

An analysis of the National Democratic Revolution's (NDR) contribution to relative deprivation in South Africa

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DECLARATION

I, Kgalalelo Mathaga Moloko, hereby declare that the dissertation entitled “**An analysis of the National Democratic Revolution’s (NDR) contribution to relative deprivation in South Africa**” is my own work, that all sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged and that this dissertation has not been previously submitted, either in its entirety or partially, by me or any other person for degree purposes at this or any other university.



K.M. Moloko

November 2020

Date

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ABSTRACT

The ideology of the National Democratic Revolution has been fundamental in South African history, and used by the African National Congress as a tool to abolish the apartheid regime and for governance in democratic South Africa. The National Democratic Revolution is “a process of struggle that seeks to transfer power to the people and transform society into a non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic one, and changes the manner in which wealth is shared, in order to benefit all the people.” (African National Congress, 2012:70). However, under the direction of the National Democratic Revolution South Africa’s rate of socio-economic development has regressed, with relative deprivation being the greatest socio-economic ill. Relative deprivation in South Africa is a complex societal ill due to its racialized and gendered nature that also contributes to the difficulty in the ANC government resolving or at least alleviating this socio-economic problem. This phenomenon has in turn brought to the fore the fundamental question of whether the National Democratic Revolution is still relevant in democratic South Africa and as a tool for resolving the country’s worsening relative deprivation.

Key words: National Democratic Revolution (NDR); ANC (African National Congress); Relative deprivation; Inequality; Apartheid

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
APO	African People's Organisation
ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
AU	African Union
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BPC	Black People's Convention
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
COD	Congress of Democrats
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
Comintern	Communist International
COP	Congress of the People
COR	Conservation of Resources Theory
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
CST	Colonialism of a Special Type
DWYPD	Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
ESKOM	Electricity Supply Commission
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
GNU	Government of National Unity
HDR	Human Development Report

HSRC	Human Science Research Council
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JSE	Johannesburg Stock Exchange
MEC's	Members of the Executive Council
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NDP	National Development Plan-2030
NDR	National Democratic Revolution
NEC	National Executive Committee
NEC	National Executive Committee
NGO's	Non-Governmental Organisations
NGP	New Growth Path
NP	National Party
NSC	National Senior Certificate
NSFAS	National Student financial Aid Scheme
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania
PCAS	Policy Coordination and Advisory Services
PEC	Provincial Executive Council
PRASA	Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RET	Radical Economic Transformation
RET	Radical Economic Transformation
SAA	South African Airways
SACBC	Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference

SACC	South African Council of Churches
SACP	South African Communist Party
SACPO	South African Coloured People's Organisation
SACTU	South African Congress of Trade Unions
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers Union
SAIC	South African Indian Congress
SANC	South African Native Convention
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
SARS	South African Revenue Services
SASM	South African Student Movement
SASO	South African Students' Organisation
SAUS	South African Union of Students
SOE's	State Owned Enterprises
STATSSA	Statistics South Africa
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
Transnet	Transportation Network
UBPL	Upper-Bound Poverty Line
UDF	United Democratic Front
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VBS	Venda Building Society Mutual Bank
VOC	Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

“The deep inequalities that persist are visible reminders of the effects of apartheid and colonialism. Until these scars are healed, the vision of our Constitution will not have been achieved” – Kate O’Regan, Constitutional Court Judge.

1.1 ORIENTATION AND BACKGROUND

The African National Congress (ANC), initially called the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), founded in 1912 is Africa’s oldest liberation movement (African National Congress, 2019 and Saunders, 2012:429). Upon its formation as a liberation movement, it aimed to defend the rights of Africans, their territories and putting an end to oppressive regimes, such as the apartheid government (Clapham, 2012:4). The apartheid government left the majority of Africans poor, illiterate and landless, and due to this socio-economic deprivation, the ANC undertook the role of a liberator, a role underpinned by the ideological framework of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) (Mathole, 2005:27 and Booysen, 2011:15).

According to Hudson (1986:25-26), the origin of the NDR can be found in Lenin’s theory of imperialism, in which Lenin puts forth the argument that the prosperity that is found in colonial powers is exclusively due to the brutal exploitation of African people in their colonies. The NDR is “a process of struggle that seeks to transfer power to the people and transform society into a non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic one, and changes the manner in which wealth is shared, in order to benefit all the people.” (African National Congress, 2012:70). Therefore, Lenin states “...our primary and imperative practical task to establish an organization of revolutionaries capable of lending energy, stability, and continuity to the political struggle...” (Lenin, 1902:66 & 79).

The NDR was established prior to the new democratic dispensation and has been the ideological compass that guides the ANC and its alliance partners (that is, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)) to achieve their core objectives. Thus, Nzimande (2006) (cited by Cedras & Kuye (2013:101) asserts that “the character, content and direction of the NDR are of fundamental importance to our alliance, since the deepening and

consolidating of the National Democratic Revolution is the glue that holds our alliance together.”

In addition, the formulation of the NDR was from within the ideology of socialism (Hudson, 1986:6-7). Socialism as defined by Hudson (1986:21) is “the first phase of communism” and as “a political and economic theory of social organisation which advocates that the means of production, distribution, and exchange should be owned or regulated by the community as a whole” (Oxford Living Dictionaries, 2019). As a result, the African majority were to be set free from the clutches of ‘colonialism of a special type’ through the NDR (Cedras & Kuye, 2013:102-103).

Colonialism of a special type is a term that arose during apartheid South Africa and used to describe the unique structure of the South African society; a structure, which ultimately gave rise to a country of “two nations/economies” as asserted by former President Thabo Mbeki (Cedras & Kuye, 2013:102-103, Habib, 2013:91 and Mbeki, 1998). According to Mbeki (1998):

“South Africa is a country of two nations. One of these nations is White, relatively prosperous, regardless of gender or geographic dispersal. It has ready access to a developed economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure. The second and larger nation of South Africa is Black and poor, with the worst affected being women in the rural areas, the Black rural population in general and the disabled. This nation lives under conditions of a grossly underdeveloped economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure. It has virtually no possibility to exercise what in reality amounts to a theoretical right to equal opportunity, with that right being equal within this Black nation only to the extent that it is equally incapable of realisation.”

Therefore, as a means to bridge the gap between the nation’s two economies, the ANC and in turn the NDR have greatly influenced the manner in which governance is conducted, how the state is led and the policy direction that government ultimately pursues following its victory of the first democratic elections in 1994 (Cedras & Kuye, 2013:110). With reference to the latter, the ANC has implemented socio-economic policies such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), the Accelerated Shared Growth

Initiative - South Africa (ASGISA), the New Growth Path (NGP) and the National Development Plan-2030 (NDP) (Gumede, 2013:1-2). These socio-economic policies have improved the livelihoods of South Africans, as reflected by the 2018 Human Development Report (HDR) from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). South Africa's human development score has increased from 0.621 in 1990 and currently stands at 0.699 (UNDP, 2018:2). Thus, based on the HDR, South Africans enjoy a healthier and longer life as life expectancy is currently at 63.4, there is improved access to education, the country's Gross National Income (GNI) per capita has increased to 27% from 1990 to 2017, and there is a general improvement of citizens' standard of living. This is in part due to social grants comprising nearly 60% of the government's expenditure (UNDP, 2018:1-2 and van der Westhuizen & Swart, 2015:734).

The ANC-led government has vastly improved the lives of South Africans since 1994. This was fundamental, not only because of the high degree of deprivation that was prevalent amongst mainly the African majority, but to also grow a sense of trust towards the government, avoid further racial polarisation and in turn, ensure the hard fought democracy was maintained and solidified. However¹, despite the substantial progress that the government has made in improving the lives of citizens since transitioning to democracy, in recent years, this progress has decelerated. This is, in part, a result of structural challenges such as poor financial management, unsatisfactory revenue collection, increasing government debt, poor management of state-owned enterprises, inadequate skills development and employment opportunities and poor global economic growth following the 2008 financial crisis. All these factors have contributed to relative deprivation² (Industrial Development Cooperation (IDC), 2019:6-9 and The World Bank, 2018).

According to Sen (1983:156), Kollar and Santoro (2012:84), and Duclos and Grégoire (2002:472), the impact of relative deprivation in society is the same as the impact of poverty and inequality because they are all related to socio-economic exclusion. When one is relatively deprived, it means you do not have access to certain resources and/or opportunities, which is a direct relation to poverty and inequality. Hence, (relative) poverty, relative deprivation and inequality are

¹ See chapter four

² The subject of chapter two

interchangeable (Gupta, 1984:63). Scholars such as Triegaardt (2013:5) and Harmse (2013:2), and institutions such as Statistics South Africa (STATSSA) (2018a:42) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (2018:5), assert that South Africa is one of the most highly unequal societies in the world, as relative deprivation has worsened with the income Gini coefficient having increased from 0.59, 0.65, 0.63 and 0.68 in 1994, 2005, 2015 and 2018 respectively. The Gini coefficient is “an index that uses a scale of 0 to 1 to measure relative deprivation. An index of 0 represents a state of total equality (everyone in this society shares the same level of income), while an index of 1 reflects a state of complete inequality (in this society one person gets all the income and everyone else gets none).” (STATSSA, 2017:21).

In addition, South Africa’s poverty rate stands at approximately 40%, over 50% of the population is living below the upper-bound poverty line (UBPL) (that is, R1227 per person per month) and the unemployment rate is as high as 29%, despite the improved access to education and training (IMF, 2018:5, STATSSA, 2019a:3 and STATSSA, 2019b:1). An issue of great concern in South Africa and which contributes to this socio-economic condition is corruption,³ which is rife in all spheres of government and in the private sector (Adetiba, 2016:1).

Corruption is a concept that is difficult to clarify, as it consists of various definitions and it has normative and psychological connotations to it as activities that may be acceptable in certain countries and/or cultures may be unacceptable in others (Dube, 2011:8). Hence, Dube (2011:8), citing Bere (2007:4), asserts that corruption is “a psychological condition governed by a specific system of beliefs, values and emotions created by an individual's response to a changing external economic and social environment.” However, irrespective of this phenomenon, Cheema (2005:52) asserts that from a moralist-normative perspective, corruption is intrinsically evil as no culture or society condones it.

As stated above, corruption in South Africa is rife in both the public and the private sector. The former was reflected by the Auditor General’s annual report in which it

³ For the purpose of this dissertation, corruption is defined as “the unlawful or unethical abuse of authority in order to gain personal or group advantages.” (Fox & Mayer, 1995: 29). It includes activities such as fraud, bribery, nepotism, extortion, conflict of interest etc. (Kunaka & Matsheza (2001:14).

was found that a clean audit was received by only 18 of the country's 257 municipalities in the 2017/2018 financial year, and that irregular expenditure amounted to R21.2 billion (Kekana, 2019). Some municipalities, such those in the North West, Gauteng and Limpopo Provinces, even went to the extent of 'saving/'investing' money that was meant for service delivery to the Venda Building Society (VBS) Mutual Bank (Dentlinger, 2018). Corruption in the public sector is intertwined with corruption in the private sector.

Within the private sector, corruption requires greater attention and investigation. In 2017, KPMG, one of the biggest international auditing firms in the country, was involved in a corruption scandal and accused of assisting Gupta⁴-owned companies in tax evasion and corruption (Shoaib, 2017). Furthermore, the company (KPMG) was also accused of receiving loans from VBS Bank and for approving the banks poor accounting records; this is the same bank which had given former president Jacob Zuma a home loan for his Nkandla homestead and has now been liquidated (Chutel, 2018 and Ritchie, 2018).

The above situation is detrimental to the transformation of the country as it leads to a great economic loss, which hampers efforts to bridge the first and the second economy of the country, thus leading to relative deprivation and the breakdown of trust between the government and the citizenry (Wilson, 2015:30). This situation persists due to a lack of accountability and a lack of political will to address the various manifestations of corruption and the factors that lead to it (Wilson, 2015:23).

Based on the above, it can be stated that the NDR, and in turn the ANC, has lost some form of direction, as the abovementioned reflects there is a significant shift from the principles of democracy and/or the constitution towards self-enrichment. This is evident in the argument put forth by Bishop Malusi Mpumlwana (the General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC)) following the release of the SACC's Unburdening Panel Process report. Mpumlwana argued that "It is not just a matter of the persona of the president [referring to former President Jacob Zuma], but it is actually a broader cancer across the government. There have been similar instances in the provinces and the municipalities. All of these convince us that

⁴ The Gupta's are a wealthy family from India that has business interests in South Africa and has established strong links with prominent ANC leaders (Southall, 2011:618). (See chapter four)

the total governmental institution does not have any moral legitimacy anymore.” (Nicolaidis, 2017). Thus, the moral fibre of the country, the ANC and in turn the NDR needs rebuilding, as eradicating the remnants of ‘colonialism of a special type’ is a long process. Furthermore, it is clear that despite the attainment of political freedom after the new dispensation, the ANC government and/or the NDR has not completely met the expectations and aspirations the citizens had for socio-economic freedom.

The NDR has achieved one of its primary objectives which includes bringing an end to the apartheid regime; however, after 26 years of democracy it is still a fundamental part of the ANC’s ideological framework yet it has failed to resolve (and has worsened) societal ills related to relative deprivation (such as, unemployment, homelessness, lack of infrastructure, etc.) This phenomenon leads to one posing the fundamental question of whether the NDR is still relevant in overcoming the prevailing socio-economic deprivation in South Africa?

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Based on the above, the NDR has continued to be a fundamental concept within the South African government and the tripartite alliance post 1994. According to Alexander (2010:1), revolutions are never completed; they are a continuous and complex process that needs expressing in solid programmes and strategies to ensure their eventual materialisation. This means that within the context of South Africa, the end of the apartheid regime signalled a new dawn for the country and a continuation of the NDR that was not militant or centred on an arms struggle, but instead centred on the principles of democracy. This therefore required a fundamental shift in the mind-sets of ANC members that would result in the reform/or adjustment of the approaches that ought to be employed in realising the core objectives of the NDR in democratic South Africa.

As stated in the previous section, the formulation of the NDR was from within the ideology of socialism (Hudson, 1986:6-7). However, the growth of the Black middle-class and/or Black bourgeoisie through affirmative action programme(s) and the implementation of neo-liberal macroeconomic policies, such as GEAR, which was centred on economic growth while human and social development took a backseat,

suggests that the 'mental shift' (mentioned above) that was meant to be centred on the principles of democracy only occurred on a minimal level, and instead, the meaning of the concept of the NDR has changed to become more capitalist-oriented (Schneider, 2003:43-45 and du Preez, 2018). This phenomenon has fractured the relations of the tripartite alliance whereby the SACP and COSATU have threatened to leave the alliance should the ANC continue serving a capitalist agenda and not allow them to have a voice in core decision-making (Goba, 2019 and Kaaf, 2017). Hence, COSATU has argued that, "The key strategic opponent of the NDR is capital and its allies and their attempt to impose a neo-liberal agenda" (Macozoma, 2003:15).

Due to the change in the character of the NDR and the high degree of socio-economic deprivation in society, citizens have become more reactive towards the government and the inadequacies thereof. The growing number of corruption scandals of ANC leaders reflects the former in recent years, and the growing number of violent service delivery protests reflect the latter, both of which have become the norm in the country (Quintal, 2018 and Wilson, 2015:23). This has had a negative effect on the psyche of citizens, as according to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), approximately 9 million eligible voters did not register to vote in the 2019 national elections, and of this number, 6 million were under the age of 30 (Petersen, 2019). This therefore shows that the country's hard fought democracy has, over time, become less valued by the populace and there is a loss of hope amongst citizens that their socio-economic circumstances can/or will improve. As such, it is important to provide an explanation of concepts such as 'relative deprivation' and 'inequality' as they are at the core of this dissertation.

For the purpose of this dissertation, relative deprivation "is therefore the outcome of a comparative process and can account for crimes of acquisition or frustration accruing from blocked goals, or emotive violence such as between individuals or factions based on territory, reputation or respect." (Webber, 2007:108). This relates to inequality, which can be seen as a multidimensional concept that refers to variations in living standards across a whole population, or "the state of not being equal, especially in status, rights, income and opportunities" (McKay, 2002:1 and United Nations, 2015:1). In this dissertation, inequality will be defined as "the fundamental disparity that permits one individual certain material choices, while

denying another individual those very same choices.” This definition of inequality refers to economic inequality (Ray, 1998:170). (See Chapter Two for a broader discussion).

Based on the above, the problem this dissertation will analyse is ‘How has the National Democratic Revolution contributed to the existence of relative deprivation in South Africa?’ This central problem translates into the research questions to undergo discussion in subsequent chapters.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study will answer the following research questions:

- What are the points of departure of the theory of relative deprivation?
- What is the theoretical and philosophical background that guides the ANC’s interpretation of the National Democratic Revolution?
- What are the factors that have contributed to relative deprivation in South Africa after 1994?

These research questions represent the following research objectives for this study.

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study are:

- To analyse the points of departure of the theory of relative deprivation
- To analyse the theoretical and philosophical background that guides the ANC’s interpretation of the National Democratic Revolution
- To analyse the factors that contributed to relative deprivation in South Africa after 1994

1.5 CENTRAL THEORETICAL STATEMENT

The NDR is a fundamental concept within the ANC and its alliance partners (Venter, 2012:19). Within the ANC, it is a well-used concept in policy discussion documents. It is also in policy documents of the SACP and the ANC Youth League, and it can be found in ANC documents such as the Strategy and Tactics, which has been adopted at ANC conferences during the apartheid era and during the new dispensation (Suttner, 2011:7 & 10 and Venter, 2012:19). However, this dissertation asserts that under the direction of the NDR, relative deprivation in South Africa has worsened and this has brought the relevance of the NDR into question.

The theory of the NDR and of relative deprivation are the fundamental theories for this dissertation, because the former is particularly relevant as it provides an understanding of why the ANC initially adopted the NDR and the value of maintaining this ideological stance. The latter is particularly relevant in clarifying the various forms of relative deprivation and the factors that contribute to societal discontent (as articulated in the work of Ted Robert Gurr, Walter Runciman and James Chowning Davies). To this end, relative deprivation theory resonates well with the frustration and aggression that is manifesting in the country in the form of various (service delivery) protests and the rise in social movements as a direct result of citizens unmet expectations and the broken promises of the ANC government as per the direction of the NDR.

According to Du Preez (2018), relative deprivation in South Africa has worsened and this in part is due to the ANC's inability to evolve into a modern political party, and reform is ideology of the NDR. The ANC's stance of being a revolutionary party and a liberation movement has distracted it from the real and fundamental duty "of being an efficient, modern political party governing an open democracy and a sophisticated economy" (Du Preez, 2018). In this regard, the NDR has served as a façade of the reality that the nature of relative deprivation is still highly racialized and gendered (particularly amongst the African majority and African women), with the contributing factors for this phenomenon being the inability of the ANC to develop and implement sound macro-economic policies, and run a corruption-free and accountable government (du Preez, 2018).

The following section will describe the research methodology employed for this dissertation.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

For the purpose of this study, a qualitative research approach will be used. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005:3), qualitative research refers to a naturalistic and interpretive approach to research, in which the study of a social phenomenon is in its natural setting, with researchers mainly attempting to comprehend phenomena with reference to the meanings that people ascribe to them. Researchers employing a qualitative research design may use various approaches to their study, which include grounded theory, ethnography, phenomenological research, narrative research and case studies (Creswell, 2014:12-14).

Due to the subjective manner of this research in comprehending the meaning of the NDR and the progression of relative deprivation in South Africa, it is fitting this study makes use of the grounded theory approach. Strauss and Corbin (1998:12) describe grounded theory as “theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analysed through the research process. In this method, data collection, analysis and eventual theory stand in close relationship to one another. A researcher does not begin a project with a preconceived theory in mind (unless his or her purpose is to elaborate and extend existing theory). Rather, the researcher begins with an area of study and allows the theory to emerge from the data.”

Within the abovementioned approach of grounded theory will be the employment of deductive reasoning, and this can be described as “the process of logic where that which is held to be true is used as basis for the explanation of the new or unexplored.” (Venter, 2012:25). Therefore, theory about fundamental concepts (such as the NDR and relative deprivation) and phenomena about relative deprivation will serve as a basis/or framework for the explanation and completion of the following chapters of this study. In this way, the conclusions drawn from one chapter will act as a guide, determining the direction that the following chapter will take.

According to LeCompte and Preissle (1994:141), qualitative research does not rely on numerical data for analysis but on verbal, auditory and visual data, which is obtainable through interviews, surveys, focus groups, field notes, semi-structured questionnaires, etc. As such, the qualitative method employed for this study will

include a review of academic literature. In this way a deeper understanding can be obtained regarding the character of the NDR, if and/or how it has changed over time, the threats it is facing that have contributed to the rise in relative deprivation in South Africa, and how the character of the NDR ought to be under the new democratic dispensation in order to effectively alleviate relative deprivation.

Furthermore, in order to understand the true essence of relative deprivation, academic literature pertaining to the theory/or concept of relative deprivation will be discussed in the second chapter of this dissertation. Specific attention will be on the contributions made by Walter Runciman, Ted Robert Gurr and James Chowning Davies. The choice of these authors was because of their major contributors to the theory of relative deprivation, as they have provided a conceptualisation and definition of the concept. In this way, these authors have broadened relative deprivation, as it is no longer isolated to the realm of psychology. As such, relative deprivation has become associated with disciplines such as mathematics, economics, sociology, political studies and criminology, and with phenomena such as social movements, deviant behaviour, revolutions and voting behaviour.

The following section will thoroughly examine the source material included in this study.

1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW

The following source material will be used for the purpose of this study:

- **The archives of the ANC website** - Sources such as the archives of the ANC website can be regarded as primary sources and highly relevant to the study, as it will provide a thorough understanding of the origin of the NDR, its fundamental objectives and the origin of the socio-economic deprivation in South Africa.
- **Peer-reviewed journal articles** – Peer-reviewed journal articles can also be regarded as primary sources significant to the study as they provide a thorough analysis of the role the NDR has played in democratic South Africa,

the challenges to the NDR that have contributed to the increase in socio-economic deprivation and the reform that the NDR and the ANC need to undergo to remain relevant under the new democratic dispensation.

- **Government documents and publications** - Government documents, publications and relevant legislation will be included in the study. This is to determine whether the current objectives of the NDR, as stipulated in these sources, are practical and achievable, and to comprehend the organisation's plans/or vision that ought to prevent and/or alleviate the prevailing socio-economic deprivation in South Africa.
- **Scholarly books** - Scholarly books (including peer-reviewed journal articles) are relevant to the study as they provide insight on the theoretical background that guides the ANC's notion of the NDR and the fundamental points of departure of the theory of relative deprivation.
- **Public speeches and online newspaper articles** - Public speeches and online newspaper articles are important to the study as they articulate how far the ruling party/NDR has come in meeting the socio-economic needs that the populace had after 1994, thus providing the latest information in this regard and the remaining challenges.

As the topic at hand is multifaceted, the study will not be limited to the abovementioned literature. Furthermore, based on the above, the identified gap in the literature pertains to the relevance of the NDR in resolving the increasing relative deprivation in South Africa and meeting the expectations that citizens had in 1994.

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The motivation of this study is to contribute to the continuous debate on the need for the ANC-led government to eradicate the growing relative deprivation in South Africa. The study is important as it attempts to understand the contributing factors to relative deprivation in South Africa, including the contribution of the National Democratic Revolution towards this societal problem. This is important as it will, in

turn, illustrate how the character of the National Democratic Revolution ought to be under the new democratic dispensation and if/or how this can serve as a framework for eliminating the threats that contribute to relative deprivation in the country.

1.9 ETHICS

The research methodology employed for this dissertation will mainly focus on searching and evaluating the existing literature on the topic this dissertation aims to explore. As such, this dissertation does not mandate an ethics form as the research approach will not involve any form of contact with vulnerable groups (such as children, the disabled, or animals), nor is it aimed at inflicting harm to individuals. Appropriate acknowledgement (citation) of the contributors to the subject matter of this dissertation will follow.

1.10 LIMITATIONS

The conducting of this dissertation will be by means of a literature review; as such, the source material used may include secondary sources from other authors, especially when discussing historical phenomena such as the ideology of the National Democratic Revolution. The ANC website also has limited information on historical and recent party events that may be of use in completing certain chapters of this dissertation.

1.11 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter One

This introductory chapter provides an overview of South Africa's history and the resultant existence of relative deprivation in the country. It further articulates the origin of the National Democratic Revolution and its relation to the ANC, both as a tool for defeating the oppressive apartheid regime, and a framework for governance and improving the lives of the African majority after 1994.

