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# YOUTH SUBMISSION TO THE APRM IN SOUTH AFRICA 2020/2021



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# Executive Summary

South Africa's African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) civil society working group identified nine governance issues to be included in this submission:

## 1



### Youth Political Participation

Despite having a youth population of over 60%, young South Africans are consistently excluded from policymaking processes. Barriers to participation in government include the closed-list proportional representation electoral system, limited access to funding and tokenistic engagement by political parties. Government also needs to address increasingly low youth voter registration and turnout during elections. It is recommended that government review its youth policies to ensure they are fit for purpose. This could include the introduction of youth quotas for both the public and private sector.

## 2



### Social Cohesion and Inclusion

Social cohesion has been difficult to achieve in South Africa, owing to the country's legacy of racial segregation and oppression. Twenty-seven years into democracy, most South Africans believe there is still a need for reconciliation and have cited corruption and divisive politics as barriers. Current challenges also include an unregulated religious sector, xenophobia and discrimination based on race, ethnicity and sexual orientation. Youth are encouraged to continue to act against exclusion while government is encouraged to promote and ensure representation across all its functions.

## 3



### Peace and Security

Violence, crime and instability are every-day features of life in South Africa, with youth often acting as both perpetrators and victims. While it is true that poverty, unemployment and inequality drive youth crime in South Africa, the severity of the violence signals the need for psychosocial interventions that challenge its normalisation in society. Addressing the root causes of youth crime also involves a comprehensive

rehabilitation system that can assist young people with their reintegration efforts. High levels of gender-based violence, human trafficking and corruption are some of the other areas requiring attention.

## 4 Health and Social Services

Although South Africa has an expansive social protection programme that reaches 17 million people every month, its implementation is slow and unsystematic. The programme also does little to protect vulnerable working-age adults, who may benefit from the introduction of a basic income grant. However, civil society believes that social protection should provide more than basic security and should also promote the holistic well-being of all. This should include a health care system that responds to the needs of all citizens, regardless of their ability to pay for services. While government has committed to introducing a national health insurance scheme, it is unclear how it will be financed or implemented.

## 5 Economic Empowerment

Economic empowerment remains a long way off for many citizens in South Africa. With a widening gap between the rich and poor, and a fragile middle class, South Africa remains one of the world's most unequal societies. Although levels of poverty have reduced since 1994, nearly half the country is still considered chronically poor and unemployment levels are at an all-time high. Several policies aimed at addressing the triple threat of inequality, poverty and unemployment are impressive on paper but fall short during implementation. Future efforts also need to place greater emphasis on education, local economic development and entrepreneurship.

## 6 Institutional Planning

Effective institutional planning forms the backbone of government decision-making and is a primary tool with which to achieve strategic goals and objectives. In South Africa, institutional planning is guided by several domestic and international policy frameworks

such as the National Development Plan (NDP) and the UN Sustainable Development Goals. Whether these frameworks are being effectively implemented is up for debate. There are also no clear metrics with which to measure their progress, making it difficult for the public to hold government to account. To remedy this, it is recommended that a holistic and comprehensive youth responsive planning, budgeting, monitoring, evaluation and auditing framework be developed.

## 7 Land and Housing

Historical policies have led to the uneven distribution of land in South Africa. Although the NDP contains several ambitious ideas around land reform, their implementation has fallen short of expectations. Current statistics show that the majority of South Africa's land remains in the hands of white people and while government has proposed expropriating some of that land, the process is mired in controversy and is likely to take time. Government has also struggled to provide access to adequate housing, water and sanitation for all. It is recommended that existing frameworks around land and housing be strengthened, particularly in relation to ownership rights for the previously disadvantaged.

## 8 Access to Quality Basic and Higher Education

The South African government has successfully improved access to education with almost 100% of children between 7 and 17 years attending an educational facility. However, current education outcomes are poor and are linked directly to race and income level. Substandard infrastructure, such as overcrowded classrooms and pit latrines, has exacerbated the problem. Higher education access and throughput mirrors the inequalities found across the education sector. Although it resulted in little policy change at a national level, the #FeesMustFall movement is a good example of what is possible when young people act together. Youth are encouraged to use their collective power to advocate for quality basic and higher education, while government is encouraged to address inequalities across the sector.

## 9 Climate Change

South Africa occupies a unique position in the global climate crisis. While it is a heavy emitter with a high carbon footprint, it is also a developing country that still needs to grow economically in order to provide quality livelihoods to its citizenry. This tension remains at the heart of South Africa's climate policy, aware of the unsuitability of its current system and unwilling to legislate the changes necessary to have a meaningful impact on the climate. Government is encouraged to consult with local communities and youth to ensure environmental policies address the needs of all sectors of society. It is also recommended that corporates take more responsibility for their role in environmental degradation.

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## Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
APR Panel	APR Panel of Eminent Persons
ASIDI	Accelerated Schools Infrastructure Delivery Initiative
AU	African Union
BIG	Basic Income Grant
CRR	Country Review Report
CSAR	Country Self-Assessment Report
CSOs	civil society organisations
DEFF	Department of Environment, Forestry and Fisheries
ECD	Early Childhood Education
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IMC	Inter-Ministerial Committee
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LGBTQ+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Others
MPs	Members of Parliament
MTSF	Medium Term Strategic Framework
NA	National Assembly
NDP	National Development Plan
NGC	National Governing Council
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NHI	National Health Insurance
NPoA	National Programme of Action
NYDA	National Youth Development Agency

NYP	National Youth Policy
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PPFA	Political Party Funding Act
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RCLs	Representative Councils of Learners
SADAG	South African Depression and Anxiety Group
SAIIA	South African Institute of International Affairs
SAYC	South African Youth Council
SETA	Sectoral Education and Training Authorities
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights
TRIs	Technical Research Institutes
UN	United Nations
ZAR	South African Rand

## What is the APRM?

The APRM is Africa's premier governance self-assessment and promotion tool. Established in 2003, it aims to improve governance on the continent by fostering the adoption of policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability, economic growth, sustainable development, and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration, through the reinforcement of best practices.<sup>1</sup>

The tool emerged out of a growing acknowledgement that the continent's developmental deficits owed a great deal to failures of governance, something that only African countries, in partnership with civil society and the private sector could remedy. Thus, the APRM was created and driven by Africans for Africans and is an autonomous agency within the AU system.

Through a series of voluntary governance 'peer reviews', member states diagnose deficiencies, propose solutions, share best practises and follow recommendations. As of May 2021, 41 countries on the continent had acceded voluntarily to the APRM.<sup>2</sup>

To begin participating in the APRM, a country's government signs a Memorandum of Understanding with the continental APRM authorities. This indicates its willingness to undergo a review and its commitment to the process. The next step involves collecting information and documentation on the performance of government and other stakeholders in key areas. To manage this process, the country typically forms a multi-stakeholder APRM National Governing Council (NGC) and appoints Technical Research Institutes (TRIs) to carry out the technical aspects of the review.<sup>3</sup>

All sectors of society – including civil society groups, religious institutions, labour unions, business groups and government – should contribute to answering questions on a wide range of issues. The APRM questionnaire guides the process by highlighting the country's performance in four broad areas: Democracy and Political Governance, Economic Governance and Management, Corporate Governance and Broad-Based Socio-Economic Development. Issues include human rights, health care provision, the state of the economy, the role of the judiciary and the behaviour of corporations.<sup>4</sup>

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1 New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), *African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM): Base Document, AHG/235 (XXXVIII), Annex II* (Durban: AU, 2002), 1.

2 APRM, 'Continental Presence', <https://www.aprm-au.org/map-areas/>.

3 SAIIA and Centre for Policy Studies, *Implementing the APRM: Views from Civil Society* (Johannesburg: SAIIA, 2011), 11.

4 SAIIA and Centre for Policy Studies, "Implementing the APRM", 11.

The results of the review are incorporated into a Country Self-Assessment Report (CSAR), drafted by the NGC and TRIs. The CSAR includes a National Programme of Action (NPOA) which outlines plans to address the problems identified in the review. Once the CSAR is completed, a Country Review Mission visits the country. The delegation of respected African experts conducts an independent study of the country and produces its own report. The delegation is led by a member of the APR Panel of Eminent Persons (APR Panel), a small body of highly respected Africans responsible for managing the APRM process across the continent.

The APR Panel and its Secretariat submit a draft Country Review Report (CRR) to the participating government for comments. Recommendations are suggested and the country is expected to amend its NPOA accordingly. A final CRR is then produced and presented to the Forum of the Heads of State for discussion and peer review. This body consists of the participating countries' leaders and typically convenes on the margins of AU summits. Following the Forum's review, the country must agree to address the various problems identified. Other states undertake to assist the country in its efforts and to take action should the country fall short of its obligations. Finally, the country must report annually on its progress in implementing the NPOA and prepare itself for subsequent reviews.<sup>5</sup>

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5 SAIIA and Centre for Policy Studies, "Implementing the APRM", 11.

## The South African APRM Process

South Africa joined the APRM in 2003 and underwent its first country review in 2007. During this time, South Africa has remained committed to the ideals of the APRM. Most recently, as chair of the Mechanism, South African President Cyril Ramaphosa called for more members to join in order to jointly pursue innovations that will catalyse the positive transformation of the continent.<sup>6</sup>

Indeed, the APRM provides African countries with an opportunity to bolster reform efforts and open civic space for civil society organisations (CSOs) and citizens through the dialogue it promotes. The APRM's rules require that civil society be meaningfully involved in each country's review process. Together with government and the private sector, the country's civil society will diagnose governance strengths and weaknesses, and develop appropriate remedies.

However, South African youth have previously not been adequately involved in the APRM processes. This project, implemented by SAIIA in partnership with Jasoro Consulting, therefore seeks to amplify the voices of South African youth who are grossly affected by prevailing governance deficits.

In August 2020, SAIIA held an online pre-planning meeting to introduce the project and develop a roadmap. The project was officially launched in September 2020 during an online sensitisation workshop where an overwhelming majority of participants showed interest in forming a working group.

Another online workshop in October 2020 focused on identifying issues for the APRM youth submission. The working group was encouraged to collectively write and endorse an evidence-based submission, outlining the most important governance issues. A draft of this submission was circulated to the working group prior to a validation workshop held on 24 February 2021, and comments were incorporated into the final draft.

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6 'President Ramaphosa lobbies African countries to join APRM,' South African Government News Agency, February 10, 2020, <https://www.sanews.gov.za/south-africa/president-ramaphosa-lobbies-african-countries-join-aprm>.

## CHAPTER 1

# Introduction

More than 27 years after the election of its first democratic government, South Africa has evolved from a country with a system of governance once characterised by the UN as a ‘crime against humanity’<sup>7</sup> to a robust constitutional democracy. As the country grapples with consolidating and advancing this democracy, a new generation of South Africans are lending their voices to the social, economic and political discourse, expressing their unique experiences as the youth of South Africa born into the promise of freedom, only to find themselves in the throes of a democratic project still in the making.

Youth aged 18–34 years constitute 30% of South Africa’s population,<sup>8</sup> yet too few young people’s voices find expression in South Africa’s corridors of power. In both the public and private sectors, decisions made today have a direct impact on the lives and futures of young people who remain underrepresented in decision-making spaces.

In order to understand the many challenges facing young people in South Africa, economic, social and political issues – now exacerbated by COVID-19 – need to be viewed through a youth lens. This could also assist with identifying ways in which young people can contribute to building a better South Africa. The Youth Submission to the APRM provides an opportunity to do both.

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7 UN General Assembly, Resolution 2307, The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, A/RES/2307 (Dec. 13, 1967), <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00fd524.html>.

8 Statistics South Africa, ‘SA population reaches 58,8 million’, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=12362#:~:text=According%20to%20the%20mid%2Dyear,and%208%2C80%20million%20females>.

## CHAPTER 2



# Youth Political Participation

This issue relates to the Democracy and Good Political Governance thematic area, specifically:

### » OBJECTIVE 7

**Promotion and protection of the rights of children and young persons**

*Question 2 What concrete measures have been taken to promote and protect the rights of the youth?*

« *Every citizen is free to make political choices* »

South African Constitution, ch. 2, ss.19

Young people are often touted as future policymakers, workers and leaders – a narrative that fails to acknowledge that young people also matter in the present. Today, one in two people around the globe are younger than 30 years old and South Africa has a youth population of over 60%.<sup>9</sup> Nonetheless, young people are consistently excluded from policy and decision-making processes at all levels.

At the same time, it is well known that there is a growing trend of non-participation in traditional political processes amongst African youth. In a survey of 36 countries across Africa, research network Afrobarometer found that although youth discussed politics and showed a higher interest in political and public affairs, they were less likely to participate in an actual election.<sup>10</sup> This is true for South African youth, who were more likely to participate in extra-governmental forms of engagement, such as grassroots movements, issue-based activism and protests.<sup>11</sup>

## Youth Participation in Government

In 1994, South Africa faced the challenge of creating a political system that would best integrate the diverse views of its citizenry. The closed-list proportional representation electoral system was selected for this reason. In this system, voters select parties who, prior to elections, provide a ranked list of candidates who will represent them in Parliament, should the party gain sufficient votes.<sup>12</sup> The system does not have a minimum percentage threshold, which allows smaller parties to be represented in parliament. Seats are allocated according to the proportion of votes a party received.<sup>13</sup> One of the major downsides of the system, however, is that because members of parliament (MPs) are not elected from geographical constituencies, there is a lack of accountability between them and the electorate. The system also makes it impossible for individuals to stand for parliament or the presidency without being put forward by a political party.<sup>14</sup> In 2002, government commissioned a report by an electoral task team

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9 Statistics South Africa, "SA population reaches 58,8 million".

10 Darlington Tshuma and Gilbert Tinashe Zvaita, "Political Fatalism and Youth Apathy in South Africa – An Analysis of the 2019 General Election" (Conflict Trends 3, Accord, Durban, 2019), <https://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/political-fatalism-and-youth-apathy-in-south-africa/>.

11 Victoria Graham, 'South Africa's Democracy the Quality of Political Participation over 25 Years,' *Journal of African Elections* 19, no.1 (2020): 28-51.

12 Marius Roodt, "Electoral Reform in South Africa – The Time has Come" (No. 3, 47, South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 2020), 4, <https://irr.org.za/reports/atLiberty/liberty-electoral-reform-in-south-africa-the-time-has-come>.

13 Roodt, "Electoral Reform"; Wim Louw, "The South African Electoral System" (Helen Suzman Foundation, Johannesburg, 2014), <https://hsf.org.za/publications/hsf-briefs/the-south-african-electoral-system>.

14 Roodt, "Electoral Reform", 5.

that proposed an electoral system that mixed elements of proportional representation with geographical accountability.<sup>15</sup> The report, however, was never seriously considered.

South Africa's Parliament consists of 490 seats with two houses: the National Assembly (NA), which has 400 seats, and the National Council of Provinces, which has 90 seats – 10 per province. General elections are held every five years and are administered by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). The IEC is one of the most respected institutions in South Africa, ensuring consistently smooth elections and increased voter education.

The NA is the lower house of parliament and the Executive is drawn from its members. National seats are allocated according to the total number of seats and votes, and parties are allocated parliamentary seats based on the number of times they meet the full quota for a seat.<sup>16</sup> In 2019, the South African Parliament had 51 members in the youth bracket, meaning young people constituted just 11% of the governing body.<sup>17</sup> The figure has grown somewhat since 2014 when youth made up just 6%.<sup>18</sup> However, the lack of age diversity in parliament directly influences the activities and initiatives taken on by government.

The closed-list proportional representation system has been a major entry barrier for young people in South African politics. Due to the huge costs and resources required to create and sustain a political party, participation by young people, who often face intersecting social and economic challenges, is extremely difficult. Limited access to funding and a reluctance by politicians to work with young people in leadership means forming their own parties is unrealistic for many youth.

Although political parties have recently increased the number of young people on their lists, no party has youth representation that accurately reflects the proportion of youth in the country. To supplement the lack of young parliamentarians, a Youth Parliament was introduced in 2013 as a platform to deliberate on youth issues. In theory, the Youth Parliament offers young people the opportunity to engage with MPs, provincial legislatures, national youth structures and national government.<sup>19</sup> In practice, however, it

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15 Government of South Africa, *Report of the Electoral Task Team* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 2003), <https://www0.sun.ac.za/fvzs/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Electoral-Task-Team-Report.pdf>.

16 Louw, "The South African Electoral System".

17 Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, 'Current Composition Of The Newly Sworn-in 6<sup>th</sup> Parliament,' press release, June 6, 2019, <https://www.parliament.gov.za/press-releases/current-composition-newly-sworn-6th-parliament>.

18 Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, "Current Composition".

19 South African Government, 'Parliament launches Youth Parliament,' media statement, June 4, 2013, [https://www.gov.za/parliament-launches-youth-parliament?gclid=CjwKCAIA6aSABhApEiwA6Cbm\\_5xOnGAecDi7PRiMKOFpl6Z9Ihc8sNGvTRwfGSZQSeVGwPk5aTjS3hoCKAoQAvD\\_BwE](https://www.gov.za/parliament-launches-youth-parliament?gclid=CjwKCAIA6aSABhApEiwA6Cbm_5xOnGAecDi7PRiMKOFpl6Z9Ihc8sNGvTRwfGSZQSeVGwPk5aTjS3hoCKAoQAvD_BwE).

has failed to substantively engage youth on progressive solutions that can be presented before national Parliament for implementation, making it inadequate.<sup>20</sup>

Moreover, many young people in the country believe that the process for becoming involved in the national and provincial Youth Parliament is exclusionary and non-democratic. The Youth Parliament needs to develop a systematic process for involving and engaging young people and civil society. Placing select youth onto political party lists and ceremonial programmes like the Youth Parliament amounts to tokenism and creates a false sense of progress.

One of the mechanisms designed to encourage greater youth participation is the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA). The agency faces many challenges, however, chief among them that the young people allowed to participate are often deployed by politicians rather than selected on merit. Again, this lends itself to tokenism and leaves youth open to manipulation.

There is also routine lack of accountability when it comes to the issue of funding, particularly where parties get their resources from. Political parties can access funding for electoral campaigns and are required to provide an account of all public funding received. However, there are no specific controls on private donations to political parties, creating the potential for the abuse of power by the very wealthy and by foreign interests.<sup>21</sup> The consequence is an uneven playing field that prevents new entrants from effectively contesting in elections.

Encouragingly, there has been some progress in the promotion of greater transparency and accountability as it relates to political party funding. In 2019, parliament passed a law requiring that political parties indicate who their large funders are. The Political Party Funding Act (PPFA) was approved by cabinet and the president, and took effect in April 2021.<sup>22</sup> The act will be facilitated through the creation of a Represented Political Parties Fund and the Multi-Party Democracy Fund, with the former distributing public funds

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20 Malaika Minyuku-Gutto, 'An open letter to the Youth Parliament', *Daily Maverick*, July 15, 2020, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-07-15-an-open-letter-to-the-youth-parliament/>.

21 Crispian Olver, Mbongiseni Buthelezi and Ryan Brunette, "Party Political Funding and the South African State" (Working Paper, Public Affairs Research Institute, Johannesburg, 2017), 11 <http://pari.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Party-political-funding-and-the-SA-state-pdf>.

22 Mawande AmaShabalala, 'Political party funding law will come into effect on April 1: Cyril Ramaphosa,' *TimesLive*, January 22, 2020, <https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2021-01-22-political-party-funding-law-will-come-into-effect-on-april-1-cyril-ramaphosa/>.

from treasury and the latter disbursing funds from private funders.<sup>23</sup> The Promotion of Access to Information Act has also been passed but is yet to be implemented, impeding the successful implementation of the Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act, which aims to ensure that all public procurement is effected in accordance with a system that is fair, equitable, transparent, competitive and cost-effective.<sup>24</sup> The true test of the efficacy of these systems will be in the upcoming 2021 local government elections.

These important attempts to open the political space have been further bolstered by the recent Constitutional Court judgement which declared the Electoral Act unconstitutional on the basis that it excludes independent candidates from contesting for parliamentary seats at provincial and national levels.<sup>25</sup> The 2024 general elections will be the first in South Africa's history to allow for individuals to be elected, as opposed to parties only.

It is also incumbent on young people to take active part in lobbying efforts and activities to influence policy and achieve meaningful youth representation in parliament. Efforts by young Nigerians and civil society groups to ensure the passage of the Age Reduction or the 'Not too Young to Run' Bill provide an excellent example of this. A constitutional amendment was passed in Nigeria in 2016, reducing age limitations for certain elected positions and allowing for independent candidates.<sup>26</sup>

## Youth Participation in Elections

The above changes point to positive developments in a country where voter participation has been steadily declining and in which youth participation in elections is at an all-time low. Given the country's current demographics, the power of the youth vote is undeniable and young people's absence at the polls certainly affects all South Africans.

South Africa has held six democratic elections, cementing its position as a young democracy. Questions about the functionality and quality of this democracy have,

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23 Noxolo Gwala, 'Implementing the Political Party Funding Act is fraught with difficulties for the IEC,' *Daily Maverick*, May 21, 2020, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-05-21-implementing-the-political-party-funding-act-is-fraught-with-difficulties-for-the-iec/>.

24 Linda Ensor, 'Still a long way to go before revamped procurement law is established,' *Business Day*, October 21, 2020, <https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/national/2020-10-21-still-a-long-way-to-go-before-revamped-procurement-law-is-established/>.

25 Lizika Tandwa, 'Constitutional Court rules Electoral Act is unconstitutional, opens way for independent candidates,' *News24*, June 11, 2020, <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/breaking-constitutional-court-rules-electoral-act-is-unconstitutional-opens-way-for-independent-candidates-20200611>.

26 Rishika Pardikar, 'Not too young to run: politics, gender and social media in Nigeria,' *GenderIT*, December 13, 2018, <https://www.genderit.org/articles/not-too-young-run-politics-gender-and-social-media-nigeria>.

however, been raised.<sup>27</sup> The 2019 election saw the lowest voter turnout yet with only 66% of registered voters going to the polls, down from 86.7% in 1994.<sup>28</sup> It is worth noting that these figures are for registered voters as opposed to voting age adults.<sup>29</sup> When the unregistered voting age population is included in the calculation, turnout drops to 46.7%.<sup>30</sup> The demographics of those who chose not to register to vote are telling: in 2019, only 18.5% of eligible first-time voters registered.<sup>31</sup>

Low youth voter registration and turnout is fast becoming a trend. A 2019 study by Schulz-Herzenberg found that citizens eligible to vote between the ages of 18 and 19 years dropped from 33% in the 2014 elections to just 19% in the 2019 elections.<sup>32</sup> Within the same period, voter turnout among 20- to 29-year-olds decreased by 10%, with a 6% decrease amongst eligible voters aged 30 to 39 years.<sup>33</sup>

Unfortunately, in addition to not appearing on the ballot, young people are also not part of the electorate. Political parties can solve this problem by developing clearer and more targeted messaging for young people through their party manifestos. Few parties take substantive engagement with youth voters as seriously as they should. It would be useful for parties to identify the issues that matter to youth and respond directly to them, as opposed to spending energy and resources hosting musical events to attract youth or employing patronising 'youth-friendly' language. Political parties should also have quotas for youth representation within their leadership structures to encourage young voter participation.

The nation's youth must be viewed not only as a voting bloc but as a group of citizens who can influence decision-making and policy beyond the election cycle. While government and civil society have tried to connect with youth via social media, they have done little beyond online engagements and have employed these platforms in limited ways. Voters feel empowered and are more proactive when their concerns are taken seriously by policymakers. This serves to strengthen democracy and inspire the next generation of leaders.

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27 Victoria Graham, 'South Africa's Democracy the Quality of Political Participation over 25 Years,' *Journal of African Elections* 19, no.1 (2020): 28-51.

28 Bruce Bartlett, 'South Africa's Voter Turnout: A Mathematician Runs the Numbers,' *The Conversation*, May 27, 2019, <https://theconversation.com/south-africas-voter-turnout-a-mathematician-runs-the-numbers-117199>.

29 Graham, "South Africa's Democracy".

30 Bartlett, "South Africa's Voter Turnout".

31 Graham, "South Africa's Democracy".

32 Collete Schulz-Herzenberg, 'The new electoral power brokers: macro and micro level effects of 'born-free' South Africans on voter turnout,' *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 57, no. 3 (2019): 264-284.

33 Bartlett, "South Africa's Voter Turnout".

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- Consultative guidelines on meaningful youth engagement should be developed, which government, the private sector, NGOs and other stakeholders can use as a standard for engaging youth meaningfully.
- Government, parliament and political parties should pursue institutional reforms with the primary aim of correcting the current youth representation deficit. Specifically, they should revisit policies on youth, design and implement new recruitment strategies and establish youth quotas.
- Political parties should prioritise youth by deploying them to parliament to enhance their voices and capabilities.
- Given the high rate of youth unemployment, government should make more effort to absorb qualified youth into the public service, as they have greater knowledge on the needs of other young people.
- The definition of youth needs to be revisited to extend beyond an age range. It should instead reflect the heterogeneous nature of the youth experience on the basis of social economic, political and geographic differences.
- The IEC should educate young people on the option to run as an independent candidate.
- Further resources should be allocated to the IEC to ensure it can adequately implement the PPFA.
- The 2002 government-commissioned report by the electoral task team should be considered to assess the proposed system's suitability in the current political context.
- The Department of Basic Education should consider introducing a compulsory module on the structure, mandate and proceedings of parliament, to raise youth awareness on the importance of this arm of government.
- A compulsory national youth service for youth not in employment, education and training should be introduced as an option that allows for a combination of patriotic services to the county and basic work experience for young people.
- In order to stop tokenism, government should refer to the Bill of Rights and create greater emphasis around the right to equality before the law and freedom from discrimination in Section 9 of the South African Constitution.
- National initiatives and programs that encourage youth representation and capacity building should be established and funded.

