

Fighting corruption

KEY POINTS

Corruption undermines good governance, which includes sound institutions and the effective operation of government in South Africa. The country needs an anti-corruption system that makes public servants accountable, protects whistle-blowers and closely monitors procurement.

These efforts to eradicate corruption need to include the private sector and individuals by increasing public awareness and improving access to information.

A strategy is needed to strengthen the independence of the judiciary, through improving the quality of judges and scaling up judicial training.

INTRODUCTION

Poor governance can critically undermine national development. For a more effective state, there must be accountability. Accountability refers to institutionalized practices of giving account of how assigned responsibilities are carried out and public resources used. In a democracy it is crucial for political leaders and public officials to account to the citizens for their actions. This is achieved through a system of institutional checks and balances including Parliament, oversight institutions and the judiciary. The Constitution calls for public servants to maintain a high standard of professional ethics. Political leaders and public officials should conduct themselves at all times in a manner that

would bear the closest public scrutiny. Building integrity is an essential component of achieving good governance.

The diagnostic report of the National Planning Commission indicates that South Africa suffers from high levels of corruption that undermine

the rule of law and hinder development and socioeconomic transformation. Defined as the misuse of an official position for personal gain, corruption occurs in both the public and private sectors. The costs of corrupt practices fall most heavily on the poor because they degrade the quality and accessibility of public services. State systems of accountability have been uneven, enabling corruption to thrive. This is not specific to the public sector. It is a broader societal disease. To address this comprehensively, anti-corruption efforts should target the bribe-maker, as well as the bribe-taker.

Overcoming corruption and lack of accountability in society requires political will, sound institutions, a solid legal foundation and an active citizenry that holds public officials accountable.

ACHIEVEMENTS SINCE 1994

Corruption was widespread during apartheid. Research by the Institute for Security Studies provides extensive evidence of "grand corruption" before 1994, concluding that "when the apartheid state was at its most repressive, it was also at its most corrupt". ¹ South Africa cannot hope to tackle corruption today without understanding its origins.

In the democratic era, steps have been taken to counter corrupt practices and put in place accountability mechanisms. Appreciative of the role of transparency in creating an accountable, responsive government, the Bill of Rights includes access to information and administrative justice,

> which in turn enable other socioeconomic rights in the Constitution. The Promotion of Access to Information Act and the Promotion of Access to Justice Act were passed in 2000 to give effect to these rights. These laws provide a foundation for open, transparent and accountable government. 🗲 Together with the

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Activities Act (2004), Public Finance Management Act (1999) and Municipal Finance Management Act (2003), these laws form a solid legislative basis to fight corruption.

In addition to progressive laws, South Africa has created a number of institutions that deal with corruption and hold public officials to account. These include oversight institutions such as the Auditor-General and the Public Protector that were established in terms of chapter 9 of the Constitution to strengthen democracy. Several anti corruption agencies are operating with solid skills and political commitment.

VISION 2030

Our vision for 2030 is a South Africa that has zero tolerance for corruption. In 2030, South Africa will be a society in which citizens do not offer bribes and have the confidence and knowledge to hold public and private officials to account, and in which leaders have integrity and high ethical standards. Anticorruption agencies should have the resources, independence from political influence, and powers to investigate corruption, and their investigations should be acted upon.

How South Africa will achieve its Vision 2030

The Commission has singled out four areas in which policies should be implemented towards an accountable state:

• Building a resilient anti-corruption system.

Anti-corruption efforts should create a system that can operate freely from political interference and can be supported by both public officials and citizens. In a resilient system, designated agencies have the capability and resources to investigate cases of corruption, leaders take action when problems are brought to their attention, citizens resist the temptation to pay bribes because they recognise that their individual actions contribute to a bigger problem, the private sector does not engage in corrupt practices, citizens speak out against corruption and the media fulfils its investigative and reporting function to expose corruption in the public and private sector.

• Strengthen accountability and responsibility of public servants. South African public servants should be made legally accountable as individuals for their actions, particularly in matters involving public resources.

• Create a transparent, responsive and accountable public service. State information, including details of procurement, should be made openly available to citizens. Furthermore, an information regulator should be established to adjudicate appeals when access to information requested is denied.

• Strengthen judicial governance and the rule of law. Ensure the independence and accountability of the judiciary. Establish clear criteria for the appointment of judges and scale up judicial training to improve the quality of judges. The extension of community service to law graduates, to increase legal representation for the poor and speed up the administration of justice, should be considered.

BUILDING A RESILIENT ANTI-CORRUPTION SYSTEM

Fighting corruption requires an anti-corruption system that is well-resourced, operates freely from political interference and has the support of citizens. The proposals in this section deal with how to create a strong anti-corruption system that is suited to the South African context. The Commission proposes the following:

- Strengthen the multi-agency anti-corruption system
- Strengthen the protection of whistle-blowers
- Greater central oversight over the awarding of large tenders or tenders with long duration
- Empower the tender compliance monitoring office to investigate corruption and the value for money of tenders.

Strengthen the multi-agency anticorruption system

South Africa has a number of agencies mandated to fight corruption. These are the South African Police Service (including the Directorate for Priority Crimes Investigation), the Special Investigations Unit, the Assets Forfeiture Unit (based in the office of the National Director of Public Prosecutions), and the Public Service Commission. The Public Protector and the Auditor-General also investigate corruption, although this does not form part of their core mandate. Some have argued that the multiplicity of anti-corruption agencies undermines the fight against corruption as it divides resources and has resulted in an uncoordinated approach.

There has been much debate about whether South Africa should have a single anti-corruption agency.² Hong Kong's Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) is a successful model for a single-agency system. It has been adopted in a number of countries including Australia, Botswana and Singapore. However, there are doubts about whether the model can be transposed into South Africa. Specific conditions in Hong Kong include "a relatively well-regulated administrative culture alongside a large, and again, well-resourced police force under a political and legal framework which supports anti-corruption activities".³ While there are ongoing efforts to develop South Africa's administrative capacity and improve the criminal justice system, as detailed in other chapters in this plan, the country does not have the institutional foundation to make the ICAC a viable option.

A functioning anti-corruption system requires "sufficient staff and resources with specific knowledge and skills; special legislative powers; high level information sharing and co-ordination; and operational independence".⁴ Independence entails insulating institutions from political pressure and interference. A single-agency approach is less resilient in this respect because if the lone anticorruption body faces political capture, the independence of the entire system is compromised. A multiplicity of agencies provides the checks and balances that are essential in the South African context and develops a systemic resilience against interference.

The institutional independence of anti-corruption agencies is contentious, since they are all

accountable to the Executive. This may leave them vulnerable to political pressure and interference. Another issue is overlapping mandates and poor coordination between agencies. Duplication between agencies indicates that a clearer demarcation of functions is needed. Furthermore, weak coordination undermines their ability to investigate and prosecute corruption. The Commission proposes a review of the mandates and functions of all agencies with a view to some rationalisation. The autonomy of each agency should be reinforced to insulate them from political pressure.

Strengthening the anti-corruption system requires increasing the agencies' specialist resources. More capacity should be created for corruption investigations – more funding is required to employ skilled personnel and sophisticated investigative techniques. While thousands of cases are investigated, few get to court. Specialised teams of prosecutors and special courts should be established to expedite the resolution of corruption cases.

Public education drives are needed to communicate the effect of corruption on the delivery of services, and the mechanisms through which cases of corruption can be reported. Agencies should be required to conduct public awareness campaigns. This would require adequate resources and partnerships with nongovernmental organisations.

South Africa pioneered a multi-sector approach to fighting corruption with the establishment of the National Anti-Corruption Forum in 2001. This forum is composed of members from government, business and civil society. It was established to coordinate sectoral strategies against corruption, to advise government on the implementation of anti-corruption strategies, to share information and best

practice, and to advise sectors on the improvement of sectoral anti-corruption strategies. Unfortunately, there has been insufficient commitment and continuity from the different sectors in the forum and the institution is underfunded. The National Anti-Corruption Forum has a valuable role to play in combating corruption at all levels in society. Therefore efforts should be made to strengthen it with the necessary resources in order to be more effective.

To tackle corruption, there must be political will and support for anti-corruption agencies. Political will refers to not only public statements of support, but a commitment to providing sufficient resources and taking action against corrupt officials. Political parties must strive to maintain ethical conduct among their members. Political leaders must realise the effect of their behaviour on the integrity of the political office they hold.

Take a societal approach to combating corruption

Corruption is a broader societal problem. The private sector plays a role on the supply side of corruption, for example through paying bribes for government contracts. There are incidences of corruption within the private sector itself such as price-fixing and collusion between businesses, as well as charging inflated rates for government contracts. When exposed, corruption is often investigated quietly and kept out of the public domain. Investigations often lead to dismissal but rarely result in or include criminal prosecution. An obligation must be placed on the private sector to use the criminal justice system, not merely administrative sanctions, to deal with corrupt activity. Consideration must be given to establishing a structure to which private sector non-compliance with the law can be reported. Additional consideration could be given to making it a

requirement for businesses to include corruption cases in their annual reports to increase transparency and build public trust.

Some businesses have set up independent ethics complaints facilities to allow employees to report corruption anonymously. Business Leadership South Africa has developed a Code of Good Corporate Citizenship for its members, committing them to ethical conduct in regard to customers, competitors, suppliers, government, regulatory authorities and their own employees. The business sector in the National Anti-Corruption Forum has proposed developing integrity pacts as a tool in public contracting. The pact is essentially an agreement between government and all bidders for a public contract that stipulates that neither side will pay, offer, demand or accept bribes, collude with competitors to obtain the contract, or engage in such abuses while executing the contract. These anti corruption initiatives must be encouraged and extended across the private sector.

