5.

¹⁷⁸ OECD 2002:5. See also World Coal Institute (WCI) (2009) for annual global reports on coal and liquid fuels.

¹⁷⁹ NDP 2011:31.

¹⁸⁰ Arscott 2004:1.

¹⁸¹ NDP 2011:31.

¹⁸² IAEA 2006:5.

power purchasing and power contracting functions to the independent system and market operator and accelerated procurement of independent power producers; Ring-fencing the electricity distribution businesses of the twelve largest municipalities, resolve maintenance and refurbishment backlogs and develop a financing plan, alongside investment in human capital and; Revising a national electrification plan and ensure 90 percent coverage by 2020 and 95 percent coverage by 2030.¹⁸³

Liquid Fuels

Liquid fuels are part of the South Africa's energy system and it may impact the economy negatively or positively. In terms of sufficient resources, the NDP observes that: Over 70% of South Africa's primary energy derives from coal, as does more than 90% of electricity and a third of liquid fuels. There must be an upgrade of refineries to ensure they meet new fuel quality standards and insist on strategic fuel stocks to ensure security of supply and to continue to import refined fuels, ensuring that the growing deficit in petroleum products are met, and defer on a new refinery to 2017. In 20 years the country's energy system will look very different: coal will contribute much less to primary energy needs, while gas and renewable energy resources, especially wind, solar and imported hydroelectricity will play a much larger role.¹⁸⁴ The warning signs are clear for South Africa. If these actions listed here by the NDP are not instituted effectively, the country will probably experience an energy crisis in future.

Transport and Tourism

Generally, sustainable transportation links elements of production together in order to strengthen bonds between producers and consumers. One issue that has been raised in the past about the various strategies for sustainable transportation is: What will their economic consequences be? Deakin asserts that "transportation investments, particularly in highways, have been seen as engines of economic growth and development. Because environmental considerations have been viewed as constraints on the expansion of the transportation system, they also have been seen as potential brakes on economic growth."¹⁸⁵ The NDP states that "South Africa's modes of transport include road, rail, air, sea (ports) and pipeline. While the country has worked hard since 1994 to overcome its transport problem, its economic

¹⁸³ NDP 2011:31.

¹⁸⁴ NDP 2011:31,140.

¹⁸⁵ Deakin 2001:13.

geography presents many transport challenges.”¹⁸⁶ Efficient transport has been and always will be a crucial element for economic development in South Africa. In addition, actions on issue of manufacturing include the support local manufacturing demonstrating long-term viability by procuring locally and the focus on reducing transport logistics costs. Actions on tourism include the provision of regional tourism packages to increase value for money for tourists, consideration for a single SADC visa for some type of tourists and Public-sector employment and public employment schemes. Institutional capability and culture requires actions of addressing fragmentation in government regarding micro-economic reform strategy and its implementation.¹⁸⁷

Technology

According to Dalal-Clayton and Bass: “Telephones, fax machines, computers, television and radio have transformed the ability of ordinary people to become informed, and thus to liberate their creative potential. Each technology has contributed to breaking down barriers to information exchange.”¹⁸⁸ Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is viewed as both a means and an end for development with roughly two-thirds of the world economy based on services. Even within manufacturing and industry, ICT has an increasingly important role to play.¹⁸⁹ Promoting ICT as part of social vision requires, according to Dalal-Clayton and Bass, the formulation of relevant public policy, new approaches to knowledge, learning and evaluation, and sensitive approaches to differential access, use and appropriation of ICTs.¹⁹⁰ The NDP suggests that “the regulatory framework should be changed to ensure that internet broadband capacity improves, prices fall significantly and access improves.”¹⁹¹

Water and Natural Resources

Moreover, the contrary of the resource expletive has been widely debated in mainstream and academic theory for several decades. While energy is a central issue concerned with infrastructure, water resources are also being highly scrutinized as it has become a crisis for so many countries around the world. Dalal-Clayton and Bass asserts that: “Global water consumption is rising rapidly, and availability of water is predicated to become one of the most pressing and contentious issues in the 21st century. One-third of the world’s population

¹⁸⁶ NDP 2011:161.

¹⁸⁷ NDP 2011:30.

¹⁸⁸ Dalal-Clayton 2002:9-230.

¹⁸⁹ Tongia, Subrahmanian and Arunachalam 2005:19.

¹⁹⁰ Dalal-Clayton 2002:9-248..

¹⁹¹ NDP 2011:32.

lives in countries already experiencing moderate to high levels of water shortage.”¹⁹² Since 1994, South Africa experienced continual changes in water-related policy, practice, institutional frameworks, role players and outcomes. As water becomes scarcer, the country needed coherent plans to use water more sustainably.¹⁹³ According to the NDP policy shifted from a focus on infrastructure development to a more holistic water resource management approach that addressed both the water demand and supply.¹⁹⁴ The NDP tackles the problem of water resources head-on by proposing a comprehensive management strategy including an investment programme for water resource development and bulk water and wastewater management for major centres.¹⁹⁵ The mandate for these reforms came from the priority in 1994 to ensure that all South Africans gained equitable access to at least a safe and reliable water supply and dignified, hygiene sanitation.

Economists, political scientists, activists and natural resource industry professionals have all focused on the question of whether the presence of natural resources is beneficial or harmful for developing countries.¹⁹⁶ Dalal-Clayton and Bass asserts: “Environmental deterioration continues to increase with serious depletion of natural resources, including soil, erosion, and loss of forests and fish stocks. Current patterns of production and consumption, and global climate change, raise questions about the continued capacity of the earth’s natural resource base to feed and sustain a growing and increasingly urbanized population, and to provide sinks for wastes.”¹⁹⁷ South Africa needed to move away from the unsustainable use of natural resources and created a plan that would protect the oceans, soil and wildlife, which were sustainably used to the benefit of the country’s future.¹⁹⁸

Transitioning to a Low-Carbon Economy

Many countries around the world, including South Africa, are currently energy-intensive economies. Dalal-Clayton and Bass maintains that: “In the 1990s, annual emissions of CO₂ were almost four times the 1950 level with atmospheric concentrations of CO₂ reaching their highest level in 160 000 years. The balance of evidence suggests that there is a discernible human influence on global climate change. This is expected to result in shifts of climatic zones, changes in the productivity of ecosystems and species composition, and an increase in

¹⁹² Dalal-Clayton 2002:10.

¹⁹³ Liebenberg & Pillay 2000:136.

¹⁹⁴ NDP 2011:154.

¹⁹⁵ NDP 2011:31. See also Flint (2004).

¹⁹⁶ Arellano 2011:1.

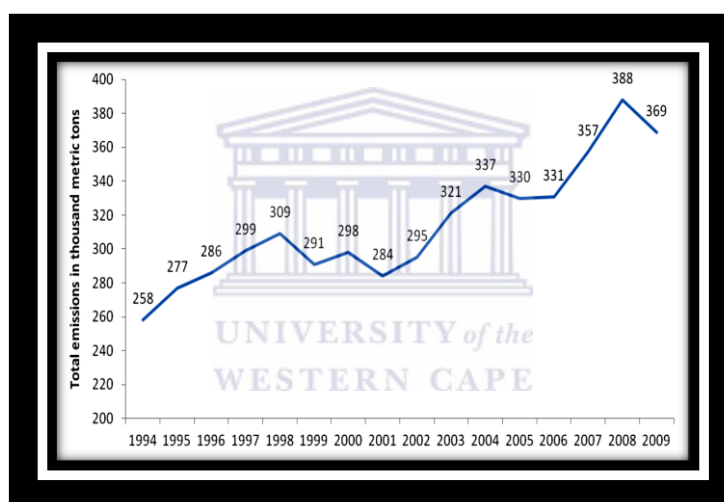
¹⁹⁷ Dalal-Clayton 2002:9-10.

¹⁹⁸ Liebenberg & Pillay 2000:136.

extreme weather events. This will have substantial impacts on human health and the viability of natural resources management in agriculture, forestry and fisheries. Developing countries, and notably the least developed, are expected to be the most vulnerable to the impacts of global climate change, although their current contribution to the problem is minimal.”¹⁹⁹

Like most other countries South Africa is also vulnerable and exposed to the impact of climate change and variability due to the socio-economic and environmental context.” The figure below shows (as documented in the MDG report) that: “The country is a major emitter of CO₂ and accounts for 65% of Africa’s emissions. Its per capita emissions are higher than those of many European countries. Most of these emissions have their source in the energy sector, mainly from electricity supply, industry, transport and liquid fuels supply.”²⁰⁰

Figure 10 - Carbon dioxide emissions (total) in thousand metric tons



Source: International Energy Agency, (Data accessed, 2012)

South Africa faces particular challenges and emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gasses are changing the country’s climate.²⁰¹ Global policy aimed to price the cost of carbon emissions and the country needed a coherent plan to emit less carbon.²⁰² Key proposals made by the NPC to support the transition to a low-carbon economy include: Support for a carbon budgeting approach, linking social and economic considerations to carbon reduction targets, introducing an economy-wide price for carbon complemented by a

¹⁹⁹ MDGR 2013:95. See also Dalal-Clayton and Bass 2002:9.

²⁰⁰ MDGR 2013:95.

²⁰¹ NDP 2011:9. Parts of what was already a dry country has become noticeably dryer over the past 30 years. Rising temperatures and changing rainfall patterns will have consequences for food production and water supply. The increasing demands of the affluent on the scarce resources of the earth pose a threat both to the environment and to future generations. It is doubtful whether affluence has brought a better quality of life for even the present generation. Industries and households have to reduce their negative impact on the environment.

²⁰² Liebenberg and Pillay 2000:136.

range of programmes and incentives to raise energy efficiency and manage waste more effectively; a target of 5 million solar water heaters by 2030; building standards that promote energy efficiency; simplification of the regulatory regime to encourage renewable energy; and regional hydroelectric initiatives and independent power producers. With a realistic strategy and global partnerships, South Africa can manage the transition to a low-carbon economy at a pace consistent with Government's public pledges, without harming jobs and competitiveness.²⁰³ Large-scale economic transitions are disruptive and costly. Changes to energy generation, water conservation and the uses of both are likely to be challenging and potentially disruptive for society. Managing this transition in a way that reduces costs – especially for the poor – will require competent institutions, innovative economic instruments, clear and consistent policies, and an educated and understanding electorate.

According to the World Bank environmental conditions relate to three key divisions of poverty: Firstly, poor people tend to be most directly dependent on natural resources, and are therefore the first to suffer when these resources are degraded. Secondly, poor people suffer most when water and air are polluted because pollution sources are often placed in or near poor communities. Thirdly, poor people most often exposed to environmental hazards and environment-related conflict, and are least capable of coping when they occur. While wealthier people are able to afford medical care for pollution related sicknesses like asthma and are able to move out of congested and polluted areas, poor people cannot.²⁰⁴

The issue of environmental quality is linked to that of justice and people's quality of life.²⁰⁵ Demands of an improved environment are demands for an improved quality of life which will cost a lot in the short-term. Some of the costs involved are for improved industrial safety, new energy sources, better town planning, etc. These costs are possible obstacles to getting access to these rights.²⁰⁶ According to Sen the environment is not only a matter of passive preservation, but also one of active pursuit. Even though many human activities that accompany the process of development may have destructive consequences it is also within human power to enhance and improve the environment in which we live. Indeed our power to intervene with reason and effectiveness can be substantially enhanced by the process of development itself.²⁰⁷

²⁰³ NDP 2011:15.

²⁰⁴ World Bank 2002:376.

²⁰⁵ Agyeman, Bullard and Evans 2003:1.

²⁰⁶ Liebenberg & Pillay 2000:136.

²⁰⁷ Sen 2014.

If human beings and the environment are prioritised in processes of development, sustainable economic growth will follow naturally. Such an approach to human development in the context of the NDP (or otherwise) consents the salutation of social values and predominant ethics, which can influence the freedoms that people enjoy and have reason to treasure. In addition, “these prevailing values and social mores also affect the presence or absence of corruption and the role of trust in economic or social or political relationships”.²⁰⁸ South Africa is in definite need of such values.

5.7 Conclusion

The theories covered in this chapter on Sen's ethical development, I would suggest, may substantially benefit the NDP's sustainable development paradigm in several ways. Sen's contribution to ethical development and other main issues delineated throughout this chapter grasps the essence of ultimate freedom which is the right and power to decide how anybody or anything outside ourselves will affect us. This is inclusive of the development of human capabilities and a call for development institutions to reorient their approach, from one of providing goods and services to passive recipients to one of enabling countries and their citizens' genuine opportunities to be authors of their own lives and development path.

The conceptualization of development, pre-1994 for South Africa, encapsulated colonial knowledge that was also heavily derived from British influence. Hence, it required a paradigm shift that would cause the country's Government to unmask, address and dismantle the ills of the past. Because of the country's colonial and apartheid past, new developmental ideologies were needed for the country's democracy in order to empower the poor socially, politically and economically. The NDP is the fundamental blueprint of the country's development path and embedded in it is the key to the future that all South Africans dream of; one of prosperity, hope and justice for all.

Sen's agency-centred development approach, starting within the freedom of the “self” of the individual, or the group, or the nation, cannot but bring about a deepening and broadening of human development itself. The five elements identified by Sen - as defining the type of freedom and agency that makes “development” possible - all provide direct practical and normative ethical substance to test the viability of the South African NDP. Of course “*political freedom*” is essential for citizens to be empowered to develop and to meaningfully contribute to the nation's development. However, Sen makes it clear that we are not only

²⁰⁸ Sen 1999:9.

talking here of typical first generation “political and civil rights”. It is not only about the freedom to vote, but more essentially the freedom to be, to have equal access and to participate in social and economic processes. To have this for all citizens means avoidance of corruption at all levels, of state capture by small powerful elites, of exclusion from capital markets of the vast majority of citizens. It means freedom on the deep level of personal agency and will to participate and to belong.

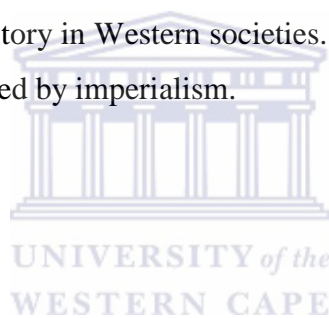
“*Economic facilitation*” for individuals is also part of first generation rights. This needs to be distinguished from “*social opportunities*”, the typical second generation socio-economic rights, or “social security”, which receives much attention in all developing countries, and should also do so: state-sponsored or subsidised health, education, basic services such as water, transport, shelter, schools, policing. “Economic facilitation” for Sen means open markets, title to land (also actively promoted by both Economic Freedom Fighter leader Mr Julius Malema and billionaire Dr Christo Wiese!), credit facilities, access to training and transport – thus economic facilitation for all citizens as part of their normal citizens’ rights. On top of, and supplementing, such “freedom and agency” Sen deals with the special provisions for socio-economic “social opportunities” (or social security services) as to be created by the state. This distinction seems to address a grey area in the NDP which may need much more attention.

“*Transparency guarantees*” and “*protective security*”, underline two aspects of the NDP which have through the most recent history of protests and upheavals, especially of workers and students, including the “Fees must fall” and “Zuma must fall” campaigns, become very prominent in South Africa’s national discourse. “Transparency guarantees” deal prominently with the role of the judiciary and other state offices such as that of the Public protector, to fight corruption, dubious tendering processes, conflict of interests, and to ensure access to justice for all, protection by a non-corrupt and reliable police force, and a transparent system of reporting crime. The concept of “protective security” makes special provision for the fact that there are millions of ordinary citizens who suffer extreme deprivation, who are simply left out of normal citizen participation in the socio-economic life of the nation, who need additional and special attention and protection: emergency services, shelters, food and other networks of life.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁹ Working out the consequences of all these detail implications of Sen’s theory for the NDP, as it is implemented towards 2030, may be a very worthwhile task for the National Planning Commission.

The NDP aspires to create a development path for the country that is sustainable and that improve the quality of life and livelihoods for all citizens and advances the protection of the environment. The aspirations, as delineated in the NDP, I call, decolonial ideals for South Africa. These decolonial ideals of the NDP, recognizes the wrongdoings of the past and de-links it from the negative “perspectives of the spaces that have been silenced, repressed, demonized, devaluated by the triumphant chart of self-promoting modern epistemology, politics and economy and its internal dissensions” and purports a stance that is optimistic and hopeful for development and globalization.²¹⁰

A sustainable developing South African economy can contribute positively toward processes of globalization. For more than five centuries a process of social, economic and political domination has been developed on a global level by global powers. The construction of global powers began with the expansion of Western economic interests. In economic terms, we say that it is a process of capitalist development, handled by a social class that started to take shape for the first time in history in Western societies. Hence, globalization is often seen as global Westernization dominated by imperialism.