## CHAPTER 3



# Social Cohesion and Inclusion

This issue relates to the Democracy and Good Political Governance thematic area, specifically:

### » OBJECTIVE 8

**Promotion and protection of the rights of vulnerable groups, including internally displaced persons, refugees and persons with disabilities**

*Question 1 Identify vulnerable groups in your country and outline measures your country has taken to promote and protect the rights of permanently disadvantaged or vulnerable groups including, but not limited to, internally displaced persons, refugees and persons with disabilities*

«« *Every citizen is free to make political choices* »»

Government of South Africa, National Planning Commission,  
*National Development Plan 2030, Our Future - Make it Work*  
(Pretoria: National Planning Commission, 2011), 25

At the end of apartheid, South Africa faced the formidable challenge of bringing together a country whose identity had been actively segregated by an efficient and cruel bureaucratic system. This could also be referred to as the challenge of social cohesion, defined by the South African government as ‘the degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression itself among individuals and communities.’<sup>34</sup>

Social cohesion has been difficult to achieve in South Africa owing to the country’s legacy of racial segregation and oppression. Increased levels of gender-based violence (GBV), xenophobia, religious, racial and ethnic discrimination and exclusion of the disabled community are some the challenges preventing social cohesion. In 2007, the APRM South Africa CRR flagged this issue and offered a range of recommendations. Yet, over a decade later, these challenges persist, contributing to a fractured national identity.

In the 2019 South African Reconciliation Barometer survey, 77.1% of respondents agreed that ‘South Africa still needs reconciliation’, while just over half (56.9%) agreed that ‘South Africans have made progress concerning reconciliation since the end of apartheid.’<sup>35</sup> Over 70% of respondents agreed that reconciliation was being held back due to: ongoing corruption; political parties exploiting social divisions for political gains; continued levels of poverty among the previously disadvantaged; race being used as a measure of transformation; and GBV.<sup>36</sup> The majority of respondents (55.8%) believed that ‘both those who were oppressed and those who were not oppressed are responsible for ensuring reconciliation in South Africa.’<sup>37</sup> These findings show a broad level of consensus on the need for change, however, the pathways to do so are less clear.

Despite the introduction of tools to promote social cohesion, such as the NDP, South Africa is still very much undergoing a process of transformation: the dismantling of colonial and apartheid-era ideas and practices which skewed the balance of power in favour of specific members of society.

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34 Department of Sport, Arts and Culture, ‘What is social cohesion and what is the department doing to promote a cohesive society?’, <http://www.dac.gov.za/content/2-what-social-cohesion-and-what-department-doing-promote-cohesive-society#:~:text=The%20department%20defines%20social%20cohesion,itself%20among%20individuals%20and%20communities>.

35 Elnari Potgieter, *SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey 2019 Report* (Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2019), <http://www.ijr.org.za/home/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/IJR-SARB-2019-Report.pdf>.

36 Potgieter, “SA Reconciliation Barometer”, 25.

37 Potgieter, “SA Reconciliation Barometer”, 25.

## Religion

Freedom of religion is guaranteed under the South African Constitution. There are over seven major religions practised in South Africa today with 80% of the population identifying as Christian, followed by Islam and Hinduism. Although South Africa operates as a secular state, Christianity certainly holds a dominant place. For instance, it was common practice up until 2013 for schools to hold morning prayers in the name of Jesus, and many Christian holidays have received the status of national public holidays while those of other religions have not. Christianity being the unofficial norm has led to other religious groups feeling overlooked and unaccommodated in society.

It is important to note, however, that at the state or policy level, South Africa does not necessarily favour one religion over another. Many companies, CSOs and government departments allow citizens to freely and publicly demonstrate their faith. For example, one can publicly wear a cross or hijab, unlike in some countries around the world. Unfortunately, on a basic education level, there is little awareness of other religions and matters of inclusivity are therefore ignored and left to the individual. Some religious groups in South Africa have also been known to take advantage of citizens and their vulnerabilities.<sup>38</sup> With little to no government intervention on these issues, South Africa's unregulated religious sector hampers efforts to bridge inequality and bring social cohesion to the country.

Some of the barriers preventing social cohesion and inclusion in the religious sector in South Africa include:

- Corruption or the commercialisation of religion and abuse of people's belief systems, such as the widely publicised case of Prophet Shepherd Bushiri who was accused of fraud and money laundering;<sup>39</sup>
- tax evasion by some religious groups;<sup>40</sup>
- sexual harassment within religious groups, as evidenced by the 2018 case of Pastor Timothy Omotoso who was accused of rape, sexual assault and sex trafficking;<sup>41</sup> and

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38 Joel Mokhoathi and Nasila Rembe, 'Religious Liberties And The Constitution Of South Africa: A Call For Religious Accountability,' *Scriptura* 116, no. 1 (2017): 1-10, <https://journals.co.za/doi/pdf/10.7833/116-1-1145>.

39 Thabang Nkgweng, 'What you need to know about the Bushiri case', *South African Broadcasting Commission*, November 15, 2020, <http://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/what-you-need-to-know-about-the-bushiri-case/>.

40 'Net closing in on tax dodging religious organisations,' *eNCA*, February 28, 2020, <https://www.enca.com/news/net-closing-tax-dodging-religious-organisations>.

41 Andrew Harding, 'South Africa shocked by live rape trial of Timothy Omotoso,' *BBC News*, October 23, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-45940338>.

- tensions amongst different religions.

A weak regulatory environment for monitoring religious organisations and holding them to account has meant that many issues are reported and addressed through traditional and social media rather than through legal and civic processes. Bodies like the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa and the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities – both semi-governmental and mentioned in the Constitution – are tasked with managing traditional and religious issues. However, when religious organisations do not acknowledge the mandate and authority of these groups, the ability to ensure they do not violate the rights of individuals and communities is limited.

## Nationality

South Africa has, over the years, become home to people from various countries around the world. Foreign nationals and first-generation South African citizens migrated to South Africa from countries both on and off the continent for economic, social and political reasons. As a result, South Africa has become one of the most cosmopolitan countries on the continent and this has brought with it several challenges.

With the exception of census-based projections, South Africa does not have accurate data on the number of foreign residents in the country. Estimates by Statistics South Africa in 2020 put the number of migrants at 3.9 million.<sup>42</sup>

Over the past 12 years, there has been a sporadic resurgence of xenophobic attacks against foreigners, mainly from other African countries. Although Gauteng, the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) have the highest rates of incidences, violence as a consequence of xenophobic sentiment is spreading increasingly across all provinces, with violence occurring in major towns, townships, cities, rural areas and informal settlements. Attacks are often triggered by poor service delivery and underlying impacts of a deeply inequitable system, with foreign nationals used as the scapegoat for government failures in those communities.

Estimates by the organisation Xenowatch indicate that more than 500 xenophobic incidents occurred between 1994 and 2018, with 42 taking place in 2018 alone. It says

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42 Cayley Clifford, '15 million 'undocumented foreigners' in South Africa? Herman Mashaba wrong again,' *Africa Check*, November 19, 2020, <https://africacheck.org/fact-checks/reports/15-million-undocumented-foreigners-south-africa-herman-mashaba-wrong-again>.

these attacks resulted in 309 deaths, left tens of thousands displaced and thousands of businesses looted.<sup>43</sup>

Some have attributed the origins of xenophobic attacks in the country to an insular nationalism and South African exceptionalism, cultivated during and post-apartheid, and resulting in a general lack of empathy for other Africans.<sup>44</sup> A lack of understanding of why migration occurs in Africa has also led to deep-rooted assumptions about African migrants. Many citizens falsely believe other Africans come to South Africa with the intention of capitalising on economic or criminal opportunities, a narrative that drives animosity and competitiveness and breeds resentment among South Africans towards other Africans.<sup>45</sup> The issue is exacerbated by continued economic decline and high levels of unemployment, which causes many to feel marginalised and excluded. Increasingly, many are calling for the needs of citizens to be prioritised over those of foreign nationals (although this is already largely the case), including some politicians who dismiss xenophobia as common criminality.<sup>46</sup>

South Africa's immigration system is highly complex and nuanced. On paper, South Africa has inviting immigration laws which allow for asylum-seekers, study visa holders, critical skills visa holders and tourists to be accommodated. There are fair regulations as far as acquiring citizenship and permanent residency is concerned. In practice, however, the system suffers from a number of deficiencies. For example, although the country receives around 60,000 asylum seekers each year, 90% are never granted refugee status.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, the 2017 Refugee Amendment Act, rather than addressing pressing issues around refugee status, backlogs, corruption and management, seemed to focus more on security.<sup>48</sup>

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43 Silindile Mlilo and Jean Pierre Misago, "Xenophobic Violence in South Africa: 1994-2018 An Overview" (The African Centre for Migration & Society, Johannesburg, 2019), 2, [https://www.xenowatch.ac.za/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Xenophobic-Violence-in-South-Africa-1994-2018\\_An-Overview.pdf](https://www.xenowatch.ac.za/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Xenophobic-Violence-in-South-Africa-1994-2018_An-Overview.pdf).

44 David Matsinhe, 'Africa's Fear of Itself: the ideology of "Makwerekwere" in South Africa,' *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (2011): 295-313.

45 Kate Wilkinson, 'ANALYSIS: Are foreigners stealing jobs in South Africa?' *Africa Check*, April 17, 2015, <https://africacheck.org/fact-checks/blog/analysis-are-foreigners-stealing-jobs-south-africa>.

46 Qama Qukula, 'Mashaba says unrest in Joburg CBD boils down to criminality,' *Cape Talk*, September 3, 2019, <http://www.capetalk.co.za/articles/359679/mashaba-says-unrest-in-jouburg-cbd-boils-down-to-criminality>.

47 Jonathan Crush, Caroline Skinner and Manal Stulgaitis, "Rendering South Africa Undesirable: A Critique of Refugee and Informal Sector Policy" (Migration Policy Series 79, Southern African Migration Programme, Ontario, 2017), 5, <https://samponline.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/SAMP-79.pdf>.

48 Tove Van Lennep, "Migration II: The South African Migration Policy Landscape" (HSF Brief, Helen Suzman Foundation, Johannesburg, 2019), <https://hsf.org.za/publications/hsf-briefs/the-south-african-migration-policy-landscape>.

Yet again, progressive legislation provides room for equitable conditions for migrants but practice falls short.<sup>49</sup> Attempts towards social cohesion and inclusion are failing and more political attention from all key actors of society is required to mitigate future conflict and formulate collaborative solutions for integrating migrants and South African citizens.

## Race and Ethnicity

South Africa's history is marred by the stains of discrimination and institutionalised racism, the effects of which continue today. This is evidenced by, for example, the existence of all-white towns such as Orania in the Northern Cape,<sup>50</sup> the recent release of a racist advert by a retail-led healthcare group<sup>51</sup> and the all-white dance event at a Western Cape high school.<sup>52</sup> These examples indicate that race matters are real and require urgent action by all for sustainable and effective change to be realised.

There remains a significant lack of social solidarity and there is a high level of mistrust between members of different racial groups in South Africa.<sup>53</sup> Between 2003 and 2013, the number of South Africans who never interacted or socialised interracially decreased. However, during the same period, less than a third of South Africans 'often spoke' or 'always socialised' with someone from a different racial group.<sup>54</sup> Levels of interaction were highly impacted by levels of education and individuals who completed school were more likely to engage in interracial interactions and socialisation.<sup>55</sup>

While young people today may not have experienced apartheid, they certainly experience racial tensions and inequalities. Race and ethnicity are some of the main reasons why youth feel excluded from economic, social and political processes in South Africa.

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49 Leigh Hamilton and Dave Bax, "Addressing Social Cohesion and Xenophobia in South Africa" (Policy Brief, ALPS Resilience, Cape Town, 2018), 2.

50 Pumza Fihlani, 'Inside South Africa's whites-only town of Orania,' *BBC News*, October 6, 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-29475977>.

51 Canny Maphanga, 'Clicks hair ad 'profoundly offensive and racist', says Cabinet,' *News24*, September 10, 2020, <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/clicks-hair-ad-profoundly-offensive-and-racist-says-cabinet-20200910>.

52 Stephan Lombard, 'Brackenfell High: We cannot pretend this day wasn't going to come,' *News24*, November 19, 2020, <https://www.news24.com/news24/columnists/guestcolumn/opinion-brackenfell-high-we-cannot-pretend-this-day-wasnt-going-to-come-20201119>.

53 Parliament of South Africa, *Report Of The High Level Panel On The Assessment Of Key Legislation and the Acceleration of Fundamental Change* (Pretoria: South African Parliament, 2017), 309, [https://www.parliament.gov.za/storage/app/media/Pages/2017/october/High\\_Level\\_Panel/HLP\\_Report/HLP\\_report.pdf](https://www.parliament.gov.za/storage/app/media/Pages/2017/october/High_Level_Panel/HLP_Report/HLP_report.pdf).

54 Anda David et al., "Social cohesion and inequality in South Africa" (Working Paper 219, Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit, Cape Town, 2018), 3, <http://www.opensaldru.uct.ac.za/handle/11090/900>.

55 Anda David et al., "Social cohesion and inequality".

Many are also unaware of the existing policies in place to enforce racial and ethnic inclusion or the legal measures for redressing racial inequality. Even with policies like the Employment Equity Act and the Black Economic Empowerment Act, accessibility and inclusion of various marginalised groups remains limited. A national action plan on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and ethnic intolerance is needed to address all social inequities that affect not only wellbeing and livelihoods, but also the basic and most important right to dignity.

The efficacy of existing policies that seek to tackle racial inequality and discrimination also need to be measured. People need safe spaces to discuss and report discrimination as they experience it. Consistent engagement and accountability must be encouraged in businesses, communities and government. Grassroots movements and activists who work on issues relating to social justice and racial literacy should be funded and supported in their efforts to educate and empower others. This must include targeted efforts to support African migrants who face threats of xenophobia.

## LGBTQ+ Rights

South Africa was the first country to enshrine LGBTQ+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and others) rights within the framework of its Constitution.<sup>56</sup> However, the lived experiences of members of the LGBTQ+ community provide a different perspective, evident in the results of a survey conducted by the Inclusive Society Institute in June 2020. While 86% of respondents were aware of their constitutional rights, just over 20% felt that government was sufficiently protecting those rights. Only 34% of respondents felt free or mostly free to express their gender identity and/or sexual orientation as they please.<sup>57</sup> A large majority (72%) of respondents indicated that they 'had experienced discrimination in terms of social integration' however, there was a sense that there has been a shift since 1994, with 92% of respondents believing attitudes were improving.<sup>58</sup> The experience of the LGBTQ+ community further exposes the difference between the constitutional rights granted to citizens and their ability to access them.

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56 Mpho Buntse and Daryl Swanepoel, *Survey On The Lived Experience Of The LGBTQ+ Community in South Africa* (Cape Town: Inclusive Society Institute, 2020), 4, [https://cisp.cachefly.net/assets/articles/attachments/82754\\_2020.07.21\\_survey\\_on\\_lgbt\\_lived\\_experience.pdf](https://cisp.cachefly.net/assets/articles/attachments/82754_2020.07.21_survey_on_lgbt_lived_experience.pdf).

57 Buntse and Swanepoel, "Survey On The Lived Experience", 10-11.

58 Buntse and Swanepoel, "Survey On The Lived Experience", 12.

## The Role of Young People

Young people have an important role to play in building social cohesion and inclusion. They should consider:

- mobilising their peers and communities to actively contribute and participate in social cohesion and inclusion;
- challenging individuals that stay in positions of leadership over the prescribed youth age in organisations and positions meant to be occupied by youth;
- taking civic action against exclusion and not waiting to be invited into decision-making spaces; and
- encouraging platforms of co-leadership, allowing for leadership to be more diverse, inclusive and representative of all communities at all times.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- Religious sectors need to be more regulated to ensure citizens are protected from fraud and extortion.
- Every community in South Africa should have trained educators to hold workshops for citizens on religious fraud and extortion.
- The Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities must be evaluated by an external peer commission knowledgeable on South Africa's religious environment.
- Interreligious dialogues should be encouraged to mitigate against conflict. These dialogues should focus on youth and should encourage religious tolerance.
- Government and civil society should develop programmes that promote intercultural learning and raise awareness around xenophobia.
- Government needs to take a firm stand against xenophobia and share accurate information on the positive role of immigrants in South Africa.
- Government should improve its immigration processes and border management systems through cooperation with neighbouring countries.
- Government's budget for GBV activities should be increased and more funds should be directed to establish grassroots movements that understand the cultural context of their communities.
- Mental health services need to be strengthened in all schools and designed specifically to meet the unique needs of adolescents.
- Integrated plans between government, businesses and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) should tackle exclusion based on gender and sexuality in all spheres of society.
- Representation of all genders and sexualities in all three tiers of government should be increased, especially in Executive spaces like the Office of the Presidency.
- The use of inclusive gender and sexual orientation language in government policies, civic spaces and any other public document or space should become the norm.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- The LGBTQ+ community requires more support to translate South Africa's progressive legislative framework into attitudinal shifts among communities.
- Accessible and equitable education and economic and political opportunities are needed for disabled communities.
- Dedicated healthcare and social infrastructure for disabled communities is needed.
- Government should create more intentional and focused opportunities for persons with disabilities to participate in programmes and policies that affect their lives.
- Public-private partnerships should be instituted to improve research, innovative technologies and other necessary infrastructure for disabled communities.

## CHAPTER 4



# Peace and Security

This issue relates to the Democracy and Good Political Governance thematic area, specifically:

### » OBJECTIVE 3

#### Prevention and management of intra and inter-state conflicts

*Question 1* What conditions generate conflict in your country?

*Question 2* What mechanisms exist for preventing, reducing and managing conflicts in your country? How effective are these?

**« Everyone has the right to freedom and security of the person »**

South African Constitution, ch. 2, ss. 12

Although South Africa has not been in a state of emergency since the 1980s, violence, crime and instability are fundamental features of life in the country. The 2019 Global Peace Index ranked South Africa as one of the most violent countries in the world (127 out of 163).<sup>59</sup> South Africa also has one of the highest murder rates outside of a war zone.<sup>60</sup> Only 87% of adults feel safe walking in their neighbourhoods during the day while 41.8% feel safe to do so at night.<sup>61</sup> As with other social ills, the burden of crime and violence disproportionately affect youth.

South Africa's youth often find themselves as both vulnerable victims and perpetrators of crime and violence as they attempt to navigate the pressures faced in a country fettered by poverty, unemployment and inequality. In South Africa, crime is both political and systemic. Criminal activities such as corruption, police brutality and human trafficking have causes and consequences that extend far beyond the individual.<sup>62</sup> In exploring issues of peace and security in South Africa, it is important to consider the role of state and non-state actors, with a view towards creating a society that prioritises peace and security for the betterment of all.

## Crime

In 2019/20, there were an estimated 1.2 million incidences of housebreaking in South Africa, affecting 5.3% of all households.<sup>63</sup> There were also 169,000 robberies that took place while residents were at home. Approximately 82,000 households experienced motor vehicle theft and there were 1.1 million incidences of personal theft. Worryingly, many of these incidents were not reported to the police. With the exception of murder, the crime with the highest incidence of police reporting was motor vehicle theft, where 78.7% of victims reported it to the police.<sup>64</sup> Theft of personal property had the lowest incidence of police reporting, with only 38.2% of individuals reporting the crime to the police.

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59 Where number one is the safest country and number 163 is the most dangerous; 'South Africa Ranks in the Bottom 20 Countries for Safety and Security,' *Business Tech*, June 22, 2019, <https://businesstech.co.za/news/lifestyle/324053/south-africa-ranks-in-the-bottom-20-countries-for-safety-and-security/>.

60 Government of South Africa, Department of Women, Youth and Persons With Disabilities, *National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence & Femicide Human Dignity and Healing, Safety, Freedom & Equality in Our Lifetime* (Pretoria: Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities, 2020), 22, <https://www.justice.gov.za/vg/gbv/NSP-GBVF-FINAL-DOC-04-05.pdf>.

61 Statistics South Africa, 'Housebreaking Still Number One', <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=13811#:~:text=With%20an%20estimated%201%2C2,all%20households%20in%20the%20country>.

62 Statistics South Africa, 'Vulnerable Groups Series I: The Social Profile of Youth, 2009-2014', <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=6395>.

63 Statistics South Africa, *P0341 Victims of Crime: Governance, Public Safety, and Justice Survey* (Pretoria: Statistics South Africa, 2020), ix, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0341/P03412019.pdf>.

64 Statistics South Africa, "P0341 Victims of Crime", ix.

Young people in South Africa are twice as likely to be victims of violence than adults, yet the insecurities they face have also resulted in a lack of regard for the security of others.<sup>65</sup> It is therefore not surprising that youth (aged 16 to 34 years) are also more likely to be perpetrators of crimes, like robbery and assault, than adults. While there have been declines in crime committed by youth in the last decade, youth crime remains a key challenge and requires a dedicated, targeted response.<sup>66</sup>

Gang violence, occurring mainly in black and coloured townships, also affects youth. Young men from impoverished and dangerous neighbourhoods often join gangs for financial reasons or to protect themselves. However, gangsterism is also celebrated as a form of masculinity or a rite of passage in some communities.<sup>67</sup>

It would be easy to regard trends in youth crime as driven by desperation and opportunity, owing to the economic challenges faced in South Africa. However, the violence that accompanies much of this crime, including gangsterism, signals a lack of regard for rights and the need for psychosocial interventions that challenge the normalisation of violence in South African society. Although corporal punishment has been banned and thus protecting children from violence at school, young people are often exposed to violence in the home. More must be done to protect children and youth from experiences that may desensitise them or legitimise the use of violence.

Without dealing effectively with the root causes of youth crime, it is difficult to build a society where youth avoid crime and reject violence. Efforts at crime prevention must therefore be multisectoral, bringing together social, economic and legal policymakers and practitioners who can work together with young people to create pathways towards adulthood that are free from crime and violence.

## Gender-Based Violence

South Africa has extremely high levels of GBV, defined as physical, economic, sexual and psychological abuse as well as rape, sexual harassment and trafficking of women and men for sex, and sexual exploitation.<sup>68</sup>

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65 Lezanne Leoschut, "Running Nowhere Fast: Results of the 2008 National Youth Lifestyle Study" (Monograph Series 6, Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention, Cape Town, 2009), [http://www.cjcp.org.za/uploads/2/7/8/4/27845461/monograph\\_6\\_-\\_running\\_nowhere\\_fast\\_-\\_2008\\_youth\\_lifestyle.pdf](http://www.cjcp.org.za/uploads/2/7/8/4/27845461/monograph_6_-_running_nowhere_fast_-_2008_youth_lifestyle.pdf).

66 Statistics South Africa, "Vulnerable Groups Series I".

67 Godfrey Maringira, 'Persistence of Youth Gang Violence in South Africa,' *The African Review* 45, no. 1 (2018): 164-179.

68 Government of South Africa, "National Strategic Plan", 22.

One of the main challenges in addressing GBV is insufficient data – most cases are undocumented in national statistics. While there have been some seminal studies, such as the work produced by the South African Medical Research Council in 1999,<sup>69</sup> there has not been a consistent flow of data that allows us to effectively analyse trends in GBV over time.<sup>70</sup> The little data that is available is concerning. For example, during the 2018/2019 financial year, over 179,000 contact crimes against women were recorded by police, with 2,771 women murdered.<sup>71</sup>

In a 2012 study by Gender Links, it was found that 77% of women in Limpopo, 51% in Gauteng, 45% in the Western Cape and 36% in KZN had experienced some form of GBV in their lifetime. In the same study, 76% of men in Gauteng, 48% in Limpopo and 41% in KZN admitted to perpetrating GBV.<sup>72</sup> These statistics are in line with a 2011 study by the Institute for Security Studies which found that more than half of women in Gauteng have experienced intimate partner violence and 80% of men admitted to having transgressed against intimate partners.<sup>73</sup>

Youth have not escaped the high rates of GBV. A 2012 study from the Department of Social Development and the Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities found that 61% of children under the age of 15 years, and 29% of children under the age of 10 years, had experienced sexual assault.<sup>74</sup>

The COVID-19 lockdown has exacerbated these conditions. In the first week of South Africa's nationwide lockdown the police recorded 2,300 GBV complaints.<sup>75</sup> Private organisations saw similar increases. The support centres of cellular network Vodacom had a 65% increase in calls from women and children during the lockdown.<sup>76</sup> The 24-hour

69 Naeemah Abrahams and Bianca Dekel, 'SAMRC research on Femicide and Child homicide', South African Medical Research Council, <https://www.samrc.ac.za/research-for-our-people/samrc-research-femicide-and-child-homicide>.

70 Naeemah Abrahams and Bianca Dekel, 'SAMRC research on Femicide and Child homicide', South African Medical Research Council, <https://www.samrc.ac.za/research-for-our-people/samrc-research-femicide-and-child-homicide>.