Corruption is a societal ill and requires the commitment of all members of society. Citizens and companies in the private sector should stop offering bribes to government officials. South Africans must make the connection between the petty incidents of corruption they participate in daily – such as the "cold drink" to a traffic officer to avoid a fine - and the grand corruption they see reported in the newspapers. The country must create a shift in attitude towards corruption. In this regard, the Commission welcomes Corruption Watch, which provides a place where citizens can report corrupt behaviour within the public and private sector. Anti-corruption, ethical behaviour and integrity should be a component of any social compact. An independent media also increases public awareness by investigating and reporting on cases of corruption.

Strengthen protection of whistle-blowers

Protection for whistle-blowers creates a culture of exposing wrongdoing. While the Protected Disclosures Act (2000) provides some protection, it does not do enough. The percentage of people who identify themselves as prepared to "blow the whistle" has dropped by 10 percent over the last four years.⁵ The legislation has several weaknesses.

The scope of protection in the law is too narrow. The Protected Disclosures Act is limited to "occupational detriment", which needlessly restricts the application of the act to whistleblowers in a formal permanent employment relationship. It excludes all persons in other commercial relationships with the relevant organisation. In addition, the range of bodies to which a protected disclosure may be made is limited to the Auditor General and Public Protector. Disclosures to sectoral complaints mechanisms or professional bodies are not regarded as protected disclosures by the PDA.

The possibility of conditional amnesty for whistleblowers implicated in corruption is not clear. Currently the Protected Disclosures Act does not guarantee immunity against civil or criminal liability for making a disclosure in good faith. This could discourage people. Adequate security for whistleblowers has not been established and the act does not ensure the confidentiality of whistle-blower identity. Opinions vary on what constitutes "adequate protection". Confidentiality may be required to protect whistle-blowers from victimisation. Physical and economic protection may be required in some cases. Further policy research is required to strengthen whistleblower protection.

There is no public body tasked with providing advice and promoting public awareness, and no public body dedicated to monitoring whistleblowing. Many government departments have not implemented the act and regulations to direct them on implementation have yet to be published.

In response to these gaps, the Commission recommends the following:

• A review of the Protected Disclosures Act. This review should consider expanding the scope of whistle-blower protection outside the limits of "occupational detriment", permit disclosure to bodies other than the Public Protector and the Auditor-General and strengthen measures to ensure the security of whistle-blowers.

• Regulations to the Protected Disclosures Act should be developed as soon as possible and government departments must develop policies to implement the act.

Improve oversight over procurement procedures for increased accountability

The chapter on building a capable and developmental state contains a number of proposals on designing procurement systems to deliver value for money and enable effective government. In addition, a tiered system of review for tenders, depending on their value, with differentiated safeguards and procedures should be considered. Automatic safeguards could be built in, so that tenders above a certain amount are reviewed by the Auditor-General and the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Accounts, with a public hearing to exercise oversight over the award process.

Empower the tender compliance monitoring office to investigate corruption and the value for money of tenders

The vast range of tender opportunities in the public service has come with increased opportunities for corruption for both officials and contractors. The government is conscious of these challenges and has put some measures in place to introduce greater accountability in supply-chain management practices. The Office of the Accountant General in the National Treasury is responsible for promoting and enforcing the effective management of revenue and expenditure in departments, as well as monitoring the proper implementation of the Public Finance Management Act and the Municipal Finance Management Act by state institutions. This includes setting and monitoring procurement standards and practices.

The Commission also proposes that the office investigates the value for money of tenders. This would entail, for example, auditing the bill of quantities for projects to ensure that the unit costs of materials is not excessive and that the state institution derives maximum utility from the service procured.

Strengthen accountability and responsibility of public servants

Public officials and elected representatives are responsible for administering public resources on behalf of the society. It is in the best interests of civil society that these resources are managed in an efficient, transparent and accountable fashion. The proposals in this section deal with improving integrity systems in order to strengthen the individual accountability of public servants. Measures to enforce the accountability of public servants should promote the principles of Batho Pele. These proposals should be read in conjunction with those in the building a capable and developmental state chapter on strengthening delegation, accountability and oversight in the public service.

South Africa has developed several mechanisms to manage integrity and promote ethical conduct in the public service. This includes the public service code of conduct in the public service regulations, Financial Disclosure Framework and supply chain management prescripts. However the implementation of these measures has been poor leading to frustration about the delayed response of departments in preventing and combating corruption.

Implementation and adherence to the code of conduct is limited with departments sometimes taking months to institute disciplinary processes against offending officials. Reports by the Auditor-General indicate that a large number of government employees and their spouses have been involved in government contracts raising suspicion of abuse of office. This is despite there being rules in place in the public service code of conduct to prevent officials from engaging in transactions that may result in improper personal gain or are in conflict with the execution of their official duties.

The financial disclosure framework compels senior managers to disclose their financial interests. However non-compliance is endemic. Managers are seldom sanctioned for failing to disclose their interests and departments do little with the information they receive, besides forwarding it to the Public Service Commission. In addition the limited application of the framework to senior managers has resulted in 'unregulated public servants' having business interests which conflict with public interest. Recent Auditor-General reports indicate that the majority of public servants with business interests are those excluded by the financial disclosure framework.

The practice of "javelin-throwing", in which public servants use their office to set up future business opportunities, is a problem. It is also common for officials found guilty of corruption in one department to surface in another.



Strengthening the accountability of public service requires more consistent implementation of existing rules.

The Commission recommends the following:

• An accountability framework should be developed linking the liability of individual public servants to their responsibilities, in proportion to their seniority.

• Rules restricting the business interests of public servants should be made more specific and clearer. The Commission recommends a study to investigate expanding existing regulations and improving the institutional processes and capacity to manage the rules.

• Restraint-of-trade agreements should be considered for senior civil servants and politicians at all levels of government. Exit interviews and proper record-keeping would enable the restraint of trade agreements and prevent corrupt officials from moving around the public service.

• Corrupt officials should be made individually liable for losses.

Create an open, responsive and accountable public service

Transparency is an important element of public accountability. Dissatisfaction about lack of access to information on service delivery is prominent in public protests. Section 32 of the Constitution enshrines the right of access to information. The Batho Pele principles state that government should inform citizens about the services they are entitled to and government administration must be open and transparent. However in practice, the state has been poor at making information available timeously and in a form accessible to all citizens. Government officials are often reluctant to provide information when it is requested. Requests for information are routinely ignored, despite the existence of the Promotion to Access to Information Act. There is endemic lack of compliance.⁶

Ineffective implementation of the Promotion of Access to Information Act is due to wilful neglect, lack of appreciation of the importance of the right, an institutional culture of risk aversion and/or secrecy and a lack of training. The absence of a useable enforcement mechanism is one of the primary obstacles.⁷ Unlike most modern access to information laws, the act does not create a specialist adjudicatory body, such as an information commissioner or commission. Such a body should be established to dispense quick, accessible and inexpensive access to justice for those appealing decisions to withhold information, or so-called deemed refusals where no answer comes in response to a request.

The Commission proposes the following:

• The Protection of Personal Information Bill seeks to establish an information regulator covering certain aspects of information and personal data. This regulator should be equipped with the necessary resources to do its job properly and independently. The body should strike a balance between its responsibilities to protect personal data and providing recourse to those claiming their right of access to information.

• More "open data" should be made available. Open data is information that is made actively available without a request from an individual. This is provided for in the Promotion of Access to Information Act, but generally not implemented due to lack of expertise. Examples of information that should be made available would be tender information, environmental impact assessments and mineral licences.

Strengthen judicial governance and the rule of law

Without a reliable, honest, efficient court system, there can be no access to justice, no confidence on the part of investors in the economy and little prospect of holding powerful private and public actors to account.

Although generally sound, South Africa's rule of law could further realise the transformative promise of the Constitution. Challenges such as court administration inefficiencies that denude people of their right to access justice, and judicial appointments that call the impartiality of selection processes into question must be addressed.

Judicial governance concerns both the independence and the accountability of the judicial branch of government, and encompasses issues such as selection and appointment, ethics, leadership and management, and the administration of the courts. The selection and appointment of judges is the responsibility of the Judicial Service Commission (JSC); the administration of the courts falls under the Department of Justice. The previous chief justice established a body to review policy on court administration in order to move towards a system of judiciary-led court administration. This would increase both administrative and financial efficiency in the courts, judicial accountability and independence. The establishment of the office of the chief justice is a welcome first step towards the achievement of this goal but the Commission recommends that the process be accelerated.

For the law to be an agent of change, it must be interpreted and enforced in a progressive,⁸ transformative fashion. This requires a judiciary that is progressive in its philosophy and legal inclinations. The selection and appointment of judges affects socioeconomic transformation, as well as the rule of

law and the independence of the courts. Unfortunately, there is little or no consensus in the Judicial Service Commission (JSC) or in the legal fraternity about the qualities and attributes needed for the bench.

Although the Constitution stipulates general criteria for the appointment of judicial officers; it is important for the JSC to elaborate further guiding principles to build consensus on the qualities and attributes of the "ideal South African judge"⁹. The criteria should include a progressive philosophy and an understanding of the socioeconomic context in which the law is interpreted and enforced. While the JSC published a broad list of criteria for judicial appointments in September 2010, they require further development and a clear understanding of their meaning and application.

The training of judges also requires attention. The South African Judicial Educational Institute (SAJEI) commenced operations in January 2012. It has conducted a series of training programmes for different levels of judicial officers. The Commission welcomes this development. The SAJEI must be given all the support it requires and be wellresourced to enable it to develop a cohort of judges equipped to play the transformative role required by the Constitution.

Further reforms include the composition of the JSC itself, which is argued to be too large to function effectively, and to be hamstrung by political interests. The JSC's role is expanding and consideration should be given to whether it is optimally structured to fulfil its responsibilities.

Access to justice and speedier resolution of court cases are important for working people who struggle to get time off to attend court. Long court rolls lead to unnecessary delays and postponements and many poor people cannot afford the transport to court. The heads of court set up a Judicial Case Management Committee which has made a number of recommendations to implement a new case management system. A pilot project will be launched in 2012 to test this. The Small Claims Court plays an important role in civil matters involving smaller claims. It should be strengthened and resourced to be able to serve the whole country, including rural areas.