Chapter Two

This chapter will provide a thorough conceptualisation of the theory and/or concept of relative deprivation. Therefore, information pertaining to the origins of the

concept/or theory will be provided, including the contributions made by various authors and how relative deprivation relates to the South African context.

Chapter Three

This chapter aims to provide a thorough conceptualisation of the theoretical and philosophical background that guides the ANC's interpretation of the National Democratic Revolution. Thus, there will be a discussion of the academic literature pertaining to the origins and the development of the National Democratic Revolution in South Africa.

Chapter Four

This chapter will analyse the factors that have contributed to relative deprivation in South Africa after 1994, and provide statistical information pertaining to the core drivers of relative deprivation. Fundamental events that relate to the ANC as an organisation/or the ruling political party will be examined, including the ANC's method of governance and/or policy direction that it has chosen, which has worsened relative deprivation in the country.

Chapter Five

This chapter will provide a conclusion to this study including recommendations on how the ANC ought to address internal organisational issues, bring stability to the party and in turn rebuild its moral fibre. The recommendations will also focus on the strategies that the ANC ought to employ in an effort to resolve the prevailing relative deprivation, including the factors that contributed to it.

CHAPTER TWO: AN ANALYSIS OF THE THEORETICAL POINTS OF DEPARTURE OF THE THEORY OF RELATIVE DEPRIVATION

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided an overview of South Africa's history of colonialism and its contribution to the existence of relative deprivation in the country. A short description provided the origin of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) and its relation to the ANC. Furthermore, the chapter articulated how the ANC used the ideological framework of the NDR, both as a tool for defeating the oppressive apartheid regime and a framework for governance and improving the lives of the African majority after 1994. There was a brief description of the improvements the ANC-government had undertaken, such as citizens having greater access to education and healthcare. Furthermore, statistical information (through the Gini coefficient) pertaining to the pattern of deprivation since 1994 was provided, including a description of the socio-economic status of South Africa and the key objectives of this dissertation.

By means of a literature review, the purpose of this chapter is to analyse the points of departure of the theory of relative deprivation. It will provide a broad perspective of the psychological explanations/theories of relative deprivation from various authors, including a thorough conceptualisation of the theory.

2.2 The origins of the theory of relative deprivation theory

In 1949, Samuel Stouffer (1949), Edward Suchman (1949), Leland DeVinney (1949), Shirley Star (1949) and Robin Williams (1949), formulated the concept of relative deprivation to explain the peculiar relationships that arose from the surveyed responses of American army troops in World War II; they titled their work "The American Soldier" (Olson & Hazlewood, 1986:2, Smith & Pettigrew, 2015:1 and Smith *et al.*, 2011:2). However, according to Folger (1986:34) and Smith *et al.* (2011:2), relative deprivation was not measured in a direct manner by Stouffer and his colleagues but instead, the term was utilised in a post hoc⁵ manner to explain the peculiar survey responses of American army troops in World War II. Stouffer (1949)

⁵ According to Damer (2012:188), the term post hoc can be described as a flawed causal analysis assertion that due to something happening immediately after another event, it was therefore a result of that previous event.

(cited by Olson & Hazlewood, 1986:2) and his colleague's research findings were peculiar as they reflected greater frustration and discontent from the American Army Air corpsman over promotions compared to the military police, despite the former enjoying promotions at a quicker rate and better conditions of work than the latter, who happened to be less discontent and less frustrated.

Based on the above, Stouffer and his colleague's upheld that the comparison made by the airmen, with reference to the military police, was irrelevant as many of their colleagues within the Air Corps group had been promoted. As such, he hypothesised that this particular comparison gave rise to relative deprivation (Smith *et al.*, 2011:2), as "satisfaction varied as a function of subjective rather than objective frames of reference" (Folger, 1986:34). To provide clarity to this inconsistency, Stouffer (cited by Cherkaoui, 2015:214) states that "if at the same age, level of education, and seniority, the majority of my colleagues and I have been promoted, I will consider my promotion as normal. If, however, I have not been promoted, I will go through a feeling of injustice, which can translate into criticism of the mobility system. If the promotion is relatively scarce in the group to which I belong or refer to in my evaluations, I will be very pleased with my promotion. However, if I am not promoted I will not experience any sense of injustice since all my peers have not been promoted."

According to Pettigrew (2015:7), within academia the origins of relative deprivation can be found within the field of social psychology, with authors and/or academics such as Smith, Pettigrew, Pippin and Bialosiewicz (2015:3) describing it as a social psychological concept. Pettigrew (2015:7) reinforces the psychological nature of relative deprivation by stating, "It postulates a subjective state that shapes emotions, cognitions, and behaviour. It links the individual with the interpersonal and intergroup levels of analysis." Over time, relative deprivation has become a multidisciplinary concept. It has become a fundamental concept within the medical field as researchers have used it to explain phenomena such as poor physical health. Within social sciences, there has been firm establishing of relative deprivation in disciplines such as history, criminology, political science and even economics (Smith *et al.*, 2015:3). According to Folger (1986:34), the continuing use of relative deprivation resulted in the concept expanding to contexts such as civil unrest and revolution.

Hence, authors such as James C. Davies and Ted Robert Gurr have referred to relative deprivation as a theory of revolutions.

With the above being stated, the following section will discuss the contributions made by various authors to the concept of relative deprivation.

2.3 Fundamental theorists of relative deprivation theory

For the purpose of this dissertation, the theory of relative deprivation will focus on the work of Walter Runciman, Ted Robert Gurr and James Chowning Davies. The choice of these authors is because they provide a thorough understanding of relative deprivation theory, from its origins, to its causes and the various forms of relative deprivation, which results in social discontent. In this way, these authors have shown the relationship that relative deprivation has with other academic disciplines, such as economics and psychology, and have contributed to socio-political theory, such as the theories of social movements, deviance, revolutions and voting behaviour. The discussion on the theorists of relative deprivation will commence with the contributions made by Walter Runciman.

2.3.1 Walter Runciman

Despite Stouffer and his colleagues having formulated the term relative deprivation in 1949, they failed to provide a specific analysis or a tangible definition of the term. This allowed other theorists to investigate the concept further and bring meaning to it (Itashiki, 2011:19). As such, Runciman (1966:10) asserts that despite the absence of a tangible definition of relative deprivation, the findings by Stouffer and his colleagues provide a general sense of the concept which is "If A, who does not have something but wants it, compares himself to B, who does have it, then A is 'relatively deprived' with reference to B. Similarly if A's expectations are higher than B's, or if he was better off than B in the past, he may when similarly placed to B feel relatively deprived by comparison with him." It is from this statement that Runciman established a comprehensive definition of relative deprivation, which reflected the link between social justice and relative deprivation.

In his book titled *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice*, Runciman (1966:10) defined relative deprivation as "A is relatively deprived of X when (i) he does not

have X, (ii) he sees some other person or persons, which may include himself at some previous or expected time, as having X (whether or not this is or will be in fact the case), (iii) he wants X (iv) he sees it as feasible that he should have X.”

Runciman's contribution to the literature on relative deprivation resulted in the conception and distinction between individual and group relative deprivation. Runciman (1966, 33-34) referred to the former (individual) as egoistic deprivation and the latter (group) as fraternalistic deprivation.

According to Tyler and Lind (2002:45), egoistic deprivation occurs when a single person experiences feelings of deprivation due to comparing their own situation to the situation of other people. For instance, one may feel egoistic deprivation if they think their income is less compared to that of their colleague. Fraternalistic deprivation occurs when one experiences feelings of deprivation due to comparing the situation of one's group to the situation of another group. Within the context of South Africa, the African majority experienced fraternalistic deprivation during apartheid South Africa. This was due to the discriminatory policies of the apartheid government that resulted in the African majority being worse off and lacking social, economic, and infrastructural resources, whereas other racial groups, particularly the White minority, had ready and far easier access to such resources. Therefore, authors such as van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2009:159) stated fraternalistic deprivation is more associated with the formation of social movements and serves as a well-grounded explanation of collective action.

However, Foster and Matheson (1995:5) state that it is not sufficient to conclude that fraternalistic deprivation is a well-grounded explanation of collective action, as “the relationship between collective relative deprivation (that is fraternalistic deprivation) and action is moderate at best.” The reason for this is that despite certain groups recognising they experience discrimination, relatively few of them approve or are involved in actions directed at changing the prevailing status quo. As such, Foster and Matheson (1995:5-6) stated that a broader comprehension of the role of perceived relative deprivation can be obtained from other theories of group behaviour, such as theories of group consciousness raising.

Stanley and Wise (1983) (cited by Foster & Matheson, 1995:5-6 and Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2009:159) stated that these theories suggest that people are most

likely to act to benefit their group when they realise that "the personal is political." Therefore, when only egoistic deprivation or only fraternalistic deprivation is experienced then it is unlikely that collective action will take place. Only when experiencing a personal 'issue' (egoistic deprivation) on a group level (fraternalistic deprivation) will people engage in collective action or vice versa. It is from this background that Runciman established the term double relative deprivation (Foster & Matheson, 1995:8-9 and Runciman, 1966:34).

Double relative deprivation is an overlooked concept. The doubly deprived group is seen as the 'ideal type' because it refers to the "man who not only feels the deprivations and injustices imposed on his class, but who explicitly aspires to lead or even ultimately to rule his class in the course of securing redress on their behalf" (Runciman, 1966:34). Runciman (1966:34) further states that those who have experienced double deprivation have made a great impact in the course of history, thus indicating they constitute the vanguards of society. Foster and Matheson (1995:9) defined double relative deprivation as "the perception of both personal and group deprivation," and Runciman (1966:34) defined it as "when individuals feel both egoistically and fraternally deprived."

Based on the above definitions of double relative deprivation, within the context of South Africa, citizens infected with HIV/AIDS experienced double relative deprivation especially during former President Mbeki's administration. Mbeki's administration became known for his embrace of AIDS denialism, which contaminated the government and the ANC to the extent that his stance resulted in "an unofficial anti-policy on AIDS" that persisted, irrespective of global condemnation and the deaths of over 300 000 people (Heywood, 2010:129 and TAC⁶, 2016). On an individual level, citizens infected with HIV/AIDS experienced egoistic deprivation because they were infected with a deadly disease, many suffered rejection by their families and communities, and they were unable to access antiretroviral treatment/medication as they lacked the financial resources to do so, thus, making them unable to maintain a healthy life (Cullinan, 2018).

On a group level, the HIV/AIDS infected citizens were also fraternally deprived, not only because of the rejection by their families and communities, but because their

⁶ Treatment Action Campaign

very own state/government was rejecting them. Former President Mbeki, and the late former Minister of Health, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang's reluctance and unwillingness to spend state funds to provide antiretroviral treatment/medication to citizens and on educating the public about HIV/AIDS, reflected the latter. They informed the public of other means of maintaining a healthy lifestyle (eating fruit and vegetables) to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS (Cullinan, 2018). This explanation reinforces the abovementioned statement that people are most likely to act to benefit their group when they realise that "the personal is political" and it is from this background that pro-poor civil society movements, such as the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), came into existence. Due to this scenario, the personal issue of having HIV/AIDS and being denied access to medication became a political issue and a human rights violation.

Kollar and Santoro (2012:85) stated the three elements deduced from Runciman's definition of relative deprivation include:

- (a) the perception of one's actual position in society;
- (b) the perception of a reference group's situation in contrast with one's own position;
- (c) an account of why one deserves a place in the reference group.

In addition, it is evident that relative deprivation is a theory that is highly reliant on the individual(s) or groups that one compares oneself to, because to feel deprived there has to be a reference group against which to evaluate livelihoods, and to aspire to be like.

According to Runciman (1966:11), the term 'reference group,' or more accurately 'comparative reference group,' does not only mean the group against which one compares oneself to, but it can also mean either the group from which one derives their standards of comparison or the group from which the comparison is extended and to which he/she feels they belong. Therefore, it can be stated that there is a direct relationship between the point of reference that a person chooses (that is, their reference group) and the level of relative deprivation. This means the higher the point of reference that an individual chooses the higher their level of deprivation will be. Furthermore, for any comparison to occur, a person must be able to identify at

least one attribute that he/she shares with the members of the reference group (Kollar & Santoro, 2012:87).

In light of above, the inquiry of relative deprivation as a perception has to do with the meaning and/or necessity that people attach to certain commodities that have become associated with certain reference groups, the reference group that society has placed you in and the expectations thereof. As such, Runciman (1966:12-15) identified three main reference groups that may be used to evaluate oneself on several planes.

Firstly, the comparative reference group is what Runciman (1966:12) regards as the group that one utilises when comparing own traits to those of others within the group; it is from this that an individual captures his/her standards. An example of this may include a thriving entrepreneur mimicking/or competing with the wealth of his rival.

Runciman (1966:12) referred to the second reference group as the normative reference group, and described it as the group from which an individual's standards originate from; standards with reference to social values, finances, norms and attitudes (Horne, 2009:5). An example of this may include young people adopting the political attitudes of individuals who they consider true revolutionary leaders.

The third reference group Runciman referred to, was the membership reference group; the group to which people consider they belong. Runciman stated, "the membership reference group is rather the membership group by whose unequal position a sense of relative deprivation is engendered." Thus, it is also the basis of comparison with the comparative reference group (Runciman, 1966:13-15). For instance, when a skilled worker feels they are entitled to a better income, their membership reference group is the group of underpaid employees, and not the group of skilled workers. The group of skilled workers is only the motivational grounds for their feeling of relative deprivation (Runciman, 1966:13).

The abovementioned reference groups are fundamental as they form an 'internal continuum' upon which people can measure their status in the group they form part of, it is a means they use to measure their individual traits, and it also gives people the capability to maintain or change their membership within the group (Horne, 2009:5).

The following section will discuss the contribution made by Ted Robert Gurr to the theory of relative deprivation.

2.3.2 Ted Robert Gurr's theory

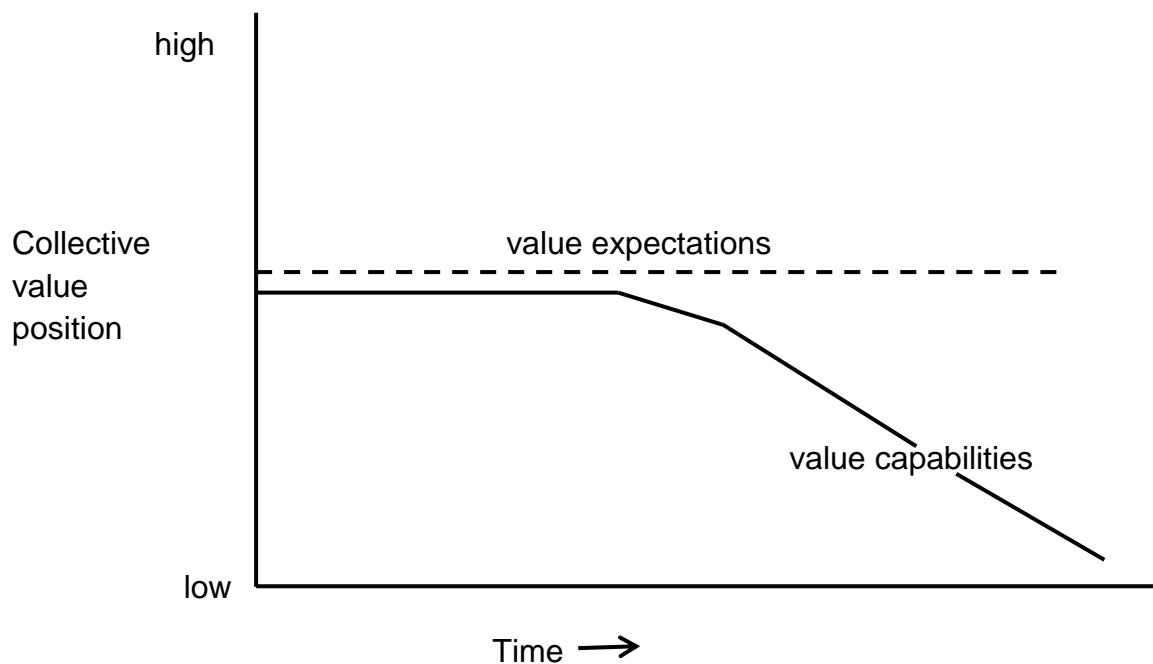
According to Gurr (1971:23), relative deprivation is a concept that aims to signify the tension that arises because of a disparity between 'the "ought" and the "is" of collective value satisfaction,' and that encourages men to violence. Based on this description, relative deprivation is the disparity between people's wants, their value expectations, what they are really obtaining, and their value accruing capabilities (Saleh, 2013:165). Gurr (1971:24) defines relative deprivation as an "actor's perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities." The term value expectations refers to the goods and life conditions individuals believe they are entitled to, whereas value capabilities refers to the goods and life conditions individuals believe they have the ability to obtain and keep. Based on the definition that Gurr (1971:24) hypothesises, "the potential for collective violence varies strongly with the intensity and scope of relative deprivation among members of a collectivity." This hypothesis aims to highlight the perception of relative deprivation (or its subjective nature) because, when people make reference to their expectations they may be feeling subjectively deprived, whereas an objective observer may not regard them as being in want. Therefore, one's point of reference may not necessarily refer to one's peers or reference group, as explained by Runciman, but may also include an abstract ideal, their past condition(s) of life and the standards that are stated by leaders (Gurr, 1971:24-25).

Based on the aforementioned, relative deprivation is a fluid concept, not only because of its reliance on external stimuli and/or perception, but also because of its emotive implications. Regarding the latter, and with reference to Gurr's definition of relative deprivation, the deduction is that the disparity between people's expectations, and what they obtain in reality, consequently results in frustration. Gurr (1971:33) asserts that the existence of frustration is detrimental to the social order of society as frustration "always leads to some form of violence/aggression." Thus, there is a direct relationship between the extent of frustration and the intensity of violence, the greater the frustration the greater the intensity of violence. Under these conditions, not only is there a gap between the state and those who are deprived, but also between the haves and have-nots. As such, the relations between the latter

are bound to result in conflict as “the benefit of one group is an automatic loss for all others,” while the state is confronted by the rise in political instability and political violence (Gurr, 1971:125 & 38).

According to Gurr (1971:46), political instability and political violence occurs because of one of three types of relative deprivation. Decremental deprivation (as depicted in Figure 1) is the first type and is characterised by individual’s value expectations remaining relatively constant while value capabilities declines. Under these conditions, people are frustrated due to losing what they once had or what they thought they could have, thus they experience decremental deprivation when referring to their past conditions (Gurr, 1971:46).

Figure 1: Decremental deprivation



Source: Gurr (1971:47).

For instance, decremental deprivation may occur when a country is experiencing high inflation that reduces the purchasing power of citizens, as prices for goods and services become more expensive; or when a country is experiencing an economic slump, which results in job losses, less production of goods, increasing prices and the inability of the government to resolve societal problems/crisis (Gonzalez-Intal, 1991:24 and Gurr, 1971:47).

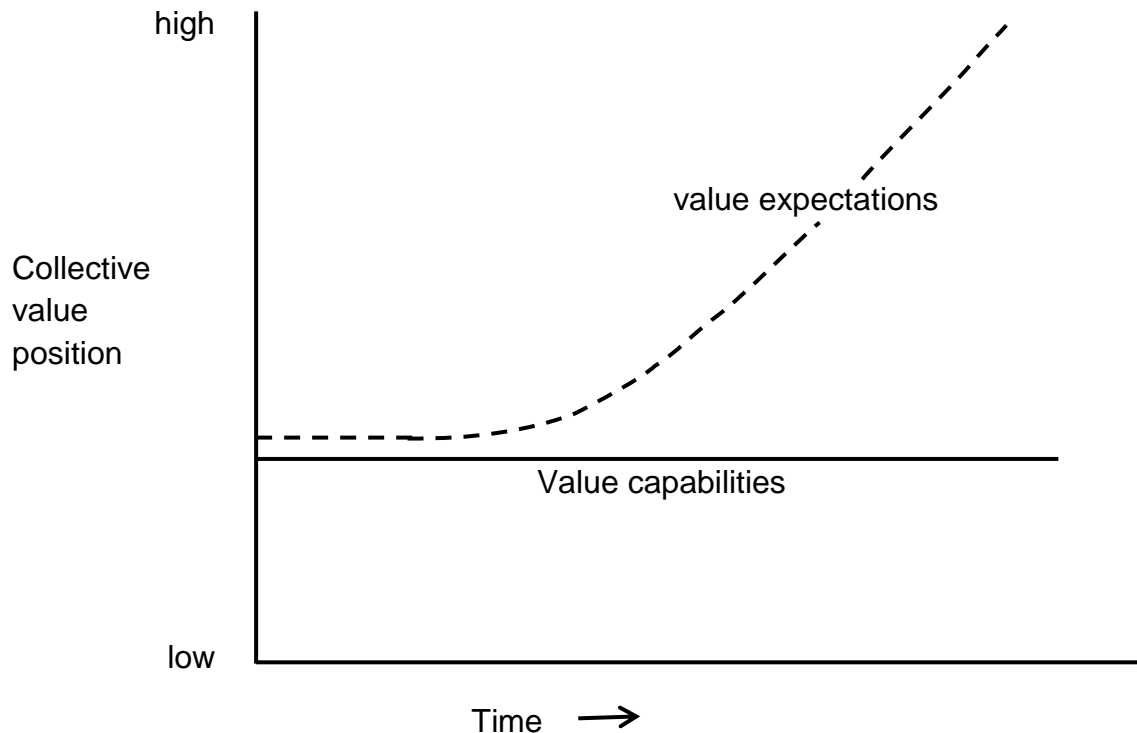
Decremental deprivation may arise when segments of society end up losing some of their value capabilities to other rival segments of society, including when the freedom and privileges individuals have become used to are lost (Gonzalez-Intal, 1991:24 and Gurr, 1971:46-47). The latter may include factors such as the impact of progressive taxation on the affluent and regressive taxation on the impoverished, elites becoming less politically influential and the middle class losing status or influence as the status of working-class groups rises. Decremental deprivation also occurs when the value position or prospective of a specific group diminishes due to the reduction in opportunities; this may include the lack of employment opportunities for unskilled labour in developed societies (Gurr, 1971:47 & 50). Based on the above Gurr (1971:50) states, "Men are likely to be more intensely angered when they lose what they have than when they lose hope of attaining what they do not yet have."

Gurr refers to the second type of relative deprivation as aspirational deprivation. Aspirational deprivation (as depicted in Figure 2) is characterised by the rise in individual's value expectations, while the associated value capabilities remain relatively constant. Unlike with decremental deprivation, whereby individuals are frustrated over losing what they have, with aspirational deprivation individuals are frustrated as they feel that they have no way of obtaining new or enhanced expectations. The rise in value expectations may mirror calls for more value, for instance, more material goods, and increased political order and justice (Gurr, 1971:50). Therefore, a fundamental question to ask is where do these new and/or enhanced expectations come from?

According to Gurr (1971:51), one of the contributing factors to the rise in expectations includes individuals "mere exposure to, or knowledge of, a better material way of life." In this regard, Gurr refers to medieval and early Renaissance Europe, whereby the development of commercial and industrial centres revealed contemporary opportunities exceeding those that life offered to the peasant. Therefore, factors that include a change in government and/or of government leaders, and when a country's economic state improves in the short-run, people's expectations are more likely to rise (Gonzalez-Intal, 1991:24). Within the 21st century, Gonzalez-Intal (1991:24) stated that the media plays a significant role in the rise in individual's expectations and in turn, in the rise in aspirational deprivation, as it exposes people to certain desirable material goods. This statement is similar to

what Runciman referred to as the 'reference group,' and to what Gurr referred to as the demonstration effect.