71 Cayley Clifford, 'South African police record 2,300 gender-based violence complaints in first week of lockdown – not 87,000,' *Africa Check*, April 9, 2020, <https://africacheck.org/spot-check/south-african-police-record-2300-gender-based-violence-complaints-in-first-week-of-lockdown-not-87000/>.

72 Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, *Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in South Africa: A Brief Review* (Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2016), 6, <http://www.csvr.org.za/pdf/Gender%20Based%20Violence%20in%20South%20Africa%20-%20A%20Brief%20Review.pdf>.

73 Lisa Vetten, "Domestic violence in South Africa" (Policy Brief 71, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, 2014), 3, <https://www.saferspaces.org.za/uploads/files/PolBrief71.pdf>.

74 Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, "GBV in South Africa", 7.

75 Clifford, "South African police".

76 Tanya Farber, 'Shocking Stats On Gender-Based Violence During Lockdown Revealed,' *Times Live*, September 1, 2020, <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-09-01-shocking-stats-on-gender-based-violence-during-lockdown-revealed/>.

command centre was established in 2014, in collaboration with the Department of Social Development, to assist victims of GBV.<sup>77</sup>

## Rehabilitation and Reintegration

As perpetrators of crime and violence, many young people interact with the police and the broader criminal justice system. The system should, as a matter of principle, be designed to offer justice that is restorative rather than punitive. In order for young people to benefit from restorative justice, the police system and judiciary need to have more practical and comprehensive approaches to rehabilitation. Young people, particularly juveniles, have greater prospects of release back into communities than their older counterparts and programmes for rehabilitation and reintegration must therefore be strengthened. This includes ensuring young people have opportunities to return to, as part of their reintegration into society. People are more likely to reoffend if they return to a labour market that rejects them or if there is no social protection to enable their reintegration efforts.<sup>78</sup>

Police brutality and misconduct should also be addressed. Poor policing only works to create greater resistance to the law and hostility towards legal processes.<sup>79</sup> Here, the role of community policing forums cannot be underestimated. The NDP calls for a more holistic approach to policing that includes and involves community members.<sup>80</sup> This could mean engaging with youth on issues of crime as a preventative measure or working with police on reintegrative measures. Police must be trained and incentivised to work with communities in efforts to fight and prevent crime. Youth could also benefit from more constructive interactions with police and other first points of contact when they commit their first offence or show signs of deviance. Youth also need to be provided with adequate legal assistance to ensure they are not unduly punished because they cannot afford to pay for counsel.

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77 Vodacom Foundation, 'Gender Based Violence Command Centre (GBV Command Centre)', <https://vodacomfoundationsa.co.za/gender-based-violence/>.

78 Lupwana Kandala, 'Perspectives on crime theories and juvenile's recidivism based on socio-economic variables in South Africa,' *Forensic Research & Criminology International Journal* 6, no. 5 (2018): 339-346, <https://medcraveonline.com/FRCIJ/perspectives-on-crime-theories-and-juvenilersquos-recidivism-based-on-socio--economic-variables-in-south-africa.html>.

79 Safer Spaces, 'Police Brutality in South Africa', <https://www.saferspaces.org.za/understand/entry/police-brutality-in-south-africa>.

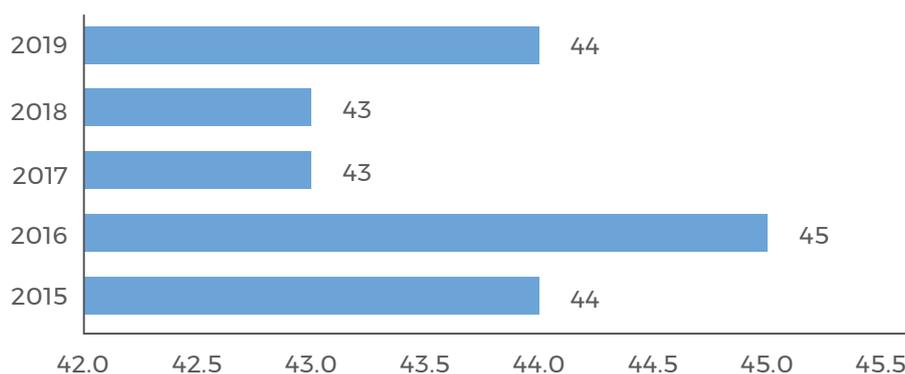
80 Government of South Africa, National Planning Commission, *National Development Plan 2030*, (Pretoria: National Planning Commission, 2012), 66.

## Corruption and State Capture

A system of governance that is free from corruption and complemented by accountable, transparent institutions is the cornerstone of a strong democracy. Unfortunately, corruption is a problem globally. According to Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index, more than two thirds of the 180 countries studied ranked below 50 with an average score of 43, where 0 is highly corrupt and 100 is extremely clean.<sup>81</sup>

South Africa has consistently scored just above average with 45 points since the index's establishment in 2012.

**FIGURE 1 CORRUPTION PERCEPTION INDEX SCORE - SOUTH AFRICA**



Source: Transparency International, 'Corruption Perception Index', <https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/1995/results/zaf>

Based on 3,694 whistle-blower reports received in 2019, Corruption Watch, a local branch of Transparency International, identified police services, the schooling sector and the mining industry as hotspots for corruption, with bribery and irregularities in procurement as the most common form of corruption that ordinary citizens face.<sup>82</sup>

Corruption has negatively impacted South Africa's socio-economic infrastructure and has cultivated high levels of distrust between government and citizens. A large majority (84.4%) of respondents in the 2019 South African Reconciliation Barometer survey

81 Corruption Watch, *The Writing is on the Wall - Annual Report 2019* (Johannesburg: Corruption Watch, 2020) [https://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/CRW0320\\_7171\\_AnnualReport-2019.pdf](https://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/CRW0320_7171_AnnualReport-2019.pdf).

82 Corruption Watch, "The Writing is on the Wall".

identified corruption as a significant barrier to reconciliation.<sup>83</sup> Nearly 80% of South Africans agreed that corrupt government officials often get away with corrupt acts, while only 56% agreed that government is effective in addressing corruption in South Africa.<sup>84</sup>

Recent corruption scandals such as State Capture,<sup>85</sup> the VBS Bank saga<sup>86</sup> and the mismanagement of COVID-19 relief funds<sup>87</sup> have heightened citizen interest in corruption and raised the bar for accountability. Although recent investigations<sup>88</sup> and arrests have helped build public confidence, more sustained efforts are needed to prevent rather than simply respond to allegations of corruption. If crime reduction is a societal goal, the rule of law must be seen to be respected by all, and everyone should be treated equally before the law.

While public sector corruption dominates headlines, South Africa also has a major private sector corruption issue. For example, according to the Medical Aid Schemes Council, the private sector loses ZAR<sup>89</sup> 22 billion (almost \$1.5 billion) a year to fraud.<sup>90</sup> Significant losses are felt when there is an intersection between public and private sector corruption, evidenced by the case of McKinsey and Eskom, who enabled hundreds of millions of Rands to be siphoned through corruption. McKinsey returned an amount of ZAR 1 billion (approximately \$69 million) to Eskom in 2018, after it failed to meet contractual obligations.<sup>91</sup>

In an effort to address corruption, a National Anti-Corruption Strategy was developed in 2016. Based on a review of previous anti-corruption initiatives, the strategy brought

83 Potgieter, "SA Reconciliation Barometer".

84 Potgieter, "SA Reconciliation Barometer".

85 Pieter du Toit, 'The state capture inquiry: what you need to know,' *News24*, August 20, 2018, <https://www.news24.com/news24/Analysis/the-state-capture-inquiry-what-you-need-to-know-20180819>.

86 Cia Nicolaidis, Nthakoana Ngatane and Sifiso Zulu, 'From Bank Heist To Arrests: A Timeline Of The VBS Scandal,' *Eyewitness News*, June 17, 2020, <https://ewn.co.za/2020/06/17/from-bank-heist-to-arrests-a-timeline-of-the-vbs-scandal>.

87 'In South Africa, Covid-19 has exposed greed and spurred long-needed action against corruption,' *Corruption Watch*, September 04, 2020, <https://www.transparency.org/en/blog/in-south-africa-covid-19-has-exposed-greed-and-spurred-long-needed-action-against-corruption>.

88 High-level corruption scandals are being addressed through the Commission of Inquiry into State Capture, also known as the Zondo Commission. The Commission was established in August 2018 and aims to ensure that all those involved in the series of corrupt activities, more commonly known as 'state capture', are held to account.

89 Currency code for South African Rand.

90 Busi Chimombe, 'Private Sector Loses R22 Billion a Year to Fraud,' *SABC News*, October 1, 2019, <http://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/private-sector-loses-r22-billion-a-year-to-fraud/>.

91 Michael Marchant, 'McKinsey and other State Capture enablers: Paying back fees is not enough,' *Daily Maverick*, December 15, 2020, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-12-15-mckinsey-and-other-state-capture-enablers-paying-back-fees-is-not-enough/>; Susan Comrie, 'McKinsey capitulates (again), agrees to pay back Transnet and SAA,' *Fin24*, December 9, 2020, <https://www.news24.com/fin24/companies/industrial/mckinsey-capitulates-again-agrees-to-pay-back-transnet-and-saa-20201209>.

together various stakeholders with a vested interest in reducing corruption. The following nine strategic pillars in the fight against corruption were identified.

- 1 Support for citizen empowerment in the fight against corruption, including increased support for whistle-blowers.
- 2 Development of sustainable partnerships with stakeholders to reduce corruption and improve integrity management.
- 3 Improve the transparency of activity by government, business and civil society sectors.
- 4 Improve the integrity of the public procurement system to ensure fair, effective and efficient use of public resources.
- 5 Support the professionalisation of public sector employees in organs of state.
- 6 Improve adherence to integrity management mechanisms and consequence management in organisations across government, business and civil society sectors.
- 7 Strengthen oversight and governance mechanisms in government.
- 8 Strengthen the structures for enforcement by having an independent, resourced, skilled and coordinated multi-agency anti-corruption system.
- 9 Improve vulnerable sector management by building specific programmes to reduce corruption and improve integrity in sectors particularly vulnerable to corruption, with a focus on government's Justice Crime Prevention and Security Cluster.<sup>92</sup>

Although the strategy provides a clear framework for how to address corruption, undoing a complex and political system of rent-seeking is a time-intensive process. It is for this reason that South Africans need to become more involved in combating corruption. Whistleblowing should become a normative practice for small and big acts of fraud, corruption and abuses of power. Citizens can work with NGOs, the media and law enforcement agencies to draw attention to acts of corruption that may go unnoticed. The power of the vote could also be used more effectively to remove corrupt parties and politicians from power. Additionally, more civic education is needed on legislation, such as the Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act, in ways that empower youth and community members to act against corruption by state and non-state actors.

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92 Government of South Africa, *National Anti-Corruption Strategy: Discussion Document* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 2016), 36, [https://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/NACS-Discussion-Document-Final\\_a.pdf](https://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/NACS-Discussion-Document-Final_a.pdf).

## Human Trafficking

Human trafficking in South Africa is the result of a range of interpersonal, economic and political dysfunctions. For example, human trafficking systems tend to thrive in contexts where there are highly vulnerable populations, poor border controls, high levels of corruption and low regard for human dignity – all present in South Africa in a number of ways. Drug addiction and sex work is often used to lure young people, who often lack opportunities and community or familial support, into trafficking syndicates.<sup>93</sup>

In 2018, South African authorities identified 260 victims of human trafficking. Of the victims, 244 were foreign nationals. Most (201) were men, 21 were women, 34 were boys, three were girls and one was of an unknown gender.<sup>94</sup>

Attempts by government to address the issue include the establishment of the Human Trafficking Desk at the South African Police Service.<sup>95</sup> The Department of Home Affairs has also instituted a policy that prevents children from travelling without proper documentation. However, to solve issues around human trafficking, more effective awareness programmes are needed to sensitise local communities to the problem and how they can be affected. Government could pursue this together with the media and CSOs. There is also a need for better data collection to track cases and inform policy development. For those who have been victims of trafficking, new and innovative rehabilitation programmes need to be established. Further, more effective border control mechanisms are required.

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93 Thozama Mandisa Lutya, "Human Trafficking of Young Women and Girls for Sexual Exploitation in South Africa," chap. 5 in *Child Abuse and Neglect - A Multidimensional Approach* (London: IntechOpen, 2012), <https://www.intechopen.com/books/child-abuse-and-neglect-a-multidimensional-approach/human-trafficking-of-young-women-and-girls-for-sexual-exploitation-in-south-africa>.

94 Naledi Mashishi, 'Fact-checking influential TV presenter's claims about child trafficking in South Africa,' *Africa Check*, September 22, 2020, <https://africacheck.org/fact-checks/reports/fact-checking-influential-tv-presenters-claims-about-child-trafficking-south>.

95 Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 'Prevention And Combating Of Trafficking In Persons Bill [B7b-2010] Implementation: Deliberations', <https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/15419/>.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- Government should publish laws in all South African languages and present information on citizens' rights in simple, accessible language.
- Government should create or adapt existing legislation to address discrimination and protect the rights of marginalised groups and communities.
- There is room for more CSOs that focus particularly on the protection of human rights, with the resources needed to escalate incidences of rights violations to the South African Human Rights Commission.
- There needs to be substantive changes in the way the country deals with GBV, including allocating resources for adequate data collection and recording of crimes.
- Government should make room for addressing the underlying issues that encourage crime.
- More resources should be directed towards the investigation and prosecution of corruption cases.
- There needs to be stronger punishment for corrupt activities both in the private and public sectors.
- Civil society and the media need to raise more awareness about whistleblowing in order to educate the public about their rights when reporting corruption.
- There is a need to improve the training, capacity and salaries of police officers to discourage corruption.
- Young people should join CSOs or NGOs dedicated to uncovering corruption and enforcing accountability.

## CHAPTER 5



# Health and Social Services

This issue cuts across two thematic areas, specifically:

### DEMOCRACY AND GOOD POLITICAL GOVERNANCE

#### » OBJECTIVE 7

#### Promotion and protection of the rights of children and young persons

*Question 1* What concrete measures have been taken to promote and protect the rights of children?

#### » OBJECTIVE 8

#### Promotion and protection of the rights of vulnerable groups, including Internally Displaced Persons, Refugees and Persons with Disabilities

*Question 1* Identify vulnerable groups in your country and outline measures your country has taken to promote and protect the rights of permanently disadvantaged or vulnerable groups including, but not limited to, Internally Displaced Persons, Refugees and Persons with Disabilities

### BROAD-BASED SUSTAINABLE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

#### » OBJECTIVE 1

#### Promote and accelerate broad-based sustainable socio-economic development

*Question 1* Describe the policies and strategies formulated by your country to promote and accelerate broad-based sustainable socio-economic development

**» OBJECTIVE 3****Poverty, unemployment and inequality**

*Question 1* What policies and strategies has government put in place to reduce poverty and inequality, particularly in terms of access to resources and basic services?

**« Everyone has the right to have access to health care services; sufficient food and water; and social security »**

South African Constitution, ch. 2, ss. 27

Access to health and social services are key indicators of social and economic equality, or lack thereof. Expanding these services is an important intervention that could lead to a better quality of life and improved economic prospects for all South Africans.

From issues around health messaging and access to health care, to social protection and psychosocial support services, the COVID-19 pandemic and the resulting national lockdowns have demonstrated the link between the wellbeing of the most marginalised people in society and the overall state of the economy.

This section explores social protection, health and disability rights as areas of concern that affect the nexus between quality of life and the economy. It will show that while South Africa has made significant strides in creating a social safety net, inequality within the system means that even a fairly generous budgetary outlay does not create a fair and equitable society. Spending on social protection already crowds out government investment in sectors such as infrastructure and education, and unless there is significant economic growth, there will need to be creative strategies to fund a more comprehensive and inclusive social security programme.

## Current Challenges

South Africa has an expansive but incomplete social protection system. It covers a mix of age- and disease-related needs with old age, child, disability and care dependency grants reaching 17 million recipients each month, covering nearly half of all South African households.<sup>96</sup> Social grants and public healthcare are funded entirely from tax revenue and represent 24% of government spending.<sup>97</sup>

Cash transfers are the most successful element of the country's social protection policy and have assisted in reducing poverty and inequality. This is evidenced by a reduction in South Africa's Gini-coefficient to 0.623 in 2015 after the inclusion of tax and transfers.<sup>98</sup> The number of people covered by the country's social protection system is much higher than in other upper middle-income countries. In 2015 social assistance programmes accounted for 3.3% of South Africa's gross domestic product (GDP), compared to 2.7% in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and less than 2% for other middle-income countries.<sup>99</sup>

It is therefore clear that South Africa has made significant policy and legislative changes that have transformed the social welfare system into a rights-based system. However, a major challenge has been slow and unsystematic implementation. This has largely been due to institutional and capacity constraints, such as limited innovation and technical expertise within the bureaucracy, and poor resource allocation. For example, the provision of social grants is fragmented with at least six departments<sup>100</sup> responsible for the development of policies and multiple agencies responsible for their delivery.<sup>101</sup>

The current grant model also does little to protect vulnerable working age adults. Unemployment benefits are provided through the Unemployment Insurance Fund but in order to receive benefits, recipients need to have paid into the scheme whilst employed and the payouts are capped at 12 months.<sup>102</sup>

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96 OECD, *Economic Surveys: South Africa 2020 - Building an inclusive social protection system* (OECD-iLibrary, 2020), [https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/530e7ce0-en/1/3/2/index.html?itemId=/content/publication/530e7ce0-en&\\_csp\\_=c0bc3e08518893e23ac4ab32342dc39c&itemIGO=oecd&itemContentType=book](https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/530e7ce0-en/1/3/2/index.html?itemId=/content/publication/530e7ce0-en&_csp_=c0bc3e08518893e23ac4ab32342dc39c&itemIGO=oecd&itemContentType=book).

97 OECD, "Economic Surveys: South Africa".

98 The Gini-coefficient is a measure of income inequality that provides a figure between 0 (perfect equality) to 1 (perfect inequality).

99 OECD, "Economic Surveys: South Africa".

100 Departments include the South African Social Security Agency, Unemployment Insurance Fund, the Department of Health, the Department of Social Development, the Department of Home Affairs and the Department of Labour.

101 OECD, "Economic Surveys: South Africa".

102 OECD, "Economic Surveys: South Africa".

Social protection in South Africa should offer more than basic social security. It should be expanded to include access to social services that promote the holistic wellbeing of individuals, families and communities, as well as psychosocial services driven by and in partnership with communities themselves. This will require improvements in community development structures and NGOs. There is also a need for an integrated, well-resourced welfare system that functions optimally and provides quick, reliable and quality services to poor, marginalised and vulnerable groups and individuals.

One way to achieve this is through community development programmes that decentralise social services and allow community members to participate in the delivery of services, such as drug rehabilitation, childcare and elderly care. Young people can also play a part in community-based projects as child and youth workers, and could provide psychosocial, educational and economic support to vulnerable populations within safe spaces in local communities. This would improve the system's response time to problems, thereby facilitating preventative and early intervention, as well as complementing informal African welfare practices such as kinship care and communal living. It would also result in less reliance on government as the focus would be on community-based support and empowerment.

The implementation of any of these solutions must be led by government and supported by an active citizenry, as reflected in the 1997 White Paper on Social Welfare.<sup>103</sup>

## Basic Income Grant

South Africa's unemployment rate reached an all-time high of 32.5% in the fourth quarter of 2020.<sup>104</sup> The country also has the unenviable position of being one of the most economically unequal in the world.<sup>105</sup> Faced with these challenges, now compounded by COVID-19, South Africa can no longer avoid the pressing question of whether to expand social protection.

Post-1994, social grants aimed at children, pensioners and persons with disabilities may have shielded many of the most vulnerable in the country from absolute poverty, but these policies have only just shifted the needle on inequality, a primary legacy of the inherently unequal system of apartheid.

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103 Government of South Africa, *White Paper for Social Welfare* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1997), 2.

104 Statistics South Africa, 'Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) – Q4:2020', [http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/Presentation%20QLFS%20Q4\\_2020.pdf](http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/Presentation%20QLFS%20Q4_2020.pdf).

105 Katy Scott, 'South Africa is the world's most unequal country. 25 years of freedom have failed to bridge the divide,' *CNN*, May 10, 2019, <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/05/07/africa/south-africa-elections-inequality-intl/index.html#:~:text=In%20fact%2C%20despite%2025%20years,is%20visible%20from%20the%20sky>.

The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the need for a solution that will achieve both short-term economic relief and long-term income flexibility that allows people to meet savings goals, pursue meaningful work and achieve the economic mobility necessary for reducing poverty and inequality. During the national COVID-19 lockdown, the provision of the ZAR 350 (\$23.50) Social Relief of Distress Grant marked the first time South Africa has seen a large-scale policy measure to address the 'missing middle' of working age adults in poverty.<sup>106</sup> The introduction of this grant could provide valuable lessons in the consideration of more long-term income support.

The idea of a basic income grant (BIG) is a social protection measure currently encouraged in many developing and unequal countries around the world. While there are concerns that a BIG could discourage people from looking for work, numerous studies have shown that the provision of a stable, secure income better allows people to pursue sustained economic activity.<sup>107</sup>

A BIG has three defining characteristics:<sup>108</sup>

- universality, in that it should be open to all;
- individuality, in that it should be designed to cater to individuals; and
- unconditionality, in that it should be unqualified.

Should government decide to introduce a BIG, it should be calculated to cover the costs of basic goods and services every South African is entitled to (and not already provided for through state benefits), as per the country's Constitution. The amount should be in the form of a monthly or fortnightly stipend and must be updated to account for annual increases in the cost of living. All those who earn below a particular threshold should be eligible to receive a BIG, to ensure it reaches those who need it most. This should include persons with disabilities, people past retirement age and child-headed households, even if they currently have access to other social grants.

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106 Gary Pienaar et al., 'A BIG Need: Covid-19 has Rammed Home the Necessity of Social Protection and a Universal Basic Income Grant,' *Daily Maverick*, October 1, 2020, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-10-01-a-big-need-covid-19-has-rammed-home-the-necessity-of-social-protection-and-a-universal-basic-income-grant/>.

107 Engenas Senona, Basic Income Support – A Case for South Africa (Mowbray: The Black Sash, 2020), 4, <https://www.blacksash.org.za/images/campaigns/basicincomesupport/BasicIncomeSupport2020.pdf>.

108 Engenas Senona, "Basic Income Support", 3.

## Persons with Disabilities

Approximately 7.5% of South Africans are persons with disabilities.<sup>109</sup> Not only does this group bear a higher burden of communicable diseases, they are also disproportionately affected by social isolation, emotional distress and mental health issues as they navigate environments that are not accommodating of their disabilities.<sup>110</sup>

Challenges facing persons with disabilities were previously prioritised within the health and welfare framework. Currently, however, fragmented efforts across government departments have meant that information on disability is difficult to come by, further limiting the inclusion of the disabled community into South African society. Despite this, the disabled community has made some advancements thanks to intense campaigning on disability struggles and concerns by grassroots movements across the country. These efforts have forced government not only to recognise the needs and challenges faced by the disabled community but also to focus on effective, strategic planning and budgeting for sustainable inclusion.

In recent years, various measures by government entities, such as the Department of Social Development, have been introduced to ensure that disabled persons are reasonably accommodated within society and that their rights are equally respected. Tackling the issue of disabilities can be challenging as it cuts across a broad spectrum of interrelated matters including employment, education and societal acceptance. According to government's Policy on Reasonable Accommodation and Assistive Devices for Employees with Disabilities in the Public Service, the objectives of disability management are:

- to ensure inclusion in the workplace and equal access to employment;
- to offer training, skills and development opportunities while ensuring the mainstreaming of disability issues; and
- to establish norms and standards for the provision of reasonable accommodation.<sup>111</sup>

Other policies that seek to protect the rights of the disabled include the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000, the 1997 White Paper

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109 Statistics South Africa, 'Stats SA profiles persons with disabilities', <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=3180>.

110 Sathiya Susuman, Renette Blignaut and Lougue Siaka, 'Understanding Issues of People Living With Disabilities in South Africa,' *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 49, no. 5 (2013): 559-569.

111 Government of South Africa, Department of Public Service and Administration, *Policy on Reasonable Accommodation and Assistive Devices for employees with Disabilities in the Public Service* (Pretoria: Department of Public Service and Administration, 2014), 7, [http://www.dpsa.gov.za/dpsa2g/documents/ee/2015/289\\_1\\_2\\_3\\_20\\_08\\_2015\\_Policy.pdf](http://www.dpsa.gov.za/dpsa2g/documents/ee/2015/289_1_2_3_20_08_2015_Policy.pdf).

on the Integrated National Disability Strategy and the 2016 White Paper on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. Government has also offered support to the disabled community through a social grant – a monthly amount of ZAR 1,860 (\$125) available to those who have a physical or mental disability which makes them unable to work.<sup>112</sup>

The Department of Health has attempted several practical steps to ensure that persons with disabilities are, at all times, adequately accommodated and catered for. One example of this is its triage treatment coding system in which persons with disabilities, particularly psychiatric patients, are given first preference when reporting for consultation or treatment. Rehabilitation departments at hospitals also have assistive devices and have started taking therapy to homes and clinics for easier access.

