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Building Capabilities, Enhancing Participation?

A Study of the Extent and Limitations of Youth Participation in Community Development

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Studies.

Johannesburg, March 2017

Declaration

I declare that this is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the requirements of the Degree of Masters in Political Studies (by coursework and research report), at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

_____

Pearl Pillay
15 March 2017

Abstract

The role of youth in development in South Africa is of increasing concern to development practitioners. Figuring out how to maximise youth participation in a way that is meaningful is often difficult, particularly in national discourse around development. This is important because of the centrality of youth in demographic trends as well as the role of citizen participation in advancing democracy. Currently, the scope for meaningful youth participation in South Africa is limited because of access to opportunities for participation, and a perception of social status as a requirement for involvement in development; this, coupled by a lack of political will and the inability to adopt people-centred approaches to development mean that youth participation is often ignored in development processes.

Within these contexts, this report looks to assess whether there is a developmental environment which is conducive to meaningful youth participation. Through an analysis of field data obtained through interviews with youth in Tembisa as well as National Planning Commissioners, this report analyses the scope of youth participation as it related to the National Development Plan. This data draws conclusions about youth perceptions of development, the National Development Plan and their role in national development. It also draws conclusions about the ways the National Planning Commission envisions the role of youth in the implementation of the plan, as well as their role in creating an enabling environment for youth participation. These insights are grounded in a theory of a democratic developmental state and the Capabilities Approach, assessing which approach to development would best create an environment for meaningful youth participation.

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List of Abbreviations

NDP	National Development Plan
NPC	National Planning Commission
DFID	Department for International Development
MITI	Ministry of international Trade and Industry
ANC	African National Congress
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
SACP	South African Communist Party
NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers SA
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
SASCO	South African Students Congress
YCL	Young Communist League
MSA	Muslim Students Association
PYA	Progressive Youth Alliance
GNP	Gross National Product
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
HESA	Higher Education South Africa
NGP	New Growth Path
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
NSFAS	National Students Financial Aid Scheme

Introduction

Youth participation has gained popularity in the discourse around development, particularly in South Africa. Increasingly, it is being realised that young people are a crucial part of the population, whose views, inputs and abilities should be called upon, to ensure the success of any community development initiative. This research aims to assess the current developmental environment, focusing particularly on the extent and limitations of youth participation in community development. It will ground this assessment in an analysis of the National Development Plan (NDP). Released in 2012, the NDP is a document which outlines South Africa's developmental goals, to be achieved by 2030. There are, however, questions around the ability for citizens to engage with the plan, as well as how the plan will be implemented and how this relates to young people. These questions form the basis of the rationale of this research.

The question of youth participation in development is important because there is a sense, particularly among youth who live in townships in South Africa, that the process of community development is for other people – people who are more educated or occupy a higher social status than they do. These perceptions, whether true or not, means that a crucial segment of youth in South Africa are excluded from development. They are seen as mere beneficiaries of development, not active agents who can affect their own development and that of their communities. It is crucial, therefore, to create an environment which is inclusive of all youth, and is conducive to meaningful participation. This is important for two reasons: first, public participation is crucial for the success of democracy.[1] Citizens need to feel like they are a part of building their country, together with their government. They need to feel included, valued and empowered to lead the change they desire to improve their lives. This cannot happen if the space for participation is not there. Secondly, participation is important because it bridges the gaps between different citizens and their government. In a country as unequal as South Africa, there needs to be a focus on how to bridge these inequalities and this requires input and participation from people at all levels of society.

[1] Caraveo. Y.C. and Pontón. M.E.L., "Promoting Child and Youth Participation in the Creation of Citizenship', in Children, Youth and Environments, Vol.17, No.2, 2007, p.3.

Through an analysis of the NDP, as well as interviews with key informants, this report will set out the argument that if the NDP has any potential to work in South Africa, it must be grounded in the idea of youth participation and it needs to make a concerted effort to create that environment. It will do this through an analysis of the meaning behind, intention and execution of the NDP, arguing that the NDP and, by extension, the National Planning Commission (NPC) is inadequate in creating an enabling environment for youth participation because it is unable to articulate a clear vision of what meaningful participation entails, and is not able to adequately locate youth in its current vision.

By exploring the literature around youth participation and using insights gained from participants, this report will argue that young people in Tembisa are unable to see themselves as being able to contribute towards both a discourse around national development, as well as a developmental agenda for their communities. It will also argue that young people are unable and unwilling to accept the idea of the NDP because they are unable to locate themselves in the plan in a way which sees them as being valued stakeholders. Finally, this report will locate these arguments into a broader, theoretical understanding of what it means to achieve a state which is concerned with building the capabilities of its people in order to achieve developmental goals. This discussion will be used in a discussion of a democratic developmental state, arguing that, given the characteristics of the state, the youthfulness of the population, and the capacity for engagement with citizens, South Africa is best suited to move away from transitioning into a developmental state, and instead, move towards being a capable state, as articulated by Amartya Sen.

Report Outline

This research report consists of six chapters, present chapter included. This chapter will lay out the basis for the research, providing detail into the methodology used as well as the questions posed. Chapter 2 will present a review of the literature around participation, particularly relating to young people in development. It will focus on an analysis of youth as a concept, unpacking the idea that youth refers to a period of transition in life and should be treated as one which cuts across all aspects of development, instead of being viewed as a special interest group. It will present literature that frames the youth experience in South Africa, relating specifically to

demographic trends and their resulting impacts on participation. The chapter will further present discussions that have emerged about what meaningful participation entails and what models best result in participation that is both empowering and sustainable. It will be discussed through a developmental lens, demonstrating how meaningful youth participation impacts developmental agendas.

This will frame the approach of Chapter 3, which will present the theoretical underpinnings of this report. It will contain a discussion of a developmental democratic state and the feasibility of pursuing such a state in South Africa. It will then enter into a discussion of Amartya Sen's Capabilities Approach as the developmental trajectory that makes the most sense for South Africa to pursue, if it is to achieve meaningful youth participation in development. Chapter 4 will focus on the National Development Plan, placing side by side the work in Chapters 2 and 3 in a discussion of what this plan means for youth participation in development in South Africa. Chapter 5 will use insight gained in earlier chapters to assess the key findings from youth in Tembisa, to determine what the extent and limitations of youth participation are. Chapter 6 will conclude the research report, bringing together the argument that, although it has theoretical merit, the National Development Plan does not cultivate an enabling environment for effective youth participation, as the ways in which participation is perceived in South Africa implicitly excludes young people as agents for their own development.

Research Methodology

Research Aims

Public participation has been articulated by scholars such as Gordon White[2] and William Gumede[3] as a critical prerequisite for the realisation of South Africa's developmental goals. The National Development Plan has been marketed as the most comprehensive document for development in South Africa, however, the document itself presents many challenges, relating to the role of youth participation in its formation and subsequent implementation. The aim of

[2] White. G., "Building a Democratic Developmental State: Social Democracy in the Developing World", in Democratization, Vol.5, No.3, 1998, p.p.1-32.
[3] Gumede.W., Delivering a Democratic Developmental State in South Africa, http://www.dbsa.org/EN/About-Us/Publications/Documents/Policy%20Brief%20No.%201%20Delivering%20a%20democratic%20developmental%20state%20in%20South%20Africa.pdf, February 2011, p.1-4.

this research is to understand the extent as well as the limits of said participation. Using the NDP as the foundational backdrop for the research, this report aims to offer an analysis of the degree to which youth in South Africa can actively participate in both their own development and the development of the country. In addition to this, the research will attempt to obtain insight into whether the perceived vision of improved capabilities, as set out by the NDP, enables the active participation of youth and, if not, if this implies a deficit in the overall approach suggested by the NDP. It will consider these insights in a broader discussion on the feasibility of South Africa's goal to become a democratic developmental state.

Research Questions

Primary Question:

What is the nature and limitations of youth participation in development and does the NDP cultivate an environment for this participation?

Secondary Questions:

How do youth in a particular locale envision their developmental priorities and how do they see themselves affecting that development?

How does the NDP perceive youth participation?

How does the NDP intend to involve youth in its development and implementation?

How does the NPC view its role in cultivating an environment for meaningful youth participation?

Research Paradigm

The role of methodology in crafting useful research is paramount. Whether qualitative, quantitative or a subsidiary of either, the methodological approaches of research are as crucial as the research itself. Qualitative research offers a more nuanced approach to research. It works on the assumption that there is no single reality and that reality in itself is a fluid concept.[4] Employing the use of interviews and other personal interactions, qualitative research offers a

[4] Layder. D., "Some New Rules of Method", in Layder. D. (ed): Sociological Practice, SAGE Publications Ltd, London, 1998, p.177.

more tailored approach to the overall research endeavour. This research employs a qualitative methodological approach.

The method was chosen because it was necessary to gain insight into people's perceptions of their communities and how these experiences shape their ability to participate in community development, and qualitative research allows for a contextual understanding of the subject matter in order to obtain more nuanced insight. As Willig explained: "qualitative research is usually concerned with meaning, and in particular how people make sense of the world and how participants experience events from their perspective"[5]. Additionally, it was important to gain an understanding of the different contexts people come from and how they derive meaning through those contexts. Qualitative methodology allows for that understanding, as explained by Bryman, because "there is a simultaneous expression of preference for a contextual understanding so that behaviour is to be understood in the context of meaning systems employed by a particular group or society"[6].

Qualitative methods were also important because of the nature of the data that could potentially have been attained. As Bryman pointed out: "qualitative research is deemed to be much more fluid and flexible than quantitative research in that it emphasizes discovering novel or unanticipated findings and the possibility of altering research plans in response to such serendipitous occurrence"[7]. The nature of the data attained is unpredictable, precisely because young people in South Africa are complex, and emerge from complex circumstances. That, coupled with the possibility that participants might not know about the National Development Plan (which was an important question), meant that the method needed to be somewhat flexible. Finally, because of the researcher's own limitations, such as being able to coordinate interview schedules and secure a private venue, the sample set of subjects were kept to twelve people. Fortunately, qualitative methods allow for in depth understanding of participants' perspectives,

[5] Willig. C.: Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology: Adventures in Theory and Method, Open University Press, Buckingham, 2001.
[6] Bryman. A., "The Debate about Quantitative and Qualitative Research: A Question of Method or Epistemology?", in The British Journal of Sociology, Vol.35, No.1, March 1984, p.78.
[7] Loc cit.

with detailed accounts of their experiences, despite the number of participants being low.[8] In this research project, the number of participants was not a hindrance to gaining useful insight into the limitations of participation as well as perceptions of state interventions for development.

Method Overview

There have been multiple strategies employed in carrying out this research, beginning with a literature review. As a point of departure, the literature offers insight into youth development as a concept, as well as models of youth participation which have proven successful in the past. It also explores a discourse analysis perspective of the National Development Plan and how it envisions youth participation in development. The field research was undertaken in Tembisa, a township in Gauteng. The area was selected after consideration involving locating an area which has existing youth formations, who are actively involved in the community, and which are easily accessible. Prior experience with this community made access much easier. The possibility of conducting this research in more than one community was entertained, however, the benefits of focusing on one community stood out. By using one community and only a small section of the community, it was possible to gain more textured insights into the experiences of young people in Tembisa. Interviews were in-depth, and it was easier to understand the community context because all the time allocated to field work was spent there.

At the outset, a scoping exercise of the community was undertaken. This was conducted to gain insight into the history of and socio-political context in which the community locates itself, and to observe current development projects, if any, existing within the community. It was also done to cultivate a sense of familiarity with the area and the people that live there, to make the transition into field research smoother. The next phase of the research entailed conducting semi-structured interviews with participants from the community. After transcribing these interviews, the resulting data was used to inform semi-structured interviews with National Planning Commissioners; Commissioner Tessa Dooms and Commissioner Elias Masilela respectively. These interviews were central to the questions around how the NDP envisions youth

[8] Devine. F., "Qualitative Methods", in Marsh. D, and Stoker. G., (eds): Theory and Methods in Political Science, Palgrave MacMillan, New York, 2002, p.p.197-215.

participation in both its formation and implementation plans. The interviews were also transcribed.

Interviews with youth from the community were the most central part of the research. The interviews were conducted based on a set of questions formulated based on the initial research questions. These interviews consisted of four sets of questions (the full set has been provided in Appendix One):

SET ONE: Gaining an understanding of the social history of the participant as well as their current context and level of involvement (if any at all) in the community.

SET TWO: Questions around the participant's perceptions of the issues affecting both the community and young people in the community (if different from each other).

SET THREE: After identifying community needs, questions were asked about what development projects, if any, currently exist and whether they adequately address those needs. Participants were then asked about their involvement (both actual and perceived) in these projects.

SET FOUR: Questions about the participant's knowledge of the NDP, its aims, and whether they see themselves as able to contribute to the achievement of the goals set out in the plan. Additional discussions involved how they envision national and community development.

Sample Set

There were twelve interviews conducted. A concerted effort was made to ensure that the sample set of participants was as comprehensive as possible. It was important, not only, to interview members of the community who were actively involved in developmental work, but also youth who are not particularly involved in formal organisations. Obtaining different levels of involvement and participation was central in the selection of participants. There was also consideration given to gender, as well the ages of the participants. Participants were chosen using the snowballing method. The researcher has had prior interactions with the community before, usually interacting with community organisers and people who work in the municipal offices. These people were instrumental in identifying people who they thought would be helpful to the process. The selection process sought to identify youth who are actively involved in community development, whether through organisations or through their own efforts, as well

as young people who had no community involvement whatsoever. The criteria were communicated to the existing contacts who took sole responsibility for finding participants. Of the twelve participants, there were six men and six women. These participants ranged between 23-29 years old, and all of them had lived in Tembisa their entire lives. Six of these participants were actively involved in community work, either through an organisation, or through their own, individual efforts. The remaining six were not involved in any community work whatsoever.

Interviews with National Planning Commissioners were conducted to get a sense of the way the role of youth in the plan was envisioned. This was for both the process of creating the NDP, as well as the implementation process leading up to 2030. These interviews were conducted with Commissioner Masilela, who served on the inaugural commission as well as the current one, and Commissioner Dooms, the current commissioner responsible for youth. The former was to gain a more textured perspective into the rationale behind the plan, from someone who was present throughout its development and the latter was to assess whether the vision of the founding National Planning Commission has been sufficiently carried through into the current one, and how the current NPC envisions youth participation in achieving the goals set out by the NDP.

Ethical Considerations

The researcher was explicitly aware of the ethical considerations that had to be present throughout the project, and took every action to ensure that the research was not harmful to participants. The research focused mainly on speaking to youth in Tembisa. This group is not a vulnerable group and all participants were over the age of 18. In addition, informed consent was obtained prior to all interviews and participants received both written and verbal information regarding the purpose of the research and could ask questions before, during and after the interviews. Participants also knew that they could refuse to be interviewed entirely or could opt out of answering questions they were uncomfortable answering. This consent was also extended to the use of recordings and participants were made aware of both the confidentiality of their interviews and the careful safeguarding of the audio recordings post-interview.

Although participants might have interacted with each other at some point during the process, the anonymity of their inputs was guaranteed. The audio recordings as well as transcriptions of the interviews were kept on a password-protected laptop, which only the researcher had access to. None of the participants expressly asked to be kept anonymous, however, pseudonyms will be used to identify them, as a cautionary measure.

Youth Participation in Development

Chapter Outline

This chapter will present the key literature that informs this report. It will focus on three aspects: participation, youth and development, what these concepts are, how they are understood in both general and South African contexts, and how they are used together. It will begin with a discussion of participation, focusing on broader discussions around different participatory approaches, in addition to the limitations of participatory approaches. It will also consist of a brief discussion of where the responsibility for participation lies. It will then focus on a discussion of youth, highlighting the importance of defining youth as more than an age category and providing insight into the varied experiences of youth in South Africa, locating them within an economic context that favours their development, and discussing the importance of studying youth because of this. Embedded in these sections will be a discussion of development, particularly how to achieve participatory development, as well as current models for youth development. It will culminate in presenting literature on how to best maximise youth participation in development programmes.

Participation and Development

Defining Participation

The World Bank defines participation as "a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them"[9]. The Department for International Development (DFID) defines it as "enabling people to realise their rights to participate in, and access, information relating to the decision-making processes which affect their lives"[10] and, in a South African context, Kehler defined participation as "[t]he organised efforts to increase the control over and access to resources and regulative institutions in society, on the part of individual citizens, groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control aimed at the socio-economic development of the whole community"[11].

[9] McEwan. C., "'Bringing Government to the People': Women, Local Governance and Participation in South Africa", in Geoforum, Vol.34, No.1, 27 August 2002, p.472.
[10] Department for International Development, Youth Participation in Development: A Guide for Development Agencies and Policy Makers, DFID CSO Working Group, 2010.
[11] Kehler. J., Community Participation in the Process of Integrated Planning Development (IDP): Evaluating Realities and Community Perceptions in Areas on the Western and Eastern Cape, Nadel/Austrian Development Cooperation Research Report, 2000, p.5.

Subsequently, community participation would refer to "the act of allowing individual citizens within a community to take part in the formulation of policies and proposals on issues that affect the whole community".[12] Though different definitions have been accepted over time, in the current development climate there is a generally accepted principle that participation is a key component of good governance and effective development programmes and should thus become commonplace in the developmental arena.

The Nature of Participation in Practice

Within the current narrative around development, there are a few common understandings of participation. The first is articulated by Paul[13], who believes forms of participation are incentive-based, whereby people participate based on what they could stand to benefit from the process and this usually manifests in economic gain.[14] Another view, by Korten and Klauss[15], is that participation should be a source of empowerment, which seeks to enable people to feel like they are an integral part of the decision-making process. This allows them to take ownership of the project and its subsequent implementation. The third view, put forward by Pearse and Stiefel[16], is that it is meant to be a way to increase control over various resources as well as the institutions which are responsible for their regulation. Most, if not all development strategies, echo at least one of these viewpoints.

Oakley, in addition, presented views on the different ways to practice participation: through contribution, organisation and empowering[17]. Contribution, suggested by Oakley as the dominant form, implies that people add input to a project that has been predetermined. Although there are a "variety of ways whereby these contributions are forthcoming and managed…they form the core of the participatory element in the project"[18]. Woelk added to this by mentioning

[12] McEwan. C., Op.Cit. p.472.
[13] Paul. S., Community Participation in Development Projects: The World Bank Experience, The World Bank Discussion Papers, http://www.ircwash.org/sites/default/files/Paul-1987-Community.pdf, 1987. p.36.
[14] Oakley. P., "The Concept of Participation in Development", in Landscape and Urban Planning, Vol.20, No.1, 1991, p.116
[15] Korten. D.C. and Klauss. R. (eds): People Centred Development: Contributions toward Theory and Planning Frameworks, Kumarian, West Hartford, 1984.
[16] Pearse. A. and Stiefel. M, Inquiry into Participation: A Research Approach, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, www.unrisd.org/unrisd/website/document.nsf, 1980, p.p.1-36.
[17] Oakley. P., Op. Cit. p.116.
[18] Ibid. p.117.

that people's contribution could also take many forms, such as money, time or labour[19]. The second form is participation by organisation, in which people give structure to an idea by forming their own organisations, or using organisations (such as co-operatives) created by the development practitioners.[20] Woelk added that this could also include the "creation of appropriate structures to facilitate participation"[21]. The organisational form in this case is the vehicle through which participation occurs. An example of this is committees set up by communities to provide input on a project. People decide on both the nature and structure of the organisation, hence participation begins at a much earlier stage. This was further supported by Finsterbusch and Van Wicklin III in an earlier work.[22] The final emerging form of participation (though the range is not limited to the three mentioned here) is participation which aims to empower[23]. Here, it is important to note that because empowerment has not been defined in its entirety, for the purposes of this report, it will be seen as developing skills and capabilities so that people can contribute meaningfully. It can also be a way of enabling people to become part of the process of decision making. In this way, real, meaningful participation can be seen as occurring when there is a shift in the way power is distributed, where people have the power to co-create and add value to processes which affect their lives.[24]

Promoting Participation in Development

Although the value of participation may be easy to articulate, promoting participation can be delicate terrain. The line between encouragement and coercion is often blurry, and it can be made even more so through the provision of short-term incentives and long-term promises. Often, development initiatives offer short-term incentives for participation (like travel stipends or meals for participants) but are unable to sustain these incentives and, because participants have become accustomed to particular incentives, their participation wanes when the provision

[19] Woelk. G.B., "Cultural and Structural Influence in the Creation of and Participation in Community Health Programmes", in Social Science and Medicine, Vol.35, No.4, 1992, p.420.
[20] Oakley. P., Op. Cit. p.117.
[21] Woelk. G.B., Op. Cit. p.420.
[22] Finsterbusch. K. and Van Wicklin. W.A., "Beneficiary Participation in Development Projects: Empirical Tests of Popular Theories", in Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol.37, No.3, April 1989, p.p.573-593.
[23] Oakley. P., Op. Cit. p.117.
[24] Cahill. C., "Doing Research with Young People: Participatory Research and the Rituals of Collective Work", in Children's Geographies, Vol.5, No.3, 2007, p.p. 297–312.

is no longer available. Some scholars, such as Midgely et. al.[25], argue that participation is often an emotive response, promoted by an imperative for inclusivity, and might ignore issues of practicality and Uphoff (cited by Oakley)[26] refers to this participation as "pseudo-participation". However, Oakley argues that it would be incorrect to "assume that the arguments for greater people's participation in development are based purely on idealistic, humanitarian or egalitarian grounds"[27]. A critical point here, Oakley suggests, occurs in the conceptualisation phases of the project that could determine the extent of participation, based on an assessment of practicality. If people can contribute to the defining of a problem through their own perspectives, they are likely to be able to relate to the solutions that follow and their participation would be more meaningful and efficient.[28] These sentiments were further echoed by Li, who argued that this is perhaps the only way to ensure that the ways of life of a people are also respected through the process of development.[29] Cognisant of this, Midgley cautions that although the idea of participation is an emotionally alluring one, it can have physical and ideological implications that must be considered.[30] This caution gives rise to the view that participation, particularly in rural development, is not as strong in reality as it is in rhetoric as argued by Woelk[31]. Arguments against participation assert that what participation actually does is place the burden of development on locals, which is often disparate because of their varying skills and resources, as argued by Smith[32]. There are, however, concrete arguments that support participation and are worth mentioning.