The cost of justice for the poor presents a barrier to accessing justice; it can lead to the unintended miscarriage of justice when bail is unaffordable and the accused are not adequately represented. Legal Aid South Africa does laudable work representing litigants who cannot afford legal assistance. The Commission recommends that this institution is adequately resourced so as to improve access to justice. Law graduates should also be viewed as a resource to increase access to legal representation and speed up the administration of justice in the lower courts. An audit of unemployed graduates should be done to place them where they are needed and consideration should be given to extending compulsory community service to law graduates.



The Commission proposes the following:

- Accelerate reforms to implement a judiciaryled independent court administration.
- Establish clear criteria for appointment of judges, with emphasis on the candidates' progressive credentials and transformative judicial philosophy and expertise.
- The SAJEI must be given all the support it requires and be well-resourced to fulfil its mandate effectively.
- Consider whether the current structure of the JSC is adequate to fulfil its expanding mandate.
- Extend compulsory community service to law graduates.

CONCLUSION

In order to achieve its developmental goals, South Africa must develop a society with zero tolerance for corruption, in which citizens are able to hold their leaders to account. Leaders in government, business and civil society should conduct themselves with integrity and be held to high ethical standards. Achieving this requires strengthening the accountability institutions that are already in place and tackling corruption across society. Sanctions must be applied impartially to those who betray public trust or break the law. With political will and consistent application of the right strategies corruption can be significantly reduced and public trust restored.

The existing instruments set up by government should be strengthened and supported by the whole society. Civil society response to corruption should be welcomed and lauded.

By 2030 the language in South Africa should have shifted from fighting corruption to increasing integrity. To achieve this, the nation has to commit to the values of the Constitution and engage as active, responsible citizens to achieve the vision of 2030.



NOTES

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- Camerer L (1999). Tackling the Multi-headed Dragon Evaluating prospects for a single anti-corruption agency in South Africa. Institute for Security Studies Occasional Paper 38.
- 3. ibid.
- 4. Camerer, 1999.
- Ipsos Markinor (2010). Whistle blowing, the Protected Disclosure's Act, accessing information and the Promotion of Access to Information Act: Views of South Africans, 2006–2010.
- The South African Human Rights Commission's 2009/10 report states that "an analysis of compliance with Section 32 reports for multiple levels of government over the decade since PAIA's passage

into law has provided clear evidence of poor levels of compliance with its provisions. These levels of compliance point to a low level of awareness, a lack of accountability for non-compliance and the importance (or lack thereof) accorded to PAIA in the sector" (p 158).

- Asmal et al (2007). Report of the ad hoc committee on the Review of Chapter 9 and associated institutions. Report to the National Assembly of the Parliament of South Africa.
- "Progressive" in this context means having "a deep commitment to constitutional values on a range of issues including, empathy and compassion, access to justice, socioeconomic rights and judicial deference." Taken from Cowen S (2010). Judicial Selection: A Timely Debate. Available at: http://www.dgru.uct.ac.za/usr/dgru/downloads /Judicial%20SelectionOct2010.pdf (accessed 3 August 2011).

9. Ibid.

455



KEY POINTS

- To make it easier for South Africans to interact with each other across racial and class divides, the country needs to improve public spaces and public services.
- It is important for all South Africans to be active citizens and exercise leadership throughout society.
- A social contract could help propel South Africa onto a higher developmental trajectory as well as build a more cohesive and equitable society.

Transforming society and uniting the country

Unity in diversity will be fostered by a shared commitment to constitutional values. The values entrenched in the Constitution and its Preamble and further expanded upon in the Bill of Responsibilities are part of children's education and should also be promoted amongst adult South Africans.

South Africa needs to build a more equitable society where opportunity is not defined by race, gender, class or religion. This would mean building people's capabilities through access to quality education, health care and basic services, as well as enabling access to employment, and transforming ownership patterns of the economy. Redress measures that seek to correct imbalances of the past should be strengthened.

INTRODUCTION

This plan is about transformation and contains recommendations to achieve a virtuous cycle of confidence and trust, a growing economy and broadening of opportunities. This chapter discusses broader proposals to support nation building and ways in which the values enshrined in the Constitution can be realised. It deals with implementing redress, promoting economic and social inclusion, social cohesion, active citizenry and broad based leadership and, the crafting of a social compact.

The fundamental relationships that define us as South Africans are vitally important. They will bind the country together in moving towards a shared future. The most important uniting elements are our shared geographical space and shared history. The progressive Constitution is a testament to that history. It is a national compact that defines

South Africa's common values and identifies our rights and responsibilities as people living together. The Constitution is also the vision for South Africa and offers a blueprint for the establishment of a prosperous, non-sexist, non-racial and democratic society.

South Africa has made significant progress since 1994. South Africans walked away from the precipice of war and bloodshed to create a democratic state based on a progressive Constitution. The end of apartheid provided for the restoration of dignity to all South Africans. Free and fair democratic elections are held regularly. In addition to establishing the legal and institutional underpinnings of an inclusive society, South Africa has made significant progress in extending access to services such as education and housing. The economy has performed better, with rising incomes and employment.

Problem statement

Despite progress since 1994, South African society remains divided. Many schools, suburbs and places of worship are integrated, but many more are not. South Africa remains one of the most unequal economies in the world. The privilege attached to race, class, space and gender has not been fully reversed. Despite rapid improvements in access to basic services, the quality of services continued to

be affected by who you are and where you live.

When opportunity is skewed for centuries, this tends to produce a distribution of financial, human and social capital that continues to reinforce inequality of opportunity even if the legal elements of discrimination have ended.

Opportunity continues to be defined by race, gender, geographic location, class and linguistic background. "Inequality hardens society into a class system, imprisoning people in the circumstances of their birth. Inequality corrodes trust among fellow citizens, making it seem as if the game is rigged."¹ This is particularly true where, as in South Africa, class is aligned with non-economic factors such as race, so that the social order as a whole seems not only profoundly inequitable but also unfair. Deep inequalities and the associated low levels of trust have a highly negative impact on economic development and make it harder to forge a social compact that could move South Africa onto a higher developmental trajectory.

In a modern economy, earnings are largely



determined by human and social capital. Globally, the rates of return to education have increased steadily. High levels of human capital allow people to work and families to accumulate assets. These earnings then enable families to invest in better quality education. This creates a cycle where richer people are able to increase productivity and earnings, at a much faster pace than the poor. The outcome is that the historical inequities continue to adversely affect the lives of most black South Africans.

Unemployment is high particularly among black youth. In addition to the historical inequities that reduced opportunities for black people, the way in which the labour market has evolved, locking out new entrants, adds to the lack of opportunities. The economy has not generated new opportunities in the form of employment and openings for new enterprises, on the hoped-for scale.

Other aspects of identity also impact on inequality of opportunity. Women suffer from discrimination in both the education system and in the labour market. They are less likely to be able to access jobs that provide learning opportunities or personal growth. The net effect is that women are particularly likely to be locked in a cycle of poverty. There is evidence of increasing female participation in the labour force since 1994, but much more needs to be done to eradicate patterns of inequity.

Many rural communities live in areas far from economic activity. While access to public services has improved in rural areas, infrastructure remains weak and the quality of education and healthcare is often poor. The result is that many rural households are trapped in poverty. The relative decline in agriculture and the consequent fall in agricultural employment have further reduced earnings capacity in rural areas. The social grant system has contributed to stabilising household earnings but is not a substitute for a wage or a salary.

In urban areas, apartheid spatial patterns mean the poor often live far from places of work. This makes it harder to find work and raises the cost of transport. Inefficiencies in the housing market and poor public transport limit mobility of workers, effectively banishing the poor to distant townships with few work prospects. The Constitution outlines principles of nonracialism, non sexism and equality before the law. The social, psychological and geographic elements of apartheid; continue to shape the lives and outlook of many South Africans, even though apartheid no longer exists on the statute books. This systemic racism must be confronted by society as otherwise it will be reproduced and reinforce itself across generations. It is this inherited psyche of racial prejudice, breakdown in values, inequality of opportunity and massive poverty, as well as competition for scarce resources, which helps fuel racism and, more recently, xenophobia.

Discrimination on the grounds of sexuality and homophobic violence are also a major problem. More needs to be done protect the constitutional and legal rights of sexual minorities.

Open displays of opulence are a growing scourge in South African society. Their offensiveness is particularly marked because of South Africa's high levels of inequality and unemployment. Society should have balanced and appropriate incentive systems consumerate to the individual's contribution to society. Excessive displays of wealth as well as unjustified differentials in income distort these incentives.

We cannot look only to the state to ensure the fulfilment of the Constitution. The Constitution underpins the provisions of socio-economic rights.

Many clauses in the Chapter 2 of the Constitution are styled as: "Everyone has the right to....." followed by the "the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of these rights". The interpretation that has developed from these clauses is that people demand and the state delivers. It is important that the government fulfils its responsibilities, but, equally, all South Africans have roles as responsible and active citizens to be agents of their own development.

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VISION 2030

In 2030, South Africans will be more conscious of the things they have in common than their differences. Their lived experiences will progressively undermine and cut across the divisions of race, gender, space and class. The nation will be more accepting of peoples' multiple identities. In this South Africa there will be:

- Broad-based knowledge about and support for a set of values shared by all South Africans including the values contained in the Constitution.
- An inclusive society and economy. This means tackling the factors that sustain inequality of opportunity and outcomes by building capabilities and redressing the wrongs of the past.
- Increased interaction between South Africans from different social and racial groups.
- Strong leadership across society and a mobilised, active and responsible citizenry.