²¹⁰ Mignolo and Escobar 2013:2.

CHAPTER 6

THE NDP, CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION AND A GLOBAL ETHIC

6.1 Introduction

Sustainable development and globalization are interrelated topics. Hans Küng, President of the Foundation for a Global Ethic (*Stiftung Weltethos*), asserts that: “Globalization is unavoidable, ambivalent, incalculable, and can be controlled rationally, ethics has an indispensable and important role to play in the process of globalization ... In the face of the globalization and deregulation of the markets and the principle of economic competition, which is increasingly dominating international relations, there must also be explicit reflection beyond the national level on the global dimensions of a truly social and ecological market economy ... Globalization calls for a global ethic; world politics and the world economy call for an ethic.”¹

The broad topic of globalization encapsulates notions of the economy and the environment and “what seems to be taking place all over the world is a trans-nationalization of elites side by side with a growing disintegration of natural societies and local communities.”² Interestingly, it has been found that there are positive, negative and more neutral outcomes linked to globalization.³ Globalization should be a process that equally benefits human, ecological and economic development factors and it “isn’t something devised or planned in the sense that it could be undone”.⁴ A lack of balance, then, will elicit justice.

This chapter deals with South Africa’s sustainable development prospect in a time of globalization and a global ethic.

¹ Küng 1997:17. See also Küng 1997:215.

² Nef and Reiter 2009:132-133.

³ Anthony Giddens’s monograph on the renewal of social democracy, after the fall of communism and in response to the “runaway world” of neo-capitalism, *The Third Way*, sketches the background for the three possible reactions to globalization: the positive enthusiasts, the negative doom-sayers and those seeking a third way. See Giddens’ *Runaway World: How Globalization is reshaping our lives* (2001), and *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy* (1998: 1-26).

⁴ Dyer 2005:3. Normally globalization embeds the idea that both rich and poor equally benefits from a global economy. However, a number of worldwide economists and ecumenicals, amongst others, argue that the exact opposite is unfolding and it has become “precisely the runaway nature” (deepening and widening) and aggressive consumption of the global capitalist economy that is the issue for both environmental governance and resistance to globalization. See also Giddens (1999:24-100) for the serious consequences of the new runaway world (1998).

6.2 Critical and Ethical Perspectives of Globalization

Globalization in the context of South Africa's post-colonial and post-apartheid epochs would be placed within a "spectrum of available options to imagine, think and engage in making global futures".⁵ Defining globalization has become a battleground of different approaches for domination of the playing field amongst critics of different persuasions. Some of these critics begin to understand, rather reluctantly, that globalization is a serious and permanent reality and that it is taking the centre stage within economic debates. Indeed, globalization represents a hot, simmering debate within secular as well as ecumenical circles. According to Raiser the concept was first used some forty years ago and seems to be linked to the rapid changes in the field of mass communication, transforming the world into a *global village*. More specifically, he states that the concept has come into use to describe developments in the world economy over the past ten years following the collapse of the communist empire in Eastern Europe.⁶

Globalization is described as the most abused word of the twenty first century as an economic term, but there are numerous undertones in this perception. For the purpose of this study the broad definition, as provided by Stiglitz, will be followed: "Globalization encompasses many things; the international flow of ideas and knowledge, the sharing of cultures, global civil society, and the global environmental movement. Economic globalization entails the closer economic integration of the countries of the world through the increased flow of goods and services, capital, and even labour."⁷ It may be sobering, however, to juxtapose this definition to several other widely used ones, emphasizing other aspects of globalization.

Stackhouse, with his economic approach to globalization, categorically advocates a rather romantic and idealistic, almost messianic, view: "Globalization, I believe is a potential civilizational shift that involves the growth of a worldwide infrastructure that bears the prospect of a new form of civil society, one that may well comprehend all previous national, ethnic, political, economic or cultural contexts."⁸ According to Stackhouse, it portends a cosmopolitan possibility that modernity promised but could not deliver, and thus can be considered as the most profound post-modernism. The spread, for instance, of the ideals of democracy, human rights and education are all part of globalization. Collectively, these make certain economic alterations possible and others essential. Mittleman, also by following an

⁵ Mignolo and Escobar 2010.

⁶ Raiser 2002:3.

⁷ Stiglitz 2006:4.

⁸ Stackhouse 2007:1-2.

economic approach, emphasises the opening of barriers between countries and trading-blocks: "Globalization refers to the process of reducing barriers between countries and encouraging closer economic, political, and social interaction."⁹ These interactions portray the interconnectedness between different countries around the world no matter where these countries are located geographically. Neo-liberal driven globalization is entrenched in existing inequalities between regions, nations and the rich and poor, rather than improving the lot of all its citizens.¹⁰ In this sense, "decolonial subjectivities also confronts neo-liberalism which argue not only for the end of history, but the *telos* of futures".¹¹ *Telos* refer to the end or purpose, and it is the root of the term "teleology," roughly the study of purposiveness, or the study of objects with a view to their aims, purposes, or intentions.

From a geo-historical perspective, globalization is described by Teresa Brennan as: "The continuation and logical outcome of a process of extension, a process which begins with the division between household and workplace, grows through specialization in production, then through colonialism, concentrations in land use, through urbanization and suburbanization, and through other forms of spatial reach."¹² Globalization, then, which becomes an economic project that demands the acceleration of production through expansion, must be delinked from old ways to new ways. Mignolo asserts: "Decolonial projects dwell in the borders, are anchored in double consciousness, in mestiza consciousness. It is a colonial subaltern epistemology in and of the global and the variegated faces of the colonial wound inflicted by five hundred years of the historical foundation modernity as a weapon of imperial/colonial global expansion of Western capitalism."¹³

The impacts of globalization on economic and political scales differ from each other. On the one hand, economic globalization has substantial and discernible impacts which alter the balance of resources, economic and political, within and across borders, requiring more sophisticated, developed systems of global and regional regulation.¹⁴ On the other hand, political globalization in the framework of political communities can no longer be thought of as discrete worlds or as self-enclosed political spaces; the ultimate impact is that they are

⁹ Mittleman 2005:5.

¹⁰ See Globalization 101 2011. <http://www.globalization101.org>.

¹¹ Sithole 2015:3.

¹² Brennan 2003:3. See also Quijano (2010), in the beginning of colonialism was a product of a systematic repression, not only of the specific beliefs, ideas, images symbols or knowledge that were not useful to global colonial domination, while at the same time the colonies were expropriating from the colonized their knowledge, specifically in mining, agriculture, engineering, as well as their products and work.

¹³ Mignolo and Escobar 2010.

¹⁴ Heslam 2004:6-9.

enmeshed in complex structures of overlapping forces, relations and networks.¹⁵ According to Brohawn, Greaney and Kurland, authors of *The Just Third Way: A New Vision for Providing Hope, Justice and Economic Empowerment* (1998): “Economic globalization has become associated with a growing gap between the rich and the poor, technological alienation of the worker from the means of production, and the phenomenon of wage arbitrage, where global corporations and strategic alliances can force workers in high-cost wage markets to compete with labour-saving tools and foreign workers costing less to hire.”¹⁶

Concepts of globalization include sceptical and radical ideas. On the one hand it can be argued that sceptical ideologies view the talk about globalization as only that. Whatever its benefits and non-benefits, the global economy is not especially different from that which existed in previous periods. On the other hand it can be argued that the radical ideology not only views globalization as very real, but that its consequences can be felt everywhere. The global market-place, they say, is much more developed than even in the 1960s and 1970s and is indifferent to national borders.¹⁷

For the optimists of the globalization debate, the main evidence for economic globalization lies in the fact that there is a single fully integrated global economy. At one level, there is significant evidence that economic globalization is bringing increasing prosperity. The pessimists of the phenomenon are of the view that the growth of world trade is also responsible for a range of global problems, such as environmental decline and increasing global inequalities. Traditionalists point out that while some parts of the world are truly part of a global system, others are left outside most of the time.

Third Way analysts advocate a new vision for providing hope, justice and economic empowerment, according to which the market should be a free market system which economically empowers all individuals and families through direct and effective ownership of the means of production - the best check against the potential for corruption and abuse.¹⁸ The contrast between radical and sceptical thought is indeed a sharp one. Radical views, here, consider detailed developments and tendencies of globalization while sceptical views zoom into ongoing global processes which are more divided and territorial. As discussed above, the

¹⁵ Heslam 2004:6-9.

¹⁶ Brohawn, Greaney and Kurland 1998:1-2.

¹⁷ Giddens 2001:26. See also Escobar (2010), Giddens has made the argument most forcefully: globalization and entails the radicalization and universalization of modernity.

¹⁸ Viklund 2012. Logically, a third way would be a free market system which economically empowers all individuals and families through direct and effective ownership of the means of production—the best check against the potential for corruption and abuse.

ideologies provide an indication that historically and contemporarily there is no single way in which globalization is approached. On a global platform, there is no economic or sociological entity that can escape globalization. It is everybody's business. The impact of globalization cannot solely consist of economic and ecological elements; it must also consider the centrality of human beings and human dignity.¹⁹

Globalization in itself initiates change. It does not matter how the term is defined and conceptualized, it continues to carry the critical element of change throughout the world. Processes and policies of globalization are altered almost every day to fit the world system. This world system includes features of colonization, ascensions of nation states, and also the so-called decreasing of empires.²⁰ For the longest time, globalization, as a common term in development, underwent significant impacts (negative and positive) on the global economic spheres.²¹ Some critics maintain that these changes can never be forgotten and that the past determines the present, and lead us into the future world economy. Significant economic, political, cultural and ecological changes are all part of this process. It is indeed difficult to detect if these changes are for the better or for the worse for all human life, but one issue that remains unchanged is the fact that it is definitely not to the benefit of *everyone* in the global community.

The mixture of definitions as outlined above certainly is alarming because all of them address a commonality of elements, such as economics, politics, ecology and culture. Out of all these complexities of the concepts, definitions, critiques, scepticisms and changes of globalization flow a more important, critical and fundamental challenge. This challenge is the use (or abuse) of human power. According to Nürnberger one of the most outstanding distinctiveness of human beings is the ability to build up economic power and this can manifest itself in two ways: "The growing ability to exploit nature more efficiently through advances in technology, and the accumulation of power by some human beings at the expense of

¹⁹ See Fanon (1952:vii): Dignity is not located in seeking equality with the white man and his civilization: it is not about assuming the attitudes of the master who has allowed his slaves to eat at his table. It is about being oneself with all the multiplicities, systems and contradictions at one's own ways of being, doing and knowing. It is about being true to one's Self.

²⁰ See Quijano (2010): If we observe the main lines of exploitation and social domination on a global scale, the main lines of world power today, and the distribution of resources and work among the world population, it is very clear that the large majority of the exploited, the dominated, the discriminated against, are precisely the members of the races, ethnies, or nations into which the colonized populations, were categorized in the formative process of the world power, from the conquest of America and onward.

²¹ Hirst and Thompson 1999:5-6.

others.”²² The pursuit of becoming powerful at the expense of others constitutes attributes which are connected to or aligned with the notion of empire. Ndlovu-Gatsheni defines the term empire as “double-faced, hiding coloniality behind rhetoric of spreading modernity, civilization, development, democracy and human rights”.²³

This is indeed also the term, the catch phrase (fitting for Nürnberger's theory, I would suggest), used in the Accra Declaration of 2004: “As seekers of truth and justice and looking through the eyes of powerless and suffering people, we see that the current world (dis)order is rooted in an extremely complex and immoral economic system defended by empire. In using the term empire we mean the coming together of economic, cultural, political and military power that constitutes a system of domination led by powerful nations to protect and defend their own interests.”²⁴ Neoliberal globalization is but one example that illuminates this notion.

Globally, the Christian community has been actively involved in inter-religious dialogue and in shaping its potential response to the challenges of globalization.²⁵ Among the different religious reactions to globalization, “those from the Christian community” is being sharply challenged.”²⁶ Professor of Theology at the University of the Western Cape South Africa, Christo Lombard argues: “A comprehensive understanding and definition of ecumenism should be broad enough to include civil courage initiatives, not only since they are mostly started and driven by Christians, but also because their substances are human rights and justice issues embraced by the world ecumenical movement.”²⁷ Lombard's notion describes ecumenism as the healing and lighting system to the world and therefore it is imperative that the voices of ecumenicals be heard within global economic discussions. Stellenbosch University professor and systematic theologian, Dirkie Smit, asserts the following: “Ecumenism is concerned with the world. This ecumenical concern for the world is clearly based on normative vision. During the last decade voices grew stronger that the tension

²² Nürnberger 1998:10. See also Mignolo and Escobar (2010): Decolonial thinking highlights racial discrimination (the hierarchy of human beings, since the sixteenth century, that justified economic and political subordination of people of colour and women) and of course also in class exploitation, in the sense that class acquired in Europe after the Industrial Revolution. In the colonies workers are colonial subjects of colour. In the heart of empire (Western Europe and the U.S.), workers are the racialized minorities. Certainly, neo-liberalism is bringing the celebration to the white middle class in the U.S., Germany, and elsewhere and of course, more than ever, to the once existing middle class in some ex-colonial countries.

²³ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:x.

²⁴ Accra Declaration 2004:3.

²⁵ See for instance William Schweiker's *Responsibility and Christian Ethics* (1995) which pertains to the role of Christians in the world and their responsibility in terms of the world economy and globalization.

²⁶ Raiser 2002:49, 71.

²⁷ Lombard 2013:129.

between the struggles for unity and justice should be overcome. There can be little doubt that globalization played a major role in bringing the ecumenical movement to this point where it is seriously striving to combine ecclesiological and ethical concerns under the vision of *koinonia*.²⁸ The ecumenical movement is robustly addressing the challenges of globalization and their views speak strongly about core issues of human rights and justice that must be integrated into global economic spheres.

Similarly, Ndlovu-Gatsheni's declares: "If globalization is traced back to the time of the slave trade onwards, it unfolded as a systematic patriarchal structuring of localized, sexualized, global exploitation. This is not meant to totally dismiss globalization's other character of inexorable integration of markets, nation states and technologies. What is beyond doubt is that capital is moving very fast across boundaries while labour and technology are not."²⁹ In a time of globalization, the hunger for power has become more intensified and challenging. Generally, the opportunity to gain rapid wealth and power is through the form of neo-liberalism. In the context of globalization, neoliberal is a concept used to describe proponents of a free market capitalist economy. In the words of Christi van der Westhuizen: "Neoliberal globalization contains a paradox in that it is a policy of depoliticization. It seeks to elevate economic power above conventional political power – which holds dire consequences for democracy."³⁰ The false promise that neoliberal globalization presented to the world economy had and still has devastating consequences.

Nico Koopman, author of *Human Dignity in the Context of Globalization* (2010), explains: "Freedom in the neoliberal perspective has to do with the ability to act as one chooses; freedom from constraint and control by external powers, specifically by governments."³¹ In this regard it could be concluded that neo-liberalism's political and economic interests have always been intertwined. As a norm, rights and freedoms are always in positive correlation with each other and neoliberal globalization demands quite the opposite. Freedom in the negative sense is acceptable to neoliberals because of their need to control and dominate. Positively, rights are often supported as privileges that would be good for people to have and it is "rights shared by all".³² Enclosed in the idea of globalization is the "rights shared by all"

²⁸ Smit 2007: 258-262.

²⁹ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:9.

³⁰ Van der Westhuizen 2009:4.

³¹ Koopman 2010:238. This paper firstly discusses a Trinitarian rationale and basis for human dignity. In the second part, it describes features of a life where human dignity is acknowledged, affirmed and fulfilled. The paper then evaluates four notions of the so-called "good life", with reference to four models of globalization.

³² Sen 2000:230.

idea, but in reality this is not always the truth. Peter Wahl, an expert on issues of world trade and international finance, describes the global fiscal factors regarding globalization: “The whole finance system in its neo-liberal form has proved to be economically unstable and inefficient as well as harmful to equality, general welfare and democracy. Therefore, systematic changes are necessary. One of our major goals is to pull down the pillars of neo-liberalism, particularly the worldwide mobility of capital.”³³ Neo-liberal globalization, then, in this framework seems to be giving an idea of what the consequences of the current fiscal system has on many countries around the world.

The resistance of such neoliberal globalization is evident in the *Agape* process “to confront idolatrous assumptions, unjust systems, politics of domination and exploitation in our current world economic order”.³⁴ It demands the endless flow of sacrifices from the poor and it makes the false promise that it can save the world through the creation of wealth and prosperity. In order to produce a globalization with more viable and ethical measures, “the far reaching powers of the market mechanism have to be supplemented by the creation of basic social equity and justice”.³⁵ It is useful to support the idea that the original vision of neo-liberalism became contaminated with issues of greed, lust for more power and self-interest at the expense of creation and those who are powerless. It is within these boundaries that ecumenicals advocate that the economy is not an issue for the world to control, but it is also an issue of faith within worldwide ecumenical movements.