While these are no doubt victories for the disabled community, again there is a disconnect with regards to effective implementation and support from key actors of society. For example, while the triage system is effectively practiced in most cases, it lacks efficiency in instances where a person's disability is not immediately apparent. Disabilities of a neuro-diverse nature often lead to patients being misunderstood, causing doctors' visits to be traumatic for some. Moreover, in provinces such as Mpumalanga, effective diagnosis of disability is often difficult due to a lack of specialist doctors.

Consequently, rural black youth, women and LGBTQ+ disabled people in South Africa still struggle with a lack of:

- equitable economic opportunities;
- social understanding of disabled communities;
- social infrastructure to accommodate disabled communities;
- specialised health care for disabled communities;
- dedicated education facilities for disabled communities; and
- access to information.

Government needs to avail more funding for occupational and vocational training and advocacy programmes to create a society that is more knowledgeable and understanding of the plight of disabled persons. There are numerous NGOs that government could partner with to run awareness and training sessions and to ensure accountability for the treatment of disabled persons. The system requires more trained

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112 South African Government, 'Disability grant', [https://www.gov.za/services/social-benefits/disability-grant?gclid=Cj0KCQiAmL-ABhDFARisAKywVadV73IplkVsD63EbxPzfIfynapY7vQxlIU6Lxq8IREXdwTjt7mj\\_IgaArPNEALw\\_wcB](https://www.gov.za/services/social-benefits/disability-grant?gclid=Cj0KCQiAmL-ABhDFARisAKywVadV73IplkVsD63EbxPzfIfynapY7vQxlIU6Lxq8IREXdwTjt7mj_IgaArPNEALw_wcB).

specialists in less developed provinces to bridge existing gaps and ensure a faster, smoother diagnostic process. This allows more time for regular treatment and therapy, and provides better quality of life for persons living with disabilities.

## Mental Health of Youth

South Africa's largest mental health NGO, the South African Depression and Anxiety Group (SADAG), reports about 23 suicides a day.<sup>113</sup> This figure is likely underestimated, owing to the stigma attached to suicide and the absence of a formal system for tracking suicide deaths in South Africa. SADAG has also reported that nearly two thirds of all suicide victims are aged between 20 and 39 years.<sup>114</sup> Rising youth unemployment, social pressure to be 'successful', abuse and trauma are some of the causative factors.<sup>115</sup>

The National Mental Health Policy Framework and Strategic Plan 2013–2020 notes how under-funded and under-resourced mental health care is in comparison to other health priorities in the country.<sup>116</sup> NGOs such as SADAG have also raised concerns about the lack of funding from the Department of Health, which spends less than 4% of its budget on mental healthcare.<sup>117</sup> The Department should re-evaluate its budget, particularly given that neuropsychiatry is ranked third in its contribution to the disease burden in South Africa, after HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases.<sup>118</sup>

A majority of adult mental disorders develop during childhood or adolescence when they could potentially be prevented or identified and treated early.<sup>119</sup> It is, therefore, imperative that resources and policy be directed towards this demographic. However, a 2018 study found that no province had a child and adolescent mental health policy or

113 SADAG, 'Suicide Takes Its Toll', [https://www.sadag.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=2246:suicide-takes-its-toll&catid=92&Itemid=154](https://www.sadag.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2246:suicide-takes-its-toll&catid=92&Itemid=154).

114 SADAG, "Suicide Takes Its Toll".

115 SADAG, 'World Mental Health Day – SA Youth In Crisis', [https://www.sadag.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=2991:world-mental-health-day-sa-youth-in-crisis-10-october-2018&catid=149&Itemid=226#:~:text=The%20state%20of%20Youth%20and,had%20been%20diagnosed%20with%20Depression](https://www.sadag.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2991:world-mental-health-day-sa-youth-in-crisis-10-october-2018&catid=149&Itemid=226#:~:text=The%20state%20of%20Youth%20and,had%20been%20diagnosed%20with%20Depression).

116 Government of South Africa, Department of Health, *National Mental Health Policy Framework and Strategic Plan 2013–2020*, (Pretoria: Department of Health, 2012), 9, <https://health-e.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/National-Mental-Health-Policy-Framework-and-Strategic-Plan-2013-2020.pdf>.

117 SADAG, 'Mental health must be prioritised', [https://www.sadag.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=2666:mental-health-must-be-prioritised&catid=74&Itemid=132](https://www.sadag.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2666:mental-health-must-be-prioritised&catid=74&Itemid=132).

118 Moliehi Matlala et al., 'Overview of mental health: A public health priority,' *South African Pharmacy Journal* 85, no. 6 (2018): 46–53.

119 Kate Armstrong and Susan Henshall, "Mental health, NCDs and the post-2015 development goals" (Commonwealth Health Partnerships, Cambridge, 2013), 34, [https://www.commonwealthhealth.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Mental-health-NCDs-and-the-post-2015\\_CHPI3.pdf](https://www.commonwealthhealth.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Mental-health-NCDs-and-the-post-2015_CHPI3.pdf).

any implementation plans to support the national framework developed in 2003.<sup>120</sup> The result is that the mental health needs of many young people in South Africa have gone unmet, with potentially life threatening consequences.

## National Health Insurance

South Africa consistently spends a significant amount on healthcare. Since 2009, over 7% of the country's GDP has been allocated to this sector each year, with the figure growing to 8.2% in 2018.<sup>121</sup> These allocations are higher than those of other middle-income countries and comparable to OECD countries.<sup>122</sup> However, there is still a large divide between citizens who can and cannot afford healthcare, with 84% of citizens reliant on a public health system that consistently falls short when it comes to quality of services. Almost half of the country's resources are directed to the private healthcare system, which only services 16% of the population.<sup>123</sup> To remedy this rift, the South African government has made a commitment to introducing a national health insurance (NHI) scheme.

The scheme is designed to pool funds in order to optimise provision and access to quality, affordable healthcare services. It will focus on the provision of services based on needs as opposed to socio-economic status or ability to pay and will thus be free at the point of service. The system will cover 'every South African, employed or unemployed, earning low income or high income' and the care will be based on the condition of patients' health and not scheme-based limits.<sup>124</sup>

Several medical practitioners, through the South African Medical Association, have raised the following concerns about the viability of the project:

- the legislative reorganisation of healthcare systems without adequate piloting to explore how the processes will work;

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120 Stella Mokitimi, Marguerite Schneider and Petrus J. de Vries, 'Child and adolescent mental health policy in South Africa: history, current policy development and implementation, and policy analysis,' *International Journal of Mental Health Systems* 12, no. 36 (2018): 1-15.

121 World Bank Data, 'Current Health Expenditure (% of GDP) South Africa', <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.CHEX.GD.ZS?locations=ZA>.

122 OECD, "Economic Surveys: South Africa".

123 Percy Mahlathi and Jabu Dlamini, "Minimum Data sets for Human Resources for Health and the Surgical Workforce in South Africa's Health System" (Case Study, African Institute for Health and Leadership Development, Nairobi, 2015), 3, [https://www.who.int/workforcealliance/031616south\\_africa\\_case\\_studiesweb.pdf](https://www.who.int/workforcealliance/031616south_africa_case_studiesweb.pdf).

124 HealthMan, *NHI White Paper (2017) Summary* (Johannesburg: HealthMan, 2017), <https://www.mm3admin.co.za/documents/docmanager/1E9AEA2C-B58D-4AED-B5A2-96187D705AEE/00126403.pdf>.

- the possibility that doctors could discriminate in the provision of care based on the legal immigration status of patients;
- the lack of definition of quality care within the new system;
- the removal of the responsibility of employers to cover the costs of employees injured at work; and
- the lack of clarity regarding how medical professionals will be contracted.<sup>125</sup>

Apart from policy drafts, the NHI has not been legislated and details around implementation, such as how the scheme will be financed, remain unclear. The NHI pilots in particular continue to demonstrate systemic failures within the healthcare system, including challenges relating to contracting general practitioners or resources for school health programmes. Crucially, the exclusion of young people within the NHI is a glaring gap within the current policy landscape.

Private healthcare provision faces its own challenges in South Africa. According to a 2019 report from the Competition Commission, the lack of competition in the industry is driving costs up for consumers, with 90% of private hospitals run by three groups.<sup>126</sup> The concentration of power makes it easy for both formal and informal cartels to form, agreeing to a set rate of annual price increases that negatively impact consumers. The report also found that in provinces such as Gauteng and the Western Cape, patients are over-treated and prescribed medical care that does not contribute to their overall health. The Commission proposed a standard package where medical aid providers will cover a basic set of healthcare services and those wanting expanded care could top up, a recommendation similar to the proposed goals of the NHI.<sup>127</sup>

## Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights

South Africa's progressive legal and policy environment should, in theory, facilitate young people's autonomous access to high quality sexual and reproductive health rights (SRHR) information, education and health services. However, in practice, the protection, promotion and realisation of SRHR for every adolescent and young person in South

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125 South African Medical Association, *The South African Medical Association Submission to: The Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Health* (Durban, South African Medical Association, 2019), <https://www.samedical.org/file/1183>.

126 Laura Lopez Gonzalez, 'You're Paying More for Private Healthcare and Getting Less, Competition Commission Investigation Reveals,' *Fin24*, September 30, 2019, <https://www.news24.com/fin24/money/youre-paying-more-for-private-healthcare-and-getting-less-competition-commission-investigation-reveals-20190930>.

127 Gonzalez, "You're Paying More".

Africa is not yet a reality. Uncoordinated policy mechanisms, inefficient bureaucracy and a lack of political will are some of the challenges that need to be addressed.

Youth and adolescents are vulnerable to social policy and programming failures, which in turn contribute to unacceptably high rates of adolescent fertility and mortality rates, violence against young people (young women in particular), knowledge gaps on how to prevent HIV, unwanted pregnancies and other sexually transmitted diseases and infections.

According to the Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS, in 2018 South Africa had 7.7 million people living with HIV/AIDS.<sup>128</sup> It should be noted that the HIV mortality rate has been reduced by almost half since 2010, thanks to antiretrovirals and education programmes. This has dramatically decreased the stigmatisation that deterred infected people from accessing treatment. However, there were still 270,000 new HIV/AIDS infections in 2017, including approximately 77,000 among adolescent girls and young women aged 15 and 24 years. In the same year, the percentage of people between 15 and 49 years living with HIV/AIDS was 20.4%.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, there is a lack of data regarding certain groups of the population, such as the LGBTQ+ community.

A high percentage (85%) of upper-middle class women have access to sexual health information but this figure drops to 65% for youth in urban areas. Among women from lower income earning areas, less than 45% have access to SRHR programs due to a lack of internet and unavailability of primary healthcare facilities. The result is an increased mortality rate in these areas.<sup>130</sup> Most healthcare providers (85%) offer oral contraceptives, but only a small minority (27%) considered them appropriate for women at risk of HIV/AIDS.<sup>131</sup> A higher proportion of clinicians (42%) considered injections suitable for women at risk of HIV/AIDS and very few (13%) considered emergency contraceptives appropriate.

During the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, South Africa agreed to strive towards a world in which 'every pregnancy is wanted, every childbirth is safe and every young person's potential is fulfilled.'<sup>132</sup> Reproductive choice, fertility management, a healthy working age population, greater levels of gender equality and

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128 UNAIDS, 'South Africa launches campaign to expand access to HIV treatment', <https://www.unaids.org/en/resources/press-centre/featurestories/2018/december/south-africa-access-hiv-treatment>

129 UNAIDS, "South Africa launches campaign".

130 UNAIDS, "South Africa launches campaign".

131 Kelly Blanchard et al., 'Clinicians' perceptions and provision of hormonal contraceptives for HIV positive and at-risk women in Southern Africa: an original research article,' *Contraception* 90, no. 4 (2014): 391-398.

132 UN, Report of the International Conference on Population and Development, A/CONF.171/13/Rev.1 (5-13 September, 1994), 179, [https://www.un.org/development/desa/pd/sites/www.un.org.development.desa.pd/files/icpd\\_en.pdf](https://www.un.org/development/desa/pd/sites/www.un.org.development.desa.pd/files/icpd_en.pdf).

lifelong empowerment opportunities are required for South Africa to have any chance of reaching this goal.

By investing early and intentionally in improving South African SRHR policy and programming, especially for adolescents and young people, the country is clearing the path for a new generation who are empowered, educated, healthy and able to contribute proactively to increasing the tax base of the country, thereby accelerating its overall development. By additionally focusing on women, greater levels of gender equality can be achieved, laying the foundation for a society in which gender roles can be collectively reimagined.

## Gender and Sexual Orientation

Cases of GBV, discrimination based on sexual orientation and other gendered violent acts are becoming increasingly common<sup>133</sup> and government has yet to implement effective measures to combat this. Although South Africa's Constitution, and more specifically the Bill of Rights, addresses equality with regards to gender, sex and sexual orientation, the enforcement of these legal rights has not been fully realised or even well-received by society.

While Parliament has increased women's participation, with political parties implementing voluntary gender quotas, this has not automatically translated into better outcomes for women, gender non-binary persons and people who are part of the LGBTQ+ community. For example, violence against women remains rife. Rates of rape and femicide are also disturbingly high, as are acts of violence against people who identify as LGBTQ+, particularly in peri-urban and rural areas where patriarchy dominates the cultural landscape.<sup>134</sup>

Civil society and many gender and sexual orientation grassroots movements have been vocal about the need for improved conditions for their constituencies. Since 2016, South Africa has witnessed a growth in direct and collective activism by a broad coalition of women, gender nonconforming people and the LGBTQ+ community who demand policy and practical changes on issues around GBV, economic participation and representation in decision-making spaces. For example, government has developed a Gender Policy Framework and a National Transformative Task Team was formed in 2011

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133 Safer Spaces, 'Gender-based violence in South Africa', <https://www.saferespaces.org.za/understand/entry/gender-based-violence-in-south-africa>.

134 Abongile Nkanisa, 'Society has failed women at every level, more so rural womxn,' *Daily Maverick*, January 23, 2020, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-01-23-society-has-failed-women-at-every-level-more-so-rural-womxn/>.

with a specific mandate to establish a National Intervention Strategy on homophobic or corrective rape.<sup>135</sup> Such interventions were driven by CSOs who spoke with a united voice and pressured government to establish frameworks for intervention.

Nevertheless, there are still gaps in the public awareness of existing policies that seek to redress gender inequalities, the consequence being an inability to hold government accountable. Beyond policies, greater awareness needs to be created among children and youth about gender and sexuality in ways that are age appropriate and inclusive. A comprehensive sexual education approach, which includes aspects on gender and sexual identity, is being developed by the Department of Basic Education but is facing resistance from some parents and CSOs. It is, however, important that youth receive this education in order to foster more inclusive and accepting societies.<sup>136</sup>

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135 Government of South Africa, Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, *National Task Team On Gender And Sexual Orientation-based Violence Perpetrated On LGBTI Persons*, (Pretoria: Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2011), [https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis\\_document/201409/2014-lgbti-commstrategya.pdf](https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201409/2014-lgbti-commstrategya.pdf).

136 Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), "Comprehensive Sexuality Education" (Health Brief, SIDA, Stockholm, 2016), 3, <https://publikationer.sida.se/contentassets/f6e254c1b0674684bd199a109d71a07c/18564.pdf>.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- The BIG should be revisited. It should not be a blanket estimate but a system based on, for example, the recipient's geographic cost of living.
- Grant payments should be distributed through an integrated and digitised system that eliminates the need for long queues and reduces inefficiencies in the system.
- Fiscal relief programmes should extend to refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa as their basic human needs and dignity also matter.
- Social protection should be destigmatised through an awareness and civic education campaign that explains the social and economic benefits of the social protection system.
- Government should finalise and legislate the NHI Bill.
- Government should use the findings from the NHI pilot sites to address issues related to financing, human resources, information technology and quality in the finalisation of the NHI Bill.
- The financing structure and timelines for NHI implementation need to be adhered to and monitored.
- The health services benefits package must be inclusive of adolescent and youth health needs.
- All schools across the country must be adequately resourced to deliver on the constitutional mandate to protect children's rights.
- Government should actively seek to engage young people on the implementation of the NHI, both as experts and patients.
- Government needs to be clearer in its communication of the implications of the NHI on the private sector, particularly focusing on the human resource imbalance in the private and public sectors.
- Considering the National Adolescent and Youth Health Policy Plan, all high schools should have clinics stationed throughout the year to bring access to health care and education closer to the youth. This should include the roll-out of inclusive and comprehensive sexuality education.
- SRHR programming in religious and community-based organisations should be promoted.

## CHAPTER 6



# Economic Empowerment

The issue relates to the Economic Governance and Management thematic area, specifically:

### » OBJECTIVE 1

#### **Design and implement economic policies for sustainable development**

*Question 1 Describe the economic vision/policy of the country. What are the key challenges in realising this economic vision?*

*Question 2 What sectoral economic policies has your country developed and implemented to promote economic growth and sustainable development in the past 5-10 years and what has been their effectiveness?*

**« To accelerate progress, deepen democracy and build a more inclusive society, South Africa must translate political emancipation into economic wellbeing for all »»**

National Development Plan 2030, ch. 2, ss. 27

Government of South Africa, "National Development Plan", 14

The OECD defines economic empowerment as 'the capacity of women and men to participate in, contribute to and benefit from growth processes in ways that recognise the value of their contributions, respect their dignity and make it possible to negotiate a fairer distribution of the benefits of growth.'<sup>137</sup>

In the early 1990s, when the country was ushering in democracy, the main struggle was for political freedom, self-governance and autonomy. It was believed that this political power would equate or eventually translate into economic inclusion and self-determination. Unfortunately, economic empowerment remains a long way off for many citizens, evidenced by the axes of inequality, unemployment and poverty.

## Inequality

South Africa holds the unfortunate distinction of being one of the world's most unequal societies, with a Gini coefficient of 0.623 in 2015.<sup>138</sup> The underlying condition of inequality, one of apartheid's most stubborn legacies, is key to understanding the complexity of the country's economic environment. South Africa continues to operate in a dual economy where the poorest 50% have an average net wealth less than ZAR 16,000 (roughly \$1,080), while the richest 10% of South Africans, by comparison, have an average net wealth of ZAR 2.8 million (roughly \$188,745) per person. The top 1% have an average net wealth of ZAR 17.8 million per person (roughly \$1.2 million).<sup>139</sup>

South Africa has a fragile middle class, by definition and mobility. Due to high levels of inequality, definitions of middle class vary. In 2016, one South African economist described the middle class as those in a four-person household with a total income of between ZAR 5,600 and ZAR 40,000 (\$377 and \$2,700), after tax.<sup>140</sup> A 2020 study pegged the middle and upper middle class as individuals earning a monthly salary of between ZAR 22,000 and ZAR 75,000 (\$1,480 and \$5,055). The study saw a drop in the

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137 OECD, 'Women's Economic Empowerment', <https://www.oecd.org/social/gender-development/womenseconomicempowerment.htm>.

138 World Bank, *Overcoming Poverty and Inequality in South Africa - An Assessment of Drivers, Constraints and Opportunities* (Washington: World Bank, 2018) <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/530481521735906534/pdf/124521-REV-OUO-South-Africa-Poverty-and-Inequality-Assessment-Report-2018-FINAL-WEB.pdf>; The Gini-coefficient is a measure of income inequality that provides a figure between 0 (perfect equality) to 1 (perfect inequality).

139 Imran Valodia and David Francis, 'South Africa needs to mitigate the worst of its inequalities in tackling coronavirus' *University of the Witwatersrand*, April 5 2020, <https://www.wits.ac.za/scis/publications/opinion/coronavirus-inequality/>.

140 'How Much Money You Need to be Middle Class in South Africa,' *Business Tech*, February 3, 2016, <https://businesstech.co.za/news/wealth/111285/how-much-money-you-need-to-be-middle-class-in-south-africa/>.

number of middle or upper middle class South Africans from 5.3 million in 2017 to 2.3 million in June 2020. This is further evidence of South Africa's widening inequality gap.<sup>141</sup>

According to Statistics South Africa's most recent data, by 2015 household expenditure and income were still heavily influenced by gender and race. The average annual income for individuals living in male-headed households was ZAR 38,180 (\$2,574). The figure was ZAR 18,406 (\$1,240) for those living in female-headed households. The per capita mean annual expenditure for black Africans was ZAR 9,186 (\$619), whereas the white population group had an annual mean expenditure of ZAR 100,205 (\$6,755).<sup>142</sup> The figures are even more bleak for members of the LGBTQ+ community. Data from Statistics South Africa shows gender non-conforming heterosexuals, homosexual and bisexual men are paid on average 30% less than gender confirming heterosexual men in similar roles.<sup>143</sup>

One of the measures that South Africa adopted in an attempt to address the racialised nature of inequality was the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act in 2003. The act provided codes to help quantify the levels of inclusivity within organisations and prescribed penalties in the absence of compliance. Their implementation, however, has been largely unsuccessful. Between 2008 and 2018, there was a decrease in the number of black people in top management roles and only a small increase in representation at senior management.<sup>144</sup>

## Poverty

Since 1994, South Africa has made great strides in reducing poverty. However in 2018, nearly half of the country was still considered chronically poor.<sup>145</sup> This has been exacerbated by COVID-19 and while the full impact of the pandemic is unknown, a study by Stellenbosch University found that two out of every five participants interviewed lost their main source of income since the nationwide lockdown started in March 2020. Almost 50% of participants said they had run out of money to buy food in April 2020,

141 Ntombiyi Mqgashiyo (@yomgqashiyo), 'The number of skilled strugglers (R8k - 21k pm per household) and middle classes: both lower (R22k - 40k pm) and upper middle class (R41-74k) has been plummeting. While survivors (R3.5k-R7k) and ultra poor (less than R3.5k) has been exponentially growing. That's JZ's legacy,' Twitter, October 8, 2020, <https://twitter.com/yomgqashiyo/status/1321276108738908163/photo/1>.

142 Statistics South Africa, *Inequality Trends: A Multidimensional Diagnostic of Inequality* (Pretoria: Statistics South Africa, 2019), 27, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-10-19/Report-03-10-192017.pdf>.

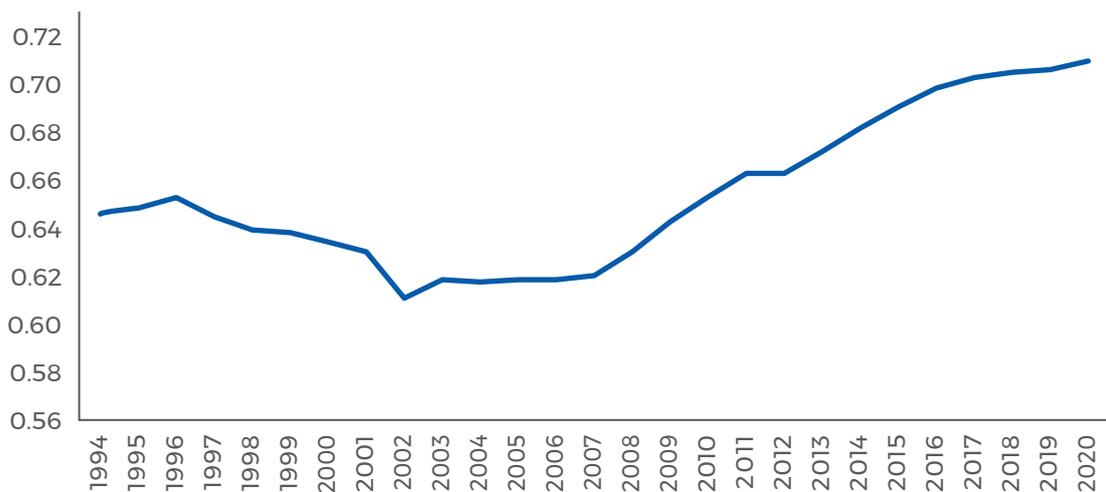
143 S.N. Nyeck and Debra Shepherd, *The Economic Cost of LGBT Stigma and Discrimination in South Africa* (UCLA Williams Institute, 2019), 3, <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Cost-Discrim-So-Africa-Dec-2019.pdf>.

144 Athandiwe Saba, 'Has BEE been a dismal failure?' *Mail & Guardian*, August 31, 2018, <https://mg.co.za/article/2018-08-31-00-has-bee-been-a-dismal-failure/>.

145 World Bank, 'Overcoming Poverty', xviii.

with at least one member of the household going hungry in the seven days prior to the survey.<sup>146</sup>

**FIGURE 2 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX – SOUTH AFRICA’S TRAJECTORY**



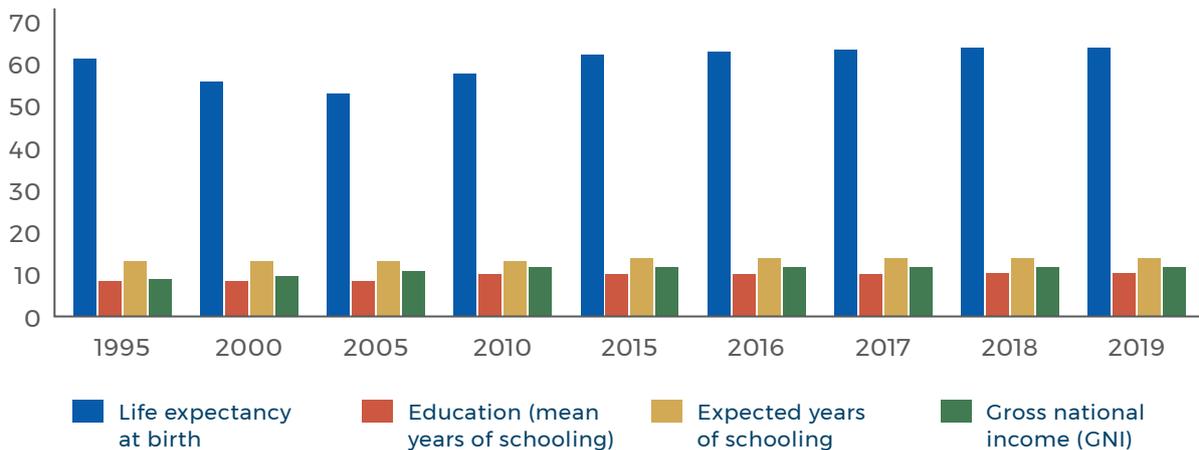
Source: UN Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2019*, (author to add city: UNDP,2019), <http://hdr.undp.org/en/indicators/137506>

Despite these statistics, the above graph shows South Africa’s steady improvement on the Human Development Index (HDI), a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development.<sup>147</sup> After a decline in the late-1990s and early 2000s – linked to a drop in life expectancy due to HIV/AIDS – South Africa’s HDI value rose to 0.709, where 0 indicates low levels of human development and 1 indicates high levels.