FOSTERING CONSTITUTIONAL VALUES

The Constitution is the supreme law of the land. It aims at transforming South Africa into a more equitable, integrated and just society. The Constitution has embedded in it, values of human dignity, non-sexism, non-racialism and the rule of law. These values:

• Provide the basis for a new South African identity

• Set out a vision for how South Africa can overcome its history and build a society based on equality, freedom and dignity

• Enable South Africans to have a common bond and provides normative principles that ensure ease of life, lived side by side.

• Afford broad standards by which particular actions are judged to be desirable and right.

The Constitution is also a national compact. The essence of this compact can be found 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". It also states that the country may pass laws that

protect or advance people disadvantaged under apartheid. These two clauses form the nub of the agreement that brought democracy and freedom in 1994. The Constitution declares that:

• South Africa belongs to all who live in it and seeks to build a society where opportunity is not defined by race, gender, class or religion.

• Redress is essential. Interventions include affirmative action, black economic empowerment (BEE), preferential procurement, land reform and redistributive patterns of public spending.

• Removing the shadow of apartheid by developing the capabilities of the historically disadvantaged is necessary. This means that good quality education, basic services such as health, water, sanitation, public transport, safety and social security are all vital to address deprivation.

The values in the Constitution cannot be achieved through legislation alone. Laws are unlikely to be

adhered to unless people's attitudes also change. It is unsurprising, therefore, that legislation designed to prevent discrimination and address historical inequalities is often observed either cynically or not at all. This will not be resolved by passing more laws. Families, communities and schools all have a role to play in bringing up children who respect the rule of law and understand the values in the Constitution.

A partnership between the Department of Basic Education and Lead SA has produced the Bill of Responsibilities, which sets out responsibilities that come with the rights outlined in the Constitution.

The Bill of Responsibilities urges young people to accept the call to responsibility that comes with the many rights and freedoms enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. The Bill is designed as a tool to change behaviour. Although this bill targets the youth, government should broaden the campaign to all South Africans, including adults.

The plan aims to inspire South Africans to be proud citizens and to live the non-racial values in the

FIG 15.1 SUMMARY OF THE BILL OF RESPONSIBILITIES		
My responsibility	What it means	
My responsibility in ensuring the right to equality	Treat every person equally and fairly, and do not discriminate unfairly.	
My responsibility in ensuring the right to human dignity	Treat people with reverence, respect and dignity.	
My responsibility in ensuring the right to life	Sanctity of human life, protect and defend my life and that of others.	
My responsibility in ensuring the right to family or parental care	Honour, respect and help my parents, and my family.	
My responsibility in ensuring the right to education	Attend school regularly, to learn, and to work hard, cooperate with and respect teachers and fellow learners.	
My responsibility in ensuring the right to work	Work hard and do our best in everything we do. Living a good and successful life involves hard work, and anything worthwhile only comes with hard work.	
My responsibility in ensuring the right to freedom and security of the person	Solving any conflict in a peaceful manner, no bullying.	
My responsibility in ensuring the right to own property	Not to take what does not belong to me without permission, giving generously when able to.	
My responsibility in ensuring the right to freedom of religion, belief and opinion	Respect the beliefs including religious beliefs and opinions of others.	
My responsibility in ensuring the right to live in a safe environment	Conserve and preserve the natural environment, protect animal and plant-life, prevent pollution and no littering.	
My responsibility in ensuring the right to citizenship	Obeying the laws of our country, ensuring that others do so as well, and contributing in every possible way to making South Africa a great country.	
My responsibility in ensuring the right to freedom of expression	No spreading of lies, and to ensure others are not insulted or have their feelings hurt.	



constitution. We must constantly guard against narrow nationalism, dislike of 'others' or the development of a superiority complex in relation to people from other countries or continents. Nationalism, taken to an extreme, engenders new forms of racism, discrimination and chauvinism.

The role of family

Family can be defined as a social group related by blood, marriage, adoption or affiliation. This definition allows for all forms of families, including single-headed families, cohabitation, multigenerational families, single-sex families and the nuclear family. The family plays a critical role in shaping independent, productive and responsible people. However families are subject to many pressures and these include:

- The racially separated communities created by apartheid mean that people live far away from work. This limits the time available to perform all the functions of the family.
- Impoverished families find it difficult or impossible to ensure adequate education and healthcare for children or to provide for the elderly and disabled.
- There is a high incidence of HIV/AIDS and an increasing numbers of orphan-headed households.²
- South Africa has a high incidence of interpersonal violence. A high proportion of this is between family members. Interpersonal violence is ranked as the second highest cause of morbidity in South Africa.³
- Families may not necessarily assert the nonracial and non-sexist values of the Constitution. Discrimination, especially on the basis of gender, often takes place within family structures. Racism is imparted by parents onto their children.

The Commission suggests further analyses of challenges facing the South African family. This

would provide a basis for identifying appropriate policy interventions to make families better able to provide a loving, supportive, and safe environment; an environment in which values such as tolerance, diversity, non-racialism, non-sexism and equity are fostered.

Fostering constitutional values using schools and the school curriculum

Schools have an important role to play in building social cohesion, particularly given near-universal school enrolment. Schools can foster common values across language, culture, religion, race, class and space. Schools should help to produce inquiring minds – people who are empowered to question and challenge prejudice whenever and wherever they encounter it. It is therefore important that children are empowered to:

- Appreciate diversity through respect and tolerance
- Cope in an ever-changing environment
- Understand that rights come with responsibility
- Help transform the national character of South Africa

In a democratic South Africa, schools should promote the values embedded in the Constitution. The constitutional value of human dignity advancing



equality, human rights and freedoms informs the South African Schools Act (1998). The 2002 *Schools Values Manifesto* set out the values which should permeate the education system. These are: democracy, social justice and equity, equality, nonracism and non-sexism, ubuntu, human dignity, an open society, accountability, responsibility, the rule of law, respect and reconciliation. The School Values Manifesto and the Bill of Responsibilities outline methodologies to promote values in schools.

To foster these values effectively, all teachers must integrate them in their everyday practice and interactions with colleagues, learners, the school management team and parents. Pre-service training, continuous school-based professional development and teacher-support programmes must be instituted, to help teachers develop knowledge and skills to teach values in their learning areas and across the curriculum. Syllabuses should mainstream democratic values in the curriculum, as well as encourage the understanding that actions speak louder than words. Teachers and students who live these values must be rewarded.

All schools should use the Constitution and the Bill of Responsibilities to develop and implement a school value policy and broadly communicate. The process is as important as the outcome, because it will help the school and its community (education department officials, school governing bodies and parents), develop a common understanding of what values are embedded in the Constitution and the national curriculum.

The preamble to the Constitution embodies values of the Constitution. To build a common understanding of what South Africa stands for, all schools should recite the Preamble to the Constitution at assembly, in a language of their choice. Similarly, workplaces should be encouraged

We, the people of South Africa, Recognise the injustices of our past; Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land; Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and 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 the supreme law of the Republic so as to: \neg Heal the divisions of the past and 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; Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign

state in the family of nations.

to display the Preamble on their walls.

The role of the media

Access to information via print, broadcasting and the internet are vital for building an informed citizenry. It also contributes to education and economic development.

The media has an impact on the values that people hold and the lives they aspire to. "Radio, television, film, and the other products of the cultureindustries provide the models of what it means to be male or female, successful or a failure, powerful or powerless. Media culture also provides the materials out of which many people construct their sense of class, of ethnicity and race, of nationality, of sexuality, of 'us' and 'them'." The outputs of media organisations are not value-neutral. They carry the

463

values and ethos of their owners, the staff and readers.

In South Africa, the Constitution and society give the media extensive freedoms. In turn, media organisations have a responsibility to use these freedoms sensibly and in accordance with the Constitution. The media have a responsibility to give adequate space to the voiceless and the marginalised, without which an informed public discourse in not possible. The media plays a critical role in nation building and building non-racialism and non-sexism. They also play a role in building an informed, education and opinionated society and in holding government to account. These are critical for democracy to function. The media should play all these roles while at the same time, breaking down racial and gender stereotypes. The media must promote the Constitution and also promote the non-racial, non-sexist and democratic ethos of the Constitution. One way the media could do this is by instituting a Constitutional Friday on the first Friday of every month.

Legislation does support the electronic media in promoting progressive values. However the



legislative and policy regime has become outdated and narrow, given changes in technology and media platforms. The current broadcasting policy review process must ensure that the mandate to build the nation and promote constitutional values is strengthened.

The independence and autonomy of media institutions and regulatory bodies including the South African Broadcasting Corporation, the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa, the Press Council of South Africa and the Advertising Standards Authority should be protected.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES, INCLUSION AND REDRESS

Equal opportunity is about reducing the impact of factors such as gender, ethnicity, place of birth and parental income and wealth and family background on people's life chances. Success in life should depend on people's choices, effort and talents, not their circumstances at birth.

Apartheid systematically and purposefully restricted the opportunities available to the majority of South Africans. Apartheid also restricted the majority from meaningful participation in the economy. Assets of millions of people were directly and indirectly destroyed and access to skills and to selfemployment was racially restricted. The accumulation process under apartheid confined the creation of wealth to a racial minority and imposed underdevelopment on black communities. The result is an economic structure that today, in essence, still excludes the vast majority of South Africans. In addition, networks play a major role in finding work. Evidence suggests that about one third of people get jobs through a family or a friend. In communities with very high unemployment rates, many unemployed people know very few employed people. In contrast, in richer communities more people are themselves

employers or know someone who has an opening.

The economy has neither grown rapidly enough nor transformed to ensure that all of society can progress. Low growth combined with poor quality education and low labour absorption has resulted in failure to create an environment in which an adequate share of benefits accrue to the poor or historically disadvantaged. Sectors that employ lowskilled people, such as agriculture, mining and construction, have either shed jobs or, at best, provided temporary employment in line with the cyclicality of these sectors. Sectors such as retail and security have drawn in more labour, but not enough to offset the fall in low-skill employment. Sectors such as financial services, Information Technology and business services have grown employment, but predominantly for skilled people. Added to the mix is a critical shortage of skilled labour, which pushes up the salaries of skilled people. These trends have contributed to rising wage inequality and inequality in society. Meanwhile, persistent inequalities in themselves generate conflict over social and economic policies, so that people with capital do not feel comfortable taking long-term investment decisions.