One of the emerging arguments by Oakley is that participation ensures greater efficiency as there is a greater possibility that the resources made available for the project will be used more effectively.[33] If people are included in the project, less time would need to be spent trying to

[25] Midgley. J., Hall. A., Hardiman. M. and Narine. D.: Community Participation, Social Development and the State, Methuen, London, 1986.
[26] Oakley. P., Op. Cit. p.118.
[27] Loc cit.
[28] Ibid. p.121.
[29] Li. W., "Community Decision-Making: Participation in Development" in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol.33, No.1, 2005, p.133.
[30] Midgley. J., Hall. A., Hardiman. M. and Narine. D., Op. Cit. p.181.
[31] Woelk. G.B., Op. Cit. p.419.
[32] Smith. B.C., "Participation Without Power: Subterfuge or Development?", in Community Development Journal, Vol.33, No.3, 3 July 1988, p.p.197-204.
[33] Oakley. P., Op. Cit. p.118.

gain buy-in from them. The second is effectiveness. In essence, projects are merely external tools used for the benefit of local people.[34] Therefore, participation will result in a project being more effective because it allows people to use their own space and skills for the betterment of the project. This promotes a culture of self-reliance, breaking the dependency chain and helping people think proactively about their own problems.[35] Finsterbusch and Van Wicklin III echo this sentiment, stating that participation results in "social benefits"[36] including building community capacity and sustainability of projects[37]. The next is coverage, in the sense that often development projects only reach a fragment of privileged people, as shown by both Oakley[38] and Woelk[39]. Participation expands this reach, allowing more, sometimes disenfranchised, people to be part of the project and thereby increasing the number of potential beneficiaries.[40] Finally, participation is an effective way to hold governments more accountable and, as argued by Sklar[41], accountability is one of the vital forces of a democracy. Additionally, arguments for participation should be perceived in terms of the tangible results they produce and whether they actually act in the best interest of local people.[42] Although it is difficult to measure this impact, particularly on large-scale developmental projects, consideration is given to how agents for development increase the number of beneficiaries of the project and use this as a starting point for monitoring and evaluation methodologies. Oakley put forth the argument that this (increasing beneficiaries) would be because of increased self-reliance, and would further increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the project as a whole.[43]

Limitations of Participation

As compelling as the arguments in favour of participation may be, it is important to consider the arguments against it. Much work has been done to test the efficacy of development projects in terms of the tangible benefits for the local people involved.[44] Van Wicklin III and

[34] Loc cit.
[35] Loc cit.
[36] Finsterbusch. K. and Van Wicklin. W.A., Op. Cit. p.576.
[37] Loc cit.
[38] Oakley. P., Op. Cit. p.119.
[39] Woelk. G.B., Op. Cit. p.421.
[40] Oakley. P., Op. Cit. p.119.
[41] Sklar. R.L., "Democracy in Africa", in African Studies Review, Vol.26, No.3, September 1983, p.11.
[42] Oakley. P., Op. Cit. p.119.
[43] Ibid. p.118.
[44] Includes previously cited work by Oakley, McEwan, Li, Woelk, and Van Wicklin III and Finsterbusch.

Finsterbusch in their research found that although development strategies have evolved and adjusted to their shortcomings, they have still been disappointing, particularly in relation to the observation that they have failed to provide meaningful benefits to the poor majorities in developing countries.[45] It could be argued, however, that participatory mechanisms might not be the sole reason for the lack of meaningful benefits and that there could be a range of structural issues, such as inadequate or poor planning, a misunderstanding of the context within which the development strategy was meant to occur, lack of political will and, though not limited to, the lack of capacity to implement the programme which prevents the desired outcome from occurring, as mentioned by Emmet.[46]

Throughout the rest of his work, Emmett offered an argument that the problems with participation lie in ideological inconsistencies that permeate the practice. One of the largest and most problematic inconsistencies is the assumption that it is sufficient for a community to be defined by its geographical properties alone. As Chipkin observed, particularly in South Africa, the sense of community is not geographic, but rather refers to groupings around, amongst others, race, class and culture.[47] In addition to this, as Crankshaw found, the tendency to treat communities as homogenous is equally as problematic because, more often than not, they actually are not unified entities.[48] Woelk also explored the idea of community as not being a singular entity, stating that it is crucial to be cognisant of these differences because they would explain why some people are more willing to participate than others.[49] This raises greater arguments, specifically around whose responsibility it is to participate. If the idea of a community is a contested idea, and if there are other ideological inconsistencies regarding participation, perhaps there are also contested ideas around where the responsibility for participation lies.

[45] Finsterbusch. K. and Van Wicklin. W.A., Op.Cit., p.573.
[46] Emmett. T., "Beyond Community Participation? Alternative Routes to Civil Engagement and Development in South Africa", in Development Southern Africa, Vol.17, No.4, October 2000, p.504.
[47] Chipkin. I., "Contesting Community: The Limits of Democratic Development", in Urban Forum, Vol.7, No.2, 1996, p.p.217-231.
[48] Crankshaw. O., "Social Differentiation, Conflict and Development in a South African Township", in Urban Forum, Vol.7, No.1, 1996, p.p.53-67.
[49] Woelk. G.B., Op. Cit. p.420.

The Responsibility for Participation

McEwan offered an argument that expanded on the idea of where the responsibility for participation and development lies. In her work she argued that the responsibility of promoting socio-economic development has fallen into the hands of local government but the success of this is dependent on how well local government can first, gain buy-in from civil society and citizens and second, actually mobilise these groups behind the project.[50] Nyalunga also included a discussion of the role of local government in public participation, particularly discussing the legislative and participatory frameworks available for effective participation.[51] This, however, presents a broader challenge especially in the South African context. McEwan argues that South Africa currently lacks strong civil society structures that can be representative of majority interests and that members of the public are not capacitated sufficiently to make a meaningful contribution towards matters of governance[52]. Consequently, it becomes apparent that participation should be promoted and targeted to benefit people who are seen as previously disadvantaged and disempowered. Further, the sentiments expressed by Emmet about idealistic inconsistencies hold true but, rather than seeing this as a deterrent of participation, McEwan and Nyalunga find a gap in developmental methodologies and call into existence the imperative placed on development practitioners to gain a nuanced understanding of the communities they work in, as well as the politics of power, identity and influence that shape the way communities are constructed, especially in contexts like South Africa.

Going back to where the responsibility for participation lies, Shehayeb and Abdelhalim note that government "determines the space given for participating and the scope and mode of participation"[53] and Nyalunga posits that being able to replicate this at all levels is symptomatic of a government responsive to development practitioners, practices inclusivity with its citizens and is transparent in the ways in which it governs.[54] Participation is, in this way, an essential part of strengthening democracy because it is a way of promoting good governance and

[50] McEwan. C., Op.Cit. p.469.
[51] Nyalunga. D., "An Enabling Environment for Public Participation in Local Government", in International NGO Journal, Vol.1, No.1, December 2006, p.p.1-6.
[52] McEwan. C., Op.Cit. p.469.
[53] Shehayeb. D.K. and Abdelhalim. K.M., "Issues of Participation in Egypt", in Journal of Architectural Planning and Research, Vol.29, No.1, 2012, p.59.
[54] Nyalunga. D., Op. Cit. p.6.

improving accountability, as argued by McEwan.[55] While some may view public participation as beginning and ending at the voting stage, participation extends to most aspects of governance. Public participation concerns itself with all aspects of citizen development, public policy and service delivery. The South African government has, since democratisation, promoted public participation as crucial for the advancement of democracy, even including the need for participation in the Constitution (this is particularly prevalent in Section 56 and 59, which mentions that part of the duties of parliament is to receive submissions and representations from any interested party[56] and that the National Assembly must facilitate public involvement in its processes[57]). It has also considered participative frameworks in the conceptualizing of developmental agendas, such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme, the Rural Development Framework and, most recently, the National Development Plan. However, these frameworks are not without their own constraints.

Constraints to and Opportunities for Participation in Government

Constraints to and opportunities for effective citizen participation exists at all levels of government. At national level, it can be argued that, because of the inability of citizens to influence decision-making processes, their participation is not meaningful nor is it impactful, despite having access to policy making processes and often, providing input into these processes. Participation at national level can often be a means to carry political favour and meet the aesthetical need for citizen participation. However, active citizenry is a core function of a democratic state and, at the national level, the state is poised to maximise civic participation because it is equipped with adequate resources and access to citizens. Though their efficacy has been debated, the government has instituted many mechanisms for public participation at national level. One of the ways this is done is through public consultation processes during policy formation. In instances like the formation of the National Youth Policy, the national government hosted broad engagements with youth across the country, seeking inputs for the policy. People can also make written submissions to parliamentary portfolio committees. Although this is generally done during policy consultation processes, individuals can also make

[55] McEwan. C., Op.Cit. p.470.
[56] The Republic of South Africa, The Constitution, Adopted 8 May 1996, p.35.
[57] Ibid.p.36.

submissions outside of parliamentary processes, as demonstrated in 2016 when Pontsho Pilane[58] made a submission to parliament calling for the provision of free sanitary pads.[59] At provincial level, the bureaucratic nature of provincial governance could be a hindrance to participation. Provincial government is tasked with finding a balance between the interests of citizens and the mandate handed down by the national government. The constant battle for balance is often what delays participatory processes because managing interests, particularly if they are in opposition, is difficult.

Local government is probably in the best position to affect meaningful participation. Municipalities provide the framework for decision-making, organisational development and the planning and implementation in a way that, if used effectively, can be accessible to and relatable with young people. However, public perceptions of local government, owing to experiences of self-serving, corrupt officials, as well as a system of government that is not always transparent, makes the process of participation rather difficult. Local communities often treat local government initiatives with contempt at the outset, fearing manipulation for political gain, and weary of potential hidden agendas on the part of government. Many local citizens, particularly young people, see efforts by government as a way of compensating for the lack of service delivery and are therefore reluctant to participate. Despite this, there are mechanisms for public participation at municipal level. Besides the electoral process, citizens have the opportunity to participate in public hearings and consultations, become members of and provide input to ward committees and municipal councils, as well as participate in the Integrated Development Planning process. In addition to this, Rowe and Frewer (2005) offer mechanisms for public participation at local level. These are "public communication [which] involves the municipality giving information to other stakeholders, [p]ublic consultation [which] involves other stakeholders providing information to the council at the request of council or out of their own

[58] In 2016, Livity Africa, as part of a programme called Project Demo, worked with Ms Pilane and launched a petition calling for national government to provide free sanitary towels to people who menstruate. This culminated in a presentation being made to the Parliamentary Multi-Party Women's Caucus.

[59] Parliamentary Monitoring Group, Free Sanitary Pad Distribution: Departments of Basic Education, Health, National Treasury, Livity Africa and MG Updates, www.pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/23727/, 23 November 2016.

initiative [and] [p]ublic dialogue [which] involves the mutual exchange of information between the stakeholders and council representatives"[60].

As earlier stated, there have been mechanisms put forward by government to cultivate a culture of public participation. However, the efficacy of these mechanisms has been repeatedly questioned. It can be argued that a misunderstanding of both the process of participation and the importance of the public being involved in governance processes is something that can hinder the ability of citizens to participate fully. In 2008, the Public Service Commission conducted a study to ascertain if the current guidelines for participation create the environment for meaningful public participation and identify the respective strengths and weaknesses of these guidelines.[61] One of the key findings of this study was that although public servants understood what public participation is, there was a disparity between their understanding of participation and their implementation of it. Additionally, the study found that of the 16 departments that participated in the study, only 25% of them had adequate participatory guidelines in place.[62] These findings suggest that although institutionalised public participation processes are a constitutional imperative in practice, the guidelines are substantively lacking. It presents a problem in that the necessary attitude towards participation is one that does not see it as being of crucial importance to the functioning of government and, subsequently, brings into question whether current participatory activities are done haphazardly and have the intent to create meaningful public engagement. Departments also raised the key factors that inhibit their ability to implement participatory guidelines. Some of these factors included: "budgetary constraints, lack of feedback-report on issues raised by citizens, inadequate human resources, poor institutional arrangements such as weak ward committees and local government, poor planning, translation of documents into different languages and political dynamics in which political parties fight for influence"[63].

[60] Rowe. G., and Frewer. L.J., "A Typology of Public Engagement Mechanisms", in Science, Technology and Human Values, Vol.30, No.2, 2005, p.251.
[61] Public Service Commission, Report on the Assessment of Public Participation Processes in the Public Service, Blackmoon Advertising, 2008, p.p.1-48.
[62] Ibid. p.9.
[63] Ibid. p.10.

If government departments are to improve their relationships with citizens and institutionalise public participation, there needs to be a more pointed investment in creating an enabling environment for that participation to occur. Part of this includes the creation of participatory guidelines for every government department. If the government can conceptualise a norms and standards framework for participation, it can act as a blueprint for meaningful citizen engagement. Moreover, the state needs to invest more in building the human resource component in these departments so that there are skilled people who understand the dynamics that come with public participation tasked with implementing these guidelines.

Understanding Youth

Definitions of Youth

There have been varying interpretations of the definition of youth, particularly relating to the age range within which a person can be considered youth. For example, in Kenya the age of youth is set from 15-30, whereas in Ghana it is set at 15-35. The South African National Youth Policy has set the age category for youth at 14-35 years old[64]. With 37% of the population falling into this category[65], it becomes less important to focus on which age category is most correct (and, for the purposes of this report, the South African category will be used) and instead attempt to understand youth as more than just an age group but rather, a complex set of experiences faced by people in a transitional life stage.[66] Youth are often in a state of flux, navigating different identities and roles depending on the factors that influence their socio-economic contexts, such as education (more time spent in education means people enter the job market much later than they used to), economy (shrinking job opportunities make entering the economy more difficult, even though socio-economic circumstances may demand an early, quick entry) and family (death or other inability for family to provide means young people have a greater burden to provide financially for their families). Fakir et.al. has a well-articulated explanation for what is meant by these transitions:

[64] Presidency of the Republic of South Africa, National Youth Policy 2015-2020, April 2015, p.3.
[65] Ibid. p.4.
[66] Fakir. E. et.al.: Understanding the Youth and Youth Sensitive Budgeting, EISA, Pretoria, 2014, p.8.

> "Youth in transition refers to people who fit the legal age category in their context and are also experiencing social, economic, geographic or other changes that impact on the development from childhood to adulthood. Socio-economic factors also influence youth transitions. From job-seeking and business development to dealing with the ability to meet basic needs like housing and transportation, many young people have to make steep adjustments to living economically independent lives from their family of origin. Transitions also play out geographically. For example, rural youth often have to migrate to urban centres for employment and education opportunities, and often moving out of the village is seen as an achievement."[67]

This means that regardless of age similarities, youth are not a homogenous group. Policy-makers often fall into the trap of treating youth as a homogenous constituency, instead of finding ways of employing a youth lens in the policy-making process. This would be an important tool to understand youth participation and how to make it meaningful and, while some may argue that there are more important issues to focus on[68] [69] [70], it should not be done whilst ignoring that the barriers to effective citizen participation by young people is worth addressing. The inability to contribute to everyday policy that affects the lives of young people means youth are unable to address the aforementioned problems sustainably, at a structural level.

At an economic level, demographic trends that include the youth bulge and the demographic dividend provide evidence for the importance of studying youth. Changes in the demographics of a country result in economic behavioural changes as well. For instance, if a country experiences a surge in the number of people approaching the age of retirement, the economy

[67] Loc cit.
[68] Diouf. M., "Engaging Post-Colonial Cultures: African Youth and Public Spheres", in African Studies Review, Vol.46, No. 2, September 2003, p.p.3-12.
[69] Rook. A., "Youth Development Programmes Combat Negative Press on Kids", in Youth Today, Vol.8, No.1, 1998, p.p.49–50.
[70] Durham. D., "Youth and the Social Imagination in Africa", in Anthropological Quarterly, Vol.73, No.3, July 2000, p.p.113-120.

experiences a drop in the labour force and faces immense pressure to provide services like retirement income and sufficient healthcare. The demographic dividend, in this regard, refers to the transitional phase in the demographic trends of a country whereby the country poises itself to experience a surge in the population that is of working age. Ross defines the demographic dividend as occurring "when falling birth and mortality rates change the age distribution so that fewer investments are needed to meet the needs of the youngest age groups and resources are released for investments in economic development and family welfare"[71]. In order for this to result in a surge in economic growth, the country needs to invest in developing the education and skills of the youth population. The table below shows how this applies to South Africa.[72]

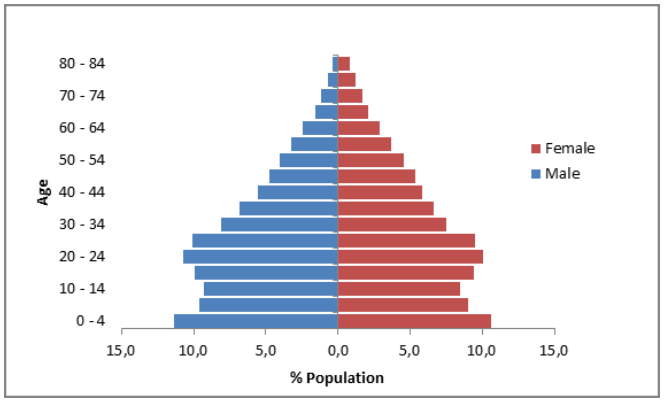


Table showing South African population by age, 2011

As the table shows, South Africa's youth population outweighs the population of dependents and adults, providing the perfect youth bulge and creating the environment for the demographic dividend to occur. If South Africa is to take full advantage of the demographic dividend, there needs to be a shift toward stronger investment in the youth population and inclusion in the development agenda. One of the ways in which this can happen is through the development of youth-friendly policies. This means developing policies which both enable the active, meaningful participation of young people, but also see them as the primary beneficiaries of development. Richter and Panday cited a three-pronged policy approach that could expedite this process:

[71] Ross. J., Understanding the Demographic Dividend, Policy Project, Washington DC, 2004. p.1.
[72] StatsSA, Census 2011: Population Dynamics in South Africa, Released 2015, p.30.

> "First, there is a need to broaden young people's *opportunities* by improving basic skills in early childhood, increasing the relevance and quality of secondary and tertiary education, skill training on the job, and enhancing service delivery through youth participation in civic life. Second, young people's *capabilities* to make choices must be enhanced by improving their access to information and helping young people garner the resources they need to make decisions. Third, the millions of youth whose life trajectory has veered off course but who now require help to return to the mainstream must be given a *second chance*. Given the extent of underdevelopment and missed and delayed opportunities on the African continent, significant resources will have to be dedicated to building the human capital of these young people."[73]

Contextualising Youth in South Africa

In 2013, Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa stated that "youth unemployment is in excess of 50 percent"[74] and talked about the reasons, according to the National Development Plan, for why this statistic is so high. Firstly, in a general sense, young people do not have the requisite skills needed to enter the workforce and those who wish to become entrepreneurs lack the technical skills needed in order to make their businesses a success.[75] Additionally, the salary scales expected even at entry level do not match productivity levels, nor do they match the skills new employees bring to the table, thus hiring inexperienced workers usually costs businesses more money both in terms of potentially having to utilise resources in training these employees, as well as the time lost because the employees were not sufficiently productive.[76] Ramaphosa also mentioned the effect labour laws have on the desirability of hiring inexperienced workers. Strict labour laws protect the employee, regardless of whether they are experienced enough for the job, and because employers would rather avoid mediation and loss in productivity, they are

[73] Richter. L. and Panday. S., "Youth in Africa: Participation and Protection", in Africa Insight, Vol.37, No.3, September 2007, p.302.
[74] Ramaphosa. C., National Development Plan Lecture by the National Planning Commission Deputy Chairperson at the Wits University, http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=10517, 10 September 2013, p.2.
[75] Loc cit.
[76] Loc cit.

reluctant to employ inexperienced staff.[77] This ends up implicitly excluding young people from the job market.