Figure 2: Aspirational deprivation



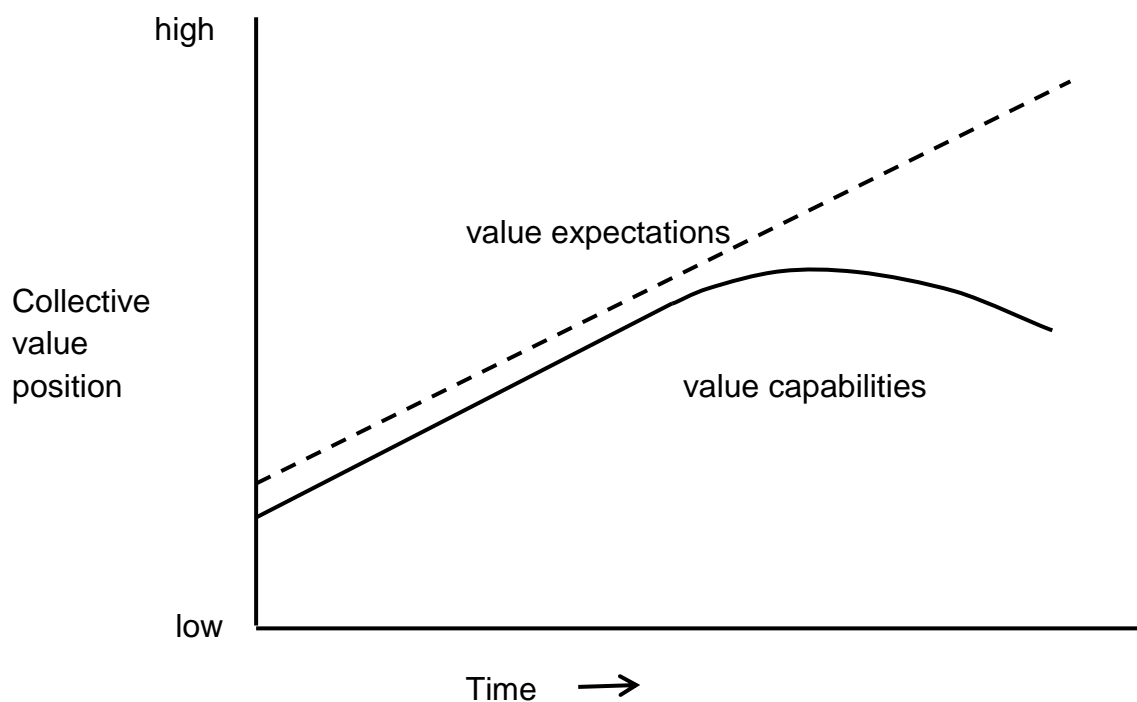
Source: Gurr (1971:51).

According to Gurr (1971:52), the demonstration effect in its narrow sense is “setting one’s value expectations by reference to the higher value position of some other individual or group.” This means that through the demonstration effect, the heightening of the expectation levels of individuals is by the improvement of other groups’ socio-economic status, whereas one’s own group remains relatively constant/stagnant. This discrepancy precisely related to political violence, and theorists such as Aristotle (cited by Gurr, 1971:52) have reinforced this sentiment by stating, “the source of disposition to revolution is the aspiration after equality which provokes the commons to sedition when they suppose that they have a small share.”

The third type of relative deprivation is progressive deprivation. When there is a steady, long run of improvement in people’s socio-economic status then this in turn creates the expectation of continued improvement. As such, value expectations and value capabilities rise concurrently. However, progressive deprivation (as depicted in figure 3) occurs due to the stabilisation or decrease of value capabilities following

this period of improvement (Gurr, 1971:52-53). This pattern is found in societies that have experienced concurrent ideological and systemic changes, such as the effect of an economic depression in a growing economy. Progressive deprivation may also be employed for the formulation of theories of revolution that argue that, political violence is a result of declining responsiveness of social structures, beliefs and/or norms to objective changes (Gurr, 1971:53).

Figure 3: Progressive deprivation



Source: Gurr (1971:53).

However, Gurr (1971:58) asserts that through time, people have a tendency to adapt their value expectations to their value capabilities. However, if their value expectations are too high, it may take years, decades or generations to reach the point of equilibrium between value expectations and value capabilities. Gurr (1971:58) states the reason for this phenomenon is that people are too hasty to step into the habit of expecting more than their social means allow, and therefore become frustrated when their means are insufficient as they take time to admit their limitations.

Based on the aforementioned, authors such as Gonzalez-Intal (1991:24), Majeed (1979:148) and Korpi (1974:1576) stated that of the three types of relative deprivations, progressive deprivation is possibly the worst type and one of the major

causes for the rise in the probability of conflict, because people's expectations remain high while they simultaneously lose what they have previously gained. In light of this, progressive deprivation correlates with James Chowning Davies' hypothesis of the J-curve (Davies, 1962:6).

2.3.3 James Chowning Davies

The origin of the J-curve can be found in the mid 1950's, when Davies developed an idea of the unexpected gap between expectations and gratifications when he was trying to find a plausible explanation for why the Pullman (railroad) Strike occurred in 1894 in Chicago (Davies, 1974:608). In doing so, Davies made use of data from the 'Historical Statistics of the United States: 1789-1945' that was published in 1949 by the United States Department of Commerce. The data presented in this volume revealed that after the American Civil War in 1865, there was a generation-long upswing in workers' standard of living in the United States. This was firstly reflected by the fact that wages steadily increased amongst non-agricultural workers as the wage index was at approximately 143 in 1865, and later improved to approximately 161 in 1891 (United States Department of Commerce, 1949:66). Secondly, the general price index was at 127 in 1865 and improved to 75 in 1893, and lastly the cost of living index was at 102 in 1865 and later decreased to 75 in 1893 (United States Department of Commerce, 1949:231-232 & 235).

However, from 1893 the United States experienced an economic recession, which negatively affected railway car manufacturing employees. Employees' salaries were significantly lower due to reduced working hours, and rent from workers who resided in the company town of Pullman was withdrawn from their paychecks. Therefore, as dissatisfaction amongst workers increased, so did the Pullman Company's imposition of repressive measures that resulted in a prolonged and bitter strike that was later ended through the intervention of the country's army troops. It is from the occurrence of the Pullman Strike that Davies began to investigate the trend he had observed by giving more attention to events such as Dorr's Rebellion in Rhode Island in 1842, the 1917 Russian Revolution and the Egyptian Revolution of 1952 to determine whether a similar trend would emerge (Davies, 1974:608-609).

In addition to investigating the abovementioned social phenomena, Davies incorporated a theoretical perspective to the trend he had observed from the Pullman

Strike, by also observing its relationship to Marx's theories of relative deprivation and progressive degradation, and De Tocqueville's theory of long-range improvement (Davies, 1979:609). Marx's theory of relative deprivation relates to Marx and Engels' work, considered as a theory of revolution, in which they argued that all proletarians should unite and revolt against the oppressive capitalist system that enriched the bourgeoisie at the expense of the proletariat's hard labour. Progressive degradation, according to Marx, is a prerequisite of widespread unrest in the sense that as the proletariat's economic conditions improve. This in turn produces social tension because the social satisfaction they provided has reduced and has failed to keep pace with the rising welfare of the bourgeoisie (Davies, 1962:5).

De Tocqueville's argument of rising expectations/or theory of long-range improvement is based on his study of the French Revolution. De Tocqueville (1856:213) noted that the French Revolution's strongholds were particularly in the regions that had the most improved standard of living. This triggered expectation(s) in the populace of more improvements. However, he stated that the failure to provide more improvements in society would result in an increasingly intolerable situation for the individuals of the affected groups, and this could encourage revolutionary eagerness to the extent of explosion (De Tocqueville, 1856:213). Hence, De Tocqueville (1856:214) states that "Revolutions are not always brought about by a gradual decline from bad to worse. Nations that have endured patiently and almost unconsciously the most overwhelming oppression often burst into rebellion against the yoke the moment it begins to grow lighter."

According to Davies (1962:6), Marx and De Tocqueville's work may make it difficult for one to determine whether revolutions occur when there has been economic and social improvement, or when there has been regress, however they provide explanatory and predictive value, provided they have undergone comparison, and are in the appropriate time sequence. The observations made by Davies of the Pullman Strike and the theoretical perspectives on revolutions that are presented by Marx and De Tocqueville served as a basis for the formulation of Davies' J-curve theory on revolutions.

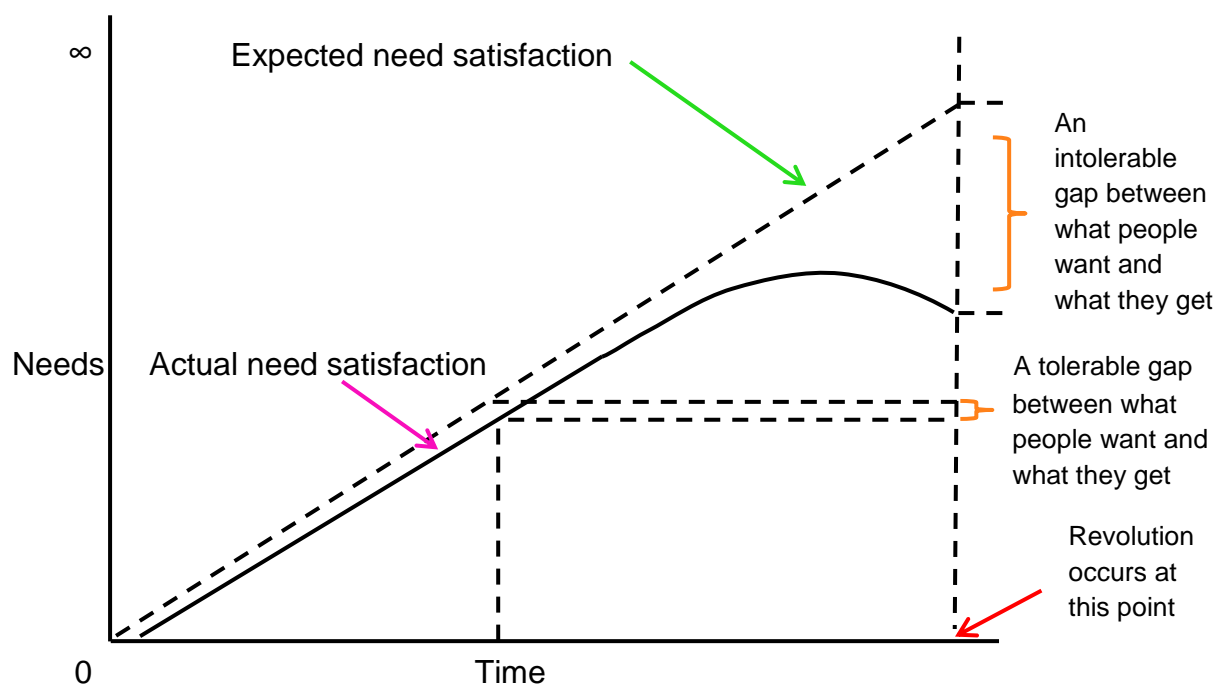
According to Davies (1962:6), "Revolutions are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of objective economic and social development is followed by a

short period of sharp reversal.” The evidence Davies gathered from Dorr’s Rebellion, the Russian Revolution and the Egyptian Revolution reinforced his notion as these events directly reflected this notion and/or theory. Davies further clarified what he meant by ‘revolution’ by defining the term as “violent civil disturbances that cause the displacement of one ruling group by another that has a broader popular basis for support.” (Davies, 1962:6).

The J-curve (as depicted in Figure 4) illustrates the disparity that occurs between the unmet expectations of the populace and the actual goods and/or services they are obtaining. Figure 4 expresses the former as ‘expected need satisfaction’ and the latter as ‘actual need satisfaction.’

Therefore, when a country experiences economic and social development, this heightens people’s expectations of a better standard of living and a better future. However, the occurrence of an economic slump (either due to international or domestic factors) reverses the rate and/or level of socio-economic development, and often citizens have difficulty adjusting to the government’s slow response to their needs. As such, the gap between ‘expected need satisfaction’ and ‘actual need satisfaction’ becomes greater and intolerable, and with enough time, citizens experience feelings of frustration, which ultimately translate into a revolution and thus hamper political stability (Davies, 1962:6).

Figure 4: Need satisfaction and revolution



Source: Davies (1962:6)

According to Davies (1962:6), the occurrence of a revolution depends on a state of mind, a mood in society. Therefore content or apathetic individuals who are impoverished, lacking status and power can be politically silent whereas the affluent can revolt, and vice versa. Davies (1962:6) asserts that the reason for this phenomenon is "It is the dissatisfied state of mind rather than the tangible provision of "adequate" or "inadequate" supplies of food, equality, or liberty which produces the revolution." Davies' argument for revolution and/or relative deprivation is similar to Gurr's argument of progressive deprivation, in the sense that people will be inclined to rebel when they are confronted with the possibility of having their 'improved' standard of living disrupted/or regressed. In other words, there is a certain level of deprivation people can tolerate before resorting to revolutionary measures.

Revolutions threaten social order and political stability, and with the theory of relative deprivation for the most part focused on resource accumulation and/or resource mobilisation, the rise in expectations as well as deprivation can spark a social movement and maybe more (Ontiveros, 2017:202). The reason for this phenomenon is that individuals should first have the ability to imagine a better life and/or society and believe this is attainable (or at least to some extent) before they are prepared to jeopardise life or property (Ontiveros, 2017:202). Davies (1962:7) explains this by stating, "When it is a choice between losing their chains or their lives, people will mostly choose to keep their chains... It is when the chains have been loosened somewhat, so that they can be cast off without a high probability of losing life, that people are put in a condition of proto- rebelliousness."

Based on the above, Gurney and Tierney (1982:33) assert the extensive application of the relative deprivation theory in the social movement's literature from the late 1960's and early 1970's. Despite Davies not providing a particular definition of relative deprivation, he does provide a theory of revolutions, revolutions that happen to be a result of relative deprivation.

The following section will provide an analysis and critique of the abovementioned theories of relative deprivation.

2.4 An analysis of the theories of relative deprivation

Runciman's definition of relative deprivation is important because it brings to the fore the issue of feasibility. The positive side to this is that Runciman compels people to think of whether they actually deserve what they see somebody else having and whether it is a need or a want. In this way, it has the ability to enforce an element of responsibility towards the populace, as one cannot just want something without working for it. The negative side is that he gives the impression that some people are better deserving of certain goods and services than are others. This is important within the context of South Africa, as it goes back to the issue of service delivery. For instance, Soweto residents owe South Africa's power producing utility Eskom approximately R20 billion, which is approximately 50% of the overall local municipal debt owed to the power utility (Omarjee, 2019). As such, some residents of Soweto have refused to pay for electricity. They not only mention that they cannot afford the high cost of electricity due to unemployment, but some see it as feasible to want electricity because it was promised to them free of charge by the ANC during the dying days of apartheid, and residents voted the ANC into power in return for these promises (free housing, education, water, etc.). (Gibson, 2015, Potelwa, 2014 and Omarjee, 2019).

Some residents of Soweto further feel they deserve free electricity because they played a role in the liberation of this country, as the culture of non-payment of utility bills was an act of resistance against the apartheid regime. Therefore, some residents do not consider the necessity of paying for services as they still have the entitlement and resistant attitude ingrained in them during the apartheid system (Potelwa, 2014 and Gibson, 2015). This situation has left many South African's feeling relatively deprived because they are paying for this public good (electricity) and still have to deal with numerous power outages, yet, they are also facing the same challenges that people in Soweto are facing, such as unemployment. As such, the issue of feasibility, as mentioned in Runciman's definition, is important because Soweto residents need to be conscious of the fact that the culture of non-payment is not feasible in the new dispensation because it will bring the economic state of the country to its knees in the same way that it did during the apartheid era.

Runciman's distinction between egoistic and fraternalistic deprivation is important because it goes back to the issue of the haves and the have-nots. He makes this

evident by stating that people who are well off can also feel relatively deprived. This is fundamental for the purpose of this dissertation because relative deprivation is eminent along racial lines in South Africa, as the White minority is considered the haves and the Black African majority the have-nots (Mbeki, 1998). However, with the increase of the Black middle class in South Africa, fraternal deprivation and double deprivation is more prevalent than egoistic deprivation (Leibbrandt & Zizzamia, 2017). Fraternal deprivation is evidenced by the growing concerns of the middle class (that now includes Whites and Black Africans, despite being under-represented) that the government is overtaxing them (Free Market Foundation, 2017:2). This scenario is reinforced by the 2020 academic year having started off with students protesting and putting forth demands that are not only related to students who are funded by the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), but also the demands of students who form part of the missing middle⁷ (Sobuwa, 2020). These protests reflected double deprivation because it is the parents of these students (parents who form part of the middle class) who are egoistically deprived because a large portion of their income goes to the state through tax, and these parents (together with their children) are also fraternally deprived because they are considered the missing middle and are excluded from financial relief from the state and/or universities.

Runciman (1966:34) stated that when only egoistic deprivation or only fraternalistic deprivation is experienced then it is unlikely that collective action will take place. This statement has proven to be incorrect. With regard to South Africa, egoistic deprivation has contributed to creating reforms in the criminal justice system, with the re-opening for prosecution of criminal cases of the apartheid regime. For instance, the inquest into the murder of Ahmed Timol, which was ruled as a suicide during the apartheid era, has prompted families of anti-apartheid activists, Neil Aggett and Nicodemus Kgoathe to also seek justice for their loved ones (Mabuza, 2020 and Grobler, 2020). Similar to this is the case involving the death of five-year old Micheal Komape, who fell and drowned in a pit latrine toilet at school in Limpopo (Mitchley, 2019). This tragedy occurred due to relative deprivation of access to

⁷ According to the South African Union of Students (SAUS) (2016:6) the missing middle refers to students “who are too rich for NSFAS, and too poor to pay fees. They are the children of teachers, of policemen, of civil servants and others.” They are students whose families constitute the wide middle class, earning between R120 000 and R400-R600 000 annually (Cloete, 2016 and SAUS, 2016:6).

quality education and healthcare services (Heywood, 2019:296). The Komape family experienced egoistic deprivation, however, this case produced results that would be expected of fraternalistic deprivation because it generated collective action from organisations such as Equal Education and Section27 in the form of protests and campaigns such as 'JusticeForMichael' and 'FixOurSchools' (Heywood, 2019:295 and Canon Collins Educational and Legal Assistance Trust, 2017).

Some progress has occurred to uplift the livelihoods of South Africans by improving access to water and sanitation, electricity, housing and education. However, in describing progressive deprivation, Gurr fails to articulate that at times societal discontent occurs because of the conditions under which progression occurred in society. This means that in as much as people can be happy that there is improvement in the delivery of services and infrastructure, the moment they realise that it occurred under corrupt practices then people cease to be content. Therefore, progressive deprivation may not take place inherently because people want more, but it may take place because some people have unethically acquired more.

In addition, Gurr's argument on progressive deprivation can serve as an explanation for the depiction that Davies (1962:6) presented when providing a hypothesis and theory of revolutions. Therefore, it can be said that the Davies J-curve's depiction of the intolerable gap (between what people want and what they are getting) reflects the above scenario of progressive deprivation because it represents the factors that hinder socio-economic progress, such as corruption. In light of the above and this assertion, Gurr and Davies fail to observe the fact that at times, citizens' resort to collective action once they feel democratic institutions have ignored their pleas for justice and the alleviation of their deprivation. As such, it is unreasonable for Gurr and Davies to classify citizens as entitled, resentful, angry and aggressive the moment they do not get what they feel they deserve, without actually observing the justifications for these negative emotions.

Since 1994 citizens' aspirations were heightened due to factors such as the change in government, from the National Party led S.A to the Government of National Unity (GNU), citizens exposure and involvement in the government's policy direction that was aimed at creating a better S.A. (something that was out of the ordinary for citizens); the country also had support from the international community in the form

of funding and it was readmitted into world organisations such as the Commonwealth (Schreiber, 2016:1 and Government of South Africa, 2020). However, aspirational deprivation began to set in amongst the populace and the contributing factors for this include the lack of empathy from politicians on the livelihoods of citizens.

South African's have become sensitised to the high-class lifestyles of politicians, as displayed in ANC functions, the annual State of the Nation Address and the State of the Province Address. This has hampered the hopes for an improved South Africa. Citizens had hoped their liberators would not become capitalist-oriented, and undermine their votes, while they (citizens) continued to live in appalling conditions. Aspirational deprivation is worsened by the fact that citizen's sense of trust in democratic institutions has become greatly reduced, reflected by citizens choosing to hold the government accountable through non-governmental organisations (NGO's) and civil society groups such as Section27, Corruption Watch, Organisation Undoing Tax Abuse and Freedom Under Law, rather than directly through the criminal justice system. Related to this is the fact that more citizens are engaging in criminality, not only because of the aspirational deprivation they are feeling, but because they feel entitled to engage in criminality as the government has normalised crime. Hence, today we have the Zondo Commission. As such, citizens feel they have no way of obtaining new or enhanced expectations, and this lack of trust in the system contributes to aspirational deprivation, which can be reflected by the poor voter turnout during the 2019 general elections (Petersen, 2019 and Dlamini, 2019). Therefore, aspirational deprivation is the most applicable form of deprivation for the purpose of this dissertation.

The following section will provide a conceptualisation of the concept relative deprivation.

2.5 A conceptualisation of relative deprivation

In understanding the concept of relative deprivation, it is important to provide a description of the two concepts 'relative' and 'deprivation.' According to Coombes, Raybould and Wong (1995:5) "The fundamental implication of the term deprivation is of an absence – of essential or desirable attributes, possessions and opportunities

which are considered no more than the minimum by that society.” Chakravarty (2012:131) defined deprivation as “the utility forgone because of not possessing the economic variable under consideration, here income.” The Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute (2007:10) state that deprivation signifies the effects of poverty on an individual’s life, evaluated by employing indicators that directly measure the various forms of deprivation instead of only measuring a lack of income. The term ‘relative’ denotes the significance or meaning of certain entities when they are compared to or are in relation to something else; hence, Chakravarty (2012:131) asserts that deprivation is relative as individuals feel deprived through the comparison that they make between themselves and the people who are of better socio-economic conditions.

As stated above, relative deprivation is a multidisciplinary concept. As such, it is important for this dissertation to provide a thorough conceptualisation of the concept not only to understand the purpose, but also to explain and bring context to different social phenomena and academic perspectives. In understanding the concept of relative deprivation from an economic perspective, Jiang, Probst and Benson (2014:387) state it is important to be particularly conscious of the conservation of resources theory (COR). This theory postulates that individuals are encouraged to preserve resources and the cause of psychological stress is the realisation or actual loss of resources, including the insufficiency of resource gain following resource investment. It is from the basis of this theory that the field of economics became more concerned with relative deprivation theory.

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization⁸ (2017) and Kollar and Santoro (2012:83-84), deprivation is a concept used interchangeably with poverty, and there are two central interpretations regarding the meaning of being relatively worse off than others are. The first one related to economics as it mainly marks the variation between absolute and relative poverty; in other words, it refers to relative deprivation as a ‘condition.’ Absolute deprivation measures deprivation with reference to the amount of funds required to attain and maintain the necessities of life (food, shelter, clothing, etc.) (UNESCO, 2017). Therefore, people experience absolute deprivation when their household income is

⁸ (UNESCO)

insufficient and fails to be at a level that is necessary to maintain the basic needs of life.

With regard to relative deprivation as a condition, Sen (1983:155) states that poverty as a relative concept arose as a “deprivation in terms of a person or a household being able to achieve less than what others in that society do.” However, regarding relative poverty as having or doing less than others is something that Sen argued against; he advocated for the introduction of a threshold that would represent or judge the extent of poverty from the average income, which referred to relative poverty (Sen, 1983:156 and Kollar & Santoro, 2012:83-84).

Relative poverty/deprivation measures deprivation with reference to the economic position of other people within society. Therefore, people suffer relative deprivation “if they fall below prevailing standards of living in a given societal context,” that is when their household income decreases to the extent that it is below the country’s poverty line (UNESCO, 2017). Kollar and Santoro (2012:84) state that a reasonable account of relative poverty would mean “a person is relatively deprived if her socio-economic status is significantly lower (e.g. 60%) than the average status in her society.”

In light of this, the inquiry into relative poverty and of relative deprivation becomes a subject of inequality because absolute poverty/deprivation has the ability to threaten people’s survival, whereas relative poverty/deprivation tends to restrict people’s ability to participate fully in their society (Sen, 1983:156, Kollar & Santoro, 2012:84 and Duclos & Grégoire, 2002:472). Gupta (1984:63) further states, “there are variable degrees of poverty depending upon different states or conditions of the poor. It follows, however, that the essence of poverty is inequality or some degree of (relative) deprivation.” Therefore, the discussion of concepts such as (relative) poverty, relative deprivation and inequality cannot be in isolation, and it is for this reason that they are used interchangeably (Gupta, 1984:63).

The second interpretation of being relatively worse off than others is common in sociology and social psychology. It focuses on the value of social status and on the sense or feeling of deprivation that transpires due to confronting one’s condition with the presumed or envisioned situation of other person(s) or group(s). In other words, it refers to relative deprivation as a ‘perception’ (Kollar & Santoro, 2012:83-84).

In understanding the meaning of relative deprivation as a perception, Kollar and Santoro (2012:86 & 89) state that perception must be normatively qualified, as the concept of relative deprivation is concentrated with normative assumptions relating to deserts, entitlement and fairness. According to Kollar and Santoro (2012:86), “relative deprivation is a function of the reference group which determines the aspiration-level and the intensity of the grievance when the desired social reward is out of reach.”