How can South Africa enter a more virtuous cycle of improving education, rising confidence, greater investment, increasing employment and incomes and ultimately leading to falling levels of inequality? Government needs to provide the catalyst for this virtuous cycle. It needs to remove the obstacles to faster economic growth, increase infrastructure investment, and improve service delivery (especially quality education). This would help to build confidence and encourage business to invest with a view to the long-term. Building trust and confidence takes time and effort.

• Young people, women, people with disabilities and people living in rural areas face the highest levels of unemployment and exclusion. The plan attempts to reduce hindrances to inclusion. Inclusion related proposals presented in detail in other chapters of the Plan include:

- Reversing apartheid geography by establishing new spatial norms and standards – densifying cities, improving transport, locating jobs where people live, upgrading informal settlements and fixing housing market gaps (see chapter 8).
- Strengthening the social wage and social security such that no South African lives below a minimum standard of living (see chapter 11).
- Growing the economy and employment so that 11 million jobs are created by 2030; providing a tax incentive to employers to reduce the initial cost of hiring young people as well as a subsidy to the placement sector to identify, prepare and place matric graduates into employment opportunities. Business should devise its own plan to increase access for young job seekers (see chapter 3).
- Implementing a rural development strategy that ensures that jobs are created in the agricultural sector through effective land reform, extending irrigation, improving basic services in rural areas to enable people to develop their capabilities, developing industries such as agro-processing, tourism, fisheries and small enterprises (see chapter 6).

Only by reducing poverty and inequality through broadening opportunity for all can the country achieve transformation. This transformational vision, which calls upon the use of resources, skills, talents and assets of all South Africans, is about adequately advancing social justice and addressing historical disparities. It is also about facilitating the emergence of a national consciousness that supports a single national political entity, and helps to realise that goal.⁴ This vision flows from the Constitution and its Preamble.

Economic transformation is defined by the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act (2003) (BBBEE Act) as the empowerment of African, Indian and Coloured people, as well as women, workers, the youth, people with disabilities and people living in rural areas, through:

- Increasing the number of black people that manage, own and control enterprises and productive assets.
- Facilitating ownership and management of enterprises and productive assets by communities, workers, cooperatives and other collective enterprises.
- Human-resource and skills development.
- Achieving equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce.
- Preferential procurement.
- Investment in enterprises that are owned or managed by black people.

Equalising opportunity and building capabilities

The task of creating equal opportunities and building capabilities should begin with ensuring that everyone has access to quality basic services (see chapter 4), quality health care (see chapter 10) and quality education and improved access (see chapter 9). Equal opportunity requires equitable access to social infrastructure and basic services.

Quality education and skills training play a major role in tackling poverty. The government must urgently deal with infrastructure backlogs. A minimum infrastructure standards framework already exists and the government should develop a plan towards achieving universal infrastructure equity in the basic education sector. Ensuring that all schools have the minimum infrastructure standards will require financial, logistical or planning capacity. Delivery must be accelerated so that all children living in South Africa feel they truly belong and matter. The private sector could be encouraged that through their corporate social investment to adopt a school especially those in formerly disadvantaged areas. The government should develop clear proposals to improve school performance in poor schools, focusing on teacher development, school accountability and parental involvement (see chapter 9). The state must continue to skew education funding to schools in poor communities and to students from poor families.

The state must guarantee all poor students who get a university entrance pass, and who qualify for the National Student Financial Aid Scheme, financial assistance in the form of loans for entry to higher education. Learners from no-fee schools who get a university entrance pass should also automatically gualify for financial assistance. This should include full funding assistance covering tuition, books, accommodation and living allowance (in the form of loans and bursaries) to all students. The National Student Financial Aid Scheme already defines the grounds on which a student may qualify for financial assistance. Students who do not qualify should have access to bank loans, backed by state sureties and recovered through arrangements with the South African Revenue Service. The only condition for keeping the scholarship should be successfully completing each year.

Financial assistance must also be available for students entering further education and training







institutions. This is in line with the drive for artisanal skills.

Righting the wrongs of the past

In recognition of the injustices of the past, the Constitution and its Preamble specifically calls for redress. The democratic government then came up with policies such as the Employment Equity Act of 1998, Skills Development Act of 1998, Broad Based Economic Empowerment Act of 2003 and the Land Reform Policies.

Employment equity and workplace opportunity Employment equity is a key element of the country's plans to broaden opportunities for the historically disadvantaged. Since 1994, it has also been one of the more successful programmes, contributing to a rising black middle class. Premised on the fundamental acceptance that opportunity was distorted by apartheid, the policy has a firm moral and constitutional basis.

The Employment Equity Act (1998) states that if two candidates have the same qualifications, similar competencies and experience, then the black person or the woman should be selected. It does not encourage the appointment of people without the requisite qualifications, competence or potential. The Act would enjoy broader support and appeal among citizens if these provisions were implemented more consistently and fairly.

The intent of the Act is for firms to develop their own human potential, spending time and resources

mentoring and developing their staff. Staff training, career-pathing and mobility in the workplace will grow both the person and the firm. South African employers spend too little on training their staff and investing in their long-term potential. The Skills Accord, facilitated by the Economic Development Department and signed in 2011, is a step in the right direction. If more firms train staff, the economy does better and the incentive to job-hop is reduced. Short-term solutions, such as overpaying for scarce skills, are counterproductive to the longer-term development of both the individual and the firm.

For at least the next decade, race should continue to be given the greatest weight in defining historical disadvantage. Individual business should develop plans to at least double the size of their business, and set employment targets that include employment equity targets.

The government may need to review the present incentive structure embodied in the Skills Development Act (1998) to ensure higher spending on staff development.

Career mobility and rising incomes are more likely in an economy that is growing rapidly. Selecting suitable black and female candidates will be easier if the education system produces ever greater numbers of skilled black and female work entrants. **Transforming ownership of the economy** BEE largely focuses on broadening ownership and control of production assets. It aims to deracialise the top echelons of the business community. A thriving economy creates more opportunities for entrepreneurs and for the growth of small businesses. The details of the plan for the economy are laid out in chapter 3.

Preferential procurement, as well as BEE charters, the codes and the BEE scorecard, drive the empowerment of the historically disadvantaged. Legislation requires that major companies meet targets on the seven elements of BBBEE: ownership, management control, employment equity, skills development, preferential procurement, enterprise development and socioeconomic development. Companies with turnovers of between R5 million and R35 million, called qualifying small enterprises, must comply with four of the seven elements. Those with turnovers of less than R5 million are exempt.

The present model of BEE has not succeeded to the degree that was intended in broadening the scope of ownership and control of large firms. Impediments include:

• Lack of capital to acquire ownership or control of major parts of the economy. This has encouraged debt-driven deals that are only likely to work when the economy is growing rapidly. Many debt-driven deals provide a veneer of empowerment. Even in cases where black people are preferred in the awarding of licences to extract rents, such as in the mining or telecommunications sectors, fronting and lack of capital lead to poor participation and raise the cost of capital for other participants, or lead to an excessive reliance on debt, thereby undermining investment in capacity and production.

• An emphasis on narrow BEE in old procurement models at the expense of local

procurement. The effect is that a few people make money by importing cheaper products. New approaches to promote local procurement in both the public and private sectors aim to broaden the economic benefits that accrue from economic growth. At the same time, sensible procurement policies can enable black entrepreneurs to grow more quickly and more visibly.



• Misaligned targets and definitions between the BBBEE Act and the codes and the charters that flow from that BBBEE Act and other redress legislation, such as the Employment Equity Act 1998.

Proposals for transforming the ownership of the economy contained in Chapter 3 include:

• Creating an enabling environment for small, medium and micro enterprises and entrepreneurs

to thrive. This includes inculcating the spirit of entrepreneurship in schools, lowering the cost of doing business in the economy, and reducing barriers to entry in various value chains.

• Ensuring that there is alignment amongst all BBBEE legislation and the codes and charters that flow from the BBBEE Act. This process has begun and should continue to ensure that the state procurement lever is used more effectively to advance socioeconomic targets in specific areas and industries.

• Mandatory targets for socioeconomic development and job creation as well as local procurement should be introduced for all tenders above R10 million.

• A recommended statutory body to regulate BEE verification should be established and the Department of Trade and Industry be empowered to revoke the accreditation status of verification agencies that deviate from officially defined processes of accreditation.

• The National Empowerment Fund should have sufficient resources to execute its mandate. It must strengthen its support for black owned small and medium-sized enterprises as well expand the provision of finance and other support for new and emerging sectors, black industrialists and entrepreneurs. This should include facilitating market access, and the removal of administrative and regulatory burdens on small businesses.⁵

• The state must craft a model enabling South Africa to optimise returns from its natural resources. Te optimised returns from mining companies should be used to drive an accelerated development agenda that has skills development and sustainable job creation at its core.

Land reform

The Constitution protects property rights and prevents confiscation of property without due compensation, but it also provides a legal, political and moral basis for redress measures such as land reform. The White Paper on South African Land Policy (1997) allows for land redistribution, land restitution and tenure reform. The principles underpinning land reform are threefold:

- Deracialising the rural economy
- Democratic and equitable land allocation and use across race, gender and class
- A sustained production discipline for food security.

Overall progress has been slow. In 1994, the target for redistribution based on all three pillars was for 30 percent of land to be redistributed within five years. By 2011, only 4.1 percent of land had been redistributed, most of which was state land. The redistribution of productive land has been even slower: only 3.7 percent of agricultural land since 1994.