This reality is also present in current youth unemployment statistics. In 2016, StatsSA published a social profile of youth, which showed that "the proportion of youths not in employment, education or training, has remained at around 30% since 2012"[78] and that although the proportion of adults participating in the labour force has risen since 2009 to 68%, that of youths has dropped to 48%"[79]. Additionally, StatsSA mentions that "3.38 million young people are now unemployed, while another 1.6 million are classified as 'discouraged' workers who would take a job if offered one but who are not actually trying to find work"[80]. Below is a table from Statistics SA which details the youth unemployment data from 2016.[81]

Age groups	Employed	Unemployed	Discouraged	Other NEA	Total
	Thousand				
Q2:2008					
15-19 years	235	238	85	4 446	5 004
20-24 years	1 438	1 114	259	1 904	4 715
25-29 years	2 324	1 024	227	884	4 460
30-34 years	2 520	701	184	672	4 077
15-34 years	**6 517**	**3 076**	**756**	**7 907**	**18 256**
Q2:2016					
15-19 years	110	206	113	4 688	5 117
20-24 years	1 119	1 222	573	2 279	5 192
25-29 years	2 238	1 260	525	954	4 977
30-34 years	2 587	948	437	677	4 649
15-34 years	**6 053**	**3 636**	**1 648**	**8 598**	**19 936**

Table showing youth unemployment data in South Africa, 2016

[77] Loc cit.
[78] Kane-Berman. J., The Time Bomb Nobody Wants to Diffuse, http://www.politicsweb.co.za/opinion/thetimebombnobodywantstodefuse, 25 April 2016, p.1.
[79] Loc cit.
[80] Loc cit.
[81] Statistics SA, Statistical Report, 28 July 2016, p.16.

While some may think that one of the solutions to solving the unemployment problem is through young people starting their own businesses, the statistics on entrepreneurship paint an equally dismal picture by noting that "the number of young entrepreneurs of both sexes has declined from 609 000 in 2009 to 543 000 in 2014"[82]. This occurs for many reasons. Some of them include a lack of support for small businesses, both from their communities as well as government; excessive red tape which makes starting a business both administratively challenging and expensive; and young people not having ready access to start-up capital or the necessary technical skills to run a business. When these factors combine, youth entrepreneurs are unable to compete with bigger businesses that monopolise the market. The focus on employment is critical to this report as it is often the challenges relating to unemployment that give insight into the ability of young people to participate in community development. Structural challenges such as access to education and healthcare facilities are barriers to employment, but are also useful in thinking about how to maximise youth participation, as will later be demonstrated.

The Importance of Studying Youth

It is useful to understand youth participation within the broader framework of the construction of citizenship. Caraveo and Pontón argue that current trends in the civic space indicate that "constructing citizenship equates to challenging social processes in order to impact both institutional systems and cultural representations"[83]. They further argue that "citizenship must involve a process whereby regional ethnic, cultural, and generational diversities can be recovered and in which dialogue can occur following the principles of equity, tolerance, justice, and active participation by all types of social actors"[84]. In this regard, people's ability to consider themselves as full citizens must exist within a transformative democratic framework which promotes equal inclusion at all levels of society, for all people. Youth participation is therefore crucial to both the construction of citizenship and the democratic functioning of the state.

[82] Loc cit.
[83] Caraveo. Y.C. and Pontón. M.E.L., Op.Cit. p.3.
[84] Loc cit.

Youth present their own level of expertise on issues that affect them and this expertise, if rightly utilised, can assist governments, particularly at local level, to arrive at more nuanced decisions and affect more meaningful development. To this end, studying youth as an important part of the population is essential. Dominant perspectives involving youth, present, both in the media and in many academic spaces, are skewed towards pointing out their deficiencies and tendency to disengage with governance-related matters, rather than looking at the ways in which youth are a valuable resource. These perceptions of youth, when perpetuated by adults and accepted by youth themselves, severely weakens the potential young people have, to be willing and able to participate, as demonstrated by Finn and Checkoway[85], and Hein[86] and Pancer[87]. Many scholars, including Caraveo, Pontón, Gyampo and Sutton, have presented important work on the need to consider youth as equal, contributing stakeholders in the development process, rather than as tokens. In his work on youth and development in development planning, Gyampo cited the advantages of involving youth as full partners and sustaining both the partnership and youth interests. The advantages include:

> "improving relevance and effectiveness of development programmes; enhancing the youths' sense of ownership of development programmes; building leadership capacities of young people; stimulating new, creative, synergistic ideas from both adults and youth in programme development; helping adults better understand and value young people's perspectives and contributions and vice versa; helping adults recognise young people's capabilities and experiences and vice versa; helping the youth acknowledge adults as allies and vice versa; and making development policy implementation easier since young people have knowledge, ideas, enthusiasm and energy."[88]

[85] Finn. J.L. and Checkoway. B., "Young People as Competent Community Builders: A Challenge to Social Work", in Social Work, Vol.43, No.1, 1998.
[86] Hein. K., "Joining Creative Forces with Adolescents", in Community Youth Development Journal, Vol.1, No.1, 2000.
[87] Pancer. S.M., Rose-Krasnor. L. and Loiselle. L.D., "Youth Conferences as a Context for Engagement", in New Directions for Youth Development, Vol.1, No.96, December 2002.
[88] Gyampo. R., "The Youth and Development Planning in West Africa: The Case of Ghana's Fourth Republic", in African Journal of Social Sciences, Vol.2, No.1, 2012, p.131.

It is therefore necessary, perhaps even imperative, to study youth and their development. The study of youth is important because it "reflects and informs societal notions of young people, affecting whether practitioners conceive of their charges as problems or as resources; it also reflects societal notions of equity and determines whether practitioners approach young people as isolated individuals or as embedded within socio-political structures"[89]. This is especially important when one considers the role youth could play in advancing developmental goals. The Department for International Development (DFID) has said that "young people are the foundation for effective development, and if engaged they will improve many of the structural development challenges that we face today, including enhancing the cohesiveness of families and communities, reducing health risks and advancing livelihood opportunities. They are the bridge between effective development policy and valuable practical action on the ground."[90] Despite this understanding and the extensive work done to foreground the value of youth participation, there remains a gap between theory and practice. Youth participation is limited to very specific, minimal roles in only a few sectors, and are usually based on consultations with young people instead of meaningful participation.[91] However, embedded in these constraints to meaningful participation are opportunities for a re-evaluation of the participatory frameworks that shape the ways development happens, at all levels, but, in particular, at the level of government.

Models for Youth Participation

It is imperative for community development practitioners and public servants alike to be cognizant of the factors that encourage citizens, particularly youth, to participate and why this participation is so important. Shehayeb and Abdelhalim, using examples from Egypt, observed that the ability to shape results according to their own priorities and preferences is a powerful incentive for public participation.[92] People need to feel that the results of the developmental process will occur in a way that suits their own vision for their community, and not that they are being imposed on by a government that may or may not understand their community-

[89] Sutton. S.E., "A Social Justice Perspective on Youth and Community Development: Theorising the Processes and Outcomes of Participation" in Children, Youth and Environments, Vol.17, No.2, 2007, p.617.
[90] Department for International Development, Op.Cit. p.89.
[91] Harper. D., Jones. N. and Tincati. C., Opportunities and Challenges in Promoting Policy and Practice Relevant Knowledge on Child Rights, Children's Rights at a Crossroads Conference – Background Paper, 2010.
[92] Caraveo. Y.C. and Pontón. M.E.L., Op. Cit. p.3.

specific needs. One of the ways in which the mistrust young people have towards government and government-related initiatives is through the introduction of a third party. This could be either an expert in the field, a community organisation or a combination of both. Building relationships of trust will increase people's willingness to participate because not only will it show initiative, it will also give the community a sense of ownership in the project.

Participation, as a tool for empowerment, is vital here as it gives young people an awareness of how to communicate and effectively engage with a formal system within which they may feel marginalised. It is also crucial for development practitioners to be cognizant of the fact that young people exist outside of development programmes – they exist in communities. Participation is often limited to a particular project that uses young people as a means to extract information about the community, without consideration into what happens in that community after the programme is concluded. Young people are more likely to participate meaningfully if there is an indication that there is a concerted effort made to impact the community at large, long after a particular programme has ended. One of the ways in which this can be done is through an analysis of the participatory processes used during these programmes and the ways in which they can be augmented and sustained.

Theoretically speaking, scholars have discussed various youth participation processes. A few of these stand out as relevant, both to this research and to the broader context of youth participation in South Africa. One of these processes can be described as the process of social integration. This process "begins with the assumption that young people can contribute to their own development if they are not only problem-free but also fully prepared to make good decisions in their lives and able to participate as citizens in a democracy"[93]. The process includes activities which foster positive social relationships and expose young people to attitudes and experiences that enhance their ability to positively relate to other people. These could include activities like team sports and leadership training. Another process can be referred to as community activism. This form of participation sees young people holding those in power accountable when they or their communities have concerns relating to the way their

[93] Sutton. S.E., "A Social Justice Perspective on Youth and Community Development: Theorising the Processes and Outcomes of Participation" in Children, Youth and Environments, Vol.17, No.2, 2007, p.623.

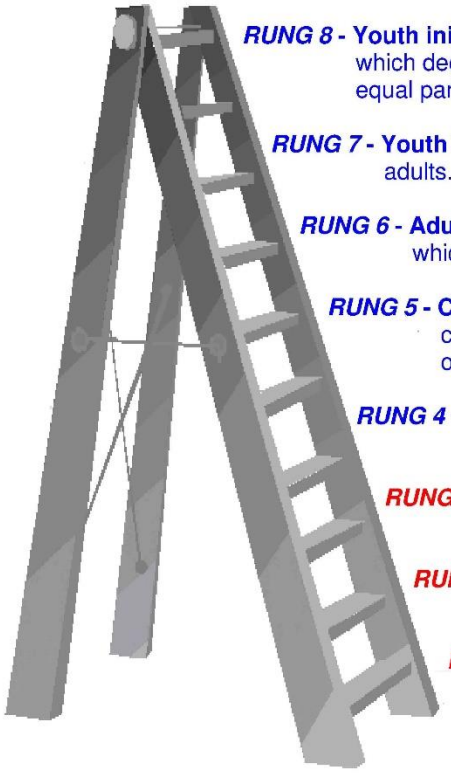
communities are governed. In a country where so many young people feel marginalised, this process is perhaps the most common, as it allows people to think and behave as a collective, and this often proves to be a source of support and solidarity in addition to encouraging people to participate more fully in public life.

Ideally, this form of youth participation "involves youth in analysing the root causes of social problems, developing pride in their identity, analysing the socio-political forces that affect identity, and participating as citizens in their communities in order to bring about systemic change"[94]. Activities in this form of participation include circulating petitions, participating in ward committees, and protest. And finally, the process of community involvement, which refers to young people who actively immerse themselves in community development. "These activities engage young people in dialogue, critical assessment, and action-taking in surroundings that are often deteriorating, racially segregated, and lacking in social, human, and material capital."[95] Activities here include youth-led community programmes (like sports days and flea markets) and charity work. The difference between this form of participation and community activism is that the former focuses on tangible, product-oriented development whilst the latter focuses more on structures.

Perhaps one of the most useful insights into youth participation comes from Hart's work. Building on Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation[96], Hart conceptualised a ladder of youth participation[97]. This model provides an articulate, simple way of analysing the extent to which young people participate in different programmes and can be applied to any of the processes for participation mentioned earlier. Not only does this model assist when designing programmes that require the involvement of young people, it is a useful tool to retrospectively monitor and evaluate existing development interventions.

[94] Ibid. p.624.
[95] Loc cit.
[96] Arnstein. S.R., "A Ladder of Citizen Participation" in Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol.35, No.1, 1969, p.p.216-224.
[97] Hart. R.A.: Children's Participation: The Theory and Practice of Involving Young Citizens in Community Development and Environmental Care, Earthscan, London, 1997.

ROGER HART'S LADDER OF PARTICIPATION



***RUNG 8* - Youth initiated shared decisions with adults**: Youth-led activities, in which decision making is shared between youth and adults working as equal partners.

***RUNG 7* - Youth initiated and directed**: Youth-led activities with little input from adults.

***RUNG 6* - Adult initiated shared decisions with youth**: Adult-led activities, in which **decision** making is shared with youth.

***RUNG 5* - Consulted and informed**: Adult-led activities, in which youth are consulted and informed about how their input will be used and the outcomes of adult decisions.

***RUNG 4* - Assigned, but informed**: Adult-led activities, in which youth understand purpose, decision-making process, and have a role.

***RUNG 3* - Tokenism**: Adult-led activities, in which youth may be consulted with minimal opportunities for feedback.

***RUNG 2* - Decoration**: Adult-led activities, in which youth understand purpose, but have no input in how they are planned.

***RUNG 1* - Manipulation**: Adult-led activities, in which youth do as directed without understanding of the purpose for the activities.

As cited in: Hart. R., "Children's Participation from Tokenism to Citizenship", UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, www.freechild.org/ladder.htm, 1992.

Hart's assertion is that the most meaningful participation occurs on the top five rungs of the ladder. The difference between the top rungs and the bottom ones lie in access to, and control over, the use of information and the ability to influence decision-making. At any given time, youth need to be given sufficient information so that they are aware of what they have been asked to participate in, why they have been chosen, how exactly they can participate, and, based on that information, should be afforded the agency to choose whether to participate or not. It is clearly unrealistic to assume that everyone is capable of, or would even want, to participate at the very highest rung, but the aim of effective youth participation should be to ensure that young people have developed the necessary capabilities to participate in whichever of the five rungs they feel most comfortable and competent in. The idea in finding this balance is to create an environment in which participation is organic, and occurs in a manner that does not reflect on the bottom three rungs. This is especially important when considering the different kinds of

models for youth development and the ways in which combinations of these rungs can be implemented to ensure meaningful participation.

In a study of how philosophies of youth development influence participatory processes, Sutton discusses six different types of youth development philosophies, cited in Table 1. Each of these philosophies represent specific participatory processes that view youth as stakeholders, capable of valuable input and ideas, and can change the communities in which they live, as well as contribute towards broader social change. Chaaban in his work on youth and development in Arab countries offered insight into the different operational models for youth development thinking globally. He classified them into four different paradigms: "the human capital model; the demographic transition model; the rights-based development model; and the youth exclusion model"[98], each of which will be discussed briefly, following the table.

[98] Chaaban. J., "Youth and Development in the Arab Countries: The Need for a Different Approach", in Middle Eastern Studies, Vol.45, No.1, 5 January 2009, p.36.

Definitions for Youth Development Philosophies (Sutton)[99]

CATEGORY	DEFINITION
Connection	Includes three categories: *safety* (ranging in scale from protecting youth from risky influences = 1, to providing them with a refuge from oppression = 5); *support* (ranging from adult containment and control of youth = 1, to nurturing supportive relationships among peers and adults = 5); and *belonging* (ranging from involvement in program activities = 1, to experiencing cultural recognition and respect = 5).
Socialisation	Includes three categories: *norms* (ranging in scale from the prevention of reckless behaviour = 1, to using critical analysis as the basis for collective action = 5); *structure* (ranging from programming that produces a desired behaviour = 1, to programming that responds to youth needs = 5); and *autonomy* (ranging from conformity with adult expectations = 1, to nurturing youth assertiveness, resistance, and leadership = 5).
Creativity	A single category that ranges in scale from providing structured alternatives to risky behaviours = 1, to using creative activities as vehicles for personal and social change = 5.
Contribution	Includes two categories: *service* (ranging in scale from sporadic volunteerism = 1, to civic engagement and movement building = 5) and *involvement* (ranging from participation in adult-designed services = 1, to youth leadership in program governance = 5).
Competence	A single category that ranges in scale from developing coping skills = 1, to developing skills for social mobility and activism = 5.
Change	A single category that ranges in scale from changing problematic youth behaviours = 1, to a dual focus upon youth and community change = 5.

[99] Sutton. S.E., Op.Cit. p.622.

The human capital model, as taught extensively by Autor and Acemoglu, views people's skills as "a form of capital in which [people] make a variety of investments"[100]. Under this model, education, healthcare and other contributing socio-economic factors are assets individuals choose to invest in throughout their lifetime, and the skills they acquire are then seen as a return on those investments.[101] If the return on these investments is low, for example if the quality of education is poor or there is limited access to healthcare, people may choose not to make this investment because the cost of the investment outweighs the return. In the case of South Africa, particularly in relation to youth, poverty, unemployment and the rising cost of education are a hindrance to optimal human capital investments.

In an analysis of youth development using this model, the World Bank offered a three-pronged approach to solving the lack of human capital investment in developing countries through a system of "opportunities, capabilities and second-chances"[102] in which states improve the opportunities for increased human capital (the provision of better quality resources such as schools and hospitals), ensuring that people are fully able to use these opportunities through the provision of better information and access to resources (such as bursaries for education) and providing second-chances for people who have been marginalised or were otherwise previously unable to complete and/or access these opportunities. This is an important model, especially when considering current rhetoric around the demographic dividend – a state that can maximise its human capital through investing in youth is greater able to maximise opportunities for growth.

The demographic transition model applies to countries with a large youth population like South Africa. A large youth population means that there is a large amount of people undergoing an economic transition and are thus out of the workforce, which increases youth dependency and a decreasing working-adult population. During this period, economic growth is generally slow. Navigating this transition from a developmental perspective means preparing the economic environment to cope with and accommodate the surge of the working population as the youth

[100] Acemoglu. D., and Autor. D., Lecture Notes for Graduate Labour Economics, http://econ-www.mit.edu/files/199, 11 December 2003, p.1.
[101] Chaaban. J., Op. Cit. p.37.
[102] Loc cit.

population transitions into the job market. Here, economic growth can increase if adequately prepared for, as the workforce now includes youth. The rights-based approach to youth development uses the realisation of human rights as the medium through which marginalised youth achieve their development goals. "This approach also seeks to analyse the problems at the heart of development problems and builds on the premise that a country cannot achieve sustained progress without recognising human rights principles."[103] This approach has a strong focus on human capabilities, as articulated in the Millennium Development Goals, and sees the realisation of human rights and youth development as inextricably linked. In this model, the lack of the most basic human rights is an impediment to development, for example gender inequality in some countries prevents women from gaining an education, and thus the realisation of these rights paves the way for youth development.

This, however, has limited meaning in countries where basic human needs are already a provision of the state. In these cases, the youth exclusion model is applied. In this model, focus is placed on the ways in which young people are excluded from socio-economic life and it looks at the relationships, processes and power dynamics that foster this exclusion. "The concept of exclusion also highlights the lack of access to financial and physical assets as a major barrier to successfully transitioning to economic independence for young persons."[104] Within this model, attention is given to the barriers that exist when the youth attempt to build and sustain livelihoods. They could range from obstacles to obtaining credit and property to participation in political life, and a youth development paradigm which addresses institutional barriers rather than physical needs is considered.