The contribution made by Kollar and Santoro (2012:89) regarding relative deprivation as a ‘condition’ and relative deprivation as a ‘perception,’ led them to the definition that “relative deprivation is the individual perception of a disadvantage with respect to a reference group over a set of goods or a social position one deems to be entitled to, according to a standard of justice or fair treatment.” This definition of relative deprivation reflects the psychological and emotive connotation(s) that is associated with the concept of relative deprivation. This is evidenced through words such as “individual perception” and “entitled to.” Thus, authors such as Smith and Pettigrew (2015:2) have expanded the meaning of relative deprivation by providing a conceptualisation of the concept from a (social) psychological and sociological perspective.

According to Smith and Pettigrew (2015:2), relative deprivation is “a judgement that one or one’s in-group is disadvantaged compared to a relevant referent, and that this judgement invokes feelings of anger, resentment and entitlement.” Based on this definition, Smith and Pettigrew (2015:2) make further note of four fundamental components of relative deprivation: (1) when individuals experience relative deprivation they firstly construct cognitive comparisons, (2) then they construct cognitive appraisals that aim to determine whether they or their in-group are at a disadvantage, (3) these disadvantages are then deemed as unfair, and lastly (4) individuals resent these unfair and unwarranted disadvantages. However, if one of these four components goes unmet, then relative deprivation is not operating (Smith & Pettigrew, 2015:2).

Authors such as Faye Crosby have also conceptualised relative deprivation from a psychological perspective by providing certain requirements that constitute individuals experiencing relative deprivation. Crosby’s conceptualisation is regarded

as an extension of Runciman's (1966) definition. Crosby (1976:90) provides five preconditions for individuals to feel resentment: "a person who lacks x must (1) see someone else (other) possesses x, (2) want x, (3) feels entitled to x, (4) thinks it is feasible to obtain x and, (5) lack a sense of personal responsibility for not having x." When more than one of these five preconditions of relative deprivation are absent, then relative deprivation is not occurring.

Based on the aforementioned, it is evident that experiencing relative deprivation evokes negative emotions such as anger and frustration. As a result, the theory of relative deprivation has expanded to academic disciplines such as criminology due to research focusing on the impact that relative deprivation has on deviant behaviour (Bernburg, Thorlindsson & Sigfusdottir, 2009:1224). Bernburg *et al.* (2009:1229) state, "relative deprivation tends to produce anger as well as weak commitment to the social norms, which in turn increase the likelihood of deviant behaviour." Authors such as Webber (2007:108) state, "relative deprivation is therefore the outcome of a comparative process and can account for crimes of acquisition or frustration accruing from blocked goals, or emotive violence such as between individuals or factions based on territory, reputation or respect." From this definition, it is clear that Webber creates a link between relative deprivation and crime/criminology, as the reader is sensitised to the development of crime, the emotions of crime, the variability of deviant behaviour, and ultimately motivating one to look into broader criminological concerns, such as, the intrinsic and/or fundamental psychological factors that provide a justification for relative deprivation (Webber, 2007:97-98).

The following section will analyse the abovementioned conceptualisations of relative deprivation.

2.6 An analysis of the various conceptualisations of relative deprivation

The abovementioned conceptualisations of relative deprivation are important for this study because they provide the reader with insight on how the concept has advanced since its inception and its relation to other theories, such as the conservation of resources theory (COR). The conceptualisation of relative deprivation as a perception is fundamental because it enables one to judge what is

just and unjust (with regard to their reference group or personally), and this in turn goes hand in glove with the concept of aspiration. Due to South Africa's painful history of apartheid, which has contributed to relative deprivation, the conceptualisation of relative deprivation as a perception is important for this dissertation and South Africa because it serves as motivation for people to be conscious of their past, their current socio-economic position (with reference to their past), and for them to develop a perception of the kind of life they aspire to live. This, therefore, serves as motivation for people to hold the government accountable for wrongdoings.

Furthermore, due to the violence and political instability that can result from relative deprivation, the conceptualisations provided by Smith and Pettigrew (2015:2) and Crosby (1976:90) are fundamental because they reflect the necessity for a thorough analysis and introspection by the individual before they can regard themselves as relatively deprived. However, the authors restrict the concept of relative deprivation by basing it only on the components or preconditions they have presented. This is problematic, because although the basis of concept of relative deprivation is on perception, it is also based on emotion. By commodifying relative deprivation, the authors ignore the fact that individuals may feel relatively deprived on an emotional level due to the lack of meaningful relationships (irrespective of whether they are wealthy or not). For instance, in apartheid South Africa, many Black African families underwent separation due to the migrant labour system, which resulted in children raised by single mothers, and White anti-apartheid activists, such as Neil Aggett and Ruth First, killed by the apartheid government. These scenarios reflect the emotional relative deprivation experienced by the affected families.

On an economic level, Sen's (1983:156) conceptualisations of relative deprivation are problematic in the sense that he supports the introduction of a threshold that would represent or judge the extent of relative deprivation from the average income. Within the context of South Africa, STATSSA (2019:3) measures relative deprivation in three ways: the food poverty line (also known as the extreme poverty line that is currently at R561 per person per month), the lower bound poverty line (currently at R810 per person per month), and the upper-bound poverty line (currently at R1227 per person per month). These thresholds of relative deprivation are problematic, as it can be stated that when one generates a sum of R562 and not R561, they then fall

in the category of the lower bound poverty line and the same principle can be applied to individuals who are in the lower bound poverty line and end up being in the upper bound poverty line. The thresholds presented by STATSSA are too low and are a misrepresentation of the high cost of living in the country (in terms of transport, accommodation, food, electricity, etc.). Furthermore, some areas of the country have better development than others and have better opportunities for local economic development, where unemployed people can be involved in the informal economy and avoid falling into the extreme poverty line.

Webber's (2007:108) definition of relative deprivation is important as it reflects the battle for resources within South Africa's political environment. This environment tends to be characterised by political killings, particularly in the run up to elections. This violent behaviour is not only eminent amongst the populace (e.g. xenophobic attacks), but it is also prevalent within the ANC as political killings tend to occur in the run up to the party's elective conference. These battles reflect the severity of relative deprivation in society that many people are trying to avoid. It also suggests that people join the ANC not because they want to reform society but because it is the quickest form of upward mobility (irrespective of capability), hence, the party is characterised by factionalism. As such, this scenario and Webbers definition further demonstrate how relative deprivation is not only related to money/economic resources, but it is also about influence and power, that is, the ability to get someone else to do what you want them to do.

Based on the aforementioned, Webber's definition is applicable for this study because it depicts the violence and aggression that was prevalent in apartheid South Africa due to relative deprivation, and the continuation of this trend after 1994 not only in society, but within the ANC.

2.7 Conclusion

Relative deprivation is a complex concept linked to a number of academic disciplines and theories. As a result, it has continued to be important because of its ability to bring understanding to various social phenomena. Of note is that even though relative deprivation is a theory based on economic comparison, the essence of this theory is actually the individual, because the basis of relative deprivation is

perception. Hence, an individual who may not appear to be in want may actually feel deprived.

This chapter has shown that the biggest contributing factor to relative deprivation is not only the absence of economic resources, but the absence of political leadership; political leadership that is not only directed at promoting socio-economic growth, but at creating social cohesion and effective consequence management in the case of poor economic performance. Therefore, relative deprivation is not due to societal discontent, aggression and violence, but the inability of the government to address the deprivation that is prevalent in society effectively. In this regard, relative deprivation is a time conscious concept.

CHAPTER THREE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE THEORETICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND THAT GUIDES THE ANC'S INTERPRETATION OF THE NDR

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided a broad perspective of the theory of relative deprivation by discussing its origins and the main contributors, such as Walter Runciman, Ted Robert Gurr and James Chowning Davies. The chapter provided thorough conceptualisations of relative deprivation not only from the main contributors of the concept, but also from various academic disciplines. The provided analysis of their work included an analysis of the various conceptualisations of relative deprivation. Identified from the work of Runciman, Gurr and Davies, was the most applicable conceptual form of relative deprivation for the purpose of this study.

By means of a literature review, the purpose of this chapter is to analyse and provide a broad perspective of the theoretical and philosophical background that guides the ANC's interpretation of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). The chapter will commence with the origins of the ANC. Beginning the chapter in this way is important because the history of the ANC is the fundamental component in the formation of the NDR within the South African context. The ANC and the NDR developed simultaneously, therefore, by discussing their history, one is providing an analysis of the philosophical and theoretical background of the NDR. The South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU, 2009) (cited by Venter, 2012:113) states, "The living history of the NDR is the African National Congress."

3.2 The origins of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR)

3.2.1 Colonialism in South Africa

Colonialism in South Africa began in 1652 when the Dutch East India Company (also known as Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or VOC) gained control over the Cape to establish a halfway refreshment station that would be on its trading route between Europe and India (Osaghae & McGowan, 2007:209). Having established an agricultural economy that required slave labour imported from Asia, Mozambique and Madagascar, the Cape thus became the first colony in Africa by the 18th century

(Fourie, 2009:1 & 9; Osaghae & McGowan, 2007:209-210). However, approximately 150 years into their ruling, the British gained control of the area in 1806 (Fourie, 2009:3 and Oliver & Oliver, 2017:5).

The British colonialists enlarged their area of sovereignty by increasing the number of White settlers from Britain and by entering into a succession of wars with the Zulu and Xhosa people of Natal and Eastern Cape respectively. This ultimately resulted in British sovereignty reaching Basutholand (Lesotho), Bechuanaland (Botswana), Mashonaland (in Limpopo) and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). When the British abolished slavery in 1836, the Boers (Dutch) objected to this and many left the Cape for remote areas of the inner country, where they went into a sequence of wars with African tribes, dispossessed them and in the process established territories they could dominate, such as the Orange Free State and Transvaal (SACP, 1962:13 and Osaghae & McGowan, 2007:210).

The newly found independence of the Boers did not last very long as the discovery of diamonds and gold in Kimberley (1870) and Johannesburg (1886), which were under the Boers' control, encouraged Britain to gain control of those areas. The conflicts between the Boers and British led to the First Anglo Boer War in 1881, and the Second Anglo Boer War from 1899-1902. The Peace Treaty of Vereeniging signed at the end of the war in 1902 saw the Boer republics becoming British colonies (Hillestad, 2009:16, Liebenberg, 2003:929 and Thom, 2013:1). As such, the British and the Boers were able to reconcile over the persecution, exploitation and dispossession of Black African people. This led to the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 (SACP, 1962:14).

3.2.2 The government of the Union of South Africa

According to Natrass (2020:137 & 140), the Union of South Africa was established in order to eradicate economic competition between the British and the Boers and create political unification to their benefit. The British and Boers, at the National Convention that was held in the four colonies (Cape, Orange Free State, Transvaal and Natal), discussed matters relating to the form of government of the Union of South Africa. These discussions were without any Black representatives. Furthermore, the unification of the four colonies was thought to generally mean that South Africa was independent, an 'independence' that only applied to the Whites

(Boers and British) (Southall, 2014:288; Osaghae & McGowan, 2007:210; Kanyane & Houston, 2015:3). Due to the flawed manner in which the Union of South Africa was established, it set the tone for an exclusionary socio-economic environment for Black people that lasted for decades.

The Union of South Africa soon implemented discriminatory laws against Black people, which included attacking the few African franchises in the Cape and only permitting Black Africans and Coloureds to vote if they matched the stipulated income or property qualifications. These injustices encouraged the formation of the African People's Organisation (APO) and the South African Native Convention (SANNC) in 1903 and 1909 respectively (Kanyane & Houston, 2015:3; Nattrass, 2020:141). These organisations were against the discriminatory laws and sent a delegation to Britain in 1909 to object the exclusion of Black people from the formation of the Union and mainstream society. The delegation's attempts were however in vain, as Britain was against straining the volatile peace it had established with the Boers so shortly after the war. It is from this background that the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), later the African National Congress (ANC), was established (Liebenberg, 2000:133, Nattrass, 2020:141).

3.2.3. The formation and role of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC)

According to Liebenberg (2000:133), the founding of the SANNC was on the 8th of January 1912, in Bloemfontein. SANNC was initially a pressure group rather than a political party, regarded as a moderate organisation that was pursuing national unity and negotiating for equal rights and opportunities for Black people. As such, the plan of action was non-violent, non-militant and aimed at uniting Black people (Liebenberg, 2000:133, Kanyane & Houston, 2015:4 and Nattrass, 2020:142). One of SANNC's first major tasks was to seek the abolishment of the Natives Land Act No 27 of 1913. This law prohibited Black people from owning or leasing more than 7% of South Africa's overall land area. This prohibited the ownership of property by Black people in 'White' South Africa, and many had to relocate to demarcated areas or "Bantustans" that were purposefully orchestrated to be inadequate to sustain the Black population. This engineered hunger and relative deprivation forced Black people to work in White owned land and enterprises, and became the migrant labour system (Terreblache, 2010:5, Clark and Worger, 2016:24, Modise & Mtshiselwa,

2013:1-6 and SACP, 1962:14). This race-based capitalist system prompted SANNC to send a delegation to Britain to protest against the Natives Land Act, but this was in vain (Kanyane & Houston, 2015:4 and Liebenberg, 2000:133).

3.2.4 The contributions to the NDR from the colonial era (1652)

Key events such as the First and Second Anglo Boer Wars marked the beginning of colonialism in South Africa, establishing the government of the Union of South Africa and pressure groups such as the APO, SANC and SANNC (later known as the ANC). The events and roles of these organisations did not provide expressive contributions to the NDR, but they did set the background for the adoption of the NDR by seeking the abolishment of oppressive institutions and laws, such as the Natives Land Act, which inhibited Black people from participating in mainstream society.

3.3 The ANC during the 1920's

SANNC was renamed the African National Congress (ANC) in 1923. The organisation grew and stressed the necessity for African unity and an “anti-colonial variety of nationalism which required African middle strata to return repeatedly to the need for cross-class unity in order to survive” (Southall, 2014:295-296). The ANC maintained its non-violent and non-militant approach, which meant less political activity. It was during this period that socialist organisations started to mobilise Black workers, and in 1921 the first non-racial political party in the country, the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) was established (ANC, 2020, Ellis, 1991:439 and Filatova, 2012:511). The CPSA was encouraged to explore relations with non-White organisations, which led it to form an alliance with the ANC. This relationship was encouraged by the then President of the ANC, Josiah Gumede. Gumede had attended celebrations of the Communist International (Comintern) in Moscow and admired communism. As such, the CPSA became part of the Comintern in 1921, and in 1928 adopted the Comintern’s thesis of the ‘Independent Native Republic’⁹ (Filatova, 2012:512, Ellis, 1991:440 and Southall, 2014:289).

⁹ The Comintern’s thesis of the ‘Independent Native Republic’ states that: “the Communist Party of South Africa must combine the fight against all anti-native laws with the general political slogan in the fight against British domination, the slogan of an independent native South African Republic as a

The decade of the 1920's was important as it marked significant discussions by the Comintern on ideological differences. It was at the Second Congress of the Comintern that Vladimir Lenin developed the theory of the National Liberation Revolution, particularly in the writings of his *Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Question*. Lenin's thesis expressed that the world was made of a large number of underdeveloped nations persecuted by a small number of industrialised nations. Therefore, to resolve this power imbalance, the Congress concurred that the Comintern should support the 'bourgeois-democratic movements' in persecuted nations (colonies), if they were sincerely revolutionary (Lenin, 1920:136). In light of this, the Congress decided to refer to a 'national revolutionary movement' rather than a bourgeois-democratic movement (Lenin, 1920:136-137). The viewpoint of the national revolutionary movement in turn produced the theory of the National Democratic Revolution because the former (national revolutionary movement) was democratic in that it expressed the interests of the large proletariat, which was against colonial rule and capitalism (Lenin, 1920:136 and Filatova, 2012:515-516).

It was now clear the ANC and CPSA were far from ensuring Black people had equal rights and opportunities, and that this process would require a strong, clear ideological stance that went beyond nationalism. The decades that followed the Second Congress of the Comintern brought fundamental changes in the manner in which the struggle for liberation in South Africa would take place.

3.3.1 The contributions to the NDR during the 1920's

The era of the 1920's saw the renaming of SANNC to the ANC, the establishment of the first non-racial political party in the country, the CPSA and the adoption of the 'Independent Native Republic' thesis. These events contributed to the establishment of an action plan for the liberation struggle, that is, the NDR, which was important because they provided the necessary agents (the ANC and CPSA) to execute the NDR.

stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic with full rights for all races, Black, Coloured and White." (Filatova, 2012:511).

3.4 The ANC from the 1930's to the 1940's

According to the SACP (2017:102), the consensus on the NDR was endeavoured during difficult times and within the crucible of adversity. The disputes were paramount soon after adopting the Independent Native Republic thesis and the CPSA's resolution to work with (and build) the ANC. The removal of Josiah Gumede as the ANC's president by conservative and anti-communist members, as well as internal party disputes and changes in the line of succession from the Comintern in Moscow, made it difficult to focus on the liberation struggle. As such, the 1930's saw the weakening and lack of political activity from the ANC and CPSA (Ellis, 1991:440-441, SACP, 2017:102 and Liebenberg, 2000:134).

The election of Moses Kotane (who studied in Moscow during the early 1930's) as the General Secretary of the CPSA in 1939 laid the foundation for the rejuvenation of a campaigning CPSA during the 1940's (Ellis, 1991:440). This was through the development of a dynamic and militant trade union movement, which led to the rise in Black trade union membership. Activities that contributed to this included working with Indian and Coloured communities, employing cadres who had been to the Soviet Union for political education to impart socialist construction to other activists and encourage CPSA members to have a dual membership by also joining the ANC (SACP, 2017:103 and O'Malley, 2020a). However, the ideology of the ANC was not entirely liberal or socialist. Due to the rise in Afrikaner nationalism and the growing limitations on the rights of Black people, the relations between the two organisations became stronger and the change in the modus operandi of the CPSA resulted in liberals within the ANC undergoing questioning by activists who preferred a radical approach (ANC, 2020 and Liebenberg, 2000:134).

MacDonald (2008:7) further states that the transformation of the ANC occurred due to demographic and economic changes of the 1930's and 1940's that moved the ANC's constituency from rural to urban areas, particularly Johannesburg. This led to the advancing of confrontational and ambitious objectives. As such, young people became abnormally involved in politics during the 1940s, which contributed to the formation of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) (Mathews, 2008:3).

Young African nationalists, who were against foreign leadership, its ideologies, working with communists and other racial groups, established the ANCYL in 1944.

The ANCYL believed the creation of a strong national liberation movement should be purely on the doctrine of African nationalism,¹⁰ and that young people needed to be involved in militant tactics (ANC, 2020, Mathews, 2008:2 and Ellis, 1991:441). Thus, the establishment of a militant Programme of Action was not only a critique of the techniques that the mother body (the ANC) was using to liberate Black people, but also a blueprint on the techniques that should be employed; ones that included civil disobedience, boycotts, strikes, and other defiance tactics. The population in the ANC's new constituency, which was in the cities, welcomed this. In 1949, the adoption of the programme was at the ANC's national conference following the National Party's (NP) ascension to power (ANC, 2019a and HSRC¹¹, 2018).

3.4.1 The contributions to the NDR from the 1930's to the 1940's

The fundamental events that contributed to the NDR during this era include the election of Moses Kotane to the leadership of the CPSA, which led to the development of a dynamic and militant trade union movement, the formation of the ANCYL and the adoption of a militant Programme of Action. These events contributed to the NDR by increasing the support base of the ANC to larger areas, which ensured younger, energetic and ideologically wiser individuals could execute the Programme of Action and NDR.

3.5 The ANC during the 1950's

When the NP came into power, in 1948, it enforced the policy of separate development (also known as apartheid) in order to ensure that racial segregation and discrimination was systematic and far-reaching. This worsened the quality of Black people's lives due to the imposing of stricter laws, such as the Population Registration Act (1950), the Group Areas Act (1950), the Abolition of Passes Act (1952), the Bantu Education Act (1953) and the Suppression of Communism Act (1950). The Suppression of Communism Act was directed at banning the Communist Party, which resulted in the CPSA maintaining their political work underground as

¹⁰ Khapoya (2015:150) describes African nationalism as "a subjective feeling of kinship or affinity shared by people of African descent. It is a feeling based on shared cultural norms, traditional institutions, racial heritage, and a common historical experience. Along with this sense of shared identity is a collective desire to maintain one's own cultural, social, and political values independent of outside control.

¹¹ Human Science Research Council

ANC members. This further reinforced their relationship (ANC, 2019a, O'Malley, 2020b and Ellis, 1991:441). Therefore, the adoption of the ANCYL's programme and the banning of the CPSA sensitised both organisations to the reality that peaceful communication with the government was failing.

The Defiance Campaign of 1952 was one of the first mass movements following the adoption of the ANCYL's programme, and it aimed to secure the revoking of unjust laws (ANC, 2020 and Reddy, 1987). The first stage of the campaign saw over 8000 volunteers beaten and imprisoned due to the violation of pass laws, curfew regulations and laws that segregated Blacks and Whites in public areas. Despite this, the campaign created a significant upsurge for freedom, which saw a large increase in the ANC's membership. It also improved relations between the ANC and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), and contributed to the establishment of the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO) and the Congress of Democrats (COD) (ANC, 2020, Khwela, 2000:311-312 and Reddy, 1987). It is upon this basis that Reddy (1987) states that the ANC "became a truly national organisation of the people."

The Defiance Campaign set the tone for the ANC and CPSA to forge alliances with other organisations to make a significant impact in the liberation struggle. Therefore, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), formed in 1955, became part of the Congress Alliance¹² under the leadership of the ANC (Pillay, 2011:76). This alliance was important because the participation of workers in the ANC meant that there would be a multifaceted contribution to the NDR. This reinforced the CPSA's stance of having the (Black) working class at the forefront of the nationalist struggle and political freedom, and conveying the political interests of the working class. The Communist Party therefore regrouped underground in 1953 as the South African Communist Party (SACP) (Slovo, 1988:22 and Southall, 2014:289).

According to the ANC (2019a), the Congress Alliance organised the Congress of the People (COP) conference in Kliptown, in 1955. The COP was for all South Africans to express their demands regarding the kind of country in which they wanted to live. The Congress Alliance at the COP (ANC, 2019a, ANC, 2019b and SACP, 2017:105)

¹² The Congress Alliance refers to the anti-apartheid political amalgamation of the ANC, SAICA, SACPO, COD and SACTU (ANC, 2020).

adopted the Freedom Charter. According to the SACP (1962:28), “The Freedom Charter is not a programme for socialism. It is a common programme for a free, democratic South Africa, agreed on by socialists and non-socialists. At the same time, in order to guarantee the abolition of racial oppression and White minority domination, the Freedom Charter necessarily and realistically calls for profound economic changes: drastic agrarian reform to restore the land to the people; widespread nationalisation of key industries to break the grip of White monopoly capital on the main centres of the country’s economy; radical improvements in the conditions and standards of living for the working people.”

As such, the Freedom Charter became the political blueprint of the Congress Alliance, its allies within the Congress Movement and the ANC, and the nucleus of the NDR (Khwela, 2000:311, SACP, 1962:28 and Filatova, 2012:533).

3.5.1 The contributions to the NDR during the 1950’s

The ascension to power of the NP, the Defiance Campaign, the formation of the Congress Alliance, the re-establishment of the Communist Party to the SACP and the adoption of the Freedom Charter are fundamental events of the 1950s. These events contributed to the NDR by including the (Black) working class in the liberation struggle. This shaped the Freedom Charter by ensuring it reflected the political and economic interests of oppressed South Africans, hence, it was the core of the NDR. They both illustrated that life beyond apartheid was already being prepared for while the fight for political freedom was taking place.

3.6 Apartheid South Africa from the 1960s to the 1970s, and the enforcement of the NDR

The adoption of the Freedom Charter reflected the ANC’s doctrine of non-racialism. However, a certain group of members of the ANC, who referred to themselves as Africanists, were against the doctrine of multiracialism as they viewed non-Blacks as foreigners, and were distrustful of the foreign ideology introduced by communists (ANC, 2019a and Liebenberg, 2000:139). Due to the inability to resolve these differences, the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) split from the ANC in 1959. Some of the short-term objectives of the PAC and the ANC coincided and included the termination of pass laws and improving the working conditions and wages of

workers. However, the long-term objectives did not match those of the ANC, as the PAC believed in “a government of Africans, by Africans and for Africans” (Liebenberg, 2000:139-140).