Global ecumenical movements and organizations are not exempted from the major challenges of globalization; in fact, there is a massive responsibility upon them to overcome the challenges of globalization.³⁶ The immense intensity of the acceleration of the globalizing world is certainly a call for Christian ethical responsibility to be exercised within its spheres. Contemporary euphoric ideas of the power of globalization coming from its optimists seem unrealistic simply because it cannot be associated with the pursuit of justice in the global economy and ecology. It is with this concern that ecumenical organizations should initiate global turnarounds which can stabilize and equalize the universality of global capitalism. Jonathan Sacks eloquently writes: “Global capitalism is a system of immense power, from which it has become increasingly difficult for nations to dissociate themselves. More effectively than armies, it has won a battle against rival systems and ideologies, among them

³³ Wahl 2009:26.

³⁴ Agape 2005:4.

³⁵ Sen 2000:143.

³⁶ Ecumenicals, then mainstream their approaches with government efforts to make globalization work. See also. Guy and Mhone's *Governance in the New South Africa: The Challenges of Globalization* (2003).

fascism, communism and socialism, and has emerged as the dominant option in the twenty-first century for countries seeking economic growth".³⁷ From this notion flows various complexities (one of them being empire) that needs attention from ecumenical organizations and movements in order to facilitate the global economic change as needed.

Wasserloos-Strunk describes empire in ecumenical discourse: "There seem to be a rare agreement in these circles about what the empire is: a great power or a coalition of powers that pursues (with military support) a great power policy which secures its own existence with the help of the radical exploitation of others."³⁸ It is within this orbit that ecumenicals must indeed find a channel through which the prophetic work within the global economy can be *performed*. The church should decree that God is the ultimate power through which everything must find its purpose. Lombard's view resonates with this definition: "For those contributing in the prophetic work within the worldwide church, in service of the kingdom of God, these are once again kairos times, where all have to listen to the promptings of the Spirit of God whose habitat is the chaos of our human world. We need to work with real dedication in formulating our own theological underpinnings of our critique of the negative effects of capital-driven, market-dominated, empire-manipulated, greed-oriented globalization."³⁹

Since the meeting of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Ghana (2004), and the adoption of the Accra Declaration, a debate has been raging in the churches about globalization, socio-economic justice, ecological responsibility, political and cultural domination and globalized war.⁴⁰ With the Accra Declaration being a confession of faith, it advocates that there are still those who believe in the justice for all of human life. Accra's sentiments have been expressed by the Agape Process. As seen in these affirmations, it becomes clear that empire means "the end of politics, the end of humanity – reality parodied in the service of an apocalyptic vision."⁴¹ The ecumenical writers quoted here expose empire for what it is and they also stress the fact that it is creating false expectations on every level for all human life.

Globalization and the role of empire connected with it, thus suggested by Matthias Freudenberg, professor and specialist in reformed theology at the Barmen School of Theology Wuppertal/Bethel comprises of two conclusions: "Firstly, a basic orientation

³⁷ Sacks 2006:28.

³⁸ Wasserloos-Strunk 2009:80.

³⁹ Lombard 2010:208.

⁴⁰ Accra Declaration 2004:1.

⁴¹ Wasserloos-Strunk 2009:80.

towards the duty of the rich to act in the interest of the poor is clearly evident. Secondly, there is a growing awareness that decisions have to mature in congregations and that economic processes should in no way divide congregations.”⁴²

Globalization has become a core issue of our time and it is not possible to comprehend its challenges “without understanding the ways in which 500 years of Western empire building have shaped our world into the deeply unequal and gratuitously unjust place that it is today”.⁴³ It was the great hope that would bring enhanced standards of human living and the sharing of equal benefits to both the developing and the developed world. However, various influential factors of the current global economic order tend to abstract efforts and led to increasing marginalization of many countries from the opportunities for growth and development. Though there is positivity connected to globalization, the present economic order is still lacking the constructive change needed for development policies.

Global imperial economic, political societal and ecological domination should be demolished and an open road to recovery should be pursued in order to ensure equality for all human life. Ndlovu-Gatsheni describes the issue of empire right in the heart of the current world order and proposes a solution for the crises: “The world is at a crossroads whereby modernity has created a plethora of problems like those of climate change, terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, migration, and many others, to which modernity has no solutions. Euro-American epistemology is also in crisis, and this reality calls for mobilization and harnessing of other knowledge.”⁴⁴ The deliberate ideological control of the processes driving globalization thrives both on the greed and self-interest of the powerful elites. Both North and South are manipulating the world economy, and the production and distribution of wealth globally for their own benefit. Thus a new way of approaching the world order is needed.

6.3 The Role of Globalization in South Africa's Development

For South Africa globalization has always been a challenge. Issues, such as inequality, poverty, unemployment, “environmental damage and increasingly higher financial-market risks” have substantially weakened the country's ability to “transform technological progress and wealth formation into a long-term sustainable developmental model”.⁴⁵ The impacts of

⁴² Freudenberg 2009:167.

⁴³ Terreblanche 2014:3.

⁴⁴ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:xii.

⁴⁵ Terreblanche 2014:3.

apartheid South Africa's economic, social and political drivers are used by the NDP to create hopes of remedying the country's modern economic system. Hence, only through understanding the past power structures of colonialism and apartheid, a new dream of prosperity for all can be realised.⁴⁶

Empire, as comprehensively described by Terreblanche, is precisely the power that is spread beyond the national borders of Western-world countries through the take-over of the social power of "Restern-world countries".⁴⁷ Western, in this sense refers to the developed countries and Restern refer to all other under- or non-developed countries in the world. The take-over, amongst others, is facilitated by the ruling elite in a bid by the empire-building countries to extract economic gain for themselves through the accumulation of the resources of Restern countries, the expansion of *markets* and the exploitation of Restern labour.

The fight for power among the elite/empire is interrelated and the cover-up is the demand for more justice for the marginalized. According to the NDP, globalization has escalated the complications with which all countries must cope.⁴⁸ As discussed above, many countries still struggle with issues of the real empire. Ndlovu-Gatsheni is of the view that the really existing empire continues to operate through criminalization of social protest, militarization of international politics, and aggressive search for strategic resources.⁴⁹ It is important to note that South Africa has not been spared from the complexities, systematic risks, inequality burdens, politics, emerging powers, and globalized competition that is linked to globalization.

6.3.1 Complexities of Globalization

The effects of these complexities exemplify the kind of experiences of millions of people all over the world. The South African Government has proved eagerness to institute changes towards greater equality and a better quality of life for society as a whole.⁵⁰ Within this context the Government thought that the new age of globalization was going to benefit everyone, but as time passed, it became evident that globalization left far too many outside the door. Some of the complexities of globalization are expressed by Joseph Stiglitz, world renowned economist, in a 2004 report of the *World Commission on the Social Dimensions of Globalization*:

⁴⁶ In *Globalization and Postcolonialism: Hegemony and Resistance in the Twenty-First Century* (2009), Sankaran Krishna explores on the subject of globalization and its role in a post-colonial epoch.

⁴⁷ Terreblanche 2014:48.

⁴⁸ NDP 2011:8.

⁴⁹ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:10.

⁵⁰ See Hart 2002.

“The current process of globalization is generating unbalanced outcomes, both between and within countries. Wealth is being created, but too many countries and people are not sharing in its benefits. They also have little or no voice in shaping the process. Seen through the eyes of the vast majority of women and men, globalization has not met their simple and legitimate aspirations for decent jobs and a better future for their children. Many of them live in the limbo of the informal economy without formal rights and in a swathe of poor countries that subsist precariously on the margins of the global economy. Even in economically successful countries some workers and communities have been adversely affected by globalization. Meanwhile the resolution in global communications heightens awareness of these disparities. These global imbalances are morally unacceptable and politically unsustainable.”⁵¹

Globalization around the world created a notion of economic stability and development, however, “while complexity helps the system diversity across small shocks, it also exposes the system to large systematic shocks.”⁵² In this context, the need for delinking from this global trap and system emerged within many countries around the world, such as South Africa. Delinking in this sense is highlighted as “the refusal to submit to the demands of the world-wide law of value. It, therefore, presupposes the society’s capacity to define alternative economic options, in short, a law of value of national application”.⁵³ The NDP stimulates the idea that the country can find means to deal with these complexities and can make globalization work.

6.3.2 Systematic Risks

Certain economic processes and policies may serve as solutions to the complexities of globalization. But this will never be enough to combat the challenge completely. The more complex the economic processes and policies become the more complex they are managed, and as a consequence, systematic risks of globalisation arise. The effect of systematic risk factors of globalization in South Africa may result in stressed economic conditions for the country. Although “systematic risks, such as financial, banking, debt and currency crises, will remain ever present” the NDP’s optimistic stance regarding the role and positive impacts of globalization for the country will equally be consistent.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Stiglitz 2006:8.

⁵² Rajan 2005. Because of the rise of globalization, many promises were made, such as giving poor countries access to worldwide markets, trade, investment opportunities, global education and work, but few materialized.

⁵³ Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:12.

⁵⁴ NDP 2011:8.

In contemporary economic debates, the opinions of critics and sceptics concerning power and capital is somewhat sombre; it seems as if capital has become the ultimate source of all human life and ecology. As much as the element of capital and power can produce beneficial and positive results, it can also produce self-centred and negative results within the universality of the economy. Globalization is the primary platform on which the important conflicts of power, capital, government and markets play their various roles. According to the roles they play, assessments can be concluded on whether equity and fairness of globalization processes and policies are being exercised. Empire in this context is the original blueprint upon which the moral missteps of the abuse of power and capital are printed.

The constant financial, banking, debt and currency crises as described by the NDP in terms of the role of globalization in South Africa are crises that need to be confronted and effectively managed for the greater good of economic growth and development. Commonly, capital will be more mobile than employment and this indicates that it will initiate the need for heightened globalization and ultimately “those sectors that possess more mobile factors will have greater control over public policy”.⁵⁵ There will be more effective regulation over the South African development objective (NDP) relating to the well-being of society, and inequalities might even be radically reduced if capital is well-managed.

6.3.3 The Inequality Burden

The current inequality burden and the concurrent role of globalization in South Africa constitute significant ramifications for the economic well-being of citizens. As a consequence, active public debates, in this regard, are on the rise. It is well-known that the sustainability of globalization relies on cultivating extensive back-up around the globe which could bring about rising inequality. On this basis it may be inferred that different countries experience different levels of inequality. The NDP states “and while inequality between countries has fallen in the past decade, inequality within most countries has increased.”⁵⁶ Globalization might be seen as one of the reasons for the variation of inequality levels around the world. Massive inequalities in the opportunities different people have, encourages scepticism about the ability of globalization to serve the interests of the underdogs. Indeed, a hardened sense of frustration is well reflected in the slogans of protest movements of so-called anti-globalization activists. Moved by theses that global relations are primarily antagonistic and adversarial, rather than mutually supportive, the protesters want to rescue the

⁵⁵ Bates and Lien 1985:59.

⁵⁶ NDP 2011:8.

underdogs of the world from what they see as the penalties of globalization.⁵⁷ In South Africa, many of these “underdogs in power” who deprive the country from achieving the ultimate goals of poverty eradication, employment and equalities, should be identified, uprooted and abolished so that the role of globalization can be strengthened.

South Africa may have to frequently adjust its processes and policies in terms of globalization to conform to the country's needs and to ensure that the ultimate profits of globalization for social as well as economic growth can become a reality. In doing so, eradicate poverty, inequality and unemployment because “it presupposes a conviction, an approach that realistically seeks the predictable consequences of particular policies, especially those that can be negative, and then also takes responsibility for them.”⁵⁸ Inequality is a critical but also a political issue in South Africa which demands responsibility. As discussed above, inequality is one of the complexities of globalization and it does not only widen the discrepancy between rich and poor, but it also distinguishes those that have political power to change the inequality burden from those without the power.

6.3.4 Politics around Globalization

Notwithstanding the element of empire in globalization, politics has often been notorious for shaping economic systems. Commonly, “economists believe that incentives matter” and powerful incentives exist to formulate political processes and the economic system “in ways that generate profits for some at the expense of the many. Open democratic processes can circumscribe the power of special interest groups”.⁵⁹ The organization of political power in relation to globalization is one of the many unsettled issues that are often seen as warning signs for the economy. A similar view by Küng suggests that “in order to counter the increasing economising of the world in which we live, it is important to reflect critically on its foundations, first of all looking behind the normative premises of the economic positions, whether these are explicit presuppositions or only diffuse background assumptions ... we must reflect that the economy and the state exist for the sake of human beings, so that both state and the economic institutions must not be shaped solely by power, but must always have to do justice to human dignity.”⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Sen 2006:120-121.

⁵⁸ Küng 1998:66.

⁵⁹ Stiglitz 2006:xviii.

⁶⁰ Küng 1998:213.

Globalization (inclusive of justice for all) demands reformation in a contemporary economic and political dispensation. Sen notes that "... what matters most is the examination of what reasoning would demand for the pursuit of justice – allowing for the possibility that there may exist several different reasonable positions ... Reasoning is central to the understanding of justice even in a world which contains much unreason; indeed, it may be particularly important in such a world."⁶¹ Political reasoning in regard to globalization should accommodate robust justice.

The South African government have been basically responsible for controlling the security and economic well-being of society. In South Africa and in terms of the role of globalization in the country, political presence is strong. The issue of justice is not always central to reasoning. The NDP asserts that "at a political level, there may be opportunities to bring about rules based on multilateral systems to shape global governance, making the world a more just place."⁶² Politics around globalization remain complex and the pursuit of emerging powers associated with politics becomes the order of the day.

6.3.5 Emerging Powers

The way in which any government control its economic affairs on a global political economic platform determines its economic prosperity and power. In turn, this is regulated by the synergy between governments and global markets. In considering the role of globalization and emerging powers in this regard within South Africa, it is worthwhile to note that the country's economic affairs are part of what transpires on a global political economic platform. The NDP states that "South Africa will have to manage the risks that flow from greater complexity and recognise that emerging powers may seek to exploit our vulnerabilities."⁶³

These emerging powers can be described in many forms. By monitoring these contemporary, power-seeking political structures, Wasserloos-Strunk introduces a vivid picture of how empire is intertwined in this agenda: "Contemporary empires show themselves differently. With the decline of colonial imperialism and under the conditions of globalization, a kind of imperialism has developed that is clearly different from that of the olden days. New empires are marked by diversified power politics – in more recent times not necessarily including aggressive politics of conquest. Modern empires are made visible by pointing out the power

⁶¹ Sen 2009:xix.

⁶² NDP 2011:8.

⁶³ NDP 2011:8.

streams of capital, the flow of goods and services, the control over systems of communication and the so-called brain drain.”⁶⁴ The visibility of the flow of emerging power in a political imperial form can be seen in plain sight. This might sound contradictory, but in many ways emerging powers may shape and direct economic, ecological and even social systems with the power they possess - at the expense of the poor and marginalized.

Apart from all other influences emerging markets has on the economy; it also “increases competition, placing downward pressure on the wages of low-skilled workers in the manufacturing sector.”⁶⁵ Hence, “the crucial role of the markets does not make the other institutions insignificant, even in terms of the results that the market economy can produce.”⁶⁶ Market outcomes are massively influenced by public policies, such as in education and epistemology. In each of these fields, there is work to be done through public action that can radically alter the outcome of local and global economic relations.⁶⁷

6.3.6 Globalized Competition

Globalization has established a market component that feeds modern competition and requires increased levels of effectiveness. Stiglitz explains: “The enthusiasm of economists for competition is not shared so universally. People in business talk about destructive competition and naturally, when a competitor appears to be losing in competition, his assertions are that the competition is unfair. Industries losing the competitive battle from foreign firms seek protection, always claiming that their rivals have some unfair advantage. The importance of competition includes a number of associated ideas such as, markets, incentives and decentralization. Competition is important because it provides incentives. While competition has a variety of meanings, the common sense meanings are quite different from those captured in the perfect competition model of neoclassical theory. Strong competition and competition policies are just not luxuries to be enjoyed by rich countries, but a real necessity for those striving to create democratic market economies.”⁶⁸

An approach to becoming a more competitive country is set out in the NDP: “South Africa will have to confront some difficult choices. Similarly, the pursuit of mineral resources by fast-growing emerging countries holds opportunities and risks. Commodity-producing

⁶⁴ Wasserloos-Strunk 2009:78. See also Mann (1986) examines the interrelations between power as being control over economic, ideological, military and political sources.

⁶⁵ NDP 2011:8.

⁶⁶ Sen 2000.

⁶⁷ Sen 2000.