146 Gabrielle Wills, Leila Patel and Servaas van der Berg, ‘South Africa Faces Mass Hunger if Efforts to Offset Impact Of COVID-19 are Eased,’ *The Conversation*, July 26, 2020, <https://theconversation.com/south-africa-faces-mass-hunger-if-efforts-to-offset-impact-of-covid-19-are-eased-143143>.

147 Indicators are inequality, poverty, gender, human security, income/composition of resources, work, employability and vulnerability, environmental sustainability, trade, education, health, demography, socio-economic sustainability, mobility and communication.

**FIGURE 3 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDICATOR – PER COMPONENT**



Source: UNDP, "Human Development Report 2019"

While South Africa scores relatively high in areas such as trade and financial flows, mobility and communication, and gender, areas that need urgent attention are poverty, inequality, education and environmental sustainability.

## Unemployment

Labour market dynamics play a significant role in South Africa's income inequality, in terms of wage differentials among the employed as well as the substantial portion of adults who are not economically active.<sup>148</sup> In 2017, the percentage of employed adults between the ages of 15 to 64 years stood at 43.4%. In February 2020, that number had risen to nearly 57% but by June 2020 had again decreased to about 48%.<sup>149</sup> COVID-19 played a major role in whittling away some of the gains South Africa had made in addressing unemployment, pushing the narrow unemployment rate to 32.5% and the expanded unemployment rate, which includes discouraged work seekers, to 42.6%.<sup>150</sup>

148 Statistics South Africa, "Inequality Trends".

149 Statistics South Africa, "Inequality Trends"; Vimal Ranchod and Reza Daniels, "Labour Market Dynamics in South Africa in the Time of COVID-19: Evidence from Waves 1 and 2 of the NIDS CRAM Survey" (13, Wave 2, National Income Dynamics Study, Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit, 2020), 1, [https://cramsurvey.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/13.-Ranchod-V.-\\_Daniels-R.-2020-Labour-market-dynamics-in-South-Africa-in-the-time-of-COVID-19-Evidence-from-Waves-1-and-2-of-the-NIDS-CRAM-survey.pdf](https://cramsurvey.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/13.-Ranchod-V.-_Daniels-R.-2020-Labour-market-dynamics-in-South-Africa-in-the-time-of-COVID-19-Evidence-from-Waves-1-and-2-of-the-NIDS-CRAM-survey.pdf).

150 Statistics South Africa, "Quarterly Labour Force Survey".

Youth and women have been severely economically impacted by the pandemic. In the first quarter of 2020, young people aged 15 to 34 years accounted for 63.3% of the total number of unemployed people.<sup>151</sup> Three million jobs have been shed since the start of the pandemic and poor, rural, less educated women have been the biggest losers. The decline in employment was 10 times higher for the poorest 50% of workers compared to the richest 25% of workers. There are early indications from Statistics South Africa that some of these jobs have been permanently lost.<sup>152</sup> There is also growing concern over the rise in unemployed matriculants and graduates.<sup>153</sup>

One of the biggest challenges for youth in South Africa is that they are often viewed as consumers rather than potential drivers of the country's economy. The lack of economic opportunities for South African youth explains why many are still reliant on government for support in the form of social welfare. Regrettably, there is little the youth themselves can do to address the problem. Education, which many cannot afford, has not worked for some and others do not have funding to start their own business. The public service is a significant source of employment in South Africa, accounting for about 13-14% of formal employment, however many youth have lost hope in securing jobs in this sector.<sup>154</sup>

South Africans with disabilities are also disproportionately affected by the country's labour markets. Although the 1998 Employment Equity Act requires that 3% of a workforce consist of employees with disabilities, the target is not enforced and companies rarely meet it.<sup>155</sup>

## Current Policies and Challenges

Addressing South Africa's triple threat of inequality, poverty and unemployment has been a major preoccupation of the country's post-apartheid policy. The first major policy

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151 Statistics South Africa, 'Vulnerability Of Youth in the South African Labour Market', <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=13379>.

152 Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit, "National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS) - Coronavirus Rapid Mobile Survey(CRAM) Synthesis Report - NIDS CRAM Wave 2", (National Income Dynamics Study, Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit, 2020), <https://cramsurvey.org/reports/>; Ranchod and Daniels, "Labour Market Dynamics".

153 Statistics South Africa, 'SA economy sheds 2,2 million jobs in Q2 but unemployment levels drop', <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=13633>.

154 Miriam Altman and Ebrahim-Khali Hassen, "Employment scenarios for the public service in South Africa" (Research report, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, 2007) [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331639693\\_Employment\\_scenarios\\_for\\_the\\_public\\_service\\_in\\_South\\_Africa](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331639693_Employment_scenarios_for_the_public_service_in_South_Africa).

155 'South Africans with Disabilities Overlooked in Employment Targets,' *Rolling Inspiration*, October 12, 2017, <https://www.rollinginspiration.co.za/south-africans-disabilities-overlooked-employment-targets/>.

directive came in the form of the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) that aimed to put South Africa on a long-term sustainable growth path.<sup>156</sup>

This was followed by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy of 1996, an extension of the RDP. The strategy aimed to increase investment from the public and private sector to spur the redistribution of resources and create a climate for an economic growth rate of 5% per annum or more.<sup>157</sup> GEAR was heavily criticised as being excessively 'neoliberal' in form and outcomes.<sup>158</sup> The Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa replaced GEAR in 2006 and moved the focus from macro to micro interventions, with an emphasis on institutions and key projects. These included infrastructure programmes, sector investment (or industrial) strategies and a skills and education initiative.<sup>159</sup>

In 2010, the Department of Economic Development also released the New Growth Path as a response to the 2008 financial crisis. It sought to integrate the goals of sustainable, inclusive development with a focus on economic growth and job creation for youth.<sup>160</sup> The New Growth Path identified five priority areas to create jobs through a series of partnerships between the state and the private sector, namely:

- the green economy;
- agriculture;
- mining;
- manufacturing; and
- tourism.

The New Growth Path has been in operation for over 10 years, during which time some programmes have been successfully implemented. For example, in 2011 government launched the National Youth Chefs Training Programme that saw over 500 learners

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156 Government of South Africa, White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, (Cape Town: Government of South Africa, 1994), <https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/governmentgazetteid16085.pdf>.

157 Statistics South Africa, "Inequality Trends", 11.

158 Judith Gomersall, 'The Gear legacy: Did Gear fail or move South Africa forward in development?,' *Development Southern Africa* 21, no. 2 (2004): 271-288, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/227610912\\_The\\_Gear\\_legacy\\_Did\\_Gear\\_fail\\_or\\_move\\_South\\_Africa\\_forward\\_in\\_development](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/227610912_The_Gear_legacy_Did_Gear_fail_or_move_South_Africa_forward_in_development).

159 Padraig O'Malley, 'Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA)', <https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv02409/04lv02410/05lv02415/06lv02416.htm>.

160 Statistics South Africa, "Inequality Trends".

from across the country graduate as chefs.<sup>161</sup> There is also the Vuk'uzenzele enterprise development programme that focuses on tourism and agriculture.<sup>162</sup> However, much work remains to be done, particularly in the mining industry. With most mines having shut down due to financial difficulties, there has been a marked decline in youth development programmes in this sector.

The New Growth Path was followed by the creation of the National Planning Commission and the development of the NDP in 2012, a 20-year plan to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030. With regards to employment and economic growth, the programme had ambitious goals for 2020, including:<sup>163</sup>

- the creation of five million new jobs between 2010 and 2020;
- the expansion of public employment, with a focus on youth and women: it was expected that public employment would provide the equivalent of two million full-time jobs by 2020; and
- a decline in the unemployment rate from 24.9% in June 2012 to 14% by 2020 to 6% by 2030, which would require an additional 11 million jobs. (It was also expected that total employment would rise from 13 million to 24 million.)

As at May 2021, many of these targets remain unmet and the NDP has been all but disregarded.

Job guarantees have been proposed as one way to address South Africa's unemployment rate.<sup>164</sup> Government has explored the provision of economically motivated job creation through the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP). The EPWP has its roots in the RDP and was introduced in 2003 with the goal of creating 'short-term employment'.<sup>165</sup> While the programme has had some success, in the 2018/2019 financial year it only met 59% of its annual target with 864,514

161 Department of Tourism, 'National Youth Chefs Training Programme', <https://www.tourism.gov.za/CurrentProjects/PastProjects/ChefsTrainingProgramme/Pages/National-Youth-Chefs-Training-Programme.aspx>.

162 South African Government, 'The New Growth Path framework', [https://www.gov.za/about-government/government-programmes/new-growth-path?gclid=CjwKCAiAt9z-BRBCEiWA\\_bWv-AOU3j8BDy7VqG4dCaQotilfKuw18-Z7uFeb5Nv5pWssgov4updV1h0CahMQAvD\\_BwE#](https://www.gov.za/about-government/government-programmes/new-growth-path?gclid=CjwKCAiAt9z-BRBCEiWA_bWv-AOU3j8BDy7VqG4dCaQotilfKuw18-Z7uFeb5Nv5pWssgov4updV1h0CahMQAvD_BwE#).

163 Government of South Africa, "National Development Plan 2030".

164 Annie Lowrey, 'A Promise So Big, Democrats Aren't Sure How to Keep It,' *The Atlantic*, May 11, 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/05/the-democratic-party-wants-to-end-unemployment/560153/>.

165 Mondli Hlatshwayo, 'The Expanded Public Works Programme: Perspectives of Direct Beneficiaries,' *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa* 13, no. 1 (2017): 1-8.

work opportunities created.<sup>166</sup> Within the context of South Africa's already bloated bureaucracy, the EPWP remains a suboptimal tool.

Government has also tried to reduce the unemployment rate through the Youth Employment Initiative and a joint Youth Employment Service programme with big business. The programme, like other youth employment placement programmes, partners with companies to place youth into short-term work opportunities that provide work experience to first time job seekers.<sup>167</sup> The programme leverages government tax incentives like Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment and the Employment Tax Incentive to subsidise companies hiring young people. The challenge to this initiative, however, is that young people are mostly unaware of the programme and it is not accessible to vulnerable youth. Since its introduction in 2018, the programme has created only 47,158 work experiences, against a target of one million.<sup>168</sup>

South Africa has ultimately struggled to meet its economic goals and the COVID-19 pandemic has further amplified this. Though some gains have been made, prior to the pandemic South Africa was nowhere close to its proposed employment and GDP targets. In March 2020, South Africa was downgraded to 'junk status' by Moody's Investors Service, meaning the country's bonds are no longer eligible to be traded in a number of indexes, increasing the cost of borrowing and making it more challenging for the country to acquire the financing necessary to meet its investment goals.<sup>169</sup>

## Looking Ahead

Many of the programmes and policies discussed need to be expanded, with more emphasis on creating sustainable opportunities beyond the short-term EPWP and Community Works Programme opportunities. This could involve an alignment between the different parts of the education and training system, such as work-integrated learning options as well as non-accredited but quality assured training programmes.

Economic empowerment is directly linked to quality education. South Africans living in households headed by someone with higher education spend twice as much as those

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166 Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 'EPWP Phase III job creation: Public Works briefing, with Deputy Minister', <https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/28022/>.

167 See: Yes4Youth, <https://yes4youth.co.za/>.

168 Cayley Clifford, 'REPORT CARD: South African president Ramaphosa's claims about the state of the nation,' *Africa Check*, February 11, 2021, <https://africacheck.org/fact-checks/blog/report-card-south-african-president-ramaphosas-claims-about-state-nation>.

169 Paul Wallace, 'The Price SA Will Pay for Being Downgraded to Junk,' *Business Day*, March 31, 2020, <https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/economy/2020-03-31-the-price-sa-will-pay-for-being-downgraded-to-junk/>.

headed by someone with a matric qualification. Women with no education earn 54.4% of the income earned by their male counterparts, while women with high school or tertiary education earn 68.2% and 63.1% respectively of their male counterparts' average income.<sup>170</sup> Education therefore remains an important factor in changing empowerment trajectories and should remain a key tool against unemployment and inequality.

South Africans require an education system that equally values skills training, technical training, apprenticeship and academic training. It is also important to acknowledge that education is not a substitute for skills. Schooling is not a reliable indicator of capabilities and there should be more focus on skills-based institutions that are as important as traditional learning establishments. Skills training approaches have been more effective in developed countries that have well-established apprenticeship systems (such as Germany, Switzerland and Austria) and in developing countries where it is linked to some form of workplace learning.<sup>171</sup>

Any policies introduced also need to reach vulnerable communities. One way to do this is through local economic development, an approach that allows and encourages local communities to work together to achieve sustainable economic growth and development, thereby bringing economic benefits and improved quality of life to all residents. For example, YouthBuild is a community-based National Youth Service programme that offers volunteers a comprehensive curriculum that integrates academic achievement, work experience, social action, leadership development and personal transformation in a single project.<sup>172</sup>

Entrepreneurship has also been identified as one of the leading ways to tackle unemployment. In 2018, 250,000 small and medium enterprises accounted for 28% of formal jobs in the economy.<sup>173</sup> However, South Africa has low levels of entrepreneurial activity relative to other developing countries.<sup>174</sup> Government has prioritised the sector as a future area for growth and announced a ZAR 513 million (nearly \$34.6 million) debt relief scheme to support entrepreneurs during the COVID-19 pandemic. However, by October 2020 only 1,497 of the 35,865 applications had been approved.<sup>175</sup>

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170 Statistics South Africa, "Inequality Trends".

171 International Labour Organisation, 'Apprenticeships - Frequently Asked Questions on Apprenticeships', [https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/apprenticeships/WCMS\\_743634/lang-en/index.htm](https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/apprenticeships/WCMS_743634/lang-en/index.htm).

172 See: YouthBuild, <https://youthbuild.org/>.

173 Sonqoba Vuba, 'The missed opportunity: SMMEs in the South African economy,' *Mail & Guardian*, April 12, 2019, <https://mg.co.za/article/2019-04-12-00-the-missed-opportunity-smmes-in-the-south-african-economy/>.

174 Zyaan Davids Anter, 'ANALYSIS: Young and unemployed in SA: How to help SMEs create jobs,' *Fin24*, March 4, 2019, <https://www.news24.com/fin24/opinion/analysis-young-and-unemployed-in-sa-how-to-help-smes-create-jobs-20200304>.

175 Department of Small Business Development, 'Covid-19 SMME Relief Funding', <http://www.dsbd.gov.za>.

One major challenge to entrepreneurship in South Africa is a lack of access to funding. Although over 50% of South Africa's entrepreneurs are youth, it has become increasingly difficult to access finance as this group is typically considered high risk.<sup>176</sup> They either do not have appropriate credit scores or are unable to offer collateral to banks and financiers.

In cases where entrepreneurs come from lower and middle income backgrounds, they often do not have access to facilities to manufacture and transport the goods they sell, largely due to their geographic locations. Their physical locations are simply not conducive for business or makes it harder to meet investors or clients. In instances where entrepreneurs do have the facilities necessary to produce their goods and conduct business, markets and product demand may not be enough to bring in any income.

Creating a more equitable economic structure would allow South Africa to pursue the just and equitable society described in its Constitution. The current patterns of economic functioning further entrench the gross inequalities of the system and the COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated this. In further sections of this submission, it becomes clear how significant economic equality is in shaping outcomes for citizens across the board, creating long lasting ripple effects of instability.

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176 'State of entrepreneurship in South Africa,' *Brand South Africa*, August 18, 2017, <https://www.brandsouthafrica.com/investment-s-immigration/state-of-entrepreneurship-in-south-africa>.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- Government, the private sector and NGOs should work together to create paid volunteer opportunities so young people can gain practical work experience.
- Government should enable rapid social mobility through the labour market to create a large middle class, alleviating poverty and inequality.
- Government should conduct more surveys in townships and rural areas to gather information on local economic opportunities and untapped human capabilities.
- Government should ensure that companies pay women in accordance with their profession and not according to race or imagined differences between genders.
- Government should focus on encouraging the development of a social economy through the creation of policies that allow for more non-profit organisations to transition into sustainable social enterprises.
- CSOs should employ more youth.
- The private sector should align internal organisational prerogatives, such as profit-making, with the country's social and economic development goals and objectives.
- The private sector needs to re-introduce educational benefits for children of employees and the nearest previously disadvantaged and/or marginalised community.
- Nepotism and gate-keeping of economic opportunities by politicians should be curbed. Members of the governing party should allow more ordinary youth to gain access to economic opportunities.

## CHAPTER 7



# Institutional Planning

This issue cuts across two thematic areas, specifically:

### ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT

#### » OBJECTIVE 1

#### **Design and implement economic policies for sustainable development**

*Question 2* What sectoral economic policies has your country developed and implemented to promote economic growth and sustainable development in the past 5-10 years and what has been their effectiveness?

*Question 6* What are the major development initiatives undertaken to improve the energy, services, transport and communication infrastructure in your country?

### BROAD-BASED SUSTAINABLE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

#### » OBJECTIVE 1

#### **Promote and accelerate broad-based sustainable socio-economic development.**

*Question 2* What is the capacity of your country to formulate, implement and monitor broad-based sustainable socio-economic development?

*Question 4* What policies and strategies are in place in your country to enhance environmental management and protection for sustainable development?

*Question 5* What are the measures adopted to ensure environmental sustainability and accountability?

**« In some instances, policy change may be necessary, but in most areas, it is about getting the basics rights, implementing government programmes, holding people accountable for their actions and finding innovative solutions to complex challenges »»**

National Development Plan 2030

Government of South Africa, "National Development Plan 2030", 18

The South African Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation defines planning as 'a continuous process which involves decisions or choices made by South African government departments and officials about alternate ways of using available resources with the aim of achieving particular development goals in future.'<sup>177</sup>

Effective institutional planning is at the heart of good governance. It forms the backbone of government decision-making and is a primary tool with which to achieve strategic goals and objectives.

Institutional planning in South Africa is guided mainly by the NDP, the AU Agenda 2063 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). For youth in particular, these are buttressed by local instruments and organisations such as the National Youth Policy (NYP) 2030 and the NYDA.

While South Africa has adopted international institutional planning frameworks and created national long-term planning policies, the effective implementation, monitoring and evaluation of these programmes is up for debate. Although mentioned occasionally in speeches and during dialogues, there are no clear metrics with which to track their progress, making it difficult for the public to hold government to account. This is particularly the case for youth who are often unaware of long-term planning structures and opportunities to meaningfully participate in their implementation. This section explores the status of South Africa's institutional planning structures and suggests ways in which youth could become more involved.

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<sup>177</sup> Government of South Africa, *A concept note on the Institutionalisation of Planning* (Pretoria: Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, 2019), 3, <https://www.dpme.gov.za/keyfocusareas/gwmeSite/GovernmentWide%20M%20and%20E/A%20concept%20note%20on%20Institutionalisation%20of%20Planning%20in%20South%20Africa.pdf>.

## The National Development Plan 2030

The NDP is the principal guiding framework informing South Africa's envisioned development trajectory until 2030. It offers a detailed strategy on poverty elimination and the reduction of inequality in the country. Also delineated in the plan are the critical capabilities necessary to transform potential into productive outcomes for both the economy and society at large, such as a reduction in youth unemployment and the creation of more opportunities for societal growth and development. Among the key priorities outlined in the NDP are:

- uniting all South Africans around a common programme to achieve prosperity and equity;
- promoting active citizenry to strengthen development, democracy and accountability;
- bringing about faster economic growth, higher investment and greater labour absorption;
- focusing on key capabilities of people and the state;
- building a capable and developmental state; and
- encouraging strong leadership throughout society to work together to solve problems.<sup>178</sup>

In 2014, the NDP was translated into 14 outcome areas in the Medium-Term Strategic Framework 2014–2019.<sup>179</sup> The NDP thus offers tangible and measurable goals, with many of the challenges laid out in this submission already clearly defined in the framework. Despite a clear blueprint for sustainable development, implementation of the plan has been sluggish. For example, two of the key goals specified in the NDP are to improve living wages and drastically reduce rates of inequality in the country.<sup>180</sup> Yet in 2019, 25.2% of South Africans remained below the food poverty line, living on ZAR 561 (\$38) per month, and 55.5% of the population lived below the upper bound poverty line of ZAR 1,227 (\$83).<sup>181</sup> South Africa's unemployment rate also continues to rise with youth being the most affected demographic. In June 2019, Statistics South Africa estimated that there were 17.8 million youth aged between 18 and 34 years in South

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178 Government of South Africa, "National Development Plan 2030", 26.

179 Government of South Africa, *Medium-Term Strategic Framework 2014–2019* (Pretoria: 2013), 6 [https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis\\_document/201409/mtsf2014-2019.pdf](https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201409/mtsf2014-2019.pdf).

180 Government of South Africa, "National Development Plan 2030".

181 "This is How Much Money the Poorest are Living on Each Month in South Africa," *Business Tech*, August 1, 2019, <https://business.tech.co.za/news/finance/332553/this-is-how-much-money-the-poorest-are-living-on-each-month-in-south-africa/>.

Africa – approximately one third of the country's population.<sup>182</sup> Youth unemployment amongst this demographic stands at 53% while political representation at parliamentary levels stands at a meagre 11%.<sup>183</sup>

These statistics point to a need for greater youth inclusion and representation in the public sphere. This is critical for the realisation of the development goals and objectives espoused in the NDP. Regrettably, not enough progress has been made in this regard. The imbalance in the representation ratio of the 2015–2020 cohort of NDP commissioners offers an example of this: only one in 12 commissioners was under the age of 35 years. Institutions in South Africa, and indeed throughout the continent, are inherently adult-centric and lack effective youth integration. A more acceptable ratio for the NDP 2020–2025 cohort is closer to 1:2, given the demographic trends in the country.<sup>184</sup>

In addition to greater youth representation, young people in South Africa believe that the NDP will be successfully implemented only when there is visible and improved alignment between interdepartmental plans, budgets and government policies. Government needs to work deliberately alongside other sectors of society, with a focus on developing public-private partnerships. It would also be useful for civil society, NGOs and young people to collaborate in creating awareness campaigns, highlighting how ordinary South Africans can contribute to achieving the vision of the NDP.

## AU Agenda 2063

Many agree that Africa's youth have traditionally been marginalised and excluded from the decision-making process on the continent.<sup>185</sup> Agenda 2063, Africa's blueprint for development, has not succeeded in mainstreaming the needs of African youth and building their capacity to lead and participate meaningfully in continental institutional development processes.

Ratified by AU Member States in 2015, the agenda lays out the following aspirations for the continent by 2063:

- a prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development;

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182 Statistics South Africa, "SA economy sheds 2,2 million jobs".

183 Statistics South Africa, 'General Household Survey, 2018', [http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=12180&gclid=CjwKCAiAt9z-BRBCeIwA\\_bWv-3ejmy4tmYNzg-2OnGCP6FGJXo9EPISgUepNZICT8tMYN6lcik3eBoC8jQQAvD\\_BwE](http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=12180&gclid=CjwKCAiAt9z-BRBCeIwA_bWv-3ejmy4tmYNzg-2OnGCP6FGJXo9EPISgUepNZICT8tMYN6lcik3eBoC8jQQAvD_BwE).

184 Government of South Africa, "National Development Plan 2030".

185 Danielle Resnick and Daniela Casale, 'The Political Participation of Africa's Youth: Turnout, Partisanship, and Protest,' *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (2011): 192–217.

- an integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideals of pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance;
- an Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law;
- a peaceful and secure Africa;
- an Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, shared values and ethics;
- an Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children; and
- Africa as a strong, united and influential global player and partner.<sup>186</sup>

Agenda 2063 provides checkpoints and targets to ensure the above ideals are achieved by 2063. One such target was 'silencing the guns' and eradicating all war in Africa by 2020.<sup>187</sup> A Master Roadmap in 2016 outlined practical steps to meet this goal.<sup>188</sup> These initiatives did not, however, address the underlying issues that lead to conflict on the continent and war remains a reality for many.<sup>189</sup>

Echoing the saying 'nothing about us without us', young people in South Africa believe that without active participation by youth in shaping the future, it would be almost impossible to achieve the outcomes envisioned in Agenda 2063. Youth must be at the core and exist as catalysts for change rather than spectators.