The beginning of 1960 saw both the PAC and ANC starting anti-pass campaigns on 21st and 31st March respectively. The PAC called on all African people to refrain from leaving the house with their passes, and to give themselves in at their nearest police station for arrest. Large groups of people gathered in Langa (Cape Town) and in Sharpeville (Vereeniging), where ultimately years of peaceful demonstrations became violent as police opened fire on an unarmed crowd in Sharpeville, killing 69 people and wounding 180. This incident was the Sharpeville Massacre, and soon after, the government announced a state of emergency. It detained many of the Congress and PAC activists and banned the ANC and PAC (ANC, 2019a and Bunting, 1975). This heightened the realisation that the government was resolute on imposing apartheid legislation and violence. This radicalised the ideological stance of both the ANC and PAC (Liebenberg, 2000:141 and Howitt, Dennett, Kenna, Bragg & Dixon, 2019:460).

To survive, the ANC started operating underground and in exile. The arms struggle was the accepted modus operandi and the 16 December 1961 saw the establishing of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), meaning ‘spear of the nation,’ in collaboration with the SACP (Khwela, 2000:313 and Dennett *et al.*, 2019:460).

According to Khwela (2000:314), training for the arms struggle was predominantly in the Eastern Bloc¹³ countries, particularly in the former Soviet Union, which was ready to support national liberation movements, and the over-all communist movement with arms and military training. The Eastern Bloc, which constituted socialist states and Cuba, grounded their support on the principle of “Proletarian Internationalism”¹⁴ and

¹³ According to Steiner (2014:165) the Eastern bloc countries can be defined as “the European member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), including the Soviet Union”. Some of these countries include Poland, the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary (Steiner, 2014:169-170).

¹⁴ Chakladar (1964:56) describes the principle of proletarian internationalism by firstly stating that every socialist state is a sovereign state. As such, “A Socialist State will establish its relation with another Socialist country on the basis of equality of nations, mutual respect and mutual co-operation -

the belief that national liberation movements were included in the global revolutionary process against imperialism. Furthermore, the national liberation movement in South Africa was allied to the SACP, a Marxist-Leninist party. This would advance the national liberation struggle in the direction of socialism. Member states of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), especially Yugoslavia and the independent countries of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) (later known as the African Union (AU)) such as Zambia, Egypt, Algeria and Tanzania, also offered military training. The training comprised the mastering of guerrilla warfare, intelligence gathering and processing, sabotage and most importantly, the understanding of political organisation, mobilisation and leadership. Therefore, MK cadres were more than just ordinary soldiers; they had a political mission to eradicate the apartheid government and to construct a non-racial and democratic South Africa, as articulated in the Freedom Charter (Khwela, 2000:314).

Within 18 months of its establishment, MK had already executed 200 acts of sabotage and this intensified the methods of repression that the apartheid government enforced (ANC, 2019a). On 11 July 1963, the arrest of 17 people, following a police raid at the MK headquarters on Lillieslief Farm in Rivonia, Johannesburg, included members of the high command of MK. Their charge under the 1962 Sabotage Act, meant guilty parties would receive the death sentence. This resulted in the Rivonia trial that commenced on 9 October 1963 and attracted international attention (Howitt *et al.*, 2019:465 & 466 and Gerhart, 2007:3). The end of the Rivonia trial resulted in the destruction of the underground structures of the ANC in South Africa as other ANC leaders, such as Oliver Tambo and Joe Slovo, evaded arrest by leaving the country, while others went for military training. It was clear the ANC had to find alternative means of accessing the country in order to continue with the liberation struggle (Ellis, 1991:443 and ANC, 2019a).

In 1969, the ANC convened for a consultative conference in Morogoro, Tanzania, to find solutions to the abovementioned problems. The organisation called for an “all-round struggle” that would be implemented through four pillars: (1) the armed struggle, (2) a massed political struggle, (3) the reconstruction of underground ANC structures in South Africa, and (4) campaigning for international support. Collectively,

they will harmoniously combine their national interests with the common interests and aims, i.e. the basic class interests and aims of the working people.” (Chakladar, 1964:56).

these pillars were “the four pillars of struggle” (ANC, 2019a). According to Ellis (1991:444), the Morogoro Conference served as an opportunity for the ANC to take on a more explicit socialist stance. Furthermore, the organisation made the decision to include non-Blacks into the ANC membership in exile. This reinforced the Freedom Charter’s commitment to a class analysis (instead of racial) of South Africa’s condition. The ANC further adopted the Strategy and Tactics¹⁵ document and reinforced its stance on moving forward with the liberation struggle as per the directive of the NDR (Hart, 2014:176 and Ellis, 1991:444).

3.6.1 A conceptualisation of the NDR

According to Hart (2014:176), the ANC adopted the principles of the NDR at its Morogoro conference in 1969. Satgar (2008:41) states, “The notion of 'National Democratic Revolution' is an ideological linchpin within national liberation discourse in South Africa.” The Freedom Charter outlines the objectives of the NDR, which aimed to address South Africa’s deeply rooted racial and capitalistic crisis, and bring revolutionary change, which would ultimately “overthrow the colonialist state of White supremacy and establish an independent state of National Democracy in South Africa” (SACP, 1962:27 & 28). The Freedom Charter further states that this should be done through profound economic changes that include “drastic agrarian reform to restore the land to the people; widespread nationalisation of key industries to break the grip of White monopoly capital on the main centres of the country’s economy; radical improvements in the conditions and standards of living for the working people.” (SACP, 1962:28).

According to the SACP (1962:27), the deeply rooted racial and capitalistic crisis springs from the fundamental contradictions of South African society, “between the oppressed people and their rulers; between South African colonialism and the world-wide movement against colonialism and imperialism; between the working class and the rural masses, together with the middle classes, on the one side, and the handful of monopoly capitalists on the other.” This crisis emanates from what the SACP has termed ‘Colonialism of a Special Type’ (CST) (Hart, 2014:175). CST was a term that

¹⁵ According to the ANC (2017) “The notion of ‘strategy’ is used to denote the long- term objectives that the ANC has set for itself. ‘Tactics’ refer to the immediate and medium-term tasks to attain those long-term objectives.”

described the uniqueness of the South African colony compared to other colonies in Africa.

South Africa was a country of two nations, as the coloniser and the colonised occupied the same area (Khwela, 2000:312). The SACP described CST as, "South Africa is not a colony but an independent state. Yet masses of our people enjoy neither independence nor freedom. The conceding of independence to South Africa by Britain, in 1910, was not a victory over the forces of colonialism and imperialism, but in the interest of imperialism. The transfer of power was not into the hands of the South African masses, but into the hands of the White minority alone. The evils of colonialism, insofar as the non-White majority was concerned, were perpetuated and reinforced. A new type of colonialism was developed, in which the oppressing White nation occupied the same territory as the oppressed people themselves and lived side by side with them." (SACP, 1962:15).

The NDR was thought to be the solution to the CST and this process would be led by the most oppressed and exploited, that is, the Black working class that would achieve the objectives of the Freedom Charter. Obtaining the objectives of the NDR (and in turn the objectives of the Freedom Charter) was a process that involved a two-stage revolution and this approach originated from the third Comintern in the 1920s (Hart, 2014:176). The first stage of the revolution involved the revolutionary seizure of state power through the national democratic movement. According to Khwela (2000:312-313) and O'Malley (2020c), the first stage involved united mass action (through boycotts, stay aways, and defiance campaigns) in order to destroy oppressive state institutions and ensure the international isolation of the apartheid government while the liberation movement obtained aid from the international community (Khwela, 2000:312 and O'Malley, 2020c).

The second stage would occur through the working class bringing about a socialist revolution that involved transferring monopoly capital to the working class (Beresford, 2016:11, Troco, nd:3 and Hart, 2014:176).

With the objectives and modus operandi of the NDR voiced, the ANC and its alliance partners soon developed MK bases in countries such as Swaziland, Mozambique and Angola from late 1960 to mid-1970. The formation of student organisations was also rising, and included the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and the

Black People's Convention (BPC). The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), which based its organisational expression in SASO, also grew (Historical Papers Research Archive, 2009:117-118).

The establishing of the BCM was in 1968. Its purpose was to eliminate the inferiority complex amongst Black people and enable them to develop a sense of pride towards their heritage. The BCM was a fiercely anti-government and anti-white movement with its sustenance being from Black theology (Historical Papers Research Archive, 2009:117-118). According to Hadfield (2017:3) and Nengwekhulu (2012:1), SASO's 1972 Policy Manifesto defined Black consciousness as "an attitude of mind, a way of life whose basic tenet is that the Black must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of birth and reduce his basic human dignity."

SASO students and events greatly contributed to the spread of Black Consciousness in universities and schools as SASO leaders, such as Onkgopotse Tiro, were teachers in Soweto. With student organisations operating in Soweto, the South African Student Movement (SASM), formed in 1972, was able to arrange the June 16, 1976 Soweto student uprising that was motivated by the BCM (Hadfield, 2017:3).

The violence and severity of the 1976 student protest attracted negative attention from the international community. The apartheid government's relations weakened internationally. This led to the UN implementing a mandatory arms embargo¹⁶ in 1977 (Magubane, 2004:8). In addition, South Africa faced a number of sanctions, which included the removal from the governing board of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and international sport competitions, and the World Conference For Action Against Apartheid encouraged countries and companies to stop all assistance and cooperation that enabled South Africa to acquire nuclear capability (Crawford & Klotz, 1999:284).

Therefore, the 1976 Soweto uprisings showed that the NDR was producing the desired results even at grassroots levels, that is, from the youth. This process was done not only through the role that the BCM played in shaping the mind-sets of

¹⁶ Arms embargoes refers to a category of sanctions employed to coerce states and non-state actors to refrain from violent behaviour for the sake of international peace and security (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2020).

young people to be resilient, but also through political socialisation by the students' working class parents, as intended by the NDR (Ndlovu, 2004:317). Furthermore, the NDR's character became primarily violent with a revolutionary ideology solidified by a military wing and overseas military alliance (Venter, 2012:134). The sanctions that South Africa faced also proved that the first stage of the NDR was effective due to the international community's support, which limited the government's economic capacity to enforce its apartheid policy from the 1980s.

3.6.2 The contributions to the NDR from the 1960s to the 1970s

Some of the fundamental events that contributed to the NDR during this era included the establishment of the PAC. This ensured the NDR grew, due to its implementation in PAC constituencies. The external attention that the Rivonia Trial received strengthened the NDR. It created a breeding ground for MK receiving support from other countries and ensuring it successfully executed its militant actions. The Morogoro Conference solidified the formal adoption of the NDR despite the banning of the ANC and SACP. Furthermore, student organisations strengthened the NDR as they ensured that the liberation struggle reached other areas of the country due to their large membership and support. Despite its stronghold being in the education fraternity, the basic ideology of the BCM ensured the NDR reached oppressed and uneducated groups. The 1976 Soweto uprisings strengthened the NDR by revealing the brutality of the government to the world; it increased communality in the townships and resistance to apartheid authority intensified from teachers and the working class (parents) who lost their children and students who lost their peers.

3.7 Apartheid South Africa (1980s and 1990s) and the NDR

The 1976 uprisings resulted in some Whites advocating for the reform or ultimate end to apartheid, while others wanted the state to employ stricter measures to protect White supremacy. This led to greater divisions within the Afrikaner community and the National Party (NP) (Maharaj, 2008:15 and South African History Online, 2019). As the liberation struggle spread, the early 1980s saw the country repeatedly entering states of emergency that were directed at suppressing the mass revolts taking place, particularly in African townships (Maharaj, 2008:14).

By 1980, South Africa was under the leadership of P.W. Botha who became Prime Minister in 1978. One of his biggest challenges was not only to maintain Afrikaner nationalism following the Soweto Uprisings, but also to minimise Black resistance and international criticism of the apartheid government (Norval, 1996:253 & 238 and Callinicos, 1994:2356). As such, the NP commenced a strategy designed to maintain White supremacy by only admitting limited reforms to a limited amount of Black people. This strategy had two fundamental segments:

Firstly, it adopted socio-economic measures that included allowing African trade unions to register as formal and full contributors in the collective bargaining system, eliminating the Job Reservation Act (which only acknowledged White people as employees) and restoring Black people the right to buy leaseholds and freeholds in the city (Norval, 1996:229-230 & 235 and Callinicos, 1994:2356). These measures were to ensure the development of a richer, Black middle class that would have a stake in the status quo and as such, play a role in reducing Black resistance (Norval, 1996:235 and Callinicos, 1994:2356).

The second segment of the apartheid government's strategy aimed to ensure there was clear demarcation of space between the Whites, Indians and Black African people. The achieving of this was through the adoption of a new Constitution and the establishment of a Tri-cameral Parliament in 1983. The new Parliament had a separate House of Delegates for Indians, House of Representatives for Coloureds and the White House of Assembly. The establishment of the three houses of Parliament aimed to attract Coloureds and Indians to the side of the White minority. However, the White House of Assembly had the supreme voice in fundamental decisions, such as the election of an executive state president (Maharaj, 2008:15 and Callinicos, 1994:2356). The Coloureds and Indians rejected this invitation from the NP and instead aligned themselves with the United Democratic Front (UDF), established in 1983 (Maharaj, 2008:14-15).

According to Maharaj (2008:14), the establishment of the UDF led to mass mobilisation against the apartheid regime because it united different communities, political organisations, cultures and religions. Norval (1996:238-239) further states that the UDF was an organisation that aimed to orchestrate resistance against the Tri-cameral Parliament, its exclusion of Black people and the governments 'reforms'

that were directed at urban Africans. Hence, the UDF developed into a national force that expressed local township grievances into a larger anti-apartheid dialogue. The declaration of the organisation read “We the freedom loving people of South Africa say with one voice to the whole world that we cherish the vision of a united democratic South Africa based on the will of the people. We will strive for unity of all people through united action against the evils of apartheid, economic and all other forms of exploitation... We commit ourselves to uniting all our people wherever they may be in the cities and countryside, the factories and mines, schools, colleges and universities, housing and sports fields, churches, mosques and temples to fight for our freedom...” (UDF, 1983:1).

Based on the above, Louise Le Grange, the former Minister of Law and Order, regarded the UDF as endorsing the Freedom Charter, just as the ANC, despite not having open connections with it; this was reflected in over 90% of the UDF’s members being from the ANC or SACP. Despite its objection to the use of violence on paper, the UDF played an active role in orchestrating protests throughout the Coloured and Indian elections to the Tri-cameral Parliament, which resulted in violence and arrests (Norval, 1996:252). In light of this, the NDR was effective. Despite its banning, the ANC imparted substantial political education to Black people, which contributed to the establishment of the UDF, an organisation that was able to continue with the NDR. Hence, the UDF was an offspring of the ANC.

With the UDF operating by the same tactics as the ANC, Higginbottom (2016:13) stresses that the mid 1980s were characterised by extensive eruptions of popular revolt. This contributed to worker organisations moving forward with the establishment of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in 1985. COSATU was formed through the merging of unions that were growing in the 1970s, and its membership grew to approximately 600 000. It was devoted to furthering the interests of workers in the workplace. In communities and in the liberation struggle, it demanded the release of Nelson Mandela, the eradication of pass laws and the termination of foreign investment. Within eight months of its inception, COSATU successfully organised the country’s two biggest strikes. By 1987, South Africa had experienced its highest number of worker’s strikes in history (Arnold, 2009:348, ANC, 2019a and Higginbottom, 2016:14-16).

The mid 1980s were also characterised by a high degree of township violence. This was due to the ANC calling on residents to destroy Black Local Authorities in order to make townships ungovernable (Sales, 1984:4-5, ANC, 2019a and Arnold, 2009:348). Black Local Authorities, viewed as collaborators of the apartheid system, implemented the apartheid laws. As such, Black on Black violence increased with the murder of Black Councils and the petrol bombing and necklacing¹⁷ of Black township leaders (Sales, 1984:5 and Arnold, 2009:348). Consequently, in 1987, the UDF found itself banned, there were restrictions enforced on the media, and COSATU found itself prohibited from any political activity (Pillay, 2011:61, Arnold, 2009:349 and ANC, 2019a).

According to Zunes (1999:159), the new Defiance Campaign of 1989 made it clear that the apartheid government had lost control of the new forms of defiance. Political funerals were characterised by the display of the banned ANC flag and young people renamed and labelled public facilities after exiled or jailed liberation heroes. Selected primary schools started accepting Coloured, Indian and Black students. Universities had to deal with sit-ins that aimed to support Black students. Mixed race marriages were officiated by the clergy, some White liberals refused to support shops that only serviced White people, and detention without trial was limited due to detainees undergoing hunger strikes that would ultimately result in their release (Zunes, 1999:159).

With the intense climate of resistance, banned organisation such as the ANC and its allies had unanimously decided to 'unban' themselves during a march in Cape Town in August 1989 (Zunes, 1999:161). The authority of homeland leaders increased substantially and the NP's support was lost to the right Conservative Party, which meant they were able to bring reform (Arnold, 2009:146, Callinicos, 1994:2356 and South African History Online, 2019). In September 1989, F.W. De Klerk ascended to power following the resignation of P.W. Botha in August 1989. De Klerk unbanned the ANC, SACP, PAC and others, released Nelson Mandela from prison in February 1990 and laid the foundation for dialogues amongst all racial and political groups (Arnold, 2009:400 and Callinicos, 1994:2357). According to Callinicos (1994:2357-

¹⁷ According to Arnold (2009:348), necklacing is "the practice of putting an old tire filled with kerosene around the neck of a victim and setting it on fire."

2358), there are three fundamental components that played a role in this decision-making. The first was the deteriorating economic state.

The second component in De Klerk's decision is rather intangible as he and some NP ministers, such as Roelf Meyer, were no longer of the view that apartheid was morally justifiable. The contributing factors to this included the Afrikaner business elite being more assimilated with their English counterparts and more multicultural. Due to international travel, exposure to advanced education and the growth of a mature consumer society (Callinicos, 1994:2358), there was a disconnection of Afrikaans professionals from the natural NP tradition.

Lastly, De Klerk hoped to control the transition and the terms of the new democracy, by avoiding more bloodshed and a situation in which he had to end apartheid (Callinicos, 1994:2358).

The ANC elected Mandela as its president in 1991, and towards 1994 formed regional and branch structures, elected regional and national membership. COSATU officially became part of the tripartite alliance¹⁸ in the 1990s as part of its pursuit of the NDR (ANC, 2019a and Pillay, 2011:62). The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) started its negotiations in December 1991 (Maharaj, 2008:25). The negotiations were not always smooth, but they led to the country having its first elections in April 1994, based on one person, one vote. The ANC won 62.6% of the votes and Nelson Mandela became the country's President following his inauguration on 10 May 1994. Since then, the ANC has been the ruling party in South Africa (ANC, 2019a and Callinicos, 1994:2360).

For the ANC, the NDR remained a central element that it continued with in democratic South Africa.

3.7.1 The contributions to the NDR from the 1980s to the 1990s

Despite aiming at maintaining apartheid, the establishment of the Tri-cameral Parliament contributed to the NDR, as it showed Indians and Coloureds they would never be equal to White people. This realisation enabled the UDF to act as a safety

¹⁸ According to Smith (2013:58) the Tripartite Alliance "is based on a shared notion that an all-class alliance of progressive forces in South Africa was necessary to achieve 'national liberation' from the Apartheid state and establish 'normal' bourgeois or capitalist democracy, where black and white would be treated as equals."

net for these groups. In this way, the high membership the UDF received enabled it to implement 'unknowingly' the NDR, despite not adopting it formally. This showed that the ideology of the NDR had excelled in reaching the masses and had significant power despite the banning of the ANC. The establishment of COSATU strengthened the NDR due to its ability to organise the large working class against the government. Its educational role in communities contributed to township resistance and ensured that township violence was tactful in the destroying of apartheid structures (such as apartheid laws and institutions in townships). The 1989 Defiance Campaign strengthened the NDR as it included the participation of White people and this showed that the government had lost significant power. Despite De Klerk not regarding apartheid as viable due to the negative economic situation in the country and persistent defiance, his decision to unban liberation movements contributed to the first stage of the NDR being achieved.

3.8 The character of the NDR and ANC after 1994

After 1994, the NDR served as a compass of governance for the tripartite alliance. The establishment of the government of unity was fundamental, as it resembled the introduction of a non-racial and democratic country in which multiracial political parties shared the power. This strategic move by the ANC meant that realising the second stage of the NDR would first require a mental reform of all South Africans and the government of unity aimed to do that through its style of governance.

The statutes and institutions the ANC enforced reflected the high regard for the NDR, which aimed to create equality and alleviate relative deprivation. These statutes are included in the Bill of Rights of the South African Constitution and some of the core independent institutions are included in Chapter 9 of the Constitution, such as the Human Rights Commission and the Public Protector (South Africa, 1996). The adoption of a socialist macroeconomic policy, such as the RDP, reflected the ANC's commitment to realising the objectives of the second stage of the NDR. The RDP aimed to provide one million houses over 5 years, various social security grants, basic services and democratising the economy (Callinicos, 1994:2362, Troco, nd:6 and Satgar, 2012:53). Therefore, Mandela's administration within the

ANC was united and strongly committed to the NDR due to the respect that members had for Mandela (that is, the 'Mandela factor') (Satgar, 2008:40).

The ANC hosted its 50th Conference in Mafikeng in 1997, which proved that the party had underlying factions that were not vocalised. Winnie Mandela's tense and unsuccessful contestation for the position of Deputy President of the ANC (won by Jacob Zuma) proved that the ANC was not ready for women to occupy leadership positions. Furthermore, unspoken tensions stemmed from the party, led by individuals disconnected from the socio-economic conditions of both apartheid South Africa and democratic South Africa. It can be stated that one of the reason(s) for this phenomena was that ANC members who were in exile, returned to South Africa with an ideology of the NDR that was too consensus oriented (due to the exposure of different democracies) to the extent that in the eyes of the non-exiles, it was not beneficial to the future well-being of Black people (Fatton, 1984:598-599). Therefore, contesting the position of Deputy President was to strike a balance between the exiled and the non-exiled faction to prevent any future frustrations from either group.

To reinforce the above sentiment, Fatton (1984:599) stated, "when in 1960 the ANC established an external mission headed by Oliver Tambo, it was not conceived of as the strategic and guiding centre of the unfolding Black revolutionary struggle. Primarily created to obtain diplomatic and international support for the African cause, the external mission was to function as a public relations office." Hence, the Mbeki administration commenced with a factionalised ANC and a steady shift from the NDR. The Strategy and Tactics document adopted at the Mafikeng Conference preserved the NDR. However, the document did not refer to the Freedom Charter, nationalisation or state control. Instead, components such as the development of the African middle class and the Black bourgeoisie emerged in the document as "important motive forces of transformation" and to the NDR. The justification for this was to assist in separating the conceptions of race and class (Filatova 2012:535 and ANC, 1997).

Despite continuing with other forms of redistribution, such as implementing Black Economic Empowerment within the private sector, there was soon the concentration of the presidency's grip on power and stronger government regulation across all domains of the economy (Filatova, 2012:535). This reflected the capitalist 1997

Strategy and Tactics document. Furthermore, Mbeki's lack of compassion regarding issues related to relative deprivation reinforced the argument presented above by the non-exiled ANC members (Satgar, 2008:57). Hence, Msimang (2014) stated "this inability by Mbeki to understand how disappointed the nation was not only at his stance on Aids, but at his seemingly contemptuous attitude towards we the people, that was his downfall."

The situation above contributed to the creation of a breeding ground for the development of a firmly factionalised ANC and NDR. A factionalised NDR was reflected by the deteriorating relations under Mbeki, which led to the SACP and COSATU making the mistake of supporting an individual (that is, Zuma) instead of the principles of the NDR (Pillay, 2011:62). Furthermore, Pillay (2011:62) states that COSATU and the SACP should have focused on "reviving full-scale social movement unionism and/or forging a Left alternative outside the Alliance as independent socialist within COSATU and the SACP argued."

The problem with the actions by COSATU and the SACP is that they have become absorbed in the ANC to the extent that they have contributed to reducing the essence of the NDR from being about addressing the country's growing relative deprivation to being about the internal power struggles within the ANC. This sentiment has been shared by Rampedi and Ndaba (2012), who have stated that at the organisations 11TH National Congress "The Cosatu leader (being Sdumo Dlamini at the time) largely focused his speech on those who had already endorsed President Jacob Zuma's bid for a second term at the ruling party's elective conference in Mangaung in December. He hardly spoke to those who had yet to give Zuma the thumbs-up or had already rejected him, and barely touched on the bread-and-butter issues affecting workers." It is on this basis that Filatova (2012:535) stated, "socialism was no longer on the agenda in the foreseeable future - at least not socialism of the Soviet type."