⁶⁸ Stiglitz 2001.

economies in Africa, including South Africa, can use a period of higher demand for natural resources to generate the returns needed to upgrade capabilities. If mining output does not increase, and if the associated rents are not extracted sensibly and used wisely, it will represent a tragic failure for the people of the continent.”⁶⁹

By means of the NDP, the South African government is able to drive the role of globalization in a positive way to stimulate economic growth and development in the country. Presently, the achievement of this optimistic view might seem dim, but there is hope for making globalization work. Economic and political power must be utilized for service to humanity instead of misusing it in ruthless battles for domination and a reasonable balance of interests, instead of thinking only of unlimited power and unavoidable competitive struggles must be cultivated.⁷⁰

6.4 The NDP and Globalization in terms of Ethical Theory

Flowing from such a critically balanced discussion of the benefits and dangers, the opportunities and threats, of globalization - the most encompassing “horizon” for development in the world today - it is evident that the South African NDP has seriously taken note of these possibilities. However, it is also clear that the overall attitude entrenched in the NDP is one of positive affirmation of globalization as a historical reality rather than cautious engagement with it as a manipulated process. It seems important that South Africa’s future global encounter with “empire” (and neo-colonialism, including neo-capitalism); with powers controlling the direction of globalization; and with the powerful interests being served in the process, should be based on a far better developed hermeneutic of suspicion. Such a hermeneutic is clearly present in decolonial theory, but it can also receive robust support based on the detailed analyses of well-informed insider critics of neo-capitalism (such as Joseph Stiglitz), and ecumenical initiatives studying the effects of globalization (such as AGAPE and Accra). Both these fundamental critiques of “business as usual” indeed speak of an “*alternative* globalization addressing people and the earth”.⁷¹

For our purpose of an ethical evaluation of the NDP, it is important to assess the South African development plan, within the broad framework of globalization, in terms of ethical theory. In the following paragraphs we shall prepare the agenda for an ethical assessment of

⁶⁹ NDP 2011:8.

⁷⁰ Küng and Kuschel 1993:29.

⁷¹ See the contributions to Boesak and Hansen as part of the joint Study Project of two Reformed churches from South Africa and Germany on Globalization (2009, 2010).

the NDP in terms of various ethical approaches, such as utilitarian and consequentialist theory, responsibility theory, deontological theory, virtue theory, and Ubuntu theory. We shall return to these preliminary insights in the final chapter (chapter 8), when the NDP will be assessed in its entire scope, also using the additional insights on ethical development theory as gained through the work of Amartya Sen.

6.4.1 Utilitarian/Consequentialist Theory

With reference to the most prominent ethical theories available, one could argue that the NDP is essentially a *utilitarian, consequentialist project* to reach the optimum benefit for the maximum number of people. It is a goal driven programme, the goal being the *optimum common good*. This obviously positive goal or aspired to outcome is however a rather vague one which is difficult to tie down to specific values or virtues and thus is mostly determined in the eye of the beholder or according to the interests of various “parties”.

In economic terms, it is a process to a large extent positively inclined towards the market forces ensuring a *balanced competition* between supply and demand in the market which again, it is hoped, would ensure via the “invisible hand” of the market, *fair outcomes for the common man*. The argument is that “the small ships will rise with the big ships”; and it is thus important to have your ship positioned in the ebb and flow of the ocean. South Africa, so long isolated from global market activity, should now use its opportunities and resources to join the global game.

6.4.2 Deontological Theory

It is however precisely in this scenario that critiques of globalization - such as those of Stiglitz, Accra and AGAPE - argue that the world needs some *protection against extreme manipulation of the market forces* which is taking place constantly to the benefit of those with power, especially political and economic power. What is needed, these voices proclaim, is a joint *affirmation of “commandments”, of “laws”,* that may show *the “way”, the “means”,* of reaching fair goals and outcomes. What is needed are *deontological prompts* not only focused on utility, “good outcomes”, but on the right *way or modus* to “get there”. In the next section (see 6.5), on the notion of a global ethic, we shall indicate how deontological ethics (commands not to kill, steal, lie or commit sexual immorality) can be expanded into a comprehensive *social ethic*. Deontological commands can thus be developed to transcend the sphere of individualist ethics in the direction of a global ethic.

6.4.3 Virtue Ethics and Ubuntu

The right way may also include *philosophies of virtues and values* (such as Ubuntu philosophy), guiding ordinary people in their pursuit of individual and joint happiness. In such ethical reasoning the focus should not be on specific utilitarian *outcomes* in the first instance, but on *the way* to get to good outcomes. This way may then have two aspects: following the right (deontological) *imperatives* and, for some, even more fundamental: developing the right *virtues and character*, that will ensure good outcomes in whatever context and scenario. The African philosophy of Ubuntu is one such “filling” or definition of the kind of person needed to ensure the right way towards happiness or fulfilment for all. Ubuntu, similar to a global ethic, transcends the individual and his or her needs and interests and broadens the scope to include all the neighbours, all the other humans surrounding us, with their interests and quests for identity and dignity. A “national” development plan could be thought to resonate with Ubuntu philosophy and ethics rather than typical Western individualist philosophies.

6.4.4 The Theory of Responsibility

The contemporary, secular world is rapidly demanding that ethics should be driven by what is called “a sense of responsibility”. This approach towards ethics, a mix of rationality and stewardship, however, also has strong support from Christian ethicists, from Bonhoeffer to Sachs and Schweiker. Dietrich Bonhoeffer’s writings on Christianity’s role in the secular world have become widely influential, and many have labelled his book *The Cost of Discipleship*, a modern classic. He wrote: “Responsible action is not only responsible before God. It is responsible in those specific places where life is shaped for a whole society. You cannot be responsible by yourself, without living in solidarity with the people who share the world with you. You cannot be responsible only by being the church. The practice of the Christian life can be learned only under these four mandates of God: let the church be the church, then, but let family, government and the economics social institutions that make up the culture be themselves, too. Responsible action creates institutions that allow the settings that are essential to a full human life.”⁷²

⁷² Lovin 2005:26-31.

6.4.5 The Move from Individualist to Social Ethics and to Global Ethics

It should be clear from the short snapshots from various ethical approaches, as given above, that all of them have common denominators such as a focus on the trans-personal dimension of ethical concern. Utilitarian ethics seeks good consequences, optimum good, for as many as possible people. The demands and commands of deontological ethics aims at maximising life, truth, ownership, sexual integrity for all people of a community or nation. Virtue ethics seeks the virtues and character traits that will bring about maximum good in citizens and for the common weal. Ubuntu is the specific African version of a communitarian ethos seeking humanity in the fact that we are all together responsible for one another. And responsibility theory, starting out with a secular sense of taking responsibility for ourselves and the world, has been deepened by specific theological and Christian versions emphasising concern and care for all the others around us as a major motive for our responsible action.

Like Bonhoeffer, Jonathan Sacks and William Schweiker make impassioned pleas for the return of religion to its true purpose - as a partnership with God in the work of ethical and moral living.⁷³ Globalization is but one of the controversial moral issues where human beings need to exercise their responsibility to ensure divine justice and equality to all. Sacks advocates that we are here to make a difference, to mend the fractures of the world, a day at a time, an act at a time, for as long as it takes and to make it a place of justice and compassion where the lonely are not alone, the poor not without help - where the cry of the vulnerable is heeded and those who are wronged are heard; someone else's physical needs are my spiritual obligation.⁷⁴

William Schweiker, professor of ethics at the University of Chicago, holds the view that the global economy and global business ethics should take into account moral attitudes and moral reasoning on the basis of responsibility ethics: "Dialectical reasoning is the form respect for others takes in the domain of moral inquiry. It requires that we question and answer others, be accountable for arguments, and also subject the power to speak and think to criteria which respect the integrity of others and ourselves. How we think morally must be consistent with the end or purpose of ethics, which is to guide actions that respect and enhance the integrity of life. The approach to validating an ethics is undertaken in order to address pervasive moral problems within the social context in which the question of responsibility is being debated."⁷⁵

⁷³ Sacks 2005a.

⁷⁴ Sacks 2005:5-6.

⁷⁵ Schweiker 1995:218-227.

Schweiker purports that people of different cultures (all over the world) share similar attitudes toward questionable processes and policies of globalization practices but their element of reasoning is based on different values. He proposes that responsibility ethics seek to understand the coherence or integrity of all of life before God. Having grappled with the serious consequences for millions in the world of globalization processes - based on negative values of self-enrichment, selfishness and greed - it seems common sense that these views from responsible moral philosophy should be taken seriously in all walks of life, and it should include advocacies of economic and ecological justice *for all!*

It is thus in this context of searching for an applicable *global* ethical horizon that the initiative has arisen to advocate the idea that the globalization process needs to be accompanied by a *global ethic*, founded upon the basic laws against killing, stealing, lying, greed and violation of the dignity and integrity of the other person. These laws, basic to the moral codes of most world religions, should however be interpreted within a global context and not an individualist one. They should be part of a *social ethic* for the world, thus a *global ethic*⁷⁶

6.5 The Idea of a Global Ethic

The Swiss rebel Catholic theologian, Hans Küng, with a number of like-minded academics and religious leaders, used the occasion of the centenary meeting of the Parliament of World Religions, in 1993, to launch such an outline of a *global ethic*, affirmed by all major religions, in the form of a Declaration.⁷⁷

6.5.1 Globalization and a Global Ethic

This ground-breaking universal Declaration of a Global Ethic provided not only a *legal and human rights framework* for politics and economics (as was already at hand in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948), but a *global ethos supported by deep spiritual and religious convictions*. Küng was one of the first proponents of a global ethic to position the global ethic over against globalization in an article on “A Global Ethic in an Age of Globalization”, in the *Business Ethics Quarterly*, in 1997. This was followed by his

⁷⁶ See Teichman's arguments, in his *Social Ethics 1996*, against the new “isms” of so-called “new moralities” of the modern era (egoism, relativism and consequentialism). All these approaches focus on the needs and interests of the individual and thus steers away from universal ideas, including humanistic values and human rights for all. What is needed is a “bedrock of morality” that is shared and has universal scope and application.

⁷⁷ See Küng and Kuschel 1993 for the background and the text. Braybrooke 1992 provides the history of declarations and initiatives that preceded this new deontological “law”, this new Kantian “du sollst” ensuring reciprocal love and care for the “neighbour.”

influential monograph, *A Global Ethic for Global Politics and Economics*, published in 1998 by Oxford University Press.

A global ethic is often viewed as an ethical perspective according to which there are significant ethical relations between states and between individuals living in the different societies.⁷⁸ Such an ethic generally combines claims about the existence of some universal values and norms, and claims about responsibilities or obligations that are global in scope. The capability approach (Sen and Nussbaum), discussed in chapter 6 of this study, proposes universal fundamental human rights and principles that allow for the greater good in all human beings. They thus link up with approach suggests a viable approach to global ethics that on the one hand provides a universal measure of human flourishing, and on the other hand also respecting religious and cultural differences.⁷⁹

The greatest challenge facing the world community is to release the enormous financial, technical, human and moral resources required for sustainable development. These resources will be freed up only if and when the peoples of the world develop a sense of responsibility for the fate of the planet and for the well-being of the entire human family.

6.5.2 South Africa in the Context of the Idea of a Global Ethic

The World Economic Forum argues that events over the past decade have exposed “a popular and diplomatic consensus on the need to make fundamental changes” to the way in which the world is governed, as well as a marked shift in the balance of power, and a rapidly closing capability gap between developed and emerging countries.⁸⁰ The NDP recognizes the country's position in the world in the context of recurrent crises and global realignment: “South Africa will have to reconsider all existing alignments and affiliations, and establish strategic relationships among individual partners based on strategic political and economic priorities.”⁸¹ The shift of global power towards developing countries provides South Africa with an opportunity to maximise its regional and international influence over a period of time. Ethically, globalization thus poses serious questions to any developing country such as South Africa: will it follow the trend of self-interest, greed and ruthless competition

⁷⁸ Nigel Dower's *World Ethics: The New Agenda* (2007), discusses the nature of world ethics and includes a survey of different ways of thinking ethically about global relations.

⁷⁹ See Astroulakis (2011). He analyses international development in an ethical-based context, using the approach of development ethics.

⁸⁰ World Economic Forum 2010.

⁸¹ NDP 2011:216.

embedded in globalization, or will it be led by a more fundamental and humane global ethic with a stronger focus on co-existence and care for the future of the planet?

Within the “moral universe” (Desmond Tutu) one would expect that a country, in order to achieve its social, economic, political and environmental goals by the year 2030, would be guided by a sense of responsibility, which should flow naturally from the recognition of the oneness and openness of humanity and which is best sustained by a unifying vision of a peaceful, prosperous world society. Without such a global ethic and a world-embracing vision, people will be unable to become active, constructive participants in the world-wide process of sustainable development. In the same vein Hans Küng, as an early and keen promoter of the notion of public theology and the proposer of a global ethic, asserts: “Numberless men and women of all regions and religions strive to live their lives in solidarity with one another and work for authentic fulfilment of their vocations. Nevertheless, all over the world we find endless hunger, deficiency and need. Not only individuals, but especially unjust institutions and structures, are responsible for these tragedies.”⁸²

Creating a global ethic requires elements of authentically human ethical traditions. In his writings, Küng explains how these traditions can contribute and be utilised for the greater good of humanity and that the purpose of “economic and political power” is to advance human freedom, peace and services to humanity.⁸³ Küng’s idea of a global ethic stimulates a call for constituting a common global goal which can positively improve current development strategies.

6.6 The Declaration on a Global Ethic and its Impact

The draft statement prepared for the World Parliament of Religions of 1993, prepared by Hans Küng and close co-workers, provides a succinct summary of the idea of a “global ethic”, and contains six major points describing a new social ethic for the world, which we shall summarise here briefly:⁸⁴

6.6.1 “There is no global order without a global ethic”

First, Küng and his colleagues give a broad analysis of the state of the global context, the global world order, on the eve of the transition into the new millennium:⁸⁵ “After two world

⁸² Küng 1998:232-233.

⁸³ Küng 1998:232-233.

⁸⁴ Küng 1993a; 1993b.

⁸⁵ Küng 1993a:1.

wars, the collapse of fascism, Nazism, communism and colonialism and the end of the cold war, humanity has entered a new phase of its history. Humanity today possesses sufficient economic, cultural and spiritual resources to introduce a better global order. But new ethnic, national, social and religious tensions threaten the peaceful building of a better world. Our time has experienced greater technological progress than ever existed before, and yet we are faced with the fact that world-wide poverty, hunger, death for children, unemployment, misery and the destruction of nature have not abated but rather to some extent increased. Many peoples are threatened with economic ruin, social disarray, political marginalization and national collapse.”

They then proceed to make the point that what is needed in such a critical situation is “not only political programmes and actions, but also a vision of a peaceful living together of peoples, ethnic and ethical groupings, and religions”. Such a vision is possible on the basis of shared hopes, goals, ideals and standards. Precisely because the modern state guarantees freedom of conscience and religion, it needs binding values, convictions and norms for all - regardless of their social origin, skin colour, language or religion.⁸⁶

Recalling the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, K ng and his colleagues then wish to confirm and deepen, what has been so strongly proclaimed in the Declaration on the level of *rights*, from the perspective of an *ethic*: “the full realization of the intrinsic dignity of the human person, of inalienable freedom, of the equality in principle of all humans, and the necessary solidarity of all humans with each other.”⁸⁷ Convinced that a better global order cannot be created or enforced with laws, prescriptions and conventions alone, they proclaim that the realization of justice in our societies depend on a shared consciousness of duty and a readiness to act justly on that basis.

The action in favour of rights presumes a consciousness of duty, for which the head and heart of men and women must be addressed. “Rights without morality cannot long endure, and there will be no better global order without a global ethic. By a global ethic we do not mean a single unified religion beyond all existing religions, and certainly not the domination of one religion over all others. By global ethic we mean a fundamental consensus on binding values, unconditional standards and personal attitudes. Without such a basic consensus in ethic, every community sooner or later will be threatened by chaos or dictatorship.”⁸⁸

⁸⁶ K ng 1993a:1.

⁸⁷ K ng 1993a:2.

⁸⁸ K ng: 1993a:2.