## UN Sustainable Development Goals

In 2015, leaders from 193 countries adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as the global framework for international development over a 15-year period. South Africa was an early supporter of the SDGs and there is a great deal of

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186 AU, 'Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want', <https://au.int/en/agenda2063/overview>.

187 AU, 'Silencing the Guns: Creating Conducive Conditions for Africa's Development', <https://au.int/en/flagships/silencing-guns-2020>.

188 AU, 'Master Roadmap of Practical Steps to Silence the Guns in Africa by Year 2020 (Lusaka Master Roadmap 2016)', <https://au.int/en/documents/20200204/african-union-master-roadmap-practical-steps-silence-guns-africa-year-2020-lusaka>.

189 Wafula Okumu, Andrews Atta-Asamoah and Roba D Sharamo, "Silencing the Guns in Africa by 2020 - Achievements, Opportunities and Challenges" (Monograph 203, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, 2020), <https://issafrica.org/research/monographs/silencing-the-guns-in-africa-by-2020-achievements-opportunities-and-challenges>.

convergence between the SDGs and the NDP, with one study noting a similarity of 74% between the two policies.<sup>190</sup> The SDGs prioritise the following 17 goals:<sup>191</sup>

<b>1</b> No Poverty	<b>2</b> Zero Hunger	<b>3</b> Good Health and Well-being	<b>4</b> Quality Education
<b>5</b> Gender Equality	<b>6</b> Clean Water and Sanitation	<b>7</b> Affordable and Clean Energy	<b>8</b> Decent Work and Economic Growth
<b>9</b> Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure	<b>10</b> Reduced Inequality	<b>11</b> Sustainable Cities and Communities	<b>12</b> Responsible Consumption and Production
<b>13</b> Climate Action	<b>14</b> Life Below Water	<b>15</b> Life on Land	<b>16</b> Peace Justice and Strong Institutions
<b>17</b> Partnerships to achieve the Goals			

South Africa has made considerable headway in achieving goals 4, 8, 10, 13 and 16 with improved access and greater funding in education, a legislated minimum wage, the adoption of policies to reduce inequalities, the submission of its nationally determined contribution as part of the Paris Agreement and the strengthening of the legal system.<sup>192</sup> However, there remains considerable work to do.

## National Youth Development Agency

The NYDA was established in 2008 with a primary mandate to address challenges faced by people aged 15–35 years in South Africa. One obstacle in this regard is that the needs of young people in this age group are by no means homogenous.

190 Government of South Africa, *South Africa's Implementation Of The 2030 Agenda For Sustainable Development "Solving Complex Challenges Together"*, *Voluntary National Review report* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 2019), 7, [https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/23402SOUTH\\_AFRICA\\_RSA\\_Voluntary\\_National\\_Review\\_Report\\_Final\\_14\\_June\\_2019.pdf](https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/23402SOUTH_AFRICA_RSA_Voluntary_National_Review_Report_Final_14_June_2019.pdf).

191 UN, '#Envision2030: 17 Goals to Transform the World for Persons with Disabilities', <https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/envision2030.html>.

192 Government of South Africa, "Sustainable Development Goal in South Africa, Voluntary National Review" (presentation, High-level Political Forum, New York, July 17, 2019), [https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/24474SA\\_VNR\\_Presentation\\_HLPF\\_17\\_July\\_2019\\_copy.pdf](https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/24474SA_VNR_Presentation_HLPF_17_July_2019_copy.pdf).

In July 2020, public interviews for a new NYDA board were held.<sup>193</sup> One common piece of feedback from the candidates was a concern that young people did not know enough about the NYDA and felt let down by the institution. The agency's focus on entrepreneurship and grant disbursement has resulted in the widespread perception that it is a funding institution rather than a government organ aimed at advocating for youth matters. It is said to have failed in championing youth issues such as GBV, particularly violence against women, a review of the basic and higher education curriculums, mental illnesses, SRHR, youth inclusion in public service and governance, bridging the generational gap, gender mainstreaming, child marriage, LGBTQ+ rights, human trafficking and a host of other pertinent issues.<sup>194</sup>

Further criticisms of the organisation relate to the appointment process for board members, facilitated by Parliament every three years. The 2020 process was condemned by the South African Youth Council (SAYC) for being highly nepotistic, with the board being predominantly composed of youth with strong ties to the ruling African National Congress (ANC).<sup>195</sup> Despite more transparency and a wider range of non-politically aligned youth than in previous years, Parliament still received a majorly partisan leaning list. As a result, Parliament referred the list back to the Portfolio Committee on Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities in September 2020, noting that the recommendations were not representative of South Africa's youth demographic.<sup>196</sup>

The agency is viewed as prioritising the interests of youth directly aligned with the ANC as opposed to youth in general. The SAYC, the South African Youth Chamber and some young people part of the interview process, have called for a review of the NYDA Act to allow for the professionalisation of the NYDA and detachment from its political ties with the ruling party.<sup>197</sup> Moreover, there have been cases of irregular expenditure and misappropriation of funds in the organisation, in addition to concerns that a very

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193 Babalo Ndenze, 'Parliament Starts Interviews For Nyda Board,' *Eyewitness News*, July 27, 2020, <https://ewn.co.za/2020/07/27/parliament-starts-interviews-for-nyda-board>.

194 Nhlanhla Mosele, 'Reflecting on the NYDA and the challenges of the present youth,' *Voices360*, June 6, 2019, <https://www.voices360.com/education/reflecting-on-the-nyda-and-the-challenges-of-the-present-youth>; Ayanda Mthethwa, 'Industry experts caution government about shortcomings of the Draft National Youth Policy,' *Daily Maverick*, June 29, 2020, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-06-29-industry-experts-caution-government-about-shortcomings-of-the-draft-national-youth-policy/>.

195 Ccina Ntsaluba, 'Youth structures oppose 'rigged' NYDA board list,' *City Press*, August 9, 2020, <https://www.news24.com/citypress/news/youth-structures-oppose-rigged-nyda-board-list-20200808>.

196 Democratic Alliance, 'DA welcomes Parliament's decision to refer the NYDA board recommendation report back to the Portfolio Committee,' press release, September 03, 2020, <https://www.da.org.za/2020/09/da-welcomes-parliaments-decision-to-refer-the-nyda-board-recommendation-report-back-to-the-portfolio-committee>.

197 Tolika Sibiyi, 'The youth policy review process is a moment of hope for young people,' *City Press*, March 18, 2020, <https://www.news24.com/citypress/voices/the-youth-policy-review-process-is-a-moment-of-hope-for-young-people-20200318>.

large proportion of the NYDA budget is reserved for salaries as opposed to actual youth development programming.<sup>198</sup>

## National Youth Policy

Like the NDP, the NYP was created with the goal of redressing the wrongs of the past and addressing the specific challenges and immediate needs of the country's youth. Although extensive and robust consultations with young people were held in the creation of the policy, this has not resulted in any tangible change on the ground. Another issue relates to the lack of harmony between organisations like the NYDA, the SAYC and Presidential Youth Working Groups, resulting in a lack of clear leadership and shared purpose nationally.

The success (or lack thereof) of the NYP demonstrates the challenge facing many of South Africa's policies – while impressive on paper, they fall short when it comes to implementation and monitoring and evaluation. Many policies also fail to include consequences for when targets are unmet.

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198 Shanti Aboobaker, 'NYDA's R133m in irregular expenditure,' *Independent Online*, September 23, 2012, <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/nydas-r133m-in-irregular-expenditure-1388804>.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- A holistic and comprehensive youth responsive planning, budgeting, monitoring, evaluation and auditing framework should be developed.
- The framework should provide clear indicators and targets that measure the level of youth engagement and representation.
- The framework should track youth responsiveness in the implementation of various action plans such as the SDGs, Agenda 2030, the NYP and the NDP.
- A multi-stakeholder platform with a youth majority, including government, civil society and other relevant stakeholders, that reviews and measures youth responsiveness of all national and international planning frameworks should be established.
- Intergenerational co-leadership at all levels of governance should be institutionalised. Young people should be integrated into existing high-level structures by granting them observer status.
- National guidelines on meaningful youth engagement should be developed. This could mainstream youth development outcomes in the public service sector.
- Youth quotas for the public service sector should be established to ensure youth representation in public sector boards and leadership structures. Appointments should be based on merit as opposed to political affiliation.
- The Presidential Youth Working Groups should be revitalised through the appointment of youth advisory boards for each department at national and provincial level. The boards should comprise of experienced, qualified young people aged 14–35 years who will champion youth-led efforts to hold government to account.
- A ministry of youth that can manage the interdepartmental youth directorates and work to drive policy in collaboration with the NYDA and other implementing agencies should be established.
- National and provincial youth parliaments should be institutionalised, transforming them from once-off events to more structured bodies that track youth-focused parliamentary activities.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- Provincial youth commissioners who will serve as points of contact akin to the role of an ombudsman, assisting youth with queries relating to government's youth agenda and activities, should be instituted.
- The overlapping mandates of institutions such as the NYDA, SAYC and the Presidential Youth Working Groups should be harmonised.
- Local government implementation strategies for the NYP should be created.
- The process of appointment of the NYDA board and its staff should be revised to consider more representation of marginalised groups such as the LGBTQ+ community and people with disabilities.
- The professionalisation of the NYDA should be ensured by eliminating political influence in the appointment of the board and executive. Appointments should be based on merit.

## CHAPTER 8



# Land and Housing

This issue relates to the Broad-Based Sustainable Socio-Economic Development thematic area, specifically:

### » OBJECTIVE 1

#### Promote and accelerate broad-based sustainable socioeconomic development

*Question 1 Describe the policies and strategies formulated by your country to promote and accelerate broad-based sustainable socio-economic development.*

*Question 2 What is the capacity of your country to formulate, implement and monitor broad-based sustainable socio-economic development?*

### » OBJECTIVE 3

#### Poverty, unemployment and inequality

*Question 1 What policies and strategies has government put in place to reduce poverty and inequality, particularly in terms of access to resources and basic services?*

**« The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis »»**

The topic of land and housing in South Africa is complex, involving a convergence of issues ranging from socio-economic rights and economic opportunity to culture and tradition. The ongoing challenges around land in South Africa stem from policies that were developed by the colonial government and later the apartheid government. For example, the 1913 Natives Land Act gave way for legal processes that led to the forceful removal of millions of black South Africans from land that they owned.<sup>199</sup> By 1994, nearly 14% of all land was demarcated as homelands or 'Bantustans' – territory set aside for black inhabitants of South Africa – with the remaining 86% of land demarcated as 'white South Africa.'<sup>200</sup> Such policies gave rise to patterns of unequal distribution of land, which are still skewed to favour the white minority in the country today.

The process of land justice in South Africa fits into three separate categories: redistribution, restitution and land tenure.

- Redistribution aims to ensure that people have access to land for agricultural production, settlement and non-agricultural enterprises.<sup>201</sup>
- Restitution addresses families dispossessed after 19 June 1913. Parties can lodge a claim against the state (not the landowner) and the state pays the landowners to take over the land, eventually transferring it to the claimants.<sup>202</sup>
- Tenure security aims to provide more security for citizens who live outside of formal tenure rights.<sup>203</sup>

The NDP also contains a number of ambitious goals around land justice. It aims to achieve the following by 2030:

- create more jobs through agricultural development, based on effective land reform and the growth of irrigated agriculture and land production;

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199 Leepo Modise and Ndikho Mtshiselwa, 'The Natives Land Act of 1913 engineered the poverty of Black South Africans: a historico-ecclesiastical perspective,' *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 39, no. 2 (2013): 1-11, <http://www.scielo.org.za/pdf/she/v39n2/20.pdf>.

200 Thembela Kepe and Ruth Hall, *Land Redistribution in South Africa*, (Pretoria: Parliament of South Africa, 2016), [https://www.parliament.gov.za/storage/app/media/Pages/2017/october/High\\_Level\\_Panel/Commissioned\\_Report\\_Land/Commissioned\\_Report\\_on\\_Land\\_Redistribution\\_Kepe\\_and\\_Hall.pdf](https://www.parliament.gov.za/storage/app/media/Pages/2017/october/High_Level_Panel/Commissioned_Report_Land/Commissioned_Report_on_Land_Redistribution_Kepe_and_Hall.pdf); Education and Training Unit, 'Land Reform', <http://www.etu.org.za/toolbox/docs/government/land.html>.

201 Education and Training Unit, "Land Reform".

202 Mercedes Stickler, "Brief: Land Restitution in South Africa" (Lesson 2, Landesa, Seattle, 2012), <https://gatesopenresearch.org/documents/3-688>.

203 Education and Training Unit, "Land Reform".

- create tenure security for communal farmers, especially women, and investigate different forms of financing and vesting of private property rights to land reform beneficiaries that does not hamper those with a high debt burden;
- activate rural economies through improved infrastructure and service delivery, a review of land tenure, service to small and micro farmers, a review of mining industry commitments to social investment, and tourism investment;
- develop a strategy for densification of cities and resource allocation to promote better located housing and settlements;
- introduce mechanisms that would make land markets work more effectively for the poor and support rural and urban livelihoods; and
- reform the current planning system for improved coordination.

The NDP goals on land and agriculture demonstrate an understanding of the issues as complex and connected to governance, livelihoods and ownership. Although the ideas are progressive, government's implementation of land reform policies has fallen short of expectations. For example, of the 30% of communal land (24.6 million ha) that government had set out to distribute in 1994, only 5.2% (5.3 million ha) had been distributed by March 2009. Moreover, over 4,000 rural restitution claims had not been processed by 2009.<sup>204</sup>

The NDP vision to create sustainable human settlements and improve the household quality of life therefore remains elusive for millions of urban South Africans who live in precarious conditions and are faced with the threat of homelessness. While human settlement policies, such as the Upgrading Informal Settlements, Breaking New Ground and Community Residential Units policies, have improved urban housing conditions and homelessness, a number of challenges persist. Redressing the legacies of colonialism and apartheid will not be complete without ensuring equitable access to land and housing for all citizens of the country.

## Access to Land

The 1913 Natives Land Act meant that the black majority were only allowed to own 7% of total land area in the country. In 1936, the percentage of land allocation was increased to 13% through the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act of South Africa. Even with the increase, black South Africans in urban areas were forced to occupy poorly planned township

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204 Karin Kleinbooi, *Review of land reforms in Southern Africa* (Cape Town: Institute for Poverty Land and Agrarian Studies, 2010).

areas. In rural areas, black South Africans were forced into homelands that were in poor condition and could support very little agricultural productivity, compared to white South Africans. This marked the beginning of the socio-economic challenges we continue to face in South Africa today. Inequity persists in relation to land access, with race, gender, age and location often being deciding factors.

For example, former homelands continue to suffer the worst poverty in South Africa with levels of deprivation far higher than the rest of the country. Over one third of South Africans live in former homelands and a large proportion of those citizens are economically marginalised.<sup>205</sup> A 2020 study by the Institute of Labour Economics found that there was a 24% difference between unemployment rates across the rest of the country and those in homelands, with rates that decreased the closer residents were to the boundary lines of former homelands.<sup>206</sup> The lack of secure property rights increases the vulnerability of low-income communities. The Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act provides a mechanism for more equitable planning but has thus far been unable to alter historic land use patterns.<sup>207</sup>

Unsurprisingly, black South Africans are the most affected demographic. Land reform policies have not aided the expected beneficiaries, with current estimates showing that around 72% of private farms and agricultural holdings remain in the hands of white people. This equals 22% of the total land in South Africa. Black South Africans own 4% of all private farms and agricultural holdings – just 1% of the total land in the country.<sup>208</sup> It does not help that the land reform budget has consistently remained under 1% of the national budget.<sup>209</sup>

Among black South Africans, women are the most vulnerable, particularly those living in rural communities. This is an unfortunate reality when one considers that women comprise the majority of smallholder farmers and are significant contributors to household food security.<sup>210</sup> Moreover, for women in rural areas, land tenure goes

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205 Government of South Africa, "National Development Plan 2030", 37.

206 Prudence Kwenda, Miracle Ntuli and Gibson Mudiriza, "Former Homeland Areas and Unemployment in South Africa: A Decomposition Approach" (Discussion Paper, Institute of Labor Economics, Bonn, 2020), 10, <http://ftp.iza.org/dp12941.pdf>.

207 Parliament of South Africa, *Report Of The High Level Panel On The Assessment Of Key Legislation and the Acceleration of Fundamental Change* (Pretoria: Parliament of South Africa, 2017), 33, [https://www.parliament.gov.za/storage/app/media/Pages/2017/october/High\\_Level\\_Panel/HLP\\_Report/HLP\\_report.pdf](https://www.parliament.gov.za/storage/app/media/Pages/2017/october/High_Level_Panel/HLP_Report/HLP_report.pdf).

208 Liesl Pretorius and Gopolang Makou, 'Frequently asked questions about land ownership and demand in South Africa,' *Africa Check*, April 25, 2019, <https://africacheck.org/fact-checks/factsheets/frequently-asked-questions-about-land-ownership-and-demand-south-africa>.

209 Parliament of South Africa, "Report Of The High Panel", 51.

210 Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN, 'Women's contributions to agricultural production and food security: Current status and perspectives', <http://www.fao.org/3/x0198e/x0198e02.htm>.

hand in hand with access to and ownership of land, which remains one-sided due to discriminative socio-cultural dynamics, limited economic opportunities and a lack of decision-making power. One recent example of this is the case of rural women in KZN suing the Ingonyama Trust for attempting to confiscate their land.<sup>211</sup> The group of women claim they were tricked into signing leases on their ancestral land by the Ingonyama Trust. This is one of several land disputes between rural communities in KZN and the Ingonyama Trust, with most of the victims being impoverished women. The situation is not helped by the disconnect in the overall implementation of gender policies, limiting women's inclusion in land issues.<sup>212</sup> Existing customary and statutory laws should seek to redress such gender imbalances.

Despite the extension of the Security of Tenure Act and the Labour Tenant Act, the proportion of farm workers who lost their land rights is higher than the proportion that have gained tenure security. The Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act, which regulates evictions in urban settlements, is currently under review. One concern regarding its amendment is that it may reduce tenure security, especially in rural areas. It could also see an increased number of people being excluded from its mandate, thereby allowing landowners to issue eviction notices more easily and frequently.<sup>213</sup>

Over the past few years, land has become an increasingly politically charged issue in South Africa. Through efforts by political parties and lobby groups, land ownership has gained a renewed sense of importance for individuals and communities, prompting new action by government. In 2018, President Ramaphosa appointed an Advisory Panel on Land Reform meant to support the Inter-Ministerial Committee (IMC). The main objective of the panel is to advise the IMC on policies related to land reform, including restitution, redistribution, tenure security and agricultural support.

The panel provided an extensive report with numerous recommendations on how to reconfigure the current system of land redistribution and ownership so that it meets the needs of citizens from an economic, restorative and spiritual perspective. It identified seven factors as critical for the success of any land reform programme: 1) a shared vision for land reform, 2) a capable state, 3) enabling participation of communities and the private sector, 4) a commitment to implementation, 5) curbing corruption, 6) managing

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211 Chris Makhaye, 'Rural women take the Ingonyama Trust to court,' *Mail & Guardian*, December 7, 2020, <https://mg.co.za/news/2020-12-07-rural-women-take-the-ingonyama-trust-to-court/>.

212 Kleinbooi, "Review of land reforms".

213 Kleinbooi, "Review of land reforms".

social and economic risks to allay negative impacts and fears and 7) communicating to manage mis-perceptions and build solidarity.<sup>214</sup>

The panel has also noted that the Restitution Act of 1975 preceded the 1996 Constitution and therefore does not align with its transformative mandate. It proposed that the Expropriation Act of 1975 be replaced. The new bill, introduced in October 2020, is more aligned with government's plan to redistribute land for agricultural purposes.<sup>215</sup> Since the announcement, government has initiated the process of creating a new law which will ensure that land expropriation is aligned with the Constitution. This process has not been without controversy. The decision to expropriate land without compensation has attracted criticism from South Africa's official opposition party – the Democratic Alliance – as well as several lobby groups. Concerns include that expropriation could derail South Africa's already fragile economy and will threaten property ownership rights.<sup>216</sup> The Expropriation Bill, however, states that land can only be expropriated without compensation if it is in the public interest.<sup>217</sup>

Young people have a large stake in decisions about land and agriculture. Due to the costs associated with both, young people are often ignored as stakeholders. For example, there are currently no policies aimed at engaging youth in land ownership. If real amends are to be made, youth must adopt a proactive approach by participating in the land reform discourse. In addition to the integrated rural development plans that target agriculture as a vehicle for rural economic development, access to land should also be viewed as a resource that will speak to other forms of development. For example, secure land tenure could assist in tackling the social, economic and financial exclusion faced by women and young people.

Local communities also have a role to play. They best understand the issues and dynamics of land ownership and while land tenure reform is primarily a state issue, civil society and private sector participation can ensure that policies and interventions are tailored to the needs of people on the ground.

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214 Government of South Africa, *Final Report of the Presidential Advisory Panel on Land Reform and Agriculture* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 2019), 101, [https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis\\_document/201907/panelreportlandreform\\_0.pdf](https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201907/panelreportlandreform_0.pdf).

215 Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 'Expropriation Bill: briefing by Department of Public Works & Infrastructure, with Minister', <https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/31565/>.

216 Democratic Alliance, 'Protect your ownership rights', <https://petitions.da.org.za/p/protectownershiprights>.

217 Government of South Africa, *Expropriation Bill* (Pretoria: Department of Public Works and Infrastructure, 2020), 2.

## Housing, Water and Sanitation

One major challenge with the provision of adequate housing is that because the focus of redistribution policies have been on rural and agrarian land, government has failed to meaningfully address the land needs of urban South Africans.<sup>218</sup> Although government has provided 4.7 million housing opportunities since 1994,<sup>219</sup> the consistently growing urban population creates a housing target that is in flux. More than 64% of the country's population is currently concentrated in urban centres and this figure is projected to increase to over 71% by 2030.<sup>220</sup>

As the urban population grows, an increasing demand for housing is to be expected. This largely affects low- and middle-income earners who have limited access to the formal housing market and are more vulnerable to income losses. For example, during South Africa's COVID-19 lockdown, many urban residents across the country lost their income and were subsequently evicted from their homes (despite a moratorium on evictions). This was the reality for residents of backyard dwellings in Makhaza, Cape Town. In need of shelter, residents erected shack structures and occupied land in Empolweni, forming a new informal settlement with no access to essential services.<sup>221</sup>

While South Africa's government subsidy housing programme has been one of the most successful government mass housing projects, its progress has stalled considerably in recent years.<sup>222</sup> There is a backlog of 2.3 million houses and 26% of urban residents still live in inadequate conditions in informal settlements.<sup>223</sup> Moreover, due to the financial pressures of COVID-19, the Department of Human Settlements has informed provinces that it will no longer support new housing projects, except for those benefiting elderly people and military veterans.<sup>224</sup> Existing vulnerabilities in the housing market have now created new challenges, with implications for government's constitutional obligation 'to

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218 Parliament of South Africa, "Report Of The High Panel", 221.

219 Liesl Pretorius, 'Frequently asked questions about housing in South Africa,' *Africa Check*, April 9, 2019, <https://africacheck.org/fact-checks/factsheets/frequently-asked-questions-about-housing-south-africa>.

220 Statistics South Africa, 'Community Survey 2016', <http://cs2016.statssa.gov.za/>.

221 Barry Christianson, 'Lockdown means 'eviction' for many back-yard dwellers,' *New Frame*, April 23, 2020, <https://www.newframe.com/lockdown-means-eviction-for-many-backyard-dwellers/>.

222 The Fuller Center for Housing, "Housing Delivery in South Africa" (Draft Report, Fuller Center for Housing, Cape Town, 2014), 3, <https://fullercenter.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/default/files/Housing%20delivery%20-%20South%20Africa.pdf>.

223 Esteri Msindo, "Housing backlog: Protests and the demand for Housing in South Africa" (presentation, Public Service Accountability Monitor, Pretoria, 2017), 4, <https://psam.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Housing-backlog.pdf>.

224 Ntando Thukwana, 'Government is ending Free Housing Projects – Here's What it will Offer Instead,' *Business Insider*, December 3, 2020, <https://www.businessinsider.co.za/government-is-calling-for-the-downscaling-of-housing-projects-heres-how-it-will-work-2020-12>.

progressively realise the right to access to housing, health care, food, water and social security.<sup>225</sup>

During the 2014–2019 Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) period, national government embarked on institutional reforms and reviewed the housing subsidy along with the 2016 White Paper on Human Settlements (whose status is still under review nearly five years later). The recommendations below should be taken into consideration for the 2019–2024 MTSF period and find their articulation in the human settlements policy reviews currently underway. The recommendations are offered to strengthen protections for urban residents living with insecure tenure, recognising that urban housing is about a group of rights and is linked to prospects of integrated and sustainable cities in South Africa.