Chapter 6, dealing with an integrated and inclusive rural economy, provides specific proposals to raise agricultural production and accelerate land reform in a way that focuses on the capabilities of farmers and communities to earn an income. The chapter also makes specific recommendations on land tenure in communal areas. These balance traditional authority with greater certainty for female-headed households to invest in farming.

Living free from discrimination

The Constitution stipulates that neither the state nor any person may discriminate against anyone on the basis of race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language or birth. However, the historical legacy of discriminatory legislation means that there is still much work to be done to turn these constitutional principles into reality. Relatively comprehensive legislation exists; the problem is ineffective implementation and enforcement.

Non-sexism

Gender discrimination remains a major problem in several social and economic settings, including the workplace, the family and educational institutions. This is despite a number of vibrant gender activists organisations and a number of state institutions whose purpose is to promote gender equity – including a dedicated ministry and legislation devoted to ensuring women's equality.

The institutions dedicated to promoting gender equity have not been functioning optimally. The mandate of the Commission of Gender Equality overlaps with that of the Ministry of Women, People with Disabilities and Children. For example, the monitoring and evaluation function is both the mandate of the ministry and the statutory mandate of the Commission on Gender Equality. This results in role confusion and political conflicts over authority. The National Gender Policy does not set clear priorities and targets from which a programme of action could be developed. The gender mainstreaming approach is proving too difficult to put into operation, because it demands a high level of gender expertise and high-level political commitment.

The National Planning Commission calls for clarity on the roles and responsibilities of the different components of national gender institutions:

• The country needs sustained campaigns that focus on changing attitudes and behaviour in relation to racist, homophobic and xenophobic tendencies. It needs to strengthen existing campaigns for non-racialism and gender equity, and against gender violence. • The Commission of Gender Equality and the ministry should develop joint targets, indicators and timelines for monitoring and evaluating progress towards gender equality. These must be realistic, and should be accomplished through proper gender mainstreaming in departments. The government must address gaps and weaknesses in legislation. For example, the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act (2003) entrenches patriarchal values and limits women's participation in traditional governance. Rather than a separate Gender Equality Bill, the Electoral Act (1998) could be amended to require political parties to ensure gender parity in electoral lists.

• Local government should include more women at representative level, as well as in shaping budgetary priorities. Women are frequently marginalised in local politics and excluded from decision-making processes. Women's participation in integrated development planning is uneven.

• All vulnerable groups including women, children, rural communities, gay and lesbian people and African immigrants should enjoy equal protection and their vulnerability to be addressed through effective and coordinated responses by the police, business, community and civil society (see chapter 12 for details).

• The fostering of Constitutional values though schools and the media should help create a tolerant and gender-sensitive South Africa. These institutions should empower people to challenge prejudice and discriminatory practices.

• Public employment should have a specific focus on women.

• Social, cultural, religious and educational barriers for women to enter the job market should be addressed. Concrete measures should be put in

place to address these barriers and the results should be evaluated over time. Improved access to safe drinking water, electricity and quality early childhood education, could reduce the burden of domestic work and so make it easier for women to seek job opportunities. This is particularly so for rural women.

• Security of tenure should be created for communal farmers, especially women.

Non-racialism

An important pillar of nation building is that South Africa confronts the systematic racism within society. Sustained campaigns should focus on English, lines of inclusion and exclusion will be shaped by the degree of competence that individual South Africans possess in this world-dominant language. By 2030, every South African should be functionally literate in English. However, South Africans must continue to make daily use of languages other than English. It is vital that these languages, which are used in family and social networks, grow and flourish. This will only happen if other languages are cherished by their language communities, and continue to be vital in both the spoken and written word. If stories are still told, poems written, songs sung, then the language will live, and its speakers will become multilingual



changing attitudes and behaviour in relation to racist and xenophobic (afrophobic) tendencies. This could include holding dialogues at community (ward) level, where communities discuss their experiences of racism, and how it could be addressed. The Department of Arts and Culture could run such an initiative in partnership with civil society bodies and non-governmental organisations operating in this area. Many anti-xenophobia initiatives already exist. For example, opposition to xenophobia at the ward level has also become an integral part of the Community Work Programme.

In South Africa, language and race largely go together. The Constitution recognises II official languages, and promises them equitable status and use. Given the ineluctably growing importance of citizens. Both the government and society have to take active steps to ensure that this happens. For example, the government should fund arts and culture programmes that seek to promote South Africans' knowledge of one another's cultures.

Since a few non-African South Africans speak any African language, a second challenge is to encourage those for whom an African language is not a mother tongue to develop at least a conversational competency in one of these languages. This will enrich the experience of the language learners. Both government and society should promote and celebrate this form of multilingualism. Knowing each others' languages can play a profound role in promoting understanding and developing social cohesion. The Commission therefore proposes that every South African should study at least one of the nine official African languages at school. To achieve this aim will require, as a first step, there should be urgent development of effective and appropriate second-language curricula, materials and educators in the African languages. Adults who do not speak an African language should also be encouraged to learn one. Business should reward employees who develop a level of conversational competence in an African language.

Equality before the law

The Bill of Rights states that all South Africans are equal before the law. Yet in practice, people experience the law differently. Upper middle-class households are often better served by municipal, provincial and national government than their working-class counterparts. Schools provide a better education to middle-class learners, streets and parks in middle-class areas are better maintained, and refuse collection and other municipal services are of better quality. Access to wealth enables people to experience better treatment before the law because they can afford better lawyers. Chapter 14 provides practical proposals that will help poor people access justice. The suggestions include:

- Extending community service to law graduates. This will increase access to legal representation – especially for the poor – and speed up the administration of justice in the lower courts.
- Developing an accountability framework that directly links individual public servants to their roles and responsibilities, in proportion to their functions and seniority.

PROMOTING SOCIAL COHESION ACROSS SOCIETY

The key to the country's unity is embracing the reality that all South Africans have many identities,

and yet are South African. The Constitution, and the values it sets out, is based on South Africa's diversity. Similarly, all the imagery used in the South Africa's coat of arms is distinctly South African, and the motto, in a distinct break with the Latin that is so frequently used, is from one of the extinct San languages. It says, "!Ke e: /Karra //Ke", meaning "united in our diversity". Being South African has never been premised on the notion of a melting pot. South Africans need to work continually to build unity in diversity.



The totality of this Plan, particularly the issues summarised in this Chapter, aim at building a new nation and promoting social cohesion. The National Planning Commission agrees with the declaration of the July 2012 Social Cohesion Summit that dealing with the challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality is critical to building social cohesion. Yet we also need society to unite around a vision of a better South Africa, the attainment of which would not be possible if we do not work together.

As we continue our task of nation-building, we also

need to understand the context of globalization and transnational movement of people. As chapter 2 explains, South Africa has a significant minority of individuals with transnational identities that span the borders of any one country. Their skills together with the cross-border networks to which they belong can provide both economic and cultural opportunities for South Africa's development.

Daily interactions on an equal basis build social cohesion and common understanding. These interactions will be promoted effectively when South Africans share more public spaces, as was the case briefly during the 2010 soccer world cup. At the moment, the country is divided by the services people use, with economic wealth gradually replacing race as the key driver of differentiation. Improved public services, including better public transport, and more integrated housing, will make it easier for South Africans to break out of their immediate communities and share common experiences.

Sport teaches discipline, is an integral component of a healthy lifestyle and enables South Africans to share common space. Unfortunately, instead of sharing common spaces, and developing common loyalties and values through sport, South Africans and South African sport were systematically segregated and underdeveloped under apartheid.

The transformation vision for sports in 2030 is that:

- Participation in each sporting code begins to approximates the demographics of the country.
- South Africa's sporting results are as expected of a middle-income country with a population of about 50 million and with historical excellence in a number of sporting codes.

For the vision to be realised, school sports must be adequately resourced. The government must ensure, that there are adequate facilities for the majority of the population to play sport and that these are adequately maintained. This does not need expensive buildings, but recreational environments with basic facilities that can function as community hubs. Communities should organise sporting events, leagues, championships and generally look after the sports facilities once they are installed or developed. Corporate investments in grassroots sport should also be encouraged.

Cultural activities and art can also play a major role in facilitating the sharing of common spaces. In addition art can foster values and facilitate dialogue and healing, thus restoring pride among African, Indian and Coloured South Africans. This can only happen if the country supports and encourages the production of stories that facilitate healing, nation building and dialogue, as well as tell the histories and stories of South Africans. Artistic works can portray progress in building a united nation, but also by presenting the country's blemishes they can challenge South Africans to aim higher as individuals and as a nation.

The creative arts sector should be supported by government and by the private sector as a sector that has a great potential for growth and job creation over and above its role of facilitating dialogue for nation building. The broadcast media, in particular the national broadcaster, should air programmes that popularise narratives and visions of a non sexist, non racial equal and democratic South Africa. In addition, commercial distribution networks could be incentivised to distribute and/or host art that contributes to nation building and dialogue, as well as healing.

Cultural workers usually face insecure employment and incomes and often exploitative working conditions. Chapter 11 identifies the lack of social protection for those working in the informal sector. Beyond public employment schemes, the

473

government should support compulsory contributions to smooth income for cultural workers. It should also develop a sectoral determination legislation framework to protect the more vulnerable employees in the arts sector, in addition to the protection already accorded child actors.

ACTIVE CITIZENRY AND LEADERSHIP

For these and other proposals in the plan to become reality, all South Africans must contribute and work towards realising the vision of a cohesive society. The government needs citizens to speak out when things are going wrong. Several objective conditions can contribute to citizen activism and solidarity.

To start with, the government needs citizens to speak out when things are going wrong. This accountability mechanism is most effective where everyone depends on the same public services. Where the middle class opts out of public services, it no longer takes an interest in improving their quality. Investing in people's capabilities makes them more empowered. As people's skills and opportunities develop, they are better able to strengthen the work of the state by speaking out against malpractice or poor performance.