6.6.2 “Every human being must be treated humanely”

The authors of the joint Statement on a Global Ethic are convinced that the millennia-old religious and ethical traditions of the world contain sufficient elements of an ethic which are convincing and practicable for all people of good will – religious or non-religious – and which can thus form a common moral foundation for a human life together on our earth. Even though it must be admitted that these religious traditions do differ in terms of motivations and details, they share to a large degree basic ethical convictions and they also share the power to change their followers' inner orientation, their whole mentality, their hearts, since they provide millions of people “a horizon of meaning for their lives, ultimate standards and a spiritual home”.⁸⁹

Against the worldly slogan of “might is right”, and in the face of all inhumanity experienced in the world today, “our religions and ethical convictions demand that every human being must be treated humanely!”⁹⁰ The so-called “Golden Rule” (proclaiming universally: “What you wish done to yourself, do to others”) has been maintained in most religious traditions for thousands of years. This rule must now be restated and implemented as a global ethic. It should be “the irrevocable, unconditional norm for all areas of life, for the family and communities, for races, nations and religions”.⁹¹ While self-determination and self-realization are thoroughly legitimate, “every form of egoism, however, every self-seeking, whether individual or collective, whether in the form of class thinking, racism, nationalism or sexism, is to be rejected.”⁹²

This universal norm is now explained by applying four basic laws of life, taken from the Ten Commandments, as confirmed by all major religions, in a consistent *social ethic* for the globe: a culture of non-violence and respect for life, a culture of solidarity and justice, a culture of tolerance and truthfulness, and a culture of equal rights and partnership between men and women. These “commandments for peaceful co-existence”, underscored by all major religions, are now each dealt with from four perspectives: first a brief *analysis* of the situation in the world in regard to the ethical problem faced, then the *command* addressing the specific issue, followed by the *culture* needed to be fostered through *education* and appropriate *action* to be taken collectively in the world.

⁸⁹ Küng: 1993a:2.

⁹⁰ Küng: 1993a:3.

⁹¹ Küng: 1993a:3.

⁹² Küng: 1993a:3.

6.6.3 “Toward a culture of non-violence and respect for life”

Analysis:

In spite of general consensus that all people need to live in the spirit of the Golden Rule of love for the neighbour, we find that there still exists in today's world endless hatred, envy, jealousy and violence not only between individuals but also between social and ethnic groups, between classes, races, nations and religions. “The tendency toward the use of violence and organized crime, equipped with new technical possibilities, has reached global proportions. Many places are still ruled by terror, and large as well as small dictators oppress their own people. Even in some democracies prisoners are tortured, men and women are mutilated, hostages killed.”⁹³

Command:

Against these violent and disrespectful tendencies the great ancient traditions teach: “You shall not kill!” or put positively: “Have respect for life!” This means, in terms of a global perspective that no-one has the right to torture or kill any other human being. No people, no race, no religion has the right to hate, to discriminate, to exile or liquidate a “foreign” minority which is different in belief or behaviour.⁹⁴

Culture, education and action:

In school and cultural institutions all children should thus grow up within the perspective of a culture of non-violence and an international order of peace, in which conflicts are sought to be dealt with non-violently as far as possible. “Armament is a mistaken path; disarmament is a command of the hour. There is no survival for humanity without peace!”⁹⁵ This “survival” includes animals, plants and the rest of creation: as human beings we also have responsibility for the air, water and soil, with the view to future generations: “The dominance of humanity over nature and the cosmos is not to be propagated, but rather living in harmony with nature and the cosmos is to be cultivated. We speak for a *respect for life, for all life*.”⁹⁶ To be authentically human, in private and public life, we must not be brutal or ruthless, but rather concerned for others and ready to help. Every people, race and religion must show tolerance, respect and high appreciation for every other, including all minorities who need our protection and support.

⁹³ Küng 1993a:3.

⁹⁴ Küng 1993a:4.

⁹⁵ Küng 1993a:4.

⁹⁶ Küng 1993a:4.

6.6.4 “Toward a culture of solidarity and a just economic order”

Analysis:

In spite of good efforts, religious and secular, to live in solidarity with one another while fulfilling our vocation authentically, there remains in today's world endless hunger, deficiency and need for which not only individuals but even more unjust structures bear responsibility: Millions are without work, millions are exploited, are forced to the edge of society with possibilities for the future destroyed by poorly paid work. Worldwide the gap between rich and poor, between the powerful and the powerless, has become monstrous. State socialism and profit capitalism have both hollowed out many ethical and spiritual values through a purely economic-political view of things. A greed for unlimited profit and a grasping for plunder without end have fed the cancerous social evil of corruption in both the developing as well as the developed countries.⁹⁷

Command:

In such a context of greed, plunder and corruption, the great ancient ethical traditions teach the command: “You shall not steal”, or positively put: “Deal honestly!” This wisdom is affirmed by the human rights culture of the rule of law: no humans have the right to rob or dispossess in any manner other humans or the commonwealth. Where power and wealth is accumulated ruthlessly, feelings of envy, resentment and hatred will inevitably well up in the disadvantaged, which almost always leads to a deadly cycle of violence and counter-violence. The law against theft confirms that there will be no global peace without a global order of justice.⁹⁸

Culture, education and action:

Through education all children should thus learn that property, big and small, carries an obligation towards the commonweal and of upholding a just economic order. “But if the plight of the poorest billions of humans, particularly women and children, is to be improved, the structures of the world economy must be fundamentally altered. Individual good deeds and assistance projects, indispensable as they are, are not sufficient. The participation of all states and the authority of international organizations are needed to arrive at a just arrangement.”⁹⁹ Several crucial distinctions regarding patterns of consumption must be made:

⁹⁷ Küng 1993a:4.

⁹⁸ Küng 1993a:5.

⁹⁹ Küng 1993a:5.

between justified and unjustified consumerism, between reasonable and unreasonable use of natural resources, between a profit-only market and a socially and ecologically beneficial market. Wherever might oppresses right, resistance (whenever possible: non-violent resistance) is in place.¹⁰⁰

Consequences of this analysis, based on the command not to steal from one another, for action in the field of economics and politics are far-reaching: Instead of abusing economic and political power “in ruthless battles for domination”, humanity as a whole must use them for service to humanity in a spirit of compassion with the poor, the handicapped, the aged, the refugees and the lonely. Instead of thinking only of power in the competitive struggles, “a reasonable balance of interests” should prevail; instead of “unquenchable greed for money, prestige and consumption”, a “spirit of moderation and modesty” should reign against the inner greed that deprives humanity of its freedom, its “soul”.¹⁰¹

6.6.5 “Toward a culture of tolerance and a life in truthfulness”

Analysis:

In spite of the universal teachings of honesty and truthfulness, there exist in the world today “endless lies and deceit, swindling and hypocrisy, ideology and demagoguery”, in politics, business, the media, scientific research, and religious propaganda.¹⁰²

Command:

Against this culture of intolerance and dishonesty we have received the teaching: “You shall not lie!” or put positively: “Speak the truth!” Thus, no individual, no institution, no scientist, no media person, no state, or church or religious community has the right to speak untruth to other humans.¹⁰³

Culture, education and action:

Therefore all young people should learn at home, at school and in institutions of learning and formation to think, speak and act in truthfulness. They should grow up in a culture in which all humans have a right to the truth, to necessary information and education to make informed decisions, based on ethical standards that guarantee reliable information. Against the spirit of dishonesty and opportunism, a spirit of truthfulness must be cultivated; against ideological

¹⁰⁰ Küng 1993a:5.

¹⁰¹ Küng 1993a:5

¹⁰² Küng 1993a:5-6.

¹⁰³ Küng 1993a:6.

partisan half-truths the truth must be sought ever anew in sincerity; against arbitrariness and opportunism, trustworthiness and constancy must be promoted.¹⁰⁴

6.6.6 “Toward a culture of equal rights and partnership between men and women”

Analysis:

In spite of the fact that numberless humans of all regions and religions strive to live in a spirit of partnership between men and women, and of responsible action in the area of love, sexuality and family, “all over the world there are condemnable forms of patriarchy, of domination of one sex over the other, of exploitation of women, of sexual misuse of children as well as forced prostitution”.¹⁰⁵

Command:

In all the great ancient religious and ethical traditions we find the teaching: “You shall “Respect and love one another!” This means that no one has the right to degrade others to mere sex objects, to lead or hold them in sexual dependency. Sexual exploitation is one of the worst forms of human degradation. The idea of sexual domination, of one sex over the other, needs to be strongly resisted.¹⁰⁶

Culture, education and action:

Young men and women should be taught that sexuality is fundamentally not a negative, destructive or exploitative but a creative and life-affirming force, a shaper of community and happiness between partners. Partnerships and marriages should thus be characterised not by patronizing behaviour or exploitation but by love, partnership and trustworthiness. Patriarchal domination which is a form of violence should be replaced by relationships of respect, understanding and tolerance.

¹⁰⁴ Küng 1993a:6.

¹⁰⁵ Küng 1993a:7.

¹⁰⁶ Küng 1993a:7.

6.7 Aspects of Development in a Global Ethic

6.7.1 Human Capability and a Global Ethic

Like Nussbaum, Küng considers the human capability element as greatly important. The capability approach (from the perspectives of Sen and Nussbaum) is also imperative to consider when one zooms into the content of the NDP. The NDP's viewpoint has stimulated a philosophy in South Africa that it is indeed possible to make the NDP work. More importantly, the NDP suggests that its objectives can be attained only if South Africans appreciate the difficulties and opportunities, and commit themselves to working together. But how can the NDP be integrated into a global ethic? Policy-making entities, such as the NDP suggests guidelines based on the following principles and objectives:

Focus on what is practically achievable, without over-committing to possibilities of regional and continental integration. Foreign policy should be regularly evaluated "to ensure that...national interests are maximised. Remain an influential member of the international community, at the forefront of political and economic developments as they influence the politics of the continent and beyond. Deepen cooperation with Brazil, Russia and China as part of the BRICS group, while promoting regional and global integration. This requires a thorough review of the country's current and future regional and international commitments. Stabilise the regional political economy through increased integration and cooperation. This requires communicating the benefits of deeper regional and global integration to the South African and southern African public. Achievable measurable outcomes related to food, water, energy, education, health, transport and communication infrastructure, national defence, adjustment to climate change and economic growth to benefit all South Africans.¹⁰⁷

6.7.2 Communitarianism and Ubuntu in a Global Ethic

A global ethic is nothing but the necessary minimum common values, standards and basic attitudes to keep our complex world together in a sense of fairness.¹⁰⁸ Anyone who is interested in seeing human rights fully respected and more efficiently defended throughout the world must surely be interested in achieving a change of consciousness concerning human obligations or responsibilities. These need to be seen in the context of global challenges and efforts to establish a global ethic, an ethic for humankind. Generally,

¹⁰⁷ NDP 2011:217.

¹⁰⁸ See Tully (2014): James Tully, in his dialogue on global citizenship, describes some of these common global attitudes and behaviours.

communitarianism has an explicit and strong emphasis on a common moral basis for action. This concern with a shared morality is arguably stronger than is the case in other traditions of political philosophy, such as liberalism or social contract theory, which is often limited to a concern with distributive justice.¹⁰⁹ Justice and equality within any community initiate social cohesion.

Communitarian philosophers understand morality as emerging in communities as the interaction between agents in practices. At first sight, communitarianism therefore seems to provide a suitable perspective for conceptualising morality in economics, since the economy might be regarded as a sequence of such practices in communities of business, household and trading.¹¹⁰ Sen is of the view that even though some economists have been tempted by the idea that human beings behave in much the same way: "There is plenty of evidence to indicate that this is not in general so. Cultural influences can make a major difference to work ethics, responsible conduct, spirited motivation, dynamic management, entrepreneurial initiatives, willingness to take risks, and a variety of other aspects of human behaviour which can be critical to economic success."¹¹¹

Cultures (locally, nationally and internationally) with their influences and autonomies contribute enormously to the impact of development in their respective orbits. Since autonomy is used to describe the self-government exercise by individuals and by the groups they form, it is not always easy to determine which form of autonomy should take precedence.¹¹² Communal autonomy entails local communities making their own decisions regarding their economic, political, social and cultural resources and enterprises. While the exact picture of the good life may differ from culture to culture and community to community, human flourishing requires respect for basic human rights and some degree of autonomy for communities which allows them to participate in the socio-political processes that affect health and well-being of their people.¹¹³

Following the route outlined above, this study seeks to find building blocks for a normative theoretical framework by combining human rights and ethical development perspectives. Freedom, equality and participation are some of the fundamental factors for constituting a global ethic. These ethical development theories on justice provide various guidelines for a

¹⁰⁹ Staveren 2008:2.

¹¹⁰ Staveren 2008:1.

¹¹¹ Sen 2000:4.

¹¹² Coleman and Brydon 2008:13.

¹¹³ Koopman 2010:237-241.

global ethic with which the NDP and its viability may be positioned in the present-day economic world order. The NDP embraces a communitarian approach to the problems being faced in South Africa, and openly speaks of the Ubuntu philosophy as a moral foundation upon which it is based. In countering the problems of individualism, consumerism and corporate greed which complicate the process of globalization, as discussed above in 6.3 and 6.4, it must be stressed that the principles of Ubuntu strongly endorse the insights promoted by a global ethic.

The definition of a human being as being defined by his or her relation with all the others around, of not being an entity all by itself, but being inter-dependent on the care and compassion of the other, provides a strong anthropological base for social justice and social action, and for a social ethic not trapped in individualist assumptions. As indicated in the exposition of what a global ethic entails – a *social ethic* developed from the teachings of all world religions based on the basic commandments interpreted in an “Ubuntu way”, in 6.6 – this communitarian approach to ethics and development is not only compatible with old African traditions, but also with the modern human rights culture. It however helps to strengthen the social aspect, the second and third generations of human rights, over against an individualist narrowing down of rights to civil and political “freedoms” only.

6.7.3 Human Rights in a Global Ethic

It becomes clear that the centrality of human rights (especially in terms of human dignity) in relation to development should be considered as a categorical imperative. Human dignity has not always been considered as central by forces that govern globalization, although it is entrenched in socio-economic development strategies. Millions of South Africans are still excluded from taking part in decision-making processes that influence their lives. Human rights are fundamentals by which human dignity is established; therefore this exclusion cannot be tolerated and must be resisted. Human rights – the rights that one has simply by virtue of being human – are both justifiable moral claims and contested political realities.

What then is the distinctive contribution of global ethics to common goals? The UN declarations and most international agencies are helping to formulate global common goals for advancing human rights. Human needs are to be met everywhere; socio-economic and technological progress is to occur everywhere; the global environment needs protecting. It is really, parallel to global security, global sustainable development that is the greater target. Traditionally, human rights norms are supposed to be provided in national constitutions and

laws for domestic application by the judicial and executive organs of the state as a matter of national sovereignty. However, because experience has shown that the state cannot be trusted sufficiently to protect the rights of all persons and groups within its territorial jurisdiction, the idea of international protection emerged as a means of ensuring certain minimum human rights standards everywhere.

Rights that are established in South Africa as human rights are products of collective struggles endured by human beings in the country. The African Charter recognizes important economic, social and cultural rights.¹¹⁴ It also places special duties on the state to protect and promote these rights. Human dignity is the common bond that affirms the individuality of each human being while celebrating the plurality and variety of communities to which each person belongs, including the diverse economic, political, religious, ideological, racial class, gender, and ethnic identities each one represents. To this end the centrality of human dignity in the context of sustainable development is symbolised by a dignified life embraced by freedom. This immediately poses the challenge: how can all these commendable goals be achieved? Not, arguably, by relying on ordinary ethical norms applied at a societal level. This would be the ethical equivalent of Adam Smith's *hidden-hand* and equally suspect.

6.7.4 The Market (Smith's 'Invisible Hand') in the Context of a Global Ethic

Adam Smith, was an economist and philosopher who wrote what is considered the 'bible of capitalism', *The Wealth of Nations*, in which he details the first system of political economy. Smith's ideas are a reflection on economic realities in light of the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, and he states that free-market economies are the most productive and beneficial to their societies. He goes on to argue for an economic system based on individual self-interest led by an *invisible hand*, which would achieve the greatest good for all. In economics, the *invisible hand* of the market is a metaphor conceived by Adam Smith to describe the self-regulatory behaviour of the marketplace. The exact phrase is used just three times in Smith's writings, but has come to capture his important claim that individuals' efforts to maximize their own gains in a free market benefit society, even if the ambitions have no benevolent intension. The idea of markets automatically channelling self-interest toward socially desirable ends is a central justification for the laissez-faire economic philosophy, which lies

¹¹⁴ The African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, adopted in Nairobi June 27, 1981, and entered into force on October 21, 1986.

behind neoclassical economics in this sense. The central disagreement between economic ideologies can be viewed as a disagreement about how powerful the *invisible hand* is.¹¹⁵

The central message of the *invisible hand* is that free market trade works for the common good, but many critics and sceptics certainly find it difficult to accept the whole package as presented by its inventor. One such example is found in the writings of Jürgen Moltmann, who criticised the providential status allocated to the *invisible hand* of the market as follows: “In the religion of the market there is a need for demythologizing; even the *invisible hand* of competition, left completely to itself, by no means leads quasi-providentially to the well-being of all and to the greatest possible social harmony.”¹¹⁶ The fact of the matter is indeed that the market has changed significantly since the time of Adam Smith and the balancing of interests have become much more complicated through the involvement of trans-national companies, new realities which can only be checked ethically by means of a global ethic.