These examples show that youth development theory is not one heavily rooted in rigid constructs of policy and programme development, but, rather, employs a more holistic approach looking at youth as people with full, varying life experiences, recognising the need to consider the various realities experienced by young people, the subsequent life trajectories that could emerge from these realities, and the opportunities present in them. Seekings echoed this sentiment by affirming that "the goal of policy should not only be to expand opportunities, but

[103] Ibid. p.38.
[104] Loc cit.

also to provide young people with experiences that build their capacity to choose well among the opportunities provided"[105]. Youth development, therefore, looks at the life-cycle of young people, and attempts to fulfil the developmental needs present throughout that cycle. It requires stern cognisance of the different transitions a young person can and will encounter throughout their lives and makes developmental provisions for each of those transitions, in different contexts. This has been well-articulated by the Panel of Transitions to Adulthood in Developing Countries who, through an analysis of the different roles a young person can play throughout their life, developed what the picture of success should look like. This idea could be used as a framework within which youth development projects are constructed as it discusses the conditions required for a young person to successfully transition into any of their roles. These include:

> "good mental and physical health, and the knowledge and means to sustain health during adulthood; an appropriate stock of human and social capital to enable an individual to be a productive member of society; the acquisition of pro-social values and the ability to contribute to the collective wellbeing as citizen and community participant; adequate preparation for the assumption of various adult social roles and obligations; the capability to make choices through the development of a sense of self and a sense of personal competence; and a sense of general wellbeing. These conditions need to be nurtured throughout childhood and adolescence, making it essential to adopt a life-cycle approach to youth development."[106]

These approaches, coupled with a firm understanding of the socio-economic contexts of young people, as well as the heterogenous nature of youth as a category, if applied consistently and correctly, could serve as an effective blueprint that can enable youth development practitioners and policy-makers alike to adopt a more youth-focused lens in their practices. Effective youth development is based on the understanding that catering to the socio-political needs of young

[105] Seekings. J., "Beyond Heroes and Villains: The Rediscovery of the Ordinary in the Study of Childhood and Adolescence in South Africa", in Social Dynamics, Vol.32, No.1, 2006, p.p.1-20.
[106] Richter. L., and Panday. S., Op.Cit. p.298.

people can, and should, work in tandem with the more tangible community development needs and that if young people can exist in an environment that enables their own personal development, their ability to impact their communities will grow exponentially, and their capacity to contribute meaningfully as full citizens of the country also improves.

Theoretical Framework

Chapter Outline

This section will outline the theoretical framework underpinning this report. It will begin with a discussion on the idea of a democratic developmental state, focusing on the main tenets of such a state, particularly in relation to participation. It will then offer an analysis of the ways in which the key foundations of a democratic developmental state manifest in the South African context, in order to make the argument that although the South African government has long expressed the desire to become a democratic developmental state, not only would it be infeasible, it would also not fulfil the promise of building a nation with active citizens who play a key role in the development of the country. Following this, the discussion will shift into an analysis of Sen's Capabilities Theory, looking at the main tenets of this approach, as well as the ways in which it grounds itself into broader discussions on participation and, more importantly, how it locates itself in the narrative of the National Development Plan and how this approach compares to the discussion on a democratic developmental state. This section will argue that although the aspiration toward a democratic developmental state should not be entirely abandoned, emphasis should be placed on building a state that aspires to a more Capabilities-driven approach to development because it is this approach that best finds the balance between development, participation and a deepening of democracy.

Developmental Democracy

Introduction to Developmental Democracy

In his work[107], Gordon White discussed the relationship between democracy and socio-economic development, providing an analysis of the extent to which democracy either encourages or hinders development. For the purposes of this discussion, a working definition of socio-economic development will refer to the "infrastructural, regulative and distributive capacities which inhere in the emergence of an effective democratic developmental state"[108].

[107] White. G., "Building a Democratic Developmental State: Social Democracy in the Developing World", in Democratization, Vol.5, No.3, 1998, p.p.1-32.

[108] Ibid. p.1.

From this school of thought emerged the view that "socio-economic development can best be promoted through a 'market friendly' state presiding over a capitalist economy operating within the political 'shell' of a liberal democratic polity"[109]. Through this line of thinking, the successful intersection of, and relationship between, the political regime and the economy became the benchmark for developmental success. However, as White discussed, this began to change in the 1990's with the realisation that states were not always able to adapt to the behaviour of the markets and that, often, states lacked the capacity to accommodate marketisation programmes.[110] The inability of states to adapt to these circumstances, coupled with the role globalisation played in potentially undermining state sovereignty[111], led to a shift in thinking about what progress should look like and expanded to include the importance of social capital, a capable state and an active civil society.[112] This thinking paved the way for a theory on developmental democracies.

To begin, White provided working definitions for both democracy and development, which will be accepted for use in this report. White cited Huntington's definition of democracy, defining it as "a set of institutional procedures to guarantee basic civil and political rights and allow political competition between political forces, usually organized through parties"[113]. Huntington extended this definition by clarifying that a polity is considered democratic "to the extent that its most powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest, and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote"[114]. Development is defined as "a process of economic change involving the construction of more complex and productive economies capable of generating higher material standards of living"[115]. Additionally, this economic change ought to be supplemented by a focus on an improvement in the social conditions under which people live, such as race, class, gender and, as will be discussed in greater detail, capabilities. White

[109] Loc cit.
[110] Ibid. p.3.
[111] Loc cit.
[112] Loc cit.
[113] Ibid. p.4.
[114] Huntington. S.P.: The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century, University of Oklahoma Press, Oklahoma, 1991, p.7.
[115] White. G., Op. Cit. p.4.

argues that if a state can achieve this, it can be considered developmentally successful, but this success is dependent on "the existence and efficacy of a democratic developmental state"[116].

Unpacking the Democratic Developmental State

Definitions of a developmental state include that of Chang (as cited by Taylor) who identified a developmental state as "a state that pursues policies that co-ordinates investment plans; has a national development vision - implying that the state is an entrepreneurial agent; that engages in institution building to promote growth and development; and that, finally, plays a role in domestic conflict management"[117]. Leftwich, (as cited by Taylor), defined a developmental state as consisting of a "determined developmental elite; relative autonomy; a powerful, competent and insulated bureaucracy; a weak and subordinated civil society; the effective management of non-state economic interests; and legitimacy and performance"[118].

Chalmers Johnson, credited as the first theorist to use the term, defined four main characteristics of a developmental state. They are: "the existence of a small, inexpensive but elite state bureaucracy staffed by the best managerial talent available in the system; a political system in which the bureaucracy is given sufficient scope to take initiative and operate efficiently; perfection of market-conforming methods of state intervention in the economy and a pilot organisation like MITI [Ministry of International Trade and Industry]"[119]. White further states that while not every developmental democracy will achieve the same developmental objectives or have the same democratic structure, there are certain conditions that are common in influencing the emergence of a developmental state. They are: "the institutional design of the state itself, the character of political society and the nature and role of civil society"[120], and these will be further expanded on later.

[116] Loc cit.
[117] Taylor. I., "Botswana's 'Developmental State' and the Politics of Legitimacy", University of Botswana, July 2002, p.2.
[118] Loc cit.
[119] Johnson. C., "The Developmental State: Odyssey of a Concept", in Woo-Cummings. M. (ed), The Developmental State, Cornell University Press, California, 1999, p.6.
[120] White. G., Op. Cit. p.4.

White emphasised that two of the cornerstones of a developmental democracy are political authority and an administratively capable state.[121] This is to ensure order when political and social conflict occur, often seen as inevitable during periods of growth, especially in states experiencing high levels of inequality. In addition, White discussed three further socio-economic functions that the state must fulfil: regulative, infrastructural and redistributive:

> "By regulative functions, we refer to the role of the state not only in ongoing macro-economic management, but also in constructing the institutional framework necessary for the functioning of complex market economies. By infrastructural functions we refer to the process of creating both physical and social infrastructure, the latter pursued through growth-enhancing social policy and welfare provision. By redistributive functions we refer to the need to tackle absolute poverty and ameliorate morally repugnant and social destructive forms of inequality based on factors such as class, gender and ethnicity."[122]

In tandem with this, states which are considered successful are those which have a balance between "social embeddedness"[123] and autonomy. Autonomy, in order "to define and implement strategic developmental imperatives"[124] and social embeddedness, which refers to "alliances with key social groups which are themselves a stimulus to socio-economic change"[125].

Designing a Democratic Developmental State

When speaking about the emergence of a developmental democracy, White put forward the idea that a developmental state does not necessarily happen organically, but rather, that there are elements that can be designed by a state in order to produce the outcomes mentioned earlier.[126] In this way, White advanced the view that in building a democratic developmental state, one should interrogate the process of democratisation and see it not just as a regime, but

[121] Ibid. p.12.
[122] Ibid. p.13.
[123] Loc cit.
[124] Loc cit.
[125] Loc cit.
[126] Ibid. p.14.

as a "process of institutional accumulation"[127] that should occur as a result of a balance between structural changes (which may happen organically) and political choices.[128] According to White, each form of democracy "takes on its particular institutional character in response to the specific socio-economic structure of the society in which it emerges and successive sets of political choices by political actors over time"[129] and it is these choices that contribute to the emergence of a developmental state. White has identified three spaces in which the designing of a developmental state can occur: "state institutions, political society and civil society"[130].

Regarding the role of state institutions in shaping democracies, O'Donnell said: "In the functioning of contemporary, complex societies, democratic political institutions provide a crucial level of mediation and aggregation between, on one side, structural factors, and, on the other, not only individuals but also the diverse groupings under which society organises its multiple interests and identities."[131] These institutions (which O'Donnell describes as products of "political engineering" such as designing electoral systems and division of powers[132]), through their relations with political and civil society, as well as the policies which occur through them, have the potential of impacting the state's ability to govern effectively. Central to this efficacy are the ways in which political and civil society are structured.

Political society would refer to the existence of political parties and the role they play in building accountability. This relies heavily on their relationship with citizens and their ability to enact meaningful citizen engagement and participation. Political parties are central to the creation of a developmental state because it is their dealings with citizens that shape how stable the political environment is, and how inclusive and accountable the state will be. There is, however, a caveat to the party system in that if a state wants to become a developmental democracy, the best party system would be a two-party system, as opposed to a multi-party one. A two-party system, White argues, combines the advantages of "political competition and stable governance"[133], as

[127] Loc cit.
[128] Loc cit.
[129] Loc cit.
[130] Loc cit.
[131] O'Donnell. G., "Delegative Democracy" in Diamond. L. and Plattner. M.F. (eds), The Global Resurgence of Democracy, The Johns Hopkins University Press, London, 1996, p.98.
[132] White.G., Op.Cit. p.16.
[133] Ibid. p.20.

opposed to a multi-party system which has a reliance on "often unstable coalitions which make the definition and implementation of long-term policies more difficult"[134].

When considering current developmental states, it was found that "the dominant party was subject to regular democratic tests at the ballot box and constantly subject to the pressures of an active civil society, while at the same time maintaining the coherence, authority and capacity for long-term decision making"[135]. One example of this is Botswana, where, as Holm (cited by White) pointed out: "the presence of elections and political rights did not prevent a developmental elite from dominating the policy process and organising economic growth with a high degree of autonomy"[136]. This, however, raises questions around whether this model can be replicated in other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly South Africa. The argument can be made that if a multi-party system can prove itself to be effective in creating sustainable policies, without the degeneration into factionalism and patronage, then such a system could also create a developmental state. In the same light, a two-party system, though having the potential to be more stable and less reliant on coalitions, could easily fall into the trap of political patronage and may end up as a system that pursues the interests of the elite and not necessarily developmental interests.

Civil society is a feature that can both enable or inhibit the creation of a developmental state. This is attributed to the idea that civil society has no real obligation to the state and, in fact, can act against it if the state does not represent the views of members of society. The ability of civil society to enable a developmental democracy depends, largely, on its relationship to both socio-economic structures and political society. White argues that if a country has a high rate of social inequity, civil society may act against the state, but that civil society can perpetuate inequalities depending on who has access to resources that assist in achieving the goals set out by those organisations. Poorly resourced civil society organisations, for example, may be further marginalised due to their lack of resources than their better-resourced counterparts would, resulting in the former's causes not getting as much traction as it deserves. Additionally,

[134] Loc cit.
[135] Loc cit.
[136] Holm. J.D., "Development, Democracy and Civil Society in Botswana", in Leftwich. A. (ed), Democracy and Development, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1996, p.111.

equipping marginalised groups with the necessary resources for them to mobilise themselves might lead to greater instability)[137], especially if the reason for their marginalisation is one exacerbated by the state (such as poor service delivery). However, if the state were to opt for a more consultative relationship with civil society, in which leaders in civil society can work together with government officials in the policy process, and if this relationship can be maintained transparently, without succumbing to cronyism and domination by elites, then it would have the potential of enabling a developmental democracy through a civil society that has a co-operative relationship with political society, and the means with which to affect positive outcomes.

South Africa as a Democratic Developmental State

With this in mind, attention should be turned to the arguments pertaining to the South African context. Beginning with the idea of autonomy, Gumede argues that developmental states were possible in parts of East Asia due largely to the regional conditions present in the area, which were largely undemocratic, and that, because these developmental states were formed during undemocratic regimes, South Africa would need to move toward an autocratic regime in order to replicate the process, suggesting that growth can only, truly, be achieved through the reduction of democracy.[138] In South Africa, the idea of state autonomy, even at a programmatic level, is an uncomfortable one. This is not purely related to the vibrant culture of protest amongst citizens, but on the part of the state itself, with its commitment to public participation and involvement in decision-making processes, the idea that the state could, at this stage of democracy, decide to augment its autonomy, will not be readily accepted by the population and could easily result in greater political instability.

Gumede argues that South Africa needs to deepen its democracy by "[balancing] economic growth and social development, [building] democratic institutions, [empowering] its citizens with the capabilities to seize and maximise whatever opportunities may arise, [revitalising] civil society to move [towards the] politics of engagement [and a redesigning] of public and private

[137] White. G., Op. Cit. p.22.
[138] Gumede.W., Delivering a Democratic Developmental State in South Africa, http://www.dbsa.org/EN/About-Us/Publications/Documents/Policy%20Brief%20No.%201%20Delivering%20a%20democratic%20developmental%20state%20in%20South%20Africa.pdf, February 2011, p.1.

sector relationships…"[139]. Through the constitution, as earlier mentioned, the state has committed to a more participatory means of governance. If the state were to truly commit to this, and work on deepening democracy through the methods Gumede suggests, it will do so through a decrease in state autonomy and a commitment to a form of governance that is inclusive and transparent, and operates in an environment where the contestation of ideas leads to development, rather than autonomous decision-making. In addition to programmatic autonomy, the state would need to establish institutions that would be responsible for implementing these programmes. These institutions would themselves be relatively autonomous and will carry out their work under political supervision. Although independent institutions with relative autonomy in South Africa do exist (such as the Public Protector), the relationship these institutions have with the political elite will draw into question the idea of legitimacy, gate-keeping and cronyism, which are already concepts that haunt institutions working in close proximity with the state. Such an example is of the recent appointment of Advocate Busisiwe Mkhwebane who, during her interview and subsequent to her appointment, has consistently come under fire for her ties to the ruling party and has even been referred to as a "puppet" of the administration.[140]

Second, the need for social embeddedness. In considering the key social groups in South Africa, one would think about labour, the private sector and certain demographic groups (for the purposes of this report, the discussion will centre on youth). The African National Congress (ANC) has had a strong alliance with labour, through its alliance with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the largest trade union in South Africa, as part of the Tri-Partite Alliance, which includes the South African Communist Party (SACP). COSATU has been a driving force in ANC election campaigns and has been strong in their political support for the ANC even though there were moments of tension. "Even where there are disagreements, such as the weaknesses we have identified in some sections of the NDP, there is a clear commitment to have all our concerns properly and systematically addressed through alliance

[139] Ibid. p.2.
[140] Makhafola. G., "Mkhwebane is a Gupta Puppet Straight from the Gupta Kitchen", https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/mkhwebane-is-a-gupta-puppet-straight-from-the-guptas-kitchen-7484620, 23 January 2017, p.1.

mechanisms,"[141] was the message delivered to workers ahead of the 2014 national election. This, however, has been strained in recent years. In 2016, for example, COSATU warned that the signing of the Taxation Laws Amendment Act would damage relations between the government and labour, and that it will "complicate the campaigning for the upcoming local government elections because workers will also find it hard to be persuaded to vote against their interests"[142].

COSATU, however, are not the only ones whose relations with the government has strained. Furthermore, there are strained relationships even within the labour movement. The National Union of Metalworkers SA (NUMSA) is the largest representation of divisions within the labour movement. There is a feeling from unions such as NUMSA that the views of workers are not being listened to and taken seriously, and that workers interests are compromised through the close alliance COSATU has with the ANC. This has led to splits in the labour movement, with NUMSA being more direct about its criticisms of the ANC, and views on aligning with formations that do not take heed of the needs of workers. NUMSA has said explicitly that the ANC does not represent the interests of workers.[143]Although the relationship between the state and labour is more nuanced than this outline makes it seem, even in this form, the relationship is not one that can be classified as healthy enough to satisfy the need for social embeddedness as required for a developmental democracy. Additionally, social embeddedness in a developmental state ought to be inclusive of broader groups in society, not just those connected to the political elites. When one considers, particularly the Tri-Partite Alliance, it is apparent that social groups who find expression within the political elite are able to do so through a system of political patronage which protects those that remain loyal to the system and to certain political parties. Thus, inclusivity might be more difficult to achieve in a political climate like the one in South Africa.

[141] Nicholson. G., Analysis: Taxing the Relationship between ANC and COSATU, https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/20160114analysistaxingtherelationshipbetweenanccosatu/#.WKRMAPl942w, 14 January 2016, p.1.
[142] Loc cit.
[143] Loc cit.

The other interest group is the private sector, as a key driver for socio-economic growth. The relationship between the government and business has been a tumultuous one. Some have argued that the increased government regulations and policies have made it increasingly difficult to conduct businesses and, as such, even South African investors are looking to take their business elsewhere.[144] This, coupled with the instability of the exchange rate, as well as poor growth, severely impacts the desirability factor of doing business in South Africa. Although rocky, the relationship between business and the state is not altogether severed. Deputy President, Cyril Ramaphosa, is known for his close relationship with the sector, and has been credited with improving relations between business and government. The administration has put in place a few mechanisms to improve relations with business in order to work together for positive socio-economic growth. These sentiments were echoed in an interview with Colin Coleman, the head of Goldman Sachs in South Africa, following the World Economic Forum in Davos earlier in 2017. When speaking about the CEO Initiative, Coleman said "the rallying of the business community and through the year the rallying of labour and that culminating the national minimum wage, talking of a labour package, the creation of this youth employment services initiative, the announcement of the small and micro enterprise fund, the reappointment of a board of Business Leadership South Africa...have been very important to creating a much more unified, much more serious, much more focused attempt by business and sections of government and labour to come together and drive economic growth and reform"[145]. These remarks point to a mending of the relationship between the private sector and the state. With the reappointment of Pravin Gordhan as the Minister of Finance, the projected growth rate for 2017, and the decrease in Corporate Income Tax, the argument can be made that, though not fully embedded, the state has enjoyed a much healthier relationship with business than it has previously. This relationship with business also presents a conflict of interest between the state and labour. In order for the state to have a good relationship with business, there would need to be certain trade-offs, particularly involving labour regulations, that come at the expense of workers' rights. This places the state in a dilemma, having to find a delicate balance between improving its relationship with business, while maintaining its alliance with labour. This

[144] Fin24, Govt, Business in 'Dysfunctional Relationship', http://www.fin24.com/Entrepreneurs/News/Govt-business-in-dysfunctional-relationship-20150107, 7 January 2015, p.1.
[145] Van Niekerk. R., A Critical Year for South Africa, https://www.moneyweb.co.za/moneywebradio/specialreport/acriticalyearforsouthafrica/, 25 January 2017, p.1.

balance has, often, not been found, evidenced, again, by unions like NUMSA distancing themselves from the ruling party.

The last key interest group to be discussed is youth. In a study conducted to determine the ways in which the media shapes youth identity, only 34.4% of the 956 respondents said that they trust local government, 38.3% said that they trust provincial government and 40.9% said that they trust national government, whilst only 30.7% said they trust political parties. [146] Further findings in the research suggest that youth feel marginalised from public participation and there is a lack of agency when it comes to doing work in their communities, where they do not necessarily feel that they can help others.[147] These sentiments were echoed by research findings by the Institute for Security Studies, which observed that in addition to low levels of trust, young people feel alienated from the workings of government and do not feel competent enough to engage in politics because they find it to be too complicated.[148] These studies show that despite acknowledging the need for youth involvement as citizens, government has been ineffective in creating an environment where young people feel included and valued. This also points to the idea that the government is largely either disconnected from the perceptions of young people or is aware but has been unsuccessful in addressing these perceptions. One reason for this lack of social embeddedness with youth could be that although the government may see the importance of a young labour force, they do not necessarily see young people as valuable stakeholders in the process of governance.