Zuma ascended to power following the ANC's Polokwane conference in 2007 and the 2009 national elections, which resulted in him becoming the President of the country. He rewarded his supporters from the COSATU and SACP leadership structures with cabinet positions (Filatova, 2012:537). Zuma was a reflection of someone who understood the relative deprivation that South Africans experienced

(in contrast to Mbeki) as his mother was a domestic worker and he was forced to work odd jobs at the age of 15 years to augment his mother's income (Venter & Duvenhage, 2008:637). Therefore, his supporters believed in his ability to reverse the neoliberalism of the NDR, which worsened relative deprivation (Fogel & Jacobs, 2018).

According to Filatova (2012:537), there was no significant change four years after the Polokwane Conference, with Zuma having emphasised that he wanted to maintain business as usual. At this stage, the former ANCYL President Julius Malema, who had rallied behind Zuma in the run up to Polokwane, was becoming Zuma's nemesis. Malema continuously referred to the Freedom Charter. He demanded that the ANC nationalise the banks, land and mines. He wanted the ANCYL to lead the NDR due to the SACP and COSATU's reluctance and failure to act. Malema's behaviour reflected the NDR's sudden return to its revolutionary, defiant and goal-driven position of the 1970s and 1980s. Malema's utterances led to his expulsion from the ANC in 2012 (Filatova, 2012:537). It is upon this background that Friedman (2014) states, "The ANC also supports the NDR, but, because it is anxious not to frighten those who fear revolution, it talks instead of a 'national democratic society'."

Zuma secured a second term as both the leader of the ANC and the President of South Africa following the Mangaung Conference in 2012, and the 2012 general elections respectively. By this time, the NDR was losing its importance in democratic South Africa due to its inability to address rising socio-economic deprivation, reflected by incidents such as the Marikana Massacre of 2012, the rise in service delivery protests and the loss of trust in the ANC, which led to the party losing three metropolitan municipalities in the 2016 local government elections. These incidents reflected the necessity for the ANC to re-evaluate the essence of the NDR in democratic South Africa. However, this did not occur. During the run up to the Mangaung Conference in 2012, and afterwards, the ANC's discourse became less about the NDR and about Radical Economic Transformation (RET) in the public domain, government and organisational documents (Kaaf, 2017). Thus, the ANC had 'officially' renounced the ideology of the NDR and had adopted RET, with the latter described as an ideology that is misunderstood within the tripartite alliance and

merely used as a façade to loot the state coffers (Desai, 2018:499 and Borat, Buthelezi, Chipkin, Duma, Mondi, Peter, Qobo, Swilling & Friedenstien, 2017:3-5).

Of note, is that the current administration by President Ramaphosa is not keen on maintaining the NDR. Authors such as Desai (2018:509) have reinforced this sentiment by stating, “Ramaphosa’s instincts place more trust in the market. If it were not for the need to catch votes from constituencies with a taste for melodramatic, messianic promises, one gets the sense he would abandon talk of advancing the national democratic revolution and other ‘liberation speak’ hangovers altogether.” This statement is reinforced by Ramaphosa’s continuous mention of the 4th Industrial Revolution, and having stated “The NDP is our lodestar” during the annual ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) Lekgotla in June 2019 (ANC, 2019c:1).

Therefore, the NDR continues to be a highly factionalised ideology, as a faction led by party leaders, such as the Secretary General, Ace Magashule, portrays a socialist stance. He reaffirmed his position by stating, “Our national democratic revolution is at a crossroads, bombarded by the most vicious, deceptive, manipulative and dishonest propaganda led by the South African White monopoly capital in collaboration with international capital. Their intelligence agencies collaborate with each other in order to destroy our leaders, and their ultimate aim is to destroy our beloved country...” (Merten, 2019). The SACP continues to mumble uncertainly about the NDR as a means to salvage whatever it can of the NDR and themselves.

3.8.1 The contributions to the NDR after 1994

There is a combination of good and bad contributions to the NDR after 1994. The establishment of statutes, institutions and the adoption of the RDP reinforced the socialist position of the NDR as they reflected a people-centred government based on ‘bread and butter’ issues. Mandela’s administration also reinforced the NDR as it maintained peace in a country that was still emotionally and psychologically volatile. The era of the Mbeki administration saw the gradual weakening of the NDR due to a reduced focus on the populace, more international integration, which contributed to neoliberalism and the rise in factionalism within the ANC. Malema’s removal from the ANC further weakened the NDR as the ANCYL was the only structure of the ANC that bluntly vocalised the objectives of the NDR and the Freedom Charter. His

removal showed there was no independent governing the country because the ANC was reluctant to bring substantial change to society. Zuma's administration weakened the NDR due to the introduction of the RET ideology. Zuma's ability to do this showed that the SACP and COSATU were weak and unable to ensure the attaining of the objectives of the NDR. This weakened the NDR as it showed there was hierarchy amongst the alliance groups, with the ANC being at the top. Under these conditions, factionalism along class lines thrived and this weakened the NDR. Ramaphosa's administration began on a destroyed NDR, and his time in power trying to modernise the ANC and the economy has contributed to removing the remnants of the NDR.

3.9 An analysis of the formation of the NDR

Although the ANC formally adopted the principles of the NDR in 1969, it is important to view the liberation movement's non-violent actions (such as negotiations) before the 1960s as also forming part of the NDR. These reflect the democratic element of the ideology of the NDR. To this end, the ANC and SACP, prior to 1969, practiced NDR despite the absence of its formal adoption.

The successful destruction of the apartheid regime and the country's first democratic elections in 1994 signalled the achievement of the first stage of the NDR. However, this was a partial achievement as was a misunderstanding of the fact that practicing democracy (through elections) was not a representation of a united nation. Although regarded globally as one of the most democratic countries in the world due to our 'liberal' constitution, the NDR failed to provide mechanisms in which unity and social cohesion in South Africa could be established and maintained to ensure democracy flourishes. This means the ANC-led government was not supposed to preach about the 'Rainbow Nation' as a way of 'maintaining the peace' because this served as a mere delay in addressing the core issues of relative deprivation, as articulated in the Freedom Charter. The role of the ANC should have included educating the government of unity on the objectives and the role of the NDR in a democratic South Africa. Hence, after 26 years of independence the country still faces incidents of racism, even from individuals who are in positions of leadership (e.g. Helen Zille).

In addition, the 'success' of the first stage of the NDR is lacking because at present South Africans are failed by democratic institutions starting at the lowest sphere of

government. According to Mathekga (2018), “The failure and financial collapse of municipalities pose a serious risk to democratic consolidation in post-apartheid South Africa. The role of local government is not only to provide material basic services that are required by the people, but also to serve as a sphere for growth and harnessing of democratic attitudes.” The failures of local government have contributed to the complete disregard of the law to the extent that incidents of mob justice have become a common occurrence in neglected communities, with some areas known as “ganglands” (Mathekga, 2018 and Clark, 2018). As such, the character of the NDR after 1994 remained violent amongst the populace and economically violent from the state towards the populace due to the lack of development.

The second stage of the NDR aimed to bring a socialist revolution to alleviate and ultimately resolve relative deprivation. Currently, the NDR remains a two-stage process as the negotiated settlement continued with the capitalist system that was in place (Legassick, 2007:112). Democracy cannot be fully realised when the means of production continue to remain in the hands of the minority, even after 1994. Therefore, South African’s continue to experience Colonialism of a Special type that is still economically violent towards Black people, as relative deprivation has worsened along racial lines. This means previously oppressed groups, especially Black people are not living in a free society.

Furthermore, the ANC views the development of a Black bourgeoisie as being important. This is problematic because the rise of the Black bourgeoisie is a process facilitated by White monopoly capital. The Black bourgeoisie have only served to protect White monopoly capital because they have a stake in it and their development occurred through corrupt relations (Bhorat *et al.*, 2017:44). Related to this is the problem of the ANC assessing the success of the NDR through the growth of the Black middle class, the group that is overtaxed, over-indebted and in reality, is tantamount to being below the poverty line (Bhorat *et al.*, 2017:40). This situation has worsened relative deprivation amongst Black people and the lack of political will to resolve this hinders the consolidation of the first stage of the NDR, and the realisation of the second stage of the NDR.

The fact the ANC and the NDR did not undergo reformation after the new dispensation is problematic, as reflected by the weak roles the SACP and COSATU are playing within the alliance. The former (SACP) has failed to be a revolutionary communist movement that plays the role of keeping its alliance partners focused on liberating South Africans from relative deprivation. Therefore, as the main organisation that brought the NDR to South Africa, the SACP finds itself disconnected from the NDR, and how is it to keep it alive in democratic South Africa. The latter (COSATU) has become a weak labour movement with no activism and no programme of action to address the pleas of the already shrinking working class and grow the working class (Legassick, 2007:112). Instead, it finds itself entangled in party politics and has lost its sense of identity. It has become unaware of the fact that on its side is “a middle class exploited and oppressed by the banks and monopolies – and with a programme to solve the social and democratic tasks, it could easily defeat the ANC and win power.” (Legassick, 2007:112).

3.10 Conclusion

Based on the aforementioned, it is clear the development of the NDR was a fundamental concept throughout the history of the ANC, to the extent that it formed part of the organisations core guiding documents for governance, which is, the Strategy and Tactics. Therefore, there can be no discussion of the history of the ANC in isolation from the NDR because through time, the two have become interdependent as they form part of each other’s core.

The development and adoption of the NDR for colonial South Africa was to bring positive reform to society, despite the violence that was involved. It was a strong and focused ideology from its inception. Although the NDR remained important to the ANC after 1994, the worsening relative deprivation has shown the NDR is failing. One of the reasons for this is that the NDR and ANC did not modernise as the country’s socio-economic conditions became more complex. Presently, the NDR is detrimental to the future well-being of South Africa because the ANC lacks a moral backbone. Therefore, until there is collective effort and action to reconfigure the roles of the alliance, restore its moral fibre and construct a modern and revolutionary socio-economic ideology and program, the country’s negative status quo will remain.

CHAPTER FOUR: AN ANALYSIS OF THE FACTORS THAT HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO RELATIVE DEPRIVATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided an analysis of the theoretical and philosophical background that guides the ANC's interpretation of the NDR, by discussing the history of the ANC. This provided the philosophical and theoretical background of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). The character of the NDR and the ANC was analysed after 1994 and each section of the chapter concluded by highlighting the essential contributions to the NDR.

By means of a literature review, the purpose of this chapter is to analyse the factors that have contributed to relative deprivation in South Africa from 1994. The chapter will start by showing factors that contributed to relative deprivation prior to 1994, and their connection to some of the factors seen after 1994. In this way, the ripple effects of the engineered relative deprivation will be realised and an understanding of the difficulty involved in addressing this issue in post-apartheid South Africa will come to the fore.

4.2 An understanding of relative deprivation in apartheid South Africa

Kurien (1978) (cited by Terreblanche, 2002:413) states, "In South Africa we can regard (Black) poverty as the carcass left over from (White) acquisition." Thus, with reference to the previous chapter, it is evident that relative deprivation in South Africa is traceable back to the colonial era, and engineered through the imposition of oppressive apartheid laws. The following paragraphs will discuss these laws as the building blocks of what today is relative deprivation.

4.2.1 The Natives Land Act of 1913

According to Mbuli (2008:48), the Land Act of 1913 was the most economically oppressive law of all. It prevented Black people from owning or renting land in White farming areas; they were assigned to 'reserves,' which amounted to a meagre 7% of the country's overall land area. Thus, there were limitations to the amount of Black families that were able to work and/live on White farms (Terreblanche, 2010:5, Aliber, 2001:5-6 and van der Berg & Bhorat, 1999:3). Through the Native Trust and Land

Act of 1936, the land area that Black people occupied increased to 13% (Ntsebeza, 2011:23). However, this did not improve living conditions, as these reserves were rocky and not favourable for subsistence farming. Furthermore, the imposition of the 1834 Draft Vagrancy Law¹⁹ and the 1894 Glen Grey Act²⁰ limited Black people's economic options to the extent they had to sell their labour cheaply to White farms and the mines (Aliber, 2001:5-6).

In addition, the introduction of the Urban Labour Preference Policy worsened the livelihoods of many Black families, with men working in the cities or the mines and women living in the reserves; consequently their separation was for long periods (Aliber, 2001:6). Thus, women were solely responsible for the provision of food, shelter and maintaining the health of their children in unhealthy environments that were overpopulated, underdeveloped and lacked basic services (Mbuli, 2008:50). This was the migrant labour system, which was a fundamental survival technique for African families due to the limited income earning opportunities in the reserves, and it contributed to the introduction of the Group Areas Act (Aliber, 2001:6).

4.2.2 The Group Areas Act of 1950

The Group Areas Act aimed to limit the movement of Black people into urban areas and their access to finance (Gelb, 2004:20 & 21). It limited the ownership of firms by Black people to certain areas in towns and cities. Regulations later prohibited Black entrepreneurs from the ownership of more than one business, starting companies or partnerships, or possessing business premises, despite being in Black areas. Firms owned by Black people were restricted to specified markets, strictly 25 activities, which were mostly retail supply of food and fuel. The geographical and racial limitations on the ownership property led to Black people needing security for loans to acquire assets, and the risks of ownership were greater due to the uncertainty of urban residential and workplace tenure (Gelb, 2004:21).

It is upon this background that in post-apartheid South Africa the economy was still controlled by large, established firms, the majority of which were White or foreign owned (Siyaya, 2017), whereas many of the Black owned businesses were informal

¹⁹ According to Setai (1998:3), this law aimed to erode the economic independence of Black people by regarding all independent African economic endeavours as illegitimate economic activity.

²⁰ According to Ncube (1985:14), this law subjected all Black people to a compulsory tax if they did not enter the mines on a three-month contract.

'survivalists'²¹ (Mtshali, Mtapuri & Shamase, 2017:2). One of the reasons for this phenomena was the lack of quality (entrepreneurial) education.

4.2.3 The Bantu Education Act

In 1953, the apartheid government introduced the Bantu Education policy, which was extremely poor in quality just like other government services (Aliber, 2001:6). This policy was focused on maintaining the poor level of intellectual development of Black people, with the education syllabus being altered to "the Black way of life" and African vernacular introduced to Black schools. In this way, there was essentially no technical and vocational training for Black people (Christie & Collins, 1982:59). Despite the increase in the number of Black pupils and government expenditure on education from the mid 1970's, poor educational outcomes for Black pupils remained; this was reflected by 52% of teachers in Black schools being under-qualified, the Black pupil: teacher ratio being at 38:1, compared to 17:1 for White pupils, and the pass rate for the school-leaving examination being at 41% for Black pupils and 96% for White pupils by the 1980's (Hofmeyr & McLennan, 1992: 176).

Christie and Collins (1982:73) stated that when analysing the Bantu Education policy from the theory of labour reproduction, it becomes clear that it aimed to produce labour that the Whites required for capitalist accumulation. Therefore, Bantu Education should not be gauged based on equality with White education, but rather through the role that it played in reproducing unequal social/power relations, which formed part of the capitalist accumulation during apartheid.

The apartheid laws presented above reflect Ted Rober Gurr's notion of decremental²² deprivation. The reason for this is these laws aimed primarily at stripping Black people of that which they already owned, e.g. land. They limited Black people's exposure to opportunities and upward mobility by preventing them from owning certain businesses/or even expanding them to certain areas of specialisation. They further prevented Black business owners from operating in certain areas. The apartheid government cemented the generational deprivation of

²¹ These firms experienced difficulties to remain in business and they require substantial support in order to grow and create employment opportunities (Bhorat, Asma, Lilenstein & van der Zee, 2018:5).

²² Decremental deprivation is characterised by individual's value expectations remaining relatively constant, while value capabilities decline. Under these conditions, people are frustrated due to losing what they once had or what they thought they could have, thus they experience decremental deprivation when referring to their past conditions (Gurr, 1971:46). (See chapter two)

Black people by enforcing the Bantu Education policy, which ensured they remained worse off by not having the cognitive ability to aspire to have more, instead, be content with having less because it is that to which they are accustomed.

The abovementioned laws played a critical role in sustaining the unequal and capitalist nature of the apartheid regime. These laws have had a negative impact in post-apartheid South Africa, as their remnants have perpetuated relative deprivation in society. Apart from the laws discussed above, other dominant factors contributed to relative deprivation.

4.3 The factors that contributed to relative deprivation in South Africa after 1994

4.3.1 Neo-liberalism in post-apartheid South Africa

According to Narsiah (2002:29), one of the most defining features of development as a universal discourse is neoliberalism, and liberated countries such as South Africa have fallen prey to it. Harvey (2007:2) describes neoliberalism as “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade.” It is the State’s responsibility to set up all the legal and defence mechanisms for protecting private property rights and ensure that markets are functioning properly in terms of water, social security, healthcare, land, education or environmental pollution. In addition, the State must not venture, and its intervention in the markets should be minimum (Harvey, 2007:2).

According to Schneider (2003:38), since the release of Mandela from prison, neoliberal economists in the country have been increasingly emphasising the necessity of affirmative action and redistribution. Consistent with this, is their argument that factors such as stability, efficiency and incentives are essential for economic growth. In addition, the discourse on reconstructing South Africa was twofold. The liberation discourse on one side was in favour of growth through redistribution, while the other more conservative side was in favour of redistribution through growth. In 1994, these two arguments were merged to ease the

establishment agenda (in order to embrace neoliberalism) and the country's integration into the global economy through the adoption of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (Ratuva, 2013:225)

As a redistributive policy, the RDP was particularly successful in the provision of electricity; more than 300 000-electricity connections to households per annum through the Electricity Supply Commission (ESKOM). The provision of water also improved substantially towards the end of 1995, as approximately 300 projects to provide water to 4 million citizens were scheduled for completion within 18 months (Ratuva, 2013:227). Despite these improvements, the RDP faced great challenges, which included the lack of institutional capacity for management and payment of funds, reflected by funds amounting to R1.7 billion for the 1994-95 financial year being unused and carried over to the 1995-96 financial year. The provision of basic services such as healthcare, education facilities and housing was also very slow, as approximately 15000 houses were built over a two-year period (1994-1996) rather than the expected 400 000. The RDP lacked support from the state bureaucracy and the private financial sector, and it proved to be expensive to implement during its two years of existence (Ratuva, 2013:226-227).

Due to the many challenges the RDP faced, coupled with the ANC-led government inheriting debt from the apartheid regime and the depreciation of the rand, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy was adopted in 1996 (Satgar, 2012:42-43, Narsiah, 2002:30- 31 and Sebake, 2017:4).

The adoption of GEAR resembled the completeness of the ANC's neoliberal transformation as the focus of the policy was on economic growth rather than redistribution (Narsiah, 2002:32). The document explicitly stated, "The focus of this document is the overall macroeconomic environment. Social and sectoral policy development cannot be outlined comprehensively here, but (only) a few key linkages between growth, redistribution and new policy directions" (Department of National Treasury, 1996:15). In rapidly addressing the country's macroeconomic problems, the policy proposed a grouping of medium-term policies, such as the relaxation of exchange controls, privatisation, promoting trade liberalisation, significant deficit reduction, the alleviation of relative deprivation by creating approximately 1.5 million jobs in five years, improving flexibility in the labour market and implementing

monetary policies to stabilise the rand through market interest rates (Sebake, 2017:4, Ratuva, 2013:227, Schneider, 2003:43).

The GEAR policy successfully achieved some of its macroeconomic objectives, such as reducing the fiscal deficit from over 9% to below 3% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) since 1999 (Gelb, 2004:36). The inflation rate reduced from 7.4% in 1996 to 5.4% in 2000 and government consumption was at 18% towards the end of 2000 (South Africa, 2019:23 and Streak, 2004:276). GEAR has received the credit for improving financial discipline, reporting, accountability and creating macroeconomic stability (South Africa, 2019:23).

According to Narsiah (2002:32), the majority of the targets GEAR initially proposed were unmet. Between 1996 and 1998, the GDP decreased from 3.2%, 1.7% and to 0.1% in 1996, 1997 and 1998, respectively. The predictions that GEAR put forth for these respective years were 3.5%, 2.9% and 3.7%. In addition, private sector investment drastically decreased from 6.1%, 3.1% to -0.7% (from 1996-1998), as opposed to rising to the predicted figures of 9.3%, 9.1% and 9.3%.

Furthermore, GEAR produced some consequences that exacerbated relative deprivation, especially insofar as Black people were concerned. According to Streak (2004:275), the percentage of unemployed Black households increased from 32% to 39% between 1995 and 1999. By 2000, the unemployment rate for Black people was at 31.6%. This was 4.6 times larger than the unemployment rate for White people, which was at 6.8% (Schneider, 2003:45). GEAR simultaneously produced unintended consequences that worsened relative deprivation by trying to distribute wealth evenly through an affirmative action programme.

According to Schneider (2003:43) and Ratuva (2013:232), the basis for the relationship between the government and business interests was on affirmative action and through the privatisation of assets the Black bourgeoisie were the most direct beneficiaries. While some of the Black bourgeoisie were independent entrepreneurs, a significant number of them were Black fronts for White firms. This led to the unification of entrepreneurial links of the White and Black middle class. Often Black people were utilised as token representatives to allow White-run firms to obtain privatised assets. Therefore, the employment of Black people in management positions of White firms was mutually advantageous (Ratuva, 2013:232). It is upon

this background that Gevisser (1997:25) revealed that GEAR created a Black bourgeoisie that consisted of leaders of the Government of National Unity as “Almost every COSATU-affiliated union, and even the Communist Party itself, has set up an investment company.”

By 1997, approximately 10% of market capitalisation in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) was under the control of Black companies. While there was an increase of a powerful and affluent Black middle class that became isolated from its initial political base, there was also an increase of poverty-stricken and severely deprived citizens, which directly challenged the new political order (Ratuva, 2013:232). The negative consequences of the GEAR policy have made it important to uncover the reason(s) for the ANC-led government changing from a socialist to a neoliberal agenda.

According to Padayachee (2007:591-594) and Williams and Taylor (2000:27), the early 1990's saw international financial institutions, like the International Monetary Fund and particularly the World Bank developing an essential presence in South Africa. During this period, the World Bank sent a number of missions to South Africa to promote a neoliberal message targeted at the ANC elite, its researchers and policy advisors. In addition, senior ANC leaders received training in this regard at the World Bank headquarters (Narsiah, 2002:30). It is upon this background that Gilbert (2002:1924) suggests that the ANC already had dominant neoliberal ideas prior to 1994. Therefore, the debt that the ANC inherited from the apartheid regime, coupled with the “need” to maintain its relationship with the World Bank (to secure loans) are circumstances that forced the organisation to abandon the socialist RDP (once securing an electoral win in 1994) and adopt the GEAR policy (Williams & Taylor, 2000:36, Satgar, 2012:43 and Padayachee, 2007:593).

Waldmeir (1998:78-79) suggests that a firm relationship of the ANC, started during the mid-1980s, by large firms in South Africa was certainly fruitful. The hospitality that the ANC received in wealthy locations, such as Mells Park House²³ in the United

²³ This was a sophisticated mansion owned by the South African mining company, Consolidated Goldfields. Private meetings on South Africa's peace-making process were held at this residence between ANC leaders led by Thabo Mbeki and Afrikaner political elite like Wimpie de Klerk, F.W.'s brother, Mof Terreblanche who was a close friend to F.W. and Attie du Plessis, whose brother (Barend) was P.W. Botha's Minister of Finance (Waldmeir, 1998:78-79).

Kingdom (UK), indicated the protection of revenues of large firms long before South Africa's democracy, and that neoliberalism would constitute the organisations policy direction after 1994. In addition to the ANC being inexperienced (compared to large apartheid firms and bureaucrats) in articulating policies that would lead to economic justice, the organisation's research department was also small, thus lacking the capacity to develop and convey strong policy positions (Narsiah, 2002:31).

The neoliberal agenda that the ANC undertook led to the worsening of existing oppressive systems, such as patriarchy, due to relative deprivation.

4.3.2 The role of patriarchy in post-apartheid South Africa

When South Africa became a democracy in 1994, the emphasis was on upholding human rights and the principles of democracy. However, the realisation of democracy revealed that the country would be inheriting unjust and oppressive systems, such as patriarchy, that inhibit gender equality and gender equity (Bentley, 2004:247 and Plaatjies Van Huffel, 2011:3). Therefore, it is important to clarify concepts like patriarchy, gender equality and gender equity.

According to Plaatjies Van Huffel (2011:2), patriarchy refers to a social system that encourages hierarchies and grants the father, or males, political, economic and social power over females. Walby (1989:220) revealed a system of patriarchy made up of six main patriarchal structures, "A patriarchal mode of production in which women's labour is expropriated by their husbands, patriarchal relations within waged labour, the patriarchal state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality and patriarchal culture."