Stiglitz systematically takes us through problematic issues of the *invisible hand* theory; according to him the *invisible hand* does not exist. Stiglitz, having been a top economist in the heart of the global, capitalist economy, has a clear response to Adam Smith's famous and powerful *invisible hand* theory: “Smith's *invisible hand* is the notion that markets and the pursuit of self-interest would lead, as if by an *invisible hand*, to economic efficiency. Even if I could admit that markets, by themselves, might not engender a socially acceptable distribution of income, they argued that issues of efficiency and equity should be separated. In this conservative view, economics is about efficiency, and issues of equity should be left to politics. Today, the intellectual defence of market fundamentalism has largely disappeared. My research on the economics of information showed that whenever information is imperfect, in particular when there are information asymmetries – where some individuals know something that others do not – the reason that the *invisible hand* seems invisible is that it is not there. Without appropriate government regulation and intervention, markets do not lead to economic efficiency.”¹¹⁷

This contrast between the different approaches is very clear. Stiglitz points out to the fact that the *invisible hand* does not exist because “it is simply not there”. It is simply a name given to specific, traceable interests. According to Stiglitz he has solid proof of the flaws, failures and inequalities which the global economy, so-called under the auspices of the *invisible hand*, has

¹¹⁵ Smith 1776:4.

¹¹⁶ Küng 1998:213.

¹¹⁷ Stiglitz 2006:xiv.

caused (and is still causing). The least one can say is that this *invisible hand* does not work. It does not guide the global process reliably; in his words: “it does not exist”. The question posed by these strong critiques of “business as usual” - according to the invisible hand of the market which will automatically correct interference – is whether the NDP shows any signs of an awareness of the real manipulation of market forces in the “modern market” where huge amounts of money can be shifted at the mere push of a button, influencing currencies and the lives of millions, even billions, of people.

The NDP 2030 vision for the country's development is in place the central goals are to expand employment and entrepreneurial opportunities on the back of a growing and more inclusive economy. This will require far greater commitment to deepening the productive base, whether in agriculture, mining, manufacturing or services. According to the NPC South Africa should (by 2030) have a more diversified economy, with a higher global share of dynamic products, and greater depth and breadth of domestic linkages. If anything, this sounds like “business as usual”: South Africa should buy into the global market and participate competitively and efficiently. In addition intensified stimulation of local and foreign markets will be needed, as well as strengthening conditions to promote labour-absorbing activities. Traded activities will act as a spur to growth, as will active stimulation of domestic opportunities and the linkages between the two.

Specific actions will need to be taken to break out of the current path dependency and this will require decisive action on the part of the state and the other social partners.¹¹⁸ In this regard sustainable growth and development will require higher savings, investment and export growth¹¹⁹ together with the element of sustainable human-centred development. This sounds like “business as usual” *plus sustainability, plus a human element*. Both these elements which should be “added” are indeed ethical issues which need due attention and integration into the National Development Plan for the future, at least for 2030. The NDP indeed addresses the issue of “sustainability” in various chapters and from different angles, including the angle of justice and dignity for all.

¹¹⁸ NDP 2011:103.

¹¹⁹ NDP 2011:11.

6.7.5 Sustainability and Social Justice in a Global Ethic

To achieve maximum benefits for the people of South Africa, Government needs to remain cognisant of the differences between political ambitions, notions of solidarity and domestic realities. Deepening South Africa's integration should proceed on three fronts: regionally, in sub-Saharan Africa; continentally, in the context of Africa's progression towards political and/or economic union; globally, strengthening relations with BRICS and ensuring that Africa remains an important part of global production and value chains – and preventing a re-marginalisation of the continent. South Africa's role in the region starts with an honest appraisal of the continent and the world. Policy-makers also need to be clear about the political, economic and intellectual leadership role that South Africa can play in Africa.¹²⁰

Sustainability is an economic and political system that does not deliver for most of its citizens is one that is not sustainable in the long run. The question of sustainability is complementary to the question of current well-being or economic performance, and that it must be examined separately. Sustainability has a dialect of its own, and “in order to measure sustainability, we need indicators that tell us the sign of the change in the quantities of the different factors that matter for future well-being.”¹²¹ Economic and political sustainability must always deliver for its citizens as well as being environmentally *friendly*.

In the same vein, Julio De Santa Ana, Uruguayan Methodist, ecumenist and social scientist, asserts: “In speaking about the sustainability of the world, one must consider two dimensions: nature and human beings. But the social world cannot be sustainable if it does not care about the consequences for nature and the human being. A society which does not care about its members plants the seeds of its own destruction; and nature suffers from the domination and decline of the temporary human being. The world cannot survive if it accepts the options imposed by globalization, which returns it to the barbarity of the system in which the powerful impose their will on the weak, in which the workers and those who are weak do not have any achievements and rights, only the powerful.”¹²² Quality of life should embrace the sensitive issue of economic sustainability. If these factors are not attended to with the utmost urgency global economic growth will probably be affected in a negative way.

In defining well-being, the following dimensions should be considered simultaneously: material living standards (income, consumption and wealth), health, education, personal

¹²⁰ NDP 2011:217.

¹²¹ Stiglitz 2010:127-132.

¹²² De Santa Ana 1998:127-128.

activities including work, political voice and governance, social connections and relationships, environment (present and future conditions), insecurity, of an economic as well as a physical nature.¹²³ All these dimensions shape people's well-being, and yet many of them are missed by conventional income measures. Quality of life depends on people's objective conditions and capabilities. Steps should be taken to improve measures of people's health, education, personal activities and environmental conditions. In particular, substantial effort should be devoted to developing and implementing robust, reliable measures of social connections, political voice that can be contribute to life satisfaction.¹²⁴

These indicators should assess inequalities in a comprehensive way. Surveys should be designed to assess the links between various quality of life domains for each person, and this information should be used when designing policies in various fields. Moreover, statistical offices provide the information needed to aggregate across quality of life dimensions, allowing the construction of different indices; measures of both objective and subjective well-being provide key information about people's quality of life.¹²⁵ All conditions of human life are being undermined in the developed, underdeveloped and developing countries here and now. Human needs can be listed as: food, water, air, a liveable temperature or shelter. Human life in general, constitutes the price for current profit levels.¹²⁶ This argument resonates with the idea that even current global profit levels are affecting human life and the environment, for the bad and not the good. The imbalances within the global economic sphere seem to increase in ways never imagined. If proper economic sustainability measures are not put in place, it will have horrendous effects on global human existence creating huge gaps between the rich and the poor that are also categorised as huge inequalities on all levels of life.

Donal Dorr, a researcher for the Irish Missionary Union, emphasises the role that can be played by the institutional church in response to social justice issues. He draws attention to the fact that there are a number of major issues which, taken together may be called *The Social Justice Agenda*. Some of them are closely linked to others and some are more fundamental than others - we should be concerned with the plight of the poor.¹²⁷ It is exactly these social justice agendas which are taken seriously by a global ethic in response to the new global market of globalization - of a globalized world run under the hegemony of a neo-capitalist paradigm.

¹²³ Stiglitz 2010:16.

¹²⁴ Stiglitz 2010:16.

¹²⁵ Stiglitz 2010:15-20.

¹²⁶ Brennan 2003:17, 7.

¹²⁷ Dorr 1991:7.

6.8 Conclusion

Having investigated the challenges of a globalizing world, and especially a globalizing economy, through the eyes of secular and ecumenical watch dogs, it has become quite clear that modern, individualist approaches to the world's problems (such as egoism, relativism and simplistic consequentialist thinking) are not adequate. They fall short of serving the supra-individual needs and interests of the common weal. They will thus also fall short of providing an adequate ethical framework for assessing national visions and plans such as the South African National Development Plan. When dealing with the complexities of the one world we all share on this planet, a social ethic is needed which includes a comprehensive ecological ethic as well. Sustainability of the planet, and not only the individual, or not even only the human race, is at stake. Deontological commands are needed to help guide us, but these commands must be formulated as part of a comprehensive *social ethic*, even a *global ethic*. However, more is needed, ethically. The best of laws and the best of constitutions still need to be implemented, and for that to happen, these laws and constitutions need to be affirmed by people on the basis of shared values and virtues.

The old Aristotelian approach to ethics still holds: to have a good society function we do need good people, people of virtue and people of character.¹²⁸ This line of ethical reasoning is not only classical in this sense, it is also affirmed by the long tradition of communitarian ethics that found expression in indigenous traditions; it is at the heart of an African ethos shared by different African tribes and traditions, including the newly discovered Ubuntu thinking as popularised by Desmond Tutu and others.¹²⁹ It is thus not strange when the NDP refers to such philosophies when addressing the needs and the motivations of people who should be implementing the NDP.¹³⁰ A short section in the Vision Statement of the Executive Summary of the NDP is illustrative of this:

“We feel loved, respected and cared for at home, in community and the public institutions we have created. We feel understood. We feel needed. We feel trustful. We feel trusted. We feel accommodative. We feel accommodated. We feel informed. We feel healthy. We feel safe. We feel resourceful and inventive. We learn together. We talk to each other. We share our work. We play. We worship. We ponder and laugh. We are energised by sharing our

¹²⁸ These ideas about a shared moral narrative within which new generations should be socialised are currently rediscovered and strongly advocated by leading ethicists of our time, such as Taylor (1989), Hauerwas (1981 and 1983), and MacIntyre (1993).

¹²⁹ See Tutu 1989, Battle (1997), and Shutte (1993, 2001).

¹³⁰ NDP 2030. *Our Future – Make it Work* (Executive Summary), pp. 1-12.

resourcefulness. We are resilient. Therefore, in 2030, we experience daily how: We participate fully in efforts to liberate ourselves from conditions that hinder the flowering of our talents. We love reading. All our citizens read, write, converse, and value ideas and thought. We are fascinated by scientific invention and its use in the enhancement of our lives. We live the joy of speaking many of our languages. We know our history and that of other peoples. We have clear values. We create rather than eliminate; value arises from improving through creativity that which we inherited. I have a space that I can call my own. This space I share. This space I cherish with others. I maintain it with others. I am not self-sufficient alone. We are self-sufficient in community. Through our service we show our solidarity. We enjoy the same quality of service. We are connected through our caring. The beating heart of our country is a community that has all the enablers of modern life: We all see to it and assist so that all life's enablers are available in a humane way".

The language of the NDP is clad to a large measure in the rhetoric of responsibility theory, based on common sense rationality, since it deals with the kind of reasoning to be performed, decisions to be made, and responsibilities to be taken by individuals, governments, churches, religions, organizations and nation states. Our investigation thus far have shown that although "utility", an ethic of "ends", measured by goals and objectives as outcomes of our plans and activity, are important and no plan can operate without consequentialist thinking, this outcomes-based approach is inadequate. It needs to be supplemented by an ethic of "means" as well, an ethic of relevant commands or rules of *how to get to these ends*, as well as by an ethic of "virtue": defining the human values and character it will take to "get there".

In developing an ethical framework for development we have thus seen two movements: from individualist to social and further to global ethics, and a movement from an ethics of ends to an ethics of means. To this we have added the insight that a deontological ethic of command may be seen as compatible with an ethic of responsibility. That has always been the strength of a Kantian approach: the dimension of "practical reason" which also has rational character. To love our neighbour is not only a divine command, it is also a rational necessity for survival and co-existence.

In our search for an adequate ethic for development we have now arrived at the stage where the further addition of a profound insight dealing with the inner resources, the motivation, the agency needed for the individual, the group and the nation, should be added. In the next chapter we shall now focus on the ethical development theory of Amartya Sen, a leading thinker in this field, who deals with the crucial inner-motivational factor of the agency of

development. In the specific circumstances in South Africa, where the triumph of the nation over the shadows of a violent and structurally violent colonial and apartheid past has led to a euphoria of enormous expectations which were not met because of “state capture and corruption” and “angry and disillusioned new-borns” – to mention only two major factors threatening real development, the factor of agency and inner capacity or the will to develop, seems to be a very important missing piece of the puzzle. This is why Sen’s contribution seems to provide a final perspective towards an adequate ethos for the National Development Plan of South Africa. Sen’s theory, based on the deeper levels of personal freedom and agency, do seem to encompass all relevant aspects at play in development, and to do so from a clear ethical concern that includes the major ethical theories.



CHAPTER 7

ASSESSMENT AND CONCLUSION: “ETHICAL DEVELOPMENT”?

7.1 Introduction

This study assessed the NDP in light of current discourses on development, such as economic growth, poverty, unemployment, history of economic inequality, globalization and empire, ecological sustainability, human dignity and human rights. This broad assessment was done on various levels. Denis Goulet, pioneer in the study of development ethics, expands on this issue: “Ethical discourse is conducted at four distinct levels: general ends, criteria which specify when these ends exist in concrete situations, systems of interrelated means which constitute strategies for pursuing the ends sought, and individual means, taken separately.”¹² In terms of our own analysis in the previous chapters, we can read Goulet’s “levels” as follows: general ends (*utility*), criteria (*commandments, virtues*) which specify when these ends exist in concrete situations, systems of interrelated means which constitute strategies for pursuing the ends sought (*global ethic, responsibility ethics*), and individual means (“*agency*”, “*freedom to develop*” – Sen and Nussbaum) - taken separately but now also taken together. These stages are fundamental for this assessment because it assists in the understanding of the interplay between the questions and answers about ethics and development at large.

The research question in this study has been: How can Amartya Sen’s theory of “development as freedom” contribute towards an ethically viable development paradigm for South Africa; and what are the implications of Sen’s approach to development for the NDP and its implementation? Can the NDP and its viability (in all senses of the word: economic, human, ecological) be improved?

These questions, posed at the beginning of this study pertain to transformation in social, political, environmental and economic spheres of the country’s development. Interestingly, Goulet’s theory of development ethics resonates with the core of this study: “In questions of social change the sharpest ethical disagreements arise in the two middle realms – criteria specifying when desired goals are effectively reached, and the system of means deployed to

¹ Goulet 1995:11-14.

obtain targeted objectives.”³ Against this backdrop, an ethical assessment of the NDP, a concluding perspective on the ethical issues of viability and implementation of the NDP, and on the agency of the individual and communities, are identified as crucial components for a successful development plan.

7.2 Ethical Assessment of the NDP

The NDP is a comprehensive 484 page economic policy document which offers a long term perspective which has been intensively explored in this study. It defines a desired goal (of eliminating poverty and reducing inequality by 2030) and identifies the role of different sectors of society in order to reach this goal. My own interest has been specifically in how the viability of the NDP can be reconciled with the ethical discourses of development. In light of this interest, I agree with Goulet's sober warning that “development ethics as means of the means requires not that moralists pose ideal goals and pass judgment on the means used by others to pursue these or other goals, but rather that decision-makers, versed in the constraints surrounding vital choices, promote the values for which oppressed and underdeveloped groups struggle.”⁴ When development and development planning are viewed from such a value perspective, we would operate with a theory of development that embraces the holistic meaning of equitable sharing of wealth and distribution of resources amongst the millions of people South Africa and around the world. When we apply the insights we have gained through the four “levels” of ethical discourse, corresponding with four major ethical approaches, as argued above, certain shortcomings in the SANDP become apparent. However, there are also a number of significant aspects that provide a positive framework for refining and strengthening the NDP.

7.2.1 Positive Aspects of the NDP

The NDP has thus far achieved much success in terms of its development objectives for the country and this has also been clearly delineated in the NPC's diagnostic report: “After centuries of colonial conquest, followed by many decades of protest, resistance and brutal repression, our country negotiated its way to full democracy, and laid the foundations for a non-racial, non-sexist state. In so doing we defied almost all commentators and analysts and

³ Goulet 1995:11-14.

⁴ Goulet 1995:11-14. The right to speak normatively about development by engaging in action, or at least in consultation, with communities of need should exist robustly and the values and allegiances of those who are left powerless and stripped of resources by the ‘normal’ operations of resource transfers should be addressed.

have offered the world, a model of how deeply divided societies can move forward.”⁵ This, however, did not come easily. Several deep-rooted struggles had to be ensued in order for the country to decolonize and free itself from the cruel grip of colonialism and apartheid - all at the same time. In this sense, Maldonado-Torres’ view seems to encapsulate both the theory and praxis of decolonization: “Decolonial theory and praxis do not emerge from wonder in face of a strange world, but out of scandal and horror in face of the death world of coloniality.”⁶ The fight against colonialism and apartheid that emerged in South Africa forms part of the positive aspects of the NDP and is inclusive of the combat of the long-standing challenge of poverty, unemployment and inequality which had to be uprooted, addressed and demolished.