Similarly, the right to water and sanitation has distinct overlaps with the right to human dignity and health care. Although policies relating to water and sanitation have been amended over the years, issues such as the bucket toilet system, access to clean and safe water and abrupt water cuts are still prevalent and are increasing in most townships and urban areas. For example, in the Western Cape only 1% of households with access to municipal water reported that they were without water for more than two days at a time in 2017. In Limpopo, this figure rose to 50%.<sup>226</sup>

**TABLE 1 SHARE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH ACCESS TO PIPED WATER IN SOUTH AFRICA (%)**

ELECTION YEAR	2002	2010	2017
<b>Eastern Cape</b>	56.1	74.9	74.2
<b>Limpopo</b>	73.8	84.0	74.7
<b>KwaZulu-Natal</b>	75.4	84.1	84.5
<b>North West</b>	85.6	91.0	85.8
<b>Mpumalanga</b>	90.5	88.1	85.5
<b>Northern Cape</b>	92.5	94.1	96.0
<b>Free State</b>	95.6	96.9	92.8
<b>Gauteng</b>	98.7	97.2	97.1
<b>Western Cape</b>	98.9	98.8	98.7

Source: Statistics South Africa, *General Household Survey 2017* (Pretoria: Statistics South Africa, 2017)

225 South African Constitution, ch. 1, ss 27.

226 Statistics South Africa, *General Household Survey 2017* (Pretoria: Statistics South Africa, 2017), 38.

Table 1 shows that while access to piped water has steadily increased in some provinces since 2002, others have experienced worrying declines. The current water and sanitation crisis is a result of poor service delivery, corruption in tender processes and non-adherence to policies. Combined, these factors have an unfavourable impact on South Africans living in urban and rural areas. It also raises the question of whether policies should change or if greater emphasis should be placed on implementation.

## Infrastructure Development

Telecoms infrastructure and data refers to the physical medium through which all Internet traffic flows. These include telephone wires, cables (including submarine cables), satellites, microwaves and mobile technology such as fifth-generation (5G) mobile networks. Compared to other countries around the world, mobile data and broadband internet are more expensive in South Africa. According to a 2019 report by Business Insider, South Africans spend, on average, almost ZAR 1,300 (\$88) per month to access 100 megabits per second (Mbps) speeds of uncapped residential line internet packages.<sup>227</sup>

The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed the underlying and entrenched disparities in access to the Internet between low and high income areas. While there are areas that enjoy full and integrated coverage, others have little to no coverage. South African mobile telecommunication companies like MTN, having monopolised the provision of Internet and telephone services, have made access for poorer communities difficult due to the high costs of accessing data.

Government interventions have sought to centralise Internet access and improve existing or provide new telecommunications infrastructure in the country, such as the Wi-Fi initiative in Rea Vaya bus stations and designated hotspots in and around Johannesburg, Cape Town and the Eastern Cape.<sup>228</sup> However, overall telecommunications policy and regulation has been poor. Regulations that would allow competitors to access essential infrastructure have been part of government policy since 2007 but are yet to be implemented.

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227 Jay Caboz, 'South Africa has the most expensive home fibre internet connections of any country, according to a new survey,' *Business Insider*, December 5, 2019, <https://www.businessinsider.co.za/sa-fibre-data-costs-the-most-expensive-in-the-world-2019-12#:~:text=20201202.2%2DRelease%2D51-,South%20Africa%20has%20the%20most%20expensive%20home%20fibre%20internet%20connections,according%20to%20a%20new%20survey&text=South%20Africans%20fork%20out%20a,uncapped%20residential%20line%20internet%20packages>.

228 Nokulunga Xala, 'The current state of free public WiFi in South Africa', <https://htxt.co.za/2018/09/11/the-current-state-of-free-public-wifi-in-south-africa/?amp=1>.

Telkom, the semi-privatised telecommunications company entrusted to invest in the country's telecoms sector and ensure expanded access, has instead undermined entrepreneurial activity across a range of services. A 2010 study by the Human Sciences Research Council argues that the Telkom strategy concentrates on urban areas as opposed to rural areas, further contributing to poor information and communications technology (ICT) infrastructure in South Africa.<sup>229</sup> Other telecommunications operators are often reluctant to invest in rural areas as they are sparsely populated. There is a need to change existing regulations to address this monopoly.

Access to information and ease of communication can serve to empower individuals and increase their access to economic opportunities. Thus, in exploring measures to improve rural ICT infrastructure, it is crucial for government to employ sound policy management strategies, involving policy development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation within the context of rural development. Additionally, government needs to create an enabling environment with sound and stable infrastructure to attract appropriate investment for ICT infrastructure in rural areas and implement regulations that force industry players to become more proactive in the provision of ICT-related services on a sustainable scale.

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229 Human Sciences Research Council, 'ICT access still a major challenge in rural areas', <http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/review/hsrc-review-july-2013/ict-access-still-a-major-challenge-in-rural-areas>.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- Informal settlements should be formalised and upgraded. Policies that integrate existing informal settlements into city and town planning should be created.
- Localised land tenure protections that prevent unlawful evictions for tenants and land occupiers should be enforced. Existing land rights, such as site permits, residential permits, lodgers permits, certificates of occupation and permission to occupy should be made more secure.
- Inclusionary housing should be prioritised as it gives low-income earners a place in the city and access to employment opportunities, social facilities and schools.
- The capacity of the Rental Housing Tribunal should be improved.
- Existing frameworks that strengthen women's and black people's rights to ownership of land should be implemented, monitored and evaluated.
- Land tenure reform should be paired with rural livelihoods development programmes.
- A land donations policy should be developed to allow private and communal actors to donate land for reform purposes.
- Youth need to continue to be proactive in the land reform discourse across the board as they play a pivotal role in the implementation of the proposed reforms and policies.
- Companies need to be held accountable for the pollution that affects water quality. South Africa may have policies addressing this but lack of implementation and corruption affects their success.
- Borehole drilling initiatives and programmes should be developed to create job opportunities for local residents and entrepreneurs.
- Municipal authorities and service providers should be held to account for failing to provide basic services to communities. This should ultimately lead to dismissal from their positions and contracts when maladministration or corruption is confirmed.
- Communities should be informed prior to water outages and government should be transparent with finances for water and sanitation through text messaging services and community meetings.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- Local government must raise awareness on hygienic practices and water pollution and encourage residents to be stakeholders who monitor progress.
- Rainwater harvesting should be encouraged.

## CHAPTER 9



# Access to Quality Basic and Higher Education

This issue relates to the Broad-Based Sustainable Socio-Economic Development thematic area, specifically:

### » OBJECTIVE 1

#### Promote and accelerate broad-based sustainable socioeconomic development

- Question 1 Describe the policies and strategies formulated by your country to promote and accelerate broad-based sustainable socio-economic development.*
- Question 2 What is the capacity of your country to formulate, implement and monitor broad-based sustainable socio-economic development?*

### » OBJECTIVE 3

#### Poverty, unemployment and inequality

- Question 1 What policies and strategies has government put in place to reduce poverty and inequality, particularly in terms of access to resources and basic services?*
- Question 5 What policies and strategies are put in place for combating unemployment, particularly among youth?*

### » OBJECTIVE 4

#### Progress towards gender equality, in particular equal access to education for girls at all levels

- Question 1 What measures has the country taken to promote gender equality and with what results?*
- Question 2 What are the national programmes, policies and strategies set up by government to eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education, and to achieve gender equality in education?*

**« Improving the quality of education requires careful management, support from all interested parties and time »»**

National Development Plan 2030

Government of South Africa, "National Development Plan 2030", 39

Section 29 of South Africa's Constitution guarantees the right to basic education. This right is unqualified and has no limitations. Indeed, South Africa has made significant progress in reducing the disparities in enrolment and access to education. By 2018, nearly 85% of five-year olds were enrolled in some form of schooling and in 2017, 98% of children between seven and 17 years were attending some kind of educational facility.<sup>230</sup>

However, current education outcomes are poor and are linked directly to race and income level. The education system has two distinct parts, with a distribution of test scores that show one end of the spectrum as highly functional, meeting the levels of developed countries, and the other end performing poorly.<sup>231</sup>

Numerous systemic challenges need to be addressed if genuine progress is to be made with regards to improving education, in addition to improving social and economic prospects for the country's citizens. Education is more than just attending school – it is about the self-worth of every child, embracing diversity and the power to create a commanding future.

## Early Childhood Development

It is well known that relevant, age-appropriate learning is an important aspect of stimulating development in the first 1,000 days of a child's life.<sup>232</sup> In South Africa, early

230 Lesley-Ann Johannes, '98% of South African children attend school and other facts about access to education from the 2018 Child Gauge report,' *Parent24*, November 23, 2018, <https://www.news24.com/parent/learn/high-school/98-of-south-african-children-attend-school-and-other-facts-about-access-to-education-from-the-2018-child-gauge-report-20181123>.

231 Servaas van der Berg and Heleen Hofmeyr, "An Incomplete Transition: Overcoming the Legacy of Exclusion in South Africa" (Background Note, World Bank Group, South Africa, 2018), 2, <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/339291529320964248/pdf/127304-Education-in-South-Africa.pdf>.

232 Giulietta Harrison, 'A snapshot of early childhood care and education in South Africa: Institutional offerings, challenges and recommendations,' *South African Journal of Childhood Education* 10, no. 1 (2020): 1-10.

childhood education (ECD) typically covers birth to four years of age, often neglecting those aged five and six years. Those who can access ECD are short-changed when it comes to the quality of the programmes.<sup>233</sup> One of the main challenges in providing quality ECD is that there is no central agency to coordinate programmes. Services are therefore provided by local non-profit organisations or microenterprises and are largely publicly funded, with government spending just 1-2% of its total education budget on ECD.<sup>234</sup> Research on this unregulated and fragmented sector is also limited. As a result of these challenges, poor children, particularly from rural areas, are not properly prepared for school, with knock-on effects that last throughout their education.

## Basic Education Outcomes

South Africa performs worse than many low-income African countries when it comes to basic education. By Grade 4, it is already possible to tell which children will likely complete school with marks that will allow them to continue on to university.<sup>235</sup> Out of every 100 pupils who start school in Grade 1, only half make it to Grade 12.<sup>236</sup> Across the board, by the age of nine, more than 75% of children cannot read for meaning and, in some provinces, the figure is as high as 91%.<sup>237</sup>

Low levels of performance in primary schools can be directly attributed to the unavailability of resources to promote effective learning among young people.<sup>238</sup> While funding is often raised as one of the challenges to quality education, South Africa's public spending on primary to tertiary education as a share of government expenditure is 15% higher than the OECD average of 11%. In 2017, this expenditure amounted to 4.7% of South Africa's GDP.<sup>239</sup> However, the allocation of these resources, combined with the tendency of previously advantaged schools to attract higher fees, can often reinforce the

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233 Jordan Griffiths, 'The writing is on the blackboard for South Africa's early childhood development education,' *Daily Maverick*, October 28, 2020, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2020-10-28-the-writing-is-on-the-blackboard-for-south-africas-early-childhood-development-education/>.

234 Ilifa Labantwana, "A Plan to Achieve Universal Coverage of Early Childhood Development Services by 2030" (Ilifa Labantwana, Johannesburg, 2018), 4, <https://dgmt.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/ECD-Vision-2018-digital.pdf>.

235 van der Berg and Hofmeyr, "An Incomplete Transition".

236 Nicholas Spaull, *South Africa's Education Crisis: The quality of education in South Africa 1994-2011* (Johannesburg: Centre for Development and Enterprise, 2013), 3, <https://www.section27.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Spaull-2013-CDE-report-South-Africas-Education-Crisis.pdf>.

237 Spaull, "South Africa's Education Crisis", 21.

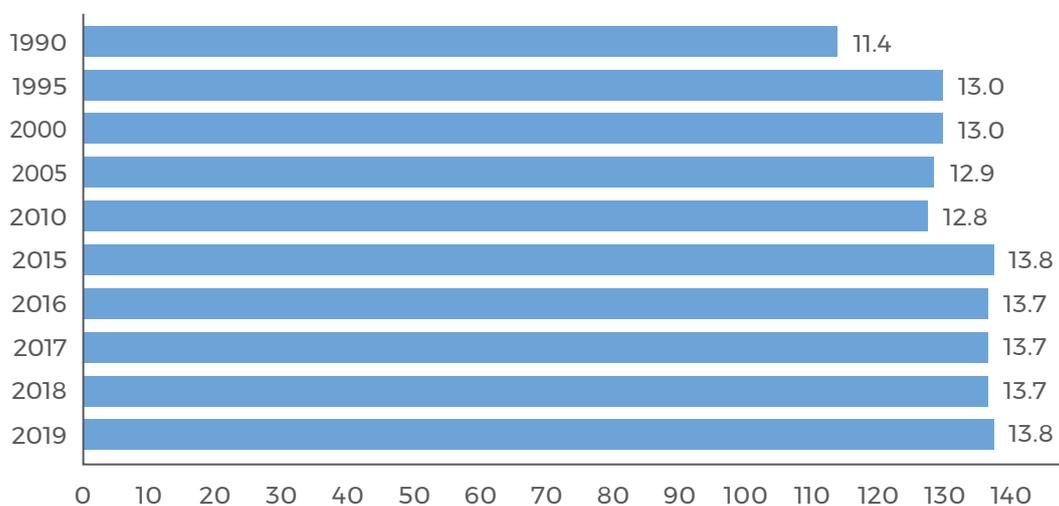
238 Amnesty International, *Broken and Unequal: the state of Education in South Africa* (Amnesty International, London, 2020), 62, <https://www.justice.gov/eoir/page/file/1247956/download>.

239 OECD, "Education at a Glance 2020" (Country Note, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2020), 2, [https://gpseducation.oecd.org/Content/EAGCountryNotes/EAG2020\\_CN\\_ZAF.pdf](https://gpseducation.oecd.org/Content/EAGCountryNotes/EAG2020_CN_ZAF.pdf).

systemic inequalities already at play. As a result, the richest provinces are able to spend more per learner than the poorest ones.<sup>240</sup>

It also takes more time for South African students to make their way through primary and secondary school, evidenced by trends in the HDI.

**FIGURE 4 EXPECTED YEARS OF SCHOOLING IN SOUTH AFRICA**



Source: UN Development Programme, 'Human Development Reports, Expected Years of Schooling', <http://hdr.undp.org/en/indicators/69706>

Education outcomes figures become significant when we consider that education remains one of the primary modalities through which to escape poverty. In 2019, 37% of young adults aged 25–34 years with less than an upper secondary education were unemployed, versus a rate of 10% for young adults with tertiary education.<sup>241</sup>

It has also been observed that 18 to 24-year-olds who do not acquire some form of post-secondary education are at a distinct economic disadvantage and not only struggle to find full-time employment but also have one of the highest probabilities of being unemployed for sustained periods of time, if not permanently. The young people who are most likely to transition successfully from education to employment are higher education

<sup>240</sup> Amnesty International, "Broken and Unequal", 11.

<sup>241</sup> OECD, "Education at a Glance", 4.

graduates who historically have a lower unemployment rate than youth with only basic education. This is changing in unfortunate ways as graduate unemployment is on the rise, evidenced by an increase from 19% in 2018 to 31% in the first quarter of 2019.<sup>242</sup>

Poor education outcomes cannot be isolated from South Africa's other social and economic challenges. When the education system does not produce enough skilled workers, the economy is adversely affected as, for example, businesses begin to look for investment opportunities in other parts of the world.<sup>243</sup>

## Education Infrastructure

South Africa's education system suffers from significant disparities with regards to access to educational infrastructure. Results from a 2017 school monitoring survey by the Department of Basic Education show that nationally, only 59% of schools comply with minimum physical infrastructure standards.<sup>244</sup> Inequalities vary according to location, with the result that students from rural areas still lack basics like electricity, running water, books and adequate study material. Many children struggle to get to school due to poor roads and no access to transportation.

Moreover, in low-income communities, where infrastructure supposedly exists, the conditions of schools are unsustainable, with health and safety hazards rampant. Unstable buildings and unhygienic toilets gravely compromise the teaching and learning process. In recent years, poor sanitation infrastructure has resulted in the tragic deaths of two children in pit latrines (a toilet that collects waste in a hole in the ground).<sup>245</sup>

According to a 2019 report by the National Education Infrastructure Management System, 3,710 schools in South Africa have no sanitation and are forced to use pit latrines.<sup>246</sup> In Limpopo, the Department of Education noted that it would take 14 years to replace the pit latrines that are present in 59% of its schools.<sup>247</sup> In more than 7,520 schools in the country, boreholes are used to access water on site and 7,820 schools are

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242 Statistics South Africa, 'Youth graduate unemployment rate increases in Q1: 2019', <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=12121>.

243 Amnesty International, "Broken and Unequal".

244 Government of South Africa, *School Monitoring Survey 2017/2018 Summary Report* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 2018), 17, <https://www.education.gov.za/Portals/0/Documents/Reports/6.%20Summary%20Report%20School%20Monitoring%20Survey%202017-18.pdf?ver=2019-04-08-092923-007>.

245 Lloyd Hazvineyi, 'Have 'hundreds' of kids drowned in school pit latrines in South Africa?' *Africa Check*, January 25, 2019, <https://africacheck.org/fact-checks/reports/have-hundreds-kids-drowned-school-pit-latrines-south-africa>.

246 Government of South Africa, *National Education Infrastructure Management System Standard Report August 2019* (Pretoria: Department of Basic Education, 2019), 1, <https://www.education.gov.za/Portals/0/Documents/Reports/NEIMS%20standard%20reports%202019.pdf?ver=2019-09-27-150623-250>.

247 Amnesty International, "Broken and Unequal", 12.

completely without piped water.<sup>248</sup> This naturally poses a huge threat to student health and wellbeing, and the environment as a whole.

The Accelerated Schools Infrastructure Delivery Initiative (ASIDI), which forms part of the Department of Basic Education's 2025 Schooling Plan, aims to address the backlog of mud schools in the country, improve school infrastructure and ensure a safe and healthy study environment. In 2011, ASIDI identified 496 schools as inappropriate structures, including schools built from mud. All of the identified schools should have been replaced by March 2014. However, by February 2019 only 205 schools were replaced, less than half the original target. According to the Department's performance plan, the remaining schools will be replaced by the end of the 2021 financial year.<sup>249</sup>

South Africa's education system is clearly burdened by poor infrastructure, which results in overcrowded classrooms and poor educational outcomes, fostering inequality and leaving many children from underprivileged backgrounds with few opportunities.<sup>250</sup> The situation is not helped by high rates of absenteeism amongst teachers. A 2017 school monitoring survey found that 10% of South Africa's teachers fail to arrive at work every day.<sup>251</sup> In the same year, it was revealed that a further 5,139 teachers are unqualified or under-qualified.<sup>252</sup> The Department of Basic Education is addressing this through initiatives such as the Funza Lushaka Bursary Scheme, which aims to increase the supply of qualified teachers in mathematics, science and technology.<sup>253</sup>

Young people in South Africa believe that the first step towards assuring quality education is ensuring that educational facilities afforded to citizens are up-to-date. This involves the provision of safe buildings, sanitation facilities for both sexes, teaching material, libraries, computer facilities and access to the Internet, among others. The second step is ensuring that education is flexible and adaptable to societal changes and responds to the needs of learners within diverse social and cultural settings.

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248 Government of South Africa, "National Education Infrastructure Management", 1.

249 Cayley Clifford, 'Has SA's President Ramaphosa kept his 2018 State of the Nation promises?' *Africa Check*, February 6, 2019, <https://africacheck.org/fact-checks/reports/has-sas-president-ramaphosa-kept-his-2018-state-nation-promises>.

250 Amnesty International, "Broken and Unequal", 81.

251 Government of South Africa, *School Monitoring Survey 2017/2018 Summary Report* (Pretoria: Department of Basic Education, 2017), 13, <https://www.education.gov.za/Portals/0/Documents/Reports/6.%20Summary%20Report%20School%20Monitoring%20Survey%202017-18.pdf?ver=2019-04-08-092923-007>.

252 Matthew Savides, 'South African schools have 5,139 teachers who are unqualified or under-qualified,' *TimesLive*, June 6, 2017, <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2017-06-06-south-african-schools-have-5139-teachers-who-are-unqualified-or-under-qualified/>.

253 South African Government, 'Funza Lushaka Bursary Programme', <https://www.gov.za/about-government/government-programmes/funza-lushaka-bursary-programme#>.

## Higher Education

Between 2009 and 2019, South Africa was able to grow the percentage of the young adult population with tertiary qualifications from 4% to 6%.<sup>254</sup> However, higher education access and throughput mirrors the inequalities found across the educational sphere.

The 2015 #FeesMustFall Movement was a youth-led campaign to increase access to higher education through the reduction and, in some cases, elimination of fees for education. A number of positive outcomes in the tertiary sector can be attributed to the campaign. For example, in 2017 government committed to paying the 8% annual fee increase through a gap funding grant specifically for 'missing middle' families whose household income is less than ZAR 600,000 (\$40,786) per annum.<sup>255</sup> These are families that cannot afford university fees on their own but are not considered poor enough to qualify for government funding.

In another win for the movement, in March 2019 the Department of Higher Education and Training allocated an additional ZAR 967 million (roughly \$65.7 million) to the National Student Financial Aid Scheme to settle historic debt owed to universities by 52,514 students.<sup>256</sup>

However, at a national level, there has been little policy change. In November 2020, Minister of Higher Education, Science and Innovation, Blade Nzimande, proposed a 4.7% university fee increase for the 2021 academic year.<sup>257</sup> Although the proposed increase is lower than what has been introduced in the past, it is still a departure from the #FeesMustFall resolutions, which aimed to stop the hike in student fees.

In addition to universities, South Africa also has a system of technical and vocational education and training institutions. However, the system has failed to stimulate demand as the courses are poorly matched to employer needs, adding to the pressure on the university system.<sup>258</sup> Sectoral Education and Training Authorities (SETAs) also aim to provide continued education and skills development for those in the workplace. The

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254 OECD, "Education at a Glance", 1.

255 University of the Witwatersrand, 'Funding applications for missing middle introduced', <https://www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/general-news/2016/feesmustfall2016/statements/funding-applications-for-missing-middle-introduced.html>.

256 Ernest Mabuza, 'Universities to be paid nearly R1bn for historic student debt: Naledi Pandor,' *TimesLive*, March 24, 2019, <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-03-24-universities-to-be-paid-nearly-r1bn-for-historic-student-debt-naledi-pandor/>.

257 Thando Khubeka, 'Nzimande proposes 4.7% increase on university tuition fees for 2021,' *Eyewitness News*, November 2020, <https://ewn.co.za/2020/11/27/nzimande-proposes-4-7-increase-on-university-tuition-fees-for-2021>.

258 van der Berg and Hofmeyr, "An Incomplete Transition", 2.

SETAs are funded by a skills levy on wages, which in 2015/16 amounted to ZAR 15.2 billion (roughly \$1 billion).<sup>259</sup> However, the outputs from the system have failed to provide more skilled workers at scale and employers see the levy as an additional tax with unclear benefits.

## The Digital Divide

Even as the country faces significant challenges of poverty, crime and inequality, further challenges are likely to emerge as the digital revolution continues and global societies are transformed by new technology. The fourth industrial revolution is here and South Africa cannot afford to remain behind the curve.

COVID-19 was a major disruptor to the 2020 academic year and forced the schooling system to integrate digital and non-physical learning contexts at a rapid rate. The Department of Basic Education worked with the South African Broadcasting Corporation and private broadcasters to deliver lessons live to students via both television and radio. It also negotiated deals with network providers such as Vodacom, Cell C and MTN to zero-rate the data on certain educational websites and apps.<sup>260</sup>

While COVID-19 has accelerated government's collaboration with universities, providing laptops and tablets to students who would be disadvantaged by enforced virtual learning, the same urgency and execution has not been seen in basic education. This is despite a commitment in 2019 by President Ramaphosa that government would provide every school learner with digital workbooks and textbooks on a tablet.<sup>261</sup>

South African students therefore remain digitally divided. According to Statistics South Africa, only 37% of South African households have constant access to the Internet, either by phones or computers. In provinces such as the North West or Limpopo, this figure drops to 3.6% and 1.6% respectively. This lies in stark contrast to private schools, where 83.5% of learners were able to immediately move to online teaching with minimal disruption. Comparatively, only 67.1% of students in public schools were able to continue

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259 Department of Higher Education and Training, 'Skills Development', <https://www.dhet.gov.za/SitePages/SkillsDevelopmentNew.aspx>.

260 David Mhlanga and Tankiso Moloi, 'COVID-19 and the Digital Transformation of Education: What Are We Learning on 4IR in South Africa?', *Education Sciences* 10, no. 7 (2020): 1-11.

261 Paul Herman, 'SONA 2019: A tablet per pupil within 6 years, but 4 000 schools still without toilets,' *News24*, February 8, 2019, <https://www.news24.com/news24/SouthAfrica/News/sona-2019-a-tablet-per-pupil-within-6-years-but-4-000-schools-still-without-toilets-20190208>.

learning from home.<sup>262</sup> If poor and marginalised children and youth continue to be denied access to new technologies for learning, they will be left behind.

## Using Collective Power

In order to address education challenges, young people need to take action and participate in decision-making. Evidence from the 2015 #FeesMustFall movement shows that when young people act together, they can find common ground and express a common purpose that can change policies and programmes on the ground.

In the context of basic education, Representative Councils of Learners (RCLs) can play a similar role in unifying and giving voice to learner issues and expectations for change. However, they need to be empowered to do so. While RCLs are selected by learners to represent them, teachers and governing bodies often usurp this role or redirect efforts away from support for fellow learners to support for teachers instead. This not only disempowers learners who need to access RCLs for support, but puts pressure on the relationship between learners and RCL members, complicating the RCL's role of advocacy and accountability.