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization²⁴ (2000:5) describes gender equality as "the concept that all human beings, both men and women, are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by stereotypes, rigid gender roles and prejudices," while gender equity refers to "fairness of treatment for women and men, according to their respective needs."

Since the new dispensation, South Africa has developed a number of policies, laws, and bills to promote and protect the equal human rights of women. Some of these

²⁴ (UNESCO)

include the adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, upholding the Bill of Rights, recognition of the White Paper on Affirmative Action in the Public Service, the Employment Equity Act, the Customary Marriages Act, the Domestic Violence Act and the Termination of Pregnancy Act (Plaatjies Van Huffel, 2011:4 and Bentley, 2004:249-255). The development of these mechanisms an improvement compared to the apartheid era, which saw women legislated against. However, the active application of these mechanisms remains a challenge and this is problematic as it exacerbates the gendered nature of relative deprivation, which owes its origin to the migrant labour system²⁵ of the apartheid regime (Aliber, 2001:7).

According to Bentley (2004:247-248), patriarchy is prevalent in all races and cultures in the country. It is important to understand that patriarchy continues to exist in post-apartheid South Africa because of the claim that gender inequality is a characteristic of culture and tradition. Thus, to challenge it is to interfere with the social structure in a manner that contravenes the right of groups to self-determination. These claims continue the unequal treatment of women in the home, family, and mainstream economy (Bentley, 2004:248).

The United Nations Women (2017) state the experience of relative deprivation is different between women and men. The problem is not just statistical, exposing the amount of women affected by relative deprivation, but relative deprivation for women is prone to be more severe as they carry the burden of taking care of children under poor socio-economic conditions. Relative deprivation in South Africa is along gender, racial and geographical lines, as Black women living in rural areas are the main victims (DWYPD²⁶, 2019:11 and STATSSA, 2017:18). According to STATSA (2017:18), 41.7% of women lived below the lower-bound poverty line in 2015 compared to 38.2% of men. Black women continue to be the most socio-economically deprived compared to Black men and women of other racial groups. By 2015, the percentage of poor households headed by males (majority of whom were Black) was 48.4%, while poor female-headed households (majority of whom were Black) amounted to 51.6% (STATSSA, 2017:80).

²⁵ The migrant labour system was a spatial and economic strategy in which black men were forced to leave their wives and children in rural homelands and travel to work in urban areas or on the mines (Bezuidenhout & Buhlungu, 2011:238 and Hall, 2017:2). In light of this, the migrant labour system led to the immense disruption and disintegration of black families (Hall, 2017:2).

²⁶ (Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities)

Due to the above, Burnett (2002:30) stated that the gender component of relative deprivation “finds expression in the lack of facilities, energy and time consuming domestic work, lack of time, transport and unequal access to market related employment, education, mobility and security.” By 2017, women made up 51% of country’s overall population, however, they only made up 44.3% of the labour force, which is usually concentrated at lower levels of institutions. The weak regulations and gender-based discrimination in the labour market has restricted women (especially Black women) to low paying jobs, of poor working conditions and which lack social protection (DWYPD, 2019:11). Despite the majority of students enrolled in higher learning institutions being women and a greater number of undergraduate to honours degrees awarded to women, this tendency changes in support of men when coming to Masters’ and Doctoral degrees. Only 42.3% of doctoral graduates were women in 2016. Black women continue to be under-represented compared to women of other racial groups, with Black men still being more advantaged than are Black women (DWYPD, 2019:14).

Evidently, the predominant cultural and social norms do not consider women as valuable members of society (Kehler, 2001:44), as revealed by the attitudes and conduct they encounter daily within legislative structures and policymaking. According to Kehler (2001:44), privatising public services in the country has mainly affected poor women because they depend on most on these services to fulfil their role(s) as mothers/or caregivers. It is upon this background that the poor socio-economic status of women is a phenomenon known as the ‘feminisation’ of relative deprivation/poverty (United Nations Women 2004:247 and Kehler, 2001:43).

The socio-economic situations presented above makes it difficult for women to sustain their families. Women’s lack of participation in the mainstream economy perpetuates the racist and capitalist nature of the apartheid regime in post-apartheid South Africa. This ultimately hinders democracy, as not all groups in society are free. It further hinders women’s ability to end the cycle of relative deprivation within their families because their children will have limited access to quality education to get themselves out of these circumstances. In this way, relative deprivation becomes a generational problem.

4.3.3 Education

The education sector is the pillar of development in any society. Within the context of South Africa, education has the ability to disintegrate the social structure of the apartheid regime, construct a unified and less polarised country, encourage democratic values and serve as an avenue out of poverty for the poor (Van Der Berg, Burger, Burger, De Vos, Du Rand, Gustafsson, Eldridge, Shepherd, Spaull, Taylor, Van Broekhuizen, & Von Fintel, 2011:1). After the new dispensation, important reforms concerning the governance, administration and funding of education were enforced, such as the establishment of a unified National Department of Education, curriculum reform and incorporating poor schools, children and non-personnel expenditure in the education budget (Van Der Berg *et al.*, 2011:1-2). Despite these reforms, Spaull (2013:3) states, “As it stands, the South African education system is grossly inefficient, severely underperforming and egregiously unfair.”

The most significant element of a country’s education system is the quality of teachers (Spaull, 2013:24). According to Van Der Berg *et al.* (2011:2-4), the level of cognitive achievement in fundamental learning areas such as Science, Mathematics and Reading is very low. Some of the factors that contribute to this phenomenon include the lack of highly qualified teachers, inexperienced teachers, and the low level of curriculum/content knowledge of teachers. Spaull (2013:6) states that South Africa has two distinct public-school systems that separate scholars by geographic location, wealth, socio-economic status, and language. “The smaller, better performing system accommodates the wealthiest 20-25 per cent of pupils who achieve much higher scores than the larger system which caters to the poorest 75-80 per cent of pupils” (Spaull, 2013:6). This is reflected in the lack of quality infrastructure in poor schools that results in teachers leaving for affluent schools, higher pupil-to-teacher ratio in poor schools, and the low teacher knowledge in poor schools than in affluent ones (Van Der Berg *et al.*, 2011:1 & 2). This inability to impart knowledge to children means that the existing patterns of relative deprivation, labour quality and productivity, and income inequality are not challenged, but rather reproduced and reinforced (Van Der Berg *et al.*, 2011:1).

The success of the education system further depends on intrinsic factors such as the presence or absence of resources, the family structure instilling discipline, the culture

of reading among children from a young age, and parental involvement and cooperation (Moloi, 2002:2 and Van Der Berg *et al.*, 2011:6). These factors play a fundamental role in the academic performance of children, as the lack of resources (at home and school) puts children at a disadvantage because they do not have access to the cognitively stimulating resources their affluent counterparts enjoy. Warner and Curry (1997:5) further state there is a direct relationship between parental involvement and academic performance. When there is parental involvement in a child's school activities, then there is improved discipline and academic performance (Warner & Curry, 1997:5). These intrinsic factors are characteristic of poor communities whereby over time, children have to drop out of school (and tend to engage in crime) and find employment prematurely to either sustain themselves, or their younger siblings in the case of child-headed households (Shava, Gunhidzirai & Shava, 2016:94).

According to Spaull (2013:5), South Africa's high school dropout rate is of great concern. Of the 100 scholars that begin grade one, 50 will drop-out of school prior to grade 12 (usually in grades 10 and 11), only 40 will be successful in passing their National Senior Certificate (NSC) exam, and a mere 12 will be eligible for university. However, this problem is also a consequence of the country's education policy, in which scholars who have not acquired foundational numeracy and literacy skills move to the next grade (Spaull, 2013:5). In this way, the system sets up children for failure as they are unable to cope in higher grades, they lose motivation to do school work and resort to permanently leaving school.

Moloi (2002:32) further stresses that the school is an open system and is a reflection of the society in which it is situated. This means that societal problems will manifest themselves in schools and in the classroom. Education in South Africa continues to face the challenge of high numbers of violent service delivery protests. According to Mc Lennan and Munslow (2009:19), service delivery in the country is highly politicised as it symbolises some of the contradictions of the transformation from apartheid to democracy. On one hand, it is an endless crisis as the negative effects of apartheid hinders the government's efforts of growing the economy, meeting local needs and competing internationally. Conversely, it is a journey of redistribution to encourage development for those deprived of the right to citizenship, employment and education (Mc Lennan & Munslow, 2009:21).

Although protesting involves citizens exercising democracy and their right to convey their socio-economic needs to the government, the violence that is characteristic of South African protests results in unbudgeted expenditure due to the damage to infrastructure. Citizens cry for basic services such as water, and adequate healthcare ends up threatening the existence of other basic services such as education, as schools are burned, protesters prohibit scholars from attending school and valuable teaching and learning time is lost (Kgatlé, 2018:253). These violent protests often occur in poor areas and result in scholars being unable to use education as a tool to escape poverty and access quality employment opportunities.

4.3.4 Unemployment

According to Rodrik (2008:770), South Africa has one of the highest unemployment rates in the world. Unemployment is a serious issue due to its negative effects on economic welfare, social stability, production, crime and human capital (Kingdon & Knight, 2001:1). The definition of the unemployment rate is “the proportion of the labour force that is unemployed.” (STATSSA, 2019c:17). STATSSA releases quarterly labour force surveys that provide information on the amount of people who are employed, not economically active and unemployed (Wilkinson, 2017). South Africa has two definitions of unemployment, the official/or strict definition and the expanded definition.

According to STATSSA (2019c:17), unemployed individuals, according to the official/or strict definition, refers to individuals who are 15 years or older, who were not working or self-employed in the four weeks prior to the survey interview, who were available for work or self-employment in the week prior to the survey interview and who actively looked for work or attempted to be self-employed four weeks prior to the survey interview. The expanded definition of unemployment refers to individuals who are 15 years or older, who want to work, have actively searched for work but did not find any and have thus become discouraged job-seekers who are not actively searching for work (STATSSA, 2019c:17). The Quarterly Labour Force Survey for the first quarter of 2020 revealed the expanded unemployment rate was higher (at 39.7%) than the official unemployment rate (at 30.1%) (STATSSA, 2020:8). STATSSA views the official definition of unemployment as the appropriate one for the country (Bangane, 1999:7-8, STATSSA, 2020:8). According to STATSSA (2020:8), the official unemployment rate is 30.1%.

According to Arora and Ricci (2006:30), South Africa's unemployment crisis originates from the apartheid era. The skills mismatch in the country's labour market originates from the poor quality of education oppressed groups (particularly Black people) were subjected to. A number of factors connected to apartheid, such as strong unionisation, labour groups involvement in the liberation struggle and the consequence of trade sanctions on import substitution (meaning the energy sector), forced companies to invest in capital intensive instead of labour intensive activities (Kaplinsky, 1995:189).

Hall (1997:396) states the spatial distribution of unemployment is a fundamental, overlooked factor. "Apartheid urban planning and residential settlement patterns concentrated the Black population in peripheral residential areas, where the highest concentrations of unemployment are now found." (Hall, 1997:396). This situation is a product of apartheid policies, such as the 1913 Natives Land Act and the migrant labour system. These policies led to the creation of Black townships and homelands, which were not developed, had minimal employment opportunities and contributed to the skills shortage and/or skills mismatch in the country (Arora & Ricci, 2006:30 and Hall, 1997:396).

In addition, Kwenda, Ntuli and Mudiriza (2020:2) state that the unemployment rate is relatively higher in provinces that are former homelands compared to provinces that had small or no homeland areas. Figures from STATSSA further reinforce this by showing that expanded unemployment in the Western Cape (which had no homeland areas) and in Gauteng (with the lowest proportion of homeland areas) is the lowest in the country, at 24.8% and 36.3% respectively, while former homeland areas such as the North West, Limpopo and Eastern Cape Province were at 45.1%, 44.4% and 48.9% respectively (STATSSA, 2020:8). Related to this, are the country's unemployment figures along racial lines. According to STATSSA (2020:22-23) the unemployment rate for Blacks, Coloureds, Indians/Asians and Whites is currently at 33.8%, 24.0%, 13.0% and 8.1% respectively. It is upon this background that Triegaardt (2013:5) and Cloete (2015:514-515) state that unemployment in South Africa is not cyclical but structural in character.

Structural unemployment occurs when changes in the configuration of the labour demand creates a mismatch between the skills that the labour market/employers

demand and the skills that are supplied/or offered (Ehrenburg & Smith, 2015:58). Structural unemployment creates a disparity between the supply of and demand for employees across areas. One of the main features of structural unemployment is that it is long-lived, which means it increases long-term unemployment (Cloete, 2015:514). According to Cloete (2015:515), “due to its nature, structural unemployment is the hardest to address” and it is far greater amongst the poor and the youth.

The increase in unemployment since 1994 is also due to international factors, such as the 2008/2009 global financial crisis; South Africa has not yet recovered from that crisis. In the decade following the crisis, the country faced a 60% decrease in average annual growth compared to annual growth in the preceding decade. As a result, between 2009 and 2019 the country lost output worth R3.7 trillion (Anon, 2020). For the first time ever, the country’s unemployment rate went over 20% in 2008 and it has remained that way to date. The financial crisis led to job creation initiatives being reduced by approximately 50%, and many of the job losses were experienced in the trade, manufacturing, construction, and mining sectors. The youth, semi-skilled and unskilled workers were the most affected, and this trend has continued after the financial crisis (Rena & Msoni, 2014:22). According to Mkhabela (2020), South Africa has been unable to return to the 3% growth rate observed during the Mbeki administration. This means the country is unable to create quality employment opportunities, and this has resulted in the few skilled individuals emigrating (Ferreira & Rossouw, 2016:810).

Ferreira and Rossouw (2016:809-811) argue that the increasing cost of labour and labour market stringencies have not improved the unemployment crisis in post-apartheid South Africa. Structural changes in the economy, such as the move from a labour intensive to a capital and skill intensive economy coupled with labour militancy, support skilled workers. This results in increasing labour costs that surpass labour productivity improvements. As such, these trends severely affect semi-skilled and unskilled workers in sectors such as agriculture and mining (Ferreira & Rossouw, 2016:809).

In addition, Aaron, Khan and Kingdon (2009:16-17) argue that the country’s labour legislation is too stringent for the prevalent structural unemployment. They state the

poor flexibility in labour market legislation, coupled with the degree of union power to increase wages or interrupt production is worsening unemployment and relative deprivation in South Africa. Therefore, the effects of unemployment are not only economic, as unemployment negatively affects the physical and psychological well-being of individuals.

According to De Witte, Rothmann and Jackson (2012:235-236) many people who are unemployed, particularly for a long period of time, tend to experience physical effects such as an increase in headaches, hypertension, stomach aches, lack of energy, sleeping problems, kidney disease and heart disease. The psychological effects that are associated with unemployment include increased stress, anxiety, signs of depression and lack of self-confidence. Unemployment is usually the reason for social ills such as child-maltreatment, suicide, divorce, alcoholism and crime (Allen, Watson & Wood, 1986:16). Due to unemployment predominantly affecting the youth, it means young people are usually the ones who experience these negative emotions and social ills. As such, work not only gives structured activity, social status and income, but also provides a sense of self-worth and inclusion in a community and society in which one feels wanted and needed. Conversely, unemployment leaves people feeling powerless, isolated and meaningless (Cloete, 2015:519).

Due to its complexity, improvement in South Africa's unemployment crisis was possible through appropriate and effective policy interventions.

4.3.5 Poor public policy formulation and implementation

According to Cochran and Malone (2014:3), public policy is the complete framework according to which government takes actions aimed at achieving public goals. Thus, public policies are purposive courses of action formulated to respond to a perceived problem in society. Public policy is important as it aims to address the grievances of broader society, promote economic and human development, and establish social cohesion by bringing forth the principles of equality, justice, freedom and peace (Cochran, Mayer, Carr, Cayer & McKenzie, 2015:4).

Govender and Reddy (2012:77) indicate policy analysis methodology encompasses two distinct frameworks, namely: policy formulation and policy implementation. Policy formulation is described as "the development and synthesis of alternative solutions for policy problems and it is essentially a conceptual and theoretical activity. The

focus is on the nature of problems and has little to do with resolving these problems. The process involves understanding the problem and setting objectives which outline the desired outcomes of a policy intervention” (Govender & Reddy, 2012:77). Policy implementation is “the execution of a policy plan or action that is aimed at remedying the identified problem. The main aim is choosing a course of action and ensuring it’s followed correctly. Policy implementation is about acting on the basis of best choices” (Govender & Reddy, 2012:77).

Authors such as Middleton (2014:23) have stated that South Africa has excellently written public policies that are comprehensive, progressive, and in harmony with the Constitution. However, Gumede (2017:1 & 10) argues, “policy thinking and coordination appears to have declined during the Zuma administration” mainly because the Policy Coordination and Advisory Services (PCAS) that was established in 1997, was disbanded in 2010. PCAS was responsible for all policy development, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and coordinating the functions of departments (Gumede, 2017:1 & 18). South Africa’s public formulation and implementation processes face a number of challenges that hinder the country’s development.

One of the challenges in South Africa’s public policy formulation is it is a lengthy process that involves various actors and state organs. This process usually starts with a Green Paper, which is usually an ANC/or government discussion document. A White Paper, which is a refined discussion document providing a clear expression of government policy, follows this. Once assessed for legal and technical implications, the White Paper is presented to Parliament and the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) as a Bill, is discussed, and eventually signed into law by the President; this depends on the outcome of discussions and the President’s discretion (Gumede, 2017:7-8). It is compulsory that all public participation processes take place at each stage of the policy formulation process before the Bill is presented to Parliament to ensure citizens set the agenda as to how public policy should be structured so that policies are not imposed on them (Van der Walt, 2018:39-44).

Since the new dispensation, policy discussions in the ANC and in ANC conferences inform policy direction, objectives and implementation for the South African government (Gumede, 2017:9). As such, Mkhize (2015:193) states the time

consuming nature and the long chain of communication involved in policy formulation may lead to a deficiency in consultation and participation about policy choices within the three spheres of government. This is problematic especially when public policy is not conducive to the socio-economic conditions at local government level, and this can result in non-compliance of public policy from the public and administrators during the implementation phase (Mkhize, 2015:193 and Broadnax, 1976:701). Related to this is the issue of political interference in participation and decision-making processes (especially at local government). Councillor competencies, including their ability to influence participation outcomes for the benefit of the party rather than the general public, is an issue that often creates non-cooperation during policy implementation (Govender & Reddy, 2012:72).

South Africa's public policies may successfully describe the socio-economic problem they aim to resolve, but the problem is that policies or policymakers do not explain 'the how' or the actions to implement such policies (Tebele, 2016:12). One of the reasons for this phenomenon is that policymakers lack knowledge regarding the execution of the policies they have drafted, and instead depend on bureaucrats for implementation (McLaughlin, 1987:172).

Due to the debt the new democratic government inherited from the apartheid regime, the challenge in formulating policies has been the necessity to take into account the interests of the international community, particularly the World Bank, which has determined the parameters of the country's accumulation path (Satgar, 2008:50). This has resulted in the adoption and application of Western solutions to African problems (Human, 1998:48). This is problematic due to the heterogeneous nature of South Africa and the remnants of Apartheid still being present (Ferim, 2013:144). It is important for public policy to be relevant to the prevailing context in order to respond to the situation effectively, because the adoption of Western solutions to African problems reflects a lack of political will; it undermines democracy and the sovereignty of a state (Human, 1998:49 and Ferim, 2013:145).

The successful formulation and implementation of public policies depends greatly on broader aspects of development like life expectancy, literacy and resource distribution (Menocal, 2007:3). In this regard, the lack of financial and competent human resources hampers the monitoring and evaluation of public policies

(Matsiliza, 2019:496). According to OECD²⁷ (2005:175), monitoring is “a continuing function that uses systematic collection of data on specified indicators to provide management and the main stakeholders of an ongoing development intervention with indications of the extent of progress and achievement of objectives and progress in the use of allocated funds.” Evaluation is “an assessment, as systematic and objective as possible, of an ongoing or completed project, programme or policy, its design, implementation and results. The aim is to determine the relevance and fulfilment of objectives, developmental efficiency, effectiveness, impact and sustainability” (OECD, 2005:175). At times, policy implementation fails due to institutional inadequacies, and not because the policy is necessarily flawed (Govender & Reddy, 2012:79). Thus, monitoring and evaluation allows for the identifying and addressing of institutional problems at an early stage (Public Service Commission, 2012:5). This contributes to efficient service delivery, local economic development and reinforces democracy (Tebele, 2016:11). Ultimately, the success of any policy depends on the ability of the state to run a corrupt-free government.

4.3.6 State capture and corruption

Systemic corruption²⁸ is something South Africans have become well acquainted with and normalised to (De Klerk & Solomon, 2019:64). According to the 2019 Corruption Perceptions Index by Transparency International (2019:2), South Africa had a score of 44 points out of 100. This shows corruption is an irrefutable societal problem as a score of zero represents a highly corrupt country, while a score of one hundred represents a practically corrupt-free country (Transparency International, 2019:2). The severity of corruption in the country has led to a far greater systemic threat, which is state capture (Bhorat, Buthelezi, Chipkin, Duma, Mondi, Peter, Qobo, Swilling, 2017:4).

The term state capture initially emerged after the collapse of the communist dictatorships in Eastern Europe and Soviet Central Asia. This was a time when monolithic states transitioned from communism to democracy and a liberal market economy; a transition characterised by rampant corruption as commercial assets were seized by influential and powerful business people, securocrats and former

²⁷ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

²⁸ As stated in the first chapter of this dissertation, corruption is “the unlawful or unethical abuse of authority in order to gain personal or group advantages.” (Fox & Mayer, 1995: 29).

politicians, or rather commonly known as 'oligarchs' (SACBC²⁹, 2018:1, Meirotti, 2018:1 and Dossah, 2018:2). Researchers Joel Hellman, Geraint Jones and Daniel Kaufman conducted a World Bank study that identified a new dimension of corruption in Eastern Europe, which they named state capture (Meirotti, 2018:1 and Dossah, 2018:2). They defined state capture as "the capacity to influence the formation of the basic rules of the game (i.e. laws, rules, decrees and regulation) through private payments to public officials" (Hellman, Jones & Kaufman, 2000:2). According to Martin and Solomon (2016:22), any discussion on state capture should not regard the state and the economy as two separate entities. Therefore, for the purpose of this dissertation, the definition of state capture is "a political-economic project whereby public and private actors collude in establishing clandestine networks that cluster around state institutions in order to accumulate unchecked power, subverting the constitutional state and social contract by operating outside of the realm of public accountability." (Godinho & Hermanus, 2018:3).

Although state capture and corruption are connected, Sitorus (2011:47) states the difference between the two is that while most forms of corruption focus on subverting how laws, rules and regulations are implemented by acts of bribery, state capture entails corrupt efforts to influence the formation of those laws, rules and regulations. This in turn makes it equivalent to legalised corruption (Dassah, 2018:3). In recent years, state capture has become an omnipresent concept in South Africa's social commentary, and in its political and economic arena. The events that occurred during former President Zuma's administration (particularly his second term) has led to many researchers concurring that state capture became institutionalised by Zuma and his power elite³⁰ (which included the wealthy Gupta family) (Martin & Solomon, 2016:24, Godinho & Hermanus, 2018:4 and De Klerk & Solomon, 2019:69).

Reddy (2010:200) stated South Africa's transition from the apartheid regime to democracy is likely to have made the country susceptible to state capture,

²⁹ Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

³⁰ Power elite is described as "a relatively well-structured network of people located in government, state institutions, SOEs, private businesses, security agencies, traditional leaders, family networks and the governing party." (Bhorat *et al.*, 2017:5). This group is united by the desire to effectively manage "the symbiotic relationship between the constitutional and shadow states." (Bhorat *et al.*, 2017:6). This group does this by loosely organising itself "around a patron or strongman, who has direct access to resources, under whom a layer of elites forms who dispense the patronage, which is then managed by another layer of brokers or middlemen." (Bhorat *et al.*, 2017:6).

particularly when considering the high extent of de-industrialisation and unemployment at the time. As such, the significant increase in the ANC's membership after the new dispensation reinforces the argument that politics (and the ANC) became an opportunity for employment and upward mobility because those with limited qualifications and formal education received positions within politics from the ANC (Reddy, 2010:200). This phenomenon served as one of the motivating factors for the ANC adopting its cadre deployment policy (SACBC, 2018:3). Therefore, the exclusive dependence on politics and/or entering the field without an independent means of income has contributed to the formation of formal and informal patronage networks (actors of state capture or power elite) because cadre deployment has become "a species of state capture, albeit in the guise of 'state rescue'" (SACBC, 2018:3).