Although individual youth perceptions of the state do not bode well for positive relations, there are also youth formations which have enjoyed a good relationship with the state, through their affiliation with the ruling party. The ANC Youth League (ANCYL), the South African Students' Congress (SASCO), the Young Communist League (YCL) and the Muslim Student Association (MSA) have enjoyed a historic alliance with the ruling party, known as the Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA). These structures have often been hailed as the voice of

[146] Malila. V., "A Bassline Study of Youth Identity, the Media and the Public Sphere in South Africa", Rhodes University, January 2013, p.12.
[147] Ibid. p.15.
[148] Tracey. L., "Do You Want My Vote? Understanding the Factors that Influence Voting among Young South Africans", Institute for Security Studies Monograph 193, 2016, p.p.1-56.

youth in South Africa and the state often looks to youth in these structures, particularly the ANCYL and SASCO, to speak on behalf of young people across the country. Although this is a good way for the state to show evidence of youth engagement, the relationship between the state, the ruling party and these formations is a problematic one. Problematic because as a political alliance, these formations are often subject to the rules of democratic centralisation, and are often uncritical of the role of the state in facilitating youth development. Furthermore, their recognition as the voice of youth in South Africa misrepresents millions of youth who do not share their political affiliation and, thus, the voices of those youth remain unheard. In summation, through a discussion of the relationships between the government and labour, business and youth, it becomes clear that the South African government lacks the requisite social embeddedness that a developmental state ought to have, despite having improved relations with business and a political alliance with labour.

The next characteristic mentioned is political authority during times of social and political conflict. This presents a challenge for South Africa. As one of the most unequal countries in the world[149], with much of the inequality manifesting along racial lines, South Africa finds itself positioned with the constant threat of political instability. Countries with relatively narrow inequality gaps can be seen as in a better position to foster economic growth as that growth occurs in and benefits a much greater part of the population than countries with a high prevalence of inequality. In South Africa, these inequalities manifest in a culture of protest. Across the country, citizens are engaged in protests, particularly around service delivery, almost daily. Although the state's responses have usually been tepid, there has been an increasing show of force, particularly around protests, that have gained momentum in the media and there are many examples of this, such as the murder of Andries Tatane by police in 2011 in Ficksburg during a service delivery protest, as well as the well-known Marikana Massacre in 2012 - regarded as the most lethal use of force in a single incident by police against civilians since 1960, in which 34 mineworkers were killed by police. This is further evidenced by the frequent deployment of riot police on campuses during the Fees Must Fall protests, and the subsequent shooting of tear gas, stun grenades and rubber bullets at students.

[149] Keeton. G., "Inequality in South Africa", in The Journal of the Helen Suzman Foundation, Vol.74, No.1, November 2014, p.p. 26-31.

It seems, increasingly, that the state's ability to wield political authority has been limited to the use of force, as opposed to negotiation to restore public order. These responses illustrate an inability to adequately manage conflict arising because of inequality. Additionally, it can be argued that because much of the current economic growth occurs in a vacuum, and serves a small section of the population, the constant navigation between fostering social cohesion and addressing inequality while simultaneously attempting to accelerate economic growth, especially in a population which is not homogenous, can prove to be a hindrance to achieving a developmental democracy - particularly if the state is unable to effectively manage conflict.

Finally, the administrative capacity of the state as a central tenet to building a developmental democracy, could be seen as a further hindrance for South Africa. In the diagnostic report preceding the NDP, the NPC made a few key observations regarding the state's administrative capability.

> "[There is an] unevenness in state capacity, which leads to uneven performance in local, provincial and national government. The uneven performance of the public service results from the interplay between a complex set of factors, including tensions in the political-administrative interface, instability of the administrative leadership, skills deficits, the erosion of accountability and authority, poor organisational design, inappropriate staffing and low staff morale. The weaknesses in capacity and performance are most serious in historically disadvantaged areas where state intervention is most needed to improve people's quality of life. There have been many individual initiatives to address these problems, but there is a tendency to jump from one quick fix or policy fad to the next, rather than pursuing a long-term sustained focus on tackling the major obstacles to improving the performance of the public service. These frequent changes have created instability in organisational structures and policy approaches that further strain limited capacity, exacerbating the problem of uneven performance."[150]

[150] National Planning Commission, National Development Plan, 11 November 2011, p.364.

The South African government remains trapped in a system of red tape and bureaucracy residual from the Apartheid government. This has weakened the state's capacity to effectively deliver services as projects are often caught in lengthy administrative processes. It creates a domino effect of sorts, because the state's inability to deliver services efficiently in turn angers citizens and is often the cause of unrest in communities. If the government is serious about becoming a developmental democracy, it needs to make sure, at the very least, that the administrative environment is one that allows for efficiency and the reduction of red tape, whilst simultaneously employing capable, skilled staff.

Gumede has done extensive analytical work around the concept of a South African developmental state. His work provides a sound conceptual basis on which to locate discussions on if the country should be pursuing this aspiration, whether it is feasible in this political climate, and what would need to be done in order to achieve it. One of his central arguments focused on whether achieving a developmental state is possible in a country that needs to deepen its democracy.[151] As a relatively young democracy, Gumede argues that South Africa faces the challenge of having to "deliver development in both the economic and democratic spheres"[152], which is not characteristic of a classic developmental state. He argued that in South Africa, with the high levels of inequality occurring along racial lines (as mentioned earlier), coupled with the reality that, unlike East Asian states, South Africa is a highly diverse society, managing inequality, particularly one that manifests along racial and class lines, is difficult because in addition to addressing inequality and developing the country, the government also has to focus on nation building which, in itself, is a difficult task, especially in a country as fragmented as South Africa.[153]

Vusi Gumede, who, since 2008, has argued that South Africa was a "developmental state in the making, albeit a weak state"[154], has noted that, in recent years, the government has moved away

[151] Gumede. W., Delivering the Democractic Developmental State in South Africa, Development Bank of Southern Africa Working Paper Series, 2009, p.7.
[152] Ibid. p.12.
[153] Loc cit.
[154] Gumede. V., Democratic Developmental South Africa: A Dream Deferred?, http://www.vusigumede.com/content/2014/ACADEMICPAPERS2014/DevelopmentalStateinSouthAfricaWorkingPaper.pdf, 2013, p.3.

from the ambition to become a developmental democracy and that this is best evidenced through the National Development Plan, which has a strong focus on building a capable state, rather than a developmental one.[155] The articulations of the plan have focused on the need for a human-centred approach to development, and emphasised the need for an active citizenry in the implementation of this plan. The plan also calls for a more transparent government, which places a greater reliance on its relationship with citizen formations than a developmental state would require. The ideological framework within which the NDP is conceptualised signals a shift towards an approach which priorities Capabilities, rather than achieving a developmental state, as will be discussed later.

Conclusion: Developmental Democracy

What this discussion has shown is that based on the fundamental tenets of a developmental state, South Africa should re-evaluate its ambitions to become one. Not only does the country lack the required political climate and relationship with its citizens in the way such a state would require, but it could also be argued that the realisation of a developmental state would be the antithesis to much of the rhetoric being peddled by the government, about the need for all citizens to play an active role in this democracy. If, like this research suggests, South Africa is truly committed to achieving a democracy in which all citizens feel valued and are active participants, then a developmental state is surely not the best way to achieve this. There is evidence, however, that the state has already realised this conclusion, or, at the very least, realises the problems with aiming for a developmental democracy as recent policy shifts suggest.

[155] Loc cit.

The Capabilities Approach

Introduction to the Capabilities Approach

The Capabilities Approach was developed by Amartya Sen, as a response to dominant economic narratives of welfarism which viewed the accumulation of wealth and income as the most effective criteria against which to measure growth and development.[156] However, as Floersch pointed out: "The role of income and wealth as evaluations of human development does not ensure capturing the entirety of capability deprivation, and differentiated experiences, resulting from inequality and poverty."[157] Sen's approach to development is one which sees the state as being responsible for promoting "the overall good of society"[158] and that economists (or, in this context, development practitioners) have the responsibility to make sense of what that means, practically, and what the best way to achieve it would be. Sugden argues that the Capabilities Approach is a way to do this. The Capabilities Theory was premised on the concerns Sen had regarding the evaluation of well-being and how people can reach optimal states of wellbeing. The approach, he points out, is used "to represent the alternative combinations of things a person is able to do or be – the various 'functionings' he or she can achieve. This is articulated within a discussion of freedom which, coupled with capabilities, are the two main parts of this approach.

Unpacking the Capabilities Approach

The Capabilities Approach rests on three core concepts: Functionings, Capability and Agency. "[159]. It begins with the idea that people's lives consist of a set of interrelated functionings. Different from tangible products, functionings refer to various states of being and the things people value doing or being (which could also be as a result of those tangible products).

> "A person's state of being is understood as a vector of functionings. In choosing what kind of life to live, a person chooses among such vectors. The set of feasible vectors for any person is that person's capability set.

[156] Sugden. R., "Review: Welfare, Resources and Capabilities: A Review of Inequality Re-examined by Amartya Sen", in Journal of Economic Literature, Vol.31, No.4, December 1993, p.1947.
[157] Floersch. D.N., "Rural Gendered Youth Perceptions: Food-Security, Capabilities, Rights and Freedoms", University of KwaZulu Natal, 2012, p.20.
[158] Sugden. R., Op.Cit. p.1948.
[159] Sen. A. "Capability and Wellbeing" in Hausman. D.M. (ed), The Philosophy of Economics: An Anthology, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2007, p.271.

> A capability set represents a person's opportunities to achieve well-being. We may also say that it represents a person's freedom, with "freedom" being understood in the positive rather than the negative sense, that is, in terms of "freedom to . . . ", rather than "freedom from…""[160]

In sum, functionings refers to the different activities or states of being that people consider as valuable for their own wellbeing. This may range from being safe or well-fed to being able to speak another language. In this way, functionings do not just refer to basic states of being like survival, but can also extend to more complex states like self-actualisation. When a set of functionings combine, they form capabilities. Capabilities, in this sense, can refer to a type of freedom - the freedom for people to live the lives they choose based on their set of functionings. Put a different way, capabilities could refer to the opportunities people have, to live the lives they want, based on the different states of being they've achieved and the value they attach to these states. As Sen describes it: "Capability reflects a person's freedom to choose between different ways of living"[161] and, referring to the difference between tangible goods and capabilities, Sen states: "Primary goods are means to freedoms, whereas capabilities are expressions of freedoms themselves"[162].

This freedom rests on agency, the third core concept. Agency, in this sense, refers to people's ability to choose what they value, and then pursue those things. This agency does not merely refer to individual agency, but to collective agency as well because it considers that people are members of communities and the factors that impact these communities should be taken into consideration in terms of the choices people make. It is important to consider the role collective reasoning and external factors play in the formulation of value. People's perceptions of value are often informed by factors such as globalisation and consumerism, and whilst scholars like Evans criticised this as a shortfall to the approach[163], others see it as a potential asset. Alkire

[160] Sugden. R., Op.Cit. p.1951.
[161] Sen. A., "Development as Capability Expansion", in Fukuda-Parr. S., et.al. (eds), Readings in Human Development, Oxford University Press, New Delhi and New York, 2003, p.44.
[162] Ibid. p.48.
[163] Evans. P., "Collective Capabilities, Culture and Amartya Sen's Development as Freedom", in Studies in Comparative International Development, Vol.37, No.2, 2002, p.58.

and Robeyns argued that the embracing of ethical individualism calls for an analysis of the very social structures that impact on a person's ability to make value judgements, and should be "evaluated *in virtue of*[164] the causal importance that they have for individuals' well-being"[165], thus these external factors should be part and parcel of the overall framework in the determination of value. These three concepts work together to form the Capabilities Approach: people use their agency to decide what is most valuable to them, they use this decision to achieve certain functionings and use a combination of these functionings to create a capability set, which will enable them to fully achieve those elements they had earlier deemed to be valuable.

The Capabilities Approach and Development

The approach is perhaps best understood in a discussion of development. Sen operates on a basic set of functionings, which are universally agreed upon as central to wellbeing, like being in good health and having shelter. Using this approach, Sen argues against using income as a measure of wellbeing, suggesting that even in instances where there might be higher levels of income, the wellbeing of people might still be low. Sugden cited an example of this when comparing Gross National Product (GNP) and life expectancy of men in Harlem, New York, to men in Bangladesh.[166] In this case, although the GNP for men in Harlem is much higher than men in Bangladesh, men in Bangladesh have a higher chance of reaching 40 than men in Harlem. Sugden uses the Capabilities Approach to explain why this may be the case by arguing that, even though men in Harlem might have greater access to and control over resources, their ability to perform social functionings, like taking part in the community, is low, thus they have a lower wellbeing than their Bangladeshi counterparts.[167] This, however, does not isolate income or economic growth as entirely unimportant. In fact, income is a key component of functionings because income is one of the factors that determine the extent of certain functionings. For example, being healthy may be considered as a functioning, but the availability and quality of healthcare services, in many instances, is dependent on income. In

[164] Emphasis in original.
[165] Alkire. S., Using the Capability Approach: Prospective and Evaluative Analyses, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265000939, January 2008, p.8.
[166] Sugden. R., Op.Cit. p.1954.
[167] Loc cit.

this sense, functionings could refer to what a person can do or become due to factors like income and wealth. When these functionings combine, they form a person's capabilities. These capabilities, then, could be the culmination of factors considered valuable to a person so that they are able to live the life they want.

The Capabilities Approach focuses on the plurality of progress, in that it does not subscribe to one view of what success looks like, but rather views developmental progress in a multi-disciplinary way. As Sen explained:

> "Rather than concentrating only on some solitary and traditional measure of economic progress (such as the gross national product per head), 'human development' accounting involves a systematic examination of a wealth of information about how human beings in each society live (including their state of education and health care, among other variables). It brings an inescapably pluralist conception of progress to the exercise of development evaluation. Human lives are battered and diminished in all kinds of different ways, and the first task, seen in this perspective, is to acknowledge that deprivations of very different kinds have to be accommodated within a general overarching framework. The framework must be cogent and coherent, but must not try to overlook the pluralities that are crucially involved (in the diverse nature of deprivations) in a misguided search for some one measure of success and failure, some single clue to all the other disparate concerns."[168]

This addresses some critiques of this approach who argue that the theory is incomplete because it does not prescribe a set of valuable capabilities that people should aspire to. It instead allows space for people to self-determine what their capability set will be. This could be looked at in two ways: first, capabilities can be framed in a discussion of human rights and it can then be argued that a prescribed set of capabilities would correspond with the rights set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, particularly those relating to human development, and

[168] Sen. A., "A Decade of Human Development" in Journal of Human Development, Vol.1, No.1, 2000, p.p.17-23.

could further be extended to an avoidance of deprivations of those rights, such as starvation. The second way of looking at the incompleteness of the approach as an asset, occurs when one considers the changing nature of societal values. Value has always been fluid and constantly evolving and what people might find valuable today may be in stark contrast to what was valuable fifty years ago, and, subsequently, one might find that the capabilities people place value on fifty years from now might be quite different from what is valued today.

As Floersch pointed out: "This is in line with taking into consideration evolving contexts, and recognises that social issues do not exist in a vacuum. Hence, Sen's view of the capabilities approach [is] an adaptable method of assessing social development that may adjust to changing socio-historical dynamics".[169] This also takes into consideration the influence external factors like globalisation and pop culture have on people's perceptions of wellbeing. In the most basic sense, according to Alkire, the Capabilities Approach is a proposition. It proposes that "social arrangements should be evaluated according to the extent of freedom people have to promote or achieve functionings they value. If equality in social arrangements is to be demanded in any space — and most theories of justice advocate equality in some space — it is to be demanded in the space of capabilities".[170]

The Capabilities Approach and Participation

This approach is crucial for earlier arguments in favour of youth participation. It makes a case for the holistic approaches to youth development and participation, suggesting that the wellbeing of an individual and their ability to feel included, valued and empowered is more central to the success of development than, for example, one-sided access to programmes in their communities. Young people might have access to development projects in their communities, but if their basic social functionings are not cultivated (such as the freedom to participate fully in these programmes), the success rate of those projects might be low. This principle could be easier understood through Sen's argument for the reduction of poverty, that merely creating wealth is not an adequate solution to poverty but, rather, a focus on overall wellbeing.[171]

[169] Floersch. D.N., Op.Cit. p.21.
[170] Alkire. S., "Why the Capabilities Approach?" in Journal of Human Development and Capabilities, Vol.6, No.1, March 2005, p.122.
[171] Sugden. R., Op.Cit. p.1954.

In the same way, the existence of youth in development programmes (reflective of Hart's lower three rungs) is insufficient in achieving meaningful participation. Rather, a more pointed approach to their participation is necessary. This approach notes that it is insufficient, perhaps even detrimental, to make assumptions about what people value and base development on those assumptions. The result of these assumptions may be the creation of development programmes where they had previously been none, but the efficacy of these programmes and the ability of these programmes to gain buy-in from communities that have already been excluded might be debatable.

Additionally, Sen has articulated the Capabilities Approach through a discussion on freedom. Here he refers to two aspects of freedom: process and opportunity. Process, closely linked to the agency aspect of the approach, concerns itself in the development context with the act of being involved in decision-making, and opportunity, which concerns itself with capabilities directly, refers to the opportunities people have to achieve the outcomes they desire. This is useful, particularly in discussions of participation, because it highlights the importance of not merely designing or even evaluating development based on outcomes alone, but also by assessing the process of achieving that outcome and the value placed on different outcomes by the individuals and communities who are meant to benefit from them. By extension, one can see the ways in which this approach manifests itself in policy settings, where policy can be shaped by people's desired capabilities (which requires participatory processes) as well as used to improve people's capabilities. Floersch also added that "by not only focusing on the opportunity to engage valued processes and outcomes, the capabilities approach also focuses on participation and creating the space to see individuals as subjects with agency, and not merely objects, within development".[172]

The way in which this approach is articulated is embedded within a participatory framework. At almost every step of applying this approach to development, people are placed at the core. It is people, and the communities they exist in, that give life and success to this approach. People, using their agency, are seen as the most important stakeholders in the development

[172] Floersch. D.N., Op.Cit. p.22.

process because it is their insights on the capabilities they seek to achieve that gives rise to successful development programmes. The role of practitioners in this regard is to act as conduits for the information to pass through, and design developmental policies and programmes based on this insight. As Alkire noted: "If researchers apply the capability approach in a way that is consistent with its own tenets, then its operationalization depends upon the thoughtful participation of many users and much public debate. For that reason, the capability approach is very conducive to participatory undertakings…"[173]. Without active participation by people who are viewed as crucial stakeholders in the development process, and not mere beneficiaries, the development paradigm becomes one lacking the contextual substance and accurate picture of success that the approach provides for, with the approach not just being conducive to participation but implicitly embedded in participatory interventions.

Conclusion: Capabilities Approach

This approach rests on the notion of human development as a catalyst for economic growth, rather than a by-product of that growth. It interrogates the purpose of development as being a way to improve the scope of choices that people have in order to enrich their lives. It asks a question of value and values: what are the values that people hold and how do these values shape the freedoms they value? – as a tool for deciding their developmental trajectories. It argues that it is imperative to place people at the centre of development and think beyond income as a measurement of wellbeing. This approach does not view people as passive beneficiaries of development agendas but instead as active participants who exercise agency in determining their own development.

Though the Capabilities Approach is far more intricate than this section makes it seem, the aim was not to fully detail the intricacies of the approach but, rather, to offer up an explanation into the main tenets articulated by Sen, as a way to describe an approach which answers questions about the ability of people to participate in their own development, in addition to questions around the nature of that participation. Scholars like Alkire and Sugden who describe the Capabilities Approach as an evaluative tool for development work see enhanced capabilities as

[173] Alkire.S., Op.Cit. p.128.

a means as well as an end – just as people are. In this way, practitioners and citizens alike are able to contribute to, and benefit from, not just a positive output of the developmental process (enhanced capabilities and greater wellbeing) but also an alternative approach that places people's wellbeing at the centre of development methodology, enabling more holistic, sustainable and equitable developmental solutions.

Conclusion: Theoretical Framework

The South African government has long expressed its desire to become a democratic developmental state. However, through a discussion of the main criteria that would need to be fulfilled in order for such a goal to be achieved, it has been shown that South Africa lacks the requisite characteristics crucial to a democratic developmental state.

First, the state does not have sufficient political authority to maintain order during times of conflict. The escalation of the use of force by the state during civil unrest is evidence of a government that is unable to peacefully restore order and address the needs of its citizens. Second, the state does not have sufficient autonomy to be considered as a democratic developmental state. Due to the ways in which democratic processes have been designed, and the commitment to civic engagement by government, pursuing greater autonomy will be a difficult task, and achieving it may cause unrest among citizens who already have a strong distrust towards the government. Third, the state needs to improve its administrative capability. In addition to inheriting an Apartheid bureaucracy, the current administrative capacity of the state is impeded by staff who lack the requisite skills, unnecessary red tape and a strong lack of efficient frameworks that would streamline and guide democratic government processes. This presents a challenge to achieving a democratic developmental state because being administratively efficient is an essential part of the make-up of such a state. Finally, social embeddedness was shown to be an additional challenge for the South African state, particularly when considering the shaky relationship between the state and labour, as well as the poor state of relations between the state and youth.