This research showed that the turn-around of South Africa’s economy in 1994 was inevitable. This was the turn as Maldonado-Torres describes it, a “decolonial turn” in South Africa’s political and economic history. The desire coming from the oppressed to be liberated and live the lives they deserved, translates into the decolonial turn which is the “extrication of the self from oppression”. This extrication is based on installing the self firmly on the route to liberation, and this liberation is to be seen not only as the end, but also as the beginning of forming new forms of life.⁷ In this regard, South Africa has delivered one of the most progressive liberation struggles and movements, globally, and this has become evident in the progress the country has achieved: “The unbanning of the liberation movements, the negotiation process, our first democratic election and the adoption of our country’s first fully entrenched Constitution together with a Bill of Rights were critical parts of the transition. They have made it possible for all South Africans to live with dignity and aspire to full participation in their country.”⁸

These major factors served as reinforcement for the country’s democratic system and transitional turn. This might be described as “the decolonial turn” which was “a particular manifestation of scepticism toward coloniality that seeks to reintroduce the new conception of the world to bring accounting to historical and contemporary injustices.”⁹ The NPC managed to entrench equivalent positive aspects in the NDP’s sustainable development paradigm and to date this contributed to the success of economic and human development in the country: “Since 1994, significant progress has been made towards making South Africa a

⁵ NPC Diagnostic Report 2011:5.

⁶ Maldonado-Torres 2008:5.

⁷ Sithole 2016:197.

⁸ NPC Diagnostic Report 2011:5.

⁹ Sithole 2016:195.

more just and inclusive society.”¹⁰ Much has been achieved and the country’s development trail augmented momentum in its aspirations to grow and develop the country. More importantly was “the articulation of the ethical question of justice against perpetual injustices” which afflicted the oppressed and this gave rise “to chart the terrain for the decolonial turn” that would ultimately result in the “creation of other forms of lives”.¹¹

The following main positive aspects are embedded in the progress of development and growth in the country: “Access to primary and secondary education has been expanded to include almost all of the age cohort. A reception year has been introduced. Ten million people have been accommodated in formal housing. Primary healthcare has been expanded. Access to electricity and water has been significantly expanded. Enrolment in higher education has almost doubled and, in terms of its race and gender demographics, is more representative of our nation.”¹² This brought new hope for the millions of vulnerable and marginalized South Africans. It was a “decolonial turn” which advocated “new ethics of humanity and recourse” which were “directly pointed toward the bankruptcy and hypocrisy of the empire that” was “scandalized by its tendency of being unethical” and “negated the humanity of blackness.”¹³

In following a certain code of ethics in terms of the enhancement of democracy, the “country’s political institutions have been entrenched through four national and provincial elections and four municipal and provincial elections”.¹⁴ The relevance of this was to ensure that a free, equal and democratic citizenry is operative in the country. It, in fact, embeds the decolonial turn which illuminated “the epistemic relevance of the enslaved and colonized subjectivities into the realm of thought of previously unknown institutional levels.”¹⁵ The NPC’s diagnostic report asserts that: “These elections, and have been vigorously contested by a wide range of political parties, campaigning peacefully across the country. The elections have been effected by conducted and administered, and the results accepted by all parties.”¹⁶ This process, then, allowed for the introduction of “questions about the effects of colonization in modern subjectivities and modern forms of life as well as contributions of racialized and colonized subjectivities to the production of knowledge and critical

¹⁰ NPC Diagnostic Report 2011:6.

¹¹ Sithole 2016:199.

¹² NPC Diagnostic Report 2011:6-7.

¹³ Sithole 2016:196.

¹⁴ NPC Diagnostic Report 2011:7.

¹⁵ Maldonado-Torres 2008:8.

¹⁶ NPC Diagnostic Report 2011:7.

thinking.”¹⁷ It highlighted the purpose and fundamental role of respected individualism and communitarianism in ways that would elicit collective answers to these questions and thus reaching solutions and building on stronger foundations for future human and economic development. According to the NPC diagnostic report, South Africa’s economic positive developments include the following: The successful restructuring of public finances, over a very short time, which helped the country avoid a debt trap, an effective tax system, and an independent and credible central bank, increases in economic growth and public revenues, and increase in the number of people in employment. However, while racial inequality remains a stubborn reality for the vast majority, the proportion of black people in the top 20 percent of income earners has risen from about half to well over two-thirds between 1995 and 2009.¹⁸ These positive changes in the country’s growth and development since 1994, heralded an emphasis on “the constant search for humanity, and in its instance, it is about giving a new philosophical basis of confronting coloniality and searching for truth to realize liberation.”¹⁹ Liberation that would demolish any racial or ethnic separation and that would in turn, develop into the freedom of individuals to create the lives they deserve and to improve their standard of living.

Positively, the NPC states that: “Racially segregated administrations in provinces, “homelands” and “self-governing territories” have been merged into a more streamlined and racially integrated system of national and provincial governments. A comprehensive network of municipalities covers the entire country. The legal and political framework that supports this intergovernmental system is imperfect, but far more democratic and responsive than in the past.”²⁰ It was however, impossible for this “turn” to take place “without the decolonial attitude” that aspired “to open the horizon of another world from the epistemic position that articulates the oppression from the lived experience of those who are oppressed.”²¹

Despite, the overall positive aspects entrenched in the NDP “divisions of race, gender and class remain, with inequality more often than not reflecting these lines of division, law, government policy and a broad social consensus are seeking to remove these inequities, rather than entrench them as was the case in the apartheid era. It is an important achievement that ethnic politics have largely been eschewed in South Africa since 1994.”²² The fight to

¹⁷ Maldonado-Torres 2008:8.

¹⁸ NPC Diagnostic Report 2011:7.

¹⁹ Sithole 2016:196.

²⁰ NPC Diagnostic Report 2011:7.

²¹ Sithole 2016:196-197.

²² NPC Diagnostic Report 2011:7.

maintain the country's transitional power and democracy gained in 1994 has no end and will remain a categorically, continuous objective. This battle is "fraught with the continuities, as history unfolds, and it comes with other existential concerns that require subjectivities that are aimed at shaping a better world."²³ There is no doubt that the NDP envisions and has started the process towards a better South Africa that enhances the lives of the millions of South Africans through sustainable and ethical developmental practices. So many facets of the NDP are clearly, in essence, decisive recognitions and propagations of decolonization as ethical, political, social, economic, environmental and epistemic projects.

7.2.2 Critical Assessment in View of Sen's Ethical Development Theory

The background of South Africa's political and economic history in this study provided a clear representation of why the present-day economic status of the country is what it is. The 1994 transition of South Africa's economy from apartheid to democracy during the reign of Mandela, Mbeki and now - less so - Zuma, brought substantial progress and economic growth.²⁴

The World Bank consistently keeps a record of how the country performed economically: "A sustained record of macroeconomic prudence and a supportive global environment enabled South Africa's gross domestic product (GDP) to grow at a steady pace for the decade up to the global financial stock of 2008-2009. Improvements in the public budget management system and efforts to restore the macro fundamentals by National Treasury played an essential role."²⁵ The question regarding South Africa's economic growth and performance revolves around this: "Is some aggregate measure of development success basic, such as economic growth or economic efficiency, or does social justice require maximizing the expectations of the least well off, getting all above a threshold, or reducing degrading inequality?"²⁶ From an ethical point of view, it is perceived in general that the country's

²³ Sithole 2016:200.

²⁴ Chapter 2 of this study provides more detail. See also Goulet 1995:85-86: growth strategies aim at maximizing aggregate economic production. Their goal is to create new increments of wealth as fast as possible. Growth advocates recognize that rapid economic growth results not only from a widened base of productive assets, but also from greater productivity in the utilization of the factors of production. Whatever inequalities result from concentrating on growth are judged by growth strategists to be unavoidable. Either the benefits of growth will trickle down to poor people at some later time or, if they do not, corrective welfare measures to assure equity can be adopted by political authorities. These measures range from progressive taxation, subsidized food and social services for those unable to pay, to social security schemes and safety nets to protect vulnerable and non-competitive people from the consequences of their failure in economic arenas.

²⁵ See the World Bank 2016, www.worldbank.org/en/country/Southafrica/overview.

²⁶ Crocker and Schwenke 2005:6.

economic performance and growth “has created as many problems as it has solved”.²⁷ Moreover, it has created more difficulty in reducing poverty, unemployment and inequality. The World Bank reported: “Due to consistent and sound budgetary policies, South Africa has been able to tap into international bond markets with reasonable sovereign risk spread. The 2012 Open Budget Index prepared by the International Budget Partnership ranked South Africa second among 94 countries surveyed. In 2014, however, South Africa’s ratings have been downgraded, some rating agencies citing poor growth prospects mainly because of labour market instability and rising government debt as well as high deficits on the current account.”²⁸ Here, the uncertainty of the country’s economic stability already exists.

The NDP as the blueprint of the country’s development path was supposed to systematically eradicate all uncertainty and instability of the country’s economy but did not reach this point to date. Interestingly, Crocker and Schwenke, ground-breaking researchers in the field of the relevance and purpose of development ethics, describes the duality of development from an ethical viewpoint: “In the descriptive sense, development is often identified as the process of economic growth and modernization that result in a society’s achievement of a high or improving (per capita) gross domestic product (GDP) or gross national product (GNP). In the normative sense, a developed society is one whose established institutions realize or approximate worthwhile goals.”²⁹

Despite the meaningful goals and redistribution of growth ideals listed in the NDP for the country, “poor orientation of public spending has contributed to improved social development indicators in a range of areas. Primary education, gender, several health indicators and environmental sustainability are likely to be achieved. Social insurance programs currently cover around 16 million people and, at 3.5% of GDP, are more than twice the media-spending among developing economies”.³⁰ So much more ought to be done in order to achieve the NDP’s vision for 2030. There has been a failure to create jobs at the pace necessary to reduce extremely high poverty, unemployment and inequality (PUI).

²⁷ Crocker and Schwenke 2005:8-9.

²⁸ See the World Bank 2016, www.worldbank.org/en/country/Southafrica/overview.

²⁹ Crocker and Schwenke 2005:8-9.

³⁰ World Bank 2016. See also Goulet 1995:86-87, Advocates of redistribution with growth contend that equity, together with growth, must be planned as a direct objective of development strategy. Accordingly, the goal of planners and politicians become not to maximize economic growth, but to optimize it in the light of parallel equity objectives. Within this paradigm, one finds a changed view of the role attributed to investments in education, job creation, health, and nutrition.

The question, thus remained after the apartheid era who were those responsible for solving the colossal PUI challenge? “Who or what bears (primary) responsibility for bringing about development—a nation’s government, civil society or the market?”³¹ Government should generally be aware that development is for a better life for human beings rather than human being an instrument of development. Ethically-based development is, inclusive: it offers and protects development benefits for everyone in a society —regardless of their religion, gender, ethnicity, economic status, or age.³² The goals of genuine development, and not only its means, must not be borrowed from countries already ‘developed’. It becomes essential, therefore, to confront traditional images of the good life and the good society with modern alternatives to see which are more truly developmental.³³

Since the dawn of democracy, this has been an ongoing struggle for Government: “In 2013 the country’s economic growth flattened due to prolonged labour strife and has exacerbated the high unemployment and external vulnerabilities, pushing up the unemployment to 25.5% in 2014 (33% including discouraged workers). Following the negative growth rate recorded in the first quarter of 2014, the South African economy escaped a further contraction in the second quarter as real domestic production rose at an annualized rate of 0.6%. This barely positive growth rate was extremely disappointing given the country’s development needs, and was mainly brought about by the down-out industrial action in the platinum-mining subsector which started on 23 January 2014 and only came to an end five months later.”³⁴ The most recent reports on the country’s economic status states that South Africa’s economy is in a bad place and this trend is likely to continue over the next five years. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth between 2015 and 2019 is expected to be the lowest since the Second World War.³⁵

A totally different concept of development is needed, one derived from within the diverse value systems cherished by living communities. It is from within these values, these networks of meanings, loyalties and patterns of living, which the proper ends of development and the

³¹ Crocker and Schwenke 2005:6.

³² Crocker and Schwenke 2005:9. This includes the maximization of economic growth in a society without paying any direct attention to converting greater opulence into better human living conditions for its members, and an authoritarian egalitarianism in which physical needs are satisfied at the expense of political liberties and citizen agency.

³³ Goulet 1995; 88-89.

³⁴ See African Country Focus – South Africa 2016, <http://www.globalfinance.mu>.

³⁵ See Smith 2016, <http://www.fin24.com>. South Africa is described to have two economies: the haves and the have nots. South Africa in showing muted employment growth, weak growth in credit extension, particularly to households, and low consumer confidence. However, wage growth and household wealth appear to remain resilient. Our untidy political arrangements over the past four to five years have hurt the country. People would then rather be defensive and invest offshore.

most suitable means for obtaining it are to be defined. Sound development ought to be grounded in traditional and indigenous values, since ultimately both economic and social development. Integral human development, however, rests on a secure sense of identity and cultural integrity, and on a system of meaning to which one can give enthusiastic allegiance. This conviction lies behind the search for strategies of change which take the traditional values of living communities as the foundation upon which to build humane forms of development.³⁶

7.2.3 Issues of Implementation and Viability

This study was intended to developing an assessment framework for testing all aspects of the NDP ethically and as to its viability. Based on a review of applicable literature, this study identified key terms and explains different viewpoints for assessing viability and ethical development. One finds several sources for moral assessment of the theory and practice of development. Activists and social critics, such as Frantz Fanon in the 1960s criticized colonialism and orthodox economic development and searched for better alternatives.³⁷

The relevance of the thesis relies upon the suggestion of perspectives that will strengthen the rationale, viability and implementation of the NDP. The NDP identified the failure to implement policies and an absence of broad partnerships as the main cause for the slow progress in eliminating poverty and reducing inequality.³⁸ To achieve its two main strategic goals, the NDP lists several critical factors for its successful implementation: focused leadership that provides policy consistency; ownership of the NDP by all formations of society; strong institutional capacity at technical and managerial levels; efficiency in all areas of government spending including management of the public service wage bill and making resources available for other priorities; and prioritizing and achieving clarity on levels of responsibility and accountability in every sphere of government; as well as a common understanding of the roles of business, labour and civil society.³⁹ Development ethics is in

³⁶ Goulet 1995:141, 215

³⁷ Crocker and Schwenke 2005:2. See also Goulet 1995:87, the Basic Human Needs (BHN) approach is an important variant of the redistribution-with-growth model. BHN goes further than redistribution by specifying the quantifiable content of redistribution or equity. For BHN strategists, the priority task of development thus becomes neither to maximize nor to optimize aggregate growth, but rather to satisfy a cluster of basic needs felt by the poorest segments of the nation's population, those lying under some 'poverty line'. This cluster of basic needs includes goods and services relating to nutrition, health, housing, education, and access to jobs. The BHN paradigm also differs from the redistribution-with-growth approach in that it does not necessarily assume that equity is always or necessarily compatible with high rates of economic growth. If basic needs can be met with little or no growth, so be it, they say; in any event, true development is not measured by growth.

³⁸ NDP 2011:13.

³⁹ See the World Bank 2016, www.worldbank.org/en/country/Southafrica/overview.

large part about choices: choices about values and about strategies. Ethical discussion about development only has much point because there are real, serious choices to make. If there were but one development path that could be taken seriously there would not remain much to discuss; only the propounding of the one true way. At least in some cases we can conclude that certain alternatives we may find shared features as well as areas of acceptable variation.⁴⁰ The recent affirmations by global credit ratings agencies were indicators that some improvements were starting to emerge as South Africa implements its NDP. Radebe assured the country that progress was being made on the long-term blueprint that was developed to pull South Africa out of its economic slump. Further, Government, business and labour were collectively intensifying efforts to expand growth, with the country's rankings in the WEF's competitiveness index starting to show improvements. However, the currently unfavourable economic conditions, locally and globally demanded efforts be further focused on bolstering growth.⁴¹

First, the very idea of development as societal improvement is value related. Development ethics attempts clarification, assessment and widening of the values which are given power. Second, development strategies and paths typically involve major human costs and suffering. Their nature and distribution, nationally and internationally, must be taken into account and responded to.⁴² Third, non-development too can have terrible costs. Hence people may face cruel choices, where each option involves tolerating or causing great bads, and this call for intense and systematic discussion. Fourth, we must identify and compare alternatives. The issue is reconceive development to give it a more adequate value direction and make it more equitable, and try to find or create alternative means that will do this.⁴³

From all aspects researched in this thesis, it may be concluded that the NDP is a viable plan for South Africa's development. The study concentrated on the most important recent political initiative to create an equal and flourishing socio-political climate in South Africa and for all its citizens. This document will, in spite of misgivings and critique from various quarters, remain the relevant and authoritative guiding vision for the new South Africa, at least for the foreseeable future. The NDP was initiated to significantly reduce inequality in South Africa by 2030 through uniting South Africans, unleashing the energies of its citizens, growing an inclusive economy, building capabilities and enhancing the capability of the state

⁴⁰ Gasper 2004:14-16.