With the establishment of a patronage network, the state capture project was in full swing (Bhorat *et al.*, 2017:56-57). The key targets of capture included entities such as the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA), Transportation Network (Transnet), Electricity Supply Commission (ESKOM), South African Airways (SAA), the National Treasury and the boards of significant development finance institutions. (Bhorat *et al.*, 2017:2). Zuma's power elite succeeded in controlling strategic procurement opportunities by deliberately weakening key technical institutions, formal executive processes, the governance and operational structures (boards) of State Owned Enterprises (SOE's). This went in conjunction with securing loyalty within the security, intelligence services and financial institutions³¹ by appointing loyalists and controlling the public service. This had dire consequences at local government as it reinforced the "Premier League"³², the parallel government and decision-making structures that undermined the executive (Bhorat *et al.*, 2017:15-16).

With SOEs not fulfilling their development mandate, over time they have become more of a liability than an asset. This is reflected by government guarantees to SOEs

³¹ Particularly the National Treasury and the South African Revenue Services (SARS)

³² The Premier League refers to an organised group of three premiers from Mpumalanga (David Mabuza), the Free State (Ace Magashule) and the North West Province (Supra Mahumapelo). The Premier League captured their provincial governments and certain structures of the ANC, such as the MK Veterans, the Youth League and Women's League (Lediga, 2018). This group further enjoyed support from certain ministers and chief executive officers of SOE's (Martin & Solomon, 2016:24).

having reached R467 billion by the end of the 2015/2016 financial year (Mutize & Gossel, 2017). The mismanagement of funds, irregular procurement of contracts/tenders and the inability to establish new and maintain existing infrastructure by Eskom has led to the power utility resorting to load-shedding since 2007 (Godinho & Hermanus, 2018:14). This has seriously harmed the country's economy as load shedding "costs the country around R1 billion per stage, per day" (Head, 2019). Other SOEs, such as SAA, have not been spared from the consequences of state capture as the entity is currently undergoing a business rescue process after incurring over R20 billion in debt since 2011 and has been relying on government bailouts to remain afloat (De Villiers, 2019 and Roelf, 2020).

State capture has permeated at local government level through the influence of the "Premiere League" who were exempt from the consequences of their actions due to the protection they enjoyed from Zuma (Martin & Solomon, 2016:26). For instance, the former Premier of the Free State, Ace Magashule, has been implicated in a number of corruption cases, the most prominent being that of the Estina Dairy Farm Project, in which approximately R200 million of taxpayers money was directed to the Gupta linked company, Estina, rather than being used for emerging Black farmers in the Free State Province. Some of these funds financed the lavish Gupta family wedding in Sun City in 2013 (Friedman, 2019). Gupta companies also enjoyed financial support (through corrupt practices) from other provinces, such as KwaZulu-Natal which paid R24.8 million to the Gupta owned newspaper 'The New Age' and the North West Province paid R23.8 million to Gupta media companies during former premier Supra Mahumapelo's tenure (Feketha, 2018).

Former Public Protector, Thuli Mandonsele, revealed the severity of state capture in South Africa when she released the Nkandla Report³³ and the State of Capture Report in 2014 and 2016 respectively. According to Alence and Pitcher (2019:13-14) "estimates of the direct cost of state capture during Zuma's second term put the four year price tag at more than \$100 billion, or about four months' worth of South Africa's estimated 2018 GDP." However, it is particularly the State of Capture Report that prompted President Cyril Ramaphosa to establish a Judicial Commission of Inquiry

³³ The Nkandla Report contains details of how former President Zuma unduly benefitted through the millions of taxpayers money that was illegally used for 'security upgrades' at his Nkandla homestead (Swilling, 2019).

into allegations of state capture in 2018 (Swilling, 2019). The forgone reinforces Bhorat *et al.* (2017:2) argument that Zuma and his power elite staged a silent coup through a “symbiotic relationship between the constitutional state³⁴ and the shadow state.”

The following section will analyse the abovementioned factors that have contributed to relative deprivation in South Africa.

4.4 An analysis of the contributing factors to relative deprivation in South Africa after 1994

Based on the aforementioned, the change in government from the apartheid regime to democracy contributed to the development of aspirational³⁵ deprivation in South Africa. The democratic dispensation of 1994 heightened citizens’ expectations of not only a better South Africa, but of a better livelihood filled with opportunities. The further heightening of aspirational deprivation was in the delivery of basic services through the pro-poor RDP policy. Furthermore, the growth of an affluent Black middle class, through the GEAR policy, solidified the perception that Black South African’s would have a better life, and further increased aspirational deprivation. With these steady improvements in society, value capabilities and value expectations increased simultaneously. However, when the unintended consequences of the GEAR policy started being evident (e.g. unemployment, growth of the Black bourgeoisie, and a general increase of deprivation along racial lines), value capabilities started declining while value expectations remained high; this led to aspirational deprivation soon turning into progressive³⁶ deprivation.

³⁴ Bhorat *et al.*, (2017:6) describe the constitutional state as “the formalised constitutional, legislative and jurisprudential framework of rules that governs what government and state institutions can and cannot do.” The shadow state is described as “the networks of relationships that cross-cut and bind together a specific group of people who need to act together for whatever reason in secretive ways so that they can either effectively hide, actively deny or consciously ‘not know’ that which contradicts their formal roles in the constitutional state. This is a world where deniability is valued, culpability is distributed and where trust is maintained through mutually binding fear.” (Bhorat *et al.*, 2017:6).

³⁵ Aspirational deprivation (as depicted in figure 2) is characterised by the rise in individual’s value expectations while the associated value capabilities remains relatively constant (Gurr, 1971:50).

³⁶ Progressive deprivation occurs due to the stabilisation or decrease of value capabilities following a period of socio-economic improvement (Gurr, 1971:52-53). (See chapter two)

The progressive deprivation that is prevalent in society coincides with the Davies J-curve. The intolerable gap between what people want and what they get (as depicted by the J-curve in Chapter Two), and the decrease in value capabilities (which depicts progressive deprivation in Chapter Two, Figure 3) has been persistent due to negative factors such as neoliberalism, patriarchy, poor education, unemployment, poor public policy formulation and implementation, and state capture and corruption. With enough time, the frustration these negative factors cause will ultimately result in a revolution that will worsen the socio-economic state of the country.

Based on the above, the contributing factors to relative deprivation are complex and interrelated. The above also reflects a lack of understanding from political leaders regarding the nature of South Africa's socio-economic crisis, reflected by the neoliberal stance that the ANC-led government undertook and the subsequent adoption of the GEAR policy. The GEAR policy was not conducive for redistribution in South Africa because it was too market oriented and this made it more applicable to a developed market, characteristic of western countries (United Kingdom, the United States of America, etc.). The over dependence on the efficiency and effectiveness of the markets to resolve the country's socio-economic deprivation reflected a lack of political will because it disregarded the historical, institutional and patriarchal nature of the country's economy. The adoption of GEAR further showed how government was not conscious of the needs of women, because GEAR's trade policies has meant women are the most affected by unemployment as they form the bulk of the workforce in the informal economy. For instance, Bennett (2009:57) considers "trade liberalisation and privatisation" to be the major contributing factor for the dwindling away of the country's clothing and textile industry. The high influx of imported clothing in South Africa's female dominated clothing and textile industry has led to over 50 000 job losses since 2003 (Bennett, 2009:57 and Thamm, 2017).

Additionally, there is a general lack of understanding from the ANC-led government regarding the nature of social issues like unemployment. Based on the above, unemployment is a persistent and chronic social problem rather than an acute or cyclical problem (Triegaardt, 2006:9). However, the government has reflected a lack of political will to address the unemployment crisis, evidenced by the ever-growing number of social grant beneficiaries and the establishment of employment

generating programmes, such as the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP)³⁷. Triegaardt (2006:9-10) indicates the EPWP does not address the unemployment problem from the root because there is an oversupply of low and unskilled workers that surpasses the demand for work/this programme and it does not provide long-term sustainable employment as workers' contracts are only for a 4-6 months period. The EPWP gives the impression that unemployment in South Africa is a temporary or cyclical problem.

Furthermore, it is concerning to note the comfortability of the state in creating poor quality jobs, because the skills obtained from the EPWP programme does not enable workers to occupy/fill the current vacancies in the labour market, but instead confines them to low earning, informal jobs. Therefore, it can be stated the government is not only unwilling to create employment opportunities, but is also unwilling to create quality, long term employment to resolve the structural unemployment in the country. The inability of the government to resolve the unemployment crisis further lies in their conceptualisation(s) of this issue.

The conceptualisation of unemployment starts from the age of 15. This may be a reflection of a government that understands children are forced into the labour market due to factors such as living in a child headed household, or having parents who are not fit to work. However, this is also an indication of a government that is comfortable and reluctant to create reform. It indicates the lack of strong intergovernmental relations between the Department of Education, the Department of Labour and the Department of Social Development. Furthermore, it should be unconstitutional for a 15-year old to enter the labour market as their lack of skills confines them to the informal economy where they are exposed financial and physical exploitation.

Furthermore, the government employs the official/strict definition of unemployment rather than the expanded definition. This is problematic as the figures for the expanded definition of unemployment are higher than the official/strict definition. Using the expanded definition provides a more truthful account of the problem because unemployment has been on the rise since the new dispensation. It reflects

³⁷ The EPWP has three objectives: providing employment to the unemployed, building the skills base of the unskilled, and building public infrastructure in the form of roads, schools and other amenities. (Mubangizi & Mkhize, 2013:29).

the accurate status of unemployment at national and provincial government, especially when considering the history of apartheid in homelands. Furthermore, the expanded definition reflects an emotive element by acknowledging that the difficulty of finding work in South Africa has led to citizens no longer being active job seekers. Therefore, it can be stated the government underplays the severity of unemployment in South Africa by making use of the official/strict definition and the current official unemployment rate may be much worse/higher than what has been presented. As a result, this dissertation will use the expanded definition of unemployment.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, some of the relative deprivation problems in the country can be traced back to the apartheid era and require rational policy interventions. Although considered comprehensive and progressive, South Africa's public policies are not entirely consistent with the principles of constitutionalism, and there is disconnection from the citizens. Policy makers are making policies without going to the departments or environments to understand the complexities of the prevailing problem and ensuring the intended policy creates significant improvements; hence, policy makers are unable to articulate appropriate implementation procedures. This phenomenon has been evident within the education sector whereby teachers who have direct contact with learners in the classroom are not involved in the formulation or drafting of policy that will have an impact on the curriculum, yet they are the custodians and are expected to implement the curriculum (Adu & Ngibe, 2014:983 & 988). This is one of the major contributing factors to the poor academic performance of learners.

In addition, one of the major reasons for the disconnection between the state/public policy and citizens is that public policy has become something that is politicised. South Africans do not determine the policies that they want, but to a large extent the ANC-led government does, just as they freely did so when they derailed from the principles of the Freedom Charter and the NDR, which mainly involved nationalisation and land reform. The ANC does this by discussing policy at ANC conferences in Luthuli House, and in Council at local government level. Therefore, even if policy goes to parliament for the vote, its adoption will be despite opposition from other political parties because the ANC has the numbers in Parliament. Public participation has become a mere formality, as history has shown it is easy to take policy decisions unilaterally. For instance, the shift from RDP to GEAR illustrated the

ANC was not concerned with being pro-poor. It no longer honoured the principles of the Freedom Charter and the NDR because the negative socio-economic results of GEAR revealed there was no consultation with the public.

At the heart of South Africa's relative deprivation problems is the lack of strong, moral political leadership, which has brought the ANC's laws into question. One of the reasons for the Premier League flourishing and destroying the local and provincial governments is because they found a loophole in ANC laws. Premiers' appointments are by the Provincial Executive Council (PEC) in the legislature and not by the President. As such, their removal is only by the PEC. With the culture of corruption being the *modus operandi* of government, Members of the Executive Council (MEC's), who receive their appointments from the premier and who constitute the PEC, will not remove the premier from office because this will negatively affect their pockets/livelihoods. This means that premiers are at liberty to abuse power and resources as they see fit. In light of this, the independence of the three spheres of government limits accountability and perpetuates state capture and corruption because the president cannot monitor the premier. Furthermore, the premier cannot monitor the mayor of the district municipality and the mayor of the district municipality cannot monitor the mayor of the local municipality.

The institutionalisation of state capture has undermined efforts of creating local economic development that aims to alleviate the effects of relative deprivation. In this way, state capture and corruption has led to government inefficiency that has prolonged the provision of public goods and services. It has instilled what Michael Wrong has described as "it's my turn to eat" idea/culture within the ANC, across the majority of state institutions, bureaucrats and the private sector (Otieno, 2019). This has destroyed the National Democratic Revolution. It has destroyed efforts to consolidate South Africa's democracy, as the country's violent protests are a mirror image of the apartheid era. It has dispossessed the country of its legitimacy to the extent that South Africans have normalised corruption and are willing to go to the streets and protest in support of political leaders implicated in corruption scandals. Consequently, South African's moral fibre has disintegrated and we have to wonder what kind of leaders South Africans want.

4.5 Conclusion

Based on the aforementioned, South Africa's relative deprivation problems are complex and interrelated because they are traceable back to the apartheid regime, and some of the efforts to address apartheid related problems have given rise to other problems, such as state capture. Of note, is that relative deprivation is a symptom of power inequalities. Thus, any efforts to address it successfully will require principled and active political leadership that will work from a bottoms-up approach. This means the government must invest in the education, training and health of its young people through strong inter-governmental relations. Therefore, an investment in the education sector is indirectly equivalent to investing in other sectors of the economy.

One of the biggest obstacles in addressing the 'bread and butter' issues of South Africa lies in the ANC's inability to create innovative and permanent solutions. Therefore, it is paramount for the ANC to engage in intense introspection, both on a moral level and in terms of their operation. The laws currently in place have worsened relative deprivation because they have created a fertile ground for accountability to take a backseat across all spheres of government. Furthermore, the lack of strict criteria regarding the election of ANC representatives, especially the party president (which has been the country's president since 1994) has created room for factionalism and state capture to flourish in the private sector and in state institutions; this has brought the country's democracy and legitimacy into question. Furthermore, the inability of the ANC-led government to respond to the needs of citizens has led to the significant loss of trust in the system, with young people today entering mainstream politics (through the ANC Youth League) as they view it as a tool to get rich quickly. Ultimately, this has destroyed the National Democratic Revolution.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

Relative deprivation has been a chronic socio-economic problem since the apartheid era, with the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) being the tool that would direct the ANC-led government into achieving the political, social and economic emancipation of all South Africans. However, the inability to achieve this objective and the high degree of socio-economic deprivation has resulted in the problem statement of this dissertation being: How has the National Democratic Revolution contributed to the existence of relative deprivation in South Africa?

Given the above problem statement, this dissertation will be concluded by providing a summary of the fundamental issues and arguments presented in Chapters One to Four, followed by the findings of the study based on the research objectives that were outlined in the first chapter, and lastly, the recommendations for the study and for future research.

5.2 A brief summary of Chapters One to Four

Chapter One began with a brief description of the origins of the ANC and the NDR. The chapter gave a description of how relative deprivation and a country of two economies began through 'Colonialism of a special type.' Despite some improvements in the livelihoods of citizens after 1994, South Africa continued to be characterised by two unequal economies and the ANC maintained its ideology of the NDR as a means to resolve the country's relative deprivation. This has contributed to the inefficiency of state institutions, it has worsened corruption in the private and the public sectors, has weakened the tripartite alliance and contributed to factionalism. As such, citizens have lost trust in the government. Furthermore, the reduced level of participation in government process, such as voting, suggests that democracy has weakened/or is not valued and the violent protests in society are a reflection of the anger that citizens feel regarding the lack of government response to their worsening socio-economic conditions.

The objective of Chapter Two was to analyse the points of departure of the theory of relative deprivation. As such, the chapter presented a broad conceptualisation of the theory of relative deprivation. This included a description of the origins of relative

deprivation and the contributions presented by some of its main theorists. These contributions were mainly a description of the characteristics of relative deprivation, the various forms in which relative deprivation can be defined and the manner in which the concept and theory is defined from different academic disciplines. This provided the different categories in which relative deprivation can manifest: egoistic, fraternal, decremental, aspirational and progressive deprivation. These forms of deprivations also showed how relative deprivation relates to other theories/phenomena, such as social movements, revolutions and voting behaviour. The chapter concluded with an analysis of the contributions made by relative deprivation theorists within the context of South Africa and provided a definition relevant for this dissertation.

Chapter Three aimed to analyse the theoretical and philosophical background that guides the ANC's interpretation of the NDR; achieved by presenting the ideological origins of the ANC, which stem from the history of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. Also highlighted were the fundamental historical events that contributed to the adoption of the NDR, the establishment of the Communist Party of South Africa (and later the South African Communist Party), the adoption of the Independent Native Republic thesis, the establishment of the ANC Youth League, the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the execution of the Defiance Campaign, the Morogoro Conference, the Soweto Uprisings of 1976 and the establishment of COSATU.

Chapter Three also analysed the character of the NDR after 1994 by highlighting factors such as the events of the Mafikeng Conference (held in 1997), which showed the signs of the initial stages of factionalism. Other factors included the gradual shift from the NDR towards a neoliberal and capitalist position with every ANC conference and with every Strategy and Tactics document from 1997. This, together with the introduction of the Radical Economic Transformation (RET) discourse signalled the renouncement of the NDR. The chapter concluded by highlighting the importance of realising that you cannot discuss the ANC and the NDR in isolation, as the history of the ANC is in turn the history of the NDR.

The objective of Chapter Four was to analyse the factors that contributed to relative deprivation in South Africa after 1994. Achieving this was by simultaneously discussing and showing how key apartheid legislation, such as the Natives Land Act,

the Group Areas Act and the Bantu Education Act were strongly connected to the current relative deprivation crisis in the country. Furthermore, the major contributing factors to relative deprivation in post-apartheid South Africa were factors such as neo-liberalism, patriarchy, poor quality of education, unemployment, poor public policy formulation and implementation, state capture and corruption. An analysis of these factors revealed the lack of political leadership was the major factor led to the persistence of these socio-economic problems and the disintegration of the NDR.

5.3 Key findings from chapter one to chapter four

Relative deprivation in South Africa was strategically engineered from 1652 and is reflected in Chapters One and Three. In addition, Chapter Two's description (section 2.3) of the various forms of deprivation and the manner in which they were defined by different academic disciplines gave insight into how South African's of different socio-economic status can feel deprived. As such, any attempts of resolving the relative deprivation crisis requires patience, political will, an understanding of societal power relations and the intricate nature in which relative deprivation presents itself.

With reference to Chapter Two, it can be stated that relative deprivation is fluid because the form of deprivation that people experience changes as their socio-economic circumstances change. In addition to Robert Gurr's conceptualisation of the three forms of deprivation (decremental, aspirational and progressive deprivation), it can be stated that people can experience all three at once.

For instance, South Africa's socio-economic problems (particularly those of unemployment and corruption), have led to citizens experiencing decremental deprivation because their livelihoods have worsened (due to losing their jobs). As a result, citizens also experience aspirational deprivation because they hope that institutions such as the Zondo/State Capture Commission will bring about a more accountable and corrupt free government that can respond to their socio-economic needs. Lastly, due to this heightened expectation, citizens simultaneously experience progressive deprivation. Considering this, despite Runciman conceptualising the concept of double deprivation (whereby individuals feel both egoistic (individual) and fraternal (group) deprivation), it can also be stated that

individuals can experience triple deprivation, which is when they simultaneously experience decremental, aspirational and progressive deprivation.

Consequently, it can be stated that when the ANC came into power in 1994, they maintained their militant and revolutionary character (as described in Chapter Three, section 3.9), being unaware that it was not conducive for a democratic South Africa. This in turn, contributed to the persistence of relative deprivation because of the application of this character in a democratic country whereby political killings occurred in order to occupy positions of power (as discussed in Chapter Two, section 2.6). This in turn gave rise to a power elite, which saw the party run like a sophisticated army, whereby economic power was used to set certain policy agenda's and perpetuate corruption (as discussed in Chapter Four, section 4.3.6). Therefore, the key reason for the relative deprivation problems discussed in Chapter Four are not only the lack of political leadership, but also the lack of psychological reform and development of political leaders.

However, as mentioned in Chapter Two section 2.4, aspirational deprivation is the most applicable form of deprivation for the purpose of this dissertation as citizens feel a lack of trust regarding government institutions ability to create socio-economic improvements in society.

5.4 Recommendations

The worsening relative deprivation crisis in South Africa, coupled with the high degree of factionalism within the ANC, corruption and the weakening of the labour movement has made it clear that the NDR has become a figment of society's imagination. In order for the second stage of the NDR to be successfully realised, there needs to be strong political leadership from the tripartite alliance led by the ANC. This means the ANC needs to use its structures to remove individuals who are dividing the party and implicated in corruption scandals. With reference to Chapter Four, section 4.3.6, it is important for Ramaphosa to realise his leadership strategy will not sustain him for very long. Trying to satisfy two opposing factions (the Premiere League and the Ramaphosa faction) has only illustrated that he is not in control of the ANC, that he is a weak leader because he has not neutralised the likes of Magashule and Mahumapelo, that he does not trust his own judgement and depends on the state capture commission to resolve the problems of the ANC by

exposing the corrupt officials, and making recommendations that would lead to law enforcement agencies ultimately prosecuting and sending these individuals to prison.

With reference to Chapter Four, section 4.4, it is important for Ramaphosa to look into reconstructing ANC laws by allowing the party's top leaders to reprimand corrupt premiers and mayors of the district and local municipalities. This creates room for more accountability, because the independence of the three spheres of government has made it possible for these officials to abuse power because they have the loyalty of the members of the PEC.

As discussed in Chapter Three, section 3.8, the leadership deficit within the ANC is also prevalent within the SACP and COSATU. These organisations have become too absorbed in internal ANC squabbles to the extent they have rendered themselves ineffective.

For the tripartite alliance to be a strong governing force of South Africa, it is important for the founding fathers of the NDR, the SACP, to reform the NDR and make it relevant for post-apartheid South Africa. One of the important reasons for doing this is that young people are entering politics for self-enrichment and not with the aim of improving broader society. Furthermore, Ramaphosa has continued to amplify his reliance on the markets and the Fourth Industrial Revolution, issues that young people see as fundamental. Thus, for the SACP to reinforce its position within the tripartite alliance, it needs to ensure the NDR is in a language pleasing to the young people of today. This also means the SACP needs to modernise in order to be appealing to young people and be effective in steering the ANC back to the principles of the Freedom Charter and the (new) NDR.

As part of the tripartite alliance, COSATU needs to reform to become 'a hands on' and strong labour movement with an action plan. This means COSATU needs to realise that its strength is in the working force first, before it is in the tripartite alliance, because one of the reasons for the ANC being in power is due to the votes of the working class. This further means that as a labour movement it needs to find its independence and stop preaching ANC rhetoric to the unions and the working class. It needs to establish a firm boundary line between ANC matters and labour matters. It needs to make this boundary line clear to the SACP and the ANC that their concern is first with the working class and politics comes later. In this way,

COSATU would re-establish a firm position within the tripartite alliance as a partner and not a spectator.

In addition, COSATU needs to become aware of the significant influence it has in resolving relative deprivation issues such as unemployment. It is noteworthy that the weakness and inactivity of COSATU feeds into South Africa's unemployment crisis. However, a strong COSATU would contribute greatly in holding the ANC-led government accountable for not creating long-term quality jobs. COSATU needs to strongly re-evaluate its role and realise it is wrong for unemployment to be increasing while it exists.

Relative deprivation can only be resolved with a strong tripartite alliance that listens to its citizens. Furthermore, the tripartite alliance can only be effective in governing once they have won the trust of citizens. How can they do this? They can do this by not politicising issues such as service delivery, by not distancing themselves from ordinary South Africans or their problems, by prioritising core relative deprivation issues such as education and healthcare, effectively addressing its deficiencies, and by viewing its citizens as an investment and not a public expenditure that they will ignore. This is the essence of the NDR/or socialism. Until these changes can take place, the second stage of the NDR will not be realised and will remain an 'all talk no action' ideology.

The main contribution of this study was to not only provide an understanding of the factors that contribute to relative deprivation, but to also provide a philosophical understanding and demonstration of how the lack of reform of the ANC's ideology has led to relative deprivation persisting in democratic South Africa. The study also gave insight into the multifaceted nature of relative deprivation and the importance of viewing relative deprivation by taking into account factors such as the individual, institutions of society, the economy, the government, societal and individual norms, values, morality and ethics.

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