Although it is possible for the state to achieve these goals eventually, scholars like Vusi Gumede argue that it would be in the state's best interest to pursue a different avenue for achieving broad development as the costs of pursuing a democratic development state are too high. This report agrees with this notion, particularly as it relates to youth participation. In order to maximise the effects of the youth bulge, as well as foster an active citizenry, the government should be considering ways of becoming more accessible to its citizens and more transparent in its dealings. It can be argued that the construction of a democratic developmental state relies heavily on citizens trusting that their government will maintain integrity and always act in the

best interests of citizens. However, as has been the case in South Africa, not only is public trust in government low but the culture of corruption did not end with the Apartheid government as the hope had been. Corruption in the public-sector calls into doubt the ability of the state to deliver on a mandate that places development as the main priority and acts in the best interests of the polity, as opposed to politics.

The Capabilities Approach views human capabilities as the focal point for development. It posits that through the achievement of states of being or doing (functionings) which people find valuable, their capabilities increase. This enables people to live the lives they want, according to their own constructions of value. Freedom, then, is an integral part of this process. The freedom not only to decide what is valuable, but to also be part of the process that enables one to achieve that value. In this way, the Capabilities Approach is implicitly participatory in nature. It places the highest value on people's own narratives of freedom and wellbeing and suggests that the state constructs development paradigms based on those narratives.

Although the Capabilities Approach does not set out clear guidelines for the development of a capable state as clearly as theories of developmental democracies do, it remains a relatively fresh body of work, presenting an alternative way of viewing the way a country pursues its developmental interests. While theories of developmental democracies place economic development at the core of developmental agendas, in seeing human development as a by-product of positive economic growth, the Capabilities Approach places human development at its core and views this as a catalyst for economic development. It works on the idea that human development and economic development can be achieved at the same time and that, perhaps, a shift in thinking about the role of human development in growing economies might be a factor which enables greater economic growth, more favourable than other market-centred development approaches. It creates a way of thinking that considers the relationship between values, income, agency and wellbeing and suggests that if a state is able to govern based on what citizens believe are valuable to their wellbeing, it fosters not only an environment for participation but also a deepened democracy because it relies, almost wholly, on transparent and inclusive ways of governing.

The South African government, through the creation of the National Planning Commission and the formulation of the National Development Plan, has shown that it places value on economic development as a subset of human development, not as a causative factor of it. This shows a leaning towards a more capabilities-driven approach to development rather than an economic-driven one, as previous development goals did. This report argues that if both the goals of the National Development Plan and the narratives on participation outlined earlier are to be achieved, there would need to be an adoption of the Capabilities Approach as the guiding principle for development in South Africa as this approach is best-suited to achieving development that views citizens as integral stakeholders in development and not just passive beneficiaries. Subsequent chapters will offer a more in-depth discussion on the NDP and, particularly, the ways the NDP views participation and whether this sufficiently articulates a vision for capabilities.

The National Development Plan

Chapter Outline

This chapter will focus on an analysis of the National Development Plan, containing key findings from participants and well as key informant interviews. It will begin with a brief background of the NDP: how it came into existence; what challenges it wishes to address; and the format of the plan itself. Following this will be an extensive criticism of the plan. It will cover cross-cutting critiques both of the plan itself and the process through which the plan was created. Using these critiques, it will discuss the role of youth and their participation in conceptualising and implementing the plan. This section will mostly draw from interviews with key informants as well as interviews with participants in Tembisa. It will present the ways in which young people perceive national development, looking into the differences in the perceptions of youth participation from an individual on the inaugural NPC and a current commissioner. Afterwards, it will offer a discussion into the theoretical nuances of the NDP, in an analysis of how the NDP has applied the Capabilities Approach, arguing that although the theoretical application of this Approach is sound, the NDP fails to articulate how this approach translates into pragmatic implementation.

Background

The National Planning Commission (NPC) was appointed in 2010 by President Jacob Zuma and was tasked with mapping out the developmental goals for the country for the 20 years following their appointment, and setting recommendations on how to achieve them through the formulation of the National Development Plan. This was as a response to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which, the NPC believes, underestimated the capacity of the state and the effect external factors like a global debt crisis would have on growth.[174] Following the release of the Diagnostic Report in 2011, a process of public consultations began, and a draft plan was released later that year. The NDP finds its theoretical roots in the

[174] National Planning Commission (b), National Development Plan, The Presidency: Republic of South Africa, 11 November 2011, p.4.

Capabilities Approach and mentions it specifically as the foundation upon which the Plan is based:

> "At the core of this plan is a focus on capabilities; the capabilities of people and of our country and of creating the opportunities for both. The capabilities that each person needs to live the life that they desire differs, but must include education and skills, decent accommodation, nutrition, safe communities, social security, transport and job opportunities. The capabilities that the country needs to enable citizens to thrive include a capable state, leadership from all sectors of society, a pact for mutual sacrifice and trust."[175]

With this in mind the NPC, through its Diagnostic Report, identified the nine key challenges facing South Africans. They are:

1. Too few people work.
2. The standard of education for most black learners is of poor quality.
3. Infrastructure is poorly located, under-maintained and insufficient to foster higher growth.
4. Spatial patterns exclude the poor from the fruits of development.
5. The economy is overly and unsustainably resource-intensive.
6. A widespread disease burden is compounded by a failing public health system.
7. Public services are uneven and often of poor quality.
8. Corruption is widespread.
9. South Africa remains a divided society.[176]

Following the identification of these challenges, the NDP contains 13 chapters which outline South Africa's Vision 2030. These are:

- Chapter 3: Economy and employment;
- Chapter 4: Economic infrastructure;

[175] Ibid. Foreword.
[176] Ibid. p.3.

- Chapter 5: Transitioning to a low carbon economy;
- Chapter 6: Inclusive rural economy;
- Chapter 7: Positioning South Africa in the world;
- Chapter 8: Human settlements;
- Chapter 9: Improving education, innovation and training;
- Chapter 10: Promoting health;
- Chapter 11: Social protection;
- Chapter 12: Building safer communities;
- Chapter 13: Building a capable state;
- Chapter 14: Promoting accountability and fighting corruption;
- Chapter 15: Transforming society and uniting the country.

The NDP has been marketed as a shared vision which all South Africans should not only aspire to, but also embrace and work hard together to achieve. This, however, does not present the full picture. Though there are many who embrace the vision of the NDP, such as the ruling party, many senior government officials, and corporate firms like Price Waterhouse Coopers, there are those who believe that a common vision is insufficient if the means with which to achieve said vision are problematic. As such, the NDP has received extensive criticism.

Critiques of the NDP

One of the critiques of the NDP is its methodology. In the Diagnostic Report, the NPC mentioned their engagement with young people as taking place in online forums which engaged an average of 5500 people per day, in discussions about nation building.[177] This is problematic on two levels: first, it is exclusionary towards young people who do not have access to the internet and it is unclear how or if the NPC engaged with young people who are unable to access online forums. Secondly, the report mentions that the content of these discussions was nation building but does not mention what specifically the exact topics of discussion were and whether substantive topics such as health or barriers to employment were discussed. The impression has

[177] National Planning Commission (a), Diagnostic Overview, The Presidency: Republic of South Africa, 9 June 2011, p.9.

thus already been created that young people, in this process, were not seen as experts in their own right.

Further criticisms of the NDP state that the Plan is too vague. This was a sentiment echoed by Higher Education South Africa (HESA) which, after noting that the plan does not actually offer any details on policy making, noted that in the 484-page document, only 33 pages address education, despite it being mentioned as one of the two most important challenges (in addition to unemployment).[178] HESA also notes that there are no clear targets, particularly relating to higher education, despite the acknowledgements first that higher education plays a large role in development and, second, higher education is crucial to nation building.[179] This is an important critique of the Plan because it shows that although acknowledging the importance of addressing certain challenges, a more pointed approach with clearly-defined and consistent targets is missing in many areas.

Another criticism of the NDP is the question of who is supposed to take responsibility and for what. The Plan states that "government and society as a whole are responsible for improving and implementing the National Development Plan"[180], but it does not specifically mention where the role of government ends and societies' begins. HESA noted that it is particularly prevalent in the areas in which the NDP makes policy proposals that are sometimes vague, but in most cases, fails to identify where responsibility lies.[181] This could also result in many of the targets in the NDP remaining as perpetually good ideas, but with a failure to launch because of a lack of responsibility.[182]

Hendriks offered a similar critique of the NDP by saying that "the NDP takes little cognisance of the fundamental requirements for development, instead relying heavily on public resources

[178]Higher Education South Africa, Higher Education South Africa's Office Response to the National Development Plan – Vision for 2030, http://www.universitiessa.ac.za/hesa%E2%80%99s-office-response-national-development-plan-%E2%80%93-2030-may-2012-0, 1 May 2012, p.2.
[179] Ibid. p.3.
[180] National Planning Commission (b), Op. Cit. p.3.
[181] Higher Education South Africa, Op. Cit. p.10.
[182] Ibid. p.15.

to achieve its goals"[183]. This raises further questions around the sentiment that even though ordinary citizens are at the centre of development, does the NPC consider whether people actually have the basic capabilities to affect that development? There is a heavy reliance on community assets and self-mobilisation from communities. However, there is little said about communities that are severely under-resourced, for example Poortjie in the south of Johannesburg, which does not have public transport in or out of the area after 18:00 daily, or Bonnivale, east of Cape Town, where many people do not have identity documents because there is no Home Affairs office. These communities arguably have the most to gain from national development, but the lack of available resources despite being relatively close to large cities, means that they might find themselves excluded from this development. The way the NDP articulates the roles of communities in particular, seems to overlook the inherent resource inequalities prevalent in so many communities.

One of the critiques of the NDP has come from COSATU, who argue that the emergence and embracing of the NDP is a "a major step backwards, both in relation to existing progressive policy positions, and in relation to the desired objective of a radical economic shift"[184]. Their criticism began with differing views during the ANC National Conference in Mangaung, where members of different commissions argued that the details of the NDP do not have to be engaged with in detail for the vision to be endorsed.[185] Their contention was that the NDP was contradictory towards the broader policies of the movement and that the failure of senior members of the ANC to realise this pointed to the possibility that they themselves had not actually read the document. This was a cause for concern because the broad endorsement by the ANC of the NDP means an endorsement of sections of the document which might even be contrary to policy positions of the ANC and its alliance partners.

Further criticism from COSATU referred to the complexity of the document. At 484-pages long, reading the NDP is already a daunting task but it is also written in a way that can, at times,

[183] Hendriks. S., South Africa's National Development Plan and New Growth Path: Reflections on Policy Contradictions and Implications for Food Security, AEASA Presidential Address: Bloemfontein, 1 October 2012, p.10.
[184] COSATU, Mangaung and the Second Phase of the Transition: Discussion Document for the COSATU CEC, www.cosatu.org.za/docs/discussion/2013/analysis.pdf, 27 February 2013, p.3.
[185] Ibid. p.15.

be inaccessible.[186] These sentiments were echoed by Commissioner Tessa Dooms during her key informant interview. According to Commissioner Dooms, the inaugural NPC was made up of "academics writing an academic message through an academic narrative which is not easily consumable"[187]. COSATU also noted that the way in which it is written appeals to certain parts of society by "appropriating certain buzzwords and popular concepts"[188] but that in doing this, it "masks more than it reveals"[189] because it is written in a way which avoids controversial topics, or presents these topics in a politically correct way. These issues are compounded by the organisational structure of the NPC. With 26 people making up the inaugural NPC, 25 of whom were part-time, each responsible for a different section of the NDP, there are many different perspectives which often results in inconsistencies. COSATU speculates that because of these inconsistencies, many Commissioners did not actually sign-off on the final draft.[190] Jeremy Cronin also echoed this critique, noting that some of the Commissioners who were part-time on the NPC "had day jobs which bore little resemblance to their commission roles[191] and this raises questions on how their different positionalities affected their perspectives. This is especially evident in the chapter on the economy and unemployment, which brings to the fore the ideological differences that might have existed in the NPC, between commissioners whose ideological leanings are in favour of more socialist approaches to the economy and those who adopt a more capitalist, neo-liberal approach.

The most scathing critiques of the NDP from COSATU were against the ways in which the NDP seeks to address unemployment and inequality. From the outset, COSATU takes issue with the framing of unemployment in the NDP because the definition used excludes discouraged workers. According to COSATU, this would increase the unemployment rate to

[186] Ibid. p.18.
[187] Dooms. T., National Planning Commissioner, interviewed by author, Johannesburg, 2 January 2017.
[188] COSATU, Op. Cit. p.18.
[189] Loc cit.
[190] Loc cit.
[191] Creamer. M., National Development Plan Fatally Flawed, Cronin tells Godsell, http://www.engineeringnews.co.za/article/nationaldevelopmentplanfatallyflawedcronintellsgodsell20130527, 27 May 2013, p.1.

over 36% and, thus, the solutions suggested need to be evaluated so that it is an accurate reflection of unemployment in SA. In addition to this, the proposed solution to create over 10 million jobs by 2030 is deeply problematic for COSATU as it proposes jobs which are "low quality and unsustainable"[192] and it "relies disproportionately on exports, and particularly SMME jobs, as well as jobs in the service sector"[193]. This means that the likelihood of these jobs emerging is low and, even if they do emerge, they will be of poor quality. The NDP states that "small and expanding firms will become more prominent, and generate the majority of new jobs created"[194]. The contention is that even though the NDP refers to findings from a FinScope survey which showed that between 1998 and 2005, 90% of the jobs created were from SMME's[195], COSATU contends that these findings are "not supported by labour force data over the last decade, which shows little increase in the share of employment by SMME's"[196]. To bolster this critique, a study was conducted with 18000 SMME's and large firms to determine relative job creation and destruction. The study found that between 2008 and 2011, not only was job creation higher for large firms, but the rate of job creation relative to job destruction was higher for larger firms than SMME's.[197] This makes job creation though the SMME ambition impractical, especially because the NDP does not consider whether the state has the capacity to support small businesses at such large scales, whether those jobs will be sustainable, and if a rise in SMME's will change the fact that access to markets is difficult for small businesses, who are unable to compete with bigger ones. It also does not offer a discussion into what this might mean for policy goals set out by plans like the New Growth Path (NGP).

The New Growth Path views reindustrialisation as central to economic growth through the expansion of manufacturing. "It deliberately aims to move away from a narrow consumption-led (particularly luxury consumption), financialised, and service driven economy, perched upon an untransformed minerals sector."[198] COSATU argues that the NDP, instead of implicitly including the NGP, acts instead to further perpetuate the same growth path that the NGP seeks

[192] COSATU, Op. Cit. p.20.

[193] Loc cit.
[194] National Planning Commission (b), Op. Cit. p.117.
[195] Loc cit.
[196] COSATU, Op. Cit. p.22
[197] Loc cit.
[198] Ibid. p.24.

to minimise. The NDP goal for a more diversified economy is not diverse at all, argues COSATU. This is shown by the NDP projections for the sector distribution of employment. Projections show a shrinkage in agriculture and manufacturing, both central to the NGP.[199] Services, informal labour and domestic work are projected to rise, and COSATU estimates that almost two thirds of the 11 million jobs the NDP hopes to create will come from these sectors.[200] This is neither industrial nor diverse, and further adds fuel to the discussion of sustainable livelihoods and the notion that the NDP views the solution to unemployment through the provision of jobs that are unable to create the livelihoods it advocates for through the Capabilities Approach. The expectation that poor South Africans, through a social pact based on sacrifices and trust, will or should be willing to accept jobs that will not substantially improve their livelihoods, is deeply problematic.

Linked to the criticism of the NDP's approach to unemployment is the approach to inequality. COSATU argues that the NDP accepts that South Africa will continue to face extremely high levels of inequality in 2030, with only an envisioned 0.09 drop in the Gini Coefficient.[201] This would still make South Africa's Gini Coefficient higher than any other major country in the world. COSATU also criticised the NDP's plans for income redistribution. According to their critique, even in 2030 after 18 years of NDP implementation, the bottom 40% of income earners will only receive a 10% income share. They have said that the target to address inequality set out by the NDP "is not only feeble, but an embarrassment for a country claiming to be serious about combating inequality"[202]. There is also issue taken with the way the NDP defines the poverty line and it is argued that there is no sound basis for the amount of R418 per person, per month as the poverty line. COSATU notes that this logic implies that "households with an income of more than R2000 per month are not living in poverty"[203] even though research conducted by UNISA shows that the "Household Subsistence Level and Supplemented Living Level would have averaged around R3500 per month in 2009, instead of the NPC figure of

[199] Loc cit.
[200] Loc cit.
[201] Ibid. p.20.
[202] Loc cit.
[203] Loc cit.

about R2000, calculated on the *absolute basic minimum income*[204], which a family of five needed to afford basic necessities[205].

Inasmuch as it is admirable to want to eliminate poverty entirely by 2030, COSATU believes that the basis on which poverty is measured is already problematic, and therefore implicates the resolutions for addressing it. Their final thoughts on the NDP is that "the big picture projections and vision of the Plan is based on dubious statistics and assumptions, and problematic strategies and goals, which leave the highly unequal structure of our economy, and the economic marginalisation of the majority, essentially intact, with some tinkering around the edges. This is not a vision therefore which we can embrace with any enthusiasm"[206].

The NDP and Youth Participation

The NDP explicitly states that "a country with a future orientation is a country that develops the capabilities of its youth"[207] and that the aim of the plan is to improve the life chances of both children and youth, and treats youth as a cross-cutting theme in the plan[208]. In thinking about the importance of youth participation in development, serious questions arose about the role youth have in both the conceptualisation of the NDP, as well as its implementation. These questions were raised in interviews with two National Planning Commissioners and the young people from Tembisa.

Speaking to participants about the NDP from the outset was a difficult task as of the 12 participants interviewed, 10 of them had never heard of the NDP. Participants 5 and 6 had heard of it but their knowledge of it was low; Participant 5 said: "I heard about it on radio and TV, but I've not seen anything in the community. It wants to assist the country with reducing poverty, but I'm not seeing any programmes". Participant 6 also said that he had not seen anything in his community but that he was aware that there was a focus on roads and agriculture in the plan. As a result of participants not knowing about the plan, the discussion shifted into a

[204] Emphasis in original.
[205] Ibid. p.21.
[206] Loc cit.
[207] National Planning Commission (b), Op. Cit. p.6.
[208] Loc cit.

more abstract conversation about development and how young people envision development in their communities. Although participants initially struggled with conceptualising what development means, not just at a national level but also for communities, all participants agreed that a national development plan should have a strong focus on youth. There was a strong sense that people wanted a plan that could involve all citizens in its implementation; Participant 2 noted:

> "We cannot say we have the NDP whereas we do not involve the community and the society at large, we need to involve such people, have them participate because they know their issues and those people who are maybe coming with that plan, they don't know what's happening down here on the ground. We are on the ground and we know what issues we are facing every day. Then I think in that manner, we'll be able to come up with a solid solution."

This was a common thread that ran throughout the interviews: participants felt that they understood their communities best and any plans for community development should place people that live in those communities at the forefront. Participant 3 also noted that it would be important to allow people to explore things that they are passionate about, that can combine all their skills, instead of just pursuing what is easily available. These views informed the interviews with National Planning Commissioners.

In key informant interviews with Commissioner Elias Masilela, who served as a Commissioner on the inaugural NPC as well as the current one, as well as Commissioner Tessa Dooms who is a current Commissioner, a discussion was had about the ways in which the NPC envisioned participation. Commissioner Masilela noted that participation, particularly for youth, was dependant on the perspectives youth had of participation:

> "This perspective is how you identify your role as youth and enter the equation of implementing the Plan and this comes from the fundamental premise of the NDP which talks about the need for every member of society to be gainfully engaged with the plan and this is the principal of social compacting…This makes thinking about how you participate to

be a personal decision or an institutional decision rather than being dictated from the top, down."

This sentiment echoes the criticism by HESA that the plan is vague about where the responsibility for implementation lies. The response tells a chilling tale about the space for young people to actively participate in implementing this plan in their communities. Although there may exist a need for citizens to participate in this implementation, there is an even greater need for the NPC to forge out a clear path for active citizenry. Without this, citizens are metaphoric sitting ducks, expecting to implement a plan that they might not be fully able to engage with.

The second question discussed the role of young people in the formation of the NDP, to ascertain if the principles of Hart's ladder of Participation were adequately applied. Commissioner Masilela stated that the role of young people during the conceptualisation phases was to be engaged through consultations. What was troubling, however, was the statement from the former commissioner that there was someone on the inaugural NPC responsible for representing the youth voice but who chose to stay away from the process. This resulted in a reliance on "arm's length inputs from youth instead of having them at the table". Commissioner Masilela believed that it was the responsibility of that representative to communicate with other young people and get ideas on how to incorporate their thoughts into the document. When asked about whether there was a push for a different representative or a suggestion for a different method to gain inputs from young people, Commissioner Masilela said that there would not have been a push because the list of commissioners was already decided and that it would not be possible to shuffle people around.