⁴¹ See Odendaal 2016, <http://www.engineeringnews.co.za>.

⁴² Gasper 2004:14-16. See also Gasper (2007).

⁴³ Gasper 2004:14-16.

and leaders to work together to solve complex problems. Development strategies must be contextually sensitive. Hence, what constitutes the best means will depend on a political community's history and stage of social change.⁴⁴ This ethical assessment of the NDP, is a way of thought and practice that emphasizes the importance of often distinctive local problems and solutions.

7.2.4 The NDP and Agency of the Individual and Communities

If development is defined generically as “good socio-economic change,” what basic economic, political, and cultural goals should a society or political community pursue, and what values or principles should inform their selection?⁴⁵ The reality remains that in spite of global progress with respect to achieving higher living standards for many – there are still grave deprivations for many in contrast to the elevated affluence of a few.⁴⁶ Amartya Sen addressed the causes of global economic inequality, hunger, and underdevelopment and have addressed these problems with, among other things, a conception of development explicitly based on ethical principles.⁴⁷ Sen argues that development should be understood ultimately not as economic growth, industrialization, or modernization, which are at best means for the end of the expansion of people's “valuable capabilities and functionings”⁴⁸

In this study, the NDP with its constitutional and human rights framework resonates with Sen's “development as freedom” and the capability approach. This notion has grown into a major focus in development at large with an emphasis on the ethical dynamic. South Africa's sustainable development paradigm connected and integrated many human rights and constitutional principles; Freedom, equality, participation and sustainability were the outstanding factors in terms of human and environmental development. In terms of the NDP, agency of the individual and communities, the most fundamental category in moral assessment was to be determined between human flourishing and human rights.⁴⁹ Most critics of development agree that development is a multidisciplinary field that has both theoretical

⁴⁴ Crocker and Schwenke 2005:9.

⁴⁵ Crocker and Schwenke 2005:5.

⁴⁶ Crocker and Schwenke 2005:7.

⁴⁷ Crocker and Schwenke 2005:3.

⁴⁸ Sen 1997. See also Gasper 2004:16-18, the 1990s saw a growing explicit ethical thrust in forums for development policy and practice: in the debates on aid, trade forums for development cooperation, for example on ethical trading, child labour, debt relief, intellectual property rights, environmental sustainability and humanitarian relief, and in growing attempts to establish and apply norms and codes of practice in relief and development work.

⁴⁹ Crocker and Schwenke 2005:6.

and practical components and that it should include both academics and practitioners.⁵⁰ Hence, in this study it was important that both human flourishing and human rights be used as core catalysts in processes of development. A threshold view that identifies a minimal level of agency and well-being that should be open to everyone, regardless of their citizenship, and is the “platform” for individuals and communities freely to decide their own conception of the fully good or flourishing human life is fundamental.⁵¹ One reason for this approach is that it will be easier to get cross-cultural consensus for a “moral minimum” than for a robust conception of the good life. Another reason is that such minimalism respects the rights of individuals and communities to determine (within limits set by their respect for the similar freedom of others) their own conception of the good.⁵² This is indeed what the NDP aspires to achieve.

This study reviewed the wide range of applicable methods for assessing the viability of the NDP. The assessment discovered in terms of human and economic development that: Since 1994 South Africa has made great progress in reducing absolute poverty by rolling out social grants for pensioners, the disabled and children. Access to education, housing, water, electricity and other services have been greatly broadened. As a result, well-being has increased substantially. A sound macroeconomic framework with a stable fiscal position, inflation targeting, a floating exchange rate and largely unimpeded international capital flows, underpinned this progress and has earned South Africa the confidence of financial markets.⁵³

Notwithstanding the successful transition to a democratic system with strong institutions, the legacy of apartheid is still felt by many South Africans. Inactivity is widespread, settlement structures are too remote from economic centres and severe infrastructure bottlenecks prevent economic activity from delivering the benefits of globalization to all. Moreover, domestic barriers to firms entering markets are still high, in particular for black entrepreneurs despite policies to foster black economic empowerment. The NDP provides an ambitious framework

⁵⁰ Crocker and Schwenke 2005:7-8. It is important not merely to understand the nature, causes and consequences of development but also to argue for and promote specific conceptions of such change. The moral dialogue ought to include a range of voices, so as not to neglect the resources of the communities at large but to forge an improved global and public moral consensus that builds on and extends global commitments to common values and human rights.

⁵¹ Crocker and Schwenke 2005:11.

⁵² Crocker and Schwenke 2005:11.

⁵³ See Preuss 2015, <http://www.financialmail.co.za>.

for stronger, more inclusive growth.⁵⁴ Life expectancy, after falling dramatically from 62 years in 1992 to 53 years in 2010, recovered to 62 years in 2014. The recent rapid expansion of the antiretroviral treatment programs to fight HIV/AIDS. And it is supported by declines in both adult and infant mortality. The poor are particularly vulnerable, and high HIV and AIDS infection rates, as well as TB infections, have severely strained the health system, contributing to the poor health indicators.⁵⁵

A key factor behind the high income inequality is the low employment rate, especially of black South Africans. The NDP also identifies the need to increase economic growth and expand employment. Job creation is held back by regulatory entry barriers for new suppliers, who could offer better and cheaper services, as well as by the legal extension of collectively agreed wages, contributing to an insider/outsider divide.⁵⁶ The unresolved set of complex socio-economic challenges has locked South Africa into a low-level equilibrium of low growth, persistent poverty and widespread exclusion and unemployment. Although many of the required policy actions are known to the policy-makers, their implementation has been hampered by a lack of broad political consensus and the deficit in trust between business, labour and government.

The education system has failed to ensure that equalised public spending on schooling translates into improved education for poor black children. Raising educational outcomes and increasing employment would mean more opportunities for young people, higher productivity growth, rising incomes, increased tax revenue, less dependence on grants, reduced scope for the politics of patronage, greater social cohesion, higher levels of investment and more space for creativity. The NPC identified a set of interrelated challenges that affected the country's ability to bolster the quality of life for all South Africans. These include improving the performance of the public service and raising the standard of service delivery, reducing corruption, addressing the legacy of apartheid's spatial divisions and bridging deeply rooted social divisions. The NPC's methodology emphasised cause and

⁵⁴ See OECD Economic Surveys South Africa (2013a, 2013b and 2015:2). See also the World Bank 2016, Despite the notable accomplishments, South Africa's economic transformation agenda remains incomplete. The limited progress since 1994 in lifting the living standards of the majority and reducing the income inequality has put the social contract under pressure and has developed into an open public debate. Transport and farming sectors brought into question labour and business relations in the country. South Africa remains having a dual economy with one of the highest inequality rates in the world, perpetuating inequality and exclusion. With an income Gini of around 0.70 in 2008 and a consumption Gini of 0.63 in 2009, the top decile of the population accounts for 58% of the country's income, while the bottom decile accounts for 0.5% and the bottom half less than 8%.

⁵⁵ See the World Bank 2016, www.worldbank.org/en/country/Southafrica/overview.

⁵⁶ See OECD Economic Surveys South Africa 2015:2.

effect. It recognised that public policy had multiple divisions. Trying to piece together the root causes of any specific issue is difficult; drawing links is even harder. Nevertheless, this is precisely what the Commission has undertaken to do. Environmental challenges such as climate change and water scarcity threaten the sustainability of economic growth. South Africa is one of the most energy and greenhouse gas intensive economies, reflecting the huge minerals-energy complex, which relies heavily on domestic coal. This questions thus in this regard, how concerned should we be about our environment; how concerned should we be about the poor; or how concerned we should be about democracy, cannot be ignored.⁵⁷

A crucial question in the debate is which agents and structures are largely if not exclusively to blame for the present state of global destitution and unequal opportunity? It is evident that the global order is both dominated by affluent countries and unjustly tilted against poor countries.⁵⁸ Moreover, the global order opens up opportunities for poverty reduction and democratization as well as impedes them, and wise leaders/peoples discern the difference. A developing country can find ways to take advantage of normally adverse global factors.⁵⁹ This thesis endeavours to provide perspectives from which the NPC can benefit in planning and evaluating future work for national development, taken from crucial debates in development theory, global ethics and ecumenical discourse on global justice and peace issues. The moral of this nautical story is clear: Just as the national development efforts vary and from time to time and place to place, so do the impacts of the global order and the rich countries that dominate this order. Is it up to developing national and local communities to seize the good and avoid the bad of a globalizing world? Today, the challenge is to get the balance right . . . between collective action at the local, national, and global levels.

7.2.5 Dangers threatening the NDP

During the last phases of this study, especially the past year, it has become increasingly clear that the original euphoria about an own National Development Plan for South Africa has waned. The NDP has come under attack from various quarters, even from within the ruling party, the ANC. President Zuma has been speaking about a “second (economic) revolution”, entailing a radical transformation of the country’s economy, against white monopoly capital and towards a people’s economy. Critics have been quick to indicate the birth of a rapidly growing culture of entitlement, corruption and self-enrichment, and even “state capture”, with

⁵⁷ Crocker and Schwenke 2005:13. See also Stiglitz 2002, 218-19.

⁵⁸ Crocker and Schwenke 2005:14.

⁵⁹ Crocker and Schwenke 2005:14.

the Gupta family pulling most of the strings behind the curtains.⁶⁰ The political commentator, Max du Preez, has written a sobering analysis of the state of the nation after twenty years of democracy, also in the area of economic development. While remaining positive about the possibilities of the South African nation of overcoming all the obstacles, he has warned that there may only be “rumours of spring”, and that a long winter may still be in the waiting.⁶¹

The FW de Klerk Foundation, established to strengthen democratic attitudes and the rule of law in the country, has held various symposia and public lectures, and of late De Klerk himself has spoken out very strongly on the crisis in the ANC as far as attitudes regarding the NDP are concerned. He has warned that the ANC may split on this issue and that the future of the country may hinge on the two alternatives: The NDP with its balanced approach, emphasising both sustained growth and redistribution of land and resources, or a radical second revolution that may result in chaos and anarchy.⁶²

One of the threats against the viability of the NDP lies within the Plan itself: the apparent reluctance to address issues of race and ethnicity, as though these issues have been solved and that the country and the people are now facing other more urgent issues, such as economic and social justice – as though these issues can be separated as neatly as this.

It is simply not possible to address these important aspects here, since our focus has been on the internal ethical integrity and viability of the NDP, in terms of ethical and developmental theories. It will require another line of approach to address issues of corruption, state capture, and overt or subtle undermining of the NDP, which have emerged as strong influences on the Plan from “outside”. Here we can only hope and trust that the ethical basis of and for the NDP, presented here, can serve also as a basis for such further critique of negative influences that may conspire against the Plan and its successful implementation.

7.3 Conclusion

It may be worthwhile to conclude this study by summarising some of the main points in the argument that were built up through the seven chapters: “Development” has emerged as a key word indicating the level of participation in and integration into the global economy of previously “under-developed” or marginalized countries, especially from the so-called “Third

⁶⁰ In the frontline of such critique has been the weekly *Mail and Guardian*, spearheaded by the revealing cartoons by Zapiro. See the archives of the website www.mg.co.za.

⁶¹ Du Preez, 2013.

⁶² De Klerk, FW 2017.

World". Even though decolonial theory contests the validity of what is seen as a particular arrogant Western assessment of the norms at work in such classification of nation-states, it is widely accepted that there is a direct equation between *growth* and *equality*: The lower the level of inequality in any country, the faster and the more sustainable the growth in the economy is expected to be. South Africa's dilemma is that it portrays the extreme negative aspect of this fundamental socio-economic formula. The country has a high level of inequality and seems to be stuck in low economic growth! In essence, the current high level of inequality in South Africa results in slow and unsustainable growth in the economy. A healthy development path for South Africa would mean that both economic growth *and* equality should be sustainably sought. Colonial and apartheid periods elicited processes of planning and development which may have been well-managed and controlled but were fundamentally unjust, being based on stark inequalities, and thus strongly and justifiably opposed.

The central focus of this study has been to ethically assess the rationale and implementation of the South African National Development Plan (NDP), developed on the basis of the country's model new Constitution in order to ensure good quality of life and dignity for all its citizens. The goal of this study has been to determine to which extent the NDP is viable in this sense, and can be supported on the basis of a responsible ethical development paradigm, such as Amartya Sen's comprehensive theory of "development as freedom". This thesis aimed at contributing towards a trustworthy assessment framework for testing all aspects of the NDP, especially its ethical viability.

To test the viability of the NDP the study zoomed in on detailed assessments of the following frameworks:

- *Critical historical studies* of South Africa's international political and economic development,
- *Studies on Development Theory* to identify gaps or suspect aspects of the NDP,
- *Constitutional and human rights studies* into the constitutional framework of the NDP and its socio-ethical perspectives,
- *Post-colonial and Post-Apartheid ideals of the National development Plan*,
- *Studies on globalization and a global ethic* to specifically understand the positive and negatives side of globalization as relevant factors in development discourse in South Africa, and

- *A particular study of Sen's comprehensive development framework* to use a theory acknowledged for its comprehensiveness and ethical sharpness to thoroughly assess the strengths and weaknesses of the NDP.

Findings drawn from this study suggest that the (*utilitarian or consequentialist*) goals and objectives of the NDP are generally seen as positive and pointing in the right direction. However, the deeper ethical analysis of the NDP, linked to the emergence of *responsibility theory*, a *global ethic* (a deontological social ethic for the world), a particular African *virtue ethic* (Ubuntu), and specifically to Amartya Sen's ethical analysis of the kind of *agency and freedom* needed by the actors in the drama of development – together - expose various shortcomings in the NDP, some of its goals, its implementation, sustainability, and the new ethos it embodies.

The concluding remarks of this study thus provide a number of critical points, ethically spoken, on crucial details of the NDP. Such aspects of the NDP are, for instance, its “utility” (according to the theory which holds that actions are right if they lead to optimum happiness for the greatest number of people); its “morality” (good outcomes or results produced by right actions, consequences which generally outweigh all other considerations); its “virtue” (which focuses on individual agency, morality and duties), but also in typical African fashion, the quality of its “Ubuntu” (the being together of people defining each member of the clan's humanity and dignity). Sen's accent on the *inner freedom*, the *agency*, of individuals and people, organized in civil society - to support each other, to be open, ready and engaged in their own development - seems to provide some of the missing ingredients for the South African development plan and path. Such ingredients cannot be guaranteed or “produced” by human rights, constitutions, Rule of Law, or even a Bill of Rights. In the face of state capture, corrupt leadership, personal greed, lack of personal integrity or virtue, disregard for divine commands or human rights, this one factor seems to be the only medicine that works: *deep-seated personal agency* (of the individual and of civil society), generating strong determination, joint action and a belief of a future commonwealth that does honour the original dream of the Freedom Charter. Hopefully the critical questions emerging from the multi-level ethical assessment of the NDP, may stimulate new debates and set out new research agendas for a just and peaceful future for the “Rainbow Nation”.

The researcher thus regards this assessment as reason for opening up a discussion rather than closing it. The assessment links issues that ought to be addressed in the context of more comprehensive research efforts. Other bodies at national and international level should discuss the recommendations, identify their limits, and see how best they can contribute to the broad agenda, each from its own perspective. The researcher believes that a global debate around the issues and recommendations raised in this assessment may provide an important venue for a discussion of societal values for what we, as a society, care about and whether we are really striving for what is important. At national level, round-tables should be established, with the involvement of stakeholders, to identify and prioritise those indicators that carry the potential for a shared view of how social progress is happening and how it can be sustained over time. The researcher of this study hopes that the critical ethical assessment offered here will provide the impetus not only for such a broader discussion, but for ongoing research into the development of better metrics that will enable us to assess better economic performance and social progress.



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Acts

1911 Black Labour Regulations Act
1911 Mines and Works Act
1913 Black Land Act
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1926 Mines and Works Act
1936 Native Trust and Land Act
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1950 Group Areas Act
1950 Population Registration Act
1950 Suppression of Communism Act
1951 Bantu Authorities Act
1952 Black Act
1953 Bantu Education Act
1953 Criminal Law Amendment Act
1953 Natives Settlement of Disputes Act
1953 Reservation of Separate Amenities Act
1954 Black Resettlement Act
1956 Industrial Conciliation Act
1956 Riotous Assemblies Act
1957 Extension of University Education Act
1959 Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act
1998 Environmental Management Act
1998 National Forest Act
2005 Forestry Laws Amendment Act
2014 Infrastructure Development Act