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262 Pauline Hanekom, 'Covid-19 exposes South Africa's digital literacy divide,' *Mail & Guardian*, September 8, 2020, <https://mg.co.za/opinion/2020-09-08-covid-19-exposes-south-africas-digital-literacy-divide/>.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- School governing bodies must be fully trained, especially in the areas of finance, policies of the Department of Education and the provisions of the Schools Act.
- South Africa needs to develop a far more comprehensive digital policy.
- The governance of critical digital infrastructure should include data and privacy protection, cybersecurity, cybercrime and anti-surveillance measures to create a trusted environment.
- South Africa needs an integrated infrastructure plan to prepare itself for the digital economy. There is need to create an enabling environment for broadband extension.
- Tablets and laptops should be supplied to basic education institutions with no computer rooms or libraries.
- Formerly disadvantaged schools should be provided with adequate budgets to address the infrastructure backlog.
- School governing bodies should invest in programmes and initiatives that support teachers in confronting the different challenges they face.
- Civil society and the private sector should collaborate in developing reading programmes in rural and peri-urban areas. The programmes should build infrastructure and other resources that inspire students to read and improve their reading abilities.
- RCLs must be upskilled and trained in leadership and advocacy skills in order to enhance their ability to act independently of teachers and schools structures, and in the interests of learners.

## CHAPTER 10



# Climate Change

This issue relates to the Democracy and Good Political Governance thematic area, specifically:

### » OBJECTIVE 1

**Promote and accelerate broad-based sustainable socio-economic development**

*Question 5 What are the measures adopted to ensure environmental sustainability and accountability?*

**« Over the short term, policy needs to respond quickly and effectively to protect the natural environment and mitigate the effects of climate change »»**

National Development Plan 2030

Government of South Africa, "National Development Plan 2030", 38

Climate change refers to natural changes in weather patterns, global surface temperatures and atmospheric conditions over a long time period. Human production and consumption practices have, however, accelerated this natural phenomenon, causing it to advance at an accelerated rate. Globally, climate change is causing glaciers and ice-caps to melt, arid regions to increase in size and number, and more frequent devastating natural disasters. In Southern Africa, the future climate is predicted to be hotter, drier and more prone to flooding and droughts. Yet the greatest consequence of climate change will be its impact on lives and livelihoods, especially of the poor and marginalised who will be disproportionately affected.<sup>263</sup> This is because over and above the devastation of natural landscapes and biodiversity, climate change is expected to have a huge impact on water and food security. Climate change will therefore exacerbate existing economic and social inequalities.<sup>264</sup>

Current climate change challenges include ineffectual engagement with vulnerable communities, inadequate education and awareness programmes, and an unwillingness to take action and implement policies. This section considers climate change through the lenses of social justice, environmental education, biodiversity loss and the circular economy.

## Climate Change and Inequality

South Africa is the world's 14<sup>th</sup> largest emitter of greenhouse gases.<sup>265</sup> In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, much of South Africa's economic growth was based on a form of capital accumulation known as the Mineral Energy Complex, where cheap energy from coal was used to support heavy industry and intensive mineral extraction.<sup>266</sup> By 2017, 88% of South Africa's energy usage came from coal. This allowed South Africa to hold a position as the world's fifth largest mining sector, contributing 8% to national GDP in 2017, and the export of coal alone accounted for 12% of national exports.<sup>267</sup> South Africa is now

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263 Nazrul Islam and John Winkel, "Climate Change and Social Inequality" (Working Paper 152, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York, 2017), 4, [https://www.un.org/esa/desa/papers/2017/wp152\\_2017.pdf](https://www.un.org/esa/desa/papers/2017/wp152_2017.pdf).

264 Daisy Simmons, 'What is 'Climate Justice'?,' *Yale Climate Connections*, July 29, 2020, <https://yaleclimateconnections.org/2020/07/what-is-climate-justice/>.

265 Robert McSweeney and Jocelyn Timperley, 'The Carbon Brief Profile: South Africa', <https://www.carbonbrief.org/the-carbon-brief-profile-south-africa>.

266 Manisha Gulati, "Barriers to Greening the South African Economy" (World Wide Fund for Nature, 2018), [https://wwfafrica.aws.assets.panda.org/downloads/barriers\\_ot\\_greening\\_the\\_south\\_african\\_economy.pdf?26442/](https://wwfafrica.aws.assets.panda.org/downloads/barriers_ot_greening_the_south_african_economy.pdf?26442/); Nchimunya Hamukoma, 'Investing in new electricity generation in South Africa: what short-circuited decision-making, 1998-2014?' (Masters diss., University of Cape Town, 2014).

267 McSweeney and Timperley, "The Carbon Brief Profile"; Under the Paris Agreement, the country has pledged to peak and plateau emissions between 2020 and 2025, as an equitable contribution to global emissions.

grappling with how to achieve a just transition that benefits the environment, economy and society in line with the SDGs and the Paris Agreement.<sup>268</sup>

Vulnerable and marginalised groups suffer disproportionately from the effects of climate change, which include extreme weather conditions such as droughts, floods and bushfires. This, in the context of one of the most unequal societies in the world, means devastation for the majority of South African communities that already suffer from poor waste management, service delivery, health effects from pollution and industrial activities, high crime rates and high unemployment rates. For example, access to water has been the natural resource most heavily impacted by climate change.<sup>269</sup> However, in the 2020 Environmental Performance Index, South Africa also ranked poorly with regards to its air quality, sanitation and ecosystem vitality.<sup>270</sup> Women of colour, being the most vulnerable group in South Africa, will be hard hit as they are least likely to have access to resources and opportunities to cope in the climate crisis.<sup>271</sup>

South Africa's youth envision a future that is green and just, and believe climate success will come in the form of a transition to a low carbon, circular economy that extends the lifespan of products, reallocates waste and effectively addresses social justice concerns. In this imagined world, resources will be used sustainably, as green technologies and innovations are built to ensure that people can live a net carbon neutral life. Furthermore, pollution levels will be below pre-industrial levels and the incidence of pollution-related diseases will be vastly reduced. Extreme climatic weather events will be less frequent, however, disaster warning and preparation systems will be in place to limit their devastation. Ecosystems will be healthy and biodiversity will flourish. The SDGs set the foundation for these successes.

In order to achieve this vision, green and climate education should be included in the national school curriculum, ensuring all citizens are environmentally conscious and empowered to preserve the environment. Additionally, green career paths should be actively promoted, and green skills and training should be offered by various institutions of higher learning. The process should be based on sustainable and meaningful collaborations and partnerships with all stakeholders, especially youth.

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268 Government of South Africa, *South Africa's 2nd Annual Climate Change Report* (Pretoria: Department of Environmental Affairs, 2017).

269 Government of South Africa, "South Africa's 2nd Annual".

270 Environmental Performance Index, 'Country Profile, South Africa', <https://epi.yale.edu/sites/default/files/2018-zaf.pdf>.

271 Agnes Babugura, "Gender and Climate Change: South Africa Case Study" (Heinrich Böll Foundation Southern Africa, Cape Town, 2010), [https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/assets/boell.de/images/download\\_de/ecology/south\\_africa.pdf](https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/assets/boell.de/images/download_de/ecology/south_africa.pdf).

## Policy Implementation and Evaluation

While there are several policies and laws that focus on addressing climate change globally and domestically, significant challenges persist when it comes to implementation and there has been little proactive effort to deal with the effects of climate change in local communities. The most recent National Climate Change Report released in 2017 highlights this lack of consideration for social justice.<sup>272</sup>

The Draft Climate Change Bill aims to communicate and implement an effective nationally determined climate change response, including mitigation and adaptation actions that represent the country's fair contribution to the global climate change response.<sup>273</sup> The bill seeks to pave the roadmap for a just transition in South Africa, ensuring social, economic and environmental justice. It further acknowledges the role of different stakeholders, including CSOs, business and various government departments in the implementation of the policy. Although opened for public comment in 2018, there is no indication of when the bill will be tabled for adoption in Parliament.

Similarly, in 2010, the concept of the green economy entered the South African policy framework through the Green Economy Summit Statement. The vision of the green economy is one where the 'system of economic activities related to the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services result in improved human well-being over the long term, while not exposing future generations to significant environmental risks or ecological scarcities.'<sup>274</sup> The idea has gained intellectual traction but remains hamstrung in its implementation due to a mix of institutional, bureaucratic and financial barriers.<sup>275</sup>

Moreover, existing policies and legislation fail to meaningfully reference women or youth in their documents. There also seems to be a lack of knowledge on environmental policies and legislation, which has hindered meaningful engagement and implementation. This does not only apply to civic participation in policymaking, but to various government departments and provincial legislatures.

Although the Constitution mandates stakeholder consultation in policymaking, a limited number of CSOs or individuals participate in engagements, reflecting the lack of knowledge and awareness on environmental policies by civil society at large. This can

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272 Government of South Africa, "South Africa's 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual".

273 Government of South Africa, "South Africa's 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual."

274 Culati, "Barriers to Greening", 6.

275 Culati, "Barriers to Greening", 6.

be attributed to a lack of resources and capacity building initiatives to carry out a wider range of consultations, a lack of trust between government and communities, and a misunderstanding of the climate crisis and the role of various stakeholders in the fight against climate change.

Importantly, the work done by NGOs within the environmental and climate education, social justice and policy spaces is notable. Youth climate advocates and innovators have stepped up and are taking action. For example, in 2020 activists and citizens from different spheres across South Africa came together to establish a Climate Justice Charter. The charter's main focus is to ensure a deep and just climate transition that integrates the following factors:

- democratic, deep and just transition plans;
- socially owned and community-based renewable energy through a rapid phase-out of fossil fuels;
- feeding ourselves through food sovereignty and the solidarity economy;
- democratising the water commons;
- enjoying life through working less;
- eco-mobility and clean energy public transport systems;
- zero waste and simple living;
- eco-social housing, buildings and transition towns;
- moving beyond mainstream economics;
- ensuring the rich pay their ecological debt;
- the crucial role of knowledge for survival;
- emergency, holistic and preventative healthcare;
- the rights of nature and natural climate solutions; and
- climate conscious media.<sup>276</sup>

Youth believe that young people and local communities should be at the forefront of addressing the climate crisis. Accordingly, their efforts should be supported and furthered. A notable government initiative that supports youth grassroots climate

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276 Jane Cherry and Vishwas Satgar, 'The World needs a Climate Justice Charter and a Deep, Just Transition to Sustain Life on our Burning Planet,' *Daily Maverick*, November 8, 2020, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-11-08-the-world-needs-a-climate-justice-charter-and-a-deep-just-transition-to-sustain-life-on-our-burning-planet/>.

projects is the recently launched Youth Driving Force for Change Fund, piloted by the Department of Environment, Forestry and Fisheries (DEFF). The fund aims to support up to 10 youth projects involved in climate change, waste management, biodiversity and ecosystems with up to ZAR 100,000 (nearly \$6,800).

Additionally, there is an initiative run by the DEFF, together with the Department of Education, South African Qualifications Authority and SETA, which educates school children on the environment and conducts environmental awareness programmes for local communities. DEFF also offers bursaries and internships to previously disadvantaged South African students to enhance youth development in social and environmental science related fields.

Laudable as these initiatives are, youth realise they are inadequate and have not instilled the required degrees of environmental awareness and consciousness in the minds of young people. They further believe that the provision of green jobs should not be the sole responsibility of one government department – more has to be done to guarantee employment across a range of sectors.

## Public-Private Partnerships

Government has partnered with the private sector on several environmental projects and reporting programmes, as well as with South African National Parks (the body responsible for managing the country's national parks) and the South African National Biodiversity Institute, which aims to promote biodiversity and sustainable development by coordinating research and facilitating access to biodiversity data. However, a key aspiration of young people is that communities be allowed to proactively bid for upcoming projects and developments in their area, such as renewable power plants. This will ensure that financial flows directly benefit these communities and further the social justice agenda.

Another positive example of partnerships is the National Business Initiative, a coalition of South African and multinational companies working towards sustainable growth and development in the country.<sup>277</sup> Their environmental sustainability workstream addresses matters relating to climate change, energy, waste, biodiversity and food security, while maintaining the goal of building stakeholder capacity and enforcing actions toward sustainable growth.

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277 National Business Initiative, <https://www.nbi.org.za/>.

Government's engagement with independent power producers is also promising. Despite the reliance on coal-based power, South Africa's renewables industry has been growing rapidly since the introduction of the Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme in 2011. By early 2020, 6,329 MW of renewable energy was procured with 3,876 MW connected to the grid by February 2020.<sup>278</sup> While there was initially resistance to the inclusion of independent power producers in the system, over the last few years South Africa has faced increasing challenges with the stability of its grid. In 2019, load shedding (power outages) cost the country \$3.6 billion, forcing government to create more room for the introduction of novel technologies.<sup>279</sup> Nuclear energy is one of the models that has been proposed and, according to the International Atomic Energy Agency, it is one of the clearest ways to provide low carbon energy at scale. However, for many citizens, the potential threat to the environment and public with regards to the disposal of radioactive waste is a concern.<sup>280</sup> In the South African context, nuclear energy provision has also been tainted by allegations of corruption.<sup>281</sup>

This section showcased South Africa's unique position in the climate crisis. While it is a heavy emitter with a high carbon footprint, it remains a developing country that still needs to grow economically in order to provide decent quality livelihoods to its citizenry. That tension remains at the heart of South Africa's climate policy, aware of the impact of its current system and unwilling to legislate the changes necessary to have a meaningful impact on climate change.

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278 Luzuko Nomjana, 'REIPPP Comes of Age,' *FutureGrowth*, February 18, 2020, <https://futuregrowth.co.za/newsroom/reipp-comes-of-age/>.

279 Nchimunya Hamukoma, 'At What Cost? South Africa's Electricity Paradox,' *New Africa Daily*, 2020, <https://newafricadaily.com/index.php/taxonomy/term/942>.

280 Pamela Lague, 'Nuclear the Answer to Climate Change, says IAEA Chief,' *ESI Africa*, October 9, 2019, <https://www.esi-africa.com/industry-sectors/generation/nuclear-the-answer-to-climate-change-says-iaea-chief/>.

281 Marianne Thamm, 'How South Africans thwarted Secret Putin/Zuma Nuclear Deal,' *Daily Maverick*, December 19, 2019, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-12-19-how-south-africans-thwarted-secret-putin-zuma-nuclear-deal/>.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- Local communities and youth should be consulted in the formulation and implementation of environmental policies to ensure they adequately address the needs of all sectors of society.
- Youth engagements should be targeted and comprehensive rather than tokenistic.
- Corporates need to be more accountable for their contribution to environmental degradation and should place more emphasis on the reduction of unnecessary production and consumption patterns.
- Government and the private sector should collaborate in developing better waste management systems.
- Housing policies should include environmental considerations in their planning and development. For example, recycling centres should become key features of all new industrial developments.
- Government should work harder to ensure that access to waste management systems is not limited as a result of geography or economic situations.
- There is need for more collaboration among the various segments of society and economy, as well as the international community, on the creation of sustainable pathways towards realising the SDGs and other climate or environment-related objectives.
- Greater transparency and accountability by government and the private sector is necessary for transformation in the climate policy arena and will allow for the equal shouldering of responsibility.
- Robust accountability mechanisms need to be in place to ensure that climate objectives are met by government and private sector stakeholders, and to protect the interests of the marginalised and most vulnerable in society.
- There is a need for curricula reform around climate education, particularly at the basic education level, to create environmentally conscious citizens that are aware of the connection between the environment and other areas of life. Youth should be consulted and engaged in the reform process.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- Degrees in environmental studies should be promoted and supported so that we invest in South African researchers who can produce region-specific data and solutions. As a consequence, there will be a shift from a global North bias to a Pan-African approach in environmental and climate literature.
- To create a culture of environmental consciousness, awareness strategies involving the dissemination of education materials must be prioritised, ranging from media to community-based engagement.
- Government must increase investments and financing for sustainable and adaptive solutions for local business and offer spaces in a transformed green economy for environmentally-conscious, community and youth-driven entrepreneurship ventures. This will ensure the needs of communities are met while simultaneously creating sustainable employment and boosting local economies.
- Robust research and development to develop green energies and clean coal technologies should be supported. This will ensure the transition to a low carbon economy is diverse in its energy mix.
- Awareness on recycling, upcycling and repurposing initiatives should be enhanced to establish waste as a commodity and potential source of household income. This will further reduce the burden of waste in landfills and pollution of global water sources. A first step in ensuring this is formalising and registering existing waste pickers, so that their valuable role to society is recognised and rewarded.

## SOUTH AFRICA: 2020 IAG SCORES, RANKS & TRENDS



OVERALL GOVERNANCE

2019 SCORE/100	2019 RANK/54	TREND 2010-2019
65.8	6 <sup>th</sup>	-0.9

### TREND CLASSIFICATION KEY

Increasing Improvement	Slowing Improvement	Bouncing Back
Warning Signs	Slowing Deterioration	Increasing Deterioration
No Change	Not Classified	



SECURITY & RULE OF LAW

SCORE/100 RANK/54 TREND  
2019 2019 2010-2019

SECURITY & RULE OF LAW	SCORE/100	RANK/54	TREND
2019	2019	2019	2010-2019
<b>SECURITY &amp; RULE OF LAW</b>	<b>67.6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>-2.3</b>
<b>SECURITY &amp; SAFETY</b>	<b>68.3</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>-5.5</b>
Absence of Armed Conflict (ACLED/UCDP)	98.9	29	-0.8
Absence of Violence against Civilians (ACLED/PTS)	77.6	33	-6.2
Absence of Forced Migration (IDMC/UNHCR)	100.0	1	0.0
Absence of Human Trafficking & Forced Labour (USDS/V-DEM)	50.5	34	-9.3
Absence of Criminality (WHO)	14.5	53	-11.4
<b>RULE OF LAW &amp; JUSTICE</b>	<b>72.2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>+1.5</b>
Executive Compliance with the Rule of Law (V-DEM/WJP)	82.1	7	-0.2
Impartiality of the Judicial System (GI/V-DEM)	98.6	1	+14.4
Judicial Processes (V-DEM/WJP)	70.8	7	+2.5
Equality before the Law (FH/WJP)	60.2	17	+3.0
Law Enforcement (GI/WEF/WJP)	45.6	19	-2.1
Property Rights (BS/V-DEM/WJP)	75.7	9	-8.5
<b>ACCOUNTABILITY &amp; TRANSPARENCY</b>	<b>77.1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>+0.4</b>
Institutional Checks & Balances (BS/V-DEM/WJP)	78.5	5	+3.1
Civic Checks & Balances (BS/V-DEM/WJP)	87.4	1	+6.5
Absence of Undue Influence on Government (BS/FH)	70.8	10	-5.6
Disclosure of Financial & Judicial Information (GI/IBP/WJP)	86.1	1	+6.6
Accessibility of Information (GI/WJP)	62.7	1	-8.5
<b>ANTI-CORRUPTION</b>	<b>52.9</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>-5.5</b>
Anti-Corruption Mechanisms (BS/GI)	61.9	6	-15.5
Absence of Corruption in State Institutions (V-DEM/WJP)	57.2	17	-3.0
Absence of Corruption in the Public Sector (V-DEM/WEF/WJP)	44.7	21	-6.7
Public Procurement Procedures (GI)	50.0	11	+12.5
Absence of Corruption in the Private Sector (WB/WEF)	50.8	15	-14.8



FOUNDATIONS FOR ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

SCORE/100 RANK/54 TREND  
2019 2019 2010-2019

FOUNDATIONS FOR ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY	SCORE/100	RANK/54	TREND
2019	2019	2019	2010-2019
<b>FOUNDATIONS FOR ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY</b>	<b>64.1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>+0.1</b>
<b>PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION</b>	<b>53.7</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>-8.9</b>
Civil Registration (GI)	62.5	20	-12.5
Capacity of the Statistical System (GI/ODW/WB)	68.7	3	-3.8
Tax & Revenue Mobilisation (AfDB/ICTD&UNU-WIDER/WB)	58.6	9	+5.7
Budgetary & Financial Management (AfDB/WB)	.	.	-
Professional Administration (AfDB/GI/WB)	25.0	37	-25.0
<b>BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT</b>	<b>66.6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>-4.3</b>
Regional Integration (AfDB)	.	.	-
Trade Environment (WB)	73.0	6	-1.0
Business & Competition Regulation (AfDB/BS/WB/WEF)	80.3	2	-7.0
Access to Financial Services (WB)	74.9	4	+8.8
Labour Relations (GI/WEF)	38.4	36	-17.9
<b>INFRASTRUCTURE</b>	<b>75.2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>+12.2</b>
Transport Network (WEF/UPU)	68.2	5	-10.7
Access to Energy (WB)	90.9	9	+8.7
Mobile Communications (ITU)	67.3	18	+16.8
Digital Access (ITU/WB)	74.4	3	+34.0
<b>RURAL SECTOR</b>	<b>60.8</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>+1.3</b>
Rural Land & Water Access (IFAD)	62.6	21	0.0
Rural Market Access (IFAD)	58.3	10	+8.3
Rural Sector Support (IFAD)	63.8	12	-6.7
Rural Businesses & Organisations (IFAD)	58.6	19	+3.6



PARTICIPATION, RIGHTS & INCLUSION

SCORE/100 RANK/54 TREND  
2019 2019 2010-2019

PARTICIPATION, RIGHTS & INCLUSION	SCORE/100	RANK/54	TREND
2019	2019	2019	2010-2019
<b>PARTICIPATION, RIGHTS &amp; INCLUSION</b>	<b>67.2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>-0.6</b>
<b>PARTICIPATION</b>	<b>78.5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>+7.7</b>
Freedom of Association & Assembly (FH/GI)	75.0	7	0.0
Political Pluralism (GI/V-DEM)	77.3	2	+12.8
Civil Society Space (GI/V-DEM)	80.1	12	+12.3
Democratic Elections (CDD/GI/V-DEM)	81.4	2	+5.6
<b>RIGHTS</b>	<b>74.4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>-5.1</b>
Personal Liberties (FH/V-DEM/WJP)	68.1	8	-4.1
Freedom of Expression & Belief (FH/V-DEM/WJP)	91.2	5	-2.5
Media Freedom (GI/V-DEM/RSF)	74.6	8	+3.6
Digital Rights (DSP & V-DEM/GI)	74.5	13	-14.0
Protection against Discrimination (GI)	63.9	1	-8.3
<b>INCLUSION &amp; EQUALITY</b>	<b>60.7</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>+2.1</b>
Equal Political Power (V-DEM)	79.9	2	+7.9
Equal Political Representation (FH/IPU/V-DEM)	87.3	2	+5.4
Equal Civil Liberties (V-DEM)	64.1	17	-1.7
Equal Socioeconomic Opportunity (GI/V-DEM)	48.4	23	-0.8
Equal Access to Public Services (V-DEM)	23.9	42	0.0
<b>GENDER</b>	<b>55.2</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>-7.1</b>
Political Power & Representation of Women (GI/IPU/V-DEM)	78.0	2	+6.6
Equal Civil Liberties for Women (V-DEM)	81.6	23	-3.1
Socioeconomic Opportunity for Women (GI/V-DEM)	40.4	33	-13.7
Equal Access to Public Services for Women (V-DEM)	26.2	45	0.0
Laws on Violence against Women (OECD)	50.0	3	-25.0



HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

SCORE/100 RANK/54 TREND  
2019 2019 2010-2019

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT	SCORE/100	RANK/54	TREND
2019	2019	2019	2010-2019
<b>HUMAN DEVELOPMENT</b>	<b>64.3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>-0.7</b>
<b>HEALTH</b>	<b>78.6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>+8.1</b>
Access to Healthcare (V-DEM/WHO)	58.9	16	-5.5
Access to Water & Sanitation (WHO & UNICEF)	74.6	10	+3.9
Control of Communicable Diseases (UNAIDS/WHO)	79.4	26	+12.5
Control of Non-Communicable Diseases (IHME)	78.7	7	+5.0
Control of Child & Maternal Mortality (IGCME/MMEIG)	89.7	10	+8.2
Compliance with International Health Regulations (IHR) (WHO)	90.5	3	+24.8
<b>EDUCATION</b>	<b>58.2</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>-0.7</b>
Equality in Education (V-DEM/WB)	40.9	40	-3.4
Education Enrolment (UNESCO)	49.5	9	+3.1
Education Completion (UNDP/WB)	75.3	8	+2.4
Human Resources in Education (UNESCO)	75.2	21	-1.2
Education Quality (BS/WB/WEF)	49.8	22	-4.7
<b>SOCIAL PROTECTION</b>	<b>51.2</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>-10.7</b>
Social Safety Nets (BS/GI)	64.9	4	-4.1
Poverty Reduction Policies (AfDB/BS/WB)	50.0	21	-16.7
Socioeconomic Inequality Mitigation (AfDB/WB/WID.World)	0.0	54	-11.4
Access to Housing (CAHF/UN-Habitat)	49.3	11	-15.6
Absence of Undernourishment (FAO)	91.8	7	-5.6
<b>SUSTAINABLE ENVIRONMENT</b>	<b>69.0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>+0.4</b>
Promotion of Environmental Sustainability (AfDB/BS/WB)	85.7	3	0.0
Enforcement of Environmental Policies (WEF/WJP)	47.1	25	-1.5
Air Quality (HEI & IHME)	93.0	7	+9.5
Sustainable Management of Land & Forests (FAO/WB/WRI)	48.5	45	-7.7
Land & Water Biodiversity (WB/Yale & Columbia)	70.9	13	+2.2

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