This exchange was particularly worrying for various reasons. First, it is clear that the extent of youth engagement will have fallen in the bottom rungs of Hart's ladder – decoration and tokenism in this case - where young people had no real decision-making power or leadership role, despite engagements being about their experiences and views on solutions. Worse still is the approach the NPC took toward gaining input from young people. It is ludicrous to expect that one person could possibly be responsible for representing the views of almost 40% of the population who, in themselves, are heterogenous, and when the representative decided to opt-

out of the process, the inputs of the entire youth population were seen to have opted out with them. Not only is it unfair to youth in South Africa, it is also an indictment on the NPC which, in the NDP, states that the development agenda is most crucial for the success of young people, yet excluded them so explicitly from the process.

This was further aggravated when Commissioner Masilela was asked about the role of youth going forward, considering the minimal role they played in the foundational phase. He noted that youth would be instrumental in finding solutions and in the implementation of those solutions, but in order to do so young people *have* to be a part of the process, stating that "if [they] are not part of the process, the process will move along and not fully internalise [their] interests as youth". He further said that young people should not "come after solutions have been agreed [upon] and [they] were not accommodated, it is typically too late in the game and is unproductive". Not only is this line of thinking dismissive towards the inputs of young people, but it is also a pejorative way of including youth.

The idea that young people should either be a part of the process (regardless of whether they subscribe to its values), or get left behind is a means of bullying the public to accept the NDP, despite claims that the NDP is a living document that is open to change. This also conveniently ignores earlier sentiments by the former commissioner that youth were a part of the consultative process but did not have representation at the NPC. If young people said they were not accommodated, they would not entirely be wrong. Commissioner Masilela later noted that if the NDP failed, the failure would be the country's failure, not the NPC's failure. There seems to be a constant shifting of responsibility present in this mentality. After having admitted that a large segment of the population did not have adequate representation at the NPC, it is problematic to shift ownership of the plan in the event of failure. If the NDP really is a plan that belongs to all South Africans, there should have been greater efforts to include youth. Commissioner Dooms sees this as an oversight by the inaugural NPC, which might have seen their task as merely to deliver the document and not thinking about how to get citizens on board in order to action the plan, and this is the focus of the current NPC.

The interview with Commissioner Dooms focused more on how the current NPC views youth participation. These discussions signalled a shift in thinking about the role youth have to play in the implementation of the NDP. To begin, Commissioner Dooms stated that the focus of the NPC, and her role as the commissioner with expertise in youth development, is to ensure that youth know about the NDP. Her view is that the NDP was not written with many interest groups in mind and little attention was given to how people who will read the NDP will perceive it, and there arises a need to repackage it for youth as a result of those issues. Her argument is that the aim of the current commission should not be to sell the NDP as a set of ideas that everyone must buy into, but a starting point from which to form a collective narrative for development. The NDP, in this case, is seen as a blueprint for a house that needs to be built, and citizens should provide input into what will or will not work. Extending the metaphor, this is a positive deviation from the narrative of the previous NPC that packaged the NDP as a house that has been built and everyone is expected to already live in.

To this end, Commissioner Dooms noted that the focus of this NPC is to make the NDP more readable for people, through more small interest group engagements, particularly with young people who are involved in their communities. In this regard, the NPC sees the role of young people as being crucial to the sensitisation on and development of the NDP, through reading and writing about their thoughts on the document, as well as thinking about how to reinvent policy using an NDP lens. The aim is to be able to show development practitioners, government officials and youth that because youth is a cross-cutting issue, the role of youth is central to the success of the plan, and it is important to be able to create youth mainstreaming mechanisms throughout all implementation processes of the NDP. Young people need to be able to find themselves in the NDP, regardless of the multiple roles they occupy. This is to inform the thinking that every policy can be a youth policy because of how cross-cutting the challenges facing youth are.

The NDP has often been referred to as a living document. For Commissioner Dooms, this means that the NDP is meant to help frame discussions about what national development looks like, and the role of the NPC is to perform a think tank function to facilitate these conversations to "help people think through their challenges using a development lens that can contribute to a

national agenda and to use the NDP as a blueprint that could inspire work". She further observed that this presents an opportunity for young people to use the parts of the NDP that resonate with them as leverage for collaboration. The participatory mechanisms are implicit in this opportunity. It recognises that many young people are already playing active roles in their communities and might need further support. Her objective in the NPC is to show young people how the work they are currently doing aligns with the vision of the NDP, and to provide more support for that. It is also to garner mechanisms for participation or to augment existing mechanisms to make that participation more meaningful.

Commissioner Dooms talked about the gains made in youth mainstreaming thus far. She mentioned that there is now a greater realisation, by current Commissioners that youth perspectives need to be present throughout all aspects of NPC work, saying other Commissioners often call on her to participate in meetings and initiatives they conduct as they see the importance of having the youth voice present in their work. This, for her, is a departure from the previous NPC which, to their credit, hosted and attended many dialogues, but many of these dialogues and gatherings were more to keep up with the trend of talking about the NDP rather than gaining meaningful participation from young people.

Another part of these discussions focused on what the first NPC could have done better to gain broader youth participation. Whilst Commissioner Masilela was of the view that the youth representative should not have left the process, Commissioner Dooms argued that there should have been younger commissioners, and this should have happened even in the second NPC because "younger commissioners would have brought in a different dynamic and would have brought in a different voice". She added that there should also have been less focus on government and more on other sectors of society. After the NDP was concluded, the NPC was involved in government projects like Operation Phakisa and the NHI. Despite this, she believes that the NPC missed an opportunity by not engaging with the National Youth Policy process. This, she argues, would have positioned the NPC in spaces where they could be more directly useful to young people and this would have assisted in gaining buy-in from people, as well as fostering greater participation.

These sentiments, although indicative of a leaning towards adopting youth participation at an institutional level, raise questions about the efficacy of this participation. Participation which manifests structurally, although positive from a principle standpoint, is problematic considering the young people who will have to gain access to these spaces. In theory, young people from all segments of society will have equal access and influence in NPC spaces. In reality, however, participatory process will probably replicate the trajectory of other youth initiatives like the National Youth Development Agency, in which a select group of young people who have easy access to and more social capital within these institutions will be the ones constantly called upon to offer their opinions, thereby excluding youth, particularly rural youth, from crucial participatory processes.

Additionally, there is a marked difference between being youth-friendly and achieving real, meaningful participation. This report has outlined what meaningful participation looks like - it requires more than merely applying a youth-lens to decision-making and far more than bringing down the age average of National Planning Commissioners. Though these initiatives are needed, what is equally important is the creation of processes that could result in meaningful participation. It is insufficient to say that the NDP is a blueprint, and yet the NPC fails to give people the tools of analysis needed to understand the blueprint and make it work. If citizens are to accept that the NPC does not play an implementing role, it would not be unrealistic to expect that the NPC should play a part in creating the processes needed for citizens to play that role. Commissioner Dooms mentioned the NPC as taking on the role of a think-tank. Although important, if this is the sum of the NPC's contribution, it remains insufficient. It would need to act as a creator of processes, even if it does not contribute to the processes itself. This would allow citizens to carry the baton of development, because it would equip them with the capabilities needed to understand how to carry that baton.

The NDP and Capabilities

The NDP Diagnostic Report showed a strong Capabilities Approach framework in the ways in which it approached the challenges facing South Africa, through a narrative that greatly emphasised the wellbeing of South Africans as the focal point for the NDP. This was illustrated throughout both the Diagnostic Report and the NDP. The Plan places citizens at the centre of

development and calls for a state where "government works effectively to develop people's capabilities to live the lives they desire"[209]. Further evidence of the use of the Capabilities Approach underpinning the NDP is in the NPC's definition of development. For the NDP, development is:

> "[T]he process of raising continuously the capabilities of all citizens, particularly those who were previously disadvantaged. National capabilities that enable competitiveness include human capital (built through education, health, skills and work experience), physical infrastructure (schools, clinics, ports and power lines), technologies, management skills and the social institutions needed to allow people to live decent lives. It requires shifting from a paradigm of entitlement to a development paradigm that promotes the development of capabilities, the creation of opportunities and the participation of all citizens."[210]

One example of this is in the framing of the discussion around unemployment in the Diagnostic Report. It speaks lengthily about how per capita income growth rates are low, but mentions strongly that income growth is just one factor of overall wellbeing.[211] It also argues that whilst "increasing per capita income is important, there is substantial room to improve South Africa's level of human development within present income levels"[212]. When speaking specifically about the reason so many youth in South Africa are unemployed, the NPC offered a holistic diagnosis of the problem, citing not just inadequate experience and skills, but also outlining the need for basic capabilities (such as being literate) as being a factor that can have a domino effect in addressing unemployment.[213]

There is also a contextual list of capabilities that the NPC hopes to achieve at the national level. The presence of a key set of challenges to address somewhat indicates a ranking of priorities (or capability sets). This is the result of a contextual analysis of the trajectory of the lives of

[209] National Planning Commission (b), Op. Cit. p.2.
[210] Ibid. p.5.
[211] National Planning Commission (a), Op. Cit. p.5.
[212] Ibid. p.9.
[213] Ibid. p.13.

marginalised South Africans, the challenges they could face from childhood to adulthood, as well as the issues that need to be addressed at each step in a person's life, in order for them to live the lives they want. For instance, improving literacy and numeracy at primary school level, as this influences an individual's ability to finish school, enter university and eventually find gainful employment. It also recognises that there are certain capabilities that need to be met throughout the early stages of a person's life, for example, a child needs adequate nutrition at the infant stage to be well-nourished and thus excel at school.

The rhetoric of the Capabilities Approach echoes throughout the document, with significant emphasis of building both state capabilities and the capabilities of citizens. However, as a reading of the document, an analysis of its critiques, and interviews with key informants has shown, there is an unfortunate setback in the NDP in that the implicit articulation of the Capabilities Approach does not match the road-map set out by the Plan. Although the theory evidently runs consistently throughout the document, the NDP does not articulate it in terms of the implicit goals it seeks to achieve or the role of citizen agency and freedom. One of the initial inconsistencies is in the way the NDP thinks about relative capability deprivation. With the inequality gap as high as it is in South Africa, there is no doubt that people have vastly different experiences of deprivation, and this will greatly impact the things they value. There is little evidence that the NDP considers how people's experiences of deprivation will affect their ability to participate in implementing this Plan.

Coupled with this is the role of freedom in the Capabilities Approach. As afore mentioned, the role of freedom in the development process, particularly regarding decision-making, is central. The role of citizens in this process as merely constituents to be engaged with is problematic for that narrative. It is problematic to assume that constituent engagement (which might have been insufficient in the first instance) constitutes freedom for citizens. If Hart's Ladder of Participation is extended to all citizens, and used as a measure of this freedom, it can be observed that the ways in which the NDP engaged citizens was not in line with the higher rungs, but was more characteristic of decoration and tokenism at times, and assigned but informed at best.

The final analysis of the Capabilities Approach and the NDP focuses on wellbeing. Much of the narrative of the NDP focuses on a social pact. This social pact would be based on trust and, more pointedly, sacrifice. This report argues that the narrative of sacrifice contradicts the wellbeing emphasis of the Capabilities Approach. The structure of South African society is such that the brunt of this sacrifice will be borne by the black majority who are poor. The onus of sacrifice is on these people, who, for example, will have to accept low-paying jobs in order to fulfil the growth imperative set out by Chapter 3 of the NDP. This approach, in this regard, ignores the wellbeing of the poor. Even though development is a process that requires some level of patience, it is undermining to expect poor South Africans to set aside their valued functionings and capabilities in order to realise these goals, particularly considering the harsh realities of structural oppression, the effects of which are still felt today.

The concept of agency in the Capabilities Approach centres the ability for people to determine what they value and then pursue those things. The NDP does not create the impression that there has been acknowledgment of what people value, over and above addressing the identified challenges. As earlier mentioned, functionings are also complex – they do not simply refer to basic functionings needed for survival but can extend to matters including self-actualisation. Thus, inasmuch as nutrition is highly important, what could equally be important to some is the opportunity to learn to play an instrument. The focus of the NDP, if it is serious about employing the Capabilities Approach, should have been more awareness of the complexities of human functionings and understanding that development through this approach should focus on a complete picture of human development and not just the fulfilment of basic needs. The message articulated through this document is that if you are a part of the population who are disadvantaged, there is very little breathing space in this development paradigm for you to be able to explore experiences beyond providing the bare necessities for you and your family. This tips the scales, once more, in favour of the privileged who, in the first instance, are not expected to fulfil the sacrificial end of the social pact, but also have the opportunity - even the freedom - to pursue the more complex functionings they might place value on, which further embeds social inequalities in an already fragmented society.

Earlier, this report mentioned that there is a plurality of success with the Capabilities Approach. The strong focus on the economy in this Plan creates the impression that success for the NDP will be measured by growth. In this regard, little consideration is given to the practical utility of the Capabilities Approach which calls for a measurement of wellbeing that extends far beyond economic growth. What are the implications on the wellbeing of a person who, through a low-paying job, barely manages to live above the poverty line, and still faces racism and sexism in their community? What are the implications for someone who has access to jobs through an SMME, but does not have access to women-friendly healthcare services, and how do these disparities translate into the ability of citizens to, first, determine what they value and, second, be able to meaningfully contribute to the pursuit of that value? These questions remain unanswered by the NDP.

Conclusion: National Development Plan

Since its inception, the National Development Plan has been the cause of much discussion throughout the country. Marketed as a collective vision for development, the plan sets out the development targets South Africa should achieve by the year 2020. These range from the improvement of social security to more equal spatial planning and a focus on early childhood development. Despite the vision of the NDP being one most South Africans can agree with – all South Africans should want to live in a more prosperous society – there is just cause for debate around the way in which the NDP suggests this vision comes to pass. Labour, for example, has criticised the NDP's solutions on unemployment as being contrary to the vision set out by the New Growth Path. It accuses the NDP of being inadequate in addressing inequality and makes claims that even the way in which the NPC measured the state of poverty and inequality in SA has been problematic. Others, like HESA, have criticised the NDP for being too vague. This was echoed by Commissioner Dooms who noted that the NDP is unconsumable to most South Africans, and that the messaging around the NDP implicitly excludes most South Africans, especially youth who live in townships.

These critiques raised questions about the role of youth in the conceptualisation of the NDP. Commissioner Masilela noted that youth were consulted as a constituent group before the NDP was drafted, but that there was no youth representation in the actual forming of the NDP.

Commissioner Dooms argued that the structure of the NDP itself should have included more young people as commissioners, because they would bring a different perspective to development planning. She also felt that the NPC should have done a better job in being useful in spaces where young people directly engage as this would have assisted in bringing in the youth perspective, in the absence of a youth representative on the commission.

Further questions were asked about the role of youth in the implementation of the NDP. Here, it was important to note that 10 of the 12 participants interviewed had never heard of the NDP. This is crucial because it begs the question of how young people are expected to participate in something they, in the first instance, know nothing about. Commissioner Dooms offered sound insight into the role of young people, as imagined by the current NPC. In her view, there is a shift in the mentality of the NPC towards realising the importance of youth mainstreaming in policy initiatives as well as development programmes, and she stated that there is a more pointed effort by the NPC to involve youth in every step of the implementation process. She further argued that the NDP is a mere blueprint for development and the onus is on citizens, at this point, to decide which aspects of the NDP resonate with them, leverage collaborative efforts through that, and effect positive change in their communities. If the NDP is to have any targeted impact on young people, the NPC needs to think deeply about the ways in which young people are viewed: whether as stakeholders in their own development, or as beneficiaries of development that occurs without them. The current NPC is showing signs of this line of thinking, however, there will need to be a close monitoring of their initiatives over the next four years to see how that thinking translates into action.

The NDP contains a strong Capabilities Approach theoretical thread which runs consistently through the document. Throughout the plan, there is mention of the importance of developing people's capabilities in order for them to live the lives they desire. However, the NDP fails to articulate what this means, practically, for a development plan. It does not outline a clear path for achieving those capabilities nor does it outline what active citizenry means in the context of pursuing capabilities, particularly for youth. There is a tendency to assume that all people, regardless of their current capabilities, should be contributing equally, to the implementation of

the plan. This is problematic in that it ignores the impact of inequality on people's conception of basic functionings as well as their ability to meaningfully participate in development.

This is, perhaps, most evident in Chapter 3 which seems to ignore earlier discussions of wellbeing in favour of economic growth. There is the assumption that the sacrifice of complex functionings will need to occur and this sacrifice should be borne by the working class. Not only is this an unreasonable expectation to have, it also allows for further social inequality and conflict. In addition to this, the plan fails to articulate a version of success that aligns with the plurality of success articulated by the Capabilities Approach. The strong focus on the economy (despite unemployment being one of the largest challenges in South Africa) creates the impression that a successful South Africa will be measured by income growth, as opposed to overall wellbeing (which includes income growth). The final analysis of this is that this version of the plan, though having theoretical merit, falls short of translating theory into practice and seems to ignore the foundational tenets of the Capabilities Approach when articulating solutions.

Youth Experiences of Participation in National Development

Chapter Outline

This chapter will present the findings of the semi-structured interviews with youth in Tembisa. It will focus on the following four overarching themes: the socio-economic context of youth in Tembisa, opportunities for participation, barriers to participation and perspectives on development. It will use the insights gained from participant interviews to draw parallels with the information gained through the literature review, theoretical framework as well as interviews with key informants. It will also offer some analysis and discussion on what key recommendations could be used to address the challenges of these young people in the broader conversation around national development.

Contextual Overview of Tembisa

Tembisa, meaning 'promise' or 'hope', is a community in Johannesburg's East Rand. It was established in 1957 after its residents were forcibly removed from their homes in surrounding areas.[214] People, however, built a sense of community there and it now stands a lively township, bustling with activity. Walking through Tembisa, one is first met with a sense of urgency. Streams of people, everywhere, seem to be in a hurry to do one thing or the other. There are waves of activity present throughout the day that invoke the idea that if one lives in Tembisa, one is always busy. Although poorly maintained, the main streets connect commuters to the main sites of activity in the area – shopping centres mostly. On every street corner are small businesses – barbershops, take-aways and vendors line the streets, some setting up as early as 5am. There are many schools in the area, although they are poorly maintained, and you will often see children in school uniform wandering the streets throughout the day.

The taxi industry is large in Tembisa, with taxi ranks and smaller vehicles used as taxis easy to see throughout the area. Unfortunately, the sale of drugs, particularly *nyaope*, a common drug in South Africa, is rather rampant. On street corners and taxi stops, it is not uncommon to see

[214] South African History Archive, Tembisa Community Oral History and Photographic Project, www.saha.org/projects/tembisa_oral_history_photography_project.htm, September 2011, p.1.

young men either selling these drugs to passers-by or young men addicted to the drug helping commuters locate taxis and getting money from taxi drivers for their services.

Further away from the community CBD are the wealthier areas, with larger houses and better facilities. Moving through Tembisa during the day, one would find young people out on the streets, conducting their small businesses - though mainly idling - having given up on the possibility of employment. This, however, is not the only experience Tembisa offers. In every interaction, the researcher was met with friendliness and warmth, with people always ready and willing to help, even if it was beyond their means. People in Tembisa are vibrant in their ability to talk about the issues affecting their community and in welcome outsiders who demonstrate a genuine concern for and commitment to improving people's lives.

Key Thematic Areas

Poverty, Education and Livelihoods

The interviews with participants showed a strong link between financial difficulty and education and how this impacts on people's ability to create sustainable livelihoods for themselves. Of the twelve participants, seven completed secondary education but only one of the seven was able to obtain a tertiary qualification. The other six had either started but could not complete due to financial difficulty, or did not start at all. Of the five participants that had dropped out of school, three of them were women who had to leave school because they were pregnant, and the remaining two men dropped out of school because their families could no longer afford it. These circumstances were not exclusive to participants and all of them discussed the effects of poverty on people in Tembisa. Participant 4 noted that in many cases, people's parents had not been able to afford to complete school and were therefore unable to find sustainable employment.

This creates a cycle of poverty, forcing many young people to leave school in search of jobs so they can support their families. Leaving school, however, does not guarantee jobs and Participant 1 noted that "even if you want to sweep the streets, you need a Matric so dropping out of school does not help anyone". The linkages between education, poverty and employment is another cycle that youth in Tembisa have found difficult to break from. Participant 8

articulated this cycle well: “You need a qualification to get a job but even people with degrees sit at home, so what is the point of getting an education in the first place? That is why so many people drop out of school.” Additionally, the lack of support for young women who fall pregnant while still in school is a huge problem throughout the community. Participants noted that young women are often pursued by older men because they can offer them financial support but if they fall pregnant, the men often abandon them. These women then have to drop out of school in order to raise their children.