Participatory governance is a central tenet of postapartheid legislation on local governance. The White Paper on local government (1998) encourages municipalities to find ways of structuring participation to enhance, rather than impede the delivery process. While formal, generalised structures of participation were established through legislation, municipalities were also encouraged to develop their own mechanisms to enable the mayoral executive, municipal management, the local council, ward committees and communities to participate together in decision-making. Many municipalities still need to make it happen and are

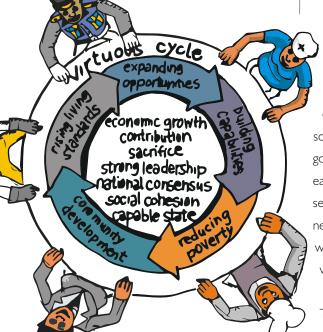
encouraged to do so. Chapter 13 goes further and suggests that the state should focus on engaging with people in their own forums rather than expecting citizens to engage with forums created by the state. National, provincial and local spheres of government can enhance citizens' participation through a variety of two-way information gathering and sharing forums and platforms between citizens and government. While these platforms can enable government to inform, they also enable citizens to give feedback to government and to monitor performance. In addition, these channels will allow all development actors (the individual, communities, NGOs, government and even the private sector) to use this information flow to develop strategies together that enable citizens to best claim their rights and exercise their responsibilities as envisaged by the Constitution. For this to happen there should be some level of trust among all the development actors involved and the information gathered should be salient, credible and be seen as legitimate by all.

Citizen participation has an important role to play in bringing about transformation. South Africans need to use the avenues provided for in the legislation and others to help shape the development process and hold the government to account for the quality of services it delivers.

Active citizenship requires inspirational leadership at all levels of society. Leadership does not refer to one person, or even a tight collective of people. It applies in every aspect of life. In particular, community leaders and public figures should demonstrate leadership qualities that include:

- The ability to lead by example and to follow rules that apply to everyone.
- Honesty, integrity and trustworthiness. Leaders are able to combine the ability to hold fast to a core set of values as enshrined in the Constitution with embracing change and

- agitating for transformation
- The capacity to innovate, manage change, build enough support to drive an "essential" and not necessarily popular agenda, communicating with people, keeping them interested and informed.
- The ability to listen, especially to those with a different opinion, perspective and or priorities. Leaders should be able to create conditions that allow everyone to communicate in open dialogue. This requires tolerance, patience, openness to giving and receiving criticism, a willingness to admit



mistakes, and an ability to re-examine one's own presuppositions. Leaders must make the constitutional mandate of public participation much more real, creating shared understanding by building processes that allow stakeholders to participate in decisions.

• Ability to promote meaningful inclusion, helping to overcome barriers associated with class, ethnicity, gender, disability and other factors of exclusion. Leaders must seek to empower the otherwise powerless, building bridges to other sectors of society, including business, civil society, and faith-based

- communities, as well as to all levels of government.
- This is all-encompassing leadership that empowers people and places them at the centre of development. It is the visionary leadership required to take the country to its goals for 2030. It can act as a catalyst for change. In the interests of shared responsibility for development, South Africa must pay attention to the way that disputes are settled. It is vital to promote values of responsible citizenship and solidarity. Nation building will come from diverse people working together, managing tensions creatively.

FOSTERING A SOCIAL COMPACT

There are various understandings of the concept of a social contract. However, at the core is an agreement among individual people in a society or between the people and their government that outlines the rights and duties of each party while building national solidarity. The settlement that was produced through the negotiations in the 1990s and the Constitution, which includes political and socioeconomic issues, were effectively national compacts.

There is now an urgent need to craft a social contract that will enable South Africa to achieve higher growth and employment, increase investment and savings. The idea of a social compact is a relatively simple one: all stakeholders buy into a clearly articulated vision; have a shared analysis of constraints and are committed to finding solutions; and parties understand the objective of the compact. The compact should offer attractive (indeed compelling) benefits to each party and all parties should believe that the necessary sacrifices are relatively equitably shared amongst all participants. There is a fairly standard approach to social contracts internationally. In its simplest form, workers agree to accept lower wage increases than their productivity gains would dictate. In South Africa, there would have to be scope to address very low pay in some industries and occupations in this context. In return, business agrees that the resulting increase in profits would not be taken out of the country or consumed in the form of higher executive remuneration or luxuries, but rather reinvested in ways that generate employment as well as growth.

Government plays a key role in lowering the cost of living for workers (mainly as measured by the average inflation rate), implementing a social wage and reducing the cost of business to further raise profitability. It must also find ways to monitor compliance and discipline parties if they fail to keep up their part of the bargain.

The complexities that make the crafting and implementation of a social contract difficult in South Africa include:

• Insufficient trust between the parties to ensure that the compact holds:

• Workers do not trust that business leaders will use higher profits for investment

- purposes rather than taking the money out of the country or increasing executive remuneration. They have good reason to be suspicious. Several studies, most notably Aghion and Fedderke, argued that profit margins are already very high in South Africa, even in the manufacturing sector. The high profits have not generated higher investment levels because many of these markets are highly concentrated with low levels of competition. In other words, low profits may not actually be the reason for low levels of investment. There may be a series of other economic and political reasons. Some of these need to be tackled by government, sometimes to the chagrin of existing players (business and labour). This may mean the social contract may not be based on increasing profit margins.
- Given deep inequalities, workers do not see why they should accept wage restraint. This concern can only be overcome if there is a clear return in terms of employment creation and growing equality across the economy.
- Business does not trust labour to keep to its word of low income increases for a sufficiently long period to ensure sustained higher profits. Moreover, business may be



- Iess concerned about pay than about excessive legalism in labour relations, especially around disciplinary and productivity issues, and about shopfloor disruptions linked to hostile labour relations. The "hassle factor" is often much more of a problem for employers than wage increases.
- Business does not trust government to be an independent arbiter given the relationship between the ruling party and the unions.
- Government too is suspicious of business' ability or willingness to keep profits in the economy and to reinvest in the productive parts of the economy. Indeed in the era of globalisation, is it possible for any government to be able to discipline capital? Capital is mobile and is more easily able to avoid reinvesting locally than labour is able to move. This gives it more power in the political economy realm and distorts any attempt to enforce a social compact.
- The state may not be able to lower costs for workers and firms. On the one hand, strengthening the social wage could require raising taxes, which then reduces profitability. On the other, the state has been unable to discipline the various spheres and even national departments to reduce unnecessary costs to the economy.

• The state may not be capable of acting as an independent arbiter willing and able to punish parties who break either the letter or spirit of a compact. State capability issues bedevil the chances of success.

• Representation may not be credible, institutions established for such engagements may no longer be useful and alternative institutions and methodologies may need to be crafted.

• The leadership of all parties may be unwilling to

• take risks and this is largely linked to lack of trust.

Nonetheless, a social contract would contribute substantially to providing the political, economic and social conditions for long-run development. The resultant accord must enjoy wide public support. It is also important to build confidence in the process of social compacts by making initial gains to balance sacrifices required and to audit and report on progress and shortcomings. For example even as negotiations continue government should invest more on social and economic infrastructure and deliver an expanding social wage to the poor, business should take a longer term perspective by investing more, and increasing employment and training. Labour has to recognise that some wage moderation is required and efforts to raise productivity are essential.

CONCLUSION

The shadow of history still lingers. The country is still divided along race and class lines. Social divisions are underpinned by massive inequalities.

The fostering of constitutional values is critical to ensure that the country is able to emerge with a new identity rooted in the Constitution.

Faster and more inclusive growth, redress and equalising opportunity will facilitate healing, reduce the need to fight for significance and enable inclusion. Employment does not just ensure that they have access to the means of subsistence, but also that they can develop the sense of empowerment that comes with a degree of economic security and the sense of contributing actively to society.

Government provides basic services and invests in people's skills in order to build capabilities. A capabilities approach to development, with its focus on what people are able to do, including people's

477



ability to help monitor government is fundamental to broadening opportunities, an essential element of the nation-building process.

Ensuring that South Africans are able to interact across race and class will facilitate social cohesion.

The crafting of a social contract will enable all South Africans to aim towards a higher development trajectory.

To build an inclusive nation, the country needs to find ways to promote a positive cycle, where an effective state, inspirational leadership across all levels of society and active citizens, reinforce and strengthen each other. The preconditions for this positive cycle were put in place in 1994, when South Africa started to grapple with the legacy of unequal access to services and opportunities. The Reconstruction and Development Programme embarked on the daunting task of extending basic services to all South Africans. These services matter, not only for their own sake, but also for what they enable people to do. Access to quality health care not only facilitates a healthy life, it also removes the fear and insecurity that could come from suddenly being thrown into debt by medical expenses. Education empowers individuals and opens up new opportunities, not just in terms of employment, but also through the increased confidence that literacy brings.

Transformation is indeed about turning around the legacy of apartheid, equalising opportunities, building capabilities and making real the vision embodied in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa; that is the establishment of a non racist, non sexist, democratic and prosperous society.

NOTES

- Packet G (2011). The Broken Contract: Inequality and American decline. United States of America: Council on Foreign Relations.
- 2. National Planning Commission (2011). Diagnostic Report.
- 3. ibid.

- 4. Bentley K and Habib A (2008). Racial Redress and Citizenship in South Africa. Cape Town: HSRC Press
- Mazwai (2012) Presentation to National Planning Commissioners Meeting 26 March 2012

A conversation with South Africans

The establishment of the National Planning Commission presented an opportunity to get South Africans thinking, talking and debating about the South Africa they wish to see in 2030. The mandate of the Commission as outlined in the revised green paper is to:

- Take a broad, cross cutting, independent and critical view of South Africa; to help define the South Africa we seek to achieve in 20 years time and to map out a path to achieve those objectives.
- Put forward solid research, sound evidence and clear recommendations for the government.
- Work with broader society to draw on the best expertise, consult relevant stakeholders and help shape a consensus on how to tackle the key challenges facing our country.