These observations are reminiscent of the earlier discussion about the Capabilities Approach. In this community, it is evident that a set of basic capabilities and functionings are not met, and this is preventing young people from living the lives they desire. When considering the vision of the NDP, the critique by Hendriks comes to mind – there is an expectation placed on communities to contribute towards the implementation of the NDP, however, there is little thought given to if these communities are able to provide basic capabilities for themselves. In this instance, considering the solutions to unemployment articulated in the NDP, one must examine whether these solutions consider the fact that many young women in Tembisa are able to access any of these opportunities, in the absence of affordable childcare options, or the finances to afford these services if they are available. Additionally, if the low-skilled, low-paying jobs materialised, it is difficult to imagine that these jobs would break the cycle of poverty in which many people in Tembisa have found themselves.

This raises broader concerns about the issue of sustainable livelihoods for youth in Tembisa. In thinking about the importance of education in breaking the cycle of poverty and creating livelihoods, youth in Tembisa face a difficult challenge. Theirs is not an infrastructural challenge – there are schools, as well as access to local, affordable tertiary education – but rather, a social challenge. Youth are unable to see the value of education in terms of an ability to generate a livelihood for them and their families. Their experiences of unemployment, as seen with many of their parents, as well as the lack of employment opportunities available in the area, means that the likelihood of young people valuing education as a channel for success is low. That, coupled with the easy access to, and rife spread of drugs in the community, implies that many young people would rather leave school and try to pave their own way into

employment, instead of continuing and risking not being employed despite years of schooling. Additionally, the scourge of drugs in the community also poses a lucrative business opportunity for young people – it is easier to obtain and sell drugs than it is to find a job. An inability to address the intersectional challenges of value, opportunity and criminal alternatives would result in economic resolutions in the NDP- such as achieving sustainable livelihoods - being more difficult to achieve.

One of the recommendations of this report is that there needs to be a joint effort by the NPC and government departments (like Basic Education, Higher Education and Labour) to conduct more in-depth research into the factors that feed into the broader social issues mentioned by the NDP. Although issues such as being unable to complete education might be common across many communities in SA, the ways in which people experience these issues vary and their personal contexts need to be considered if sustainable, effective solutions are to be implemented. Although it would be useful to carry out a mapping exercise, which would provide insight into the capacity of communities to affect their own development, engagement with young people in Tembisa has shown that the mere existence is insufficient and there needs to be a focus on finding ways to build basic capabilities first.

Employment and Entrepreneurship

The linkages between education and unemployment became clear throughout the interviews. Of the twelve participants interviewed, seven were unemployed and of the five who were employed, four were entrepreneurs. All except one of the people who had not completed secondary education were unemployed and the seventh person was unable to find a job due to having a criminal record. There are three key reflections that arise in this regard. First, there is a lack of support and employment opportunities for people who do not complete their secondary education. Considering that learners have the option of leaving school after they complete grade 9, there need to be real options for employment for them should they choose not to pursue education through Further Education and Training College. This is not the case for learners in Tembisa who often drop out of school because of necessity but do not have the means to find employment to support their families. People also face when trying to obtain their National

Senior Certificate as a result of inadequate access to institutions that offer the service and, even if there is access, unaffordability.

Second, there is a deficiency in entrepreneurial support for people who start their own businesses. All four entrepreneurs described the difficulties they faced when starting their businesses. Many of them did not have a passion for entrepreneurship but, in the absence of finding employment, had to start their own businesses in order to survive. They mentioned challenges in finding information on how to start a business, as well as access to start-up funding and incubation services. One of the entrepreneurs, Participant 3, mentioned two of her businesses failing and the anxiety she now faced, in her third business venture: "My first two businesses did not work out and now that I have received funding from government for this business, I worry because I am not sure what is the best way to use this money, and I cannot afford to fail again." Although it is a positive sign that some young entrepreneurs can access funding from government, in the absence of training for these entrepreneurs and support throughout their business ventures, not only will the money potentially be wasted, but it will also become increasingly difficult to realise the NDP goals relating to SMME's.

Unfortunately, the NDP is unclear on what it means by "small business support services will be consolidated and strengthened"[215] and focuses on external factors, like the regulatory environment, forgetting that even access to local markets, office space and marketing skills might be what hinders businesses before the macro-environment does.[216] This report recommends greater investment in research, particularly regarding township markets, providing young entrepreneurs with adequate information about where the gaps in the market lie, as well as the provision of a basic incubation curriculum as an implicit part of all government funding initiatives. This requirement should also be placed on financing institutions and private sector companies that provide venture capital funding, to offer more incubation support for these young entrepreneurs. Finally, there ought to be more synergy created within township businesses, beginning with supply chains being able to be almost entirely sourced from the

[215] National Planning Commission (b), Op. Cit. p.119.
[216] Thulo. L., The State of SA's Township Entrepreneurship, www.smesouthafrica.co.za/15427/The-state-of-SAs-township-entrepreneurship/, 24 March 2015, p.1.

communities themselves. This will require a pointed effort from government to assist with the building of co-operatives, as well as greater support for small manufacturing businesses that exist in many of these communities. Before focusing on upscaling, there needs to be a focus on building strong foundations for entrepreneurs.

The third observation is concerned with young people who have been incarcerated. At the time of the interview, Participant 2 had been out of prison for approximately 3 years and talked about the difficulties of finding employment, despite having completed his National Senior Certificate while in prison, as well as commencing tertiary studies through funding from the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS). "When I came out of prison, I was looking for a job and I started looking for a job at the same government that gave me funding to study, but to my surprise I was told that they cannot hire me because I have a criminal record and I went to the private sector and they told me the very same thing. Most of the people that I served my sentence with went back to prison because they can't find any job, they are just idling here in the township like myself. They go back because they don't feel welcomed here in the township and the very same government is rejecting them. If you say you can't hire those people, where do you think they should go? What is it that they need to do because they belong in the community? I do not want to go back."

This narrative articulates a struggle many young people face post incarceration – the process of reintegrating them into society as contributing members is inadequate. As such, many of them are unable to find work because people are unwilling to hire anyone with a criminal record, and it becomes easier for these people to choose to go back to prison, which seems to afford them better opportunities than they have in their communities.

Sen often noted that the fulfilment of basic capabilities must correspond with a quality of life that has been chosen by the individual, based on what they value – if this was not important, basic capabilities could be provided in prison, void of freedom and agency which are central to the Capabilities Approach. The discussion with Participant 2 was telling on this. If young people have reconciled giving up their freedom because prison offers them more opportunities than their communities do, then there is something incredibly toxic in the way these communities

are structured. Unfortunately, the NDP does not set out a clear economic plan for young people who have been incarcerated, other than encouraging them to start their own business, which poses additional challenges to the ones mentioned earlier (like greater difficulty accessing financing). Commissioner Dooms noted that young people need to be able to see themselves in the plan, regardless of the transitional identities they occupy. The NDP has forgotten a large portion of the youth demographic by ignoring incarcerated youth.

The Role of Youth in Community Initiatives

Half the participants interviewed were involved in community initiatives of some sort, however ten of the twelve participants cited that they see themselves as being able to play a role in their community. Although not everyone was involved in community work, all except two could identify existing community initiatives. These ranged from orphanages and feeding schemes to motivational talks, sports coaching and organisations for people with disabilities. Participants discussed the idea of positive role models being able to gain buy-in from young people in the community because they are seen as being something for people to aspire to and are subsequently taken more seriously than people who go into the community from outside. Participant 6 mentioned the disjuncture between government communications and people in the community, saying that his role is to help bridge that gap. "Many people do not know what is happening with government programmes so, because I have friends in the municipality, I know about the projects, so my role is to help bring information to people." This insight, as well as insight from other participants, displayed a distinct recognition of the need for communities to work together and to help each other. This was also alluded to during participants' descriptions of their communities, where most of them mentioned that people in Tembisa try to help each other by sharing information about initiatives and opportunities.

These observations depict a realistic application of how the Capabilities Approach should work. In Tembisa, although people are not completely immersed in community work, they are able to place value on other people, opportunities and initiatives and pursue the things that they find valuable. This links directly to the concept of value and the importance of community contexts emphasised in the Capabilities Approach. By analysing how a community allocates value (some will value institutions, more than people), it is possible to tailor developmental projects which

best match community valuations. This is an easier way of gaining buy-in from the community because it shows a prioritisation of community perspectives and contexts and can result in people feeling more valued and considered in the process. It also places emphasis on agency and freedom because it puts people's choices at the forefront of developmental agendas.

Perceived Efficacy of Community Initiatives

The most commonly identified community challenges were drug and alcohol abuse, particularly *nyaope*, crime, teenage pregnancy, unemployment school drop-outs and a lack of sports and recreational facilities for young people. After identifying the various community initiatives, participants were asked if they thought these initiatives addressed the issues they had mentioned. All twelve participants said that they did not feel that the programmes in their community adequately addressed any of the large issues they had identified. One of the most frequent reasons for this is that people are more focused on pursuing opportunities that could lead to employment and community development initiatives which do not have the promise of monetary incentives or potential jobs do not attract mass participation – sentiments similar to the literature put forward by Paul. Another reason participants felt that initiatives reached the wrong people at the wrong time, as Participant 2 observed: "the same people go to these programmes, the ones who really need them do not even know about them, so people end up talking to the same people over and over and nothing changes". Participant 6 believed that organisations that generally host programmes are too fragmented and usually adopt the same strategies, using superficial awareness programmes, and do not offer people real solutions to their issues.

Two of the most central observations, however, were from participants who discussed the links between efficacy and politics. Participants observed that there are many programmes in the community organised by the ANC, however, these programmes are not reflective of the challenges faced in the community. Participant 7 noted the discrepancy in planning for community initiatives within the ANC: "I go to these meetings that they have, and they always talk about what we face in this community but when their programmes happen, it has nothing to do with what they discussed. I am not sure why they even have those discussions." The second central observation here is concerning the role of youth in these programmes. Participant

10 noted: “When people host programmes for the youth, they just have older people running these programmes, so participation is low because young people need to be led by other young people – they must see themselves in the people who lead so that they can relate to it.” Additionally, participants mentioned community initiatives as being politically driven, and exclusionary to those who do not belong to certain parties. As Participant 11 observed: “There are things happening sometimes in the community, but you only see ANC shirts there. If you go, you must wear that shirt. If you are not in any party, then there is nothing for you here. You do not even see other parties. No one else worries about people in Tembisa. I am not interested in these parties because they are all the same, so there are no programmes for me here.”

These observations reiterate earlier parallels with the Capabilities Approach concerned with a focus on community contexts and citizen perspectives on what solutions would work in their communities. This refers, again, to the need for young people to see themselves in community initiatives. Looking at Hart’s ladder of participation, the best way to optimise youth participation is through processes in which young people have shared decision-making power with adults, and have a level of control over the interventions created for, and beneficial to them. If the NDP is unable to prioritise youth participation in a meaningful way, it dooms itself to the same fate as other community initiatives that, well-intentioned as they may be, are superficial at best and ineffectual at worst.

The National Development Plan and Individual Perspectives of Development

Participants were asked about their knowledge of the NDP. When only two of the twelve participants said they had heard of the NDP (and even their knowledge of it was limited), the discussion had to move toward how individuals perceived national development. Participants were asked to consider what a plan for national development should look like, and if they could see themselves being part of such a plan. What was most telling was, even though participants could easily identify community issues and assess the efficacy of existing initiatives, participants were unable to envision what national development would look like. Instead, many participants focused specifically on solving issues that they were personally affected by, like crime and work preparedness. However, every participant could articulate that whichever form national development takes, it should be something that involves youth in all aspects of its

formation and implementation. Participants stressed the importance of youth being seen as stakeholders in development, due to their understanding of community issues, as echoed by Oakley when he noted the importance of gaining community perspectives on development initiatives. As Participant 2 observed: "Youth should be involved in addressing issues because we cannot say we have an NDP, but we do not involve the community. Youth needs to be involved because we know our issues and those people who are coming with that plan, they do not know what is happening down here on the ground. We are on the ground and we know what issues we are facing every day of our lives."

A final recommendation of this report is the need for the NPC to make a more pointed effort to, not just acquaint youth with the NDP, but create ways for young people to see themselves as being central to its success. As already mentioned, the NDP is a difficult document to read and understand. As such, the NPC ought to develop youth and children friendly versions of the document. These should set out the parts of the NDP which directly involve youth, but also lay out the ways in which young people can participate. Making this material readily available for young people, and making a concerted effort to go where young people are, and have conversations like these with them, will change the landscape of youth participation and the NDP. Youth in Tembisa do not see themselves as being able to conceptualise development outside of their individual contexts. This may be for a variety of reasons and this report would rather not speculate. However, based on interviews with these participants, not only is there a sense of apathy amongst youth, particularly those who are unemployed, but there is also a sense that young people do not feel qualified to think about national development. The narrative around the NDP could be seen as being elitist and exclusionary, and indeed, this could be said for existing narratives around development in general. Young people need to be empowered to see themselves as in the best position to influence the developmental agenda of the state, as earlier explained by Korten and Klauss. If people are to accept the NDP as a blueprint for development, the NPC, at the very least, must create the processes for the analysis of that blueprint. Ensuring that the NDP is digestible and relevant for all young people might be a decent starting point.

Conclusion: Youth Experiences of Participation in National Development

This chapter has focused on creating a narrative of youth participation as it relates to youth in Tembisa. The interviews with these young people painted a picture of challenging socio-economic circumstances which make it difficult for youth in Tembisa to seek sustainable livelihoods for themselves and their families. This is manifested in many young people dropping out of school in order to find ways to financially support their families. It also narrates a disparity in the support services available for men and women. All the women interviewed who had to drop out of school did so because they were pregnant, and the sense from these interviews was that this is a common trend in Tembisa.

It points to a distinct lack of support for young women, who see being pregnant as the end of their own livelihood trajectory. The socio-economic conditions of young people contribute, heavily, towards their ability (or inability) to participate in community development. There is a strong sense that unemployed young people are unable to fully participate in community development because their main priority is finding employment. Despite this, it is positive to see that most of the youth interviewed saw themselves as having a role in their community, and expressed the willingness to participate if they were given the opportunity. There was also the impression created that existing community initiatives are not effective in addressing community issues and this may be a reason for poor participation.

Young people in Tembisa feel disenfranchised from broader narratives on development and community work. Many of them feel excluded from community activities because of the political overtones at play. Participants mentioned the perceived need for party alliance in order to benefit from programmes and this is a deterrent for participation. This impression has also caused people to see development as something for the elites of society to think about. Participants expressed difficulty when asked to think about, not just national development, but even community level development. Many said they felt ill-equipped to make decisions that will affect other people. This is an indictment on both government and civil society for failing to create empowering conditions for citizen participation but also presents an opportunity for the NPC to create meaningful participatory processes which help people feel valued.

With ten out of the twelve participants not knowing about the NDP, these interviews offered insight into the available landscape for effective youth participation. with the absence of effective community initiatives, the NPC has the opportunity to affect youth participation in a meaningful way and this chapter offered a few recommendations on how to do this. At the heart of this discussion was a focus on the Capabilities Approach, calling for greater consideration into the role of communities in articulating their specific contexts, and tailoring development interventions which speak to these contexts. People, always, know what is going on in their communities far better than any development practitioner would and the onus is now in the NPC to find ways to leverage this knowledge for positive development.

In a community like Tembisa, it is not enough to expect youth to take up the baton of development, considering that their basic capabilities are not being met. This calls for a human development approach to participation, which means being resolute in ensuring that the voices of young people are elevated, and taken seriously. These interviews showed that young people in Tembisa, regardless of their level of education or social status, can talk about the issues that affect their communities and have a grasp of why these issues are prevalent. This is a useful starting point in achieving youth-driven participation.

Conclusion

This research report aimed to explore the extent of youth participation in development and its limitations, as well as an analysis of whether the NDP cultivates the environment for such participation to occur. It argued that, although the NDP might present theoretical merit, and offer good intentions for national development, it is unable to locate young people in the implementation of the plan because it is unable to articulate how meaningful participation could occur. It focused specifically on how this participation manifests itself in the conceptualisation and implementation of the NDP. It began this exploration with a discussion of the literature around participation, explaining that participation could be incentive-based, control-based or empowerment-based and that each form of participation has specific uses. It also highlighted that the benefits of participatory approaches to development is that it results in greater efficiency of the initiative because people will have a sense of ownership over the project, and this would result in its sustainability. The section also focused on the responsibility for participation, noting that governments are in the best position to enable effective participation and should create adequate mechanisms for that participation to occur.

The literature also presented perspectives on youth, beginning with a definition of youth as being a transitional life stage, in which young people have vastly different life experiences. It evidenced this definition through a contextualising of South African youth, highlighting key challenges such as unemployment to show that even though youth may experience similar challenges, they experience it in ways which are different, and these differences need to be considered. It also focused specifically on youth participation in development, emphasising different models of youth development, particularly work from Hart, who developed a ladder of participation, against which the efficacy of participation could be measured. Using this literature, the paper highlighted the importance of studying youth as a category, arguing that youth present their own level of expertise and this expertise means that they have a crucial role to play in development. It also highlighted youth demographic trends, showing that South Africa is experiencing a youth bulge and ought to capitalise on it to achieve the demographic dividend.

Theoretically, this research presented a comparison between theories of a democratic developmental state and Sen's Capabilities Approach. Through showing the main tenets of both approaches, the paper argued that, because of the youthfulness of the South African population, and the issues the state has with ideas of political authority and social embeddedness, it would make more developmental sense to shift away from a democratic developmental state approach, and move towards building citizen capabilities. This is because the Capabilities Approach offers insight into what holistic development would look like, placing people and their conceptions of value at the heart of development instead of prioritising economic growth as the primary marker for developmental success.

The analysis then shifted to the central theme of this report: the NDP and youth experiences of participation in development. As a result of the insights gained through the field research, a few recommendations were offered, such as creating a youth friendly version of the NDP. The paper argued that it is critical for the NPC to create the structure for participation to occur, if it is to have any success in implementing the plan. These insights were informed by interviews with youth in Tembisa, who expressed an inability to see themselves as contributing towards national development. Youth in Tembisa do not feel valued in the development process and their perceptions of the NDP point to the idea that youth in townships have been implicitly excluded from development agendas.

This research found that the nature of youth participation at a policy level like that of the NDP is one which is heavily laden with both structural and political limitations. Young people are unable to locate themselves in processes at macro, high-level decision-making phases of policy-making and are thus isolated from meaningfully participating in creating the policies that affect their lives. This creates a knock-on effect in that youth in South Africa are unable to buy into developmental agendas because they already feel a sense of exclusion and perceive themselves as being tokens in developmental strategy. This report also found that young people, although able to envision what a better quality of life in their community looks like, are unable to see themselves as being central to the attainment of that standard of life. This, again, points to the overall neglect of youth participation to the extent that young people find difficulty in placing themselves at the centre of meaningful citizen engagement.

Youth in South Africa remain a group whose role in development is undervalued. As growing segments of the youth population become more excluded from development, the greater the chances of these initiatives failing. This research was undertaken in order to offer some academic insight into the experiences of young people who are often forgotten in the conceptualising of development in South Africa. It is hoped that this research could inform a greater push towards meaningful inclusion of all youth in development initiatives, not just as tokens, but as valued stakeholders whose views have the real potential for influencing change. As far as platitudes go, if youth really are the future of South Africa, there needs to be a far greater commitment to ensuring their participation in building that future.

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Appendix One: Interview Questions

1. Social Context:

a. Tell me about yourself (look for age, occupation, education, geography)

b. Probe if any information has been left out.

c. How long have you lived here?

d. What kind of activities have you been involved in in the community (social, recreational etc., give examples)?

e. Probe for level of involvement.

f. Do you think you have a role in this community/do you think you contribute to your community?

g. What is it or why not? If so, how? If not, why not?

h. How would you describe your community to someone who doesn't know about it?

2. Community Issues:

a. What are the issues affecting young people in the community?

b. Probe for elaboration on these issues.

3. Current Community Development Initiatives:

a. Are there any current community development initiatives happening?

b. If yes, do you think they address the issues you mentioned?

c. Are you involved in any of these initiatives?

4. National Development Plan:

a. What government policies or initiatives are you aware of?

b. Do you know about the National Development Plan?

c. If yes, what do you know about it?

d. What do you think a national development plan should be? (Look for conceptual and practical answers)

e. (Provide list of chapters in the plan): If you think about each of these, which do you see yourself being able to participate in and how?