To support and advance this mandate, President Jacob Zuma made it clear in his speech at the inaugural meeting of the Commission that the commissioners "must not be apologetic to government and they must not try to be loved by government. South Africa is looking at a commission that is going to deal with issues very frankly. Not seeking favours from government but seeking to help this country and its people".

We have demonstrated to the world that it is possible to have sensitive and difficult conversations about our country's challenges and identify solutions. Our Constitution, which is loved and protected by many, illustrates what can come out of a nation that is able to engage in constructive dialogue. The ability of a state to have conversations with its people and vice versa is an art form that South Africans cherish and nurture. It is a democratic practice that lays the foundation for a South African social compact. From its inception the Commission understood that it would have to adopt an inclusive and participatory process to allow South Africans to engage with the Commission and, most importantly, with each other. The plan and vision belong to all South Africans and so it was important for a broad range of people to input into the formulation of the plan.

The conversation began in 2010. Since then South Africans have been debating the kind of South Africa they wish to see in 2030. The Commission has listened to and shared in people's life experiences. The process speaks of a nation that is able to work together. Balancing views was not an easy task. Difficult trade-offs had to be made. Nevertheless, through dialogue South Africans were able to participate in producing this national development plan. It is a story about planning together.

STRATEGIES USED FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

The Commission used a range of strategies to engage with a broad range of South Africans. These strategies included traditional print and electronic media (newspapers, television, radio), and innovative forms of electronic media (online Jam, Facebook, Twitter, Mxit, YouTube). Many people visited the NPC's website, www.npconline.co.za, to find out about the work of the Commission. The website provided readers with different ways of contacting the Commission and making comments. There were also direct engagements with a broad range of groups including Parliament, government, the judiciary, business, civil society, trade unions, religious organisations, institutions of learning and community based organisations.

Following the release of the diagnostic report on 9 June 2011, lead articles written by commissioners were published in all major newspapers. These articles generated debate in the letters columns and editorial pages, as well as responses from social commentators. In addition to lead articles, the Commission placed a popular version of the diagnostic overview in the most widely read weekend newspapers.

Commissioners appeared on both SABC and ETV platforms, including a structured dialogue over four weeks. The Commission worked closely with the SABC and made a specific effort to ensure that commissioners were interviewed and participated in talk shows in all indigenous languages. Commercial talk radio stations featured commissioners on a regular basis. Commissioners were also interviewed on a range of community radio stations. As part of the mobilisation towards the NPC Jam, the Commission used a simultaneous broadcast over 65 community radio stations.

Engagements with different sectors of society were used to engage in dialogue about the content of the plan and seek inputs. The leaders of political parties represented in Parliament were briefed on a consistent basis. . The Commission visited all provinces in the country. The visits to the provinces reached members of the provincial executive committees, senior government officials, mayors and municipal managers. In all provinces, broader forums were held with labour, business, civil society, youth formations, traditional leaders and religious formations.

The Commission established a Facebook page and set up a Twitter account. These have provided a forum for people to raise issues as well as a mechanism to keep people informed about the work of the Commission. A dedicated Facebook dialogue on the theme of nation building was also convened and sparked significant participation. To reach a youth audience, two live chats were hosted through Mxit providing an opportunity for users to engage with the draft plan. To capture the essence of the plan in visual form, three animated videos were produced. There have been over 30 000 visits to Youtube to view these animations, with "Thandi's story" proving the most popular. The animations were also shown at numerous meetings, including in parliament, and also broadcast on the SABC during a Morning Live breakfast show in partnership with The New Age. Media, university, non-governmental organisations and others have placed the animations on their websites.

IDENTIFYING THE KEY CHALLENGES

Once the Commission had been appointed, it started by conducting a detailed analysis of the challenges facing the country. The Commission established a number of thematic working groups, which held consultations with a broad range of experts. The intensive early work by the Commission gave birth to the diagnostic report. This was tabled in Parliament.

The Commission visited all nine provinces. Discussions were held with provincial executives and local government officials who are at the coalface of delivery, traditional leaders, political parties, religious organisations, business and trade unions and civil society. The Commission met men and women who have to negotiate daily an overburdened health system, crumbling infrastructure, race and class inequalities and exclusion, whose children are the victims of poor quality education, men and women who are jobless. Based on these engagements the Commission decided to include additional chapters in the draft plan to cover social protection, regional integration, rural development and community safety.

THE NPC ONLINE JAM

The Commission in conjunction with IBM hosted a 72 hour online discussion, known as the NPC Jam, the first of its kind in Africa. Inputs from the NPC Jam helped to inform the draft national development plan, which was handed over to the President and Deputy President on the 11th November 2011.

Profile of participants

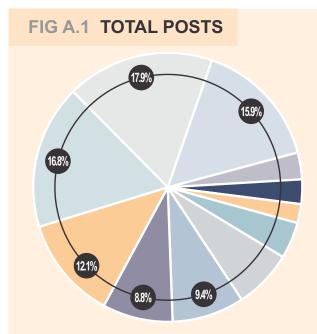
The Jam was launched at the University of Johannesburg with a call on young people to look ahead and shape the future of South Africa. The Commission encouraged the youth to take up the baton of leadership and own the plan for their future. Given that many South Africans do not have access to the internet, the Commission reached out to universities, the National Youth Development Agency and LoveLife to make their ICT infrastructure available for all South Africans who were interested in participating in this online brainstorming event.

Over 10 300 logins and 8 700 individual posts were recorded during the Jam. Every district within South Africa was represented. South Africans engaged as individuals from their homes and offices, and as groups from many venues including high schools, Walter Sisulu University and Orange Farm LoveLife centre. Within the first three hours of commissioners going online, the Jam attracted high levels of participation and conversation.

The youth were well represented throughout the jam with 38 percent of posts coming from people under 30.

Hot topics

The Jam held ten parallel discussion forums, covering the nine challenges identified in the diagnostic document as well as the vision for 2030. The top three discussion forums, by posts, were education and training, the economy and jobs. The graphic below highlights the issues raised most frequently in the Jam. Education received the greatest attention. Significant attention was also given to issues relating to employment and the quality of public services.



UNDER 18 YEARS	335
18 - 24 YEARS	1,431
25 - 29 YEARS	1,604
30 - 34 YEARS	1,508
35 - 39 YEARS	1,084
40 - 44 YEARS	789
45 - 49 YEARS	848
50 - 54 YEARS	547
55 - 59 YEARS	395
60 - 64 YEARS	211
65 + YEARS	182
TOTAL	8,974



CONSULTATION ON THE DRAFT NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

On receiving the plan, the President commended South Africans for their participation. He reiterated the role of South Africans in the crafting of the plan by calling upon the Commission to hold six months of public consultation to build consensus and refine the plan.

There was extensive discussion about the plan in the media. Commissioners participated in radio and television discussions and engaged in an extensive range of meetings. Over this period the Commission held 60 meetings with government departments, government structures and agencies within the three spheres of government; dialogues with state-owned enterprises and development finance institutions; engaged with trade unions; held meetings with parliamentary committees, organised business, academic institutions and international organisations. Commissioners also briefed the national and provincial leadership and management of the Independent Electoral Commission.

The Commission met with the national structures of all political parties represented in Parliament, religious formations and civil society structures. The Commission held a training workshop with the Kwa-Zulu Natal Community Development Workers to assist them to propagate the draft plan in their communities. Many companies encouraged their employees to send comments directly to the Commission. In total the Commission held over 160 direct engagements in a period of six months. Over 1 000 email comments were sent to the Commission as well as letters and faxes.

CRITICAL ISSUES EMERGING FROM THE CONVERSATIONS

During these engagements it became clear that there was broad support for the draft plan as a basis for taking the country forward. People recognised the complex nature of the challenges we face and the areas where we need to make steady progress. There was strong agreement with the Commission's identification of jobs and education are the country's two biggest priorities. Word clouds generated from the written submissions received and comments on Facebook indicate that

education and employment are major concerns for **6** many South

indust

Africans.

ADDENDUM: A CONVERSATION WITH SOUTH AFRICANS

n poverty growth

youth 🚆 implementation

communities active

budget

onnortinities

483

generated from Facebook²

Word cloud

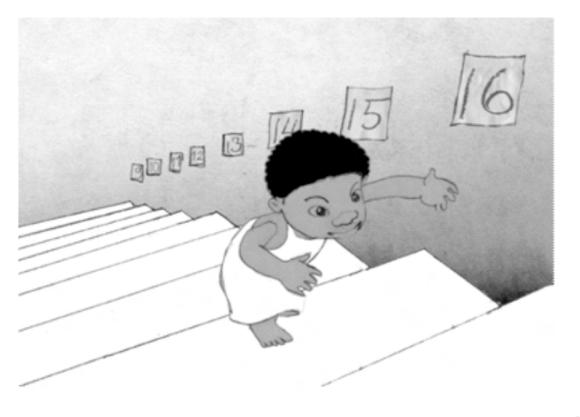
management

generated from submissions

Word cloud

CONCLUSION

The public participation initiative has enriched the national development plan. There has been clear agreement with the Commission's view that the most pressing challenges are that too few people work and the poor quality of our education outcomes. There was also strong support for the need to build a capable and developmental state. The revised national development plan presents an opportunity for South Africans to continue engaging with each other. The Commission has highlighted the importance of an active citizenry for the successful implementation of the plan. It will be important for debate to continue on how the plan can be implemented and what role each and every citizen needs to play to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030.



THANK YOU VERY MUCH



NOTES

- This word cloud represents the frequency of words used, in response to the diagnostic overview and draft national development plan, in the written submissions received, print media coverage, the TV and Radio interview transcripts as well as the two Mxit dialogues.
- This word cloud represents the frequency of words used in the comments posted on the NPC Facebook page.



national planning commission Deperiment: The Presidency REPUBLIC OF BOUTH AFRICA